Contents

Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at the Secondary Level

Mosha.Afroza Sultana, M.A. in English Language Teaching

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Chapter-1

Introduction

This paper discusses the way teachers can focus the teaching of the foreign language in the classroom in such a way that students can communicate in a conscious way, taking into account their real experiences. Here, the origin of the Communicative Approach as a combination of different methods is clearly explained. The role of the teachers and the students in applying Communicative Approach in English as a Second Language class at the secondary level is also discussed. The article also gives some examples of communicative activities that can be developed in the classes from the communicative point of view. This digest will take a look at the communicative approach to the teaching of foreign languages. It is intended as an introduction to the communicative approach for teachers and teachers-in-training who want to provide opportunities in the classroom for their students to engage in real-life communication in the target language. The obstacles and some probable solutions to this problems from both teachers and students are described that can be used with a communicative approach.

1. 1 Aims of the study:

In today's Bangladesh, Communicative approach has become an accepted fact. The aim of this study is to find out the probable factors that governing this practice so that we can have an in- depth understanding about the mechanism to promote the secondary level students to be skilled in communicating. This paper attempts to find the views of Bangladeshi students at the secondary level about communicative activities. This approach can be facilitated co-operation and group work as a technique. The ultimate goal of this study is to prepare students for natural language activity in discussion and conversation that stimulate real life situations. This study would also try to investigate if this practice is favorable for secondary level students. The practice of communication has become part and parcel of our modern education. English language has gained its significance among a number of foreign languages in the world as well as in Bangladesh. The importance of English has been realized in Bangladesh as it is considered to play a crucial role on the path of socioeconomic development of the country. That is why I am interested to delve the inside of the mechanism.

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I believe that, it can promote Bangladeshi students to engage in communication and develop their communicating skills according their socio- culture perspectives.

Chapter-2

2. Literature Review:

To be skilled in communicating in a language all the four skills-listening, speaking, reading and writing – are important. But at secondary level classrooms in Bangladesh it seems different. Most students and teachers here in Bangladesh consider English as a subject rather than a language skill and hardly pay any attention to listening and speaking skills. Billah (2012) says that the major concern of the students, teachers and guardians is to manage a good grade in English using a commercial or short-cut way avoiding real learning. Billah (2012) also says that, some trained teachers try to practice all the skills in the classroom but they lose their motivation after a certain period as listening and speaking are not directly assessed in the public examinations and the students, guardians and the school authorities do not encourage the point. He (2012) further says that the highly liberal attitude of the government to make the students pass the English examinations regardless of whatever they write in their scripts has further deteriorated the situation.

It is quite necessary to consider the position of English in Bangladesh if we want to apply communicative approach in the classroom's language use and thus try to find out why interaction does not, in general, take place in English. To do so we need to find out the difference between EFL and ESL contexts for teaching English. Both in EFL and ESL contexts non-native speakers are taught English. But ESL takes place in an English-speaking environment for example in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia etc. where English is the primary language for communication. Ellis (1996, P.215) distinguishes between ESL and EFL Contexts and says that ESL in integrative, in that it is designed to help individual function in the community, and EFL is part of the school curriculum, and therefore subject to contextual factors such as support from principal and the local community, government policy etc. For ESL students language learning is part and parcel of survival and growth (Ellis 1996). Another characteristic of ESL situation is that in the ESL classes do not share the same L1, which makes it a must for the students to speak English. On the other hand in EFL context because of possessing the same L1, students most of the time do not feel any urge to speak English and that is what is prevalent in Bangladesh.

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Communicating only in target language, L2, in the classroom can be a very effective way to enable students to speak in English. Kang (2007) says that the continued interest in better EFL pedagogy for elementary students has led to many interesting suggestions, one of which is TETE, Teaching English through English. In order for teachers and learners in input-poor EFL context (Kouraogo, 1993) to cope with their pedagogical difficulties, researchers have suggested diverse remedies including the use of only the target language (henceforth TL) in classrooms for various reasons (Chaudron, 1998; Halliwell, 1992)

The primary purpose of using a language is communication. According to Richards and Rodgers (2001; cited in Barman, Sultana and Basu, 2006, p. 157), there are four characteristics of the communicative view of a language:
1. Language is a system of expressing of meaning.
2. The primary function of language is to allow interaction and communication.
3. The structure of language reflects its fundamental and communicative uses.
4. The primary units of language are functional and notional categories, rather than structural ones.
Both teachers and students in Bangladesh almost all the time use L1 (Bengali) in the classroom. Since the eighties, amongst the variables in educational improvement, the teacher has been considered as being of utmost importance and there has been a strong focus on professional development of the teacher (Hargreaves and Fullan 1992). So, trained teachers can play a vital role in using L2 in the classroom.

To improve students' English, L1 can be used very less frequently and that should be only when there will be no left untouched for the better understanding of the students. The arguments favouring the use of both L1 and L2, meanwhile, have emphasized that L1 should not be overrelied on (Wells, 1999), and should be of secondary importance (Cameron, 2001). In this regard Nation (2001) says that the first language has a small but important role to play in communicating meaning and context.

Teachers and students' level of proficiency in communicating in English and adequate motivation are also very important in using L2 in the language classrooms. A study conducted in Korea on TETE, Teaching English Through English, it has been found that the Korean EFL teachers viewed the practice of TETE as obstructing due to their lack of communicative competence as well as students' low level of proficiency and inadequate motivation (Kang 2007). Teachers' limited proficiency has also been argued to be commonly found in Asian EFL context (Charles, 2004; Kelly, 2002; Shih, 2001)

Teachers' beliefs are also very important in using language, L1 or L2, for interaction in the language classroom. In our country most present EFL teachers did not experience CLT and thereby English interaction in their language classes when they were students. And that may be part of the reason why most teachers do not interact in English in the English language

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classrooms. Methodologically, teachers' language use in the EFL or other foreign language classrooms has often been examined via elicitation of teachers' beliefs that determine a teacher's classroom behavior to a large extent (Breen et al, 2001; Gatbonton, 1999).

Chapter -3

3. Methodology:

For the purpose of this study I have used a mixed methodology approach.

3.1 Participants:

Seven teachers and thirty students were chosen from one secondary high school (Bangla Version). All the teachers except one were experienced. Students were chosen from two classes-nine and ten. Among 30 students 5 were girls. All the students' first language was Bengali. All of them attend two English classes everyday and six days a week- each class lasting for 45 minutes on average.

3. 2 Data Collection tools:

To collect data two different questionnaires were prepared- one being for the students and the other one being for the teachers. There was a closed ended questionnaire for students, which consisted of 18 different yes/ no questions. For the teachers the questionnaire included five multiple choice questions and two semi-guided questions. By the two semi- guided questions teachers were facilitated to incorporate their practical knowledge regarding problems of and solutions to language classes not being interactive in terms of using L2. There were short informal follow- up interviews with both most of the students and teachers to know something more about the expected findings.

3.3 Procedure:

The field work took place thrice a week for a total of 10 times between February 20 and March 25, 2013.While collecting the data from the students and the teachers, both the teachers and the students were dealt with non-manipulating way by the teachers so that actual information could be collected. While analyzing the data a Mixed Methodology Approach- qualitative and quantitative- has been chosen.

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Chapter -4

4. Findings and Discussion:

It was found that the students attributed their problems in English to their weak foundation, environment, and methods of teaching English in their previous levels. Weak foundation is related to the status of English, the students' motivation to learn English, and the teachers' lack of interest. Environmental reasons include the use of the mother tongue, few opportunities to practice English. On the other hand, methods of teaching English included the medium of instruction, using Bangla in English classes, teachers' low proficiency in English, and lack of speaking practice in educational institutions.

The development of students' L2 speaking can be influenced by multiple factors such as L1 speaking ability, L2 proficiency, and speaking experiences in both languages (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2008; Kubota, 1998). In addition, it can be influenced by L1 in such a way that speakers from different L1 backgrounds tend to speak differently depending on how they learn interacting styles in their L1 culture (Kubota, 1998). Some studies suggest that L2 learners' L1 speaking ability is the primary determinant of their L2 speaking performance (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2008; Kubota, 1998; Petric & Czarl, 2003; Piper, 1989).

It is often assumed that a speaking- skill transfer can take place between L1 and L2 (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2008; Kubota, 1998). Thus, L2 speaking difficulties can be closely related to L1 speaking difficulties. Thus, the development of L2 speaking could be more attributable to a combination of performances and experiences in L2 rather than a transfer of culturally preferred rhetorical patterns from L1. The ability to speak is indispensable for the L2 learners in this modern era. Academic speaking not only develops the communicative skills of students but also turns students into more critical and perceptive readers and listeners.

4. 1 Student's Perceptions:

To find out the students' perceptions they were asked to fill in a questionnaire items by just putting tick marks on one of the two options- yes / no. They were made to understand all the points before they chose the potions so that the survey results would become as realistic as

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possible. There was also another column other than yes/no in the questionnaire in which they were allowed to write anything they thought would be relevant. (See Appendix-A)

Graph -1
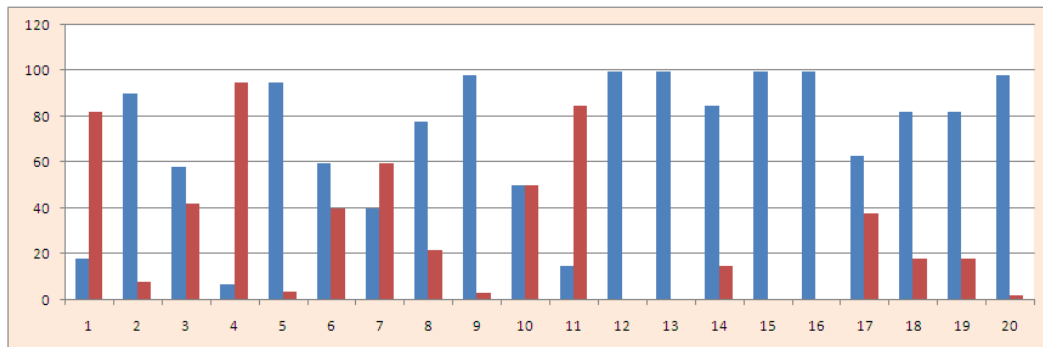
The above graph shows the data found from the table in appendix-B

4.2 Summary of Findings:

A vast majority of students (84%) agreed that in their language classes interaction does not take place in English. Only a handful of students (16%) said that they interact in English in the language classes. However, in the questionnaire there was an extra column for the students to write any comments if they had any, and there those (16%) students wrote that English is not always spoken in the language classes. But it is optimistic that almost all the students (93%) want the interaction in English classes to be in English classes.

Most students (57%) showed positive notions regarding nervousness. They are of the view that they do not become nervous if the class is taken in English. 93% of students disagreed with the idea that they only want to pass the exam and so they do not need to speak English. Again 97% of students want to learn how to speak English from their English classes.

Most of the students (60%) find it difficult to understand the lecture if it is delivered in English. The same percentage of students thinks that teachers have enough interest in taking the classes in English. And almost three fourths of students (77%) blame their own lack of interest in this regard. Almost all the students (97%) think teachers do not speak English because it is very difficult for them t make every student understand their speech in English. And half of the students think if teachers take the class in English, they might do badly in the exam because of not understanding the lessons.

"Not speaking English in the language classes is good for the students" was the eleventh item in the questionnaire. Only 14% of the students agreed with this. Not surprisingly all the students (100%) agreed that speaking English in the classroom must be started from primary level. One of the most important points in the questionnaire, according to the author, was

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whether they think that if teachers continue speaking English for a few months, students will start better understanding English. And not unexpectedly, again all the students agreed with this statement.

87% students think that teachers should take imitative first to speak English in the class. But interestingly at the same time all the students (100%) think that they should be proactive about speaking English in the classroom. Every respondent welcomed the idea of establishing an English language club in the schools. In terms of motivation the majority of students (64%) think that it is only teachers who can motivate students to speak English. Finally, 86% of students are in favour of attributing the practice of not speaking English in the classroom largely to the present system of Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSC), which does not asses the speaking and listening capabilities of students. Billah (2012) also says that in Bangladesh some trained teachers try to practice all the skills in the classroom but they lose their motivation after a certain period as listening and speaking are not directly assessed in the public examinations and the students, guardians and the school authorities do not encourage the point. In a query to know whether it would be very effective for the students if they had to communicate only L2(English) in the language classroom, 84% of the responded positively. In this regard Kang (2007) says that the continued interest in better EFL pedagogy for elementary school students has led to many interesting suggestions, one of which is TETE, Teaching English Through English. In the last item of the questionnaire students were asked whether an ESL context, instead of EFL, would enhance their English speaking skill. Here almost all the students (97%) chose the option 'yes'. They were very true as Elis (1996) mentions that for ESL students' language learning is part and parcel of survival and growth. To summarize the study, it can be said that in most language classrooms interaction does not take place in English, but the majority of students want the interaction to be in English in their language classes.

4. 3 Teachers' Perceptions:

To find out the teachers perceptions they were given a questionnaire consisting of three multiple choice questions, two statements accompanied with three options to choose from and two semi-guided questions. (See appendix- C)

Graph-2

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The above graph shows the data found from question -1in appendix –C

Pie Chart -1
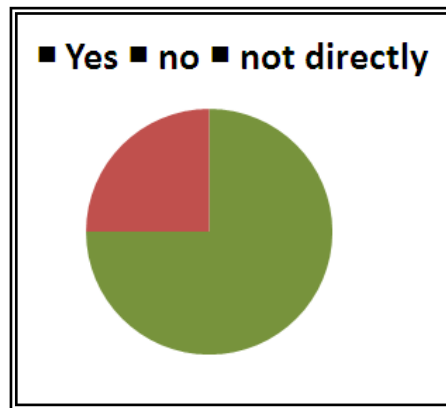
The above pie chart shows the data found from question -4 in appendix–C

4.4 Summary of Findings:

First of all it has been found that almost 85% of teachers, 6 out of 7, strongly agreed with the idea that English is, with a very few expectations, not spoken in the secondary level English language classrooms while only the other respondent agreed to it.

In the questionnaire then the Teachers were asked why they thought that teachers and students do not interact in English in the language classes at secondary level. They were given four options- (a) because of exam system (b) lack of students' proficiency because of not having practiced English at primary level (c) students' desire only to pass the examination somehow, and (d) all the above. Five (5) respondents out of seven (7) chose '(d) all of the above' and two others chose (b) and (c). In this regard Billah (2012) implies that teachers, guardians and students all want nothing but a good grade in English. He (2012) also mentions that trained teachers also lose their motivation after a certain period as listening and speaking are not assessed in the public examinations. Most teachers (57%) think that examination system should be redesigned to increase the speaking practice of the students in the classroom while the rest (43%) think that this should be definitely be done.

Again 57% of teachers think that it is teachers who should play the major role in solving the problem. But the rest (43%) think that the government has the key role to play in this regard.

In one of the two semi-guided question the respondents were asked to mention at least two reasons why teachers do not use English in the language classes. They came up with diverse

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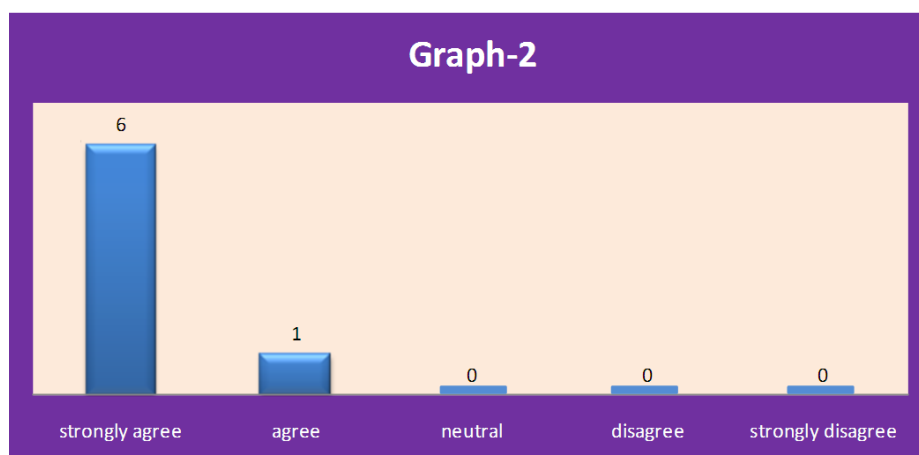Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at the Secondary Level   10

reasons which, in my opinion, are the facts. Some of the reasons they mentioned including lack of teachers' proficiency, shortage of trained teachers, unwillingness of learners, lack of students' proficiency, inappropriate English syllabus   and text books in different classes, and teachers' unawareness.

One respondent thinks that every year many students come from rural areas and enrol in many schools in Dhaka, and they are, in general, much weaker than the existing students in those schools. And that is what makes it more difficult for the teachers to make the language classes interactive. Another respondent thinks that in the usual classes' teachers have to remain very busy completing syllabuses for the semester examinations, and so they do not get enough time to teach students how to speak English. And extra classes may be very helpful in this regard.

After a short informal oral interview with all the teachers it was evident that all of them want to improve themselves by receiving training.

To summarise it can be stated that teachers are well aware of all the problems and they want to improve themselves.

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Chapter-5

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Most Bangladeshi students remain noticeably weak, even at tertiary level, in communicating in English though they have learned English academically for about twelve years before reaching that level. Actually, students should have enough exposure to interactive English from primary and junior levels, and more importantly at least from secondary level, to be able to be fluent speakers of English. In this connection the present study titled **"Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at Secondary Level"** has been fruitful. It has been able to identify some problems that the Secondary Level students usually face while learning English as a foreign language. Some of the major problems include present public examination systems, lack of both teachers' and students' proficiency, shortage of trained teachers, teacher beliefs, and lack of student motivation. Some relevant recommendations have also been suggested.

5.1. Recommendations:

Based on the study findings and discussions above there might be a number of recommendations to overcome the problems prevalent in secondary level classrooms in terms of classroom interaction in English. The recommendations are given in below:

a) All practicing teachers should be provided with refresher courses at regular intervals.

b) A language club should be established in every school, and what is more this should be made mandatory by the government.

c) Teachers should use English in the classrooms at least 95% of the total time regardless of whether students understand or not because if they continue doing it just after a few months students' receptive power will increase and they will better understand English. On the other hand if it is not done, things will always remain the same leaving students weak in speaking English.

d) Teachers should always motivate students to speak English.

e) Teachers should help students fight shy of their shyness.

f) There should be at least 20-30 marks on speaking and listening skills in the school semester examinations as well as in the public examinations.

g) The practice of speaking English in the language classes should be started from primary level.

h) Highly qualified teachers should be recruited in every school by the help of the government, and what is more they need to be given handsome remuneration.

i) All of the English textbooks should be redesigned so that language learning becomes fun and there are activities fully related to our real life.

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j) As there is no hope for marks being included in public examinations on listening and speaking in near future, teachers should motivate their students to change their mentality regarding only passing the English examinations somehow.

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Appendix-A

Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at Secondary Level.

For the students:

Please give tick mark on the suitable option. Cooperation in providing true information and honest views is appreciated.

Sl.	Questionnaire Items	Total Students-30	
		Yes	No
1.	Communicative approach is applied in our language classes.		
2.	In the English class I want to communicate in English.		
3.	I become nervous to communicate in English.		
4.	I only want to pass the exam and so I do not need to speak English.		
5.	I want to learn how to speak English from my English classes.		
6.	I find it very difficult to understand if the lecture is delivered in English.		
7.	Teachers do not have enough interest in applying communicative approach in English classes.		
8.	Teachers do not communicate because students are not interested.		
9.	Teachers do not speak English because it is difficult for them to make every student understand their speech.		
10.	If teachers take the class in English, maybe we will not understand the lessons and so we will not be able to cut a good figure in the examination.		
11.	Communicating in English in the language classes is good for the students.		
12.	Communicating in English in the classroom must be started from primary level.		
13.	If teachers continue speaking English for a few a months, students will start better understanding English.		
14.	Initiative to communicate in English should be first taken by teachers.		
15.	Students should be proactive about communication in English in the classroom.		
16.	If there is a language club, interested students will get chance to improve their English by practicing.		
17.	It is only teachers who can motivate students to develop communicative skills.		
18.	Exam system can largely be made responsible for students and teachers not speaking in language classes.		

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Sl.	Questionnaire Items	Total Students-30	
19.	Using only target language in the classroom can be very effective for students.		
20.	If students learn English in an ESL situation, they would be much better speakers of English.		

Appendix- B

Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at Secondary Level.

Sl.	Questionnaire Items	Total Students-30	
		Yes	**No**
1.	Communicative approach is applied in our language classes.	16%	84%
2.	In the English class I want to communicate in English.	93%	7%
3.	I become nervous to communicate in English.	57%	43%
4.	I only want to pass the exam and so I do not need to speak English.	7%	93%
5.	I want to learn how to speak English from my English classes.	97%	3%
6.	I find it very difficult to understand if the lecture is delivered in English.	60%	40%
7.	Teachers do not have enough interest in applying communicative approach in English classes.	40%	60%
8.	Teachers do not communicate because students are not interested.	77%	23%
9.	Teachers do not speak English because it is difficult for them to make every student understand their speech.	97%	3%
10.	If teachers take the class in English, maybe we will not understand the lessons and so we will not be able to cut a good figure in the examination.	50%	50%
11.	Communicating in English in the language classes is good for the students.	14%	86%
12.	Communicating in English in the classroom must be started from primary level.	100%	0%
13.	If teachers continue speaking English for a few a months, students will start better understanding English.	100%	0%
14.	Initiative to communicate in English should be first taken by teachers.	87%	13%
15.	Students should be proactive about communication in English in the classroom.	100%	0%
16.	If there is a language club, interested students will get chance to improve their English by practicing.	100%	0%
17.	It is only teachers who can motivate students to develop communicative skills.	64%	36%
18.	Exam system can largely be made responsible for students and teachers not speaking in language classes.	84%	16%

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19.	Using only target language in the classroom can be very effective for students.	84%	16%
20.	If students learn English in an ESL situation, they would be much better speakers of English.	97%	3%

Appendix –C
Communicative Approach in ESL Classroom at Secondary Level.

For the Teachers:

[Please give tick mark on the suitable option] Cooperation in providing true information and honest views is very much appreciated.

1. In all English language classes at secondary level, with a very few expectations, English is not used for communication and means of teaching

a) Strongly agree
b) Agree
c) Neutral
d) Disagree
e) Strongly disagree

2. Why do you think teachers and students do not interact in English in the language classes at secondary level?
a) because of the exam system
b) students are not proficient enough to use English because they have not used it at primary and junior levels.
c) students only want to get their exams over and done with somehow.
d) all the above

3. Is there any option for the development of the speaking skills of the students in the syllabus/curriculum set by the education board of Bangladesh?

a) Yes
b) No
c) Not directly

4. Do you think the exam system should be redesigned to increase the speaking practice of the students in the classroom at secondary Level?

a) Yes
b) No
c) Definitely

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5. Who should play the major role in solving this problem?

a) students

b) teachers

c) the government

6. Please write at least two reasons why teachers do not use English in the language classes.

i)In public Examination, there is no system of evaluating speaking of the students.
ii) Guardians, students and the authority all want nothing but a good grade in English. For these reasons, teachers do not use English in the language classes.

7. What are, in your opinion, three best probable solutions to this problem?

i) Teachers should interact in English in the language classrooms which can motivate students to speak in English.

ii) Highly qualified teachers should be recruited in every school by the help of the government, and they need to be given handsome remuneration.

iii) There should be at least 20- 30 marks on speaking and listening skills in the school semester examinations as well as in the public examinations.

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Teacher's information:

[The information collected will be kept confidential]

Name :………………………………………………………...

Date :………………………………………………………...

Name of school :………………………………………………………..

Designation :………………………………………………………..

Contact No :………………………………………………………..

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Instant Poetry: Poetic Genius versus Poetic Talent

Dr. J. S. Anand, Ph.D.

What Goes into the Writing of Poetry?

This article is concerned with the fact how much effort goes into the writing of poetry. Is it a spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling, or is there more to it than merely a representation of human emotions? Another issue related to this idea is the mental labour that becomes a part of intellectual poetry in the case of some eminent poets like T.S. Eliot, who used to polish their poems, and get them further polished by more eminent friends in the field, like Ezra Pound. Great Indian Modern Poet Rabindranath Tagore also wrote and rewrote the same poem before presenting the final version. This article also intends to explore the frontiers of poetry: as to whether it is *inspired*, or it is a political document, or can we say: *conspired*, that is to say:

poetry or poeticizing. Another eminent issue under discussion is about poetry and its rhyme. Difficulty in poetic expression or its transparency also forms the basis of this article.

Inspired or Conspired?

The most important question is whether poetry is inspired or conspired. In other words, is poet an 'inspired fool' or he is an intelligent tool? In my opinion, if poetry could be like other arts, anybody could have learned this art and there would have been poets after poets. There is some deep relationship between poetry and the prophet. Some souls are specifically blessed, just us when we dig the ground, in some places we get sweet water, in other places, it is unfit for drinking, and in still other places, there is no water at all. Same is the condition with poetry. It is a flood with some people while others belong to the poetic desert.

Decorating and Adorning with Themes

Moreover, when the poetic instinct is on, the poet becomes helpless, like the wedding guest in Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner', and he has to blurt out the truth. However conscious the person might be, words, phrases, sentences appear from nowhere and he is only to pick up the logs and build the house. Some people, however, start decorating it and lending them some themes. This is where art comes in.

What *Is* Art?

Art means something added, something artificial, something extra, which is not intrinsic to an object, something coming from the instinct of a man to look charming, to appear something different, and to appeal. Thus, art is nearer to artificiality, superficiality, torn away from intrinsic meaning of an object, but still, giving due regard to the artist, art adds value to the objects.

Inspired Poet

A poet who is inspired would write the poem as it comes, and it determines its own form, and its meaning as well. One wonders, how much inspiration had gone into Milton's *Paradise Lost* and why poets like Pope and Dryden could not match him in their creations? In the modern world, we know how people start gathering at cities, turning them into megacities, and metropolis, because of the facilities available there. Similar is the case of some poets and writers,

who wrote so much, and in so many varieties, on so many issues. Think of Shakespeare. He was a mega city of literature. But all this happens, when somebody is specifically blessed. Poetry is an art which cannot be cultivated. It is an inborn blessing, and poets who try to practise this art, can never write poetry, they only *poeticise*.

Place of Rhyming

Rhyming is often considered to be symptomatic to poetic creation. People can be seen playing with words, to create rhymes. By doing so, we can give movement to the words, but not the essential flow that comes from above. Think of Pope and Dryden. There is some dryness in their poetry.

Context and Times

Politics dims the glow of a poetic creation. It turns it superficial. Although a poet is rooted in his contemporaneity, he may or may not express any political stance; he still remains a part of that historical moment. But when a poet tries to bring that political aspect into his poetry, not only it becomes dated, it also loses on its essential glow.

Varying Effects

A poet like Dryden may be able to dazzle you with his words, and their arrangement, so that we may be able to say: "Poetry is best words in best arrangement", still they lack the grandeur which attends Milton's poetry. This grandeur is embedded in the poetry of Shakespeare, Donne, Wordsworth and Coleridge too. And this is missing from the politicalized poetry of modern times, where poets are used to write on various themes. Essays and articles can be written on various themes, and hypothesis can be proved or disproved. But, such a thing in poetry is unpardonable.

Poets are More Prophetic

Writers are called prophets, but poets are more prophetic than others, because, poetry is the foremost form of literary creation, and all other forms are late arrivals. Prophets are seers, so are poets, and this capability, or this blessed state comes to them, not from any knowledge, any

scientifically attained degree from a University. It comes to them, all of a sudden, based on their experience of life, not only of this life, but their previous lives.

Moreover, the poet, in the moments of his creation, is close to the creator, and whatever he speaks, is the voice of God. Poets utter truths beyond the powers of ordinary people, or even ordinary writers, who gather pebbles from the shores.

Poetic Creation: Its Transparence versus Its Opacity

I wonder for whom literature is being created. Is it of the poet, by the poet, for the poet? Is it for the select few? Is it for intellectuals alone? Is it only for research in universities? Literature is meant for the common man, and if he cannot approach a work of art without iron gloves, for whom is its message meant?

I have found poetic creations which cannot be deciphered by ordinary intelligence. Poets, to impress upon the reader, their high intellectuality, or even, sometimes, because they are well-read, cannot help themselves, from using their high stance, which ordinary readers fail to get at. I may refer to T.S. Eliot's **The Wasteland**. While the students of English literature bow before the great man, for his scholarship, depth, and breadth of view, and this book was a land-mark, which changed the course of literary history, still, one question remains to be answered for posterity. How many people read it from the original text, and how many could get at its meaning without the help of their teachers or help books?

The allusions have made the book quite rich in its meaning, but a man of ordinary intelligence has to take tuition with a teacher, to understand his book. Whether it was a deliberate effort to equate literature with life which too was so complex and distorted in 'his' modern times, is another thing. But, if it was difficult for students of English literature, it was simply too much for an ordinary reader. Thus, all the hype about its greatness has been created by the students of English literature, while the ordinary student has remained untouched by its magic. He has read 'about' it only. Even the students of post graduate classes read from help books about this work.

Conscious Effort to Turn the Work of Art More Sophisticated

My concern about difficulty relates to such an effort, a conscious effort, by the writer, to turn a work of art, so sophisticated that no doubt it conveys a magical meaning, but the meaning becomes oblivion for the greater part of readership. Had it been rendered in an easy language it [the language] might have become a bridge between the reader and the writer's message. And a whole generation could have read the charming poetry of T.S. Eliot. But he stands as a light house. And commenting on him sometimes feels like committing a sacrilege. So great he was in his passion. But, fact is a fact. I, as a student of literature, had to read from help books, what he wanted to say, because even our teachers could not help in bringing his meaning home to us.

Inspired Poetry Flows into the Hearts of Readers

The argument that I am advancing here is that poetry which is inspired must directly flow into the heart of the reader and like a tablet gulped with water, show its effect directly. It should not need any help books. Its language has to be simple although it might carry a very complex thought.

Here, our friends appear to falter, because toughness and difficulty are not essentially emblematic of high quality. They sometimes are the result of a poet's wrangling with meaning, and all the confusing symbols and signals in poetry further confuse the readers, leading them nowhere.

How Does a Reader Interpret Poetry?

How the reader interprets Poetry is another question. Poetry is actually words, which fall into the consciousness of the reader which is like a lake. They cause ripples at the surface, and also stir his deeper inside. All depends upon the quality of that lake water - its depth, its breadth, etc. In other words, the meaning of a text depends on the literary culture and breadth of view and depth of experience of the reader. Moreover, the words once shot, take up an independent entity of their own, and cannot be forced into pre-fabricated intentions. The reader is independent of them, as much as the words, once uttered, are independent of the poet.

Where Do Poets Begin?

I wonder when writing poetry, do poets write a title first, and then start writing poetry. It is a mathematical way to prove or disprove a certain hypothesis. Moreover, no poet can decide before writing a poem, what he will write in it. If there is anyone who can tell us what he is going to write, and how he will write it, he is a prose writer, because, poetic creation is a live creation. Once you start on the journey, it takes its own curvaceous route. Words come. Turns come. Idea follows idea and you don't know where you end up. And, then, what you have written, then, only then, you can give it a title. Prior titling of poems is an anachronism.

Forced Rhyming Is Tortured Prose

In the same breath, I would like to say that rhyming, if it comes naturally as in a song, is welcome. But forced rhyming is like writing tortured prose. It looks like poetry. At the most, it can be called poeticizing. But, poetry is an entirely different experience. It is a release from a passion divine. And the important thing is that you have no control over your words, over the images, over the sentences, they go on forming themselves in an instant rush. Poetry, which does not come instantly, is not divine, nor inspired. Poetry which is later on polished, and embellished to give a better look, sometimes, turns into base material, which only dazzles, whereas the crux gets lost in the effort.

A Lyrical Dialogue

Poetry, I have already said, is a lyrical dialogue with the cosmos. Its subjects are elevated. And its treatment too is elevated. Poet is not an inspired fool, he is a prophet charged with a mission. Through him, the cosmos speaks to the laity.

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Impact of Price Rise on Poor Households – A Case Study of Chirakkadavu Grama Panchayath, Kottayam, Kerala

Anishkumar P T, M.A., B.Ed.

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Abstract

Today, India is facing many problems – the problem of corruption, the problem of unemployment, the problem of illiteracy, the problem of population, so on and so forth. The problem of rising prices is one of the most important problems that Indian is facing now. This problem is two-fold to check the rising prices and, if possible, to bring the prices down.

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The prices of essential food items – Rice, cereals, vegetables, pulses, milk products - are astronomical as compared to the prices earlier in the last year. While it is felt by every household, the poorest sections are understandably the worst affected.

Here an attempt is made to analyse the impact of price rise on poor households taking the case of people in Chirakkadavu Grama Panchayath, Kottayam district, Kerala State, India

Introduction - Price Rise in Kerala

The recent LPG cylinder price hike from Rs. 440 to Rs. 933 may be the biggest shock to the consumer, but the aggregate effect of the price hike on the common man's pocket is even higher.

The cost of living in the state has skyrocketed at an unprecedented pace, if one goes by the upward spiraling rates of essential commodities in the last 365 days. As a result of costs heading northwards, the average monthly budget has increased by an average of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000.

Most of the edible items, including rice, sugar, vegetables, fish and meat have witnessed an increase of more than 25 per cent. The price averages published by the State Department of Economics and Statistics, which monitors the daily prices of essential commodities, shows that one kilogram of 'matta' rice would cost Rs. 32 in the open market, whereas it was only Rs. 26 in 2011. The prices of only a few items like coconut, coconut oil and tapioca have showed a declining trend.

A Keralite's staple diet would cost between Rs.n25 and Rs. 32. Though not a very popular item, the price of *colocasia* jumped to more than double the rate and ladies' finger is dearer by 41.67 per cent. Milk, which had recorded an increase of Rs. 5 in September 2011, is all set for a hike of Rs. 5 from the present Rs. 27.57 per litre.

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Though the price of tapioca suffered a fall, all varieties of fish, have become much dearer. Sardines at a price less than Rs. 80 per kilo will be a tough find and mackerels cost around Rs. 120 per kilo in the retail shops. The increase in the fishing expenses, including the rise in the price of diesel and the falling catch from the Thoothukkudi and Kanyakumari areas owing to the protest against the Kudankulam nuclear power plant, have all been contributing factors. The price of chicken has come down from Rs. 100 in 2011 to Rs. 85 in 2012, but the price of beef rose from Rs. 140 to Rs. 180 in 2012.

Main Objectives of the Study

The objective of the survey was to understand the impact of price rise on the consumption patterns of the poor households, the effect on other household aspects, and the means households have resorted to survive the crisis.

Methodology

The methodology is participatory research technique like direct observation, participant observation of the focus groups, discussion and semi-structured interview with key informants were used.

Income and Expenditure Trends

Table 1

Income and expenditure	6 months ago	now
Income	3000	3000
Expenditure	2500	3600

From the above table it may be seen that there is no changes in the average monthly household income 6 months ago and now. But the average monthly household expenditure 6 months ago was 2500 it increased to 3600.

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Average Monthly Food Expenditure

Table 2

	6 months ago	now
Average monthly Food Expenses	2500	3800

As shows in the table, it can be seen that average monthly household food expenses rose marginally from 2500 to 3800.

Food as Percentage of Total Household Expenses

Table 3

SI.No	6 months ago	now
1	50%	78%

From the above table it can be seen that food as a percentage of total household expenses increased from 50% six months ago to 78% now.

Impact on Other Household Aspects and Coping Strategies

Because of the price rise many households have to make arrangements for cash by digging into their assets or by taking a loan .Over 40% of the surveyed households were forced to resort desperate measures of some sort. The measures these households have taken are displayed below.

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CASH ARRANGEMENTS

- took a loan 35%
- pawned jewellery/valuables 25%
- sold jewellery and valuables 18%
- used up savings 22%
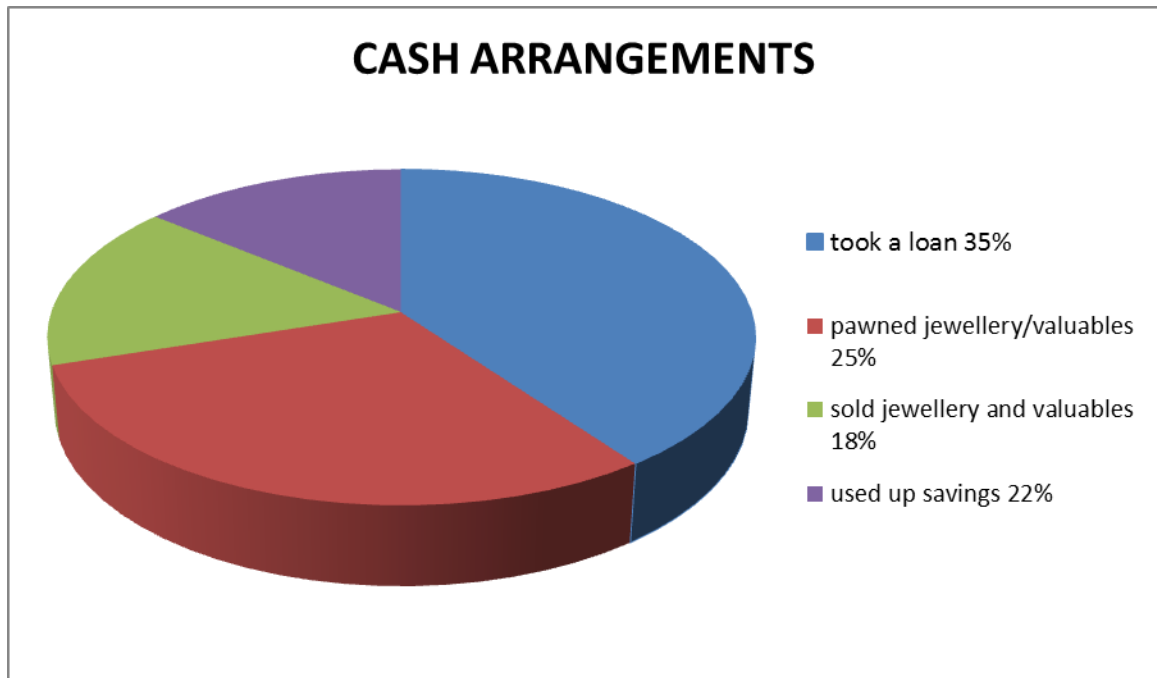
Suggestions

1) Government may supply more necessary items through public distribution system.

2) Government may provide more importance to the poor household for improving their standard of living.

3) Government should take a positive decision about transportation problems of remote area in Kerala.

4) Government may deliberately want to reduce the price level.

5) Government should reduce the price rise of cooking gas and other important daily use items.

Conclusion

The price rice has clearly impacted the poor rural households, leaving the poorer among them in a state of helpless desperation. So, the authorities take in to consideration this as a big problem and want to take immediate steps to mitigate the problem.

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A Comparative Analysis of the Phonological Features of Bodo, Garo and Rabha

Musuka Bala Brahma, Ph.D. Scholar

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Abstract

This paper attempts to analyze some of the phonological features of Bodo, Garo and Rabha. Each language has its own phonological system and features. Bodo, Garo and Rabha languages have been recognized as forming a sub-group with similarities between these languages (Grierson, 1903, Vol-III, part-II). Dissimilarities are also found between Bodo, Garo and Rabha.

1. Introduction

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The Bodo are the largest community group spoken in the north-eastern Indian states of Assam, Meghalaya and in Bangladesh. North East India comprising of the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram, Nagaland and Sikkim, was earlier referred to as Seven Sister States. It shares borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Nepal and, Myanmar. It has always been regarded as a treasure hold for researchers from different fields.

Although NE India consists only 7.9 per cent of the country's total geographical area, it is home to more than 75% of languages belonging to the four language families, viz. Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (small number of Tamil speakers in Moreh district of Manipur).

The Bodo consists of a large number of tribes including (western and eastern hill) Bodo, Rābhā, Gāro, Mech, Koch, Dhimāl, Dimasa (or Hill Kachārī), Galong (or Gallong), Hojai, Lalung,chutiya, Tippera, and Moran.These are the major languages of the Bodo group and comes under the Tibeto-Burman group of languages. The total number of speakers of Bodo group of languages in India was estimated at about 2.2 million in the late 20th century. Now the majority of them (Bodo, Garo and Rabha) live in Assam, Tripura, Garo Hills of Meghalaya and the rest straggled in West Bengal, Nepal, Bangladesh and other areas of the present Northeast India. They form the single largest population among the indigenous peoples of the North-East India.

1.1 Scope of Study

This topic attempts to compare and highlight the comparative analysis on some of the phonological features (consonant, vowel, tone, syllable etc.) of Bodo, Garo and Rabha languages spoken in North-East India. Each language has its own phonological system and its own unique phonological features.

1.1.2 Methodology

Observation and interview methods were done in this study to collect the linguistic data from the native speaker. Tape recording also applied to determine properly articulation of

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phonetic data. The published materials available in the form of journal, books and articles etc. have been collected from secondary sources.

2. Phonological Features

In this topic, discussion will be made on some of the phonological features (consonant, vowel, tone syllable etc.) present in Bodo,Garo and Rabha languages where an attempt will be made on similar and dissimilar features thereby making it a unique language.In the following the consonant phonemes of the three languages are shown along with the chart :

Bodo Consonants

Manner of articulation	Place of articulation				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl. vd	vl. vd	vl. vd	vl. vd	vl. vd.
Stop ᵘⁿᵃˢᵖ	b	d		g	
ₐₛₚ	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	
Fricative		s z			h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Semi-vowel	w		y		

Garo Consonants

Manner of articulation	Place of articulation				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal

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	vl. vd	vl. vd	vl. vd	vl. Vd	vl. vd.
Stop unasp / asp	p b	t d		k g	?
Africate			č j		
Fricative		S			h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Semi-vowel	w				

Rabha Consonants

Manner of articulation	Place of articulation				
	Bilabial vl. Vd	Alveolar vl. Vd	Palatal vl. Vd	Velar vl. Vd	Glottal vl. Vd.
Stop unasp / asp	p b / pʰ	t d / tʰ		k g / kʰ	
Africate			č		
Fricative		s z			h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Semi-	w		y		

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vowel					

2.1 Stops or Plosives

All the three languages have voiceless and voiced plosives. In Bodo three voiced plosives /b, d, g/ and three voiceless aspirated /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ are present.whereas in Garo three voiced plosives /b, d, g/ and three voiceless unaspirated plosives /p, t, k/ are present.In Rabha there are three aspirated voiceless plosives /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ and three unaspirated voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ and three voiced plosives /b, d, g/.In Garo aspirated voiceless plosive is not found.

2.1.2 Affricates and Fricatives

Garo has a set of two affricates / č, j/ and Rabha has only one affricate /č/ whereas Bodo does not have affricates. Bodo and Rabha have two alveolar fricative /s/ and /z/.In Bodo and Rabha /j/ is not a phoneme .All the languages have /h/ fricative.

2.1.3 Nasals

Blankenship et al. (1993) mention that both voiced and voiceless palatal nasals are present in Khonoma, Angami but is not attested in the Bodo, Garo and Rabha languages. All the three languages have two nasals /m/ and /n/. One is bilabial voiced nasal /m/ and another one is alveolar voiced nasal /n/.Both nasals can occur in medial and final positions in all the three languages.

2.1.4 Trill and Lateral

All the three (Bodo, Garo and Rabha) languages have a trill /r/ and a lateral /l/.In all the three languages these can occur in all the three positions i.e. initial, medial and final.

2.1.5 Semi-Vowels

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Bodo and Rabha have one bilabial /w/ and one palatal /y/ which is a voiced semi-vowel whereas Garo has only one bilabial voiced semi vowel /w/.Bodo and Rabha semi-vowel cannot occur in initial position but Garo semivowel occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

3. Consonant Clusters

Indo-Aryan languages do not show any sign of initial consonant clusters. But TB languages do have initial consonant clusters but in the languages stated consonant clusters consist of up two consonants. Bodo, Garo and Rabha languages also have initial and medial consonant clusters and all consonant clusters are made up of two consonants. In most of the cases, the liquids (/l/ & /r/) are the only possible second member of the cluster in Tibeto-Burman languages. In Bodo /n/ also becomes a second member with the first member of the cluster /s/. In Garo the possible second members are /r/,/l/,/n/,/p/,/t/,/k/. In Rabha second members are /r/,/l/,/t/ and /t^h/.In the following the initial and medial consonant clusters of Bodo, Garo and Rabha are shown along with the chart:

Bodo Initial Consonant Clusters

		Second member		
		r	L	n
= First member	p^h	p^{h}r	p^{h}l	-
	B	br	Bl	-
	t^h	t^{h}r	t^{h}l	-
	D	dr	Dl	-
	k^h	k^{h}r	k^{h}l	-
	G	gr	Sl	-
	S	sr	sl	sn
	Z	zr	zl	-

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Bodo Medial Consonant Clusters

		Second member		
		r	l	n
= First member	p^h	p^{h}r	p^{h}l	-
	b	br	bl	-
	t^h	t^{h}r	t^{h}l	-
	d	dr	dl	-
	k^h	k^{h}r	k^{h}l	-
	g	gr	gl	-
	s	sr	sl	sn
		zr	zl	-

Garo Initial Consonant Clusters

		Second member					
		r	l	N	t	k	p
First member	P	Pr	-	-	-	-	-
	b	br	-	-	-	-	-
	t	tr	-	-	-	-	-
	d	dr	-	-	-	-	-
	k	kr	-	Kn	-	-	-
	g	gr	-	Gn	-	-	-
	s	sr	sl	Sn	st	sk	sp
	č	čr	-	-	-	-	-
	j	jr	-	-	-	-	-
	m	mr	-	-	-	-	-

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Garo Middle Consonant Clusters

		Second member					
		r	l	N	T	k	P
First member	P	Pr	Pl	-	-	-	-
	b	br	bl	-	-	-	-
	t	tr	-	-	-	-	-
	d	dr	-	-	-	-	-
	k	kr	-	kn	-	-	-
	g	gr	gn	-	-	-	-
	s	sr	sl	sn	st	sk	sp
	č	čr	-	-	-	-	-
	j	jr	-	-	-	-	-
	m	mr	-	-	-	-	-

Rabha Initial Consonant Clusters

		Second member		
		r	l	t^h
First member	p^h	$p^h r$	-	-
	t^h	$t^h r$	-	-
	k^h	$k^h r$	-	-
	p	pr	pl	-
	b	br	-	-
	t	tr	-	-
	d	dr	-	-
	k	kr	-	-

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			Second member	
g	gr	-	-
s	sr	-	st^h
č	čr	-	-
z	zr	-	-
m	mr	-	-

Rabha Middle Consonant Clusters

		Second member			
		r	l	**t**	**tʰ**
First member	pʰ	pʰr	pʰl	-	-
	tʰ	tʰr	-	-	-
	kʰ	kʰr	kʰl	-	-
	p	Pr	pl	-	-
	b	br	bl	-	-
	t	tr	tl	-	-
	d	dr	dl	-	-
	k	kr	kl	-	-
	g	gr	gl	-	-
	s	sr	sl	st	stʰ
	č	č r	-	-	-
	z	zr	zl	-	-
	m	mr	-	-	-

From the above chart the possible clusters formed are:

Initial Clusters and Medial Clusters

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
1.aspirated stop+liquid	1.unaspirated stop+liquid	1. aspirated stop+liquid
2.stop+liquid	2.stop+liquid	2.stop+liquid
	3.stop+stop	
3.fricative+liquid		

	3.stop+nasal	3.stop+nasal
4.fricative+nasal	4.fricative+liquid	4.fricative+liquid
	5.fricative+nasal	5.fricative+nasal
	6.fricative+stop	6.fricative+aspirated stop
	7.nasal+liquid	7.fricative+stop
		8.nasal+liquid

3.1 Vocalic Feature

All languages have six distinctive vowels and all the vowels are voiced.In all the three languages vocalic phonemes are divided according to the position of tongue,lip rounding and height of the tongue. Following are the vocalic phonemes of the three languages:

Bodo Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		ɯ u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Garo Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		ɯ u
Mid	e		o
Low		A	

Rabha Vowels

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	Front	Central	Back
High	i		ɯ u
Mid	e		o
Low		A	

3.1.2 Front Vowels

All the three languages have two types of front vowels – (1) high front unrounded vowel /i/ and (2) high mid unrounded vowel /e/ .

Both the vowels can occur in initial, medial and final positions of the word.In all the three languages the occurrences of /e/ in initial position is less frequent than the medial and final positions.

3.1.3 Central Vowels

All the three languages have only one cental vowel. It is a low central unrounded vowel /a/.In all the three languages it occur in all the three positions i.e. initial, medial and final.

3.1.4 Back vowels

All the three languages have two back vowels – (1) rounded back and (2) unrounded back vowels.

(1) Rounded vowels also have two types one is – a high back rounded vowel /u/ and
a mid back rounded vowel /o/.

Both the vowels can occur in all the three positions of words i.e initial, medial and final.

(2) unrounded vowel is a high back unrounded vowel /ɯ/. It occurs in all the three positions of words in Bodo and Rabha languages but in Garo language it occurs in medial positions only.

3.1.5 Diphthongs

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All the three languages have diphthongs. Bodo and Rabha have a greater number of diphthongs than Garo. Bodo has eight diphthongs and Rabha has seven whereas Garo has only four and among Garo diphthongs are rare. Burling in the "Grammar of Garo (1961:1) has stated that" the Garo vowels do not show any sign of diphthongs. Later he noted that some morphophonemic sequences hardly sound bysyllabic (Burling 1981:71) and admitted that Garo has diphthongs (/ai,ao,oi/).In the following diphthongs of Bodo, Garo and Rabha are shown:

Bodo	Garo	Rabha
/ai,ao,eo,oi,iu,ui,ɯi,ɯu/	/ai,ao,oi,ui/	/ai,ao,eo,eu,oi,ui,ɯi/

The diphthong /ɯu/ is present only in Bodo. Whereas diphthong /ɯi/ is present only in Bodo and Rabha but Garo does not have this diphthong.

4. Tone and Glottal Stop

Another most important phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages are tone and glottal stop.Tone is not found in the other language families spoken in North East India, except the Tibeto-Burman language family. All TB languages of North East have tone except Garo. In the absence of Tone Garo language has glottal stop.The tone system of Tibeto Burman groups range from a two tone (Tiwa) system to a four tone system (Mao). Most of the languages in the Bodic group have two tones (Joseph & Burling 2006), majority of the Kuki-Chin languages have three tones but some of the Naga languages like Mao has 4 tones. Bodo and Rabha have three tones. Benedict (1972b) claims that a two-tone system may be reconstructed.Garo, which belongs to the Bodo-Garo group of Tibeto-Burman shows the existence of the glottal stop and functions as the substitution for tone in contrast to the cognate words in the other three Bodo-Garo (Tiwa, Boro and Rabha) languages. Joseph & Burling (2006) claims that the contrast between the presence and absence of a glottal stop in Garo is cognate to the contrast between high and non-high tones that is found in Bodo and Rabha languages.

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5. Syllable

All the three languages have monosyllabic and polysyllabic (more than one syllable) words. They are described according to the sequences of phonemes in segments of vowels (v) and consonant (c). In the following the syllable structure of all the three languages can be shown by illustrating with examples.

1.V	Bodo: /a/	'case marker'
	Garo: /a/	'case marker'
	Rabha: /a/	'case marker'
2.VV	Bodo: /eo/	'to fry'
	Garo: /ia/	'this, it'
	Rabha: /ua/	'that'
3.CV	Bodo: /ba/	'or'
	Garo: /ba/	'or'
	Rabha: /ba/	'or'
4.VCV	Bodo: /arɯ/	'and'
	Garo: /aro/	'and'
	Rabha: /aro/	'and'
5. CVV	Bodo: /rua/	'axe'
	Garo: /soa/	'rotten'
	Rabha: /kia/	'to fall down'
6. CCV	Bodo: /sni/	'seven'
	Garo: /sni/	'seven'
	Rabha: /pri/	'mature'
7. CVCV	Bodo: /gɯsɯ/	'mind'

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	Garo: /joka/	'to escape'
	Rabha: noko/	'to escape'
8. CVCCV	Bodo: /mansi/	'man'
	Garo: /mande/	'man'
	Rabha: /pʰuᵒgi/	'morning'

Closed Syllable

1.VC	Bodo: /un/	'to sharpen'
	Garo: /ok/	'stomack'
	Rabha: /ap/	'mirror'
2.CVC	Bodo: /bar/	'flower'
	Garo: /bal/	'flower'
	Rabha: /par/	'flower'
3.CCVC	Bodo: /sraᵒ/	'clear'
	Garo: /brak/	'ladle'
	Rabha: brek/	'a port made of bottle gourd'
4 . VCCVC	Bodo: /anzad/	'exam'
	Garo: /a?meᵒ/	'wasp'
	Rabha: /enček /	'this much'
5.VCCVCCCVC	Bodo: /anzadpram/	'half exam not fully'
	Garo: /a?daᵒgram/	'blank field'
	Rabha : /apbiᵒbrap/	'to twinkle mirror'

6. Conclusion

Although NE India consists only 7.9 per cent of the country's total geographical area, it is home to more than 75% of languages belonging to the four language families, viz. Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (small number of Tamil speakers in Moreh district of Manipur). Among them Bodo, Garo and Rabha belong to the Bodo group which comes under the Tibeto-Burman group of languages. In this article an attempt has been made to bring out

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some of the phonological features which are unique to Bodo group and also are sometimes shared by all the language families.

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Design of Derivational Morphological Analyzer for Kannada Language

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Abstract

We have developed a derivational morphological analyzer for Kannada Language. Derivational morphology deals with change of part of speech (POS) category from one basic category to another by the addition of derivational suffixes to the basic categories like noun, verbs and adjectives. Nouns can be derived from verbs and verbs can be derived from nouns and so on. There is no derivational morphological analyzer exists for Kannada. Existing systems have attempted only the inflectional morphology. The process of derivation is regular and productive in many instances for Kannada. But this is not true in all cases. Verbalizers are used in the process of derivation to verb. Nominalizers are used in derivation verb to noun. Finite state transducers are used for the implementation of the derivational analyzer. A set of verbs is

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used to derive verbs from adjective. Another set of pronoun suffixes are used to derive nouns form adjectives. The accuracy of derivation analyzer is around 90% in the case of nouns and around 85% in the case of verbs.

Keywords— Part of Speech (POS), Natural Language Processing (NLP), Finite State transducers (FST).

1. Introduction

Natural Language Processing (NLP) is an area which is concerned with the computational aspects of the human language. The goal of the NLP is to analyze and understand natural languages used by humans and to encode linguistic knowledge into rules or other forms of representation. Statistical and machine learning algorithms have taken a lead over complex linguistic grammar. There has been a great progress in natural language processing, through the use of statistical methods trained on large corpora.

Morphology in the generative perspective started with the publication of Chomsky's remarks on nominalization (1970). Later on the foundation for generative morphology was laid by Mark Aronoff in his book 'Word formation in generative grammar'. According to Aronoff (1976) all regular word formation process are word based. A new word is formed or derived by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word. Both the new word and existing one are members of major lexical categories. Word formation rule operates on a single word, not on phrase or bound morpheme. Both input and output of WFR must be members of a major lexical category such as noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. Derivation on the other hand is a phenomenon which derives new words; derivation may be by adding an affix or by compounding. Words are formed from a combination of one or more free morphemes and zero or more bound morphemes. Free morpheme is units of meaning, which can stand on their own as words. Bound morphemes are also units of meaning; however, they cannot occur as words on their own: they can only occur in combination with free morphemes. From this definition, it follows that a word is either a single free morpheme, or a combination of a single free morpheme with other free and bound morphemes. The remaining part of the paper is organized as section2

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deals with literature survey, section 3 deals with morphology and its types. Section 4 deals with results and section 5 deals with conclusion.

2. Literature Survey

In general there are several approaches attempted for developing morphological analyzer and Generator worldwide. Kimmo Koskenniemi (1983) has developed a two-level morphology formalism for Finnish language. Beesley (1996), has developed an Arabia finite state transducer for MA using Xerox finite state transducer (XFST). In case of Indian languages, (AU-KBC, 2010) the Research Centre of Anna University developed a finite state automata based morphological analyzer for Tamil language. Previous works show that very little work was done in computational aspect of Kannada: Prof. Kavi Narayan Murthy "Network and Process Model" handles only inflectional morphology; IIIT Hyderabad and Department of CALTS have done some work in respect of Kannada Morphology, but the approach is based on paradigm, i.e. suffix list based. Performance of the system is limited by the size of the dictionaries and derivational morphology is not handled. E. Roche and Y. Schabes (1997) have shown that Finite state technique is a vital tool in the implementation of natural language morphology.

From The literature survey, it is clear that derivational morphology of Kannada is not exploited to the extent it is necessary to handle this aspect, which otherwise hinders the NLP applications. In this paper an attempt is made to cover both the inflectional and derivational morphology for Kannada nouns and verbs. Morphology aspects are discussed in the next section.

3. Morphology

In linguistics, morphology is the study of the internal structure and the transformational processes of words. The internal structure of words is its morphemes. Each morpheme is an individual unit of meaning. Morphology is classified as inflection and derivational morphology.

3.1 Inflectional Morphology

This is the most significant part of morphology from the syntax point of view.

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Inflectional morphology deals with words which are syntactically significant word forms projected towards morpho-syntactic functions, often overtly marked by corresponding bound morphemes. Inflection involves formation of a distinct word form of a given word, words are formed by the base or root words by the addition of certain affixes, to express certain grammatical relationships and functions. The changes are with respect to gender, number, case markers, personal suffixes in case of noun and pronoun, tense, aspect, and modal categories in case of verb. Inflectional categories vary with respect to language. For example, English does not have gender as an inflectional category, since its subject verb grammatical agreement rule does not require the gender information of the subject noun, but only person and number of the subject. In contrast, Kannada requires gender information along with person and number to mark the verb form to show the agreement with the subject. Inflectional words are words which are used in syntax to compose sentences, when different forms of the same lexeme are generated, and there is no change in category.

3.2 Derivational Morphology

Derivation is the process of formation of new words or inflect able stem from another word or stem. It typically occurs by the addition of an affix. The derived word is often of a different world class from the original. It may thus take on the inflectional affixes of the new word class. Derivation has the following characteristics:

- Typically produces a greater change of meaning from the original form.
- Is more likely to result in a form which has a somewhat idiosyncratic meaning.
- Often changes the grammatical category of a root
- Kindness is derived from kind.

Here are some kinds of derivational operations:
- Operations that change the grammatical category of a root. Verbs and adjectives can be turned into nouns: Consider the examples like amaze→ amazement, speak →speaker, perform→ performance, soft→ softness, warm → warmth
- Operations that change the valence (transitivity) of a root.

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3.3 Kannada Derivational Morphology

        Derivation morphology deals with change of category from one to another. Noun is derived from verb or adjective, as we have shown a sample of the addition of suffix. VERB + v saMdhi.

        Nominalizers: nominalizers are used to derive nouns from verbs. Consider an example:

- Use of derivational suffix "vike"

maaDu 'do' (verb) + vike→ maaDuvike (noun) "process of doing".

- Causation Kannada suffix "isu"

prasne 'question'+ isu → prasnisu is verb which means questioning.
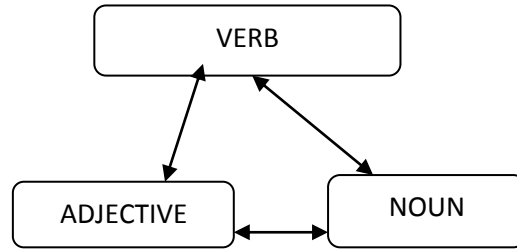
Figure 1: Derivation Morphology

        Verbalizes A set of verbs used to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives. There is a set of verbs like 'aagu', biDu, iru, goLLu, aaDu, hoDe, maaDu which are used in deriving verbs from nouns.

Noun+verb=Verb. Consider the following examples.

gaaDi+hoDe= gaaDihoDe

nidde+maaDu=niddemaaDu

- Use of verb (aagu) 'become' in verbalization.

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Most of the nouns in Kannada are derived as verbs by adding verb aagu to basic noun roots. The following examples illustrate the derivation Process.

- Noun to verb derivation using (aagu) verbalizer.

a) peTTu (Injury) 'noun' + aagu 'become/happen'→peTTaagu

 maLe (rain) 'noun' +aagu→ maLeyaagu (raining)
 beLe (crop)'noun' + aagu→ beLeyaagu (cropping)
 paasu (pass) 'noun' +aagu→ paasaagu (paas)
 ishTa (like) 'noun' + aagu→ ishTavaagu (like)

- Adjective to Verb Derivation Process

b) haaLu 'adjective'+ aagu →haaLaagu (get ruined)
 suMdara 'beautiful' + aagu→suMdaravaagu (become beatiful)

- Use of Verb aagu in Complex verb Derivation

In Kannada we have a set of verbs which do not have aspect and tense inflections. Like beeku (want), beeDa (donot want), kuuDadu (no), bahudu etc. By adding verb 'aagu' to these verbs aspect and tense inflections can be added.

- Usage of aagu with Modal auxiliaries

c) beeku (want) 'verb' +aagu →beekaagu (wanted). Now beekaagu is a compound verb

- We had another set of conflicts like whether maataaDu   'talking'(maatu + aaDu is noun+verb) is compound should be stored in dictionary, or generated by morph system by adding verbalizes like aagu iru, aaDu, paDu, goLLu etc. finally We decided

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to handle it through morph system.

Kannada language has complex morphology, many suffixes get added to form the complex inflected root. Consider the formation of verbal noun in example shown below:
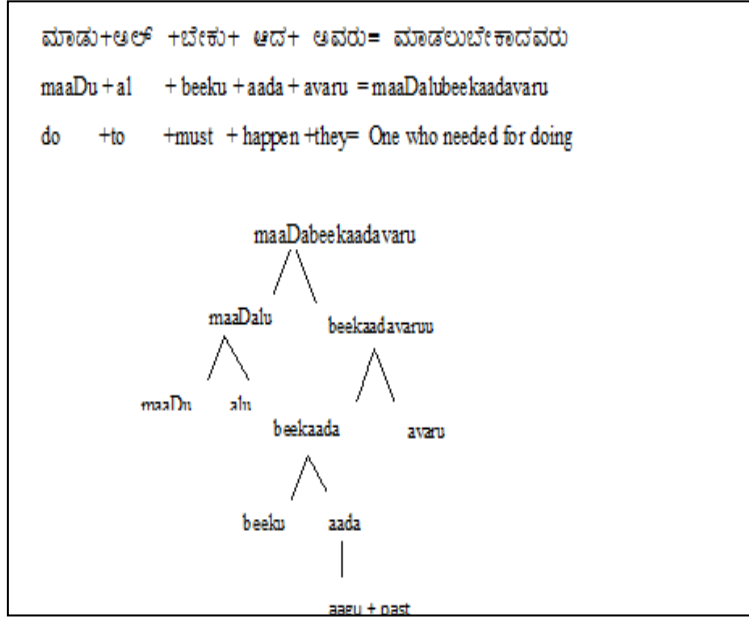
Figure 2. Sample Derivation Tree of Verbal Noun (Gerund)

3.4 Finite-state Transducers

Finite State Automaton (FSA) is a model of computation consisting of a finite set of states, a start state, an input alphabet, and a transition function that maps input symbol and current state to next state. A state transition usually has some rules associated with it that dictate when the transition may occur. The result given by a FSA is limited: either the string is accepted, or it is rejected. The transducer is defined as T = (Q, L, δ, qI, F,) where Q is a finite set of states, L a set of transition labels, qI $\in$ Q the initial state, F $\subseteq$ Q the set of final states, and δ: Q $\times$ L $\rightarrow 2^Q$ the transition function (where 2^Q represents the set of all finite sets of states). The set of transition labels is L = (Σ $\cup$ $\{\varepsilon\}$ x (Γ $\cup$ $\{\varepsilon\}$) where Σ is the alphabet of input symbols, Γ the alphabet of output symbols, and ε represents the empty symbol. On next input symbol, it can move to state 2 without consuming any input symbols, and thus there is an ambiguity: is the system in state 1 or state 2, before consuming the letter a. Because of this ambiguity, it is more

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convenient to talk of the set of possible states the system may be in. Thus, before consuming letter a, the NFA-epsilon may be in any one of the states out of the set {1, 2}. Equivalently, one may imagine that the NFA is in state 1 and 2 'at the same time': and this gives an informal hint of the power set construction 2^Q. The following table shows the transition table for Kannada derivational Morphology:

v-verb, n-noun, adj-adjective:

| Transition State	Derivation Category	Derivation Suffix	
25-26	v>n	oosuga	
35-4	v>n	udu	
17-3	v>n	vike	
# Gerund = tense + udu, negative are like tense too:			
35 4	v>n	udu	gerund
# Nominalizers:			
17 3	v>n	vike	
# Relative Participles:			
# Adjective has no morphology as such. Derived adjectives behave			
# like nouns, morphologically.			
20 50	v>adj	(a) rp	
26 4	v>n	takkaddu→	compulsive_gerund
26 50	v>adj	takk(a) →	rp_compulsive
26 4	v>n	aaraddu	gerundn_capabilitative
26 50	v>adj	baarad(a)→	rp_prohibitive
30 50	v>adj	illada→	rp_negative
30 4	v>n	illaddu→	gerund_negative
35 4	v>n	baaraddu→	baaradu_gerund
35 4	v>n	lolladdu	olla_gerund
35 50	v>adj	loll(a)	rp_olla
35 50	v>adj	lollada	rp_ollada
50 94	adj>adv	aaga	particle_aaga
#50 94	adj>adv	aagalee	particle_aagalee
50 94	adj>adv	aagaloo	particle_aagaloo
50 94	adj>adv	aagina	particle_aagina
50 94	adj>adv	meele	particle_meele
50 94	adj>adv	naMtara	particle_naMtara
50 94	adj>adv	baLika	particle_baLika
50 94	adj>adv	oDane	particle_oDane
50 94	adj>adv	atta	particle_atta
50 94	adj>adv	haage	particle_haage
50 94	adj>adv	aMt(e)	particle_aMte

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Transition State		Derivation	Derivation Suffix	
50	94	adj>v	aMtilla	existential_negative
50	94	adj>v	haagilla	existential_negative
50	4	adj>n	ashTu	particle_ashTu
50	3	adj>n	alli	particle_alli
50	0	adj>n	eDe	particle_eDe
52	94	adj>adv	aaga	particle_aaga
#52	94	adj>adv	aagalee	particle_aagalee
52	94	adj>adv	aagaloo	particle_aagaloo
52	94	adj>adv	aagina	particle_aagina
52	94	adj>adv	varege	particle_varege
52	94	adj>adv	tanaka	particle_tanaka
52	94	adj>adv	maTTige	particle_maTTige
52	94	adj>adv	atta	particle_atta
52	94	adj>adv	haage	particle_haage
52	94	adj>adv	aMt(e)	particle_aMte
52	100	adj>adv	varegina	particle_varege
52	94	adj>v	aMtilla	prohibitive
52	94	adj>v	haagilla	prohibitive
52	4	adj>n	ashTu	particle_ashTu
52	3	adj>n	alli	particle_alli
52	0	adj>n	eDe	particle_eDe

Adj+Pron=Pron

Transition State		Derivation	Derivation Suffix	
50	100	adj	aMtaha	similaritive
50	3	adj>n	aMtahadu	similaritive_pr_adu
50	3	adj>n	aMtahavu	similaritive_pr_avu
53	3	adj>n	avanu	
53	3	adj>n	avanobba(nu)	
53	3	adj>n	avanaata	
53	3	adj>n	avaniita(nu)	
53	3	adj>n	aata(nu)	
53	3	adj>n	aake(yu)	
53	3	adj>n	avaLu	
53	3	>n	avaLobbaLu	
53	3	>n	avaLaake	
53	3	adj>n	avaLiike(yu)	
53	100	>v	avaLillade	
53	3	adj>n	avaru	
53	3	adj>n	avarobbaru	
53	3	adj>n	avarellaru	
53	3	adj>n	avaraaru	
53	100	adj>v	avarillade	
53	3	adj>n	avugaLu	pr_avu
53	3	adj>n	ellavugaLu	pr_avu
100	0	n>v	ennu	+v_saMdhi
100	0	v	ennu	+v_saMdhi
100	0	n>v	uMTu	+v_saMdhi
100	0	n>v	aagu	+v saMdhi

Box 1. Derivation Morphology Continued.

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```
100  0      n>v    iru              +v_saMdhi

#100        0      adj>v  aagu              +v_saMdhi
#100        0      adj>v  iru               +v_saMdhi

100  0      adv>v  aagu              +v_saMdhi
100  0      adv>v  iru               +v_saMdhi

# External saMdhi with iru forms:
98   100    any    ide               +v_saMdhi_ide
98   100    any    ive +v_saMdhi_ive
98   100    any    iddu+v_saMdhi_iddu

# External saMdhi with sub_conj etc:

#98  100    any    aadudariMda+sub_conj
```

Box 1. Derivation Morphology Continued

3.5 Compounding

Compounding is a word formation process, whereby two or more words are combined to produce a new word. The meaning of the resulting word cannot be understood as the combination of meaning of combined words. Compounds yield new meaning, even though they are made of existing words, for example **greenhouse** is 'a building for plants', but not a house which is green in colour. In linguistics, word formation is the creation of a new word. Word formation is sometimes contrasted with semantic change, which is a change in a single word's meaning. The line between word formation and semantic change is sometimes a bit blurry; what one person views as a new use of an old word, another person might view as a new word derived from an old one and identical to it in form. Word formation can also be contrasted with the formation of idiomatic expressions, though sometimes words can form from multiword phrases.

Compounding involves two or more words rather than affixes. Syntactic rules are not involved in the internal structure of compound words. In syntax, morphologically complex words are not different from simple words. Internal structure of compounds is inaccessible to syntax.

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Compound agrees with derivation in not allowing inflection inside. Hence compounds are syntactic atoms like other words. Processing of meaning of compounds from the constituents is not always easy: noun+noun compounding like redfort " keMpukoTe".

4. Experiments and Results

We have considered DoE CILL corpus for experimentation, a sample file Bank1.aci.out is considered, the size of the file is 1084 words. We observe the following derivation types in the corpus. More than 50 % words in the corpus are derivational types. This shows the importance of handling the derivational morphology.

```
Derivation Type No of words
n>v              148
n>adj            115
Gerund           115
Compound         150
v>adj            80
v>adv   145
```

Box 1: Derivation Types in Bank1.aci.out
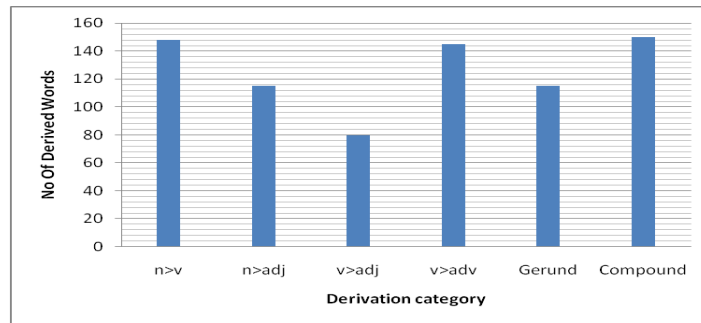
Figure 3. Derivation Category in Bank1.aci.out File

$$\text{Re}\,call = Tp\,/(Tp + fn) \qquad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(1)$$

$$\text{Pr}\,ecision = TP\,/(TP + FP) \qquad \ldots\ldots\ldots..(2)$$

$$F - Measure = 2 * \text{Pr}\,ecision * \text{Re}\,call\,/\,\text{Pr}\,ecision + \text{Re}\,call \qquad \ldots\ldots(3)$$

Table 1. Showing Recognition Efficiency

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Total Derivation Words	842
Correct Recognized	700
Wrong Recognized	53
Not Recognized	89
Recognized	753
Precision	95%
Recall	92%
Fmeasure	93%

5. Conclusion

We have attempted to develop a derivational morphological analyzer for Kannada, this tool is important in morphological process. Morphological analyzers and generators are useful in many NLP applications, like machine translation, parsing systems etc. Kannada language, having a complex morphology, designing analyzers or generator is a challenging job, due to agglutinative nature of Kannada.

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The Phonological Study of Toto Language

Chibiram Basumatary, M.A.

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Toto People

Ethnically Totos are considered as the Mongoloid race. According to G.A Grierson (1901), Linguistics Survey of India, Volume-III, Part-I, Toto language belongs to a Himalayan subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman Language family. Toto Language is spoken in an area called Totopara. Totopara is located in Madarihat under the Police Station of Alipurduar Sub-division of Jalpaiguri district of West-Bengal. The Toto villages are situated at the foothills of the Himalayas towards south of the border between Bhutan and West-Bengal. The Titi forest exists in the southern and western boundary of Totopara whereas Torsa river lies in the east. Totopara is sub-divided into six small villages namely, 1.Mondalgaon, 2.Dumsigaon, 3.Pujagaon, 4.Subagaon, 5.Ponchayetgaon and 6.Mitrangaon. According to Grierson ('Linguistics Survey of India', pp-250-251), Toto is a non-pronominalised language.

The place of Toto language under Tibeto-Burman Language family is given in the following:

Tibeto Burman Language Family

Tibetan   Himalayan   North Assam   Assam-Burmese

Non-prenominalised   Prenominalised

Newar   Mangar,Gurung,Lepcha, Toto

Western   Eastern

Kanauri etc   Limbu, Dhimal, etc
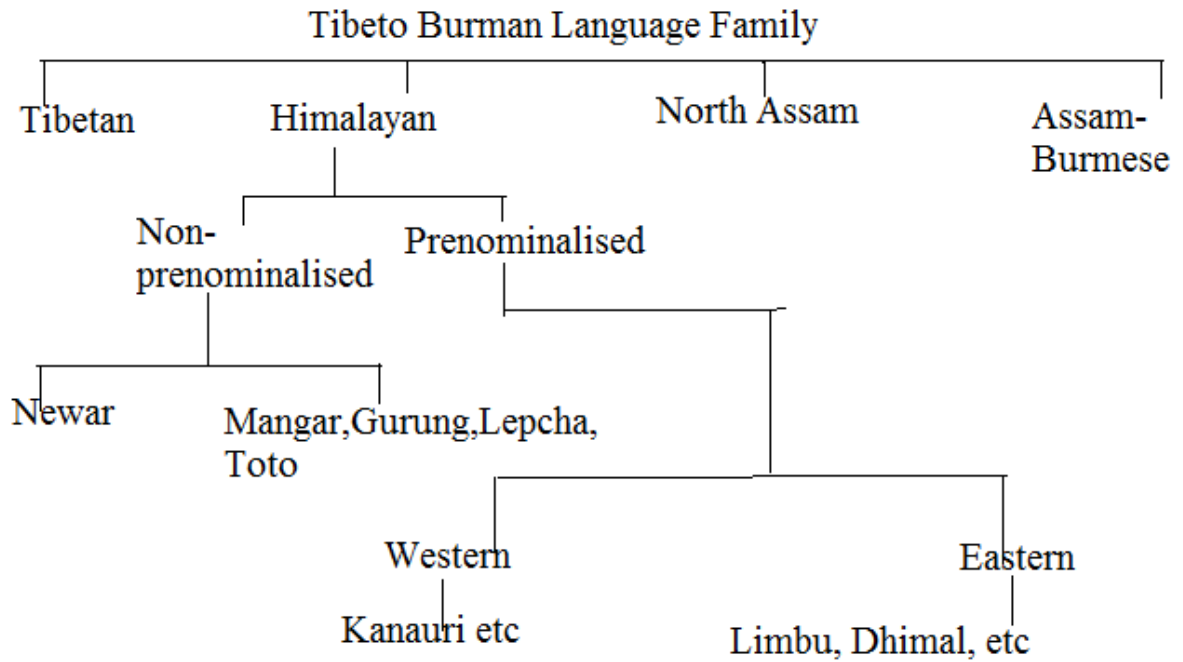
Only a few of the Toto speakers at present are in Totopara. According to 1901 census report, the total numbers of Toto speakers are only 171. At present total number of Toto speakers are 1411. The population of Totos of Totopara as per records:

Year	No. of Households	Male	female	Total
1901(census)	36	72	99	171
1911(census)	60	125	110	235
1921(census)	60	140	131	271
1931(census)	-	130	204	334
1941(census)	-	159	162	321
1951(census)	69	162	160	321
1962(I.S.I)	85	206	189	395

1971(Teacher-Cum Organiser)	96	332	318	650
1972 (C.Sanyal)	-	-	-	584
1976 (An.S.I)	-	-	-	641
1979 (C.R.L)	123	343	332	675
1980 (North Bengal University)	130	352	345	697
1985 (Amitabha Sarkar)	147	407	378	785
1991 (census)	-	-	-	926
2001 (census)	-	-	-	1184
2011 (census)	-	-	-	1386
2014 (at present)	-		-	1411

Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to show under the Phonological features in the areas of Phonemic inventory, Descriptions and Distributions, Diphthongs, Vowel sequences, Germination, Clusters, Consonants sequences..

1.01 Inventory of Phonemes.

Toto language consists of 25 segmental Phonemes of which 19 are consonants and 6 are vowels. The phonemes of this language are as follows:

Vowels

There are 6 vowel phonemes in Toto language. They can be classified horizontally into three as front unrounded, central unrounded and back rounded vowels and vertically as close, close-mid, open-mid and open. These are shown in the following illustration:

Vowel Chart

	Front	Central	Back	
			Unrounded	Rounded
High	i			u
Mid	e	ə		o
Low		a		

The following minimal pairs establish the phonetics status of the vowel.

/i/~/u/

/ɟiya/ 'rat'

/ɟuya/ 'bird'

/gari/ 'pot'

/garu/ 'cart'

/i/~/e/

/iŋ/ 'brother in-low'

/eŋ/ 'ginger'

/ciwa/ 'tear'

/cewa/ 'cut' (cloth)

/i/~/a/

/guɟi/ 'owl'

/guɟa/ 'pocket'

/nico/ 'five'

/naco/ 'two'

/e/~/o/

/je/ 'grass'
/jo/ 'breast'

/e/~/a/

/lepa/ 'brain'
/lapa/ 'jungle betel leaf'

/kewa/ 'birth'
/kawa/ 'sound'

/e/~/ə/

/kera/ 'sting'
/kəre/ 'finger'

/ceŋwa/ 'child'
/cəŋwa/ 'cucumber'

/e/~/u/

/je/ 'grass'
/ju/ 'marua bear'

/leŋwa/ 'lough'
/luŋwa/ 'dissolve'

/a/~/ə/

/ata/ 'grand father'
/əta/ 'goat'

/a/~/o/

    /lai/   'come'

    /loi/   'village'

    /lawa/   'bring'

    /lowa/   'raise'

/a/~/u/

    /laka/   'rhino'

    /luka/   'sheep'

    /awwa/   'shoot'

    /uwwa/   'horse'

/ə/~/u/

    /bəcuŋ/   'arm'

    /bucuŋ/   'muscle'

    /təiro/   'push'

    /tuiro/   'dig'

/ə/ ~/o/

    /jəŋwa/   'antelope'

    /joŋwa/   'appear'

/o/~/u/

    /lo/   'wake up'

    /lu/   'put on' (shoes)

    /loŋwa/   'fold'

    /luŋwa/   'brother's wife'

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1.2. Description and Distribution of Vowels

Vowel phonemes /i/,/e/,/a/,/o/ and /u/ occur in all positions, while /ə/ occurs in initial and medial positions.

/ i /   High front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions:

Initial	Medial	Final
/iŋ/ 'brother in-law'	/biŋa/ 'air'	/ti/ 'water'
/icodaŋ/ 'alone'	/ɟiŋna/ 'sleeping'	/italei/ 'come'

/e/   Mid-front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions:

Initial	Medial	Final
/eroŋme/ 'husband'	/lewa/ 'tell'	/goije/'escort'
/ecowa/ 'speak'	/ keka/ 'hen'	/cəŋbe/ 'kid'

/a/   Low central unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/aŋro/ 'drink'	/daŋra/ 'wife's sister husband'	/gewa/ 'shut'
/apa/ 'father'	/wati/ 'rain'	/dua/ 'elder brother'

/o /   Mid back-rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/oraŋpa/ 'old man'	/ɟomle/ 'twin'	/lo/ 'get up'
/oraŋme/ 'old woman'	/ŋoisaŋ/ 'small snake'	/ laro/ 'bring'

/u/   High back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/uhuwa/ 'half'	/juti/ 'milk'	/aju/ 'mother'
/uwwa/ 'horse'	/luintu/ 'stone'	/barcu/ 'sand'

/ ə/   Mid-central unrounded short vowel occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ədaŋcuwa/ 'short man'	/cəŋwa/ 'son'	-
/əraŋme/ 'wife's sister'	/cəŋke/ 'lizard'	-

1.3. Diphthongs

There are eight diphthongs realized in Toto language. These are /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, /ui/ ,/əi/, /eu/, /au/ and /ou/. Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /eu/ occurs initial and medial positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur medial and final positions. While /ou/ and /au/ occur only in the medial positions. They are given below.

Initial	Medial	final

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/ui/	/uipusa/ 'request'	/guipu/ 'pillar'	/kui/ 'hand'
/eu/	/euwa/ 'keep'	/beuɟidoŋmeme/'bridegroom'	-
/ai/	-	/maibe/ 'flower'	/hatai/ 'spoon'
/oi/	-	/joipina/ 'save'	/loi/ 'village'
/əi/	-	/cəintra/ 'orange'	/pisəi/ 'aunt'
/ei/	-	/teiɟu/ 'squarrel'	/ɟitei/ 'aunt'
/ou/	-	/mourija/ 'infant'	-
/au/	-	/tauki/ 'snail'	-

1.4. Vowel Sequence

Vowel Sequence of Toto language realized in the medial and final positions.   Examples are given below.

Medial

/o+ə/	/moəŋ/	'paddy'
/i+a/	/pujoiawwa/	'adopted child'
/o+a/	/joai/	'face'
/o+a/	/joaibi/	'intestine'

/o+a/   /joaibe/   'thigh'

/o+a/   /noai/   'boat'

Final

/u+a/   /dua/   'elder brother'

/o+a/   /noa/   'predict'

2. Consonants

There are nineteen Consonants including two Semi-Vowels realized in Toto language.

Consonants

		Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glotal	
Stops		Vl	vd	vl	vd	Vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	Vd
	unasp	P	b	t	d	C	ɟ	k	g		
	asp	pʰ		tʰ							
Nasal			m		n				ŋ		
Fricative				s						h	
Trill					r						
Lateral					l						
Semi-vowel			w				j				

These consonants have been established through the identification of Minimal Pairs.

/p/~/b/

/poroi/   'pigeon'/-tr-/   /petreŋpuna/   'falling down'
/boroi/   'adams apple'

/paiwa/   'cut'
/baiwa/   'get up'

/p/~/pʰ/

/puima/   'moon'
/pʰuima/   'snake'

/ t/~/d/

/tuwa/   'run'
/duwa/   'elder brother'

/tace/   'ten rupees'
/dace/   'jackfruit'

/t/~/tʰ/

/tuna/   'finish'
/tʰuna/   'running'

/c/~/ɟ/

/cawa/   'chew'
/ɟawa/   'hang up'

/cəŋwa/   'son'
/ɟəŋwa/   'high'

/k/~/g/

/ka/   'I '
/ga/   'sit'

/kawa/   'bitter'
/gawa/   'happy'

/m/~/n/

/me/ 'fire'

/ne/ 'wait'

/namu/ 'name'

/nanu/ 'ear'

/m/~/ŋ/

/makai/ 'cry'

/ŋakai/ 'five hundred'

/n/~ŋ/

/dina/ 'cutting jungle'

/diŋa/ 'human'

/s/~/ɟ/

/sa/ 'house'

/ɟa/ 'standup'

/suta/ 'musk'

/ɟuta/ 'shoe'

/s/~/h/

/sawa/ 'go'

/hawa/ 'take awa'

/h/~/ ɟ/

/hiŋwa/ 'listen'

/ɟiŋwa/ 'sleeping'

/r/~/l/

      /murra/   'ant'

      /mulla/   'radish'

      /ɟora/   'river'

      /ɟola/   'pocket'

/w/~/j/

      /waŋwa/   'come'

      /jaŋwa/   'crowd'

2.1. Description and Distribution of Consonants

      Out of 19 Consonants, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/ occur in all positions , /r/ occurs only in the medial position and /p/ ,/pʰ/, /b/, /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /c/,/ɟ/,/s/, /h/,/w/ and /j/ occur initial and medial positions.

/p/ voiceless bilabial un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

      Initial   Middle   Final

      /paka/ 'pig'   /ɟupa/ 'body'   -

      /pika/ 'cow'   /lapa/ 'leaf'   -

/pʰ/ voiceless bilabial aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

      /phuima/ 'snake'   /kupʰu/ 'thumb'   -

/b/ voiced bilabial un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

      Initial   Medial   Final

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/ bana/ 'flute'   /nabe/ 'nose'   -

/barcu/ 'sand'   /lebe/ 'tonque'   -

/t/ voiceless alveolar un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial   Medial   Final

/tari/ 'star'   /ata/ 'grant father'   -

/tananța/ 'far away'   /ita/ 'this'   -

/tʰ/   voiceless alveolar aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Inintial   Medial   Final

/tʰuina/ 'running'   /detʰa/ 'south'   -

/d/   voiced alveolar un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial   Medial   Final

/dua/ 'elder brother'   /bida/ 'comp'   -

/da/ 'nephew'   /nadiŋwa/ 'dark'

/c/   voiceless palatal un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial   Medial   Final

/coka/ 'tortoise'   /bucuŋ/ 'shoulder'   -

/cəintra/ 'orange'   /jacuwa/ 'discuss'

/ɟ/ voiced palatal unaspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ɟija/ 'bird'	/teɟu/ 'squirrel'	-
/ɟi/ 'leopard'	/taŋɟa/ 'hawk'	-

/k/ voiceless velar un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/kuinero/ 'keep time'	/dika/ 'buffalo'	-
/keka/ 'hen'	/sika/ 'jungle hen'	-

/g/ voiced velar un-aspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ga/ 'sit'	/jiga/ 'book'	-
/gewa/ 'intellect'	/jagoi/ 'mountain'	-

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final

s/mocuro/ 'dare'   /lambera/ 'tomato'   /nomram/ 'expect'

/meŋki/ 'cat'   /namu/ 'peek'

/n/ voiced velar nasal occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ni/ 'salt'	/ana/ 'elder sister'	/doken/ 'market'
/nico/ 'two'	/hurana/ 'circle'	/bagen/ 'garden'

/ŋ/ voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ŋoka/ 'monkey'	/aŋro/ 'drink'	/dijaŋ/ 'swan'
/ŋoisaŋ/ 'worm'	/boŋoi/ 'white ant'	/doŋ/ 'horn'

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/soka/ 'rabbit'	/misiwa/ 'alive'	-
/sipuna/ 'death'	/asi/ 'gum'	-

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs in initial and medial positions.

	Initial	Medial	final
	/haiwa/ 'diseases'	/mihiŋwa/ 'deaf'	-
	/hawa/ 'accompany'	/sanahawa/ 'diarrheoa'	-

/r/ voiced alveolar trill occurs only in the medial position.

	Initial	Medial	Final
	-	/suru/ 'lung'	-
	-	/heŋpra/ 'rib'	-

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all positions.

	Initial	Medial	Final
	/luicuwa/ 'fight'	/mola/ 'musk'	/Ɉampal/ 'axe'
	/lu/ 'put on'	/italei/ 'come'	

/w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel occurs in initial and medial positions.

	Initial	Medial	Final
	/wa/ 'husband'	/duwa/ 'step brother'	-
	/waiwa/ 'pul out'	/Ɉowa/ 'do'	-

/j/ voiced palatal semi-vowel occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/jowa/ 'push into'	/ijuwa/ 'dance'	-
/jepiwa/ 'attack'	/kuije/ 'stay'	-

2.2. Germination

Germination is found only in the medial position .This type of consonant sequences are very few in Toto language.

/-ss-/	/Ɉisse/	'snow'
/-ww-/	/məwwa/	'walking'
/-rr-/	/murra/	'tree'
/- pp-/	/lappa/	'leaf'
/-ll-/	/mulla/	'radish'
/-nn-/	/puinna/	'burn'

2.3. Consonant Clusters

The term consonant cluster is a combination of two or more consonants occurring together within a syllable. In Toto up to two consonant clusters are realized which are found in the initial positions in a syllable. However, no consonant clusters are found in the word final position. It is also observed that the consonant clusters in Toto Language are very few in number.

Initial Consonant Clusters

/b+r/   /braŋ/   'plate'

/k+r/   /kriŋ/   'knee'

/m+j/   /mjaŋ/   'stop'

/p+r/   /prai/   'betel leaf'

2.4. Consonant Sequence

Consonant sequence is a combination of more than one consonants occurring across the syllable boundary. According to the Toto language, consonant sequences are found in the word medial positions of a syllable.

Stop+Stop   Medial

/- pk-/   /hepkoŋ/   'morning'

/-tk-/   /putkui/   'wine'

/-kd-/   /mikdo/   'eye brow'

Nasal+Nasal

/- ŋm-/   /paŋmi/   'hungry'

/-ŋn-/   /maŋna/   'don't take'

Trill+Stops

    /-rc-/   /barcu/   'sand'

    /-rp-/   /ɟurpaito/   'house lizard'

    /-rd-/   /bordoŋ/   'wood pecker'

    /-ŋs-/   /taŋcamu/   'all'

    /-ŋp-/   /waŋpana/   'flat'

Stops+Trill

    /-pr-/   /epraŋ/   'no problem'

    /-kr-/   /kekreŋ/   'left hand'

    /-dr-/   /pendrasiŋ/   'a kind of smelling tree'

    /-gr-/   /pagruse/   'pumpkin/

    /-br-/   /ijuŋbri/   'sister'

    /-ɟr-/   /ɟoɟruwa/   'help'

Nasal+ Stops

    /-nt-/   /nopuntena/   'decide'

    /-ŋk-/   /miɳki/   'cat'

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/-ŋb-/	/leŋba/	'poolice'
/-ŋg-/	/ojeŋga/	'settle'
/-mb-/	/məimbuna/	'dream'
/-ŋp-/	/petreŋpuna/	'falling down'
/-md-/	/somdi/	'daughter/son-in-law's father'
/-ɳt-/	/haɳta/	'where'
/-ɳb-/	/taɳba/	'foot'
/-ɳp-/	/haɳpa/	'why'
/-ŋɟ-/	/haŋɟopuna/	'regret'

Nasal+Trill

/-ŋr-/	/aŋro/	'drink'
/-mr-/	/nomram/	'expeck'

Nasal + Fricative

/-ŋs-/	/ceŋsuwa/	'shout'

Fricative+Nasal

| /-sn-/ | /loisna/ | 'warm' |

Fricative+ Trill

| /-sr-/ | /dosro/ | 'meet' |
| /-rs-/ | /toŋporse/ | 'guava' |

Lateral+ Stops

| /-lt-/ | /baltiŋ/ | 'bucket' |

Nasal+ Semi-vowel

| /-ŋw-/ | /loŋwa/ | 'pack' |

2.5. Syllable

Syllable is a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word (David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* p.342). Mono-syllabic is one of the most typical features of Toto language, even a simple vowel can be a syllable, or a word. The following is the structure of mono-syllabic words in Toto.

Mono-syllabic Words

Open	V	/e /	'brother'
	VV	/oi/	'yes'
	CV	/ga/	'sit'

	CVV	/lei/	'come'
Closed	CVC	/kuŋ/	'I'
	CCVC	/braŋ/	'plate'

Toto language has Disyllabic, Trisyllabic, Tetrasyllabic and Pentasyllabic words.

Disyllabic Words

Open	CV.V	/dua/	'elder brother'
	CV.CV	/pika/	'cow'
	CVC.CV	/miŋki/	'cat'
	CCVV.CV	/klairo/	'play'
Closed	CV.CVC	/lapuŋ/	'door'
	CVC.CVC	/hepkoŋ/	'morning'
	CCVC.CCVC	/bruŋbruŋ/	'sugar cane'

Trisyllabic Words

Open	CV.CV.CV	/hakoga/	'honor'
	CV.CVC.CV	/tanaɳta/	'far away'
	CVV.CV.CV	/tuicaro/	'get up'

CV.CCVC.CVV   /cepreɳsai/   'been'

Tetrasyllabic Words

Open.   V.CVC.CV.CV   /ədaɲɟuwa/   'short' (man)

        CV.CV.CV.CV   /cawacuti/   'mustard oil'

Pentasyllabic Words

Open.   V.CV.CV.CV.CV   /akumukuna/   'without'

    V.CV.CV.CVV.CV   /atacokoipa/   'until'

    CVV.CV.CV.CV.CV   /hairemotowa/   'nothing'

    CVV.CV.CVC.CV.CV   /beuɟidoŋpoɟa/   'bride'

Summary of the Phonology

1. According to data analysis there are six vowel phonemes, i.e. / i/, /u/, /e/, /ə/, /o/ and /a/. The vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ can occur in all positions, while /ə/ occurs only initial and medial positions.

2. There are eight diphthongs in Toto language, i.e. / ui/, /eo/, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, /ei/, /ou/, and /au/. The Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur in medial and final positions, and /eu/ occurs in initial and medial positions, while /ou/ and /au/ occur only in medial positions.

3. Vowel Sequences of Toto language are found in the medial and final positions.

4. Out of nineteen consonants /p/, /ph/, /b/, /d/, /c/, /ɟ/, /t/, /th/, /g/, and /k/are the stops that occur in initial and medial positions. Nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ occur in all positions, /s/ and

/h/ occur in initial and medial positions, /l/ occurs in all positions , /r/ occurs in medial position only, and /w/ and /j/ occur in initial and medial positions.

5. Germination is found only in the medial position

6. Consonant sequences occur only in medial positions.

7. Consonant cluster occurs in initial positions.

8. Monosyllabic is one of the most typical features of Toto language, even a simple vowel can be a syllable or a word as in /e/ 'brother'. Toto language has Mono-syllabic, Disyllabic, Trisyllabic, Tetrasyllabic and Pentasyllabic words.

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A Searing Journey: Celie in Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*

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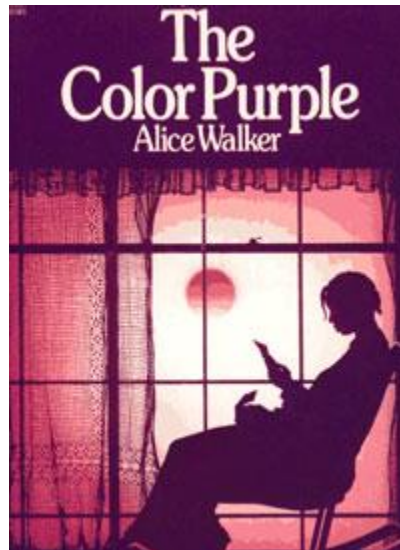
Womanist Literature

Alice Walker's sustained explorations of the disparate worlds has created an intersecting space for her literature, scholarship, and activism- a space that was best described by fellow writer- activist Toni Cade Bambara as one of "cultural work".

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Among her many contributions, Walker introduced the term "womanist" into feminist vocabulary and has led fights against the sexual and genital abuse of women's bodies. Her best-selling novel, *The Color Purple* (1983), is widely credited with founding a revolution in black women's studies.

Problem of Black Women

The problem of black women's identity is further exacerbated by their sociological position, situated as they have been among members of other communities. Black women have been the victims of prejudice and discrimination, even while they preserved many of the main tenets of their culture. The interaction of blacks with whites, far from being productive, had tragic consequences. The encounter between blacks and whites used to lead to the former's submergence of self.

Stereotypes of Black Women

In folklore black women have been stereotyped as the "mules of the world", because they are loaded with a burden which other people decline to carry. Alice Walker, rather than refuting the stereotype, expands this concept and adds color to it by posting that a mule inspite of its grotesqueness has an outstanding quality, namely, its capacity to survive.

Struggle against Racism and Sexism

Walker's *The Color Purple* is a triumphant journey of a woman who struggles against racism, sexism and social determinism, to finally bloom into the wholeness of her being. As the novel begins, Celie, the protagonist and narrator, is purely a victim. She is a fourteen year old black girl living in the South who has been oppressed by men her whole life. She is constantly subjected to abuse and told she is ugly. As an adolescent she is repeatedly beaten and raped by her stepfather and thereafter gives birth to two children who are taken away from her. Her father gives her away to be married to Mr. Johnson who wants a servant, not a wife. The only person she loves, and the only person who loves her, is her sister Nettie, who is later taken away from her. The desperate Celie writes all her letters to God and later to her sister Nettie. It is through Celie that the reader understands her sufferings and her bonding with Shug

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Avery, a blues singer. It is through Harpo, Mr. Johnson's son that Walker introduces gender conflict.

Gender Conflict

Celie and her bright, pretty younger sister, Nettie, learn that a man known as Mr. Johnson wants to marry Nettie. Mr. Johnson has a mistress named Shug Avery, a sultry blues singer whose photograph fascinates Celie. Eventually it leads to a sexual relationship between Celie and Shug. Alphonso refuses to let Nettie marry, and instead offers Mr. Johnson Celie, "an ugly woman", as his bride. Mr. Johnson eventually accepts the offer, forcing Celie into a difficult and joyless married life. Nettie runs away from Alphonso and takes refuge at Celie's house. Mr. Johnson still desires Nettie, and when he advances on her, she flees. Never hearing from Nettie again, Celie assumes she is dead.

Albert obstructs Nettie's letters to Celie. Celie does not know about the whereabouts of her sister Nettie, once Nettie leaves for Africa with the missionaries. There is no response from Nettie for Celie's letters. She concludes that Nettie is dead and not absent because both sisters had made a bond with each other, that in order to assure the other of their ongoing life they should write to each other. Celie demands letters, "I say, write. She say, Nothing but death can keep me from it. She never write" (*Purple 19*). The presumption of Nettie's death allows Celie to continue her correspondence with God. Later from Shug, Celie learns that Albert has been hiding letters written to her from Africa by her sister Nettie, a missionary. As her letters show, Celie gradually gains the ability to synthesize her thoughts and feelings into a voice that is fully her own.

Self-actualization

The self-actualization Celie achieves transforms her into a happy, successful, independent woman. It is Shug who frees Celie from Mr Johnson's bondage, first by loving her, then by helping her to start a sewing business. Shug tries hard to emancipate Celie. The dormant, passive Celie with the support of Shug's friendship emerges into a life of creativity. "A Christ figure for Celie, Shug raises her up from a

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mock death; in her encouragement of Celie's creativity, Shug offers her, for the very first time, a source of hope in her life" (Dawson 80).

> In **The Color Purple**, it is evident that the seeds of the
> residual extended family system remain with the two
> sisters and as the novel progresses, Celie and Nettie join
> with the other women-sister in law, significant others,
> "co-wives" and the men they live with to rebuild an
> extended family structure which allows them freedom to grow
> (Wilentz 68).

Victimization

Celie's narrative actually begins as a result of her victimization. She confides all her struggles to God and for a very long time, God is the only being she has to talk to, as she is either emotionally, or physically isolated from most of the other characters in the novel. Celie, right from the beginning of the novel suffers under the cruelty of male dominance to the extent of the oppressor having control over her speech. The novel's first few words suggest that she is prohibited to speak: "you better not never tell nobody but God. It'd kill you mammy"(**Purple** 1). Thus Celie addresses all her letters to God, an orthodox Christian God, who is another incarnation of the father. Celie exists throughout the text without an audience. Celie writes all her letters to an absent presence. She feels that as long as she knows to spell G-O-D, she has somebody to write to. However, very soon she understands that the God whom she addresses is a male God and that to create a selfhood of her own she should rewrite the male God in female terms. This paves the way to her search for identity.

Passive Nature

For much of the novel, Celie is completely passive. She encounters other women who tell Celie that she should stand up for herself and fight, but Celie feels that it's better to survive than to fight and risk not surviving. However, there are certain triggers that lead Celie to stand up. Celie proves herself to be willing to fight for the people she loves. Even as a downtrodden victim of her Pa, Celie sacrifices

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herself and offers herself to her father so that he keeps his hands off of Nettie. In a smaller way, Celie also fights for Shug. When Mr. Johnson's father comes and criticizes Shug, Celie silently rebels by spitting in the man's water. If there is anything that gets Celie riled, it is people mistreating her loved ones.

Mother's Impact

Celie's mother segregates herself from the other women and this shapes Celie's perspectives towards other women. She feels that rebellious women should be punished and so encourages Harpo to beat his wife Sofia. It is not until Celie and Shug see themselves as sisters rather than competitors, that they are able to resist Albert's brutality. Thus they eventually discover pleasure and happiness in one another (**Christian, Black Feminist 190**).

Focus on Contemporary Themes

The Color Purple explores many dominant themes of contemporary culture: racism, feminism, imperialism and relativism. The novel explores the interlocking structures of male dominance, class and race. Walker explores female identity in terms not only of biology, but also of certain cultural factors such as economic deprivation, domestic servitude and abject acceptance of male domination.

Attaining the courage to vocalize one's thoughts is a major theme of *Color Purple*. At the same time it is quite evident that the courage to voice one's feelings must be necessarily preceded by a discovery of self-identity. Thus importance must be given to those factors like the discovery of desire-for selfhood, for others, for community and for a meaningful place in the world, all of which lead one to take courage and voice what one wants to be or do. The course for the discovery of selfhood for Celie begins only when she comes into a right understanding of her own body, which was originally misused by men like her uncouth stepfather and then by her brutal husband Mr. Johnson. In the process Celie learns to love herself and to repossess her body. This in turn instigates her to seek selfhood and to assert selfhood through speech. Thus she stops writing letters to God- who has no body at all and instead starts writing to her bodied sister Nettie.

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From External to Internal

The progress in the world of Walker is from external to internal, from the male controlling female lives, to women controlling their own lives. This is successfully brought out in the depiction of Celie's character in the novel.

In entering into a close relationship with Shug, Celie subverts traditional expectations of the married woman who is required to sacrifice her creativity and self-realization on the altar of motherhood and domesticity. Shug and Celie discover the supportive and joyous aspects of a female relationship. The lesbian relationship is treated in the novel in terms not of mere eroticism, but of women bonding. In fact woman-identification can be said to be a dominant theme of the novel. The interest of the fiction itself can be traced to the minutely documented account of the circumstances which impel both Shug and Celie to leave off making men the centre of their lives, and instead, transfer their loyalty and love to each other. Though social conventions stipulate that they should relate to men, their personal experience of male exploitation, sexist treatment and their reciprocal relationship of co-operation and support strengthen their bond. Their growing love and mutual trust gradually directs them through involvement with one another. When Celie effectively cares for Shug through her illness, Shug finally realizes that, as compared to Albert who is motivated by self-interest, it is Celie who deserves her affection and responsibility. The relationship between Celie and Shug is a sisterly blend of domestic, erotic and social elements.

Celie and Shug

Celie and Shug never had any love relationship with any other person. Their love for each other elevates their community as a whole, be it male or female. Celie describes Shug as a very stylish woman, one who is direct in her desires and in articulating her wants. Celie notices that Shug Avery talks and acts like a man sometimes. Instead of conversing like a woman about matters usually associated with women, Shug would often hug her and say that she looked like a good time-something that only a man would say (*Purple* 85).

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Thus the bond between Celie and Shug is so intense that Shug expresses her desires with no inhibitions to Celie.

The Process of Bonding

It has been suggested that the lesbian relationship between Celie and Shug "represents the height of silly romanticisms" (Harris, *Stereotype* 157). Charles L. Proudfit bases his reading of the relationship between Celie and Shug on a mother-daughter bond that according to contemporary psycho-analytic theory originates in deep, primeval ties to the mother of infancy. It is a bond that must be reworked continually during a woman's life time. Walker describes how Celie bonds first, with the biological mother of her infancy and later with appropriate mother surrogates. These descriptions are psychologically authentic and cover the range of female responses towards Celie, from that of Nettie to those of Kate and Sofia. They culminate in Shug's stimulation of Celie towards a healthy emotional life:

> This "female bonding" which occurs over an extended
> period of time, enables Celie - a depressed survivor-victim
> of parent loss, emotional and physical neglect, rape,
> incest, trauma and spousal abuse - to resume her arrested
> development and continue developmental processes that
> were thwarted in infancy and early adolescence (*Identity* 13).

Subjective Introspection and Bonding

At the same time Celie's own subjective introspection leads her to affirm her self-interpretation of herself and the situational contexts which shape her identity. However she arrives, "as invariably a Walker bearer of responsibility must, at her place in the spectrum of life, her relationship to others, and her own continuity (Davis 51).

For Celie the very appearance of Shug represents boldness and opportunity. Shug helps Celie to establish her own identity and attain fulfillment and contentment by introducing her to a business of making pants. The interaction with the people she meets in business gives her confidence. Thus Shug elevates Celie by transforming her

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from a lonely, isolated and alienated person to a liberated and independent entrepreneur.

The bonding of Celie and Shug, provides the framework for Celie to re-examine certain religious ideas. This process of re-examination pivots around the aspects of God, man and church. Celie comes to an understanding of reality. Her true understanding of God frees her from psychological, emotional and sexual trauma. She experiences a thorough transformation and becomes a whole and a self-confident individual. She gains a better understanding of God and human relationships. Walker points out that Black women can be re-generated and liberated only through a new understanding of God.

Nettie and Celie

By the end of the novel, Celie's newfound strength, as well as her ever-enduring love for Nettie, pays off. All through the years, she has kept the memory of Nettie alive, despite the fact that there was no proof that Nettie was alive. Nettie is not only alive, but she has helped raise Celie's two children, and when the novel ends, Celie and Nettie and Celie's two children, now grown, are reunited. Despite all the odds, Celie held on. She had learned to fight, to stand up for herself, and she was rewarded. She never gave up on her love for Nettie, nor did she give up on her love for God. Celie survived physically and spiritually, and she matured into a tough modern twentieth-century woman.

Platonic Love

Celie also maintains a steadfast, platonic love for Sofia, Harpo's wife. When she is imprisoned, Celie goes to the jail and attends to her wounds. She also visits her often during the years of her confinement, encouraging her and giving her strength. After her initial mistake of advising Harpo to beat Sofia, Celie learns the power of women's solidarity through her bond with Sofia.

Shug has a significant influence on Celie and she begins to model herself after following her views and opinions leading her ultimately to a life of independence. Celie takes the act of sewing, which is traditionally thought as a mere chore for

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women who are confined to a domestic role, and turns it into an outlet for creative self-expression and a profitable business. The transformation in Celie is best exemplified through the words of Shug: "you not my maid, I didn't bring you to Memphis to be that. I brought you here to love you and help you get on your feet" (218). After being voiceless for so many years, she is finally content, fulfilled and self-sufficient. Celie, a helpless and sexually abused girl, is thus transformed from her desperate state of helplessness to a confident, autonomous woman and establishes a position for herself in this world. The oppressed girl who suffered from self-scorn learns through her tortuous journey, to love herself and others of her community and expresses, in totality, her concern about the black community.

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From an Outsider's Standpoint:
Review of Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's Fiction

Dr. J. G. Duresh

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Ruth Prawer Jhabvala (1927-2013)
Courtesy: http://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/apr/03/ruth-prawer-jhabvala

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Family Suffered under Genocide, Racial Oppression and Displacement

Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, an accomplished author and adept screenplay writer, enjoys the most unique renown of obtaining the Booker Prize as well as the Oscar Award twice. Born to Polish Jewish father and German Jewish mother on 7th May 1927 in Cologne in Germany, Jhabvala has borne the brunt of genocide, racial oppression and displacement. Jhabvala's family was one among the last batch of refugees which fled Nazi regime in 1939 and migrated to England. The family settled in Kendon near London where she pursued her studies. Her father, a lawyer, on the revelation of the horrid fact that forty members of his family had died during the Holocaust, committed suicide. In 1947, she met Cyrus H. Jhabvala, an Indian Parsi architect, entered into wedlock with him and settled in New Delhi. Jhabvala lived in India for twenty four years till her migration to New York in 1975. She died in2013 in New York leaving behind her husband and three daughters.

A Prolific Writer

Jhabvala's literary career dawned with the publication of her debut novel *To Whom She Will* in 1955. Being a prolific writer, she brought out several novels and volumes of stories, of which the prominent are: *Esmond in India* (1958), *The House holder* (1960*), A New Dominion* (1972), *Heat and Dust* (1975), *How I Became a Holy Mother and Other Stories* (1976) and *My Nine Lives : Chapters of a Possible Past* (2004). Jhabvala won the prestigious Booker Prize for her novel *Heat and Dust* in 1975. She has a long standing collaboration with Merchant Ivory Productions for which she penned 23 screen plays. Fortunate enough, she secured the Oscar Awards for writing screen play for *A Room with a View* in 1986 and for *Howards End* in 1992.

Focus on Insider-Outsider

From the very onset of her literary career, Jhabvala perpetuated the perplexing position of an inside-outsider. Regardless of her quite long soujourn in India, she turned down the tag 'Indian author' and asserted that she is "a European living permanently in India"(James Winson 720). She wrote about the grim and appalling Indian realities, essentially for the Europeans who have fascinating views and admiration for Indian culture and its spirituality. Her writings substantiate that there is an unbridgeable breech

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between the East and the West. Her aloofness with India is well articulated in her emphatic statement that she is "no longer interested in Indi"(Jhabvala 9).

A Variety of European and Indian Characters

Jhabvala has portrayed a wide variety of characters, both Indian and European. Many of her European characters are gullible and simple who are allured by Indian spirituality and philosophy. With the unflinching hope of spiritual rejuvenation and recuperation, they reach India and quite on the contrary they are exploited and victimized and their efforts become futile. It seems that Jhabvala edifies the Europeans to be in the know of the hazards and the impending dangers in visiting India including the non-salubrious climate and the fake spirituality. Of course, Jhabvala has displayed a tinge of sympathy and streak of humanism in carving the Indian women characters, yet her presentation of Indian male characters as uncivilized, cunning, lazy and voluptuous is lopsided and clichéd.

Depiction of India
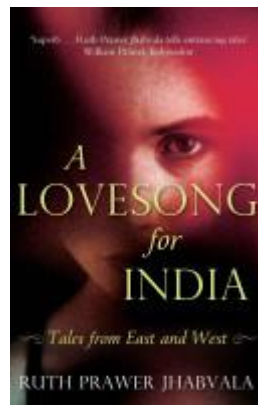
A prudent reading of Jhabvala's writings reveal how she has presented India as overcrowded, fowl smelling and treacherous. She has viewed the country as a land of poverty, intrigues, sexual adventures and delusions. Her writings are replete with vignettes of dilapidated houses dirty and filthy lanes, hungry beggars, suffering women, unscrupulous sadhus and sanyasis, dilly-dallying youths and begging children with mutilated organs. Enraged by her illustration of India, the Jewish Indian poet Nissim Ezekiel berated her fiction as "monstrous distorting mirror" (Ramlal Agarwal 27).

Praise for Joint Family System and Enduring Patience of Indian Women

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Despite her scathing attack on certain aspects of Indian culture and society, she holds aloft Indian joint family system and the most enduring patience of Indian women who swim against the current to hold the family together and remain a repository of traditional values. Though Jhabvala has travelled far and wide in the country, the strong points of Indian culture and society elude her vision and all she could perceive are squalor, poverty, heat and dust and harsh social realities. To cap it all, nowhere in her writings Jhabvala offers a solution to overcome the Indian social maladies. Meenakshi Mukerjee's succinct observation that Jhabvala looks at "people from the outside and describing them in a style that is consciously devoid of solution" delineates the kernel of her oeuvre.

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Some Lessons from Intercultural Living and Communication

Steve Eliason

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Our Life in the Philippines

Many years ago, my wife and I chose to go to the Philippines as religious and social workers. We were young and were full of hope, love, enthusiasm and humility to serve people in a far off land. Hailing from the cold and snow-bound Minnesota to go and live in the salubrious as well as hot climate Philippines was indeed a challenging task. In addition, people looked different, spoke a language not familiar to us, and ate the food we were not used to. Everything was "strange", but fortunately our God-given commitment to the people was very strong and this made it possible for us to make friends and live in remote parts of the Philippines.

Decategorization

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William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim write, "Decategorization occurs when we communicate with strangers based on their individual characteristics, rather than the categories in which we place them… In order to effectively communicate with strangers we must understand their behavior, and in order to understand their behavior we must be able at least to suspend, or manage, our stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and prejudice." (p.106)

Three Psychological Influences

We all enter the communication arena with three psychocultural influences: expectations, stereotypes and attitudes. Being aware of this will help us understand someone from another culture. Nurturing mindfulness of these latent influences explains much of the confusion one encounters in a cross cultural conversation.

Took Time to Understand What People were Saying!

During my first term of missionary service in the Philippines, it took about nine months to get to the point where I could understand most of what people were saying. After a year and a half I was comfortable using the language and couldn't be "sold" anymore, as my Filipino friends liked to say.

But I found that even though I understood most everything people were saying, I didn't know why they would say it. In my perspective some things were hurtful, careless, insensitive or at least confusing, most of which didn't match my understanding of the Filipinos' shame-based culture.

Language Learning

My language tutor was a local man named Simplicio Cabrera. We had a good relationship for most of the first term, with only a couple minor misunderstandings affecting the relationship. When I returned for my second term after four years away, I was happy to see that he was still alive and we had a joyful reunion. I was actually quite moved to see him, and told him that he was really my first friend in the Philippines. Non-verbally I could tell this made him happy, but his words in response hurt me a little.

Why Focus on Difference?

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In all sincerity my tutor said that I was his ***first friend of another race***. He seemed to emphasize the fact that we were different, a part of another group, which as an American made me feel like less of a friend. Why would he focus on our differences? Why wouldn't he just agree with me and affirm that I was his friend? Did this make his view of our relationship less personal or intimate than mine? That's what I interpreted it to mean.

Slowly but steadily, I realized that saying what he did merely reflected his tendency to look at people first as members of a group, and then as individuals. He understood himself in the context of his family and community, and that's how he came to know me, in the context being an American. He had understandably failed at "decategorization," not viewing me based on my individual characteristics, but rather according to the categories in which he placed me. But I had failed to suspend my ethnocentric view of friendship and misinterpreted him.

Communication Problems

Communication was a major issue for me and my wife. We were practitioners and not theoreticians. We did read some books before we left for the Philippines. But these were not adequate! Our day to day life began to pose several problems and we had to find our own solutions to the immense communication problems we faced.

Now, we have many interesting books to read on how to communicate with strangers or how to communicate in intercultural situations. But as I wrote above, we were not theoreticians, but practitioners on the field! William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim in their book *Communicating with Strangers* (2002) provide a framework to categorize the problems we may face on the field: "Given our view of communication, we see encoding and decoding of communication messages to be an interactive process influenced by conceptual filters, which we categorize into cultural, sociocultural, psycho-cultural and environmental factors." (p.32)

Cultural Factors

In the first part of their book, Gudykunst and Kim identify and define communication and culture and the consequences of their interaction. For a religious and social worker who is concerned with communicating not only the Divine message but also knowledge on secular

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fields, these factors of culture and environment provide definition for how this is done. Whatever the important message we may communicate, we should be aware of the influences that affect the "decoding" by the listener.

A religious and social worker from a far off land is truly a "stranger", one who is both near (in proximity) and far (culturally) to the ones he serves.

Conceptual Filters

Gudykunst and Kim identify four conceptual filters which specify the areas one should study to improve quality of communication. The authors describe this communication awareness and progress towards competence as a 4-stage process:

1. Unconscious incompetence
2. Conscious incompetence
3. Conscious competence
4. Unconscious competence (p.26).

Begin with the Assumption of Ignorance

The application for those engaged in cross-cultural service means that one must begin with the assumption of ignorance and therefore must engage people as one desiring to learn. This posture reflects the quality of humility. Within Christian framework, this quality of humility is what Jesus demonstrated while he was engaged in cross-cultural communication. Beginning with this sort of attitude positions the social worker from a far off land may progress towards competence and to have confidence that the message shared is actually communicating what ought to be said.

Verbal and Nonverbal

Gudykunst and Kim suggest, "While our verbal behaviors are mostly explicit and are processed cognitively, our nonverbal behaviors are spontaneous, ambiguous, often fleeting, and often beyond our conscious awareness and control." (p.172)

Importance of Nonverbal Messages

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In the communication process, regardless of the degree of cultural difference, nonverbal messages are normally the most significant. The Westerner is more prone to focus on verbal behavior, although even he is subject to the complications related to the nonverbal. It behooves the religious and social worker to begin paying close attention to the nonverbal communication patterns of the new culture and attempt to understand the rules even before understanding much of the spoken language. This is important because so much of any positive interaction is based on compliance with these rules.

Confusing Visual and Verbal Stimuli

Our first term of service in the Philippines was characterized by a flood of new and confusing visual and verbal stimuli. One of our first observations was that same gender displays of affection (including hand-holding, hugging and physical closeness) did not necessarily mean they were homosexuals. It took a few years, but as relationships were genuinely developed, I found that I could also show host-culture appropriate displays of affection and emotion. This was so radically different than anything I'd experienced at home in the United States, that I found myself intentionally trying to do it in order to overcome my natural feelings about touching other men.

Weakness of Reliance upon Only Understanding Verbal Communication

Another demonstration of the weakness of reliance upon only understanding verbal communication occurred about nine months after arriving. By that time I was sufficiently competent in the language that I understood most of what people were saying. The confusing part of this was that in spite of understanding their words, I couldn't understand why they would say some of the things they did. It wasn't until I discovered more about the culture and some of the specific aspects of interpersonal communication (nonverbal especially) that they made sense to me. Foreign for sure, but at least I understood why from their perspective.

Sympathy, Empathy and Ethnocentrism

We usually tend to be sympathetic and want to develop and show our empathy in intercultural settings. But we need to know the implications of sympathy and empathy. Gudykunst and Kim suggest

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Sympathy, like ethnocentrism, uses our own frame of reference to interpret incoming stimuli…if we apply the Golden Rule in interactions with strangers we are being sympathetic because the referent is our own standard of appropriate behavior. Empathy…is the imaginative intellectual and emotional participation in another person's experience. The referent for empathy is not our own experience, but that of the stranger…an alternative to the Golden Rule, the Platinum Rule…involves empathy rather than sympathy: 'Do unto others as they themselves would have done to them.' (*Communicating with Strangers,* p.242)

Judge Not, That You Be Judged!

Indeed, we really need to step into the shoes of others and learn what sympathy and empathy from our side mean to them! However, it is questionable and doubtful whether 'Do unto others as they themselves would have done to them' would indeed be right or beneficial to them on all occasions? However the advice "Judge not, that you be judged" (Matthew 7:12) is very relevant here.

Becoming Intercultural

There is an interesting statement by Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, which also needs to be critically examined:

The process of becoming intercultural is like climbing a high mountain. As we reach the mountaintop, we see that all paths below ultimately lead to the same summit that each path presents unique scenery. In a way, becoming intercultural is a process of liberating ourselves from a limited perspective on life – of becoming more fully human, with a greater awareness of and sensitivity to self, others, and the relationships between them. (p.255)

It is not clear what they mean by the statement, "The process of becoming intercultural is like climbing a high mountain. As we reach the mountaintop, we see that all paths below ultimately lead to the same summit that each path presents unique scenery." Is this a claim that

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there are universal values embraced in all communities? Is this a worldview which considers all religions lead to the same Divine? What about the contradictions within each society?

However, the second part of the argument, "In a way, becoming intercultural is a process of liberating ourselves from a limited perspective on life – of becoming more fully human, with a greater awareness of and sensitivity to self, others, and the relationships between them" may be more easily accepted.

Pluralism as the Goal?

Is appeal for pluralism THE superior worldview? Do communities actually adopt pluralism? If yes, how do we explain inhuman treatment meted out to groups that were usually called Untouchables? is made clear by their suggestion to promote it through education (p.256). To me it appears that the dictum to "love one another" would result in better understanding.

There is a difference between understanding that someone has a different perception of reality and accepting that this perception is actually true, even if only for them.

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The Dysfunctional Bilingualism in Bangladeshi Education and Society

Faheem Hasan Shahed, Ph.D.

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Abstract

There has been constant furor over the declining and ineffective standard of bilingual education policy in Bangladesh. Experts have been arguing for imparting English and Bangla language education to the target groups in terms of need instead of imposing bilingualism to all citizens. This paper investigates and deals with the fundamental question of domain-specific bilingualism for Bangladeshis and shows how the country's present bilingual education system and language policy have been thwarting the formation of effective bilingual workforces. And subsequently the paper argues how both English and Bangla have turned out to be liabilities rather than assets for the Bangladeshi society while the creation of resource personnel for both intra- and international domains still remains a far cry.

Keywords: bilingualism, biculturalism, Bangla, domain analysis.

Introduction

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For many people, the term 'bilingualism' relays somewhat a problematic connotation. The actual nuance of the term is not always as clear as it sounds—specifically when we try to talk of producing efficient bilingual personnel in various domains of our national and international lives. Though apparently, bilingualism means a person's acquisition and consequently her/his ability to use two languages where those 'two languages' may or may not include her/his parents' mother tongue (for example, a Bangladeshi Bangla-speaking parents' son in Canada who knows English and French, but not Bangla), the issue needs to be understood from pragmatic perspectives.

From a global perspective, as said by Suzanne (1995), most of the people around the world actually speak more than one language, and are therefore multilingual instead of homogeneous. In this sense, even in the Bangladeshi 'monolingual' setting, one would find multilingual speech communities—such as the 'Tripuras' (speaking Kokborok, Chakma and Bangla), the 'Sylhetis' (speaking Sylheti, Bangla and English), the 'Chittagonians' (speaking Chatgaiyan and Bangla) and so on.

Suzanne maintains an important point by saying that, most South Asians possess 'active control over what amounts to complex linguistic repertoires drawn from different languages and varieties' and thus in these societies 'multilingualism is not an incidental feature of language use, but a central factor and an organizing force' in people's daily lives.

However, since this study refers to Bangla and English as the predominant choice for Bangladeshis' bilingualism, let us analyze the scenario systematically. A 'competent bilingual' in Bangladesh may be any one of the following persons:

1. One who can speak and write English fluently as much as s/he can speak and write fluent Bangla,
2. One who can speak English fluently but has limited writing skills; however on the other hand s/he can write Bangla very well,
3. One who cannot speak fluent English, but can write it appropriately—and can also write Bangla well,
4. One who cannot express oneself properly in verbal or written English, but has very well developed receptive skills in English; she/he can understand everything in English when she/he reads or hears, and she/he can write and speak good Bangla,

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5. One who cannot write either good proper Bangla or English, but has the spoken communicative skills in both languages which she/he uses in her/his daily life (e.g. in his job) perfectly,

6. One who has a very solid command of English—be it writing or speaking—but can only speak, and not write, Bangla well.

Many would ask, do all these types equally fit in the definition of bilingualism that is needed or desired in Bangladesh? The 'wholistic' or 'bilingual' view of bilingualism would provide the answer. Grosjean (2008) clearly narrates that this view which proposes that the bilingual is an integrated whole which cannot easily be decomposed into two separate parts. The bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration. The co-existence and constant interaction of the two languages in the bilingual should produce a different, but complete language system. So, according to the wholistic view, the bilingual is a fully competent speaker-hearer; she/he has developed competencies in the two languages to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. The bilingual uses the two languages, separately or together, for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages.

Added to it is the fact that the status of a person's bilingualism in monolingual and multilingual settings is never the same. In the latter case, the notion of anyone's 'acquiring a second language (L2)' is as important as that of 'acquiring the first language (L1)'. People with different mother tongues (MT) discover themselves in an identical platform regarding their need of English as an L2. So, in multilingual settings, bilingualism is less problem-free in the sense that people have the only worry to go for their functional L2 besides their respective mother tongues. And in that situation, they have a clear vision of the 'extent' of their required bilingual proficiency; they know what types of L2 skills would serve what types of purposes for them.

But bilingualism in monolingual countries is related to need-based urgencies where there is a perpetual debate regarding the 'extent' of acquiring bilingual competence. The case of Bangladesh is a classic one because here, the concept of 'attaining competence in L2' has been left undecided and thus marred by controversies. Since Bangladesh internally operates in Bangla and English has a very little social and cultural usage and need, the bilingual proficiency of the Bangladeshis has to be fixed keeping in mind the extent of socio-cultural value of English in the society.

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Given the present escalation of global business and the advancement of technology-oriented sectors, developing countries like ours are on the verge of exploring a great opportunity to generate, utilize, sustain and export a workforce who would have the ability to contribute to economic and financial development in the national levels. It is up to us whether or not we would clutch this benefit. Creating efficient bilingual personnel for these domains is, therefore, the only way to do so.

But we need to ask ourselves: 'How far have we at all identified the 'domains' in our intra-national arenas where bilingualism would find its exact spaces?' And subsequently, we must ask: 'Have we provided our education system the opportunities to create the 'groups' of competent bilingual people to serve those 'domains'?'

The Goals of Bilingual Education

From the historical point of view, bilingual education system has been the norm, rather than the exception, worldwide. The implicit goals of bilingual education can be listed as follows (Ashworth, 1985):

1. To assimilate individuals or groups into the mainstream of society
2. To unify a multilingual society
3. To enable people communicate with the outside world
4. To gain an economic advantage for individuals or groups
5. To preserve ethnic or religious ties
6. To reconcile different political, or socially separate, communities
7. To spread and maintain the use of colonial language
8. To embellish or strengthen the educational elites
9. To give equal status to languages of unequal prominence in the society
10. To deepen understanding of language and culture

From the above-mentioned goals, it is clear that bilingual education serves at least two groups of students: one, those who wish to learn a second language by choice; two, those who must learn it if they are to prosper within the education system and later in the outside world (ibid).

For example, in Canada, children of immigrants or indigenous minorities have a deep sense of urgency in mastering both French and English in order to grasp the opportunities in the broader Canadian society. These are the 'first' group of students. On the other hand, the Anglophone

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Canadian parents are more and more enrolling their children in French-English bilingual programs because they feel that it would give their children greater economic, educational, social and political advantage. These children belong to the 'second' group.

Thus, according to Charles A. Ferguson et al, 'The implicit goals of bilingual education vary from society to society; they often overlap within a given society and may or may not reflect the aims of the society as a whole.'(ibid)

It is from this perspective that we should judge the Bangladeshi context of bilingual education. Who are the students learning English all over the country? Obviously, they do not represent any homogeneous economic or social strata. So, it is clear that their purposes, and hence motivational orientation of 'receiving' English education, are never the same. It has been seen that 'resentment motivation' (learning English in compulsion—having no way to avoid it since it is a part of school curriculum) followed by 'instrumental motivation' (learning English in order to get good jobs and also grab further opportunities in life) play the key role behind Bangladeshi school children's learning English (Shahed, 1998). Therefore, it is hard to say how far the aims of a greater Bangladeshi society really match the implicit goals of the existing bilingual education.

Talking about the ten implicit goals mentioned earlier, we can see that except 3, 4 and 8, the rest are not applicable in Bangladeshi social setting for pragmatic reasons. Now, let us briefly evaluate these three 'applicable' points by raising some key questions.

As for point 3 ('to enable people communicate with the outside world'), the aim of introducing a foreign language (English, in this case) in addition to the unifying national language (Bangla), is to enable nationals to interact with foreigners. So, it has to be defined first as to what we should mean by 'interaction with foreigners'. Do all Bangladeshis have that scope, and then, should all Bangladeshis need that scope? How and why? In which domains of activity?

For point 4 ('to gain an economic advantage for individuals or groups'), the aim is to provide language skills which are salable in the job market and can put a person ahead on jobs and status. So, it has to be fixed what portions of Bangladeshis need those jobs where English skills are crucial to sustain and develop. What are these sectors, and how to use people in these sectors?

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For point 8 ('to embellish or strengthen the educational elites'), the aim is to sustain the elitist approach of English education. It is popularly believed by the linguists that much of the world's bilingual education is primarily for elites — and much of that which is available to all actually begun as education for elites. So, who are the 'elites' in Bangladeshi society and how has English embellished their status? Do they require any distinctive proficiency that must be somewhat different from the non-elites' English skills? How?

These questions are pertinent, but at the same time not quite easy to answer. The whole issue has to be judged on the basis of our public attitudes toward the existing bilingual education system.

But prior to that let us also keep in mind and thereby raise questions with reference to the four categories of 'bilingual education programs' as put forward by Joshua A. Fishman in 1976. Fishman talked about these regarding the MT and the official language (Ashworth, 1985):

Type 1: *Transitional bilingualism* : Students' first language is used in the early classes to the extent that allows them to adjust in school or master the subject matter till the second language is learnt properly for using that as the medium of instruction, after that the first language is dropped.

Type 2: *Monoliterate bilingualism* : Aural-oral skills are developed in both languages. However, literacy skills are developed only in the official language, not in the MT.

Type 3: *Biliterate bilingualism (partial)*: Fluency and literacy are desired in both languages, but literacy in MT is restricted to certain subject matter—normally that are related to the ethnic group and its cultural heritage.

Type 4: *Biliterate bilingualism (full)*: Students must develop all kinds of skills in both languages in all domains.

From the above categories, we see the current Bangladeshi ELT approaches matching 'type 4'. But then, the question remains: whether or not all Bangladeshis need to become 'full biliterate bilinguals'.

The Present Study

A study was conducted through questionnaires and interviews of educated Bangladeshi citizens from various sectors, and also of Bangladeshi students belonging to different educational levels. A stratified random sample of four hundred and fifty (450) people, all employed/working

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persons, was chosen from Dhaka city. This population comprised general job-holders (both government and private), businessmen (both small and large-scale), teachers and professionals (engineers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, and so on).

A questionnaire with relevant queries was administered to all the randomly selected people. It comprised numerous statements concerning the existing bilingual education system of Bangladesh, the role of English in general vis-à-vis MT Bangla, the issue of English and power-status-prestige in the Bangladeshi society, and their encouragement to the children regarding English learning.

Apart from these statements, the questionnaire contained questions to elicit the following information: personal background of the respondents, such as age, sex, occupational and financial status; educational qualifications; the extent of their use of English in different domains of activities within and outside their families; the extent of their association with English via media and books. This domain-survey was also conducted with two hundred (200) students of secondary, higher secondary and tertiary levels.

The study had thus the following as the prime objectives: (a) Finding out the extent of their use of English in social and professional lives; and (b) Identifying the problematic aspects of our existing bilingual system. It is categorically, on the basis of these two objectives that we would try to evaluate the efficacy/inefficacy of our bilingual education in creating ideal workforce for our business and technological domains.

The 'English Domains' of Bangladeshis

To understand and discuss the issue of rationality of our present bilingual education, the study needed to have a glimpse of the domains of English in the average educated Bangladeshi's life, and thus the following information was found from the survey:

Table 1: Employed people's domain (*in percentage*)

Issues	*Always*	*Often*	*Sometimes*	*A little bit*	*Not at all*
Using English in the family	1.3	2.3	2.6	4.1	89.7
Using English outside the family	1.6	2.9	3.2	10.8	81.5

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Items					
Using English while writing letters	3.5	5.6	5.6	39.2	42.5
Watching TV programs in English	9.8	31.2	31.2	12.3	29.1
Reading newspapers/magazines	2.4	21.8	21.8	18.9	51.6
Reading English fiction/non-fiction items	1.9	3.6	3.6	5.2	87.2

Table 2: Students' domain (*in percentage*)

In comparison to the senior respondents of the previous section, students, by and large, are more associated with English in terms of one factor: they have to study English regularly as a compulsory subject.

Items	Always	Often	Sometimes	A little bit	Not at all
Using English within the family	1.8	1.4	4.7	6.7	85.4
Using English outside the family	3.2	4.3	8.2	12.5	71.8
Using English inside the classroom	5.9	3.2	2.3	42.4	46.2
Using English with the teacher	6.7	11.8	6.4	33.7	41.4
Using English in diary writing (*for those applicable*)	20.3	45.8	18.2	7.2	8.5
Watching English news on local Channels	Nil	Nil	Nil	1.4	98.6
Watching English news on foreign channels	12.7	25.3	30.2	15.1	16.7
Watching English movies on TV	92.3	25.3	30.2	15.1	Nil
Watching English movies on DVD	8.1	6.5	52.7	18.5	14.2
Watching English movies on internet	48.5	39.4	8.1	2.4	1.5
Reading English daily newspapers	12.7	23.2	50.8	4.9	8.4
Reading English magazines (local)	1.6	1.8	2.9	13.2	80.5
Reading English magazines (foreign)	14.1	9.6	20.7	2.4	53.2
Reading English fiction books	2.8	10.5	7.8	12.3	66.6

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Reading English non-fiction books	Nil	3.8	7.2	15.6	73.4
Listening to English songs	19.7	23.6	38.4	10.2	8.1
Watching sports programs in English	87.2	12.8	Nil	Nil	Nil

Domain Analyses in Brief

It is obvious from the 'English domains' of our senior citizens and our students that English has in fact a limited status in their day-to-day work spheres. Precisely, it is a sort of 'resentment status' of English in their lives, they have been using English in some specific areas under compulsion, finding no way out to avoid it. They have been staying away from English to a considerable extent (for example, the high percentages of 'not at all's in Table 1). Even in Table 2, students' high percent non-use of English with their English teachers (a little bit usage by 42.4% and not at all usage but 46.2%) and high percent non-reading of English magazines, fiction and non-fiction clarifies the real picture further.

The only sectors where students are highly 'English-inclined' are 'watching English movies on TV' (92.3% *always*) and internet (48.5% *always* & 39.4% *often*) and 'watching sports programs in English' (87.2% *always*). Apparently, this has much to do with the 'entertainment value' that is involved in these areas.

Noticeable is the comparatively lower percentage in case of 'watching English movies on DVD'. The reason is probably the money-factor related to it. One can easily switch on to Star Movies or HBO, as well go to the movie-sites on internet for enjoying English films for free. In fact, the trend is more on downloading action-oriented English movies from internet, as many respondents verbally informed this researcher. However, one does not go to buy DVDs unless one has that 'integrative motivation' to watch classic and social English movies; it is because, watching these sort of movies require the understanding and appreciation of the 'culture' attached to the dialogues and scenes (in other words, it is the understanding of biculturalism; discussed a bit more in section 6). This effort does not really come through instrumental motivation alone.

As said earlier, English lacks the socio-cultural usage in our society, and thus it is not surprising that students do not use it in and outside their families (Table 2). However, interesting is

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the favorable position English enjoys in their diary writing ('always' users are 20.3% and 'often' users are 45.8%). Those who maintain the habit of diary writing have a sort of conscious attitude toward enhancing writing skills, as diary writing is both laborious and planned activity. Probably the students view it as a safe platform (diaries are private and secret) to utilize and practice their English language abilities even if they use improper English. By and large, it is clear that the bilingual domains of an average Bangladeshi are heavily prone to Bangla.

An Overview of the Findings

The responses of the public toward statements eliciting various issues can be put in the following manner. It needs to be kept in mind that the actual number of statements was more which covered other wide-range issues; these are the ones that have close link to the issue of bilingualism.

Table 3: Overview of the outcomes of the survey

Attitude toward our education system					
	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
1	Our education system has been producing bookish performers, rather than creative and knowledgeable students.				
	81.6	2.7	4.9	2.2	8.6
2	Our politicians are sincere for spreading quality education throughout the country.				
	1.5	6.9	19.3	9.7	62.6
3	Our evaluation system is faulty because it cannot adequately assess the knowledge of our learners.				
	82.6	5.5	3.3	6.8	1.8

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Attitude toward Mother Tongue Bangla					
	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
4	Those who do not require English or do not want to learn English should be educated through Bangla.				
	75.3	14.7	1.5	7.3	1.2
5	All educated Bangladeshis can write good and flawless Bangla.				
	1.6	1.5	8.5	7.4	81.0
6	Since Bangla is our mother tongue every Bangladeshi is automatically skilled in Bangla.				
	4.6	10.6	12.8	68.5	3.5
7	It is not essential for all Bangladeshis to learn English as English is not necessary for all.				
	16.7	42.8	5.7	28.8	6.4

Attitude toward English and Status					
	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
8	The knowledge of English is essential to be an influential person in the Bangladeshi society.				
	10.5	27.6	11.2	34.5	16.1
9	English will help my child to build his/her career.				
	91.6	6.9	1.5	0	0
10	In our society, the skills of English are related to better economic life of an individual.				

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	24.0	36.3	25.7	10.8	3.2
11	English is useful for adding to one's prestige and personality.				
	21.7	53.3	15.8	7.3	1.9

Attitude toward Bilingualism

	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
12	Those who are learning English should be such that they would be equally skilled in both Bangla and English.				
	68.6	19.8	7.5	4.1	0
13	Those who do not have much skill in English, but have been educated in various disciplines via the medium of Bangla, should not be judged as educated.				
	2.3	4.4	9.6	43.8	39.8

Attitude toward English Language

	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
14	English should no longer be considered as a language of the colonial rulers.				
	41.6	37.6	2.8	1.4	7.2
15	English is important in the field of trade and business in Bangladesh.				
	51.2	38.5	3.6	3.8	1.6

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Attitude toward English-related aspects					
	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
16	The English medium schools help the learners achieve good command of English.				
	18.8	68.3	7.4	4.3	1.2
17	The English-speaking people of our society do not bother for Bangladeshi Bangalee culture.				
	27.9	38.5	9.3	18.6	5.7

Attitude toward Parental Encouragement					
	Agreed	*Slightly Agreed*	*Neutral*	*Slightly disagreed*	*Disagreed*
18	As a guardian I try to help my child in his/her English studies.				
	92.8	7.2	0	0	0
19	Since English is a part of my child's school/college curriculum, I encourage him/her to be attentive to English.				
	1.3	39.5	19.4	38.4	1.4

Bilingualism Should Mean 'Proficiency based on Needs/Domains'

The question one can raise (in the light of the responses from table 1 & 2 and items 1—6 in table 3) is: do we need to make every educated citizen of country bilingual? If we are talking about the need of English for Specific Purpose (ESP) as the solution to the muddle that has been perpetuated, then should it not be a contradictory act on our part to impart bilingualism to everybody? Obviously, this question should be put like this: should not we try to get rid of this present policy of bilingual education from childhood?

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This is not an easy task as it sounds. Our problem lies in the root: lack of reliable information. For example, we do not have any reliable answers to questions like: how many Bangladeshis know 'somewhat English' as well as 'somewhat Bangla'? How many of these are rural and urban people? What percentage of people knows English fluently? How many of them use it in their daily affairs on a regular basis? What is then the approximate percentage of bilinguals, who are equally adept in both English and Bangla? And very importantly, what percentage of these capable bilinguals has engaged themselves in activities which contribute to socio-economic enhancement of the nation? Renowned educationist Serajul Islam Chowdhury maintains that everyone in Bangladesh does not need to be bilingual, and to impose bilingualism on all cannot be an ideal situation. 'Apart from the impracticability of the task, there is the primary question of its desirability. Ideally, bilingualism should be voluntary rather than obligatory.' (Chowdhury, 1992)

Similar sentiments have been echoed by others as well:

'...We need to ask ourselves whether our rural farmers, laborers, fishermen, blacksmith and others need to be bilinguals. And do they themselves want to be bilinguals? It is more important to become educated rather than to become bilinguals. It would be extremely regrettable if bilingualism adversely affects one's possibility to become educated …bilingualism is necessary for Bangladesh. But not drag the entire population into this necessity.' (Musa, 1995)

These observations deserve serious attention from all quarters concerned. But for a better realization, let us look into the issue of bilingualism from one's childhood. Bilingual education is not an issue of just learning two languages; it is an issue of encountering two cultures. Bilingualism necessarily implies biculturalism (Richard, 1976: 43) indicating the individual's cultural awareness of two social systems--as language carries with it its own history, sociology and cultural norms. In this connection, when a child is faced with bilingualism (and hence biculturalism) in his infant years when he is in the process of developing his L1 skills and norms, he is bound to become a victim of a dilemma of handling the two distinct worlds associated with the two languages. He will never be able to differentiate the norms, functions and styles of the two cultures. According to Clarke (1976), 'Students' difficulties in learning an SL stem from their lack of understanding of the social context of the language.'

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For Bangladeshi children, English is entirely a different language, carrying an alien culture. Their cultural orientations that have been formed, and are in the process of being formed, receive a setback by the invasion of English. This is a reality, even if we provide any child the best possible teaching by a highly competent teacher. And since we neither have a good number of competent English teachers, nor the supporting resources, the situation is well understandable. Hence, it has been a setback for the average Bangladeshi children to put them into the explosive context of two diverse worlds of MT and English.

Mother Tongue Proficiency to Have Priority

Probably the most interesting responses came regarding the MT issues which deserve prominent attention on the part of policy makers. Irrespective of occupational and economic status, the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the state of MT proficiency of the people in general.

As evident from items 5 and 6, a considerably high percentage of respondents maintained that they 'disagreed' that all Bangladeshis are automatically skilled in Bangla as it is their MT. A substantial percent of teachers had 'strong' disagreement in this regard—perhaps due this fact that as teachers they had a clearer understanding of the students' skills in Bangla.

The plight can be further apprehended if the responses to the statement 'all educated Bangladeshis can write good and flawless Bangla' are taken into account. A vast portion (item 5) 'strongly disagreed' to this. Unfortunate as it seems, there is no denying that the overall quality of education has received a setback, otherwise such views would not have been voiced.

This researcher was told by several officers of the Bangladesh Public Service Commission in the course of conversations that such has been the decline that a sizeable portion of the 'magistrates' and other probationary civil servants in recent years do not bear the ability to write a full page official draft correctly in Bangla, let alone English.

Indeed, there have been relentless controversies since the post-independence era regarding the issue of MT education, or in other words, the issue of enhancing MT at all levels. Agnihotri and Khanna (1997) mentioned how the 1872 Saddler Commission's recommendations have been neglected by policy formulators. The Commission at that time asserted, '.... We are emphatically of

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the opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to write or speak his mother tongue fluently and correctly.'

Though the government constitutionally guaranteed the implementation of Bangla at all levels in 1972, and this was vowed by the successive governments time and again, precious little has been done in true spirit. Rather, there has been an overwhelming complacency in this issue of MT. It seems that both the government and the people have been taking the MT proficiency for granted.

Michael West, educationist and Principal of the Teachers' Training College in Dhaka during the British colonial era, could realize the fundamental importance of a sound MT education in childhood at the time when English education was reaching its height. Yet he did not hesitate to utter what he experienced himself. Attaining a firm footing in one's MT has a tremendous implication which can be understood at a later stage. He highlighted:

> '.... The national language (MT) expresses a peculiar store of experience, a peculiar analysis of experience, and, being the language of infancy acquired at the time of the first development of the fundamentals of emotional life, its words possess a peculiar evocative (or emotional) value, unattainable by those of any second language. It is obvious therefore that no second language can replace the mother tongue, nor has any culture acquired through a second language has the power to displace the native culture.' (West, 1926)

Noteworthy is the response to the statement 'it is not essential for all Bangladeshis to learn English as English is not necessary for all'. The respondents had 'agreed' and 'strongly agreed' in large number to this (item 7). The response underlay the simple fact: revive MT education, and revive the fallen standard of education as a whole.

This point is further supported by the response to the statement 'those who do not require English or do not want to learn English should be educated through Bangla'. Item 4 in the table shows the large percentage of 'strongly agreed' people in this case. In personal discussion, many respondents wondered why the authorities failed to realize the facts which they could comprehend as ordinary citizens. Many of them particularly pointed to the enormous wastage of time and resources at the primary level, especially in the smaller towns and villages, in the name of imparting English education. 'Nothing is learned systematically and properly—be it Bangla or English', lamented many guardians. Given the lack of learning environments, materials and the unskilled and untrained

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English teachers, the burden of this 'alien' language comes as the greatest disaster for the hapless students.

The UNESCO in 1953 in 'The Use of Vernacular Language in Education' referred to MT as the 'best medium for the teaching of the pupil', and stressed that 'psychologically, socially and educationally a child learns better and faster through his mother tongue' (Shahed, 1998). In fact, UNESCO advocates for MT instruction in the early years of a child because of its role in creating a strong foundation for learning. The use of MT with children at home or in primary school 'prepares them for the smooth acquisition of literacy in their MT and eventually, the acquisition of the second language at a later stage in their schooling' (Diaranson, 2013).' UNESCO's 'International Mother Language Day 2013' program, in strong support toward MT education, aimed at promoting massive production of books in local languages all over the world (ibid). Therefore, the role of MT at the early stages of child's schooling cannot be ignored.

Our next point in this connection is simple: when it comes to the teaching and learning of an FL (here English), the teaching learning of the MT and that of the FL can support and assist each other (Gurrey, 1970). Whatever methods or approaches would be adopted—be it the MT or the FL— the principles underlying these would be identical. Hence improvement in the teaching of MT is highly desirable at the early stage. Three prime reasons have been advocated in this regard (ibid):

Firstly, improvement in handling language is directly favorable to improvement of all kinds of thinking, such as reasoning and other mental operations that make use of words.

Secondly, nearly all children need instructions and specially devised practice in the use of their MT in order to acquire the ability to express themselves with clarity, ease and correctness.

Thirdly, those children who acquire some skill in using their MT have had a good preparation for acquiring similar skills in using an FL.

These arguments have been put forward in a more scientific model as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and CALP (Cognitive and Academic Linguistic Proficiency) propounded by J. Cummins (mentioned in Shahed, 2001). He has described BICS as the 'language of playground' which takes 2 to 3 years to acquire, and CALP as the 'language of classroom' which takes 5-7 years to acquire. Hence, BICS are those language skills which are 'cognitively undemanding' and they include known ideas, vocabulary and syntax. On the other hand, CALP,

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being cognitively demanding, are those that are necessary for literacy attainment and academic success (ibid).

For a successful attainment of proficiency in one's MT, one has to first acquire high level BICS, which will lead to a sound acquisition of CALP. After one has mastered BICS and CALP in one's first language (L1), it becomes easier for one to acquire BICS and CALP in a second language (L2). Cummins terms this idea as 'interdependence'. That is, if students are able to comprehend a concept in L1, they will typically understand it in an L2, even if they cannot express themselves in the correct grammar of the L2. The cognitive aspects of L1 and L2 are interdependent.

It is in this regard that we can highlight the importance of attaining BICS and CALP in Bangla at the early stages. This will not only increase pupils' cognitive and intellectual maturity and make them capable of thinking, deciding or planning, but will also intensify their acquisition of BICS and CALP in English at the later stages.

But under the ongoing circumstances where the pupils have to deal both Bangla and English, the danger is inevitable. They have been losing both sides. Cummin's model has a clear explanation of this problem. Taking 'time out' from learning L1 (Bangla) in order to learn an L2 (English) has a negative impact for any level of learner. For the children who have to learn English before his Bangla CALP is developed, the negative effect operates even more. This impact can only be minimized if his CALP continues to grow in Bangla before English is introduced.

If English could be abolished from the initial stages, and consequently if BICS and CALP in Bangla would be allowed to develop, then the introduction of 'General English' from a later stage can be made accessible. Along with this, options from taking English for Specific Purpose (ESP) courses can be made open where learners can go for ESP according to their aspirations and needs in future lives.

English and 'Status' in Bangladesh

Coming to the interrelation between English and status in the Bangladeshi society, it is evident that the influence of English is all pervasive. It has been estimated that a very insignificant part of our population is bilingual in English. English is used by this relatively small but extremely influential portion of the country's population in the domains of government administration, law, military, commerce and print electronic media.

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The responses to the statements concerning the power and status of English reveal the overwhelming agreement on the issue that English will help everyone's children to build up their career (item 9). Subsequently, a high percentage of 'strong agreement' can be noticed in the responses to the statement that 'the knowledge of English is related to better economic life of an individual' (item 10). Agnitotri, Khanna and Sachdev (1998) provided a suitable explanation by explaining how a high level of proficiency in English significantly improves one's chances for easy entry and quick personal growth in higher education, administration, judiciary, journalism and multinational companies.

'As regards the statement 'English is useful for adding to one's prestige and personality', a remarkable number of respondents 'agreed' (item 11). The reason can be assumed as such: written and spoken proficiency is essential to holding key positions in the competitive job arena. Added to these, one requires smartness in one's behavior. The respondents have probably judged the issue of their status (i.e. prestige), smartness (i.e., personality) and English proficiency as an amalgamated totality.

However, in response the statement 'the knowledge of English is essential to be an influential person in the Bangladeshi society', the public attitudes were somewhat mixed as is evident form the tables.

The percentage of 'disagreement' is seen to be quite high. This might have something to do with the interpretation of the word 'influential' by the respondents. Influence can be achieved in different ways according to the nature of contexts. As for example some teachers in a university are highly influential in academic and other decision-making bodies due to their connection with influential authorities outside the domain of the campus. So in this sense, they are influential persons in the society. But their influence may not necessarily match the 'influence' of the 'someone' who, despite being less educated or uneducated, has connections with bureaucratic and political quarters and can enjoy additional privileges that are out of common people's reach. However, it appears that respondents who 'disagreed' have made a clear cut choice of criterion of 'influence' in the Bangladeshi society. To them, political and bureaucratic connections may be the deciding criterion for being influential. English hardly has any role in this regard.

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Chowdhury provides a clearer scenario by saying that the acquisition of English happens to be an instrument for gaining both power and prestige, and to limit its knowledge to a section of society would be to deprive others of a right. The basic fact here, as in many areas, is that the state must address itself to the question whether it wants to have a mere egalitarian society or to wider the social gulf further, with the knowledge of English acting as a decisive factor. Politics is not as wide apart from education as we sometimes think, or like, it to be. One interesting observation that he makes is:

> 'In the locality I live, there is a school which used to call itself Arafat International School. Recently, it has changed itself into London International School, paying silent tribute to the greater politico-economic pull of London. Bengali yields to English, Arafat to London. Such is the dictation of contemporary history.' (Chowdhury, 1998)

The Unquestionable Role of English

It is almost trite to mention that English, becoming the language of power and prestige in many countries, has been acting as a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress. Therefore, despite everything, there has hardly been any doubt among the majority of the respondents regarding the role and function of English in the global as well as national perspective where outside communication in concerned. As evident from items 14 and 15, the percentage of 'agreed' and 'strongly agreed' respondents is substantially high in case of all the three statements.

The responses prove some facts. First, the global significance of English should not be undermined by adding a 'colonial touch' to it. Second, being the language of wider communication, English will enable us to get closer and closer to the global diversities. And third, due to the inevitable attachment of English to the international trade and commerce, we cannot do away with it particularly in the domain of business.

Some businessmen clarified a point while taking part in personal interviews. In case of all business transactions within the country, there is little English can do. Bangla serves effectively as the medium of intra-national trade and transactions. But in case of international commercial transactions, which have been on the rise ever since the introduction of free market economy, English is the unparalleled medium. Given the high importance of the export-import sector, even for a small-scale industry, one needs business communicative skills in English since one has to depend in many issues on the outside world.

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English in international domain in this present context, has obviously played its role to whip out the emotional notion of colonial hegemony of English. Even till the late 1980s, such concepts dominated the Bangladeshi intellectual mindset. However, if one looks at the 'domains' of English in today's world, one would find that apart from being the working language of international organizations and conferences, it is the key language of scientific publication, international banking, economic affairs and trade, advertisement of global brands, audio-visual cultural products (e.g. film, TV, CDs, DVDs, popular music), international tourism, tertiary education, international safety (e.g. 'air speak', 'sea speak'), international law, technology transfer, internet communication and so on. It is also a 'relay language' in interpretation and translation (Graddol, 1997). Over sixty countries publish titles in English (ibid). Half of Europe's business is carried out in English, and more than 66% of the world's scientists read English. Eighty percent of the world's electronically stored information is in English. One third of mankind speaks or understands some English, and consequently, world's forty million internet users mostly communicate in English (Duignan, 2000). English has replaced its arch rivals like French and German in World Organizations and Financial Bodies. 85% of international organizations (including the UN) now use English as their working language (Crystal, 1997). Similar is the case with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

All this proves one fact: the role and function of English in the contemporary global agencies have effectively implanted its value in the Bangladeshi public psyche. The concept of 'colonial touch', as it seems, has taken an automatic retreat owing to the multidimensional status of English in the broader domains. Nobody supports the depreciation of English at this point. Eminent Indian sociolinguist R. S. Gupta maintains that getting rid of English or stopping the teaching of English would sound like a sentimental nationalistic slogan. 'Throwing out English would be like throwing out a ready-made instrument that has worldwide influence and impact' (Gupta, 1999). The remedy according to him is to re-plan our language priorities and teach and learn English in a way which does not lead to a denigration of our own language or a negation of its validity and power and potential. Planning the pedagogy and language use should be done in accordance with such a way as to promote a healthy indigenous based bilingualism in English (ibid).

Gupta asserted on knowing MT well, using it in local, regional, public domains, as well as in private domains of hearth and home should go hand in hand with the teaching, learning and use of English in larger public contexts such as inter-regional or international communication. Learning and using English will in a way, prevent states, nations and policies from becoming insular, and enable

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them to participate in larger global enterprises depending on their motivation, ambition, skills and competencies.

What Should be Our Aim in Bilingualism?

A question may now be raised: what type of bilingualism do we need then? The answer will be evident from the following table:

Table 4 : Types of Language Choice

Features	Type A	Type B	Type C
	a-modal nations (e.g. Cameroon)	*uni-modal nations* (e.g. Bangladesh)	*multi-modal nations* (e.g. India)
Is there is a Great Tradition*?	No	Yes	Many
Reasons for selection of a national language	for political integration	for nationalism	for compromise
Reason LWC is used	As a national symbol	for the transition	as a unifying force
Language planning activity to be done	Standardization	Diaglossia	Modernization
Is bilingualism a goal?	No	No	Yes
Is biculturalism a goal?	No	No	Yes

*   The term 'Great Tradition' refers to a literary tradition of long standing thought to be great by the people who have it, and considered a part of their cultural heritage.

(Eastman, 1983, quoted in Shahed, 2001)

From the table, it is evident that bilingualism, and consequently biculturalism, cannot be imposed by a stroke of a pen. We in Bangladesh need bilingualism not only for effective connection with the outside world in all spheres, but also to translate our culture, into English and other languages. Keeping in mind what India, China or African states have done over the years, it is time we did the same, i.e., translate the numerous facets of our culture into other through English—and thus transmit our culture into other cultures. This would enable us to establish our dignity in the

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world. And for this, we need appropriately planned ESP curriculum that has to be done in accordance with the relationship of both Bangla and English with the social behavior, aspirations and goals of majority. Bangla and English have to be allocated officially in terms of the functions they will serve in our country where they will be used properly and positively. Studying a language for the sole purpose of 'crossing the hurdles of examination', makes that language a genuine liability, which unfortunately, has been the case with both English and Bangla. An interesting survey by some linguists revealed that the English skills of our average university-going students are equivalent to the skills of the students of class seven (Musa, 1995).

In relation to all these, Musa puts forward a very decisive proposition. He says that admitting the importance of language learning (as a whole) in our education system, we must create the opportunity for all to learn any foreign language, as well as to earn their living through that language (ibid). It is in this way that the manipulation of power/status in relation to social class formation can be wiped out.

Conclusion

With the rapid growth of cross-cultural business and technological relationships among nations, and subsequently the increase of immigrant workforce across countries, jobs have become equally demanding and diverse. Bangladesh has a tremendous and dynamic workforce to cope with the infinite challenges of this current global trend. What lacks on our part is the communication efficiency. Now that we are urgently looking to create efficient economic and technological workforce, it is high time we rethought this issue of whom to teach and whom not to teach English, why and how. Prior to everything we need to first fix the appropriate status and the domain-specific usages of both Bangla and English, and restructure our ESP curriculum accordingly. Admittedly, that is the sole gateway to the implementation of functional bilingualism in Bangladeshi society.

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A Critical Review of the Role of Translator's Critical Reading and Pragmatic Function of "Preface" as a Paratextual Element vis-a-vis the Readers of the Translated Text

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Abstract

This research focuses on the impact of translator's "critical reading" (Baker, 2010) on the text which is called translator's preface (as a paratextual element). Translators who have translated the same text may not have the same interpretation for the same work. For example, one feature of a work would seem important for one translator but not so for the other. According to Genette (1997) it is possible to access these differences by studying the prefaces of the

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translators. He believes that the main role of the preface is to explain for the reader why and how to read the translated book. When interpretation of a work is different among translators it is not surprising that their reason for translating a book and their way of persuading readers to read their translation would be different from each other.

The importance of this research article lies in the fact that it will show how reading and interpretation of translators are reflected in their prefaces and how the prefaces unwittingly manipulate our understanding of that work. At the end, as a case study, prefaces of two translations of a Latin American novel are analyzed to see how translators, as critical readers, might have different interpretations of a novel and how these are reflected in their prefaces.

Key words: critical reading, pragmatic function, paratextual element, preface.

1. Introduction

1.1 Translators as Critical Readers

Venuti (as cited in Baker, 2010: 65), in his essay *Translation as Cultural Politics: Regimes of Domestication in English,* refers to *violence* of translation. He believes that "translation is inherently violent because it necessarily involves reconstituting the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that pre-exist it in the target language". Here Venuti refers to different social, political and other backgrounds of translators and how their implications are reflected in different strategies and modes of translation used by them. But translation would be more violent than it normally is when there are different personal values and beliefs and different ideology among the translators of the same work. Consequently there would be different reasons for translating a work which result in the use of different strategies and modes of translation.

According to Baker (2010: 195):

"what is needed .... is a model of translated narrative which accounts for the way in which the Translator's voice insinuates itself into the discourses and adjusts to the displacement which translation brings about. The model needs to incorporate the Translator as constantly co-

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producing the discourse, shadowing, mimicking and, as it were, counterfeiting the narrator's words, but occasionally caught in the text's disparities and interstices, and *paratextually* emerging into the open as a separate discursive presence."

Hermans (as cited in Baker, 2010: 195- 212) in his essay *The Translator's Voice in Translated Narrative,* declares that translators and interpreters do not necessarily "function as institutional gatekeepers, echoing and strengthening the 'voice of the authority' " (p.195). He believes that translators have a voice "in their own right" (ibid). According to Hermans, existing narratological models have overlooked the critical presence of the translator. He makes a guess that the reason for this would lie in the fact that "the translator's voice often remains entirely hidden behind that of the Narrator and may be impossible to detect in some translated texts" (ibid).

There are situations in which translators resolve some "contradictions or fissures" through their intervention. This is called 'performative self-contradictions' that make the translator to " 'come out of the shadows and directly intervene in a text which, the reader had been led to believe, spoke with only one voice' " (ibid. 194). The first situation is where "the text's orientation towards an Implied Reader is directly at issue, as when it contains topical references and allusions that call on the translator to intervene by providing background information to ensure that communication can proceed smoothly" (ibid). The situation in which the text "is characterized by self-reflexiveness and self-referentiality, as when it exploits puns or polysemy, or when it addresses the translator directly" (ibid), is the second type. And the last type of situation is when there is 'contextual overdetermination'. "It means features or statements which create a credibility gap that readers can only resolve by reminding themselves of the fact that they are reading a translation" (ibid).

In her essay *Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense Is a Translator 'in Between'?* Tymoczko (as cited in Baker, 2010: 213- 228), introduces the concept of 'in betweenness'. She says: "the ideological aspects of a translation are inextricable from the 'place of enunciation' of the translator and that this place is not simply geographical but also temporal

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and ideological" (ibid. 213). According to her, the ideology of a translation is located in "the translated text and also in the voice and positioning of the translator and our understanding of this positioning has been influenced by the tendency to speak of translation itself as an in between space" (ibid).

Paratextual elements (especially, *preface*) are parts of those devices contributing to reflecting the voice of the translators. Next section is dedicated to this concept.

1.2 The Significant Role of Paratextual Elements

Paratexts are those devices found both within and outside a book. They help to mediate among books, authors, publishers and readers. Although some scholars have investigated the paratextual elements, it is claimed that Genette is the first who has presented "a global view of liminal mediations and the logic of their relation to the reading public" (Genette, 1967: xx).

Genette (1967) means by paratexts titles, forewords, epigraphs and publishers' jacket copy, etc. He claims that a paratext shows "how the special pragmatic status of paratextual declarations requires a carefully calibrated analysis of their illocutionary force" (Genette, 1997: xix). His theory works in a way to "challenge us to *read through* the conventions of the paratext to the discursive life of the book, which in turn enables the reading with renewed vigor of other books" (ibid).

Alvstad (as cited in Pym, 2012: 38- 67), in the essay: *Anthologizing Latin- American Literature: Swedish Translative Re-imaginings of Latin America 1954-1998 and Links to Travel Writing,* has investigated how Latin America and its literature is presented to the Swedish readership through covers, titles, prefaces and blurbs. This essay suggests that "the discourse of the blurbs and forewords throughout the whole period is reminiscent of travel writing, another genre that also typically produces re-imaginings of the area it explores" (ibid. 68). According to Alvstad this analysis shows the differences between different Latin American literary translation anthologies, "some of which are related to the time of the anthology's publication, while other

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characteristics seem to depend on the prefaces and values of the anthologists" (ibid).

Yuste Frias (2012) has used *paratranslation* and this concept was born with the purpose of "approaching and analysing the impact of the aesthetic, political, ideological, cultural and social manipulations at play in all the paratextual productions situated in and out of the margins of any translation" (p: 118).

This concept was proposed to: "Analyze the time and space needed to translate any paratext that surrounds, wraps, accompanies, extends, introduces and presents the translated text. All these has been put together with the aim of ensuring the translated text's existence, reception and consumption in the publishing world, either in book form or under any other format of digitalized publication (...)" (2012: 118).

This new term in Translation Studies is coined for the Translation and Paratranslation (T&P) research group at the University of Vigo and start-up of a homonymous MA degree programme at the same university.

By doing a detailed analysis on *orthotypographical image* of the title letters in the covers of two children's books as a key paratextual element in the transmission of meaning in translation, Yuste Frias (2012) has described the way in which the paratextual element was disregarded by one of the publications' imaginarium. He concludes that there is "a pressing need for a permanent dialogue between translators and editors to ensure that no translation is published without its corresponding paratranslation" (2012: 117).

According to interpretation of Watts (2000) of the theory of Genette, paratexts have primary and secondary functions. "The primary function of pratexts in all contexts is to attract readers, to draw them toward and into the book" (p:31). The secondary function of the paratext "… with works by a perceived *cultural Other* ... is one of cultural translation, especially for the metropolitan readership" (ibid). Watts (2000) investigated the role of paratextual elements in introducing the work of a French author to a country. In the last fifty years, this book has been

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printed many times, and each time had been in a new form and with different paratextual elements. Watts (2000) claims that the comparison of the first and the last form of this work shows that the social status of this work has been changed during the last fifty years. His aim of this study has been to find out if paratextual elements have had any role in the way of the work's reception. He found that paratextual elements are *cultural instruments* that make the understanding of cultural differences easy.

Genette (1997), in his book *Paratexts: Threshholds of Interpretation,* classifies the paratextual elements according to their *substantial* feature into four categories: *textual*: elements such as titles, prefaces and interviews. *Iconic:* elements of illustrations, etc. *Material:* elements that are related to typographical types. *Factual:* elements that are related to age, sex, social and political status of author, the date of publication or prizes, etc. (1997: 5-7).

Regarding the status of paratextual elements, Genette says: "the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (1997: 1).

According to the *location*, paratextual elements are divided into two groups: *paratext= peritext+ epitext* (Genette, 1997: 5). Genette defines peritext as: "Within a book are such elements as the title or the preface and sometimes elements inserted into the interstices of the text, such as chapter titles or certain notes. I will give the name *peritext* to this first spatial category - certainly the more typical one" (ibid).

He also defines *epitext* as: "The distance elements are all those messages that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of the media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communication (letters, diaries, and others)" (Ibid).

Paratextual elements have *pragmatic* functions and in different situations they have different roles and different interpretations (ibid. 8). One of the pragmatic features is *illocutionary force*. Genette describes *illocutionary force* as "Here again we are dealing with a

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gradation of states. A paratextual element can communicate a piece of sheer information - the name of the author, for example, or the date of publication. It can make known an intention, or an interpretation by the author and/ or the publisher: this is the chief function of most prefaces, and also of the genre indication on some covers or title pages ..." (Genette, 1997: 10).

In this research *preface*, locationally as a peritext and substantially as a textual paratext, is under focus. During a time or in different periods of time every *preface* can have different functions. According to such factors as type of *sender* and parameters of *place* and *time,* function of a paratext is determined (Genette, 1997: 196).

Kos (2008) has discussed that, in different historical and cultural situations of target society, how the study of changes and modifications of paratextual elements during a period, gives significant insights into the change of cultural context of a society. And also his study shows that by using paratextual strategies it is possible to reimage and rewrite a work.

By taking into consideration the three factors (s*ender*, and parameters of *place* and *time)*, Genette introduces six types of paratext: *the original authorial preface*, *the original authorial postface*, *the later authorial preface/postface*, *the delayed authorial preface or postface*, *the authentic allographic and actorial preface* and *fictional preface* (ibid). (For more information, please refer to Genette, 1997: 196).

The first type (*the original authorial preface*) is the focus of this research which deals with three aspects:

1. A preface is authorial, the author being the main and, strictly speaking, the only person interested in having the book read properly.

2. The preface from the first edition must be considered. A later preface in a subsequent edition runs the risk of being too late. A book that is in its first edition may be read improperly, or not read at all, and thus may have no other editions).

3. The preface is introductory and therefore has the function of monitoring, guiding this is

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why and this is *how* you should read this book (ibid. 197).

Croker (2011: 2) believes that because before the text is read, it is the preface and other paratextual elements that attract the attention of readers; so they have a significant role in influencing the readers.

So *the original authorial preface* has as its main function to ensure that the *text is read* and *is read correctly and properly.*

These objectives determine two groups of functions, one related to the *why* and the other to the *how*. This study is dedicated to the themes of the *why.*

The theory of Genette is generally designed for all kinds of works. In this research what is studied is a translated literary work; so the prefaces written by the translators to persuade readers to read the work which they found necessary and interesting to translate and to introduce to their nations.

Sometimes authors (and translators) try to persuade readers by making clear the importance of the work. So the themes of the *why* are focused upon in this study. Genette (1997: 199) identifies the subjects that would probably be useful for a society: *documentary usefulness*, *intellectual usefulness*, *moral usefulness*, *religious usefulness* and *social and political usefulness.*

When translators of literary works read critically a book for making decisions about translating it or not, one of the reasons that might encourage them to translate a work is certainly its subject or some subjective aspects that seem important or interesting to them. It is clear that their way of reading, the aspects that may attract their attention and their interpretation of the text depend on the understanding of the world in terms social, cultural, political, religious and other factors. Or, in other words, their personal and social experiences in life may help them to decide. By taking into consideration these facts, it is clear that *critical reading* (Baker, 2010) is the best answer to the question why themes of *why* in prefaces of different translators are usually

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different.

2. A Case Study of Two Translations of a Literary Latin American Work

As it is mentioned earlier, in this essay preface as *the original authorial textual peritext* is studied. Translations of two literary works by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a brilliant writer in Latin America, have been chosen. The reason for choosing this literature and this author is the novelty that challenged the translators for introducing it to their society. According to Swanson (2005): "The rise of the Latin American New Novel and the Boom of the 1960s (which brought to international attention writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Mario Vargas LIosa) represent, in literary-historical terms, the most significant developments ever in Latin American writing" (2005: 2).

Two translations of the novel *The Ominous Time,* also known as *In Evil Hour* (1961) were considered. These translations have a preface each by the translators. In 1983, this work is translated into Persian by Farahmand and in 2008 it was translated again into Persian by Parsai.

In prefaces with the themes of the why, describing the *importance of subject* is one of the

ways used by translators to persuade readers *to get the book to read and read it properly.* Farahmand (1983) in the preface of *The Ominous Time* refers to *political usefulness* of the work and by adding the superlative adjective (*the most political work of Marquez*) to this description, strengthens this aspect of the novel. This translator has written a summary of the work's contents; clearly those contents that have purely political aspects are included in this summary. Another subject that is under the translator's focus is *documentary usefulness*. In his preface, after making reference to the political contents, Farahmand relates all of that to the political events happening in Argentina. In describing the *documentary usefulness,* Farahmand explains more about the social and political life of characters and real people and describes how their life is influenced by the affairs of the police and the government.

Intellectual usefulness is the last subject that the translator is used to describe the author's writing method. He describes Marquez's writing method using adjectives such as *witty words*.

In the preface of another translator, Parsai (2008) there are no traces of *political usefulness.* This may be the main difference that would make the reader's insights into the novel critically different. In this preface, the importance of the novel is summarized in its *documentary usefulness*. In other words, the translator argues how this novel is full of *banal* and routine events that in real life happen to us every day. Here there is another difference. Although in Farahmand's preface the *documentary usefulness* is related to real political and social life, in Parsai this usefulness is related to more personal events.

The last importance of the novel that is referred to by Parsai is *intellectual usefulness.* Concerning this feature, Parsai (2008) argues that Marquez has been the author who has given a new life to the novel writing and what is interesting in his writing method is his way of getting the readers understand different matters by combining them with exciting and surprising adventures but just in short phrases and sentences.

This short case study makes clear how different the minds of the translators would be about the importance of a novel. By scientifically studying, it would be useful to do a diachronic
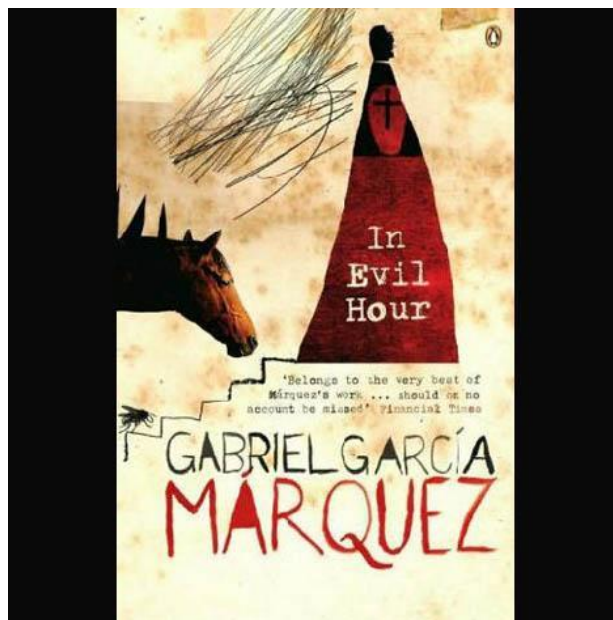
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research regarding how different translators have introduced a literary work or an author to their society by using different paratextual elements from the beginning up to the recent times.

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Mahesh Elkunchwar and Wada Culture

Dr. A. S. Kanna

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Courtesy: http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/i-write-for-theatre-but-i-am-not-out-to-woo-a-large-audience/1070981/

Drawn from Personal Experience

Elkunchwar has always been self-critical. It made him stop writing for eight years after the initial success of plays like Garbo and Vasanakand, and resume only when convinced that he could replace "shrillness" with substance. Belonging to the generation between playwrights Vijay Tendulkar and Satish Alekar, Elkunchwar has drawn more from personal experience, and from small town culture. His short plays like *Reflection* and *Flower of Blood* strike hard. His best-known work is The Wada Trilogy (Seagull, 2004), starting with the classic *Old Stone Mansion*. His recent *Sonata*, a triptych of women, was produced not in Marathi, but in English by Amal Allana.

Lived Away from the Centre of Marathi Theatre

Elkunchwar has lived and worked in Nagpur, away from the centre of Marathi Theatre in Pune and Mumbai. Maybe it is this perspective of an "outsider" that enables his plays to work not just as good theatre but powerful social commentary as well. Paradoxically Alekar achieves the same by being an "Insider." He has lived in Pune for most part of his life and often directs the plays he writes and also acts in them sometimes. As a writer, his range is phenomenal and the myriad issues taken up by him are awe inspiring to say the least. It helps the cause that his writing is pungent with a wicked subversive brand of humor underlining it.

Focus on the Issues of Wada Community
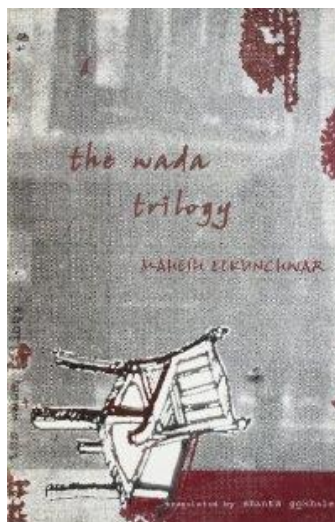
The text presents the issues of the Wada community in a way to help the reader relate with those issues even when he/she is located in a different culture. Firstly, it is important to know what the term "Wada" means. The term "Wada" refer to the entire culture/tradition of the old, decaying feudal structure of a region in Maharashtra. It is a Marathi word which refers to a group of houses together where people live in joint families and share the *wada*. *Wada Trilogy* comprises three plays in sequential order: *Old Stone Mansion* (Wada cheribandi), *The Pond* (Magna Talyakathi) and *Apocalypse* (Yugant).

Old Stone Mansion

Old Stone Mansion is a product of the large joint family with its hierarchic patriarchy that holds the tensions in check under a facile pretense of the authority. When Elkunchwar wrote, Wada he was going through many problems. He knows how to cope with certain situations, and when he began to look into himself, he began to understand other people.

In an interview, Elkunchwar says:

And Wada in a way is a very personal kind of experience, because I come from
such a family, although my family has never fallen on bad days, because my
father was a very sensible person, and made sure everyone was educated. . . But
since the Land ceiling Act in 1949, I have seen feudal families crumbling under
the pressure. Three years of my life were spent in a place called 'Wani' where a
lot of rich families lived, all Brahmins, about twenty or twenty five families. It
was a place known for its rich people. And I could see their state of decay. I
mean those families are still there, and all of them have fallen on bad days. And I
could see why it was happening. They had lost the work habit centuries ago - they
had never worked in their lives.1

Rural/Urban, Migration and Disintegration

The basic issues dealt with in the trilogy are that of rural/urban division, migration and disintegration of the Deshpande family (belonging to the Wada community) and how these social

and cultural metaphors are used and employed by the playwright to comment upon the realities of not just the region, but the entire Indian community as a whole.

Chekhov and Elkunchwar

It is very interesting to find that both playwrights Chekhov and Elkunchwar have their personal elements in their plays. There were several experiences in Chekhov's own life that are said to have directly inspired his writing of *The Cherry Orchard*. When Chekhov was sixteen, his mother went into debt, after having been cheated by some builders she had hired to construct a small house. A former lodger, Gabriel Selivanov, offered to help her financially, but in turn secretly bought the house for himself. At approximately the same time, his childhood home in Taganrog was sold to pay off its mortgage. These financial and domestic upheavals imprinted themselves on his memory greatly and would reappear in the action of *The Cherry Orchard*.

Chekhov also touches on the theme of decadence of society in *The Cherry Orchard*. It focuses on the tensions of changing times. On another level, the play centers on the complications with major changes happening in an entire society: the freedom of the serfs and the decaying power of the aristocracy are two more general aspects of Russian history which affect the play.

Surrender to Commercialism or Careerism to Total Disaffiliation

Elkunchwar had already left behind his obsession with the 'absurdity' of existence, impelled by the inroads of repressed sexuality and secret violence. When Elkunchwar began to write *Old Stone Mansion*, he found himself getting out of himself, looking at the world with sympathy. He watches the process of social collapse which is the fate of aristocratic families.

In *Old Stone Mansion*, he takes a close look at one of those families still struggling against time in some small town or village. The elderly men are lazy drones, the elder women are the patient upholders and preservers of the system, the younger men of the same generation are as subservient as the women in their submission to authority. It is only the new generation that bristles - in several variations of rebellion - ranging from bitter cynicism to escape, to irresponsibility. It is a kind of surrender to commercialism or careerism to total disaffiliation.

Elkunchwar takes great care to chart out the positions and roles and rules of this great battle that is acted out against a history that drives the Brahmin gentry into bankruptcy.

Average Village Family

It is the family of the average present day village commuter. Its specific identification, however, makes it the archetype of all families at all times. It becomes every family. All images are blended in a composition of universal significance. All the characters fail in their responsibility. There has to be a crisis to revive the loosening ties within the family.

Disintegration of Relationships

One of the several linking devices used by Mahesh Elkunchwar is the disintegration of relationships within the Deshapande family, where in the first part of *The Old Stone Mansion*, the scattered family comes together for the funeral of their father Venkatesh, but ends up fighting over who should get how much share in the family from the 'wada' that has been left behind by the deceased, while no one is ready to spend money on the post-funeral rites.

> **Vahini**: But can't everyone share the cost? Wasn't he everybody's father? Or are we alone responsible for keeping up the Deshpande name? (93) *

The mother or Aai is a witness to all the bickering that goes on in the house about who would take charge of the post-funeral expenses of her husband. A truce is reached when she decides to sell her share of wada to meet the expenses and says: "Do you all think I don't know what is going on? But things were different when he was alive." (124)

She can see the old wada crumbling and with it would collapse an entire network of relationships and an entire culture of living together in a community.

Indian readers can immediately relate to such fights that go on in many families where everyone wants to get out of responsibility and just grab his or share of land and money. One must be able to relate to the disparities of a family deeply rooted in a region and such discrepancies carry a meaning for the reader which is beyond the Wada cultural traditions.

Distinct from One Another

But in *The Cherry Orchard* not only do characters' class and social differences come out, but the way in which they interact in various moments emphasizes both the extreme differences between their personalities and the similarities. Paradoxically, it is these exaggerated distinctions between these characters that create an awareness of some quality that unites them all. The characters in this play are all remarkably distinct from one another on an individual level, but in a greater sense, they are similar because they all possess a tendency towards excess.

Grew up in a Wada

The play's finely drawn character sketches are informed by Elkunchwar's own experiences of growing up in a wada (or mansion) in the village of Parwa. In an interview published in the 2004 edition of Wada Trilogy, the playwright says that he always feels like an outsider in this milieu. This distance allows Elkunchwar to write about the Deshpandes with almost scientific precision. The playwright is often strongly critical of the Deshpandes. For instance, Sudhir, often the voice of reason, chastises Bhaskar who, though too poor to pay his grocery bill, decides to feed the entire village as part of their father's death rituals.

An Important Play - *Wada Chirebandi*

Even though families like the Deshpandes are on their last legs, *Wada Chirebandi* is an important play, because it deals with the "sense of tradition that is so deeply rooted in the Indian psyche". His version of the play questions the cohesiveness of a joint family by telling the story from the point of view of the "outsiders" or characters forced to leave the family at various points.

Mahesh Elkunchwar's celebrated play Wada Chirebandi reminds one of Ramsha Lokapur's Taayi Saaheba. Both, the play and the novel record the decline and disintegration of the huge Wadas, as well as the smothering of Brahmin families that lived in villages in post-Independent India. It also juxtaposes the emotional turmoil of people.

Decaying Feudalism and Megapolis Life

The distance between Vidharbha village, where the play takes place and Bombay where the films are made, shows the distance between decaying feudalism and the megalopolis. The part of the family that has settled in Bombay lives a hard life, a typical lower middle class life in a cramped two room flat, and yet in the village they represent prosperity. They are at pains all the time to bring disillusion. Elkunchwar portrays the characters of Sudhir and Anjali who live in Bombay under spiritual traumas. This is typical of every village in India. They hide themselves in hypocrisy in towns and cities. But, when they come to villages, they want to be recognized as the rich people, though they have nothing to eat.

Not Simply a Family Drama –Social Reality

Mahesh Elkunchwar deals with the issue of family crisis – a crisis of traditional culture against commercial or consumer culture. He says, "Wada is not a simple family drama, it is more than that, a document of social change, political change." 2

The play deals with the disintegration of traditional joint family, and village life, under the onslaught of the modern force of urbanization. Wada shows the deterioration of the typical aristocratic family of Deshpande, in a span of thirty years. The play, on the one hand, presents women as victims of the caste bias and patriarchal mindset, but on the other hand, also presents them as agents of change.

Prabha's Role

Prabha, the sister of the three brothers – Bhasker, Sudhir and Chandu, is a case where the woman is made out to be a senseless and useless impediment in the traditional family. She is not allowed to go to college, though she is an extremely intelligent girl. She is prepared to continue her education even at the age of thirty-five, but she is denied any opportunity of education and work outside the family. She couldn't even cross the threshold of the house, because of the false ideas of prestige of the Brahmin aristocratic family. Prabha burns with a desire to complete her B.A. and to find a job in the society. Her father never allows any other opinion about her education, but his own, to prevail. "Education is no use to a girl." (125) - that is his refrain. Prabha comes to a conclusion that a woman can't be herself in this male dominated society, because everywhere the laws are drafted by men. While discussing with Sudhir matters about

her father's death, she comes to a conclusion that when a father dies, the daughter has no future. She believes that a girl, after the death of her father, has to survive on whatever little one might throw at her in charity.

Prabha wants to stay in Bombay with her mother, Aai. When she points it out, Anjali seems to be absolutely indifferent to her brother Sudhir. Anjali becomes alert and talks about the life they lead in Bombay.

Prabha: This time I'll go with you to Bombay.

Anjali: Won't Aai need someone here with her?

Prabha: Let's take her along too. It would be a good change for her. Didn't you see? Vahini waited for Aai to take her money. If she stays here alone, they'll eat her alive.

Anjali: Speak to your brother. It's not for me to say. Whatever he   decides…

Prabha: You're quite under my brother's thumb, aren't you!

Anjali: You know his temper. He's Deshpande through and through….   But let me tell you, only we know how to manage. Pull the sheet over your head and your feet are naked. Cover your feet and the head's naked. First it was a battle to find a two-room flat, now it's a battle to pay off the loan.

Prabha: Don't give me that sob story of your poverty, please. Nobody is going to visit you, all right? You are a proper Konkanastha, aren't you? (94)

It is not even five days since Tatyaji is gone. Five days. In these five days, Vahini has changed. There was no delay in the house keys reaching her waistband. And no delay before Aai was shoved into the darkness of the backroom. When Tatyaji was alive, one couldn't hear Vahini's steps in the veranda, ever. Within five days you hear her commands outside the mansion. (87)

The Question of Prabha's Education

In Act II Prabha raises the topic of her education in the presence of all the members of the family. After the death of her father she wants to continue her education, because it was her father who didn't like her to study. They believe, it is beneath their prestige and honour for a

Deshpande girl to stay in hostel alone. Sudhir too was studying then, and it was too difficult for them to pay for two. Nobody knows for what the girl is crying for and shouting. She never walks out to a factory. If she tries to find job, the pressure of social prestige is so heavy, that she can't cope with it. She was not rebellious enough when her father was alive.

Feels Liberated, But Hopes were Shattered

After the death of the patriarch Tatyaji, Prabha feels liberated. She has hopes to be self - reliant. She wants to sell off her share of gold. She says to her mother, "I will put the money in the bank, Aai. That gold should fetch fifty to sixty thousand rupees. I will be able to manage my studies from the interest on the amount." (127)

But this hope is wasted as Ranju runs away with the gold. In other words whatever may be the conscious will of the women in the play, their lives are doomed. There are no escape routes. No one questions, or rebels with any success. Everything is bleak. There is no hope.

Choosing to Live Her Life

Now Prabha feels strong enough to live her life. So she doesn't agree to the selling off of the portion at the back of the house. She blames her two brothers for their irresponsibility towards the family and her education.

> **Prabha:** My dear able-bodied brothers! Why don't you wear bangles? Selling the morsel from your mother's mouth! And these two women, pretending as if they don't know what's going on! (116)

Women of the Play and Tradition and Modernity

The women of the play make great philosophical leaps and reinstate their inner sanctity of justice and kindness. Among them, the mother and daughter Prabha strike the audience most. Having lived and seen it all, the pious mother doesn't see Prabha's dreams of getting out of the Wada and pursuing her education as threatening to tradition. In fact, she expresses great faith in her aspiration of self-realization. Tradition and modernity are then not two different entities, but a complex overlap of notions that are ostensibly contradictory.

Contrary to the Deshpande story, Anya in The Cherry Orchard leads her crying mother off the stage, promising her a new orchard, which symbolizes a new life.

Victims

Mahesh Elkunchwar's women characters in *The WadaTrilogy* are quite interesting. They are victims. The recently widowed Aai is gradually, but definitely filling up the space which has been vacated by Dadi. She is incapacitated, and the only business she has, is calling out the name of her dead son, and asking for the time. Aai is devoted, she suffers, but she has misgivings about the portion at the back of the house. She asks "Bhaskar….. Sell off the portion at the back." (119)

This is epitomized in her sacrificing her share of the property for the final rites of her husband. Since she is a widow, she hands over her reign to her eldest daughter- in- law. "My term is over. Now it's the reign of your sister-in-law. Keep that in mind." (124)

This is how she sets an ideal quite chaste, and lives in accordance with the customs, rules and traditions of a feudal Brahmin once. Aai is unable to influence the crucial decisions like educating her daughter Prabha. She confesses to her,

> Prabha, we really ruined your life, dear. You were the cleverest of all the children. And you loved your studies. But that was his nature. Nobody could act against his word. For him it was just one thing - why do girls need education? He never allowed any opinion but his own to prevail. Education is of no use to a girl, that was his refrain. (125)

Now, Aai is concerned about Prabha's unmarried status, which would make Prabha dependent on her brother and sister-in-law.

Crumbling Values and Daring Effort of Vahini

Aai's tragedy is the misfortune of crumbling values of feudal orders and patriarchy. In fact that is what the playwright is trying to imply in the play. No one wants to fight against the system. Everyone wants to hold on to past memories, get nostalgic and yearn for the glorious

days. No one advocates even the most basic of changes, like economic change, which can bring about freedom and liberation from extremely regressive values. Woman keeps in tune with the man only in the villages. There she thinks and feels like a man and enters the evolutionary struggle for progress as fervently as he does in a family.

It is obviously seen in Vahini's character. Vahini is a quite firm and very gentle person in the play. She represents an average Indian woman-wife, mother and daughter-in-law.

Similarly, in *The Cherry Orchard*, Ranevskaya's failure to address problems facing her estate and family mean that she eventually loses almost everything and her fate can be seen as a criticism of those people who are unwilling to adapt to the new Russia. Her petulant refusal to accept the truth of her past, in both life and love, is her downfall throughout the play. She ultimately runs between her life in Paris and in Russia. She is a woman who lives in an illusion of the past.

Growing Belief in Outward Show

Shanta Gokhale, the translator makes comments on how the whole family believes in outward show and pomposity. She also brings to light the typical Indian sensibility where families are more bothered about their reputation in society, no matter how hard they try to make ends meet. Scene II of *Old Stone Mansion* brings this kind of hypocrisy very clearly when Vahini says: "The Deshpandes decided to be modern and put a tractor there. Forget about usefulness as long as we can make a show of wealth." (89)

Vahini becomes the mistress of the family after the death of Tatyaji in the house. It is not even five days since Tatyaji is gone, and she changes a lot. There is no delay in the house keys reaching her waistband. When Tatyaji was alive one couldn't hear Vahini's steps in the Veranda, but within five days one can hear her commands even from outside the house. When they discuss buying of groceries, she meticulously points out to ask for the equal share of the expenses which is required for the funeral rites of her father-in-law. Vahini blindly justifies the actions of her son and daughter, though her son is a stupid drunkard: "It did happen once or twice. But then immediately all the relatives were ready to eat him alive. Bhavji, he is like Abhay to you."

Ranju grows genuinely fond of films, and at the same time she realizes the fact that she can do nothing. but spend all her time at the mirror. It is a kind of reckless passion for a teenage girl to become an actress. Ranju belongs to a different world, and it is the world which she shares with her tuition master. Her dreams of the world are fantastic embodiment of whatever is excluded for her, by the family. It may be said that the white heat of sexual desire melts her will power, and she has nothing to do with the community life in the village.

Prabha is an educated and mentally developed young woman. She understands the teacher's attitude towards Ranju. She sends him back whenever he comes to teach her, even as Vahini is reluctant to send him back because Ranju has already failed twice in her X class. On the other hand, Prabha alerts her saying Ranju is already seventeen years old. Prabha, finally, finds that Ranju is not interested in her studies. She says to Vahini

> You will regret it. I tell you all this because as Ranju is interested in other things.
> You will find her in front of the mirror all the time. Or she is gadding about town.
> We were not allowed to step out of the door. (97)

But Vahini's reaction is,

> I am also telling you, wance,(sister-in-law) do not go on and on about Ranju . . . I
> can only say that it is not good to be so suspicious about any one. (97)

Holding on to Past Memories

Everyone in the play wants to hold on to past memories. No one advocates change. No one advocates even the most basic changes like economic change, which can bring about freedom and liberation from extremely regressive values. The only person who tries to escape from this reality is Ranju. But, alas, even she is bought, reclaimed, with gold.

Chandu, a Tragic Figure

Chandu is another tragic figure in the play. He is obviously weak, sensitive, vulnerable and affectionate. But he is not strong enough to say "no" to any kind of injustice. All day he toils like a servant in the house. He goes to receive the Bombay couple in the beginning of the

play and waits there till late night. But at last, he comes back without them as the bus is cancelled. When there is a collective responsibility to perform the rites of his father, he cannot force his brothers for money. He has been fasting since his father passed away, yet he doesn't look for food. While getting groceries into the house he cuts himself on the tin of the tractor which stands for their family's prestige and honour in front of the house.

Chandu leads a life of subservience in the house, since he is not the eldest son. Only Bhaskar, the eldest son and Sudhir who has left the house and settled in Bombay, seem to enjoy more prestige. But the real strength of the play doesn't lie in the way the family and the traditional values collapse in the changing times. It lies in the very sensitive perception into the inner lives of the women in the joint family. The lively discussion between Chandu and Ranju indicates his loving nature. He is unable to command even the children in the house. He is an affectionate person in the family and looks after Dadi. When his mother, Aai suggests he sell off her portion, he reacts spontaneously and asks his brothers to mortgage his land.

In a letter to the audience, Mahesh Elkunchwar suggests that on second thoughts he would 'personally like to delete' Chandu's telling Aai that he would have liked to have had a shop of his own. As Elkunchwar now feels that Chandu is a mute sufferer, it would be better if he has the slightest courage to speak out his dreams. Thus his last cry "Sudhir!" (141) becomes more poignant at the end of the play.

Elkunchwar's Intent

Time is the facilitator of the encounter between obsession and falling off in the play. At one level there is the conflict between the tractor and the palanquin. At another level the very presence of the grandmother who remains blissfully unaware of the death of her son, Venkatesh. In an interview Elkunchwar talks about the presence of Dadi, "Dadi is Time and also the silent spectator who sees Time flit by in front of her eyes." 16

Elkunchwar presents two distinctive generations in the play. Dadi, Aai of the old generation, Vahini and Anjali of the middle generation, and Ranju as the representative of the modern generation all belong to this family. But the theme of identity, and the subversion of the

expectations of such a theme, is one that can be seen even in *The Cherry Orchard*; indeed, the cast itself can be divided up into three distinct parts: the Gayev family (Ranevskaya, Gayev, Anya and Varya), family friends (Lopakhin, Pishchik and Trofimov), and the "servant class" (Firs, Yasha, Dunyasha, Charlotta and Yepikhodov).

Inability to Respect and Understand the Rights of Others

India is a good example of people's inability to respect and understand the rights of the others. Both Prabha and Chandu are tragic characters. Elkunchwar highlights the character of Prabha in the play. This may be a true depiction of the situation, but the playwright has not gone beyond. Instead, women in an age are prescribed. It appears these women have no alternative even in these changing times. And so, those who try to break away from moulds of tradition are punished or brought back.

Trapped in tradition and the hangover of a glorious past, there are hardly any routes to liberation for these people. The exacting demands of the community don't make it any simpler for them. The multi-layered play has the invisible presence of the tractor throughout. This image of the ruthless wheels of technology weaves in the complicated intervention of modernity. The bedridden Dadi, who keeps asking what time it is every half hour, becomes time herself. She is the passive observer who is a spectator to things taking their course. The desires, greed, pettiness of the family members, their aspirations and dreams – the play brings it out subtly and beautifully. Redemption and realization for each one of them comes from within the suffering and not in some idyllic pastoral plains, under the dreamy Bodhi Vruksha.

Simplistic Representation

The story brings up several issues – migration, caste, girl child, hypocrisies of urban life, – but fails to make an impact. Even in terms of its representation of people, it is rather simplistic. What finally emerges is the success story of two generations of women, Prabha as well as her mother, who move on despite odds.

Elkunchwar shows Aai as a woman with a modernized outlook. Her character signifies the continuity, as she may be very traditional and brought up in a traditional fashion, but she is the more modern than the most modern woman in the play. It is really something great when she is prepared to sell away the property so as to keep her husband's prestige alive. In the position that Aai takes to bring the dispute to a close, she is motivated above all by a sense of propriety. She doesn't even bother when Prabha proposes to continue her studies and lead an independent life in the city. It absolutely gives an indication that in spite of all the changes around the world, the basic tenets of traditionalism are always part of the society. One needn't give it up to become totally modern and non-conformist. In spite of all the changes around the world, Aai's character signifies and stands as a hallmark for tradition; this doesn't mean that she can't be modern, but tradition which takes into account the basic tenets of human values can always be adaptable for modernism. Her character reminds us of *The Cherry Orchard*, when Madame Ranevsky and Gayef, cutting the cherry orchard down is not an option; the estate is too important. Their inability to comprehend the sense of Lopakhin's lucrative suggestion implies that they are two characters of the old aristocracy who cannot change with the changing times. The play concerns an aristocratic Russian woman and her family as they return to the family's estate just before it is auctioned to pay the mortgage. While presented with options to save the estate, the family essentially does nothing and the play ends with the estate being sold to the son of a former serf, and the family leaving to the sound of the cherry orchard being cut down. The story presents themes of cultural futility — both the futility of the aristocracy to maintain its status and the futility of the bourgeoisie to find meaning in its newfound materialism.

As far as Ranju character is concerned, she sets herself apart from the culture of the wada. The contrast between Prabha and Chandu, both made and controlled by the wada, are touched upon once again. There is a touch of pathos - unresolved mystery- in Chandu calling out for Sudhir at the end in a feeble and broken voice. It can be concluded that the drama is more in Sudhir's response than in Chandu's unvoiced appeal. There is a mix of guilt and discretion in his response when he stops for a moment and moves away.

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Do We Need to Look for an Alternative to CLT in Bangladesh?
A Study from Secondary Level English Teachers' Perspective

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Abstract

Communicative Language Teaching is highly advocated by many applied linguists and English language teachers as an effective language teaching approach. But, the implementation of CLT in English as Foreign Language (EFL) context has encountered a huge number of difficulties. These difficulties vary widely from country to country. Bangladeshi English teachers also mention some problems that

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they face in applying CLT approach. They also uphold perceptions about the CLT principles. These perceptions and beliefs have direct impact on their teaching practice in the classroom. This study tries to find out a co-relation between their perceptions of CLT and impediments to implementation of CLT in secondary level English classes. This study also tries to find out whether the current approach-fetish ELT education system needs to be changed. The study was based on data collected from 20 secondary level English teachers of Bangladesh through questionnaires with fixed alternatives and unstructured interviews with the teachers. The answers were tabulated numerically and analyzed for interpretation.

Keywords: Communicative Language Teaching approach, Communicative competence, ESL Context, EFL Context, Traditional method.

Introduction

Many a research work has been conducted to investigate if the Communicative Language Teaching approach, a Western innovation, can be applied to and followed as a language teaching method in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context. (Burnaby and Sun, 1989, Ellis, 1996, Li, 1998, Xiaoju, 1984).

Most of the above- mentioned research focuses on the problems that teachers come across while applying Communicative Language Teaching approach in the 'Outer Circle' and 'Expanding Circle' (Jenkins, 2009) countries. Most of the problems identified are spotted in the education system, teachers' misconceptions about CLT, infrastructure facilities of the institutions, socio-cultural factors, the traditional examination system, and large class size which relate to Bangladeshi English education scenario too. This study investigates the conceptions of 20 secondary English teachers about CLT and tries to identify the problems in its application in English teaching in Bangladesh. It also wants to know from the participating teachers their views about the appropriateness of CLT as an approach.

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Literature Review

A lot of research has been conducted worldwide regarding the appropriateness of CLT in EFL contexts by ESL and EFL researchers.

Some studies have emphasized the local necessity and the particular English teaching conditions in the EFL countries and the importance and success of traditional language teaching methods (Bhargava, 1986, Sampson, 1984, 1990) and some have strongly advocated the adoption of CLT in EFL countries (Prabhu,1987). But, the majority of studies have recognized the difficulties EFL countries face in adopting CLT.

Ellis investigated the appropriateness of CLT in Vietnam. The problems that were discovered in Vietnam are related to the teachers' maintenance of deep-rooted tradition. The problem, according to Ellis, was due to two traditional practices, the cultural reluctance of the Vietnamese to challenge written words, and the focus on grammar and translation in the examination system. It was also revealed that the Vietnamese teachers believed that they did not have necessary knowledge of target language culture and CLT is culturally incompatible with the Vietnamese culture and education system. In that study Ellis concluded that "although there is a strong demand for communicative competence in Vietnam, it is not matched by adequate teacher training, communicative language materials and suitable learning environments". Ellis (1994) had doubt about the universal relevance of communicative approach in Far-Eastern countries. He argued that the Western idea that 'communicative competence shares the same priority in every society may not be true; and so he asserted that communicative approach needs to be culturally attuned and accepted to make it suitable for Asian situation. Hence, he suggests a kind of "mediating'' between the Western and Eastern teachers and integration of the two teaching methods to make language teaching successful in EFL countries.

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Gorsuch (2000) investigated Japanese teachers' approval of communicative activities. Eight hundred and eighty four Japanese senior high school EFL teachers participated in the study. Based on the data of the study, Gorsuch concluded that teachers were largely influenced by the requirements of the university entrance examination. As the university entrance examination was crucially important in students' lives, both the institution and the students put pressure on teachers to allow them to study materials needed for the examination. Gorsuch also found that majority of teachers preferred a more traditional way of teaching and were opposed to the new teaching method of CLT. Another factor was the use of target language. Teachers did not use the target language in the classroom which they believe was not wise to use in high school without the explicit direction from the teachers.

Studies were conducted in China about the suitability of CLT there. Burnaby and Sun (1989) report that teachers in China found it difficult to use CLT. The constraints cited include the context of the wider curriculum, traditional teaching method, class sizes and schedules, resources and equipment, the low status of teachers who teach communicative   rather than analytical skills and strategic competence. Anderson's, (1993) study of CLT in China   report the following problems as barriers to the implementation of CLT. They are lack of properly trained teachers, lack of appropriate texts, and materials, and students' not being accustomed to CLT.

Studies conducted in Bangladesh regarding the usability of CLT by a number of researchers are Chowdhury (2011), Chowdhury and Ha (2008,), Shahidullah (2007), (Farooqui, 2006), Karim,2004), Hasan,(2004). There are mixed opinions about the application and suitability of CLT in Bangladeshi EFL context. Karim (2004) conducted a survey among 36 post secondary ELT teachers in six private universities of Bangladesh to investigate into their beliefs, perception and expectations about CLT. Karim's studies manifest many positive opinions by the participating teachers. The findings as described by the researcher suggest the fact that the participating teachers did not support some of the common misconceptions about CLT. There is a misconception prevailing among the Bangladeshi teachers   that CLT requires a good

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proficiency of the teachers. But, Karim found that the majority of teachers opined that lack of teachers' proficiency is not a problem. The respondents identified students' lack of proficiency as a problem. The studies reported that 50% of teachers believed the misconception that CLT requires a lot of time from teachers for preparation of lesson. The other barriers identified by the respondents are large class size, inadequate resources in the classroom, immovable furniture in the classrooms, traditional teacher—centered grammar teaching method, traditional grammar-based examination, lack of support from the administration, lack of teachers' training, lack of oral fluency of the teachers, teachers' lack of time to prepare communicative materials, lack of authentic materials and audio visual materials .

Chowdhury and Ha (2008) conducted a study with six Bangladeshi university teachers. The study was   done on the basis of qualitative research   through unstructured interviews with the participants. The respondents identified some misconception about CLT as powerful barriers to the adoption of CLT in Bangladesh. A respondent suggested that mediating between CLT and traditional grammar translation method will be a wholesome choice for Bangladeshi ELT situation.

Chowdhury's (2011) study found that 80% of higher secondary teachers rated the following problems as great difficulties in implementing CLT in Bangladesh. They are 'students' unwillingness to participate in communicative activities' 'large class size,' 'lack of training in CLT' and 'lack of logistic support from administration'.

Materials and Methods

This study follows the qualitative approach to research. Questionnaire   with fixed alternative was distributed among 33 secondary school teachers of two Upazilas (administrative units having almost half a million of population each) of Chittagong district. The questionnaires were distributed to the teachers through the government Secondary Education Officers of these two Upzilas. Teachers submitted the filled in questionnaire to the same persons. However, teachers were asked to provide their

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phone numbers for any interviews if required. Twenty two questionnaires could be collected. From among them, 20 questionnaires (10 from each Upazila) were analyzed for data collection. All the questions were with fixed alternatives because these types of questions are easy to analyze and do not lead to confusing interpretation. However, for clarification of some answers unstructured interviews were arranged with a number of teachers**.**

Communicative Language Teaching Approach in Bangladesh

To improve the quality of ELT, CLT had been introduced and teachers have been being encouraged to follow this approach. To facilitate the implementation of CLT in Bangladesh, batches of senior English teachers were sent overseas-almost exclusively to the English-speaking West-for further training. But, the fact is that at all levels of education the Grammar Translation method is still being followed in Bangladesh. So, there is conflict between the policy –level expectation and actual practice (Chowdhury and Ha,2008).

In 2000, the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP) which was funded by the Bangladesh Government and by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) introduced communicative textbook up to the Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) level. Chowdhury and Farooqui discuss how the ELTIP, jointly run by the British Council, Dhaka and the National Curriculum and Textbook Board attempted to   improve the quality of ELT in secondary and higher secondary education across the country. This new curriculum was a complete departure from the previous teaching method. This method was student-centered and aimed at helping students acquire 'communicative competence' through interaction and practice of skills in the classroom. Textbooks for the first time were written by Bangladeshi teachers and those were culturally compatible and familiar (Chowdhury, 2011). To provide well-structured training program, ELTIP gave training to secondary teachers through 27 centers across the country. ELTIP trained teachers   so that they could make the best use of the newly

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written communicative textbooks with a view to developing the four language skills of the learners. DFID funded two phases of the ELTIP (1997-2001), and after DFID left in 2002, ELTIP had been funded by the NCTB and seven Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education. ELTIP had two objectives: (1) to produce CLT-based English textbooks for grades 9-10 at the secondary level and grades 11-12 at the higher secondary cycle, and (2) to train school teachers and empower them to teach communicative English (Paul, 2004, Hamid, 2005, NCTB, 2001, 2003, Rahman, 2007, cited in Hamid and Baldauf 2008). So, to continue the development of ELT training in Bangladesh, DFID started another project called 'English in Action' from May, 2008 which will continue up to May, 2017.

Definition of Communicative Language Teaching Approach

A huge number of books and papers have been written to define the characteristics of CLT. Communicative Language Teaching encapsulates some prominent characteristics. They are: Meaning is very important. Interaction helps a lot in acquiring communicative competence. Function of language is vital. Fluency precedes accuracy, etc.

Littlewood (1981) highlights the importance of interaction in acquiring communicative competence. He says that CLT pays systematic attention to functional as well as structural aspects of language, and hence combines these to a more fully communicative view (p.1). CLT advocates to go beyond the teaching of grammatical rules of the target language and recommends that learners will develop communicative competence by using the target language in a meaningful way. Interaction is the means to use the language in a meaningful way.

Larsen Freeman (2001) considers interaction as the prerequisite to language learning. To her language is for communication and in a communicative class everything is done with a communicative intent (p.132). Students learn a language through communicative activities. Larsen Freeman also observes that language games, such as, card game, scrambled sentences, problem solving tasks, such as,

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picture strip story, and role play activities that match the principles of communicative approach are integrated in a CLT classroom.

Richards and Rodgers (2001) illustrate that 'the emphasis in communicative language teaching on the process of communication rather than mastery of language forms, leads to different role for learners from those found in more traditional second language classrooms'. Learners are thought to be active participants in the language classroom.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of the questionnaires reveals the following data.

Analysis of Question No. 1

The teachers have varying level of experience ranging from 1 to 10 years. Please see Table-1.

Table 1:Experience

1-2 years	3-4 years	5-6 years	7-8 years	9-10 years
2	2	11	4	1

Analysis of Question No. 2

All the teachers are found to have gone through training of various types. They are ELTIP, B.Ed. and workshops on English teaching. As the teachers have done the training during the last 10 years, they said that their training focused mainly on CLT. Many of them have done more than one training and workshop. Table 2 illustrates this.

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Table 2 : Training

ELTIP	B.Ed.	Workshop
17	10	22

Analysis of Question No. 3

Question no.3 was intended to elicit teachers' conceptions about the general principles of CLT. This question lists 13 statements which are descriptive of CLT, and some of them are common misconceptions about CLT being prevalent in EFL countries. Responses to this questionnaire item indicate the Bangladeshi English teachers' conceptions about general principles of CLT. It is found from the responses that majority of teachers uphold most of the right perceptions about CLT whereas they uphold a few wrong conceptions too.

Right Perceptions

1. CLT is a student-centered approach 100%

4. CLT emphasizes fluency over accuracy 100%

5. CLT emphasizes communication in L2 80%

Again it is seen that these teachers do not agree with the misconceptions about CLT being held in EFL countries as is seen from their negative responses. These teachers do not adhere to these misconceptions by opting for 'not true'. For example,

3. CLT means discourse competence only 80%

11. CLT means teaching speaking only 90%

However, 90% of the teachers subscribe to the misconception.

6. CLT relies heavily on speaking and listening skills 90%.

12. CLT puts too much pressure on teachers 85%. (Please see table 3.)

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Table3: Perception Table

Serial no.	Features	True	Not true	Don't know	Total Responses
1	CLT is a student -centered approach	20	0	0	20
2	CLT means strategic and sociolinguistic competence	18	1	1	20
3	CLT means discourse competence only	2	16	2	20
4	CLT emphasizes fluency over accuracy	20	0	0	20
5	CLT emphasizes communication in L2	18	2	0	20
6	CLT relies heavily on speaking and listening skills	18	2	0	20
7	CLT requires the teachers to have high proficiency in English	16	4	0	20
8	CLT means only pair work and group work	4	16	0	20
9	CLT requires higher knowledge of target culture	5	13	2	20
10	CLT means not teaching grammar	2	18	0	20

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| 11 | CLT means teaching speaking only | 2 | 18 | 0 | 20 |

| 12 | CLT puts too much pressure on teachers. | 17 | 2 | 1 | 20 |

| 13 | CLT is basically an English as Second Language, not English as Foreign Language methodology. | 2 | 16 | 2 | 20 |

Analysis of Question No. 4

Question No.4 was intended to find out which difficulties the teachers face in adopting CLT in secondary English classes. These difficulties are traced in studies done around the world focusing on the problems faced in EFL contexts. The table 4 shows the following results.

90% of teachers identify the following factors as great difficulties in implementing CLT in Bangladesh. They are:

'Teacher does not have sufficient spoken skill, large class size, students do not want to engage in communicative activities, students 'low level proficiency' followed by 'teacher does not have sufficient time to prepare communicative materials-80% and traditional grammar based examinations 75% and lack of enough logistic support from administration 65%'.

Table 4: Barrier Table

SL No.	The following are some of the difficulties that teachers in Bangladesh and other EFL/ ESL	Not a problem	Manageable problem	Great difficulty	Total Responses

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	countries have in adopting CLT . Do you come across these difficulties or do you think they might be difficulties for you in adopting CLT I n Bangladesh?				
a	Teacher does not have sufficient spoken skill	0	2	18	20
b	Teacher does not have enough target culture knowledge	9	9	2	20
c	Teacher does not have sufficient time to prepare communicative materials	2	2	16	20
d	Students do not want to engage in communicative activities	2	2	18	20
e	Examinations are traditionally grammar based	0	5	15	20
f	Large class size	0	2	18	20
g	The differences between EFL/ESL teaching contexts	0	10	10	20
h	Lack of training in CLT	0	10	10	20
i	Not enough logistic support from administration	0	7	13	20
j	Teachers do not know what CLT means	0	10	10	20
k	Unsuitability of Western educational system in EFL context	8	8	4	20
l	Lack of effective assessment system of speaking and listening	4	6	10	20

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	skills				
m	Students' low level proficiency	0	2	18	20

Analysis of Question No. 5

This question is intended to know if the teachers consider CLT as the appropriate approach for Bangladeshi context. The following results are found.

Yes-3

No-16

Don't know-1

80% of teachers do not consider CLT as the suitable approach for Bangladesh.

Analysis of Question No. 6

This question was aimed at finding out the participant teachers' views about their preference for accuracy, fluency or both at the same time. The responses yield the following results:

Fluency 2

Accuracy 8

Both fluency and accuracy 10

It is seen from the responses that 90% of teachers are not ready to compromise on accuracy.

Analysis of Question No. 7

This question is meant to elicit from the teachers if they think that CLT is a must to make the Bangladeshi learners communicatively competent users of English. The responses yield the following results.

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Yes-2

No-16

Not sure-2.

Analysis of Question No. 8

This question is intended to know from the learners whether they suggest: to follow the current method, CLT, or find an alternative approach that incorporates the best and applicable in Bangladeshi context or more training of teachers in CLT. The answers reveal the following results:

Alternative approach 16

More training in CLT 3

Not sure 1

Discussion

We can trace a kind of relation between the teachers' perception about CLT and the identification of barriers in the implementation of CLT in Bangladesh. For example**,** the difficulty 'Teacher does not have sufficient time to prepare communicative materials identified by (80%) of teachers as a great difficulty matches well with the perception 'CLT puts too much pressure on teachers' held by 85% of teachers. We can also compare the findings in this study with previous research done on the same topic elsewhere. For example, here 75% of teachers regard grammar based examination as a great difficulty. Ellis' research about the appropriateness of CLT in Vietnam found that among other things, the focus on grammar and translation in the examination system was a great problem faced by the Vietnamese teachers. However, a difference can be identified between this study and Ellis' study. In Ellis' study, Vietnamese teachers believed that they did not have necessary knowledge of target language culture. On the other hand, in our study only 10% of teachers rank this

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as a great difficulty. This might be due to the fact that at present, all the text books (class 6 -12) have indigenous topics and subject matters and been written by local writers. In Ellis' study he had doubt about the universal relevance of CLT approach and suggests a kind of 'mediating' between the Western and Eastern teachers and integration of two teaching methods to make language teaching successful in EFL countries. This view is also expressed by 80% of teachers in our study.

A comparison of our study with Gorsuch's study done in Japan about the Japanese teachers' approval of communicative activities can be made. In that study Gorsuch found that majority of teachers did not want to use the target language. In our study, 90% of teachers identified the barrier 'Teacher does not have sufficient spoken skill' as a great difficulty.

A striking dissimilarity of the present study with the previous research done on the same topic can be discussed here. For example, the items, 'The differences between EFL/ESL teaching contexts, Lack of training in CLT, Teachers do not know what CLT means' pose great problems in the implementation of CLT in many countries, but in this study these factors are not identified in Bangladesh. A significant number of teachers' (50%) identification of these problems as a manageable problem is remarkable in this study. But quite unexpectedly, 80% of teachers say that CLT is not a necessity to make learners communicatively competent and alternative method can help learners and teachers.

In Karim's study lack of only students' proficiency in English, not that of teachers, is a problem. In our study both students' and teachers' lack of proficiency is a great difficulty as identified by 90% of teachers. The participating teachers' no compromise with accuracy is remarkable. It is conflicting with their perception that 'CLT emphasizes fluency over accuracy. This choice demonstrates their antagonism towards CLT as is the case in many EFL countries.

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The teachers' option for an alternative approach for ELT is in line with their negation of CLT as a necessary method for making the learners communicatively competent. In both cases the percentage of teachers is same, i.e. 80%. However, in reply to our questions in the interview, 'How will then the learners be communicatively competent in L2 if the CLT is not followed?', they say that CLT is not essential to make the learners competent in communication. They opine that if the learners become grammatically competent and they have a good stock of vocabulary, they will become confident and accordingly they will become fluent speaker. They also opine that because of CLT learners are not learning correct English.

Limitations of the Study

The participants of this study were selected from the rural schools. It could have been more representative if 50 percent of these teachers were from the urban areas because it is true that there is difference between the quality of education in rural and urban areas of Bangladesh. However, the two areas we selected for our data collection are only 14 to 25 miles away from the Chittagong Metropolitan area. These two areas are economically and educationally more advanced than the majority of villages of Bangladesh.

The study was done only from the perspective of the teachers. Students' opinions were not taken into consideration. But we wanted to study the problem from the point of view of the teachers, i.e., the problems faced by the secondary school teachers in implementing CLT in Bangladesh.

Conclusion

The majority of teachers' knowledge about CLT principles is right except a few misconceptions. The right perceptions do not contribute positively to classroom practice. The problems are in the implementation process. The problems in the implementation of CLT in Bangladesh as identified by the participating teachers are

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almost same as those encountered by teachers in EFL countries. However, there are some striking differences in the identified problems.

The majority of teachers are also not happy with the current method of ELT, that is CLT and they want an alternative approach where there will be a balance between fluency and accuracy because the objective for introducing CLT to develop communicative competence is not fulfilled. So, there is a call for alternative approach to language teaching for the development of communicative competence. However, communicative competence can be developed through other syllabuses as well. So, Howatt (1984) says, "Communicative performance can be promoted on the basis of a traditional language syllabus, provided that the linguistic material is suitably selected, presented and exercised." So, there is a need for indigenous method.

To do that, EFL countries should strive to establish their own research contingents and encourage method specialists and classroom teachers to develop language teaching methods that take into account the political, economic, social and cultural factors and, most important of all, the EFL situations in their countries. So, Richards (1992) & Ashworth (1984) comment that instead of 'follow the methods techniques,' it should try to 'develop a methodology' that is culture and context sensitive; in other words, bottom-up, not top-down. Hence, there is an attempt to strike a balance between communicative syllabus and traditional grammar-based syllabus in many countries, for example, in the secondary and higher secondary English curriculum of our country. So, a course with grammar-based syllabus had been introduced in all the classes in secondary level from 2011 to remove the loopholes of the English education scenario.

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Questionnaire

1. What is your educational qualification? BA/MA/ BA in English/MA in
English/Other(please elaborate)

2. Have you received any training in CLT? (Please elaborate)

3. What is Communicative Language Teaching approach in your view? Tick those
which you think are the features of the CLT.

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1. CLT is a student-centred approach.

2. CLT means strategic and sociolinguistic competence.

3. CLT means discourse competence only.

4. CLT emphasises fluency over accuracy.

5. CLT emphasises communication in L2.

6. CLT relies heavily on speaking and listening skills.

7. CLT requires the teachers to have high proficiency in English.

8. CLT means only pair work and group work.

9. CLT requires higher knowledge of target culture.

10. CLT means not teaching grammar.

11. CLT means teaching speaking only.

12. CLT put too much pressure on teachers.

13. CLT is basically an English as Second Language, not English as Foreign Language methodology.

4. The following are some of the difficulties that teachers in Bangladesh and other EFL/ ESL countries have in adopting CLT. Do you come across these difficulties or do you think they might be difficulties for you in adopting CLT in Bangladesh?

Try a scale (circle one) how much of an issue is : 1-.no problem…….2-.manageable problem……3- .great difficulty

a) Teacher does not have sufficient spoken skill   1 2   3

b) Teacher does not have enough target culture knowledge   1 2   3

c) Teacher does not have sufficient time to prepare communicative materials 1 2   3

d) Students do not want to engage in communicative activities   1 2   3

e) Examinations are traditionally grammar based   1 2   3

f) Large class size   1 2   3

g) The differences between EFL/ESL teaching contexts   1 2   3

h) Lack of enough training in CLT   1 2   3

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i) Not enough logistic support from administration   1 2   3

j) Teachers do not know what CLT means   1 2   3

k) Unsuitability of Western educational system in EFL context.   1 2   3

l) Lack of effective assessment system of speaking and listening skills   1 2 3

m) Students' low level of English proficiency   1 2   3

 n) Other

5. Do you think that CLT is a suitable approach for Bangladeshi context?

yes/no/don't know.

6. Tick the one you would prefer for your learners to acquire,

a) fluency b) accuracy c) both at the same time.

7. Do you think that CLT is necessary to make the Bangladeshi learners

communicatively competent users of English? Tick a) yes b) no c) don't know.

8. Which one is more important to you? a) following the current

approach/methodology slavishly b) teacher training in CLT c) not sure.

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An Exploratory Study into Factors Affecting Achievement in English among Bangladeshi College Students: An Investigation of Teachers and Students Perceptions

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An Exploratory Study into Factors Affecting Achievement in
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Declaration

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MA TESOL at London Metropolitan University, London, UK

I confirm that this dissertation is all my own work.

Date ---18/01/2013 --------------------signed …… M Rahman……

Word Count: 14800 (Fourteen thousand and eight hundred words)

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Abstract

The study investigated the factors that led to poor performance in English subject in Bangladeshi HSC (12th Grade) level students. The research was set up to investigate the effect of some key factors on performance in English subject of the Grade 12th Learners. The factors under investigation consisted of instructional materials, teaching methods, assessment, teachers training and social and educational background of the learners. To carry out this investigation, 40 students were issued with questionnaires and 37 completed them. 4 English subject teachers also participated in the study from two (2) colleges. The instrument used for data collection was questionnaires and interviews. Four (4) teachers and Four (4) students' interview were taken. Analysis of data revealed poor instructional materials, lack of adequate exercise on CLT in the classroom, faulty assessment systems, lack of teachers training, low basic level of the students were factors associated with students' poor performance in English. Based on these findings, recommendations were made on strategies, which will improve the quality of teaching/learning English at HSC (Grade 12) level in Bangladesh.

Keywords: Students performance, instructional materials, methods, assessment, teachers training.

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Chapter 1: General Introduction

Background of Research

In Bangladesh, a student has to study English as a compulsory subject for 12 years to pass the Higher Secondary Certificate Examinations (HSCE). A good mastery of English is required by students in order to do well in higher education, which is conducted through the medium of English: the recently established science and technology universities use English as their medium of instruction and viva voice examinations of almost all higher education organizations are held in English. Yet, according to Scribd (n.d: p. 7), after twelve years of schooling and studying English, a large proportion of students fail in English in the HSCE exam, while those who pass, mostly earn very poor marks. As a teacher of English in a secondary school in Bangladesh, I have observed to my dismay over the years that the students who pass can neither speak fluently nor write correctly because they learn little or no English at all.

Considering the important role of English in the global economy, this will affect both the economic and technological growth in Bangladesh. A sound competence in English can enable people to communicate at the international level. By Learning English, a person can become a cosmopolitan citizen and can communicate and cooperate with others. Understanding among different nationalities with so many differences can be made. Many international visitors are coming to Bangladesh. The natives (Bangladeshi) who are going abroad for higher education are continuing their education in English. New branches of knowledge are being invented and discovered in the world and Bangladesh is getting acquainted with them.

The disciplines like Business Administration, Information and Communication Technology, Fashion Design are quite new in Bangladesh. The materials used for these subjects are written in English. If technology is mentioned, one cannot move without English even there. If a person knows English, he or she can use the best of internet facilities and other telecommunication technologies like mobile phone, digital video player, iPod and so on. Even in the commercial sector, the country is developing. The garments sector, the tapestry sectors and the fisheries sector have been able to draw the attention of the international body.

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To establish a good relationship with the buyers a good knowledge of English and ability to use English are needed. At present, the young educated people in our country are doing outsourcing jobs like text editing, journalism, web development, web design, image analysis, data entry, virtual assistance and call centre agent. Even many busy executives and educators are doings thesis and taking degree through online education. English has become the important part of our life. A person skilled in English is highly evaluated home and abroad. The need for learning English has become basic and keeping it in mind, the Bangladeshi educationalists have introduced it as a compulsory subject, and been very keen to find out the expected outcome that is the practical use of English by the learners. Yet, the primary objectives of English language teaching are not being achieved and students are not learning English according to expectation.

At present in Bangladesh CLT (communicative language teaching) has been implemented from six to 12th level of all educational institutions. For classroom instructions prescribed books are being used. Students in the 12th level are assessed after each one year through year final exam. After completing college level, students enter into the level of higher education where most of the academic program is taught in English. That's why learning English at the college level is badly needed.

The introduction of communicative methods in Bangladesh in the late 1990s was accompanied by high hopes for improved outcomes in English language learning. Yet, this extract from the leading English newspaper in Bangladesh illustrates the extent of disillusionment with the HSC English exam results in 2003. Columnist Murshed (2003) expressed,

> Shocking! Terribly shocking! The results of the HSC exams of six Education Boards were published on 13 October 2003. But alas! The number of failures of the HSC candidates has hurt our feelings; the strings of our heart seem to have been torn and we are shedding the blood of pain. The conscious class of our society cannot but express their utmost surprise and shock at the failure of the HSC examinees.

The result of HSC in 2009, 2010 and 2011(Appendix: H) shows gradual improvement, but the desired level of proficiency has not yet been achieved by the 12th level students'.

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Research Aim/ Topic Focus

A detailed investigation of the English teaching and learning system in Bangladesh has become crucial now for identifying the problems underlying students' failure to achieve satisfactory levels of competence in English. Some research has been undertaken in Bangladesh to investigate the problems surrounding implementation of ELT. For example, Farooqui (2008), Hamid & Baldauf (2008), Hamid (2010), Hasan and Akhand (2009), Hasan (2004)) and Chowdhury and Faruki(2011), but many questions remain unanswered. With this study I intend to review and extend previous work in the area by exploring the views of secondary school teachers and students on key factors affecting the successful teaching and learning of English

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Chapter 2: Literature review

2:1: Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature review giving particular attention to the factors affecting the achievements of grade twelve learners with specific reference to English subject in selected educational institutions in Dhaka Bangladesh. There may be so many factors affecting learners' performance in English such as psychological problems, cultural backgrounds, allocation of subjects to teachers without considering their areas of specialization, reading problems, curriculum changes and many others. In the following literature review the researchers have tried to identify the problems related to instructional materials or teaching aids, the teaching methods or strategies, assessment methods and assessment techniques, effectiveness of teacher education and training in CLT, students' goals and aspirations with regard to learning English and the effect of the socio-economic circumstances of students' home environments in learning English. This chapter will also include history of ELT policies in Bangladesh and finding of the previous work done in Bangladesh related to my study.

2:2: History of ELT policies in Bangladesh

To understand the status of ELT in Bangladesh it is essential to look back at the historical background. Before 1947, Pakistan (including present-day Bangladesh) was part of the British Raj or Empire. From the historical perspective of Bangladeshi people, English was not welcomed since it was the language of the colonizers as it replaced the prominence of Arabic and Persian which were thought to be sacred languages to the Bangladeshi Muslims – the religious majority. After 15 August 1947 Pakistan achieved separation from British India and became two parts: East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan. In multilingual Pakistan, English held the position of a second language and was a useful lingua franca. However, this period saw a great rise in language nationalism when the Prime Minister of Pakistan wanted to impose Urdu as the state language of East Pakistan (Bangladesh). The people of East Pakistan (Bangladeshis) protested against that decision, wishing to retain their own Bengali language, and the police killed 12 students of Dhaka University in the

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culmination of the Language Movement of 1952. After 2 years the Pakistani government conceded and allowed Bengali as the state language in East Pakistan (Bangladesh). In the continuing emotional fervor provoked by these events, educated people called on all levels of society to practice Bengali in every sphere of life. As a result the importance of English was decreasing.

Not surprisingly, then, English was neglected when Bangladesh got independence from Pakistan in 1971. According to Khan (2004) in the early language planning efforts of the new state of Bangladesh, Bengali was given the highest priority for the emotional and inspirational role it had played in the independence of Bangladesh. As Bengali was promoted in the new nationalism, English lost its status as a medium of instruction. According to the Bangladesh education commission report (1974): Bengali was prescribed as the compulsory language up to class 12, while textbooks of the higher stages of education, especially science and technical subjects, were translated into Bengali from foreign languages (khan 2004 p.113). According to Farooqui (2008), after the independence in 1971, Bengali played a very significant role in the education of Bangladesh and was promoted at the expense of English.

The poets, writers and politicians were arguing for implementation of Bengali as the medium of education. But even then the importance of English was not totally ignored as the country's constitution was written and published together in Bengali and English. From 1971 to 1996 English was a required subject at secondary school level and teachers taught it only through grammar translation method. So the students memorized some paragraph and essay and learned how to do translation from Bengali to English. In that time people could study university in Bengali medium without studying English. At the same time, however, Bangladesh as a new country in the world was introducing itself to the people of the world. People of Bangladesh were going abroad for business, study and for travelling as a result they felt the importance of English. Yet, at least partly because of the prevailing educational policy, reports by the Ministry of Education in 1976 and 1990 found that standards of English were declining at all levels of education (Khan 2004) and that the majority of students were not attaining required levels of proficiency (Rahman 1999, cited in Hamid & Baldauf: 2008)

In an attempt to boost levels of English achievement after this time of neglect, the education authority as a first step introduced English as a compulsory subject from the first grade of school in 1991, and also re-introduced English as the medium of instruction at tertiary level.

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In 1997 Communicative Language Teaching methodology was introduced at secondary level and it was implemented in HSC (grade 12) in 2003.

2:3: Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and HSC level education in Bangladesh

Introducing English at the youngest possible grade level and implementing CLT were widely welcomed policy initiatives to develop Bangladeshi human capital and strengthen the government's human resources efforts (NCTB 2003). In particular, it was hoped that communicative methods would improve standards of teaching and learning English throughout the country's formal education system. The CLT program was jointly funded by the Bangladesh govt. and the UK based organization DFID (department for international development) (NCTB: 2003) and the project named as ELTIP (English language teaching improvement project). The aim of this venture was to produce CLT based textbook and to train school teacher to empower them for communicative teaching English (NCTB: 2003).

CLT represented a major shift in approach to ELT from the previously used Grammar Translation Methods, in which knowledge about the language, its grammar, and rules are focused. On the other hand, communication or the ability to perform is emphasized in CLT. CLT is a modern method as Julian Edge states: "Communication is at the heart of modern English language teaching (Edge, 1993: p17)". CLT mainly focuses on the development of the communicative competence of the learners through the practice of four skills of language i. e. listening, speaking, reading and writing. According to CLT, learning a second language is not a matter of knowing about that language only. Rather, it requires regular practice of the basic language skills in that language. For this reason, CLT emphasizes the practice, use and development of these four skills.

In the past decades EFL teachers have been encouraged to implement CLT to develop students' English abilities in context because English is the most used spoken language in the world and it is also used in various areas such as science, technology, and business. According to Littlewood (2007), to overcome the limitations of the traditional language teaching methods, CLT has been implemented in EFL settings to improve students' abilities to use English in real contexts. In the same way, Larsen-Freeman (2000), thinks that CLT advocates teaching practices which develop communicative competence in real contexts.

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According to Harmer (2009), one of the things that CLT include is the concept of how language is used. Instead of concentrating only on grammar, CLT strongly focuses on communicative competence. That means learners are encouraged to use various language forms in various real life situations. Accuracy of the language is seen as less important than communicating successfully. Savignon (2002) states that, "The essence of CLT is the engagement of learners in communication to allow them to develop their communicative competence."

Definition of CLT

Brown (2007) presented four interrelated characteristics as a definition of CLT:

(1) Classroom goals are focused on all of the components of communicative competence and not restricted to grammatical or linguistic competence.

(2) Language techniques are designed to engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic, functional use of language for meaningful purposes. Organizational language forms are not the central focus, but rather, aspects of language that enable the learner to accomplish those purposes.

(3) Fluency and accuracy are seen as complementary principles underlying communicative techniques. At times fluency may have to take on more importance than accuracy in order to keep learners meaningfully engaged in language use.

(4) In the communicative classroom, students ultimately have to use the language productively and receptively, in unrehearsed contexts (p. 241).`

According to Richards and Rodgers (2001, p.161), the main principles of CLT are the communication principle, the meaningfulness principle and the task principle. That means, the authors suggest, language-learning activities in a CLT classroom need real communication, doing meaningful tasks and utilizing language, which is meaningful to the students. In the pre CLT method, the teacher-centered approach, in which teachers are regarded as knowledge givers and students as receivers, on the contrary CLT reflects a more social relationship between the teacher and learner. According to Brown (1994), this learner-centered approach gives students a sense of "ownership" of their learning and enhances their motivation. Teachers also take particular roles in the CLT approach. Larsen-Freeman (2000)

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states that the teacher facilitates the communication process between all learners in the classroom. The teacher is a co-communicator who involves in communicative activities with the participants.

The present CLT curriculum in Bangladesh aims at enabling the learners to use English efficiently both in the classroom and outside the classroom. It enhances the use of the target language in the classroom. It also initiates the students to ask questions in English. It reduces the' Teacher Talking Time' (TTT) and invites 'Students' Talking Time (STT) more. A democratic situation in the classroom instead of the one-way authoritative teaching is suggested here. More motivation from the teacher is expected and the classroom is supposed to be learner-centered. CLT invites more pair work, group work and lesson related activities instead of huge home tasks. Memorization is completely discouraged in CLT.

According to NCTB (2003) Curriculum and English Language Syllabus for HSC Classes (11-12), has as its aims and objectives to focus on the four skills i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing as learner-centered activities within communicative contexts. Therefore, it is not the grammar that gets priority in CLT; it is the four skills of the language.

As for listening, students should be able to understand instructions and commands, participate in short and simple conversations and discussions at an appropriately advanced level on a variety of topics like understanding narratives, descriptive text, argumentative, authentic and realistic text and listen for gist, and finally distinguishing different sounds of English and recognizing intonation patterns of statements and questions within appropriate communicative context.

In speaking, students should be able to initiate and participate in conversations at an appropriate level, give instructions and commands, describe people and objects, recount a series of events, etc, and take part any kinds of debate and discussion. For reading skills, students should be able to understand narrative texts; written instructions, descriptive texts, able to skim and scan. At last, in writing, students should be able to write narratives, simple instructions, descriptions, dialogues and summaries, formal and informal letters and organize their writing to communicate effectively.

Together with the knowledge and practice of these four skills, students should have sufficient knowledge of structures and grammar. They should receive good knowledge about these

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skills and practice with their classmates and the teacher in the classroom. Thus they will be able to use English outside the classroom and learn effective communication skills.

However, a decade after the implementation of CLT in Bangladeshi secondary schools, a review of English achievement data by Hamid & Baldauf (2008) showed no improvement at all in the performance of 10th graders. Hamid & Baldauf found that 37% students failed in his sampled school which was higher than national result (30%) (SSC Exam, 2007). In that exam only 15 to 20% students obtained grade B (GPA 3) and no students achieved highest grade A+ (GPA 5). This data only cover reading, writing and grammar not the listening and speaking test because there were no system of testing these two skills. Hamid & Baldauf also collected some date on speaking and listening skills from the 10th grade learners. The students were told to introduce themselves. Except one or two students no students could produce a meaningful chunk though those students studied English for 10 years (3 or 4 hours every day) in schools. From Hamid & Baldauf (2008) data the examples are given below.

Ramij: I am (complete name). (5.0) I read in class ten. My father name (name of father).(4.0)

Researcher: huh

Ramij: My mother name (name). (3.0) I live in small village. (3.0) I go to school regularly.

(Interviewed on 24.12.06 at 1:45in their residence)

Neeman: My name is (name). My father name is (name). (2.0). My home-home is a (name of locality). My village (name)-my village (name) is (7.0)

Researcher: huh. Keep going.

Neeman: (4.0) [silence]

Researcher: huh. Keep going.

Neeman: (5.0) [silence]

Researcher: Yes. Please go on.

Neeman: (7.0) [silence].

<div align="center">Hamid & Baldauf (2008: p.19)</div>

In fact Hamid & Baldauf (2008) conclude that "No studies in the last decade have reported any improvement in the standard of teaching and learning English, as might have been anticipated by the late 1990s policy innovations" (p.20).

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In the next section I review some of the recent research conducted in Bangladesh investigating the difficulties and obstacles to successful implementation of CLT and consider the reasons identified for the continuing failure of achievement in English.

2:4: Review of research into the failure of achievement in English

A number of local Bangladeshi researchers have investigated factors affecting the achievement of secondary school learners in Bangladesh in recent years.

Hasan (2004) conducted a study on the English language curriculum at the secondary level in Bangladesh. The study aimed to look at different components of the English Language Curriculum at secondary level (from grade 6 to 10) in Bangladesh from Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) point of view. In this study, 70 teachers - 35 from urban schools, 35 from rural schools were interviewed. Teacher samples were selected from those who taught English in any class from classes 6 to 10. This researcher talked with the teachers formally and informally. The formal investigation carried out through questionnaires and the teacher samples. Informal investigation comprised observation and discussion with teachers and head teachers of different institutions. The researcher also talked with other groups of people concerned e.g., guardians and school authorities. Discussion reveals same kind of impression about English language proficiency across the country.

He also discovers that the syllabus and the curriculum of education are examination oriented that means among 4 skills listening; speaking, reading and writing students are assessed by 2 skills reading and writing. That's why the students never feel importance of listening and speaking skills. He discovers on an average 68% teachers admit that they do not spend equal time for practicing four skills of English. In the class the teachers only focus on reading and writing skills.

The present study found gaps or mismatches within and between different levels of development. Significant inconsistencies were found at the planning level itself. Certain issues like the students' actual and desired needs, students' and teachers' attitudes towards English and extent of use of English, their proficiency levels, the infrastructures of institutions, resources available, students' social backgrounds and economical conditions were not addressed.

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The curriculum statement still remained Utopian, as it did not reach many of the teachers, who work in the implementation level. Objectives set out in the curriculum, though addressed the needs of the mainstream students, did not take into account the needs of many students who leave schools early and take technical hand experience (in most cases, non-institutional),

and do or opt to do jobs in home or abroad. It was argued that the contents of syllabuses of different classes were not structured or ordered. This bears crucial importance in a situation like Bangladesh where few teachers have a free hand ability to make modifications in the syllabus they are provided with.

It was observed that there were lack of resources, like teacher's book, and audio-visual aids, which is suggested by the curriculum. In fact, there were little opportunities for practicing listening skill, although it was instructed to teach 4 skills of the language in the curriculum. Examination questions were set from the set textbooks. So, the students always tried to memorize the answers from the textbooks. As a result, these examinations failed to evaluate students' ability to use English in communication.

The major factors identified by the research that most teachers failed to understand the intentions of the curriculum planners and the syllabus designers. Many teachers were aware of the modern development in the field of language teaching. They could not understand the approach of the revised *English for Today* books. They were unable to adopt a communicative method and left many parts of the books untouched. Instead of using main books they followed guidebook from the market to help the students to earn good score in the examinations. Many teachers even did not read the guideline given by the board. The condition was found worse in the rural areas than the urban areas.

Following Hasan (2004); Farooqui (2008) conducted a study on non-govt. secondary schools' (Appendix: I) CLT textbooks (Grade 6 to 12) in Bangladesh. The study employed a qualitative approach to examine teachers 'perceptions of the new textbook and the teacher's guide. The author followed a case study method in which the primary unit of analysis was individual English language teachers. The aim was to gain an insight into teachers' perceptions of the new textbook and the teacher's guide. The primary data for this article was collected as part of the doctoral project of the author. 26 teachers from various schools situated in urban, semi-rural and rural areas of Bangladesh were selected as participants of

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this study. Teacher interviews formed the basis of this study in which no student's interview was conducted.

The main issue that creates time constraint for teachers is the duration of a class period. Participants talked about the shortage of time in the class and reported that the duration of class was one of the major difficulties that prevent them from doing the activities of the textbook in the manner in which they have been suggested in the guide. The classes of secondary level are usually 30-40 minutes long. Participants also believe that since only reading and writing are tested in the SSC, they do not find any reason for practicing speaking and listening skills. One participant mentioned that it is the responsibility of the teachers to prepare their students well for the examination because in Bangladesh, all that matters is the result of the students, rather than their actual learning.

The study reveals that most of the participant teachers are not in favor of teaching the textbook according to the teacher's guide. The reasons included class duration, large class size, seating arrangement, and poor proficiency of the students and the impact of SSC examination. The data highlights the fact that the teachers generally believe that the textbook is good, even though the activities of the books are time-consuming. They cannot provide the time that is needed to implement this new method since the classes are very short. The class size and the seating arrangement in typical Bangladeshi classrooms are also not appropriate for conducting communicative activities. Participants also revealed that students' poor proficiency is a major obstacle to participatory activities characteristic of communicative lessons. They feel that the poor quality of students is the cause of their failure to do activities to practice speaking skill and students do not seem very eager to participate in the class. Teachers find it difficult to go through all the activities of this book since they are always under pressure to complete the syllabus. If teachers do all the activities as has been prescribed in teacher's guide, they will not be able to make the students prepared for the SSC exam. Thus, rather than doing all the activities, teachers prefer to prepare the students well for SSC examination by focusing only on the activities important for the exam. Both Hasan (2004) and Farooqui's (2008) study identified similar problems with exam, class size and test on two skills. Along with those problems Farooqui finds problem with the CLT textbooks.

Hamid and Baldauf (2008) report on findings of a study of six rural schools' in Bangladesh. They interviewed teachers regarding their views, perceptions, believes on different aspects of

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their teaching practice. In the study, they found CLT often fails to create sufficient opportunities for genuine interaction in the language classroom as most of the teachers are not familiar with the aural-oral method of CLT. All six teachers in his study admitted that they have limited understandings of designing speaking activities during practice and production. They also found that socio-economic condition of the parents and the parents' education influence success rate of the students. These factors are denied in student's achievement in English. In the study, it was identified that students of urban institute get more advantages than rural students. It was found that CLT only replaced the textbook except it all the facilities were old like socio economic facilities and same classroom features and learners. CLT training (provided by ELTIP) had hardly any effect on their (teachers) teaching though they have taken 13 days training.

The authors interviewed six (6) teachers about new ELT policy (CLT Method). All six teachers, including teachers with CLT training, admitted that they did not have a clear idea of implementing CLT in the classroom for developing learners' communicative competence. That group of English teachers lacked knowledge and understanding of CLT and most of them did not receive training or education about CLT or ELT pedagogy. However, even receiving such training could not guarantee the teacher's adoption and application of CLT based knowledge and skills. Similarly, the case study of nine secondary English teachers presented in Chowdhury & Farooqi (2011) emphasizes this point. Although all nine teachers received CLT training provided by ELTIP, classroom observation and interviews showed that their classroom practice was guided by their own beliefs and experiences of teaching and learning; CLT training had hardly had any impact on their classroom practice. The author comes to the conclusion that the teachers could not understand the CLT and they did not know how to implement CLT in the classroom. So the teachers were teaching old styles (grammar translation methods). As a result, despite the changes of policy the English language teaching system remain unchanged for the last decade.

Chowdhury & Farooqi (2011) conducted a case study on teacher training and teaching practice in secondary schools in Bangladesh. The aim of the study was to find out the factors influence teachers' teaching practice and to what extend teachers training are relevant in helping them teaching English with new communicative textbook. The primary data was collected from the individual English language teachers to gain an insight into the factors influencing these trained teachers' teaching practice. The primary data for this article was

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collected as part of a larger doctoral project of one of the authors. All nine participants of this study were ELTIP (English language teaching improvement project) trained teachers, randomly selected from schools of urban, semi-rural and rural areas in order to provide a wide range of perspective.

Data were collected from semi-structured interviews and classroom observation. Each participant was interviewed twice, once before the classroom observation and once after. The first interview was conducted to understand the teachers experience teaching qualifications, teaching context, belief about textbook and attitude to the new curriculum. The second interview focused on factors that shaped the actual observed lesson. Observation helped to get a broader picture of how teacher actually used the textbook in the class. A total of 18 classroom observation was conducted. In addition, curriculum materials were also reviewed to enhance the credibility of the study. Five factors which influence the teachers training and teaching method have been identified by the researchers. (1)The comfort zone of the traditional practice: most of the respondent believed that ELTIP training helped them develop their pedagogic skills and their knowledge about how to teach the book. But they found it difficult to apply their training. One of the teachers confessed that

> *The training taught us many lessons but we do not implement what we learn there. It*
> *is   comfortable to teach English in the traditional method (Anjali)*

Chowdhury & Farooqi (2011: p.154)

(2) Poor primary education of the students so students themselves are reluctant to participant in the interactive classroom activities: the students are not familiar with the CLT method and they like passive role in the class but teachers feel bored during communicative activities in the classroom.

(3) The burden of workload for the teachers**:** the data highlight that teachers are burdened with heavy work load. Every day with six or seven lessons they feel tired as a result they don't get enough time for the preparation of the next lesson. One teacher tells that

> *We are burdened with lot of classes. We are also engaged in other administrative*
> *work. It takes time to make lesson plans and to develop communicative materials but*
> *do we have time? (Bashar)*

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(4) Grammar based examination: the very fact that SSC exam assess students grammatical knowledge makes students reluctant to communicative activities. One teacher comments that:

The new textbook stress students ability to use the language but the SSC exam still consist mainly of grammar, reading comprehension and writing. These determine students score in examination. What then will motivate them doing the communicative activities or practice all the four skills in the class? (Rahela).

(5) Skepticism about teacher training: many teachers were skeptical about training programs and were confident in their belief such training could not help them.

Like Hamid and Baldauf (2008), similar study has been conducted by Hasan and Akhand (2009) on Challenges & Suitability of TESL at the College (Grade 12th) Level in Bangladeshi Context. The study conducted among the non-government (not fully government only 60% bared by government and 40% from the students' tuition fee) intermediate colleges (11 and 12th grade) of various parts of Bangladesh. They took interview from 35 teachers who were engaged in teaching in the Higher Secondary level (grade 11 and 12th). Questionnaire was designed to find out information regarding the teaching methodology, logistic support and facility. Thirty five teachers from twenty colleges across the country (from different divisions) responded to the research questionnaire. They also hold a focus group discussion where thirteen of the thirty-two teachers participated.

Hasan and Akhand (2009) found that CLT teaching methodology is not properly implemented in those educational institutions (11 and 12 grade). They also found that the goal of those institutions is to provide education with minimum expenses because the government doesn't allocate sufficient funding for those colleges and students pay lower tuition fee. That's why   the teachers have no scope for the access of good materials and technology. They also found that student's proficiency level, class size, time for the lesson and socio economic factors like parent's income and education level of the parents also responsible for the student's achievements in English. Existing exam system which emphasizes the pass and result rather than performance of the students is also responsible for the student's achievement in English. All the participants of their fact-finding sessions agreed

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unanimously that the problem lies in the implementation of the teaching methodology (CLT). The point that became highlighted is the appropriateness of some of the aspects of the CLT, but no one was against the CLT method.

All the facts that have come up mainly related to the proficiency level of students, class size (physically and in number of students), allocation of time of lessons in the class, the prevailing examination system, learners fear the loss of face, shyness and reluctant to question the teacher. Like Hassan and Akond (2009) some similar factors is identified by the study of Hamid and Baldauf (2008) for example; students' parents' education level, income level and lack of proper implementation of CLT.

Hamid (2010) in a study regarding English teacher's (Grade 6 to 12) capacity and language policy in Bangladesh found that there is a big gap between the learning objectives and the actual teaching and assessment practices. He identified that majority of the teacher did not receive the opportunity of teachers training though the CLT was implemented as a new method.

Finally, work by Hamid (2010) and Hamid & Baldauf (2008) suggests that economic factors as well as socio-cultural factors underlie the failure of ELT. Hamid (2010), investigating the language-in-education policy framework in Bangladesh, points out that comparison with other countries Bangladesh has invested far less for the development of ELT, resulting in an inadequate infrastructure, limited resources and under-qualified teachers. Regarding access policy, he argues that while in theory ELT policy in Bangladesh allows broad access to English to all students regardless of background or location, in practice about half the population is illiterate and "does not have access to literacy instruction in Bangla, let alone in English. Furthermore, it is usual that only students from a particular socio-economic background succeed in learning English"(p.293). Hamid & Baldauf (2008) argue further that the impact of the home environments of large numbers of students has been under-explored in attempts to analyze school failure. Low income levels and low levels of parental education, especially in rural areas, are highly relevant to the issue of outcomes.

From the above literature reviews it has found that all the researchers have identified factors related to the student's achievements in English. The main factors that have been identified by researchers as contributing to the failure of achievement in English in Bangladesh secondary schooling – i.e. 1) classroom practice has not changed, despite the changes in

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teaching methods and course materials(classroom instruction still follows pre-CLT methods); 2) related to this, teacher may have insufficient proficiency in English and lack confidence in their understanding of CLT; 3) assessment (SSC, HSC) is not consistent with the aim of CLT, since speaking and listening are not examined and therefore neglected by teachers and learners; 4) there is limited government investment in state schools, resulting in inadequate resources, infrastructure and training; 5) socio-economic and socio-cultural factors related to the students' home environments may impact on outcomes.

From the above summery I think this will help me contribute to an understanding of the reason for failure of the Bangladeshi higher school level students (11 and 12 grade) in English. In all studies discussed above the researchers have identified that new ELT policy of Bangladesh has been   shifted from GTM to CLT. The study above shows mixed finding of the success of teachers training. Some teachers say CLT training is good and CLT method is good but some teachers say CLT method and CLT training is not helpful. Hamid and Baldauf (2008) suggest that more research is needed further and other studies like Hasan's (2004), Faruki (2008), Hamid and Baldauf (2008), Hasan and Akhand (2009), Hamid (2010) have identified in govt. and non-govt. and private schools where studies were carried out in rural, state schools where problems-especially those stemming from the socio-economic circumstances of families are likely to be more acute.

The studies reviewed have mostly relied on teachers interviews. No student's interview was taken. Therefore, my aim in this study is to contribute to the need for deeper understanding of the problems underlying the failure of ELT in Bangladesh by investigating the views of students as well as teachers in private secondary schools in an urban environment. Private school provides more facilities than govt. and non –govt. schools. My research related to private higher schools (called intermediate college 11 and 12th grade). State schools are fully funded by government, non government schools are runs by 60% from the govt. and 40% from the student's tuition fees and private schools is run by company or won by a persona as Business. In the state schools more meritorious students get admission. In the non-government schools mid level (in merit) students whose family income is low compare to other schools (govt. & private) goes there and in the private schools most of the rich and urban people study. In the private schools the discipline and opportunities are far better than state and non-government schools, but private schools are limited and it is in urban part of the country.

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Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology that has been adopted by me to conduct this study. The scope of the chapter covered research design, area of study, population, sampling, data collection methods and procedure and ethical considerations. This is a qualitative and quantitative (mixed methods) study where I used a case study design and colleges formed the case under investigation. A total of forty-four (44) participants was drawn which comprised forty (40) grade twelve learners and four (4) teachers from the two (2) sampled colleges. The study used questionnaires with closed-ended and open-ended questions and semi-structure interview for teachers and students.

3.2: Area of Study

The study took place in the capital city Dhaka, Bangladesh. In Dhaka city there are about 220 intermediate colleges (up to grade 12th). The educational Institutions in Dhaka city are categorized into primary schools, secondary schools, Intermediate Colleges and Universities. The primary schools begin from grade one to grade five (grade 1-5) while the secondary schools include grade six to grade ten (grade 6-10). The Intermediate College comprised

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grade 11 to grade 12. After completing grade 11 and 12, students starts journey to university. The colleges in Dhaka are generally less distant from one another. Members of the communities in Dhaka are Bengali speakers. Most of the community members are educated and economically solvent compared to other parts of the country.

All colleges offer same curriculum and in all these colleges English is offered as a compulsory subject. English just like other subjects is assessed. Generally the grade twelve results in two colleges have been poor (below 56%) from 2009 to 2010 and 2011. The table of grade twelve results has been provided as annexure (Appendix: H). Although grade twelve results have improved in 2011, the learners' performance in English still rated very low.

This chapter deals with the approach and methodology to investigate the factors which are affecting the achievements in English of grade 12th learners in two private colleges in Dhaka. Information on the population, sample and data collection procedures have been provided. Both quantitative and qualitative (mixed methods) approach has been used in this study.

3.3: Research Questions

With a focus on 12th grade learners in two private colleges in Dhaka, Bangladesh, my study aims

1) to establish whether students' examination performance in English is in fact poor relative to performance in other subjects;

2) to investigate students' and teachers' perceptions of key factors identified by previous research as affecting performance in English, including:

- teaching methods and materials
- assessment
- effectiveness of teacher education and training in CLT
- students' goals and aspirations with regard to learning English
- the socio-economic circumstances of students' home environments

3.4: Research Design

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According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: p.63) research design is "a program that guides a researcher in collecting, analyzing and interpreting observed facts. It is a detailed plan that indicates all steps on how the scientific inquiry into the research problem will be conducted." Babbie and Mouton (2001:p.75) regard research design as the road map or blueprint by which one intends to conduct a research and achieve his/her research goals and objectives." They also highlight three qualitative research designs, namely, Ethnographic Studies, Case Studies and Life Histories (p.279). In this study, I followed a case study design. Yin, (2009: p.18) defines case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." Barratt et al. (2011: p.329) illustrate case study as "an empirical research that primarily uses contextually rich data from bounded real world settings to investigate a focused phenomenon."

There are various reasons why I chose the case study design. It enabled me to have an in-depth investigation of a small number of cases, namely, two sampled colleges within Dhaka city. I was able to have a clear understanding and ability to describe in detail the research problem with regard to those particular colleges. I have used the quantitative and qualitative method (known as mixed methods) of data collection. In this study, the mixed methods research have engaged the analysis of open-ended questions, close ended questions and interviews.

3.5: Population

According to Best and Kahn (1993:p.13), "a population is any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher." In this study the population comprised 4 teachers who have been teaching English in grade 12th in two colleges for three years and all the teachers completed honours and master's in English language and literature. Forty grade twelve learners aged 17-20 both male and female in two (2) colleges in Dhaka city were also participated in this study.

3.6: Sampling

Goosen-Elie (2004:p.53) defines sampling as a process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that they represent the larger group from which they were selected. The individuals selected comprised the sample while the larger group is referred to as the

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population. Leedy (1997:p.211) defines sampling as the process of choosing from a much larger population, a group about which we wish to make generalized statements so that the selected part will represent the total group". In selecting a sample for this study a simple random sampling method was used. According to Mason and Bramble (1997: p.138), "simple random sampling is a way of selecting subjects in which every element or person in the population has an equal opportunity to be chosen. Subjects could be chosen by assigning each person in the population a number and then choosing numbers to include in the sample from a table of random numbers."

The sample was selected from a population of two (2) selected private colleges in Dhaka City. Four (4) English subject teachers for grade twelve in the selected colleges participated in the study. In each of the sampled colleges there were two teachers of English for grade twelve. All four (4) teachers were given questionnaires and they all returned the completed questionnaires. Grade twelve learners from the sampled colleges were selected through simple random sampling. 17 learners from college E and 23 learners from college G participated in the study.

All the learners from the sample comprised a sample of forty learners. 40 questionnaires were distributed to grade twelve learners and 37 were completed and collected. 40% of the learners participated in the sample were drawn through random sampling from in each of the 2 sampled colleges. The 40 percent showed a greater representation of grade twelve learners in 2 colleges. The participating colleges are referred to as colleges E and G in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

3.7: Data Collection

Data were collected through – 1) Student's Questionnaire Survey (Appendix: A), 2) Teacher's Questionnaire survey (Appendix: B), 3) Teacher's Interview (Appendix: B1, Semi-structured interviews, Question no 1 to 8) and 4) Students Interview (Appendix: A1, Semi-structured interviews, Question 1 to 8). In the student's questionnaire 3 to 5 questions were designed to find out the answer of number one (1) research question (mentioned in 3.3). All these questions are related to students' performance in English as academic subject. Number eight (8) question was designed to know about the teaching materials mentioned in research question (2), Number 9 and 10 were designed to find out the answer of teaching method mentioned in the research question (2), (mentioned in 3.3 subheading), 11 and 12 no

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questions were designed to find out the answer of the research question (2) related to the assessment system(2), number 13 to 16 questions were designed to find out the answer of research question two(2) related to the socio-economic circumstances of students' home environments. Number 6 and 7(open-ended questions) were designed to find out the answer of research question (2) related to students goals and aspirations with regard to learning English.

Teachers' questionnaire is divided into 4 parts (A, B, C, D). In section B, there are 2 questions (2 and 3) which are about performance and teachers' education and training: designed to know about effectiveness of teacher education and training in CLT mentioned in the research Question two (2). In section C, there are 8 questions (4 to 11) which are about teaching methods and materials, designed to know about teaching methods and materials mentioned in the research Question two (2).4 to 7 no questions are related to teaching methods and 8 to 11 questions are related to teaching materials. Section D (question no 12 to 14) is about assessment. These are designed to find out the answers of teachers perceptions of the present assessment system mentioned in the research question 2. In Section D,15th question is designed to know the students' performance in English mentioned in the research question one (1).

In the teacher's interview, question no 1 to 3 is designed to know the teachers perceptions of assessment and number 4 to 7 is designed to know the teachers perceptions of teaching method mentioned in the research question (2). Question 8 is designed to know the reasons of Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English to find out the answer of research question 1. In the students interview, question no 1 was designed to know students goal of learning English to find out the answer of research question 1 as goal influence the performance. Question no 2 was designed to know the students perceptions of teaching method mentioned in the research question 2. Question no 3, 4 and 5 are designed to know the students perceptions of assessment mentioned in the research question 2. Question no 7 is designed to know the socio-economic circumstances of students' home environments mentioned in the research question 2. Question no 8 is designed to know students performance in English mentioned in the research question one (1).

In collecting data from both English teachers and grade twelve learners from the two (2) sampled colleges, self-constructed questionnaires were distributed. 44 questionnaires were

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distributed to the respondents and 41 were completed and returned. Questionnaires aimed to collect information regarding the factors affecting grade twelve learners' performance in the English subject. In constructing a questionnaire, guidelines for designing a questionnaire were followed. According to Leedy (1997:pp198-199), the guidelines include:

· Keep the questionnaire as short as possible

• Organize the items so that they are easy to read and complete

• Number the questionnaire pages and items

• Avoid double-barreled items that require the subject to respond to two separate ideas with a single answer

• Avoid negative items

• Respondents must be competent to answer

Babbie and Mouton hold the same view regarding the construction of questionnaires. The questionnaire for teachers and learners in this study included closed-ended questions and open-ended questions. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: pp.233), in closed- ended questions, the respondent is asked to select an answer from among a list provided by the researcher. The closed-ended questions are very popular because they provide a greater uniformity of responses and are more easily processed. On the other hand, the respondent is asked to provide his or her own answer to the question in open-ended questions.

In this study, open – ended questions were asked to identify problem areas in order to determine strategies to improve learner performance in the English subject. The Likert type scale responses included; always, sometimes and hardly and strongly agree, agree, neutral and disagree while "yes and no" were provided in some cases. Responses had been tabulated and reported in the form of percentages (Appendix: C & D). Interviews for teachers and students have been conducted through Skype computer program (Appendix: I).I, myself administered the semi-structured interview. The teachers & students have discussed in the interview at least 6 minutes and highest 20 minutes (Appendix: E & F). I sent my questionnaires through e-mail to my colleagues who are the teachers of those sampled college. My colleagues downloaded the questionnaires and printed out more than 45 copies. Then my colleagues distributed 40 questionnaires among the students of two selected colleges and collected the questionnaires. Among 40 student questionnaires, students returned

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37 questionnaires. After collecting questionnaires my colleagues scanned all (41) questionnaires and sent the entire questionnaires to me through e-mail attachment.

The letters requesting permission to conduct the research were submitted to the principals of the sampled colleges. The letters explained the data collection procedure and the aim of the research. The appendices of the letters (Appendix: G) are attached at the back of this document. The questionnaires were delivered by my colleagues to the two (2) sampled colleges.

The learners' questionnaires were administered in a group by my colleagues at colleges E and G. All the grade twelve learners were individually seated on separate desks in the classroom. My colleagues first created a free and warm environment by introducing themselves and explaining the objectives of the study. The questionnaires were then distributed to learners. The participants took about forty minutes (40) to complete the questionnaires. When the questionnaires had been completed my colleagues collected them. All the questionnaires were completed and returned to my colleagues and my colleagues thanked the learners for their participation in the study.

3.8: Ethical consideration

When administering the questionnaire, ethical issues were considered, for example, my colleagues first explained the objectives of the research to the participants and how it would help ease the problems in the English subject. There had been no invasion of the privacy. Participants had been assured of confidentiality and anonymity. According to Leedy (1997:p.116), a Resume' of the Code of Ethics of The British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) may be sufficient to indicate the ethical considerations that should govern activity associated with any research project;

• Researchers must maintain scientific objectivity

• Every person possesses the right of privacy and dignity of treatment

• Confidential information provided by a research must be held in strict confidentiality.

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• Research should avoid causing personal harm to subjects employed in the research

• Research findings should be presented without distortion.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the research methods and procedures of collecting data were discussed. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss data processing and analysis. Percentages were used to analyze results. Analysis of results for the two (2) sampled colleges (E and G) has been done. The total number of grade 12th learners who participated in the study was 40. In each of the sampled colleges there were two (2) English teachers form grade 12. In all these colleges the given number of learner was found to be available and active in English classes.

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4.2: <u>Student's questionnaire data analysis</u>

40 questionnaires were distributed among 40 male and female students' age ranged 15 to 20 in two (2) different colleges of Dhaka Bangladesh and 37 questionnaires were collected. Result of students' questionnaires is given below.

Learner's performance in English

I wanted to find out whether the students perform poorly. Three (3) questions were designed to know this directly from the student. In the third question, among 37 students, 32(87%) students marked their ability in English as 'low' and 5(13%) students marked it as very low. In the 4th question regarding student's academic performance in English, 8(21%) students marked their performance as very low and 29(79%) students indentify their performance as low. The answers reflected the student's low ability and low academic performance in English. In the 5th questions they were asked whether they were satisfied with their exam result. Among 37 students only 5(13%) students' answered "Yes" means satisfied. On the contrary 32(87%) students answered "No" which means they were dissatisfied with their exam result. (Appendix: C)

Student's aim of learning English

Regarding aim of learning English students were asked two (2) open ended questions (Appendix A: 6 & 7 questions). In the question no seven (7) students were asked about their short term goal. Among 37 students 26 answered it for passing the exam and 11 answered for learning conversation. One of the students answered that

> *My short term goal is to pass the exam*
>
> (Translated into English from Bengali)

In the question no seven (7) students were asked about long term goal. Most of the students answered it for business; travelling and some students answered it for research, reading newspaper and net browsing. Students answered that

> *My long term goal of learning English is for business, travelling, net browsing, reading English newspaper, talking with foreigner and for higher education*

(Translated into English from Bengali)

Students' long-term goal has broad vision of learning English, but in short-term goal they only want to pass

Availability of English language study materials

In the 8th question about instructional materials all 37(100%) students marked blackboard as their only instructional material. Students are taught CLT methods but there is no audio-visual system. Inadequacy of study materials influences their performance in English. Students are far away from the modern teaching aids. (Appendix: C)

Present condition of exercise of teaching methods (CLT) in the language classroom

In the 9th question, 37(100%) students expressed that most of the task and activities are carried out individually in their language class. In the 10th question regarding practice of four (4) language skills, 37(100%) students marked that among 4 skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) they only exercise reading and writing skills in the language classroom. In CLT method main focus is on the communication, most importantly communication means listening, speaking, group work, pair works etc. From the answer it has been discovered that CLT is not properly exercised in the language classroom. In the communicative method the main thing is students will learn how to communicate with each other and they will implement that in their practical life, but the data shows different picture. In the question number 11 regarding monthly and weekly test, 37 (100%) students marked that it would help to improve their performance in English. In the 12th question, 37(100%) students agreed that getting feedback from teachers on their test and exam performance would help them to improve their performance in English. (Appendix C)

Socio-economic Background of the students

In the question number 13, students were asked about their parent's education level. 13(35%) students indicated that their parent's education is up to 12th grade. 16(43%) students' showed that their parent's education level is Honours (under graduate) and 8(22%) students identified that their parent's education level is master's (Appendix C). Hamid (2011: page 43), in a study on 'Socio-economic Characteristics and English Language Achievement' found that in the rural area parents' education and incomes have influences on students' achievement in English, but my study don't find any similarities with Hamid's(2011) findings. The students

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in my study are socio-economically solvent compared to rural parts of Bangladesh, but still their achievement in English is lower compared to other subjects.

In the question no 14 and 15 regarding computer and computer use, among 37 students' 26(70%) students own computers. 20(76%) students answered they use computer for watching movies and listening music for entertainment purpose. Only 6(24%) students answered that they use computer for watching movies and learning English. In the study Hamid (2010:p.293) found that among 228 students only three (3) students had computers at their home. In my study it is found that many students possess computer but except few most of them use it other than learning English. (Appendix C)

4:3: Teacher's questionnaire data analysis:

Four (4) questionnaires were distributed among 4 male teachers from the 2 different colleges in Dhaka, Bangladesh. All the teachers who had more than three (3) years teaching experience, completed honours and master's in English language and literature.

Performance and Teachers' Education and Training:

In the 2nd question about sufficient training in CLT and understanding its methods and goals well, 4(100%) teachers marked it as 'disagree'. In the 3rd question "I feel that my own level of proficiency in English is sufficient to promote the goals of CLT." among four (4) teachers three (3) teachers showed disagreement with the statement and one teacher was neutral. (Appendix: D)

Teaching Methods

In the question no four (4), 4(100%) teachers disagreed that they spend equal time on 4 skills of language i.e. listening, speaking, reading, and writing. In the question no five (5), 4(100%) teachers agreed that in the class they mainly focus on grammar and translation. In the question no six (6), 4(100%) teachers disagreed that they give many opportunities for practicing English in the class. In the question no seven (7) regarding pair work and group work in the class, 4(100%) teachers disagreed about pair and group work activities in the class. (Appendix: D)

Teaching Materials
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In the question no eight (8), 4(100%) teachers agreed that prescribed textbooks are their main source for teaching activities. In the question no nine (9), 4(100%) teachers agreed that their choice of activities and exercises from the textbooks is strongly influenced by the requirements of the HSC. In the question no 10, they were asked whether they use any English language resources like (Novels, Magazines, Newspapers, Internet sites) other than textbooks in their classes. All 4 teachers answer that they don't use any of those in the language classes. In the question no 11, 4(100%) teachers answered that except black board they don't have any other teaching aids like overhead projector, audiocassettes, video facility etc. All those answers reflect that there are no sufficient teaching materials for the communicative language teaching. (Appendix: D).

Assessment

In the question no 12, 4(100%) teachers answered that only through written test they evaluate the performance of the learners. In the question no 13, 4(100%) teachers answered that very rarely they can evaluate the learners. In the question no 14, they were asked could they give written or verbal feedback to students after marking their work. All the 4 (100%) teachers answered "No." In the question no 15, regarding students performance in English, 4(100%) teachers answered that learners' performance in English is low compared to other subjects. The overall answers of the questions reflect that assessment system is faulty. (Appendix: D).

From the teachers and students questionnaires data analysis it has been discovered that some factors are responsible for the poor performance of students in English as academic subject. In the teachers and students questionnaires, both the teacher and the student marked that students level of English is low, about instructional materials both teachers and students answered that except black board they don't have any instructional materials. Both students and teacher agreed that they cannot give and receive feedback on their exam paper and students expressed that they will be happy if the teachers give them feedback. Both the students and the teachers agreed that they are only learning and teaching two (2) skills; reading and writing from the communicative methods instead of learning and teaching 4 skills i.e. (listening speaking, reading and writing). About teachers training all the teachers replied that they don't have sufficient training in CLT.

4:4: Teacher's interview data analysis

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Teachers' interview was conducted through Skype (Appendix: I) computer program on various topics related to students' poor performance in English. Semi –structured interview was conducted to know the factors related to students poor performance in English.

In the first question (Appendix: B) regarding language assessment procedures all 4 teachers replied that they don't agree with the curriculum guideline and the language assessment procedure. All the teachers told that in the CLT method it is supposed to assess 4 skills i .e listening, speaking, reading and writing, but the present curriculum is assessing only two (2) skills reading and writing. So they don't support the curriculum. All 4 teachers mentioned that students are assessed once in a year and after two years they participate in the final exam. As a result, the students forget many things.

They expressed that most of the students fail in English as a subject and commented that if the student could pass in English they would pass in the exam. The teachers replied that they were not in agreement with curriculum guidelines and language assessment system. All 4 teachers told me that they are teaching CLT where there are 4 skills i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing, but the curriculum guideline only specifies for two skills(reading and writing) as a result students are not learning other two skills. Teacher R replied:

> *I don't agree with the curriculum guideline of language assessment process. Because, we only teach GTM that only focuses two things; reading and writing. But another two skills like listening and speaking, we could not focus on that* (Appendix E2: p.71)

In the second question (Appendix: B) about changes of language assessment, all 4 teachers suggested for listening and speaking test. They told me at present only reading and writing are focused. So they suggested focusing on listening and speaking including reading and writing. Everyone suggested for implementation of CLT method properly. In the 3rd question ((Appendix: B) regarding evaluation and feedback, all 4 teachers replied that most of the students will welcome if they can give them feedback. The teachers think that if they correct students' mistakes, the student will welcome this. They suggested for weekly and monthly tests and feedback to the students.

In the fourth question (Appendix: B) whether CLT is practical, useful and relevant in Bangladeshi context, except two or three different comment all the teachers replied that CLT is a good method, but for implementation in Bangladesh it needs to develop a lot. All

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the teachers mentioned for developing classroom structure, teachers training, audio and video equipment and sufficient classroom. Teacher R replied that-

> *CLT is a good method but for implementation in Bangladesh we need to develop a lot. We need to develop our structure, need to train our teachers, need some more instruments like audio and video equipment so that we can supply the students more listening and speaking courses. But, it is not still available in our country.* (Appendix: E2, Page 72)

In the 5th question (Appendix: B) about teachers training in CLT all the teachers replied that they took training but the training was not sufficient as the duration of the training was very short (15 to 20 days). As a result, the teachers cannot apply that in the language classroom. All the teachers replied that they have only introduced with CLT method. They need more training like six (6) months or one (1) year training. Teacher Ma replied that:

> *I received few days training, I think it is very primary level; I have no deep knowledge or vast knowledge. I need more training otherwise I cannot give proper teaching to the students.* (Appendix E1: page 69)

In the 6th question(Appendix: B) about the main obstacles to implementing CLT, all the teachers replied that they need more trained teacher, need to improve classroom facilities and teaching aid like language lab and audio video projector. Teachers also mentioned that poor level of student, teacher's habit of teaching old methods, student's habit of memorization, lack of good assessment system and social environment are the obstacles to implementing CLT. In the 7th question (Appendix: B) about teaching methods all the teachers replied that CLT method is good but they feel more comfortable in GTM. Because they are used to this method and they have some obstacles to implement CLT method. Teacher Ma replied that:

> *"Very honestly we are habituated with teaching method GTM that is the reason we feel more comfortable or better with GTM. But I support CLT, because there are Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking. These four basic skills implement all together. So, CLT method is more important also make a good future for students.* (Appendix E1:Page70)

In the question no 8 (Appendix: B) about the main reasons for Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English, all 4 teachers mentioned many reasons of students' poor

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performance in English. The teachers mentioned that students fear of English, lack of trained teachers, low back ground of the students, lack of vocabulary, lack of guide lines, lack of student communication in society, exam oriented class are responsible for students poor performance in English. Teacher Ma replied:

> *There are many reasons like lack of good teachers, another reason is GTM. Students just memorize only for exam, they think only for pass in exam, they do not learn properly. If the question is little bit changed but answer is same, at that time they cannot do proper answer because of their lack of understanding, they only memorize. So, they fall in trouble in exam, their result is fail.* (Appendix E1:Page70)

From the teachers interview it has been found that the students' poor performance is related to teaching method, teaching aid, assessment system, social back ground, teachers training and students' level of English. All teachers mentioned that CLT method is good, but for the old habit they are still teaching GTM method. Teachers suggested for larger classroom, language lab and audio-video projector. All the teachers suggested for good assessment system that means all 4 skills should be assessed. They also mentioned that basic level of student is very low that's why, they cannot communicate in the class. If they can overcome these problems students will perform well.

4.5: Student's interview data analysis

Students Interview was conducted by Skype computer program (Appendix: I) in Bengali and in broken English with four (4) male students from two different colleges age 15 to 20 of 12th level. All data received from the students interview is translated into English from Bengali.

In the first question (Appendix: A) about students short term and long term goal of learning English, all 4 students replied that the first aim of their learning English is to pass in the exam and long term goal is travelling, business and communicating with other nation. In the second question (Appendix: A) about teachers teaching style, pair and group work; the student replied teacher teaches grammar and gives some paragraph and essay for memorization. Sometime teacher tells them to write the memorized paragraph and essay. The students also replied that they cannot take part any pair or group work in the classroom. One Student told that:

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Asole amader teacher ra amader class e muloto grammar shikhai, kisu kisu paragraph, eassy dei, Aigulu amara memorize kori. Asole amader class e erokom environment nai j amra group work or pair works korbo. Aigulu amra kori Na, r amra airokom poribesh pai Na

<div align="right">(Appendix F1: page 78, Student S in Bengali)</div>

Actually in our class teachers teach us grammar and give us some paragraphs and essays for memorization. There is no environment of group work or pair works in our class. We cannot participate in pair work or group work in the class (Translated into English from Bengali)

In the third question (Appendix: A) about feedback all the students replied that getting feedback from the teachers will be very helpful. They told that when they write something they don't know whether it is correct or wrong. So if the teacher gives them feedback that will improve their learning quality and performance. One student answer that

Feedback dile amader English onek unnoto hobe kintu amader teacher ra amader feedback dei Na, jar jonno amra amader English oirokom develop korte pari na. Feedback obossoi onek, important for learning English.

<div align="right">(Appendix F1: page 78, Student S in Bengali)</div>

If the teachers give us feedback we can develop our learning English, but the teachers don't give us feedback. As a result we cannot develop our English. Of course feedback is very important for learning English. (Translated into English from Bengali)

In the fourth question (Appendix: A) about assessment all students answered that they participate in the year final exam once in a year that is the only assessment system. In the class, teachers give some paragraphs or texts for memorization and the teacher ask the student to write memorized paragraph or texts. The students said that without understanding they memorized and wrote that in the class. In the 5th question (Appendix: A) about four language skills (LSRW) they all replied actually they can learn reading and writing from their teacher. Teachers never teach them listening and speaking skills. One student answered that

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Ami apnak ektu agei e bollam amader classe matro dui ta assess hoy sheta holo reading & writing. Ai prothom shunlam je English e char ta assessment ase, listening & speaking: na etar kono assessment hoy na.

<div align="right">

(Appendix F3: page 82, Student Sa in Bengali)

</div>

In our class only reading and writing skills are assessed. For the first time I have heard that there is assessment on listening and speaking skills. There is no assessment on listening and speaking skills in our class. (Translated into English from Bengali)

In the 6th question (Appendix: A) regarding language learning materials all 4 students replied that they don't use magazine or computer for learning English. They don't know that they can learn English from these resources. In the 7th question (Appendix: A) regarding family encouragement and extra lesson outside the class, they all replied their family only want to see their result so they encourage them to pass in the exam. They told they take extra lesson to learn English outside of their class. In the last question (8th) (Appendix: A) regarding the main reason of their poor performance in English, they all replied that their level of English is low and they don't have enough vocabulary and sometime they cannot understand English. One student replied that:

Amader English level ta onek low. R amader Vocabulary kubi durbol. Jarkarone English ta oirokom hoye uthtese Na. r amader English er upor oirokom somoi dewa hoi Na.

<div align="right">

(Appendix F2: page 82, Student J in Bengali)

</div>

Our level of English is very low and we are very weak in vocabulary. For this reason we cannot understand English. Even we don't spend more time on learning English.

<div align="right">

(Translated from Bengali speech into English)

</div>

From students' interview it has been found that CLT method is not properly implemented, there is problem with assessment system, and lack of teaching materials. Students don't use extra resources like computer and journal to learn English. Student doesn't get feedback from the teacher even they cannot participate in group work or pair work. They take extra lesson outside of the class hour. The parents of the students want to see whether they pass they never think about learning.

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From both teachers and students interview it has been found that assessment system is not good; among four (4) skills of CLT, two (2) skills are assessed. Even students and teachers mentioned that they cannot receive and give feedback. Both teachers and students mentioned that there is lack of instructional materials, like language lab, audio visual projector as a result the CLT method is not implemented effectively. The teachers and student mentioned that there are no group work and pair works activities in the classroom. The teacher told that they have lack of CLT training as they took only 15 to 20 days training. Both teacher and students admitted that students' level of English is low.

4.6: Discussion of the Findings

From both teachers and students questionnaires and interviews it has been discovered that some factors are responsible for the students' poor performance in English. In this chapter the factors which directly or indirectly affect the students' performance in English have been discussed.

4.6.1 Students poor performance

From the teachers and students questionnaire and interview data and from the HSC Exam result sheets (Appendix: H), it has been found that students' level of English is low and students' performance in English is poor as an academic subject.

4.6.2 Unavailability of Instructional Materials

From both teachers and students questionnaire and interview it has been found that the unavailability of teaching materials in colleges impact negatively on the teaching of English subject. In this modern age black board cannot serve all purposes especially for the communicative methods (CLT). The lack of audio-visual equipment and other English study material in two (2) colleges contribute to the low success rates of grade twelve learners in the English subject. With this result there is similarity with Hasan (2004) and Hasan and Akand (2009) findings. In both studies they found unavailability of instructional materials influence students poor performance in English. For the curriculum and exam system, all skills are not assessed. In this regard Boysen (1989: p.113) states that "there are four skills in a fixed order that are needed for the teaching of English as a second language. First it is heard and understood; after that, it is spoken; then it is read; and finally it is written." This implies that learners should listen to teachers' and from other component like audio and visual speech

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patterns and be able to understand them if effective teaching and learning of English is to occur. The use of teaching aids in the classroom removes learners' boredom and promotes learners' attention rates. About instructional materials Walkin (2000: p.79) states that "it is extremely difficult to maintain attention for periods longer than about fifteen minutes without involving the students in active participation."

4.6.3. Lack of adequate exercise on CLT in the classroom

From the teachers and students interview and questionnaire many factors have come out about present CLT teaching methods. Factors are discussed below.

No practice of listening and speaking skills

From the interviews and questionnaires it has been found that there is no practice of listening and speaking skills in the CLT classroom. This findings has similarity with Hasan's(2004) findings. Hasan (2004) found that there is no practice of listening and speaking in the class. CLT means learning communication and in the communication listening and speaking plays a very important role; unfortunately teachers avoid these two important skills as a result students cannot speak through their whole study life. About teaching |CLT in the classroom Deckert (2004: p.13), emphasizes that "CLT approach features the integration of the four basic skills, namely speaking, listening, reading, and writing." So it can be said that without another 2 skills i.e. listening and speaking there will be no ways for learning communication.

Regarding lack of listening and speaking skills of Bangladeshi 12th grade students Murshed (2003) observed that "the lack of suitable class environment, that is, in the classroom the teachers don't encourage the students to talk English."Practice makes a man perfect," goes the saying. Practice has no alternative. Therefore, lack of practice leads the students ultimately to fear and hesitation which they cannot overcome even in the later part of their life."

Teacher teaches GTM (Grammar Translation Method) instead of teaching CLT

From the teachers and students interviews and questionnaires it has been found that in the CLT classroom instead of teaching four (4) skills and communication, teachers give emphasis on grammar. This result finds similarity with Hasan & Akond (2009) study. They found that problem lies with the teaching methodology. They found from the teachers' interview that CLT is a good method, but problem lies with the implementation of this methodology. In this

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regard Richards (2006) observes that with the introduction of CLT, language teachers and teaching institutions all around the world soon began to reorganize their teaching, syllabuses, and classroom materials. Grammar was no longer the starting point in planning language courses within a communicative approach. It was claimed that meaningful communication provides the learner with a better opportunity for learning than through a grammar-based approach. He then summarizes the overarching principles of CLT as follows:

• Make real communication the focus of language learning.

• Provide opportunities for learners to experiment what they know.

• Be tolerant of learners' errors as they indicate that the learners are building up their communicative competence.

• Provide opportunities for learners for developing both accuracy and fluency.

• Link the different skills like listening, speaking, reading and writing together, since they usually occur in the real world.

• Let students induce or discover grammar rules (Richards, 2006: p.13).

Students don't take part any pair work or group work in the language class

Most students in this (my) study considered that group/pair work will be very helpful for them. Students easily get more support from each other and they feel much comfortable as they are confident about asking questions when they do not understand. This opportunity of working in group/pair also develops their cooperative skills, interaction ability, which in turn promotes learning. Butler & Stevens (1997) stated that a group discussion technique is useful assessment approach to develop students' creativity and interaction ability and most students feel comfortable working in a group. About group work Hyland (2003: p.118) observes that pair and group work encourage the sharing of ideas and dramatically increase the amount of interaction in planning, researching and editing and contribute to the writing task.

4.6.4 Faulty Assessment System

It has been found from the data that students are performing poorly for the faulty assessment system. Some factors have been discovered regarding faulty assessment. Factors are discussed below.

No assessment for listening and speaking skills

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All four teachers in my study acknowledged that it is better to take listening and speaking exam for the development of listening and speaking skills of the students. As there is no speaking and listening test most of the students have bad pronunciation skills as the teacher don't feel importance of teaching pronunciation. About assessment of listening and speaking skills, Begum and Farooqui (2008) states that Bangladeshi teachers rarely practice oral skills in the classroom, but focus much more on completing the syllabus. In a study on 'Oral assessment' in Bangladeshi context Horak (1999) comments that most of the teachers consider testing oral skills(listening and speaking) time consuming and in large classes they find it difficult to assess these two skills.

Teachers cannot give feedback to students work

All teachers and most students in this study believed that giving and receiving feedback is very important for learning English. Students confess that when they receive feedback they can learn from their mistakes. In this regard Black & Wiliam (2010: pp.81-90) claim that feedback is the main component of assessment. Feedback is useful for giving information to achieve the expected level of learning outcomes. The authors claim that teachers should not only give their students grades but also provide each student with specific guidance on strengths and weaknesses. Sadler (1989) claimed that both the teachers and the students can identify their difficulties and can take next steps of teaching and learning. Most students in this study emphasized that they would like more support from their teachers so that they could make better progress.

There are no Regular Tests

From the teachers and students interviews and questionnaires it has been discovered that there are no regular tests in the language classroom. No monthly and weekly test, tri-monthly or six monthly tests. Teachers take exam after 1 year and education board takes exam after 2 years so students forget all what they have already learnt. Assessment plays an important role in curriculum implementation as it helps track learner progress, diagnose learning problems, provide evidence of learners' level of achievement and provide feedback to learners. According to Kelly (2004:p.126), "It is of the essence of good teaching that one should constantly be attempting to gauge the levels of pupils' learning in order to lead them to further development."

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There is no effective test on vocabulary

It is commonly known that learning a language means learning vocabulary of the target language. It has been found that students never feel pressure to learn vocabulary even they never sit for any test to measure their skills in vocabulary as a result they cannot express their views and opinion in English. For so many unknown vocabularies, English becomes difficult for them. To describe the importance of vocabulary Harmer (1991: p.153) comments that "If language structures make up the skeleton of language, then it is vocabulary that provides the vital organs and the flesh." According to Pavlů (2009), "No matter how brilliantly one masters his/her English grammar, without the knowledge of vocabulary it is useless because words are the basis that creates the speech." Thornbury (2002: p.130) states that testing vocabulary also occurs in placement tests or diagnostic tests to find out students´ level of knowledge or in achievement tests at the end of the school year.

Teachers' emphasis on students' memorization of text

From the students interviews it has been found that teachers gives some text to memorize and in the next class teachers ask students to write the memorized text. In this regard Deckert (2004: P13), states that CLT discourages pervasive teacher-controlled drills, quizzing of memorized material, and extensive explanation on forms of English. In Bangladeshi context, Murshed (2003) observed that "the students are encouraged to memorize some selected and suggested compositions for passing the exams. The most shocking matter is that, when the students, who memorize compositions, do not find common topic for writing composition in the exam question, they get upset and nervous, and as such cut a sorry figure in the exam frustrating everybody."

4.6.5: Lack of teachers training

All teachers lamented that they only received 15 to 20 days training that is not enough for teaching CLT in the classroom and indicated that teachers play an important role in practicing CLT and stated that teacher's professional training can help them overcome difficulties they face in the classrooms. On the other hand, the teachers who could not receive adequate training may have limited knowledge and skills to practice CLT. These results support previous studies, which indicated that teacher training is one of the important factors of

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practicing CLT. Chowdhury & Farooqi: (2011), Hasan (2004), Hasan and Akond (2009) and Hamid (2010) all found that the lack of teachers training influence the students performance in English.

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Chapter 5: Conclusion

Some factors affecting the achievements of grade twelve learners with specific reference to the English subject have been identified and include; the non-availability of teaching aids, lack of adequate exercise on CLT in the classroom, faulty assessment system, lack of teachers training and students lower level of English. These factors impact negatively on grade twelve learners' performance in the English subject.

5.1 Main focus/findings of the study

This study showed that both the teachers and the students have been trying to emerge from a traditional approach to a new communicative approach of language teaching. Both the teachers and the students emphasized the value of more student engagement using different learning activities such as group work, pair work, role play, demonstration for more effective learning and they addressed the need for some changes in assessment process and overcome the classroom barriers by developing physical facilities. The findings revealed that both the teachers and the students are very much aware of their learning needs and they can identify the gap between the curriculum guidelines and instructional materials, the present teaching method (CLT), teachers training and assessment system.

5.2 Implication and recommendations

This thesis highlights a number of challenges that need to be addressed. The issues include the implications for resourcing, policy and implication for pre-service and in-service teacher education.

Implication for resourcing

Resource materials are the essential components for effective classroom teaching. For developing the students' motivation and to engage the students in the activities and to make the classroom more lively teachers need to use teaching aids frequently. However, the classrooms in the intermediate college (grade 12) in Bangladesh in most cases are not well equipped with resources/teaching materials. Because of financial constraints of the

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governments/institutes, the authority/teachers cannot provide/manage these materials. As a result, teachers are sometimes limited in providing effective learning opportunities.

Therefore to ensure quality in teaching more support from the part of the governments and private sectors are immediately needed. For developing listening and speaking skills of the students, the education authority could create better opportunities for the students to practice in the classroom using modern technology such as audio/video, and TV. A language laboratory where students could practice in their free time could be established in Intermediate Colleges (grade 12th).

Implication for policy

A well- defined language teaching policy should be formulated with an effective curriculum that includes the guidelines for assessing all the four English language skills(listening, speaking, reading and writing), in the intermediate colleges(grade 12th). Input from teachers, students, parents and administrators may create a greater awareness of the need to develop a more effective system for the overall development of language skills so that the students are better equipped to meet challenges of second language learning, particularly in oral competencies. A focus on the selection, recruitment and the professional development of teachers of English is crucial. It is necessary to adjust the teacher training curriculum so that teachers are equipped with the knowledge and skills to implement a range of assessment practices.

Implication for in-service and pre-service teacher education

Teacher education plays an important role in developing quality teachers. To introduce the new trends in English language teaching, regular professional development courses could be conducted for teachers of English. Some development projects have organized training program for short periods (2-3 weeks). Short training courses of three and six months duration could also be run for teachers. Therefore it is the time for policy makers to analyze the ways and means of implementing effective and cost efficient professional development training for sustainable teacher training to achieve the goals.

5.3 Limitation of the study

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The limitations of the study have been addressed in the methodology chapter. The sample size of this study is small only two (2) private intermediate colleges (up to 12th grade) which have been taken from the city. It could be better if the samples were chosen from the diverse sources like urban, semi-urban and rural areas. In the study only 4 English language teachers and 4 students from level 12 have been included for semi-structured interviews. More teachers and students from diverse groups could reflect different results for the study. In the study no samples (people) were selected from the policy level who could give more informative guidelines to improve the ELT condition in the Bangladeshi intermediate college (grade 12th) context. Beside these, classroom observation was not included in the study that could have provided rich data on classroom interactions and realities what is going in there between the teachers and the students.

5.4 Further study

From the findings of this study many unanswered questions have arisen which must be addressed. In the present study, samples have been selected from a particular area. I believe more diverse samples from different sources may give different results. I believe class observation by me could give some insight into how the English language teachers and the students interact, and how they response to a particular information. In a further study some samples (people) from the policy level could be included that may provide different insight in the study. I believe that a large sample of teachers and students from different areas of the country could provide more insight about the current language assessment situation and current practice of CLT methods in the intermediate colleges (up to 12th Grade) in Bangladesh.

From the above discussion it could be commented that some factors affecting the achievement of grade twelve learners with specific reference to the English subject have been identified and include; the non-availability of teaching facilities, lack of adequate exercise on CLT in the classroom, faulty assessment systems, lack of teachers training and students lower level in English. These factors impact negatively on grade twelve learners' performance in the English subject. To improve the ELT situation in Bangladesh, curriculum guidelines, teaching methods, teaching materials, assessment process and teachers training need to be changed. Therefore, some reforms of the examination system are required. The development of resources and more training for the teachers are integral to the success of

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these reforms. Ideally, the Ministry of Education should form a committee of the experts to identify national needs, including the development of a national language policy that will contribute to the economic, social, political and cultural development of Bangladesh.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Student's Questionnaire

London Metropolitan University

I would like to ask you to assist me by answering the following questions concerning your experiences of English Learning. This forms part of a research study undertaken for an MA degree at London Metropolitan University. It is hoped that the information given will assist in improving the performance of English in Bangladeshi College Students. On the following pages are some questions that require your response. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers; I am interested in your personal opinion. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential, and there is no need to write your name on this form.

Thank you in advance for your help.

1. I am (Please tick one) *Male   *Female

2. Please specify your age range

*15-20,   *20-24

3. How would you rate your ability in English?

*Very low *Low *Average *High   *extremely high

4. How is your academic performance in English compared to other subjects?

*Very low *Low *roughly the same *High   *extremely high

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5. Are you satisfied with your English exam results?

Yes   No

6. What are your short-term goals for learning English?

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……
……

7. What are your long-term goals for learning English?

তোমার **English** শিখার দীরঘ মেয়াদী পরিকল্পনা কি?

……
……

8. Which of the following teaching aids are available in your classes?

(You can tick √) more than one option)

*Black board

* Over head projector

*Audio cassettes

*Video facility

*Others (please specify)

9. Most of the activities and tasks in my English class are carried out

* Individually   * in pairs or groups

10. Do you exercise the four skills of English in the English language classes?

Listening …*always * sometime * rarely * not at all

Speaking .. …*always * sometime * rarely * not at all

Reading .. ……*always * sometime * rarely * not at all

Writing .. ………*always * sometime * rarely * not at all

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11. Taking monthly and/or weekly tests would help to improve my performance in English.

*Agree   *Disagree

12. Getting feedback from teachers on my test and exam performance would help to improve my performance in English

*Agree   *Disagree

13. What is the education level of your parents?

*grade 1-5 * grade 6-10 * grade 12 * Honours * Masters * Phd

14. Do you have and use a computer in your home?

*Yes   * No

15. If yes, how you use it?

1. Watching movies and listening music for entertainment purpose

2. Watching movies for learning English

3. Browsing English language related site

4. Other – please specify …………………………………………………………..

16. Do you take extra lessons (private lessons) in English outside of the class?

*. Yes *No

If yes, for how long have you had private lessons?

…………………………………………………………………………..

(Appendix: A1) <u>Interview questions for Students 'Semi-structured interviews'</u>

1. Why do you want to learn English? What is your short term and long term goal?
2. How your teacher teach English in your classroom. Do you take part any pair or group work?

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3. Do you think that getting feedback from teachers on your test and exam performance would help you to improve your performance in English?

4. What activities do the teachers use to assess you in English language classroom?

5.   How are the four language skills (LSRW) assessed in English language classroom?

6. Do you use anything like magazine computer to learn English? Do you think that you can learn English from these resources?

7. How your family encourage you to learn English. Do you take extra lesson outside of the class?

8. What do you think the main reason of your poor performance in English?

Appendix B: Teacher's Questionnaire:

London Metropolitan University

I would like to ask you to assist me by answering the following questions concerning your experiences of English teaching. This forms part of a research study undertaken for an MA degree at London Metropolitan University. It is hoped that the information given will assist in understanding and improving the performance of English in Bangladeshi College Students. On the following pages are some questions that require your response. Please be aware that there are no right or wrong answers; I am interested in your personal opinions. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential.

Thank you in advance for your help.

A. Background:

1. Educational Qualifications: …………Teaching experience: Years………….. Months...

B. Performance and Teachers' Education and Training:

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2. I feel I have had sufficient training in CLT and understand its methods and goals well.

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

3. I feel that my own level of proficiency in English is sufficient to promote the goals of CLT.

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………..

C. Teaching Methods and Materials

4. I spend equal amounts of time in the classroom on the four skills of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. I focus mainly on grammar and translation work in my classes

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

6. I give my students many opportunities for practicing speaking in my classes.

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

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Further comments:

………
………
………
……………..

7. I frequently use pair and group work activities in my classes.

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

8. The prescribed textbooks are my main source for teaching activities

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

9. My choice of activities and exercises from the textbooks is strongly influenced by the requirements of the HSC

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Neutral   Agree   Strongly Agree

Further comments:
`………
………
………
……………..

10. Indicate if you use any of the following English language resources *other than textbooks* in your classes: (tick √ as many as apply)

Novels

Magazines

Newspapers

Internet sites

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11. Which of the following teaching aids and equipment are available in your teaching situation? (Tick √ as many as apply)

*Black board/White board

*Overhead projector

*Audiocassettes

*Video facility

*Others (please specify

D. Assessment

12. How do you evaluate the performance of your learners?

**Written tests   written assignments   orally   other (please specify)
…………..**

13. How often do you evaluate the performance of your learners? Please specify:

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Do you give written or verbal feedback to students after marking their work?

Yes   No

Please elaborate if possible:

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………..

15. How do you rate your learners' performance in English exams compared to their performance in other subjects?

High   Medium   Low   Very low

(Appendix: B1) Interview questions for teachers 'Semi-structured interviews'
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1: Do you agree with the curriculum guidelines on language assessment procedures?

2: What changes do you think could be useful? i.e. to the curriculum guidelines on assessment?

3. Do your students agree with the frequency of evaluation and feedback?

4. Do you think that CLT is a practical, useful and relevant approach in the Bangladeshi context?

5. How effective do you think your training in CLT has been?

6. What do you see as the main obstacles to implementing CLT?

7. Do you feel more comfortable with teaching methods other than CLT ? If so, why?

8. What do you see as the main reasons for Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English?

Appendix   C: **Student questionnaire's summery of Result**

Item No	Question	Response key	Number of respondent	Percentage (%)
3	**How would you rate your ability in English?**	*Very low	5	13%
		*Low	32	87%
		*Average		
		*High		
		*extremely high		

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4	How is your academic performance in English compared to other subjects?	*Very low *Low *roughly the same *High *extremely high	8 29	21% 79%
5	5. Are you satisfied with your English exam results?	Yes No	5 32	13% 87%
8	Which of the following teaching aids are available in your classes? (You can tick √) more than one option)	*Black board * Over head projector *Audio cassettes *Video facility *Others(please specify)	37	100%
9	Most of the activities and tasks in my English class are carried out	* Individually * in pairs or groups	37	100%

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10	**Do you exercise the four skills of English in the English language classes?**	**Listening** *always * sometime * rarely *** not at all**		
		* not at all	37	**100%**
		Speaking.. *always * sometime * rarely * **not at all**	37	**100%**
		Reading.. ***always**	37	**100%**
		* sometime * rarely * not at all **Writing** ***always**	37	**100%**
		* sometime * rarely * not at all		
11	Taking monthly and/or weekly tests would help to improve my performance in English.	***Agree** *Disagree	37	**100%**
12	Getting feedback from teachers on my test and exam performance	***Agree**	37	**100%**

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	would help to improve my performance in English	*Disagree		
13	**What is the education level of your parents?**	Grade 1-5 Grade 6-10 **Grade 12** **Honours/BA** **Masters** * Phd	**0** **0** **13** **16** **8** **0**	 **35%** **43%** **22%**
14	**Do you have and use a computer in your home?**	**Yes** No	**26** **11**	**70%** **30%**
15	**If yes, how you use it?**	**1. Watching movies and listening music for entertainment purpose** **2. Watching movies for learning English** 3. Browsing English language related site 4. Other – please specify ……	**20** **6** **0**	**76%** **24%**

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Appendix D: **Teacher questionnaire's summery of Result**

Item No	Question No	Response Keys	Number of Respondent	Percentage
2	**I feel I have had sufficient training in CLT and understand its methods and goals well.** **Further comments:**	Strongly Disagree **Disagree** Neutral Agree Strongly Agree **………………..**	4	100%
3.	**I feel that my own level of proficiency in English is sufficient to promote the goals of CLT.**	Strongly Disagree **Disagree** **Neutral** Agree Strongly Agree Further comments: ……………………	3 1	75% 25%

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4.	**I spend equal amounts of time in the classroom on the four skills of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing**	Strongly Disagree **Disagree** Neutral Agree Strongly Agree Further comments: ………………	**4**	**100%**
5.	**I focus mainly on grammar and translation work in my classes**	Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral **Agree** Strongly Agree Further comments:	**4**	**100%**
6	**I give my students many opportunities for practicing speaking in my classes.**	Strongly Disagree **Disagree** Neutral Agree Strongly Agree Further comments:	**4**	**100%**
7	**I frequently use pair and group work activities in my classes.**	Strongly Disagree **Disagree** Neutral	**4**	**100%**

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		Agree		
		Strongly Agree		
		Further comments:		
8	**The prescribed textbooks are my main source for teaching activities**	Strongly Disagree		
		Disagree		
		Neutral		
		Agree	**4**	**100%**
		Strongly Agree		
		Further comments:		
9	**My choice of activities and exercises from the textbooks is strongly influenced by the requirements of the HSC**	Strongly Disagree		
		Disagree		
		Neutral		
		Agree	**4**	**100%**
		Strongly Agree		
		Further comments:		
10	**Indicate if you use any of the following English language resources *other than textbooks* in your classes: (tick √ as many as apply)**	Novels	**0**	
		Magazines	**0**	
		Newspapers	**0**	
		Internet sites	**0**	
			0	
11	**Which of the following teaching aids and equipment are available in your teaching situation? (Tick √ as many as apply)**	*White board	**4**	**100%**
		*Overhead projector		
		*Audiocassettes		

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12	How do you evaluate the performance of your learners?	**Written tests** Written assignments orally Other (please specify) …………..	4	100%
13	How often do you evaluate the performance of your learners?	Please specify: **Rarely**	4	100%
14	Do you give written or verbal feedback to students after marking their work?	Yes **No** Elaborate if possible ………………..	4	100%
15	15. How do you rate your learners' performance in English exams compared to their performance in other subjects?	High Medium **Low** Very low	4	100%

Appendix E: Interview transcriptions of Teachers (4 teachers)

Appendix E1: **Interview of teacher Ma from college E**

Conversation between Ma & Mohammad, A=Mohammad

A=Interviewer, Ma= Teacher

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A: Hello, Ma bro, how are you?

Ma: Hello, I am fine and you?

A: I am fine. You have known, I am doing MA TESOL at London Metropolitan University. I am doing my Dissertation related to Bangladeshi student's poor performance in English. So, you are an experience teacher at 11 and 12 grades. I think related to topic you will give me more information. That will help me to do my dissertation. Please introduce you self.

Ma: Hello, I am Ma, teacher of E College. I have about two years' experience as teacher. Today I am discussing poor performance in English of our student's. I try to help you. So, how can I help you Mr. A?

Azad: Thank you much. I will ask you some question regarding my Topic. My first Question to you- **Dou you agree with the curriculum guide lines of language assessment procedures?**

Ma: I am sorry to say that language assessment procedures are little bit different in our country. We are following only two skills, Reading and Writing. We are not following another two skills Listening and Speaking. That is the reason I cannot agree with this curriculum and assessment procedure.

A: **What changes do you think could be useful in assessment?**

Ma: You know that in CLT method there are 4 skills, reading writing listening and speaking. These 4 skills go together, so this is very important and more effective for students. That is the reason I am following this on but the Government do not following. They are following only two skills.

A: So you want changes that Government should take assessment on four skills.

Ma: Yes, also I request Government to follow four skills of CLT method.

A: So, you are suggesting Government should take assessment on four skills of the language not the two reading and writing. That is great! I think you evaluate your students. So far as we know teacher takes six month test and yearly test. **Do you think your student agree with the frequency evaluation and feedback?**

Ma: Yes, it is true if we give them feedback, then student will be happy. Unfortunately our government takes half yearly and final exam. Students and guardians are not happy on this system. In our college teacher thinks that taking half monthly or monthly exam, also when we take half monthly also monthly exam will be more helpful for the students.

A: You think that student will be very happy if you evaluate them more frequently, like weekly, monthly test. **If you give them frequent feedback, will they be happy?**

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Ma: Yes, I think they will be happy.

A: That is great! Thanks you. So, now I will ask you some question regarding the CLT method, you know that in our country 2003 CLT method has implemented in the grade 11 and 12th level in higher Secondary level. **Do you think that CLT is practical, useful and relevant approach in Bangladeshi context?**

Ma: I am sorry to say that there are some problems in our country. You know that it(CLT) was implemented in 2003 that is long time, but unfortunately at present we don't have proper trained teachers. Some obstacles are: lack of sufficient classroom, audio video system, plenty student in a class room, these are the main reason CLT method is not properly implemented in our country.

A: Ok, still CLT is not practical in Bangladeshi context. **Do you think it is good method?**

Ma: yes, definitely!! It is a good method also it is good for students.

A: Ok, that is great!! **Have you taken any training on CLT?**

Ma: Yes, I have taken 2 times.

A: **How effective do you think your training in CLT has been?**

Ma: It is very important for our teacher. Without training how can we give them proper teaching. I received few days training, I think it very primary label, I have no deep knowledge or vast knowledge. I need more training otherwise I cannot give proper teaching to the students.

A: You suggesting for long duration training not short term training. You have basic primary label idea of CLT. So, **what do you see as the main obstacles to implementing CLT?**

Ma: Here main obstacle is GTM, that is the reason students memorize and they sit for exam. They think that if they pass in English they pass in whole. They have not proper basic level of English in primary, high school and higher secondary level that is the reason they fall in trouble in future.

A: So, you are thinking CLT method is good. **Why we can implement CLT in Bangladesh? What are the main problems? What is the reason?**

Ma: Government did not implement properly CLT method in our Country. Government suggesting CLT but the system is our previous context that is GTM method.

A: **What you need to implement CLT in our Country?**

Ma: We need government help, trained teachers, Audio video system, good class room also environment. Another is an more important that is feedback system, monthly exam or three monthly exam system.

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A: You are suggesting that you need the trained teacher, the infrastructure, government help, the resources related to CLT method. That's great!! You are teaching now CLT method, **do you feel more comfortable with teaching method other than CLT?**

Ma: Very honestly we are habituated teaching method with GTM that is the reason we feel more comfortable or better with GTM. But I support CLT, because there are Reading, Writing, Listening and speaking. These four basic skills implement all together. So, CLT method is more important also make a good future for students.

A: What you teach in GTM method?

Ma: only structure, the student memorize only for exam, they do not know except grammar.

A: You are supporting CLT method, but you are habituated and you know more about grammar translation method, that's why you are in GTM.

Ma: Yes!

Azad: You know after the implementation of CLT, many students failed in English in SSC and HSC exam. The media, all guardians were anxious about their failure, as a teacher what do you think? **What do you see as the main reasons for Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English?**

Ma: there are many reasons like lack of good teachers, another reason is GTM. Students just memorize only for exam, they think only for pass in exam, they do not learn properly. If the question is little bit change but answer is same, at that time they cannot do proper answer because of their lack of understanding, they only memorize. So, they fall in trouble in exam, their result is fail. At the same time CLT method is very good, there have no chance to memorize anything, here only understanding and writing on the exam paper.

A: They cannot write from their own but have habit of memorization. That is why they are failing. The level is not up to the standard mark.

Ma: Yes, Yes

A: Ok, that is great. Thank you very much!

Ma: Thank you very much.

Appendix E2: **Interview of teacher R from college G**

Conversation between R & Mohammad, A=Mohammad

A= Interviewer, R = Teacher

……………………………………………………

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A: Hello Rony vi, how are you?

R: I am very good. How are you?

A: fine, today I would like to talk with you regarding my dissertation. You know I am doing my MA in London met university. I wanted to do my dissertation related to Bangladeshi student's poor performance in English. You are a good teacher of G College. Related to student's poor performance, methodology, I would like to ask you some questions and I hope you will give me more informative answers.

R: I will try my level best.

A: Thank you very much. So, my first question regarding my research...you know in our country we have curriculum guideline, so , we asses students in intermediate level , eleventh and twelve level students. **Do you agree with the curriculum guideline with the language assessment procedures?**

R: Hello

A: Hello,, so my first question to you ...

R; Hello

A: Can you hear me?

R: yes, I am listening.

A: my first question ...can you listen /

R: I think there is some problem in internet .Now it's a bit clear.

A: ok ok, my first question regarding the assessment of eleventh and twelve level students in your college. You know we follow a curriculum and we follow a assessment system. So**, do you agree with the curriculum guideline with the language assessment procedures?**

 R: Ok. Let me introduce first myself. My name is **M** and I have been teaching in **G** college for last 2 years and through my experience I think I don't agree the curriculum guideline of language assessment process. Because, we only teach GTM (Grammar Translation Method) method in our country that only focus two things; reading and writing. But another two skills like listening and speaking, we could not focus on that. So, I don't agree with the curriculum guide line. You know the system here, because they don't focus on listening and speaking.

A: Ok .In our existing curriculum there is a CLT method

R: yes

A: and in CLT method we have four skills, listening, writing, reading, writing, but you can only assess two skills those are reading and writing. For this reason you are not agreed with

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the procedures. Ok. So, **what changes do you thing could be useful to the curriculum guideline of language assessment?**

R: You know in the modern world CLT method is very common and frequently used whole over the world. So, if we use this method it will be useful....I think so.

A: You want CLT method implementation properly.

R: Yes, if we implement that method in our country that can develop our students listening and speaking rather than writing and reading at a time.

A: So, you want to assess all the four skills. Listening speaking reading and writing not only two skills.

R: Yes. What I want to say we usually focus 2 things in GTM method. If we can implement the CLT method it could help the students learning, learning in a good way in case of listening and speaking.

A: Ok, that's good. So, you know in your college you evaluate your students. **Do your students agree with frequent evaluation and feedback? Will they be happy if you evaluate them frequently or give them feedback?**

R: ok, most of the students will welcome if we can give them feedback. If we correct their mistakes, they will welcome the thing. Students like feedback frequently.

A: that's great...now regarding the CLT method. You know CLT is a very new in our country so, **do you think CLT is practical, useful and reverent in Bangladeshi context?**

R: As I told you CLT is very common in the world and even in Africa and India and even in Sri Lanka and they use that method frequently and there students learning more than our students because we follow the GTM method. **IT'S GOOD BUT WE NEED TO DEVELOP A LOT**. We need to develop our structure, need to train our teachers, need some more instruments like audio and video equipment so that we can supply the students more listening and speaking courses. But, it is not still available in our country.

A: Ok, that's great, so, you are supporting the CLT method. It's a good method and you don't have facilities.

R: Yes, it's a good method but we need to improve our whole system.

A: Ok. Thank you very much. **Have you taken any training?**

R: Yes, I have been training twice but, the training was not that much effective.

A: **why you think the training is not effective?**

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R: The training is not effective because, they only train us only for a short period of time and most of the students are not familiar with this system. So, we cannot apply what we got in our training. That is why it's not that much effective.

A: ok. So, you prefer long term training like 6 months one year. That is helpful. So, **what do you think as a main obstacle in CLT method in Bangladesh? Why you cannot implement?**

R: As my own opinion that I told you, we need to improve the structure. Most of the teachers are not trained. So, if the teachers are not trained how to teach the CLT method, it will not work on that way. So, we need to train the teachers, supply the equipment to the schools. Our government should think more about that.

A: So, you are demanding more equipment more allocation for this method. So, we need more investment. As you are facing the problem implementing CLT method in modern context in Bangladesh, **do you feel comfortable with any method other then CLT method?**

R: All right, as we have been teaching the GTM method for long, though CLT method is good teaching English in proper way but, I still feel comfortable in GTM method.

A: Why you feel comfortable with GMT method?

R: It is coming generation by generation. We taught the same way and the students like this method, but through this method we are not able to help the students develop there listening and speaking skills.

A: ok. In GTM method you cannot teach the students listening and speaking but, in communicative method you can teach. **Do you feel uncomfortable in CLT method?** That means the teacher cannot understand the method properly?

R: It is not the matter of uncomfortable but we are not used to it. That's the main problem.

A: Ok

R: If we become used to it, may be at first we will struggle but later we can cope up with the situation.

A: Ok. Do you feel you have a lack of understanding in CLT METHOD? Or lack of training that is why you feel uncomfortable?

R: To be honest, at the beginning we felt uncomfortable in teaching CLT METHOD rather than GTM method.

A: ok   ok, that's great. **So what are the reasons of poor performance of Bangladeshi students in English?**

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R: there are a lot of reasons, but to me the main reasons are when the students want to learn English they always fear English inside their heart. But there are other reasons like we don't have trained teachers

A: Ok

R: Even the basic background in primary education, we don't teach them proper way

A: Ok

R: and even the students, their background is very bad. They are not good in English. They have lack of vocabulary

A: Ok, hmm

R: even lack of practice

A: They emphasis other subject rather than English?

R: Yes

A: Thank you very much Mr Rony for your time .Have a good day.

R: It's my pleasure to be with you and my little effort could help you to do your dissertation in proper way

R: Thank you very much

A; Thank you very much

Appendix E3: **Interview of teacher H from college E**

Conversation between R & Mohammad, A=Mohammad

A= Interviewer, H=Teacher

………………………………………..

A: Hello H how r u

H: I am fine. What about you?

A: I am doing my Masters in TESOL at London metropolitan university and doing my dissertation my dissertation topic is Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English. I know you are an experience teacher. Related to my topic I will ask you some questions you will give me answers.

H: I will try my best to give you answer.

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A: My first Question to you **Do you agree with the curriculum guidelines on language assessment procedures?**

H: No I don't agree with the curriculum guide line. Among 4 skills only 2 skills are assessed that is reading and writing. There is no assessment on listening and speaking skills so I don't agree with the present curriculum assessment.

A: ok thank you very much. So **what changes do you think could be useful? i.e. to the curriculum guidelines on assessment?**

H: I think it is better to take exam on listening and speaking skills.

A: Ok and you think that will be very helpful. My next question **Do your students agree with the frequency of evaluation and feedback?**

H: Yes I think that my students will love the frequency of evaluation and feedback.

A: Ok, and they will be happy if you give them more feedback.

H: yes

A: that's nice. My next question to you. **Do you think that CLT is a practical, useful and relevant approach in the Bangladeshi context?**

M: I think that CLT method is good in the modern world but for Bangladesh we have some limitations to implement this method like train teacher classroom and infrastructure

A: Ok, you are thinking that we have lack of trained teachers, lack of environment in the class. Ok that's great. But you are thinking CLT method is a good method.

M: Yes

A: My next question to you. **How effective do you think your training in CLT has been?**

H: We took only 15 days training on CLT it is not enough for us. It is an introductory lesson on CLT. So I think this training is not useful

A: ok you think you need more time that means 6 months or 1 year training

H: yes, that will be better

A: ok thank you very much. My next question to you **what do you see as the main obstacles to implementing CLT in Bangladesh?**

H: We find something like lack of trained teachers, classroom environment and student number and social environment.

A: ok, these are the problem to implement CLT in our country. My next question, **Do you feel more comfortable with teaching methods other than CLT ? If so, why?**

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H: To speak the truth we are used to with grammar translation method. So we feel comfortable with this method. But CLT is a good method but for some obstacle we cannot implement this method.

A: Ok, thanks, my next question; **what do you see as the main reasons for Bangladeshi students' poor performance in English?**

H: Low level of students, lack of vocabulary and exam oriented class; these are main problems in our country. These are the main reason of students' poor performance in English.

A: ok, do you have any suggestions that will help the student to do good performance in English

h: we need train teachers, larger classroom, language lab, and teaching aid like audio video projector.

A: thank you very much for giving me time. Have a nice day, bye

M: bye

Appendix E4: Interview of teacher S from college G

Conversation between S & Mohammad, A=Mohammad

A= Interviewer, S=Teachers

……………………………………………………………….

A : Hello, Sumon vi, how are you

S : I am fine. How are you Mr Azad?

A: I fine

S: how could I help you today?

A: Today I will talk with you about my dissertation. I am doing my M.A from London Metropolitan University

A: I am doing my dissertation related to Bangladeshi student's poor performance in English so you are experience teacher of   G College. I think you will give more information about student's performance.

S: my teaching experience just last two years. In between two years I don't know how much I got experience from my college. I should try to help you.

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A: Mr Sumon vi, I am going to start the 1ˢᵗ question to you, in our country there is curriculum on language assessment. **Do you agree with curriculum guide lines on language assessment procedure?**

S: actually I am not agreeing with that if you go for exam, there are only 2 skills reading and writing. We are not thinking another two (listening and speaking skills). There are four skills in curriculum i. e. listening, reading, speaking and writing. We do only reading and writing. So I don't agree with that curriculum.

A: ok, thank you very much, so, you are not agreeing with our present assessment system. As it is only assess two skill reading and writing not listening and speaking. That's good.

A: so my second question to you. **What change do you think could be use full to the curriculum guideline on assessment?**

S: For curriculum guideline change, we need to do four type of skill. If you visit to IELTS course that another English language course. They're not doing reading and writing. They do speaking, listening, reading and writing as well. So most of the time our student in our country they are just learning reading and writing. Out of their study they don't do listening and speaking as well. So I think we need four skills teaching in our curriculum.

A: so you want include all the four skill in our assessment listening ,speaking, reading and writing

S: yes

A: so that will be help full for our student and for English teaching. My 3ʳᵈ question to you, **Do your students agree with the frequencies of the evaluation and feedback , do they like it**?

S: yes. Hopefully they will like it, they will because we have to evaluate them, most of the time when study finish like exam finish. We don't give them any feedback and evaluation. Like one of student they did mistake we just point like 6 out of 10.we never show him what he did? What's their mistake? What's his lacking? When we show him like this you some problem with this line, you did mistake with grammar, you did with vocabulary, synonyms, antonyms, and we can do slowly because we are used to other type study last 20 to 30 years. We have to put them slowly and they accept that one.

A: they will very happy if you give them feedback?

S: if we give them feedback that will be good for them.

A: so they will be happy if you give them feedback and evaluate them frequently.

S: Confidently they will be happy. They always wait for that; in our Bangladeshi teacher we never do that one.

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A: So 4th question to you, in our country there is CLT teaching method everywhere, from school to college everywhere. **Do you think that CLT is practical, useful, relevant approach in the Bangladeshi contest?**

S: Actually CLT is good for Bangladesh but you know we are used to Grammar translation Method. But if we go to the neighboring country such as India they have already started the CLT system. In my country if we want to start that for that we don't have enough class room. And you know for CLT class you need lot of equipment like.......

A: like projector, video audio lab,

S: thanks for help, we need teaching aid and practically also. Some time government sent us for CLT (training) to another English language institute for 15 days training. In 15 days we got only two hour that is not enough not for a teacher. For one teacher they need three to six month or more time (on training).

A: Your are talking CLT training that only less time, few days or few week is not enough to prepare for CLT training.

S: that also doesn't have teaching aid class room and class set up,

A: ok, you have already given answer of question of No 5th. How effective do you think your on training CLT has been? I think you have taken so much training. More or less training on CLT. Is it good for you?

S: well, if that one (training) is for long time that is good for me. But I already told government sent us for 15 day or something. Some college also send us for 14 or 15 days and I told you 15 days is not enough for a teacher at least they need like 6 month or 8 month course.

A: so you are thinking CLT is good method but in your country you don't have more resources, more equipments and more trained teacher. **So my next question is what you see as the main obstacle to implementation of CLT. Why we cannot implement CLT in our country? What are the problems?**

S: we have many obstacles if you want to tell me specifically, we don't have trained teacher, teaching aid, we don't have good assessment system, and also we are used to GTM method, for solving that one, we need good teacher and we have to reduce the old method. If we want to stop that one, we have to send teacher for CLT course (training).

A: so new method for old teacher, they are not used to CLT method. That's why they are facing the problem.

S: Actually they need trained teacher and lot of equipment which are need for CLT.

A: now my next question to you. **Do you feel that and do you feel more comfortable with teaching method other than CLT**.

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S: its good but I told you we are used to GTM method. We always prefer old one, if I want to go for CLT. It will take lot of time.

A: you are habituated with GTM method, you can easily teach the student with that method.

S: student like GTM as well, we teach them this way that's why we are used to GTM.

A: That's why; you cannot implement CLT, that's the problem,

A: In Bangladesh you see, student are failing tribally in English. They are doing bed result compare to other subject, everyone knows that, even this media as teacher know the student are failing in English, so **what do you see as the main reasons for Bangladeshi students poor performing in English?**

S: Actually the reason is, we don't have enough trained teacher, student basic is not good, lack off guide lines, lack of vocabulary, lack of student communication in society you know, they use only reading and writing. They don't do another two skills, we can recover that one for that we need good teacher and equipment. You know in our country students use English for pass not for using outside the class room and at society as well.

A: ok that's the great point, so in their society, friend circle and family they don't use English.

S: yes they use only Bengali language, i told you before they just stopped that when their exam is finished.

A: thank you very much for giving me the time.

S: Is there any question for me.

A: thank you thank very much you have already gaven me enough information.

S: Have a nice day.

A: Have nice day.

Appendix F: Students Interview transcription (4 students)

(Interviews are conducted in Bengali and some broken English)

Appendix F1: Student **S** interview

A= Interviewer, S=Student

……………………………………….

A: Hi S, How are you?

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S: Hi Sir, I am fine, thank you and you?

A: Fine. Ok S. Ami London Metro Politan University te TESOL e Masters kortesi. Amar Masters er dissertation hosse Bangladeshi student der poor performance in English. So jehetu tomra college level er student ta ami tomader Interview nissi, ami tomader k kisu topic related question korbo , tomara answer koraba.

S: Assa

A: My first question, why do you want to learn English? What is your short term and long term goal? Tumi kno Enreji shikte chaw? tomar enreji shekar solpo meyadi abong dirgo meyadi porikolpona ki?

S:Actually amar enreji shekar aim hosse porikkhai pass kora. tarpor shorterm plan hosse **exam e pass** kora ... porikkhar exam gulate r **long term plan** hosse **Computer, Internet browsing** kora, **travelling**. bideshidersathe kotha bola, in **future business** kora.

A: ok ok, thank you very much. So my second question to you. How your teacher teaches English in your class room? **Do you take part any pair or group work?**

tomar teacher ra tomader classroom e kivabe enreji shekhai? tomra ki kno group work or pair work e participate koro?

A: Asole amader teacher ra amader class e muloto grammar shikhai, kisu kisu paragraph ,eassy dei, Aigola amara memorize kori. Asole amader class e erokom environment nai j amra group work or pair work korbo. Agula amra kori na r amra airokom poribesh pai na.

A: Teacher a eigula arrange kore na.

S: Na... teacherra aigula arrange kore na.

A: ok ok ok, thank you very much. So my third question to you. Do you think that getting feedbackfrom your teachers on you test and exam performance would help you to improve your performance in english? Tumi ki mone koro teacher ra jodi tomra ja lekhla, ja porikkha dila oitar upor jodi feed back dei, oitar vul ta jodi dorai a dei... Aita tomader enreji improve a sohayota korbe?

S: Obossoi obossoi, **feedback** dile amader enreji onek unnoto hobe kintu amader teacher ra amader feedback dei na, jar jonno amra amader enreji oirokom develop korte pari na. Feedback obossoi onek important for learning english.

A: So **teacher ra kono feedback dite pare na**... ok ok... thank you. So my fourth question to you... what activities do the teachers use to assess you in English language classroom? Ki ki podokkhep grohon kore , karjo krom grohon kore teacher ra tomake assess korar jonno mullayon korar jonno English language?

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S: Asole...Amader assess korar jonno teacher ra yearly one exam nei,Avavei tara asole bosor sese 1 ta final exam er maddome amader k assess kore.

A: ok ... sudu 12 tai exam ,,, only one exam in a year. ok,, Thank you very much

A: Now fifth question is tomader syllabus ta hisse communicative method. communicative method er mul kotha hosse 4 ta skill... Listening, speaking, reading and writing. Ai 4 ta skill kivabe teacher ra tomader k assess kore tomader language class room e? how the 4 skill are assessed?

S: Asole 4 ta skill amara sune si ,,teacher kokhuno bole nai j english e 4 skill, Just class e amader **k 2 ta skill porano hoi... Reading and writing but writing taw oivabe shikano hoi na**, amara nije theke kono eassy ba paragraph likhte pari na, amara just memorise kori, Sadaronto ai 4 ta skill amader kokhuno sekhano hoi na.

A: Only Reading and writing... No listening no speaking. ok ok,, thank you very much.

A: My next question number 6... Do you use anything like magazine, computer to learn English? Do you think that you can learn English from these recourses? tumi ki computer ba magazine ba onno kisu use koroEnreji shekhar jonno ja tomader enrejio shikte help korbe?

S: Asole i am sorry j Magazine pora hoi na. but i use computer for learning english, movie dekhar jonno, gan sonar jonno.

A: ok ok, Thank you very much. So not for learning english. ok

A: My next question is ...How your family encourage you to learn English? tomar familly tomake kivabe utshahito kore enreji shekhar jonno?

S: Asole amader family maderk oivabe encourage kore na english learning er jonno. Just tara sudu dekhe result , final exam result. Avabei tara assess kore, result dekhei tara suntusto.

A: ok...k kotutuko enreji kothe bolte parla, shikte parla, likhyte parla ta tara bother kore na. only pass.

S: Only pass.

A:Do you take extra lesson outside of the class room? Class er baireo ki tomra kono teacher er kase poro , kono extra lesson naw?

S:Asole porikkhar 2/3 mass age theke extra lesson newa dorkar hoi. teacher der kas theke amara extra lesson nei. but just porikkhar 2/3 mass age ,, porikkhai passer jonno.

A: ok... only before 2/3 months.

S: Yes

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A: So my last question. What do you think the main reason for poor performance in English? tomar kase ki mone hoi j student der j result kharap, poor perfotmance, tar reason ta ki? tar karon ta ki?

S:Amar kase mone hoi 1st reason lack of vocabulary, 2nd reason english environment otoba teaching system valo na.... Enreji shekar jonno na just memorize korar jonno,,, Aitai hosse amader poor english er mul karon.

A:ok ok ok... Thank you very much for your time. have a nice day.

S: You too sir.

A: Thank you bye,

S: bye

Appendix F2 :Student J

(Interviews are conducted in Bengali and some broken English)

A= Interviewer, J=Student

A: Hi J, How are you?

J: I am fine and you?

A: I am fine. J Ami London Metropolitan University te TESOL e masters kortesi, Amar dissertation ta hosse bangladeshi student der poor performance related. jehetu tomra college level er student Tai amar topic related kisu question ase jeguli ami tomader jigges korbo abong tumi answer diba.

A: My **First question** to you, **why do you want to learn English? What is your short term and long term goal?** Tumi kno Enreji shikte chaw? tomar enreji shekar solpo meyadi abong dirgo meyadi porikolpona ki?

J: Asole amra english shiki muloto pass korar jonno. Short temr porikolpona hosse pass korar jonno r long term porikolpona hosse Boi porar jonno, **travel** korar jonno, **communication** korar jonno.

A: Ok, thank you very much. So my **second question** to you... **How your teacher teaches English in your class room? Do you participate any pair or group work?** tomar teacher ra tomader classroom e kivabe enreji shekhai? tomra ki kno group work or pair work e participate koro?

J: Muloto class e amader **grammatical** e besi jor dewa hoi. Oirokom vabe amader participate kora hoi na.

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A: Ok. **So no pair work, no group work**

J: Paragraph, essay te jor dewa hoi.. oita amader porikkhai ase final porkkhai.

A: Ok ogulo basai aisa mukhosto kore likhta hoi. Ok, Thank you very much.

A: My third question... **Do you think that getting feedback from your teachers on your test and exam performance would help you to improve your performance in English?** Tumi kimone koro tomar teacher ra jodi tomar exam er upor, daily classe er upor feedback dei, ata tomar english improvement e sahajjo korbe?

J: haa obossoi ata hole to kub valo hobe. karon jodi feedback dei tahole mara amader vul kothai ase amara dorte parbo. Atavjodi hoi tahole amader english e onek improve hobe.

A: teacher ki **feedback** dei? dite pare?

J: Ata dwei na , jar jonno amader English e improve hosse na.

A: Ok. Thank you very much. So **my fourth question** to you, what **activities do the teachers use to assess you in English language classroom?** Teacher ra Ki ki podokkhep grohon kore tomake assess korar jonno, ebreji shekhar jonno, tomake mullayon korar jonno?

J: Asole amader oibave kisu na. Sudu amra **finally exam** dissi r ki.

A: mane **year final exam.** onno kno exam hoina er modde.4

A: Ok thank you very much. So you are learning in a **communicative method**. Tomader k communicative method shekhano hosse. Communicative method er 4 ta skill... Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing. Ai 4 t askill kibave teacher ra assess kore tomader class room e?

J: Asole amader class e hosse aita 2 ta . amar jani ata 4 ta seta hossse Reading and writing. **Speaking and listening** ta hosse na amader class e.

A: Ok, Ok, Thank you very much. My next **question ... Do you use anything like magazine, computer to learn English? Do you think that you can learn English from these recourses**? tumi ki computer ba magazine ba onno kisu use koro Enreji shekhar4 jonno?

J: Asole amader internet oirokom nai. English oirok Magazine ase na. Jar jonno hosse na.

A: Ok ok. That's why tomra oita theke shikte paro na. Good. **my next question**... **How your family encourage you to learn English? Do you take extra lesson outside the class room?** tomar familly tomake kivabe utshahito kore enreji shekhar jonno?

J: Family to sudu result er jonno chap dei.English shikhanor jonno kisu hosse na. basai English e kotha bolte parsi na. So ami nije nije kisu ta English chorcha kori.

A: Ok ok ,So tomra ki kno extra lesson naw? class er baireo teacher der kase ki private poro?

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J: maje maje newa hoi, onek somoi family goto babe oibave dewa hosse na.

A: Ok, Family oivabe help kore na. Ok ok Thank you very much... So **my last question** to you. **What do you think the main reason for poor performance in English?** ki karon asole aije student ra Enreji te kharap kortese, result kharap kortese, Whats the reasons?Karon gula ki asole?

J: Amader English level ta onek low. R amader **Vocabulary** kubi durbol. Jarkarone english ta oirokom hoye uthtese na. r amader english er upor oirokom somoi dewa hoi na.

A: Ok... So tomader level tarpor onnano basic class e thik moto na jawai hosse enrejir main karon. Emonki hosse communicative method o seta shekhano hosse oita tomara bujte partaso na.

J: Hmm.. Ji Tai...

A: ok Thank you very much for your interview. Have a nice day, bye.

Appendix F3 :Student Sa

(Interviews are conducted in Bengali and some broken English)

A= Interviewer, Sa=Student

A: Hi. How are you?

Sa: Hi sir, I'm fine thank you & you?

A: Fine. So salman ami amar dissertation kortesi London metropolitan universityte. Amar dissertation er ekta part hosse studentder interview neya. Se hisabe ami tomar interview nissi. Ami kisu amar dissertation related question korbo, tumi ans korba.

Sa: Jee sir.

A: Ok thank you. My 1st question:- "**Why do you want to learn English? What is your short term and long term goal?**" Keno tumi engregi shekhte chao? Tomar sholpo mayadi & dirgho meyadi porikolpona ki?

Sa: Amar sholpo meyadi uddeshsho hosse porikhay pass kora & dirgho meyadi porikalpona hosse vobishshote business kora & forenerder shathe engregite communicate kora.

A: Ok, thank you very much. My 2nd question "**How your teachers teach English in your classroom. Do you participate any pair or group work?**" Tomar teachera ki vabe engregi shekhay classroom e. Tumi kono pair work ba group work participate koro classroom e?

Sa: Na amara kono pair work ba group work e participate koki na. Amader teacher ra amader grammar shekhay r majhe majhe kisu essay & paragraph memories korte dey ja amara basha theke memories kore ani & class e likhi.

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A: Ok. Thank you. Thank you very much. My 3rd question:- "**Do you think that getting feedback from teachers on your test & exam performance would help you to improve your performance in English? How it can help you to improve performance in English?**" Tumi ki mone koro teacherder kas theke feedback paile, ai feedback ta tomar engregi shekhar khetre help korbe?

Sa: Ha oboshsoi, kivabe ami English kortesi na kortesi ami Jodi jante e na parlam. Amar improvement ki hosse na hosse ami jodi jantei na parlam. Tahole ami kivabe improve korbo. Eta amar dorkar kitu amader deshe eta hoy na. Unfortunate but true eta amader deshe hoy na.

A: Taile **feedback** paile ki happy hoba. Teachera Jodi tomake feedback dey.

Sa: Haa obosshsho e . **feedback** paile jeta hobe sheta holo. Amar durbolota gula poroborti shomoye katiye utar chesta korbo.

A: Ok. Thank you. So my 4th question:-'' **What activities do the teachers use to assess you in English language classroom?**" Teachera ki ki poddhoti abolombon kore tomake mullaon koara jonno class e ba assess korar jonno.

Sa: amader class e shudhu writing hoy r reading hoy. Majhe majhe amara class e vibinno passage pori . R sir ra je shob mukhosto dey shegolo amara mukhosto ba memories kore eshe class e likhi ba write kori.

A: Assa porikhkha ta koto din por por hoy?

Sa: Porikhkha ta hoy bosore dui bar. Ekbar hoy moddile of the year. Final porikhkha ta hoy end of the year.

A: Final porikhkha ta hoy end of the year. Ok. Evabe teacher assess kore tomader. Amader deshe ekhon tomader je method sheta holo communicative method. Communicative method hosse charta skills four skills listening, reading , writing & speaking**. "How are the four language skills (LSRW) assess in English language classroom?"** Teacher ra kivabe ai charta skill assess kore.

Sa: ami apnak ektu agei e bollam amader classe matro dui ta assess hoy sheta holo reading & writing. Ai prothom shunlam je English e char ta assessment ase, listening & speaking. na etar kono assessment hoy na.

A: Ok thank you. **"Do you use anything like magazine computer to learn English? Do you think that you can learn English from these resources?"** Tumi ki magazine ba computer ba extra boi use kore engregi develop korar jonno. Tumi ki mone koro je ai jinish gulo engregi shikhte shohayota korbe.

Sa: Ami use kori nai but ami mone kori je e gulo te engregi shikhte shohayota korbe.

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A: Assa tumi mone koro je egulo te vobishshote help korte pare. Ok, Good. **"How your family encourage you to learn English. Do you take extra lesson outside the class?"** Tomar family ki tomake utshahito kore engregi shikhte.

Sa: Amar family chay je ami class jeno English e pash kori.

A:Ooo tara shudhu pash dekhte chay.Ok . So **Do you take extra lesson like extra privet from your other teacher?** Extra kono privet ki neo onno teacherder kas theke.

Sa: Ha .Karon Pass korte hole amader extra kisu help dorkar hoy. Shee jonno amar majhe majhe privet tutorder kase jai.

A: Ok. Sometime you go. Majhe majhe tumi jao. Tik ase. Thank you. My last question. Amar shorbo shesh question **:-"What do you think the main reason of your poor performance in English?"** Tomar ki mone hoy je tomader je engregite poor performance er resone ta karon ki?

Sa: Amader je English shekhar je way ta eta onek vul truti ase. Eta valo na English shekhar jonno.

Ditioto hosse amader English level ta onek niche. Titioto amara vocabulary aoto jani na. jetuku jani shetuku jani kivabe use korte hoy. Jodi amader speaking thakto tahole amara jantam how to use vocabulary in speaking English ba how to use grammar by the way of communication. Amara oi gulo jante parbo. Jegulo amara jani na sheei vocabulary shikhte parbo.

A: Thank you salman for interview . Have a nice day.

Sa. Thank you very much. Have a nice day.

Appendix F4 :Student I

(Interviews are conducted in Bengali and some broken English)

A= Interviewer, I=Student

…………………………………

A : Hi I , how are you ?

I : Im fine how are you ?

A : to Imran ami London metropolitan university te   reletion desertation kortesi setar ekta part hoche student interview neaoa. So shei hishabe ami grade 12 er student er interview niche. Ami question korbo tumi answer diba .So my 1st question to you **why do you want learn English? What is your short term and long term goal ?** tumi keno engrezi shikhte chao , tomar engrezi shikhar solpo meyadhi porikolpona ki dhirgho meyadhi porikolpona ki ?

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I : Engrezi …hmm shikte chai karon engrezi onek important amader life…..day to day life as well…

A : Acha

I: Thik ase . R engrezi shikhar pichone short term plan amader school college er shavabik just pass the exam ……

A: Thik ase ..r long time plan English obviously …hmm 1st language in the world .

A : hmm ..hmm

I: ami jekono kiso korte jai….

A: hmuuuu

I: deshe kori bahire kori jekhonno higher study join kori amar enhlish ovoshoi lagbe

A: Hmu hmu..

I: amra jokhon e higher study MBA korte jabo English laghbei kothao ghurte geleo karo sathe communicate korte jai english lagbei…

A: ok so ei karone English shikte chao. Good. So 2nd question **how teacher in your classroom teach in your class room? Do you do any pair work or group work?** Tomar teacher ra kivabe class e engrejita shikhai ?tomra ki pair work ba group work koro ?

I: Na bhai pair ba group work bole scholle kisoi nai ba college e ..r amader classroom er jei teaching process seta hoche je passage ba je kono ekta kiso diya dibe as a home work ghore jabo eta korbe abar kalke niya ashbe .r hoitoba jhokhon exam e jabo hoitoba sekhane ektowritten hobe that's it …kono par ba group work nai

A: ok No group work no pair work in the class ok thank u very much .My 3rd question **do you think that getting feedback from teacher on your test and exam performance would help you to improve your performance in English ? How it can help you to improve performance in English? Tumi** ki mone koro tomar teacher ra Jodi feed back dei tahole tomar engreji shikhar shajjo hobe ?

I: seta ovoshoi seta mone kori …..

A : je eta help hobe ..so tomar teacher ra Jodi tomar exm paper feed back dei ba class er kono lekhar opor feed back dei ?

I: ha ovoshoi ami happy hobo karon eta ami amar dhorbolota kothai sta dhorte parbo ebong seta improve korte parbo ….

A: ok. **What activities teacher uses to asses you in English language classroom?** tomar teacher ki poddhoti obolombon kore tomader mullaion kore ….

I : amader main jei mullaion poddhoti seta written jeta amader exam e hoe r classroom e jeta hoi amader mullaion hoe reading r writtng ei dhuita podddhoti hoi ….basically written tai amader beshi ..ei ekta amadr obolombon kora hoi

A:ok so tomar porikkha kotodin porpor hoi tomder college e je porikha gelo

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I: colleg e dhuita exam hoi ekta mid term ekta year final exam

A: so after year final exam you give final exam .So my 5 th question related to question 4 . **How are the four language skills assessed in language class room**? tomader jei method porache eta communicative e listening , reading writing , speaking ei charta method nei tomader tomader classroom e

I: amader 4 ta skill asses kora hoina shudu reding writing assess hoi listening speaking er jonno amader kono activity nei amader shudu reading hoi classe r wrtting exam e .ei duitai amader hoi onnogula hoina .

A: ok no listening no speaking. ok **6th question tumi ki kono extra magazine ba computer use koro enlish shukhar jono .** tumi ki mone koro je tomar ei jinish gula tomar English shikhar joono help korbe ?

I : ami mone kori egula help korbe . But amra magazine use korina r computer use kori seta engreji shikhar jonno na amra evabei use kori .but eta kisota shahajjo kore English shikhar khetre .

A: Ok .Evabei tomra computer use koro but English shikhar jonno na . **How your family encourage you to learn English?**

I:Amar family tea mar papa encourage kore English pore amar hogher study te lagbe tai .

A: ok . **Do you take any extra class in outside of class?**

I: ha amar midterm exam er or amar final exam er jonno …

A: Teacher der kase lesson nao …..okk. My last question **what do you think main reason of your poor performance in English?** tumi ki mone koro ashole eije English e eto student result kharap hoche er main karon ki ? **What is the main reason?**

I: Amader main reason jeta hoche amra..basically amader 1st language bangla …english hoitoba choto kal theke shikhtesi but apply kortesina .jar karon e amader etar basic jeta mane amader kotha bolbo b akaro sathe communicate korbo seta hochena

A: ok

I: amra shudu book r exam e asi .. amra practical jhokhon theke apply korbo nijer lyf e tokhon hoito amra eta improve korte parbo

A: Ok tumi ki mone koro tomader enough vocabulary ase

I: na

A: jothesto grammar jana ase ebong tumi chuto class gula par korso oghulate jei English shikso ?

I : Na amar hoito kiso rules shikha ase but proper way te shikha hoine …

A; Emonki tumi English poro tumi ki shob bhujo ?

I: Na

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A: so you cannot understand

I: Cause English e onek vocabulary ase ….sobgula to janina

A: ok .**vocabulary problem**. So Imran thank you very much to give me time and have a nice day

Appendix G: Letters requesting permission from the principals of sampled colleges (E & G) to conduct research.

Appendix G1: Letter to the principal of college E

Date: 1st December 2012

To: The Principal, College E

From: Mohammad M Rahman

Request for a permission to undertake research

Dear Sir

I am currently registered for the degree of MA TESOL at London Metropolitan University. My studies related to the factors affecting achievement in English among Bangladeshi college students.

The aim of this study is to find out the factors affecting the achievements of grade twelve learners with specific reference to the English subject. Participation of the respondents will be voluntary with the option of withdrawing at any stage of the process and there will be no negative consequences to non-participation. An informed consent will be requested before the respondents' participation in the research process.

Confidentiality will be ensured. Information obtained will be used for the purposes of the study only and I undertake to ensure that the information will be used in such a way that the respondents cannot be identified. Therefore the final report will not include identifying information. Questionnaires will be used to collect data from selected grade twelve learners and English teachers. Respondents will be informed that they are not obliged to answer all questions, if they feel uncomfortable to answer certain questions they may not answer them. By participating in the study, respondents could contribute towards the identification and elimination of factors negatively affecting the achievements in English of grade twelve learners.

Your co-operation in this regard will be highly appreciated.

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Yours sincerely

Mohammad M Rahman

Appendix G2: Letter to the principal of college G

Date: 1st December 2012

To: The Principal, College G, Dhaka

From: Mohammad M Rahman

Request for a permission to undertake research

Dear Sir

I am currently registered for the degree of MA TESOL at London Metropolitan University. My studies related to the factors affecting achievement in English among Bangladeshi college students.

The aim of this study is to find out the factors affecting the achievements of grade twelve learners with specific reference to the English subject. Participation of the respondents will be voluntary with the option of withdrawing at any stage of the process and there will be no negative consequences to non-participation. An informed consent will be requested before the respondents' participation in the research process.

Confidentiality will be ensured. Information obtained will be used for the purposes of the study only and I undertake to ensure that the information will be used in such a way that the respondents cannot be identified. Therefore the final report will not include identifying information. Questionnaires will be used to collect data from selected grade twelve learners and English teachers. Respondents will be informed that they are not obliged to answer all questions, if they feel uncomfortable to answer certain questions they may not answer them. By participating in the study, respondents could contribute towards the identification and elimination of factors negatively affecting the achievements of grade twelve learners in the English subject.

Your co-operation in this regard will be highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Mohammad M Rahman

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Appendix H: HSC result of 2009, 2010, 2011 of two colleges (E&G)

Appendix H1: HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2009,   College –E

(Result sent by teacher Ma from college E).

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number Passed	Number Fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**74**	**30**	**44**	**40%**
Bengali	74	74	0	100%
Physics	48	30	18	62%
Chemistry	48	31	17	64%
Biology	51	50	1	98%
Mathematics	48	35	13	72%
Psychology	60	52	8	86%
Economics	37	30	7	81%
Geography	25	21	4	84%
History	25	24	1	
Agriculture	17	17	0	100%

Appendix H2: HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2010,   College –E

(Result sent by teacher Ma from college E).

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number passed	Number fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**70**	**35**	**35**	**50%**
Bengali	70	70	0	100%

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Subject				
Physics	44	30	14	68%
Chemistry	45	31	14	68%
Biology	49	45	4	91%
Mathematics	46	35	11	76%
Psychology	56	52	4	92%
Economics	35	30	5	85%
Geography	23	21	2	91%
History	26	24	2	92%
Agriculture	15	15	0	100%

Appendix H3: HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2011,   College –E

(Result sent by teacher Ma from college E).

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number passed	Number fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**72**	**40**	**32**	**55%**
Bengali	72	72	0	100%
Physics	46	30	16	65%
Chemistry	43	31	12	72%
Biology	46	45	1	97%
Mathematics	47	35	12	74%
Psychology	55	52	3	94%
Economics	32	30	2	93%
Geography	26	21	5	80%
History	23	20	3	86%
Agriculture	16	16	0	100%

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Appendix H4: **HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2009,** **College –G**

(Result Sent by Teacher R)

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number passed	Number fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**81**	**38**	**43**	**46%**
Bengali	80	80	0	100%
Physics	50	40	10	80%
Chemistry	50	38	12	76%
Biology	42	41	1	97%
Mathematics	50	35	15	70%
Psychology	52	52	0	100%
Economics	39	35	4	89%
Geography	29	22	7	75%
History	27	26	1	96%
Agriculture	20	20	0	100%

Appendix H5: **HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2010,** **College –G**

(Result Sent by Teacher R)

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number passed	Number fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**85**	**44**	**41**	**51%**
Bengali	85	85	0	100%
Physics	47	42	5	89%

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Subject	Participated	Passed	Fail	Pass Rate
Chemistry	47	41	6	87%
Biology	40	40	0	100%
Mathematics	46	37	9	80%
Psychology	50	50	0	100%
Economics	41	32	9	78%
Geography	31	27	4	87%
History	30	28	1	93%
Agriculture	27	27	0	100%

Appendix H6: HSC (Grade 12 exam result) ---2011,   College –G

(Result Sent by Teacher R)

Subjects	Number participated in the exam	Number passed	Number fail	Pass Rate (%)
English	**80**	**42**	**38**	**52%**
Bengali	81	81	0	100%
Physics	40	36	4	90%
Chemistry	40	37	3	92%
Biology	37	37	0	100%
Mathematics	39	37	2	94%
Psychology	48	47	1	97%
Economics	31	27	4	87%
Geography	27	24	3	88%
History	28	27	1	96%
Agriculture	28	28	0	100%

Appendix I: Explanation of some terms

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NCTB---National Curriculum & Textbook Board**, CLT-----**Communicative Language teaching**, GTM----**Grammar Translation Method

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The Role of English Language in Ethiopia and Its Implication for Teaching: From Daily Academic Routines to Science and Technology

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Abstract

Language is a marker of identity and a tool for representing local values and culture. On the one hand, the right to study one's own language is now considered a basic human right (Segota 2001). On the other hand, there is an urgently-felt need, particularly among the younger generation, to interact with the global world culture. Universities in Ethiopia are also facing the challenge of achieving internationally recognized academic excellence and status, mainly through the medium of English, while at the same time serving the needs of the local population. The two extremes are not being considered by teachers, officials and researchers in the area. However, this paper focuses on the role of English language in Ethiopia, in relation to the global context. But, it also underscores the need to learn primary education in the local languages, not at the expense of the English language.

The Status and Roles of English in Ethiopia

The present government (EFDR) revived and strengthened the role of English as a medium of instruction. It has been stated that the New Education and Training Policy, in1994, has capitalized the role that English plays in the education system and the recent introduction of English as a subject starting from Grade one and the allocation of greater English contact hours at tertiary level indicate the present government's concern and commitment to improve the quality of English (Hailemichael, 1993; Haregwoine, 2008).

Since the introduction of the New Education and Training Policy in 1994, English has been taught as a subject in Grade 1 in all regions, without exception. Some private schools even went to the extent of using English as a medium of instruction at the primary level. Apart from this, according to the policy, regional governments may determine their own policies on the language of education in Grades 1 to 8. Thus in some regions local languages are used as medium of instruction (MOI) in Grades 7 and 8 (e.g. in Oromiya, Somali, and Tigray regions), in others English is still used as MOI for non-language subjects (e.g. Gambella, SNNPR), and in yet others English is partially used as MOI to teach science and mathematics (e.g. Amhara Region).

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The students could not follow their studies in English because their knowledge of English was poor and the teachers could not help their students since they themselves were not good at English. The teaching of English as a subject and its use as a medium of instruction in the first and the second cycle of the primary school is also seriously under-resourced.

The Role of English Language in Ethiopia

English language has several and strong functions/roles in Ethiopia too. Of those roles English plays in Ethiopia, the educational/instructional role is the long-standing and dominant one. Trade and business communication, advertisement and entertainment, administration and office communication are some of the other growing roles English is fulfilling.

Educational Roles

English is taught as a subject from grade one and is a medium of instruction from grade nine through colleges and universities nation-wide. All universities in the country are supposed to use English as their working language; they ought to produce documents, hold meetings, write minutes and reports and such in English.

Apart from these nationally consistent practices, different regions have adopted different regional policies and attitudes towards English in their education system; some of the regions have made English to be a medium of instruction from grade 5, some from grade 7 and some from grade 9 (Heugh et al. 2006). In those schools students are supposed to carry out their academic activities in English language. Especially, students are required to read different academic books which are written in the English language. They are also required to demonstrate their understanding in the form of term papers, assignments, project work and various reports, written in English.

Moreover, English language ability is mandatory even to access information about different government institutions including the FDRE Ministry of Education.

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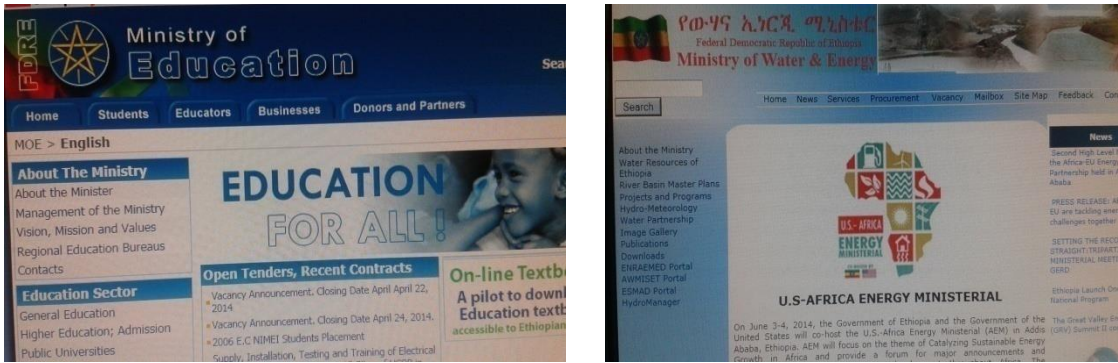
Fig. 1: Two Government Institutions' Official Web Sites

English in Entertainment and Media

One of the areas where English is most accessible in Africa, of which Ethiopia is also a part, is probably entertainment and the media. Though there are some local entertainment videos, video films produced in Hollywood have inundated African/Ethiopian urban areas. Football is another popular social event to which Ethiopians have access through English, the English Premier League being the most famous programme. Television has played a significant role in captivating Africans'/Ethiopians' attention. Despite some countries' unwillingness to privatize their state-owned television companies (Shimim, 2008), or expand the range of their broadcasts, many international news and entertainment programmes are available for free, or for fee through private satellite dishes.

In Ethiopia, by the 1990s, English was still rarely used in the media: there was only one official newspaper, *The Ethiopian Herald*, one television programme and one radio broadcast in English (which was limited to one hour per day). Today, radio broadcasts have still not changed much, apart from FM stations transmitting music in English. But we now have far more English language newspapers than ever before. The total number of newspapers has increased dramatically from three to more than 15. A simple internet search generates list of current print and online English newspapers and magazines (15 in number).

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Internet-based communication has also grown rapidly over recent years, thanks to the expansion of IT facilities. Hence, people can access online international news outlets, including the BBC and CNN. Despite the relatively small number of citizens who are literate in English, it is amazing to observe the eagerness of many – especially young people – to chat in English. Several websites are available (including BBC opinion columns) where Africans can debate politics, economics and so on.

English as the "Language of Diplomacy"

African countries use English as one of the major working languages at AU meetings, seminars and conferences. The leaders, policy makers and experts meet in different cities in Africa to debate multifaceted issues, mostly using English. For instance, AU parliamentary meetings are often conducted in English, with parallel translations into other international working languages such as Arabic, French, or Portuguese. Similarly, in other continental organizations like COMESSA, NEPAD, EGAD, and so on, in which Ethiopia has a leading role either in hosting, or chairing the sessions, African leaders come together to debate different development issues (such as climate negotiations, peace and stability, etc.) using English.

University professors who participated in the 5th International Conference on Federalism, held in Ethiopia in December 2010, reported that – although participants came from many countries where languages other than English are spoken – all the sessions were conducted in English. This indicates that English language literacy is quite vital to participate and maintain mutual interest through negotiation.

For example, a biodiversity academic who has participated in many negotiations and conferences in Africa, Europe and Asia expressed the importance of English as follows:

> *We feel the importance of English when we participate in international*
> *negotiations that involve people from Africa and other regions. Usually the*

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ones from English-speaking countries express their ideas very clearly and dominate debates.

<div align="right">(Shamim: 2008:45)</div>

English for Business and Tourism

Today, African countries formerly known for civil war, such as Sierra Leone, Mozambique and Ethiopia, have grown to be tourist destinations. As the tourism sector continues to expand, which it definitely will, there will be many African industries, airlines, hotels, handicraft manufacturers, tour operators and travel agencies that will reap dividends. This sector creates job opportunities for many people, even for the low-skilled ones. However, its success in packaging and selling of products and services for tourists depends on competence in one of the international languages. English is an important tool of communication between Ethiopians and visitors from all parts of the globe. The importance of English will, therefore, increase as Ethiopians gear up to attract the growing tourist numbers from Asia, Europe and other African countries. For example, a report from the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China (English Xinhua.net 2010), indicates that in 2009 alone about 381,000 Chinese tourists travelled to Africa and about the same number of Africans (401,000) visited China.

The demand for English does not arise from language policy only. It arises also from outward-looking economic development strategies; for example, through attracting foreign investors and tourists or selling products abroad. To bring their citizens out of poverty, African governments encourage their citizens to produce goods and crops for foreign markets. Navuri (2010) gives the example of Tanzanian farmers being challenged to produce cotton to export to the hungry textile industries of Turkey. The cash crops which Africans export include coffee from Ethiopia and Kenya, cotton and sugar from West and Central Africa and cocoa from West Africa. These are produced by a mix of large-scale and small-scale farming operations (mainly the latter). Here are two sample home pages of big business organization which accommodate a huge number of clients. Their home pages are designed in the English language.

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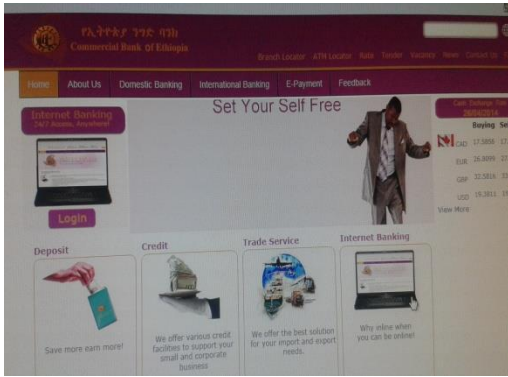
Fig.2: *Two Business Organizations' Web Site Home Page*

English for Parallel/Alternative Daily Routines

Most government, public and private organizations in Ethiopia, not to mention international organizations, use English side by side with the federal working language, Amharic, or as a sole working language in trans-boundary communications. To prove this prevalent use of English in almost all sectors and services, though not supported by legislature, one doesn't need to undertake research; a simple conduct of surveys of websites and documents of various organizations should suffice.

As Pennycook (2010) and Ouedraogo (2000) discuss, the role of English in business and economy, is one of the most important factors, as it helps a nation to become globally competitive, or at least be a beneficiary. The increasing use of English in most government and business sectors in Ethiopia, hence, can be attributed to such global challenges and benefits.

Generally speaking, English, or at least mixing English while using a local language, is perceived by the majority of societies as a sign of being educated and modernized. On the contrary, nevertheless, most graduates leave school and colleges with a very low level of English as the English language teaching, in general, has been faced with several challenges.

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The Role of Language in Science Learning

What is the connection between language and learning? Well, as Henderson and Wellington (1998) very succinctly put it, "The quality of the classroom language is bound up with the quality of learning." (p. 36) Wellington and Osborne (2001) further explain that "language development and conceptual development are inextricably linked. Thought requires language, language requires thought" (p. 6). Explained from the Vygotskyian point of view, when a learner uses words, he or she is helped to develop concepts. Language thus acts both as a psychological tool that helps a learner form thought, as well as the mental function itself.

With reference to science education, Wellington and Osborne (2001) underline that research findings indicate that language, in all its forms, matters to science education. In particular, it is not just the language in itself, but rather what educators do with language. This is because what educators do with the language, inadvertently affects how the learner uses the language and that is fundamental to the learning of science.

Thus, the next question that arises then is "Why is language important in science education?" With regards to this, literature suggests that one of the important features of science is the richness of the words and terms it uses and that students need to at some point be able to advance into "abstract" thought with the use of language, if they are to master key scientific concepts (Wellington and Osborne, 2001; Kober, 2004).

Language Problems and Science Learning

Wellington and Osborne (2001) and Kim (2007: 47) listed the following problems of English language learning which are associated with science instructors and learning science:

➢ teachers who teach content do not recognize language learning opportunities;

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- scientific terms, whether technical or non-technical, are unique in nature and they are seldom encountered in other contexts;

- having to learn a new language at the same time students are required to acquire new subject matter;

- science teachers often consider it to be of marginal relevance to the learning of science;

- teachers ignore the language needs of students in content courses when under pressure to cover the syllabus;

- If at all, there is any effort in incorporating language development, they just concentrate on vocabulary development, and

- Academic language is more abstract than social language and in science; common words can take on specialized meanings.

Conclusions

The world is becoming a small village due to globalization. To be part of the ongoing global phenomenon and to gain maximum outputs which are significant for development and survival, citizens need proper communication skills/competence. Especially, Ethiopia, which is one of the fast growing countries of the world, needs competent English language skills, so that it will have a worldwide communication capacity which facilitates its development.

Though learning the local languages is very important, especially in primary level, the language of wider communication must be given considerable attention in schools. This is because schools are places where students prepare themselves for global contexts in which languages of wider communication, such as English, have a pivotal role. That means, as students approach the global situation, they need more English so as to meet their needs apart from mere communication.

Schools are predominantly responsible to prepare citizens to solve societal problems through scientific investigation. To carry out this core task, apart from having

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knowledge scientific principles and procedures, they should encourage students to have a good command of the English language. Because, it is through English that students get global research knowledge and experience, even at early period of their research practice. In addition, they need the English language to communicate and disseminate their research output for the global community and scholars.

Therefore, schools should closely monitor the teaching and learning of the language, and identify and solve problems related to it for the students' success in the future. There are instances (for example, Ethiopia and Zambia) that show that citizens or children are not taught properly, to develop communicative competence (Haile-Michael 1993, Negash 2005). Williams (2011) cites teacher-dominated classroom interaction which focuses on rote learning instead of meaning comprehension; this leads to lack of competence in English. The national education policy document for Ethiopia (FDRE, 2000) expresses a similar kind of dissatisfaction with English language teaching methodology, which does not help students achieve a meaningful, or working level of proficiency even after many years of formal schooling.

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Language Text Books for Border Areas of Multilingual India - Issues Related to Learning, and Strategies for Evaluation and Rectification

Dr. Sam Mohan Lal

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Interwoven to Form More Than 100 National and International Borders

Among the multilingual countries of the world it is a blessing in disguise that India tops the list and it has more than 400 active languages to interact with and 22 official languages which are recognized by the Constitution of India as official languages of India. These languages are included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. This means that in these 22 languages there are textbooks, well developed written literature, and there is a State (province) in the Indian Union where one of these scheduled languages is spoken and it is the official language of that state. For instance, Tamil is one of the scheduled languages of India and it is also the

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official state language of the state of Tamil Nadu. All these states are closely interwoven to form more than 100 national and international borders.

This geographical reality makes a good number of people in India to know more than one language to interact with the immediate neighboring states and even across the international borders.

Language *Is* a Natural Source

From various platforms often we discuss the natural resources of the nations which are the major contributors for the growth of any country. But, many of us ignore or do not give serious thought to the issues of languages. We need to recognize that it is the multilingual and multicultural resources of the country which are the primary roots to support and explore the other natural resources of a nation. This is possible only if there is linguistic, ethnolinguistic and cultural harmony and active cooperation between the different linguistic communities of the country. We could utilize the potentiality of multilingualism to build the other natural resources of the country. This is possible only if there is a systematic effort to learn other's language and culture. This effort can be more successful if proper textbooks, teaching methodologies and testing strategies are developed at the school level especially in the border areas of the country.

Some Success, Some Failures in Language Planning

The education system in India does try to take care of this problem by developing appropriate syllabi, text books and teaching strategies in various bi/multilingual borders of the country. Also there is Constitutional provision for this. In spite of all these efforts there is an overall failure in achieving the desired result. This needs to be looked into more seriously and appropriate steps need to be taken for rectification.

Focus on Two Issues in This Article

With the above primary objective in mind this paper tries to identify the existing problems. To start with the primary focus is on the following **two** issues. **First,** the paper tries to raise some issues which have pedagogical implications for the secondary school level textbooks

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prepared for the border areas of India. **Second,** the paper aims at identifying the main reasons why there are no expected learner achievements while using the prescribed textbooks**.** This paper will also try to suggest some guidelines for rectifying the existing problems. In order to illustrate the points discussed in this paper I focus on the trilingual area of Kuppam, which is in the tri-junction meeting place of the states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Geographical, Linguistic and Cultural Structure of Border Areas

Most of the border areas of India border two states or three states. This means that the border areas have the linguistic composition of bilingual speakers or speakers of three languages. These languages are the official languages of the concerned areas. (It may be noted that there may be many other minor group mother tongue speakers also who live in the same area, but we are concerned here only with the dominant state languages of the area.). For instance, in Kanyamumari District in Tamilnadu, the languages used are mostly Tamil and Malayalam both in the schools and also during various social interactions. This is because of the fact that the official language of the state of Tamil Nadu is Tamil and the official language of the neighboring Kerala State is Malayalam. As a result, most of the natives of this border district have some competence in both these languages. Similarly, the place selected for the current study Kuppam is in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The official language is Telugu. But, this place is bordering Tamil Nadu and Karnataka states. As a result the languages spoken in this area are Telugu, Kannada and Tamil.

In addition to this sociolinguistic composition, there is also an inherent fluidity in using alternatively the languages of the area as well as practicing the cultures. This may result in linguistic and cultural conflicts among the people living in the area which is natural in every multilingual areas of the country.

Linguistic and Cultural Conflict

Linguistic conflict may be defined as the societal choice of the language which is often situation-specific such as informal and some of the formal functions involving official meetings, functions, etc. **Cultural conflict** may range from the identification and selection of the time for

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the identified social function, appropriate order to follow during religious worship or intercultural functions, ceremonies, etc.

In order to balance and normalize these linguistic and cultural conflicts, it is suggested that we identify and rectify from the grassroots' level the reasons for the problems.

One of the primary reasons identified is the issues related to pedagogy and language text books.

School Level Education System in Bi/Tri-Lingual Areas of India

In almost all the bi/tri lingual areas of India there is provision for people to choose any one of the concerned languages of the area at the primary school level depending on the mother tongue of the concerned student. This means that in Kuppam a primary school student whose mother tongue is Tamil has the liberty to choose Tamil in the primary school level in spite of the fact that the official state language of Kuppam is Telugu. But, the question here is whether the language education in the other state language is appropriate and useful to the students or not.

Two Pertinent Questions

In order to answer this important question it is necessary to evaluate the whole education system of bilingual areas. In order to evaluate the education system it will be academically relevant to ask the following **TWO** pertinent questions and these questions need to be evaluated and answered academically before answering or trying to rectifying the flaws.

1. Whether the syllabus followed to teach the non-state language is exclusive to the concerned bilingual area or not?
2. Which text books are followed to teach Tamil, a minority language? Are the textbooks the same that are used in Tamilnadu, or whether there are specially prepared textbooks for this particular trilingual area?

Issues Related to Pedagogy

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With reference to the two questions raised above, following are the **THREE** major issues which contribute for the cultural and linguistic conflicts in bi/tri lingual areas.

1. In most of the cases the syllabi and textbooks followed for the non-state languages are the syllabi and almost the same textbooks used in the neighbouring state in which the concerned language (for example, Tamil) is the major dominant language. For instance, in Kuppam the Tamil speaking students will be taught Tamil as per the syllabi followed by the Government of Tamil Nadu. The textbooks are also the same as used in Tamil Nadu. Same strategy is followed for the students from Kuppam schools who learn Kannada

2. There is no change in the teaching methodology and evaluation strategy.

3. Need-based eco-friendly lessons are totally absent.

Existing Textbooks and Their Structure

As stated above, in most of the cases though there is no change in the content of the textbooks, in some textbooks we could observe the inclusion of certain personalities who have regional significance. We have every reason to believe that this type of inclusion may have some political agenda too. Except for these area-based changes, there is no other uniqueness or specificity observed in the school level textbooks used in the border areas. In other words, most of the lessons, exercises and even the teaching strategies adopted and followed in the border areas are similar to those of the methodologies and strategies followed in the State in which these languages are dominant.

This needs to be evaluated critically by contrasting the prevalent linguistic situation in various domains of language use by the non-state language speakers of the border area. This kind of contrasting is essential because there are differences between the sociolinguistic and cultural behavior of the Tamil speakers and Kannada speakers who have settled in Kuppam as opposed to the sociolinguistic and sociocultural behavior of these language speakers living in the above two States respectively.

Examples of Specific Problems

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In addition if we compare the script systems used, Kannada and Telugu have similar arrangement of letters in their scripts whereas Tamil has a different set of letters with Tamil specific phonemic and allophonic patterns. There is difference between Kannada and Telugu in terms of allophonic distribution of their phonemes. The similarity in the script system between Kannada and Telugu offers some relief to Kannada children who are also required to learn Telugu at some stage. On the other hand, such relief is not available to a Tamil child who will be required to learn Telugu script and its phonology at a later date. There are specific morphological, morphophonemic and syntactic issues. For example, language-oriented gender distinction followed in Telugu is somewhat different from the system followed in Tamil.

Do the textbooks in Telugu (the dominant state language), Kannada and Tamil take care of these issues? As of now no such strategy is obvious in the textbooks.

Domain Based Existing Language Situation

When we undertook a study to understand the domain based language use of the migrated Tamil speaking population living in Kuppam, their linguistic competence in different languages of the area and their own mother tongue, we observed the following.

1. There is an **existential bi/multilingualism** prevalent in the border area. This means that the Tamil speakers are bilinguals in Telugu but their competence in Telugu is certainly not very good when compared to the native speakers of Telugu.
2. The Tamil speakers' competence in their mother tongue Tamil too is not equal to competence of the Tamil speakers of Tamil Nadu. There are several sociolinguistic and geographical reasons for this.
3. There is cultural fluidity in using the cultural features during the sociocultural events.

Existential Bilingualism in the Society vs the Impact of the Languages of the Textbooks

In the schools the non-state language learners often experience a **progressive transition** both in language performance as well as in adhering to language loyalty and language identity with reference to their mother tongues. This is mainly because of the following important reasons.

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Existential bi/multilingualism does not demand anything in particular from the interlocutors and it is more natural. There are no selection restrictions while choosing a particular language in a social domain or style of the language. These are mostly natural and followed as per one's own will and knowledge whereas there is policy level as well as pedagogical restrictions while formally studying and using any language in the school situation. Subsequently, the former is spontaneous and uncontrolled whereas the latter is controlled and more systematic and transitional in its achievement. Unless and until this reality is properly identified and treated, the learner level achievement in their mother tongues (Tamil or Kannada) will be hampered. Hence, this needs to be the first strategy for text book preparation, selection of the relevant content, evaluation and the process of rectification in the border areas.

To quote one example, we can identify **script conflict** (briefly stated in an earlier section) as one of the pedagogical issues in a border area. For instance, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada scripts have differences as well as similarities. Owing to this the learners will have mostly problems related to spelling, pronunciation, identification of the scripts, etc. Similarly in other levels of language too we can identify various stages of conflicts. For instance, conflicts related to the use of lexical choice from one language to another, conflicts related to semantic overlapping between the languages, etc. These need to be microscopically researched, identified and rectified.

Developing Suitable Teaching Strategies

On the basis of the identification mentioned above, the teaching strategies need to be modified and, most importantly, appropriate exercises should be included in the textbooks for the process of rectification. If these pedagogical processes are systematically and scientifically approached, the learners will pass from the stage of **progressive transition to progressive achievement to totally fulfill the pedagogical needs.** Failure to focus on the needs of the students from border areas may only accentuate the problems created by language loyalty, cultural conflicts, learning difficulties, etc.

Suggested Areas for Pedagogical Rectification

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1. Identify the grey areas of the textbooks of the minority languages by contrasting the features of the language of the majority and take appropriate steps for proper achievement. The grey areas can be in various aspects of language and culture. (In many border areas the languages concerned could be mostly cognate languages. This means there will be lot of similarities in various aspects of the languages concerned. However, there are also borders in which non-cognate languages are widely used).

2. We also need to consider that there may be contacts between languages both of which have pre-literate origins. In addition, there are also borders in which contacts between a well-established literate language and preliterate language/s of the area.

3. In order to learn the language and culture systematically care should be taken while selecting the content of the lessons.

4. Modify the teaching strategies to accommodate the minority students and make them more familiarize with their language (Tamil or Kannada).

5. Appropriate testing and evaluation strategies need to be followed. Focus on the problem areas of script and spelling errors and morphological and syntactic categories. Focus also on the pronunciation difficulties.

6. There should be an exclusive syllabus for the students of the border areas which can cater to the needs of the students on the lines mentioned above.

7. Teachers also should be given systematic training so that they can fulfill the objectives of the students living in the border areas.

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Who *Is* An Indian Writer?
Issues of Language in Indian Writing in English

Monika Yadav, Ph.D. Research Scholar

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Indian English Literature

This paper takes up a debate that has grown steadily edgier since independence – the politics of language in Indian literary culture, specifically in relation to the respective claims of the Modern Indian language and English language, which must also be recognised as an Indian language. In the field of literature, Indian English literature refers to the body of work by Indian writers who write in English language and whose native or additional native language could be one of the numerous regional and indigenous languages of India. In the twentieth century, several Indian writers have distinguished themselves not only in traditional Indian languages, but also in English, a language inherited from the British. As a result of British colonisation, India has developed its own unique dialect of English known as Indian English.

Place of English in India

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In the early days of British rule, English drama, poetry and novels had tremendously attracted the attention of the native Indian masses. If it was the language of colonial domination, it was also the language of anti-colonial resistance; our national leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and B. R. Ambedkar, employed it in the service of the freedom struggle. It is the country's associate official language and the chief link language for not only international, but even inter-regional communication. Salman Rushdie's Aurora Zogoiby (in *The Moor's Last Sigh*) was not far wrong when he said, "Only English brings us together" (Litrarism, English writing 1).

New Breed of Writers – The Battle for Indian Writing in English

In the early eighties the new breed of writers such as Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Amitabh Ghosh, Manohar Malgaonkar, Nayantara Sehgal and Anita Desai started popping upon the international literary map and establish a distinct identity. One of the key issues raised in this context is the superiority/inferiority of Indian Writing in English as opposed to the literary production in the various languages of India. Key polar concepts bandied in this context are superficial/authentic, imitative/creative, critical/uncritical, shallow/deep, and so on. Dharwadker stated "During the 1950s, the difference between the indigenous tongues and English was routinely cast as a choice between integrity and corruption, wholeness and fragmentation, rootedness and rootlessness, decolonization and recolonization" (xxviii).

The views of Salman Rushdie and Amit Chaudhuri expressed through their books *The Vintage Book of Indian Writing* and *The Picador Book of Modern Indian Literature,* respectively, vitalise this battle. Rushdie's statement in his book – "the ironic proposition that India's best writing since independence may have been done in the language of the departed imperialists is simply too much for some folks to bear" (wiki 1) - created a lot of resentment among many writers.

In his book, Amit Chaudhuri questions "Can it be true that Indian writing, that endlessly rich, complex and problematic entity, is to be represented by a handful of writers who write in English, who live in England or America and whom one might have met at a party?" (wiki 1). The debates could swing from amity to bitterness in a second, and then back again; the argument about English versus the rest of India has roots that go back almost two centuries.

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Subtle and Not-So-Subtle Tensions

The Sahitya Akademi held its own festival of writing, focusing on regional literature, even as Neemrana Conference at Patna (2003) was under way, in a subtle underlining of the tensions between Indian writers in English and the Rest of Indian Literature. In the conference, there was one burning question "Who is an Indian Writer?" (Roy1). In an interview, the famous Indian English Writer Kiran Nagarkar said:

> At that Neemrana conference there were about 10 sessions, and all of them essentially became incarnations of the theme of Indianness. All they could think of was this question of being an Indian writer. And it pissed me off no end! For the simple reason that I am not setting out to be an Indian author. But at the same time I cannot for one moment forget that whatever I write comes from an Indian consciousness (Roy 1).

Medium and the Identity of the Author

Within the context of language debate in Indian literary circle, the identity of an author is often connected with the medium which he/she uses in representing the Indian reality. This is very much common in the case of English used by non-English speakers. Conversely, Indian-English writers such as Nissim Ezekiel, Arvind Krishana Mehrotra, and P. Lal, claim that "English was not a deliberately chosen or elitist medium, but simply natural expression of their private and social experience". (Karnad xxviii)

By all accounts, this dialectic faithfully represents the impassioned charges that major authors across the spectrum of Indian languages, like U. R. Ananthamurthy, Rajendra Yadav, Gurdial Singh, B. Jayamohan have continued to level against English in public forums of all kinds. The Kannada writer U. R. Ananthamurthy is supposed to have burst out against English writers claiming that "English writers were like prostitutes since they wrote with an eye for money and global reach the language offers". (Rukhaya 7)

The critics sought to establish how the literary representation and medium are used to construct and define one's identity within the cultural and socio-political context. Salman

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Rushdie, the famous Indian English writer, is pilloried for the disrespect to the Prophet's family, and there was a complaint that he shouldn't have written so openly, or so critically, of the Prophet's family, or community, or country.

Pros and Cons

Apart from such issues, there is also a constant battle over authenticity and viewpoint. These perennial questions have perplexed the minds of those Indian writers who write both in vernacular and in English. Through the play *Broken Images*, Girish Karnad raises this issue that those who write in their mother tongue also do accept royalties and trade their creativity. He also points out that if one earns one's bread honestly, what is unethical if money comes from creativity?

If a writer wants to showcase his culture to the world through a widely spoken language, what is illegitimate in it? The truthfulness and honesty of the writers writing in English is often made them suspect in their own country and in other English-speaking countries; some may even claim that they are considered as 'marginal' to the mainstream of English literature. Sometimes Indian English writers are condemned of forsaking the national or regional language and writing in an 'alien' language.

Questions Relating to Linguistic Representation

The question related to linguistic representation still seems to hold a debatable place in Indian literary circles. For instance, few historians and critics questioned the accuracy of V.S Naipual's account of Indian history. "In the 1990s and the 2000s, discussions on that twinned-in-opposition pair, Naipaul and Rushdie, degenerated under the weight of gossip" (Roy 1) and Naipaul's view of history or Rushdie's perspective on India shimmered and disappeared somewhere.

In a sense, we have always been sensitive as a nation to what is written about us, often drawing as many reactions, fuelled equally by anxiety and vexation.

The Question of Missing Real India

This debate surfaced again when Pankaj Mishra attacked Patrick French for missing the real India stories in his *Intimate Biography of India*. The broad thrust of Mishra's

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argument was that the French had provided superficial accounts of the darker side of contemporary Indian history - the poverty, the real hungers and the tragedies. Through their argument it became clear that the real argument was over divergent views of India.

One of the most memorable battles in that short-lived war was the skirmish between the late professor Meenakshi Mukherjee and the writer Vikram Chandra. It began when Mukherjee questioned the choice of titles for Chandra's short stories in his collection *Love and Longing in Bombay*. To her, his titles—'Artha', 'Dharma', 'Kama'—were "necessary to signal Indianness in the West". Again the question which appears is - Who is writing about us? Do they have the right to tell our stories? And are they telling the right ones? James H. Cousins in 1918 says,

> … if they (Indians) are compelled to an alternative to writing in their own mother tongue, let it be not Anglo-Indian, but Indo-Anglian, Indian in spirit, Indian in thought, Indian in emotion, Indian in imagery and English only in words ... let their ideals be the expression of themselves, but they must be quite sure that it is their self." (Sarangi 1)

Stylistic Influence from the Local Languages

If we talk about the style of Indian English writers, stylistic influence from the local languages appears to be an exceptional feature of much of the Indian literature in English. Another feature of Indian English writers is that they have not 'nativised' the British mother tongue in terms of stylistic features, but they have also acculturated English in terms of 'Indianized context'.

Creativity in Another Tongue

A broad view that the mother tongue is the primary means of literary creativity is still generally held across cultural diversity. But creativity in another tongue is often measured as a deviation from this strict norm. The native language is considered pure; it is addressed as a standard model of comparison. This however, has caused difficulties for non-native writers of Indian English Literature. Indian language writing and English writing often share themes and belief systems, as is apparent in comparisons between Ananthamurthy's *Samskara* and Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*, Premchand's *Godan* and Mulk Raj Anand's *Coolie*, or Vijayan's *The Legends of Khasak* and Narayan's *Malgudi Days*.

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Literature in Global *Lingua Franca*

In Sahitya Akademi's Commonwealth Literary Seminar 2010, Sanyukta Sengupta said that English is a "Global Lingua-Franca", which has "evolved beyond Macaulay's students or Midnight's Children" and "defines our mature and adult identity". (Kumar 3) English language is always seen as a power symbol which sustains hegemonic differences and stands superior as compared to any other native language.

But on the other hand, in India, English language has always been blamed for its incompatibility and incapability of mutual communication with indigenous people. It is believed that its representations always perpetuate and replicate wide gaps of differences. It is considered to be devoid of any mutual connectivity with the native sensibility. In this context the Marathi critic, Bhalachandra V Nemade, in his lecture during Sahitya Akademi's Commonwealth Seminar 2010 said that he prefers mono-lingualism of natives instead of bi-lingualism. For him bi-lingualism does not allow either language to proliferate, and he asserts that those "who speak fluently in English are slaves of English". (Kumar 3) "He evokes the psychological effects of the language when he says 'writer and reader's relationship is direct' which could only be achieved through common linguistic signifiers and which the foreign language lacks and cannot achieve". (3) On the other hand Basavraj Naikar (the famous Indian English writer) considers bilingualism as a virtue. In an interview Jaydeep Sarangi asked Basavraj Naikar:

> Sarangi: Do you consider your bilingualism as a virtue?
>
> Naikar: All the Indian English writers should be bilingual so that they may give an authentic picture of Indian life and culture. The Anglicized writers of India cannot give an authentic picture of native Indian culture although they may write good English. A bilingual writer of India is able to absorb the essence of Indian culture available in Sanskrit or his regional language like Kannada and Marathi and so on and express it in his English writings " (Sarangi 1)

Reason for Fascination

The late David McCutchion, one of IWE's earliest and still one of its most pertinent critics, writes "The fascination of Indian writing in English lies … in the phenomenon … of

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literary creativity in a language other than the surrounding mother tongue". (Rollason 2) He highlights, the particular technical difficulties posed by the use of dialogue in IWE works. He states that "It would require very exceptional gifts and total bilingualism to express directly in English the lives of people who do not themselves speak English". (Rollason 3)

The Role of Genre

This issue of language in Contemporary Indian Literature involves not only language but also genre. In the introduction of the book *Collected Plays,* Dharwadker stated that "a play in English, however successful its author, cannot compete with a novel in English, because of the qualitative differences between novels and plays as literary artifacts" (Karnad xxx).

Fiction in English by Indian and Indian Diaspora authors now commands a global readership, but Indian plays in English occupy a distinctly subservient position, not only in relation to the positions it holds against literary genres such as fiction, non–fiction, and criticism in English occupy, but also in relation to plays in Indian languages such as Hindi, Malayalam, Kannada, Marathi, Bengali and Manipuri.

The same is true of theatre professionals in the Indian diaspora who write and direct plays in English, such as Rahul Varma in Montreal and Jatinder Verma in London. Their works remain outside the cultural mainstream and command an audience infinitely smaller than the audiences for the fiction of Rushdie, Ghosh, Mistry, and others.

Three Developments Since 1980s

Since 1980's, three developments have been traced that have transformed the language issues in India.

First, after the 'Rushdie revolution' the quality and quantity of writing in English by Indians bears little relation to the traditions of 'Indo-Anglian writing' as "they had emerged before and after independence, so that a new theoretical and critical vocabulary is necessary to deal with the body of English works that counterpoints writing in the Indian languages" (Karnad xxix).

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Second, the rapid growth of the global Indian diaspora has also repositioned many of the major Indian-English writers and absorbed them into the international literary establishment, so that India is no longer the primary context for their writing. Novelists like Shashi Deshpande and Githa Hariharan, who live and publish in India, inhabit a qualitatively different literary landscape from novelist such as Vikram Seth, Amitra Ghosh, Bharati Mukherjee, and Rohiton Mistry. In this context Dharwadker stated:

> Admittedly, regardless of location Indian writers in English reach much larger audiences than those who write in the regional Indian language or even in the majority language, Hindi and one may use this commonality of medium as a reason to reject them equally. But the differences between them still have to be recognized in a circumspect assessment of literary contexts: globalism has rapidly eroded the status of all stay-at-home writers, whatever their medium, although its effect on Indian-language authors has been especially dire. (Karnad xxix)

Third, through the phenomenon of translation into English and other languages, Indian language authors do inhabit a large and more dynamic literary world than their predecessors. This issue would come up again and again; for years. But the real debate was the one that tore Indian writing in English apart about a decade ago: the issue of what makes a book about India the genuine article, and of who has the right to 'represent' the country. The argument of 'authenticity' was rapidly buried, and few readers, writers or critics wanted to police books to see how their Indianness rated on a scale of one to 10.

Indian Writing in English - View from the Western World

Indian writing in the Western world is defined largely as Indian writing in English. Writing from the margins—Dalit writing, the resurgence in Indian poetry in English, writing from the Northeast—is rarely visible; when it is visible, it is exoticised, both here and abroad. And by its nature, Indian writing in English has been largely privileged writing. This paper does not aim to prove the superiority or inferiority of either English writings or regional writings. Rather, it aims to assimilate English writing into the mainstream of Indian writing with a status of Indian identity. As a literary language in India, English needs neither to be privileged nor to be de-privileged: it is just one of the several languages in which multilingual India creativity chooses to express itself.

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Marxist Reflections in Postcolonial Literature of India

Mudasir Rehman Najar

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Exercising Power Structures

There had been numerous changes in the existence of history and it has been elucidated that these changes occur at times due to conflicting experiences of different ideas, economic pursuits and other political and social ideals. While analyzing the causes and effects of these changes, we find that power structures and their exercises are the main concern there.

There are some thinkers who stress that the state should perform most of the functions, while there are others who say it should perform only limited functions. From the very outset, this difference causes an expanding gap in the organization of society. But there are some others who are very critical of this system of power structures between the states and individual.

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Attack on Liberalism

Later, the immediate attack on liberalism came from Marxist and Socialist thinkers. When liberalism gained roots in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and caused the emergence of a new materialistic tendency called Capitalism. The tenants and landlords in the feudal societies got transferred into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, capitalists and working class. If one owns and controls the means of production (land, capital, machines etc.) and the other owns only the labour power, then he or she has to sell to the Capitalists in order to survive. The contribution of the German philosopher, Karl Marx, is very pertinent, because, he has an appealing point of view in this regard.

Karl Marx

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was born in Trier, Germany, studied at the University of Bonn, and later at the University of Berlin. His initial thoughts were just contradictory to the institutionalized thinking of the then German people. Compelled to leave Germany by the government in Germany, Marx migrated to France in 1843. Later, Marx met Fredric Engels in Paris in 1844, and there grew a friendship between them.

Because of his revolutionary ideas, Marx was expelled from France as well, and moved to Belgium along with his friend Engels. In 1848, Marx returned to France and from there to Germany. In 1849, he moved to England and lived in London till his death.

Focus on Class Consciousness

Being a genius in the world of sociology, politics and economy, he studied critically, the following terms: class, history, labour, capital, value, bourgeoisie, proletariat, etc. Taking economy as a point of departure, he says that economy is one of the major sources for class-consciousness; and class becomes an obsession in the social dialectics. This obsession is responsible in breaking and the making of an organization of societal totality.

The Communist Manifesto

In *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote to emphasize the role of class in social, cultural, and historical emergence. He studied also history and various terms in the bent of theory of historical materialism or materialistic reflection of history. While delivering a lecture on 'Marx's Theory of Historical Materialism' a lecturer . . .   refers to Marx's work

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A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law: An Introduction as, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it" (5).
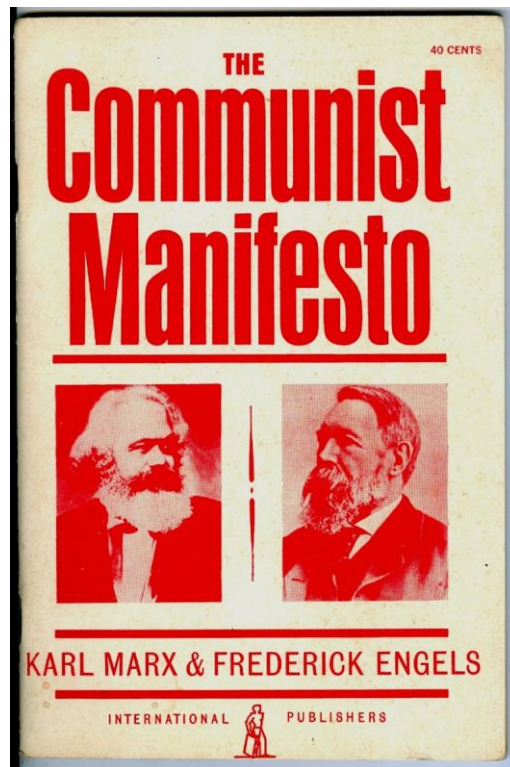
The Germany Ideology

In *The Germany Ideology,* the joint work of Marx and Engels, Marx presents the causes of history throughout the ages in three ways. He says, in 'spiritual interpretation' history comes into existence due to divine dispensation or God's will; in 'idealistic interpretation' history emerges due to the ideas inherited in the minds of the times; but in his own viewpoint, the Marxist view point of history from the materialistic interpretation, "it is matter which is primary and the mind is secondary."

Dialectics

Marx's idea of materialistic history is dialectical in nature. This dialectical tendency has been adhered to by Marx, from Hegel who gave us a three way process of change in his - thesis, antithesis and synthesis. That may be interpreted as idea, counter-idea and resolution or appropriation of contradiction within the idea.

The Concept of Alienation

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Marx discussed the concept of alienation that has a great relevance to the field of psychology. In his work *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, (1844), Marx was attracted to Hegelian idealism and he criticized Capitalism, because it exploits the power of the labourer. The central concern of this book is wages, profit, rent and alienation.

Marx says that alienation is the outcome not of ideas, but of the material world. In the Capitalist mode of production, the worker becomes the object of production. Because in the act of production they are not able to determine their identity in their production, because, labourers are bound to surrender their production and see themselves as instruments of exploitation in the clutches of Capitalists. This immoral grouping of labour as commodity alienated the worker from his product and takes him or her away from the integration of self. Lecturer.... in 'Marx's Theory of Alienation' in Macmillan Centre at Yale University, refers to Marx as 'Marx has the theory in nature, What makes us human, Marx says, is the fact that we work and plan our work, otherwise one could say, even animals work.

Historical Approach

Historical approach to literary criticism helps us to assess the causes of composition and identify the relevance of texts to the emergence of history. Literature is somehow the outcome of historical events; hence, the study of history is presupposition for the analysis the text. At the Macmillan Centre at Yale University, a speaker on 'Marx's Theory of History' refers to Marx as a creative philosopher. While quoting Marx in *Germany Ideology*, he says that basically Marx examines history and takes not 'property relationship' but 'the division of labour' as the foundation of society and social phenomena. Speaker.... discusses different modes of labour and production across history.

Initially, as per natural division of labour, it was hunting and collection for men and women, respectively. Another mode of production is slaves who are volunteer producers. Third mode of production is under Feudalism where, because of unwillingness, slaves are forced to produce. This unwillingness comes from the familial sense of slaves, as they marry and have social existence. They possess land as well.

Finally, it is the Capitalist mode of production that dominates the social structure and is the richest period of production in history. Capitalism dispossesses the labour class first of

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their exercise of labour, then of their land. Now, workers are bound to go to the supermarket, to the factories in the cities.

Thus, one can interpret history as a field of discourse in which literature imparts its own traces on the politics of power structure.

Marxism and Literature

Edmund Wilson, in his essay "Marxism and Literature" claims that it is the means of productivity that lays the foundation of any society, as believed by Marx and Engels. Superstructure is basically the reflection or the skilful summation of base, masses. This superstructure takes the shape of different fields of activity, as in politics, law, religion, philosophy, literature and art.

After studying Marx and Engels, Wilson proclaims that there should be such situations in the literature of Marxism when a reader is bound to think of the situations not by any force, but by will. Edmund Wilson visions Marx and Engels under the influence of the Renaissance spirit. Wilson comments that Marxist and Socialist approach grew up out of bourgeoisie society. In the excluding point about Marxism and literature, Wilson says that one has to be a very keen and inquiring about the future societies and political culture. He says that:

> A man may be an excellent Marxist, but if he lacks imagination and taste, he will be unable to make the choice between a good and an inferior book, both of which are ideologically unexceptionable. What Marxism can do, however, is throw a great deal of light on the origins and social significance of works of art (CP 387).

Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism

In *Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism*, Terry Eagleton discusses the concepts of art with reference to alienation, utopia and dystopia, idea of avant-gardism, commodity, value etc. He says that in postmodern culture there occurs dilution of various ideals. In it, we can say that this dilution is a tool for suppression or hijacking of the utopian idea like that of Marxism and other utopian thoughts.

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Post-modernism

In order to efface the revolutionary idea of Marxism, Postmodernism has deconstructed the very idea of alienation. This co-incidentally helps the Capitalists to determine more and more their controlling agencies upon their subclasses, which are the working classes. Thus, in turn the very idea of utopia is changed into dystopia. Likewise, the theory of *avant-gardism is* caricatured by late-capitalism through demeaning the aesthetic sense of art. Terry Eagleton also talks about value in his own way against the metaphysical value. He writes, "The dilemma of David Hume (British Empiricist Philosopher) is surpassed by a simple conflation: fact is value. Utopia cannot belong to future, because the future, in the shape of technology, is already here, exactly synchronous with the present" (CP 394).

Post-Colonial

A Marxist cum post-colonial critic, named Aijaz Ahmad, discusses power with the age old conflicts between hierarchy and equality. With issues like class struggle and identity, he studies postmodernism and post-colonialism. Commenting about term 'post' in one of his lectures, "Post-colonial Theory and the 'Post-'Condition", he writes: "prefix 'post' in these terms not only partakes of a generalised 'post-' condition but contains within it a sense of that ending, even if that sense of endings produces in most of them not a sense of loss but a feeling of euphoria" (364). These views enhance the validity of this concept for its extended project.

Another critic J.C. Young discusses Marxism in relation to post-colonialism. In his book, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction,* he says that there is persistence of colonialism even in free and independent countries. He writes, "postcolonialism's central preoccupation is with the politics of the 'fourth world' still colonized within many officially decolonized countries. . . . The problem is compounded by the fact that at independence, power often passed to native bourgeois elite, produced during the time of colonialism, that took on board many western presuppositions; for examples, the idea of nation state-itself (Young 59). There are many literary figures in history, that have enforced the ideas of individual freedom against the suppression of different institutions. Among them, some directly take Marxist thinking as a central point, some others take this thought as a support to put forth their thesis or points of view; a few have taken it referentially.

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Midnight's Children
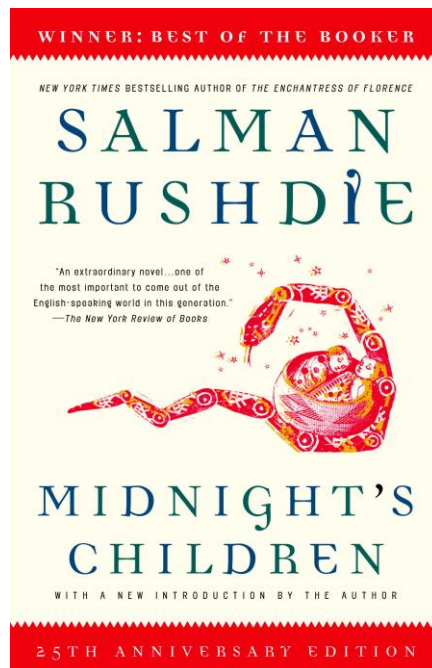
Salman Rushdie was born in Bombay of British India in 19 June 1947. He had his schooling in Bombay, then at Rugby in England and read history at St. King's College, Cambridge. Being the honorary professor in Humanities at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), he is also a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. He is one of the most awarded literary figures in Indian English Writing and has authored several novels. *Midnight's Children* (1981), is his second and the most famous novel. In this novel, he uses an innovative narrative technique and presentation of British and Indian history through the story of Pickle-factory worker, Saleem Sinai. The title *Midnight's Children* is very mysterious, as Saleem Sinai is one of the 1,001 children born around or on the midnight of 15 August 1947, Indian Independence Day. The novel has thematic layers— Post-colonialism, Marxism, Postmodernism, History and other philosophical and thematic issues. It reflects the voice of individual freedom and highlights the suppressions from various institutions.

Once in the novel, Jawaharlal Nehru made noble statements about free India. Nehru dreamt of a progressive India. When Saleem Sinai was born at the exact moment of India's birth, the first prime minister of India, J. L. Nehru writes to him, "Dear baby Saleem, My belated congratulation on the happy accident of your moment of birth! You are the newest bearer of the ancient face of India which is also eternally young." (*Midnight's Children* 167).

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Marxist Ideas in the Novel

Here, Saleem's birth is paralleled with the rise of India as a nation. The Marxist ideas against the persistence of colonial practices are openly expressed in the novel when Joseph D'Costa, a communist-minded character, is introduced. He tells Mary Pereira that she is not aware of the unbalanced structure of society in the country. Then, he expresses the jubilation of independence in India is casual for poor and minority groups. Because, these people would be once again colonized and exploited by the elite class of India. He says, "The independence is for the rich only; the poor are being made to kill each other like flies. In Punjab, in Bengal, riots, riots, poor against poor. It's in the wind" (*MC* 139). This experience of suppressed selves recurs in the novel.

Once in the 'Midnight Children's Conference,' there is a discussion session and Saleem tries to convince others, especially his rival, Shiva, to agree 'for a purpose'. Shiva reacts very ferociously:

'Rich kid.' Shiva yelled, 'You don't know one damn thing! What *purpose*, man? . . . . For what reason you're rich and I'm poor? Where is reason in starving, man? God knows how many millions of damn fools living in this country, man, and you think there's a purpose!' (*MC* 306).

Shiva, a symbol of destruction, no doubt possesses strength but he also becomes a victim to the history of class-struggle between the poor and the rich, he openly rejects the discriminatory economic structure of the country. He mocks Saleem's 'purpose', the purpose of building a multicultural nation Therefore, Salman Rushdie also projects the Marxist perspective of literature.

Arundhati Roy's Marxist Posture

Arundhati Roy was born in Shilling. Being the little child of divorced mother, she lived in a broken family and had to suffer many worries and anxieties of life. After facing such pains of life, she came out a scholarly and literary figure. The masterpiece novel *The God of Small Things* provided great fame to her by winning Booker Award in 1997. As a social reformer, Roy scans the inner conflicts of Indian society and exposes the menace of

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casteism. She says that our country, India needs to be refined and reformed for her true advancement and satisfying for individual.
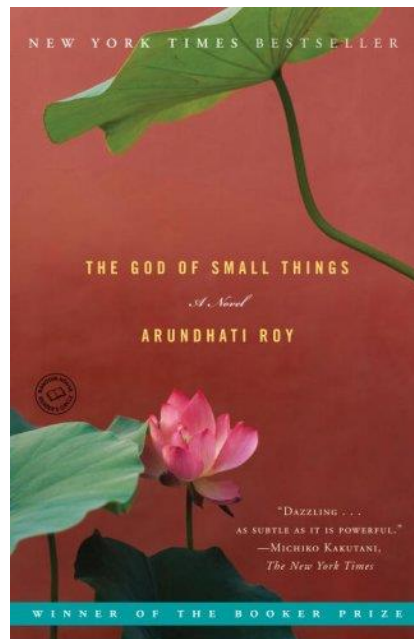
In this novel, Arundhati Roy portrays fragmented nature of Indian social structure. She provides a platform for the ruthlessly suppressed section of society. The central character Velutha, a very charismatic and efficient person, falls victim to extreme jealousy and hatred from the richer section of society. Dealing effectively with the problem of untouchability and class-consciousness, Roy openly makes it clear that Velutha, an able person is hated, because he is untouchable and is economically backward. This insincere and unjust divide on the bases of money again takes us to materialistic interpretation of society. Hence, the novel ironically reflects the pitiful condition of a person born in the lower class, who remain like an animal labourer, no matter how capable he or she is.

The powerful people are hypocrites and have no sympathy for the poor. About K. N. M. Pillai, a character in the novel, narrator says in ironical tone, "He walked through the world like a chameleon. Never really revealing himself , . ." (*The God of Small Things* 8) A chameleon is known for changing its colour as the environment. Likewise, Pillai claims of being a Marxist, but suppresses individual freedom. This is how the novelist unveils the injustice for the lower class people, "Paravans like other untouchables, were not allowed to walk on public roads, not allowed to cover their upper bodies, not allowed to carry umbrellas"(*TGOST* 36).

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Velutha is considered the god of small things, as he is an excellent and efficient man of his class. Because of his approach in loving Ammu, a high caste widow, he is blamed for this daring act of crossing the boundaries of casteism. It doesn't matter; Velutha has greater capabilities than those of the majority of untouchables. This is how the discrimination is surfaced, when narrator gives reference to the old character named Mammachi: "Mammachi (with impenetrable touchable logic) often sad that If only he (Velutha) hadn't been a Paravan (untouchable), he might have become an engineer" (*TGOST* 36).

Clash between High Class and Low Class

When we cogitate regarding the structural patterns and thematic thrust of the novelist, we find that in essence, there is the clash between two sets of people-- high class and low class. The high class people stand powerful, economically sound; they hold politics, law, religion, tradition and above all their monopoly over sources of economy. And the low class are lower-castes, untouchables, economically backward. Thus, this rich or powerful group of society has no difficulty in crushing the weak and helpless. They have full opportunity to exploit the social bindings and economic limitations of poor or working class.

Here, we find that Roy shifts her readers to Marxist perspective of literature. If Chako, a character from a rich family, exercises his natural urges, it is ignored as youth indulgence. When Velutha, a character from a poor family and lower caste, simply releases his natural desires and gives emotional solace to Ammu, a widow, he is punished to die, because he is poor and has no rights to have any enjoyment of life. In the title of third chapter of the novel, we can say that a great message has been conveyed through this maxim, "Big Man the Laltain, Small Man the Mombati". 'Big Man' is considered a member of the rich class, Capitalists who are secure and well protected as 'laltain', but 'Small Man' is considered a member of the poor class, labourers who are unprotected like 'mombati'. These words spoken by a Bihari coolie, convey to the readers the pathetic divide that is prevalent in Indian society.

Roy enforces the characters to revolt against the false codes and conducts and preaches individual freedom. On another occasion, Roy refers to Pillai in an ironical tone, because, he is claiming to be a true Marxist, and is actually a hypocrite and a greedy fellow. Narrator says, 'Comrade Pillai's arms were crossed over his chest, and he clasped his own

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armpits possessively, as though someone had asked to borrow them and he had just refused.' (9612)

Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*
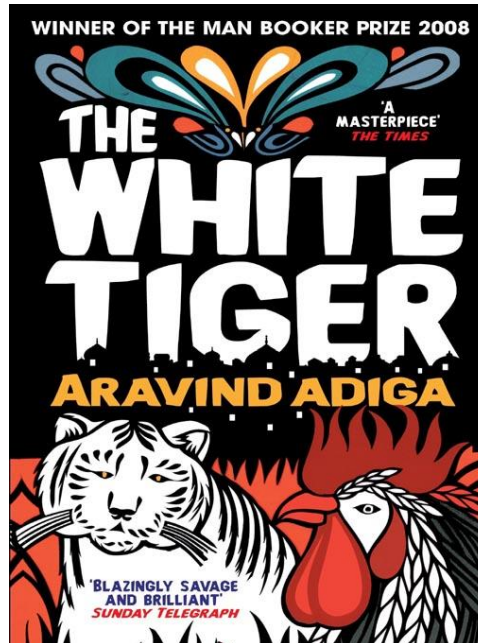
A well-known Indian English novelist, Aravind Adiga, is a very daring writer, who was born in Madras in India and lived in Australia, the US and the UK. Presently, he is living in Mumbai. He surprises readers with his keen observation and analysis of Indian social structure in his debut novel, *The White Novel*. In this novel, Adiga gives reflections on Marxist analysis of society with other issues like casteism, class-consciousness, politics, and ill-governance of so-called modern India.

Adiga gives a very blunt tongue to a lower class character, Balram Halwai. He is an exceptional character from his class with all ambition and charisma. No doubt, he is a servant and heinous murderer, but possesses the mind of a philosopher and entrepreneur, having been born in an imaginary dark village of Laxmangarh, Bihar.

This novel, in a way, is written in an epistolary style. After murdering his master, Ashok, Balram becomes a successful entrepreneur. Under the shadow of a chandelier, he writes letters to the Chinese Premier and narrates the whole tragic tale of a lower class individual in modern Indian social structure. In this structure, the poor class is bound to be poor; they can survive only in the cruel clutches of rich people. Any member from the poor

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class can change life only after being extremely daring. This is how Balram indicts the unjust divide in modern India to the Chinese Premier:

> Please understand, your Excellency, that India is two countries in one: an India of Light, an India of Darkness. The ocean brings light to my country. Every place on the map of India near the ocean is well off. But the river brings darkness to India-- the black river (*TWT* 14).

Criticising the Indian government, Balram exposes the corrupt institutions of India where social and political life has become barren. There is illegal intervention of the rich class with certain politicians to grab the profit in different fields. Ashok, an upper caste person, is an example of this. It is only on the surface level that society reflects equality and liberty of individual, but inside the social structure, we find poor class or working class is being crushed by rich class or Capitalists.

Balram, as a mouthpiece of Adiga, blames the Indian democracy. He says that lower class people have no opportunities to rise above the miserable condition of poverty, because, they are always exploited and suppressed. As we find in the novel, Balram's master Ashok and his mistress Pinky Madam have once mocked the Indian government of having illiterate and ignorant people. He writes: "And our nation, though it has no drinking water, electricity, sewage system, public transportation, sense of hygiene, discipline, courtesy, or punctuality, *does* have entrepreneurs (TWT 4).

Adiga highlights the dark side of Indian society by illustrating the symbolic characters like the Stork, the wild Boar and the Raven who unjustly owned the river, agricultural land and barren land respectively. They control the means of production and exploit the lower class people's power of labour. These rich people (Capitalists) enjoy comforts in life and leave the poor people (proletariats) in miserable condition. Therefore, in Marxist perspective, it is at the cost of the labour class, the Capitalists have luxurious life. That is why, Balram says, "A rich man's body is like a premium cotton pillow, white and soft and blank. *Ours* are different. My father's spine was a knotted rope, the kind that women use in villages to pull water from; . . (*TWT* 27).

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Religion – a Misused Weapon

As we know that religion is used as a main weapon to misuse the poor class, the servants are made to be moral and faithful. Balram says, "Do you know about Hanuman, Sir? He was faithful servant of the god Rama..." (*TWT* 19). Adiga, no doubt praises the advancement of modern India but lashes out upon the selfish politicians and bureaucracy at the false claims of individual freedom, which exists actually nowhere in the society. The tragic tale of the underprivileged class is exposed, where an individual is rooted in a trap of deep dungeon called 'rooster coop'. This peculiar symbol is apt to explain and illustrate the exploitative situation of the poor class. In the 'rooster coop' one has the limited desire and restricted will, where one is ultimately at the mercy of the rich class. "The greatest thing to come out of this country in the ten thousand years of history is the Rooster Coop." (*TWT* 173) Talking about the Darwinian jungle of survival of the fittest, Adiga emphasizes the vulnerability of the poor section of people in modern Indian society. Here also we find the working class is helpless in the hands of the rich class. Balram examines the sociology of India as:

> To sum up- in the old days there were one thousand castes and destinies in
> India. These days, there are just two castes: Men with Big Bellies, and Men
> with Small Bellies. And only two destinies: eat- or get eaten up (*TWT* 64).

Adiga is ironic over the claims of individual freedom under the shadow of democracy in India. He says that in our country, there is hardly any opportunity for underclass of excelling in their future. Poor men always dream of making their life better but can earn only to survive.

To Conclude

In conclusion, we can say that Marxism is the predominant thesis or philosophy regarding the socio-political issues across the world and it has influenced the creative minds of almost every community. The literary figures have patterned the incidents and characters to think and change the traditional way of life. The mouthpiece of different writers has raised the voice against the cruel and dictatorial institutions and paved the way for the up rise of suppressed ideas among the underprivileged classes. With this there occurred some

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development in individual freedom and economic development. The modes of production and source of labour are justly discussed and left to be exercised in society.

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Irula Folk Songs

Dr. Pauline Das
L. Mohan Raj

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Folklore Studies

India is a land of rich and varied folk art tradition. Folklore is important for the passing on of values, beliefs and moral teachings of a society. Since time immemorial, it has been an eternal part of Indian culture. The grass fields, flowing rivers, alluring temples, folklore, culture, heritage and agriculture define Indian society. "The folk and tribal arts of India are" simple, "ethnic and colorful" (vserveyou.com, 2009). It speaks volumes of our country's rich heritage.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus (1968) says:

The focus of the study of Folk life is to obtain and understand the present

way of life itself. In the future we must not simply be content with

reminiscences, instead testimonies. We must also study what is alive. The ethnologist is looking for the normal situation. Superficially, it may mean that ethnology becomes less historical. But its objectives in the study of society must still be to demonstrate the part played by tradition as the motor of our culture. Consequently, a historical perspective is needed in an analysis of the present and in planning the future.

The folklore studies include oral literature, material culture, social folk custom and performing folk arts. The words and phrases such as "manners", "customs", "neglected customs", "fading legends", "fragmentary ballads", etc., present an outline of Folklore (Dundies, 1965:4).

Indian Tribes

The tribes constitute a rich, unique, varied and critical elements of Indian tradition. Tribal life is an epitome of paradox. Even though, they are living in an enriched environment full of colors and music, their personal life is an untold agony arising from alienation, deprivation and enslavement.

The Irulas

The term *Irular* is derived from the word Irul meaning darkness. The language of this tribe is known as *Irula Naya*. It remains only in its spoken form without a written script. The "transmission of oral literature from one generation to the next is of paramount importance for Irula cultural practice (oralliterature.org, 2013). The local language acts as a vehicle for the transmission of unique cultural knowledge.

Folk Revival around the World

In the 19th century English speaking world, intellectuals felt anxious to preserve the traditional culture, which they felt was threatened by rapid industrialization and urbanization, creating and imposing upon people a mechanical form of entertainment. This interest found much of its impetus in the antiquarian research of Allan Ramsay, Burns, Thomas Gay and Scott as also the Grimm Brothers of Germany.

Particular focus was directed to the Celtic culture which later formed part of the Celtic revival. Large scale efforts were made to collect folk songs in different parts as is evident in the words of Sebine Baring Gould whose researches in and around Devon parish yielded a wealth of material. Similarly, Frank Kidson explored around Yorkshire to spearhead the folk revival in England, while Francis J. Child worked on similar lines in the U.S.A.

The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (1882-84) is a pioneering work in this regard. Scholars from different areas joined these efforts with musicians like Ralph Vaughan Williams, Percy Gramphir and E.J Moeran, and literary men such as George Gardiner. In the early 20th century, a society named 'The London Headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society' was founded and named after Cecil J. Sharp (1879-1924), who collected English folk songs and was deeply interested in dances.

After World War II there occurred another wave of interest in folk revival and a number of intellectuals undertook expensive research on the topic , focusing on folk-song 'as a means of politicizing the working class involvement in its own traditional artifacts'. Among them, the major figures are Ewan Mac Col and E. L. Llyod in England, Hamish Henderson in Scotland and in U.S.A. Pete, and Sugar. Marxist angle is provided in Llyod's *Folk Song in England* (1967). He collaborated with Vaughan Williams to produce *Penguin Book of English Folk Songs* (1967).

What is a Traditional Ballad?

"A ballad is a song that tells a story. A traditional ballad is a ballad whose origin is unknown and which has been passed on orally over time. We know about ballads because mostly literate people have collected them from often pre-literate people and put them together in collections" (jonandrika.org, 2014). It is from these collections that the participants of the folk festival have chosen the songs. "The melodies and texts may vary greatly, but the story is always recognizable. It is, in fact, the story that defines a ballad" (telus.net, 2012). These ballads are sung very differently in different places but the story is the same.

A Narrative Composition

So, a ballad is a narrative composition in rhythmic verse suitable for singing. Defined in simple terms, it tells a story which was originally transferred by word of mouth and was usually sung. Ballads became popular throughout the British Isles in the late medieval and Elizabethan times. Its emergence from the popular tradition of lyrics, carols, the French ballet, and other forms of minstrelsy has generated much heat and debate among scholars.

Gradually its constituents became stereotyped with stanza forms and images and even vocabulary being used by poet after poet repeatedly. Some examples of the stock expression used conventionally are, 'blood–red wind, 'the gold so red, 'the wan water', etc. Though free from the usual moralizing and descriptive construction, ballads developed their own convention which was liberally imitated, such as stylized descriptions of heroes and heroines, stock phrases, use of ghosts and fairies and a typical mood evoked by a conventional background description.

Some of the renowned ballads originated in Arthurian legends and romances composed by the minstrels, as Robin Hood Cycle, Robin Hood and the monk, Robyn and Gandeleyn, Robin hood and the Petter, Alytell Geste to Robyn Hood, Robin Hood and Guy of Bisborne, True tale of Robin Hood, Robin Hood and the Beggar, etc. The legend continued to feed some of the finest ballads in English. Other famous ballads include The Rising in the North, Young Anderw, Wilke and Hamilton, Death of Parcy Reed, The Wife of Ushere's Well Thomas Rigmer. In the nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott, Lord Tennyson and several others once again popularized this form in such works as The Lady of Shallot, The Rhyme of the ancient Mariner, and such.

Irula Tribal Songs and Dances

The tribal people play a vital role in transmitting history, cultural traditions, and the way of living to new generations. Tribal songs and dances are the main media by which transmission is done.

One of the tribal songs has the following as its theme. It is sung by a woman while her husband is about to sleep. She sings:

Let us cut the ragi plant at its seed bunch; let us collect the torn sheaves
 in the upper fold of the 'chela'. For both of us to play, let us tie the

double-seated swing on the branch of Dhani tree. If you were a basket

swing it to the settler. A basket with two pockets is better for our use.

Let us go to our lord and pray for the gift of a child. If we get a baby boy,

we will give him your name, Thampaso, if it is a baby girl, let us give

her my name. Let us please the Goddess, Thotere (the goddess of prosperity)

and offer her 'pongal' (krpcds.org, 2010).

The woman is using her leisure time to advise her husband about her knowledge and practices. While harvesting, she collects the sheaves that fall away in her own 'chela'. She cannot afford to allow any grain to go waste. If husband and wife are united in will and work, they can enjoy life and perform useful duties. If they are not united, the benefit will go to the settlers. The intuition of the tribal woman is well depicted here. Unity and co-operation are considered as the base of prosperity. Pleasing God is essential for the prosperity of their progeny. The tribal woman welcomes their expected child with great enthusiasm and delight irrespective of whether it is going to be a boy or a girl.

Plant Growth

Another song gives graphic details of plant growth. It speaks of how to prepare the ground, how to prepare the seedlings, how to plant them in the furrows, how to watch their growth, how to harvest and how to prepare the food out of the harvest. The details of how to remove stones and thorns from the furrows are also given.

Red Thina and black Thina seeds should be mixed and sown; birds that

come must be chased away. You have to look after the cultivation by

watching from a small hut built on the top of the tree. The hut should

be 12 feet high from the ground. Take the trips to drive the birds and say,

Aha Aha, and throw stones at them.

The Role of the Elders

Irular customs and traditions are handed down from generation to generation, by word of mouth. The elders play a vital role in this process. They hand down to successors their songs and

stories. In an ethnographic research, to study about a community, it is vital to analyze their problems in various perspectives. The study of the cultural priorities of the tribal folk has enabled researchers to look at the problems, beyond the extent to which an outsider can perceive.

Needed: A Culturally Specific Syllabus

Being the inheritors of a wealthy culture, the tribals would have hesitancy to adapt and compose tunes to the prospects of a foreign language such as English. Certainly, initiatives have to be taken to evolve a culturally specific syllabus and curriculum for the tribal people. A learning environment has to be created in the classroom that nurtures the curiosity and the path to knowing. The skills of language are important for the balanced participation in tribal community, as well as the larger world community. "Practice and preparation in the cultural traditions, interwoven with language experiences, reflecting all education domains, helps the learners understand and participate in their rightful place in the universe" (ruralec.msstate.edu, 2010). Tribal history is World history. Tribal culture has several elements that mainstream people should emulate. The noble values and attitudes which may at times be found in such cultures can be transplanted into the present-day world at large.

Irula Lullabies

Some of the Irula lullabies describe the difficulties which have arisen in the present world. They are songs based on realities. There are also quite a number of songs centered on love. Every line in a lullaby ends with the Irula word 'joo' or 'coo'.

Seven Ballads

There are at least seven ballads commonly known now among the Irulas (of the original eleven). They are: Jogi Nandamma katha, Yeladumban katha, Thulasilamma katha, Thundu Malli katha, Liamen katha, Amba Vallaiyan katha and Kovae konaee kovaedode katha

These ballads are the unique literary treasures of the Irulas and are not to be found among any other hill tribes apart from the Irulas, although their other folk-songs and tales are found in other communities and regions outside of their own with some variations.

These ballads do not have any written text corresponding to them and are oral, aural and visual since they are part of a larger tradition of performance. There is no conceptual, literary space for art as independent and apart from the ordinary event of life for the Irular. The performance as such does not take place as an event by itself on a specific occasion, but is always part of a larger communal activity. This may be alongside the activities in the household or the fields, and is most often performed by women when they work in the forests and fields. However, community could be the performer, participant and audience. Events of life in the settlement form the substance of these songs.

The Ballad of Jogi Nandamma

The headman Kuniyamoopan and his wife have six sons, of whom five are married. They long to have a daughter. Performing several austerities, they appease the forest goddess Veeramachi who blesses them with a lovely girl child. Born of divine intervention, the child is very dear to them and her arrival is celebrated with great fanfare. One day, the people of their settlement approach the headman and insist that they go and clear a patch of the forest so that it can be cultivated. The headman's wife is reluctant to leave behind the little girl, who is barely ten years old, and pleads with her husband to postpone the event. Putting the needs of this community before his wife's hesitation, he decides to send her. But he is firm that he and his wife will be away only for the count of a single sunset. His wife cautions her daughter not to go beyond a boundary-line that she draws outside their hut. Soon after, they leave with the rest of the community, taking flint stone and cotton with them to burn down the bush.

The five daughters-in-law send the girl to graze their cattle. The child is hesitant to cross the line drawn by the mother. But she obeys her sisters in law. She is thirsty and asks her sisters-in law to give her some water from the pots they have filled in the river. They refuse on the pretext that if the level of the water went down, it would splash on the way. So she goes to fetch water. What follows is not elaborated, but is suggested that the child has been incestuously attacked and raped. The parents return and the song notes in veiled terms the sorrow of her parents. Jogi Nandamma becomes a part of the eternal waters. The goat and cows, which were born when the girl was born, also transform to become deers (Perialwar, R. 2013).

The Ballad of Yeladumban

Yeladumban is a young man who has been married not very long ago. His young wife is in the sixth month of pregnancy, when he has to go to the Yela mountains to fetch the mythical pearl that can be found there. He is unhappy to leave his wife behind, but his mother wants the pearl. He tells his mother repeatedly not to give the girl difficult chores, such as fetching huge pots of water from the river.

After Yeladumban goes away, the girl's mother-in-law bids her daughters take a small pot each and give a big one to the pregnant girl. The three girls go up and down from their hut to the river and back, before the huge containers at home are filled to the mother-in-law's satisfaction. Then the mother-in-law tells her daughter –in –law to cook a gruel and sauce for the family. The girl is very tired, but she cleans and grinds the grain and cooks a meal for the family. Meanwhile the mother-in-law, who had managed to obtain a female cobra, keeps it hidden in a pot of water and covers it with some leaves to prevent it from being seen.

As the exhausted girl lies down to rest near the grinding stone, the mother-in-law cooks the snake and serves it to the girl with some rice. When the girl complains of giddiness and asks the older woman what is being served to her, the woman replies that it is meat brought home by the father-in-law. The girl dies of poisoning.

When Yeladumban returns home he finds his three sisters and parents, but not his wife. So he questions them and, not satisfied with the reply that she may be visiting a eighbor, he runs about wildly in search of her. In the vegetable patch which he had cultivated lovingly, he finds a long and beautiful strand of hair which he recognizes as that of his wife. When he digs the fresh earth, he finds his young wife's body. Enraged, he hacks his parents and sisters to death. Burying his wife once more, he plants an arrow where he thinks her heart would be and flinging himself upon it, kills himself, not wanting to live in a world where his beloved wife is no longer alive (Perialwar.R, 2013)

The Ballad of Thulasilamma

The third ballad "Thulasiamma" is also known as the "Koda Valliyan" song. Kovanoopanin is the son of an elder of the "kodavallliyar" community of a village called Kodoor, and so this reference goes.

The mother of a young man asks her son what kind of a bride he wants. She suggests number of possible places where the bride could be found, but the son disapproves of every town. He sets out to go around the world himself. He travels widely, but does not find a bride to his liking. Finally, by the riverside of a small village he espies a beautiful girl and her blind sister bathing. He steals their clothes and when they ask for them after bathing, he returns them.

He discovers that the name of the beautiful girl is Thulasilmma, and proposes to her. He tells her also to keep a fast for three days, refusing food and drink so that their steadfastness in love is made known to all. He also assures her that he too would fast in the same manner till they meet on their wedding day.

On the appointed day, the groom arrives in a fanfare, riding an elephant, but the blind girl is dressed and brought before him. The young man notices the deception and demands that the right girl is brought to wed him. The wedding takes place and the happy young couple return to the young man's village.

Thereafter his parents send him away to fetch wild honey from the forest. The young man is unhappy to be separated from his bride barely three days after the wedding. However, his parents are insistent, because it is to be given as an offering to their chief. Therefore, in spite of many ill omens the young man goes to collect honey. Meanwhile, his father calls the girl and lies down on her lap. The ballad does not describe the manner in which the father-in-law takes advantage of his position as the head of the family, and has an incestuous relationship with his daughter-in-law. It is only suggested, as in the other songs.

Later when the son returns he beats his chest and laments his misfortune. After this he enters the river inviting his wife and mother to join him if they are innocent. The three of them

become statues, with the son standing in the middle and the wife on the left and the mother on the right (Chellaperumal and Sujatha Vijayaraghavan)

The Ballad of Thundu Malli

Kavamoopan, the tribal chief, had six sons and one daughter. One day the chief and his wife leave with the people of seven villages to clear and cultivate the forests The six brothers and their wives, who live as one large extended family, get the girl married to an orphan. Sometime later, the six brothers decide to go hunting. They want the sister's husband to accompany them, because he is a skilled hunter and his dog is an excellent helper. His young wife has just given birth to a baby girl and he is unwilling to leave his family, nor is his wife willing, for she is still lying in bed and is not able to fetch water herself. But the brothers persuade the couple and the young man leaves with his dog. The hunters track a wild boar and when it goes into hiding in a hole they smoke it and send the young brother in-law inside it to fetch the animal. After they haul up two wild boars, they roll a huge stone into the mouth of the hole leaving the young man inside as he cries out for help. The brothers roast the animals and slicing two portions of meat, tie them around the dog's neck with the young man's head cloth and chase it away. The dog runs back home to the young mother with the share of meat sent to her and barks frantically. Picking up the new-born, the girl follows their dog which takes her to the mouth of the sealed pit. The brothers feign ignorance about her missing husband.

Meanwhile, the young man goes deeper into the pit and finally reaches the kingdom of the netherworld, whose inhabitants look strange to him and who are cannibals. He is taken to their king, whom the young man hesitates to face, because he is only partially covered. The king takes off his head cloth and gives it to the young man and assures him that he need not fear and that his people will not harm him. The young man introduces himself as an orphan and describes his plight. The king gives the visitor a bag full of varieties of grain to sow and reap. The young man returns to the mouth of the pit where his wife is crying piteously, while the dog is pawing and digging around the stone that seals its opening. The young man kicks the stone from inside and it falls away. They hug each other and vow to leave the place. Crossing the forest and moving to a distant place, they clear the bush and trees by burning them. The ash that comes from this rises waist high and nourishes the land. In the course of time the crop that grows is so

abundant that its owners find it difficult to take it home, for no sooner one's load is taken, then another comes up in the fields. So they look for labourers who would help them carry and store the grain.

Driven by famine, starving and wearing only a loin cloth, the brothers arrive there with their wives and children. They work for their brother-in-law not knowing that he is their employer, though the latter stands upon a high mound and points out the scene to his wife. When the harvesting is completed, the young couple treats all their workers to a rich feast after which cloth and money is given to them. When the brothers come up, the sister falls at their feet seeking pardon for putting them to work. The brothers confess and finally they all live together happily. "Thundu Malli" which is the name of the girl literally means "Little Jasmine" and is also a term of endearment for the youngest of the children and the only daughter. Her name suggests how dear she was to her parents (as told by Ponnamma).

The Ballad of Liamen

The word "Liamen" in Iruliga means paternal uncle, i.e. father's younger brother. The headman and his wife go with the rest of their people to clear the forest and cultivate it; the young daughter is left alone at home. Despite the girl saying that she is forbidden to enter the kitchen for some days, she is told to serve the rice left on the ledge if her uncle comes home. The uncle comes and demands hot food, so she cooks rice and meat.

After the two of them eat, the uncle bids her to fetch the karakandi nut and plays with her. While he prepares to leave, the girl tells him that on the next day he would hear the drums that are beaten in a death house. Left alone, the girl spreads he long hair, decorates herself and then puts an end to her life, after locking the seven doors of their house. When her parents return, they question the old woman minding the hens. She replies that she saw the girl's uncle visit the house. The uncle is summoned. Guessing what may follow, he wears his wedding shirt and takes leave of his wife. On the way he hears the drums beaten for the dead. When he arrives at his elder brother's place, he bends over the body of his niece and laments her passing away and the men scythe him to death. The two are buried side by side; on her grave grows the banana, and on his the bitter berry.

Conclusion

Folklore travels across language boundaries but it always represents the cultural background of the particular community. Tales, songs and myths are transmitted to posterity. The Irulas have a stock of folktales and folk songs which reflect the tribe's socio-religious and family life. Some of these songs and tales show the tensions of love and hate on the domestic front. The familiar theme of ill-treatment of children of the first wife by the sister of the husband, and man's helplessness is also common in many folksongs. The tragic story of the two brothers, one of whom is cheated by the other is known particularly to most of the Irulas. Many of the folk songs speak of the sexual exploitation which the socially better-off groups impose on the women of this poor and weak tribe. In spite of the cycle of social changes that have crept into their customs and manners, they cherish their culture and tradition and love their folk songs, folk tales, folk dance, games, etc.

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The God of Small Things: Representation of Violence

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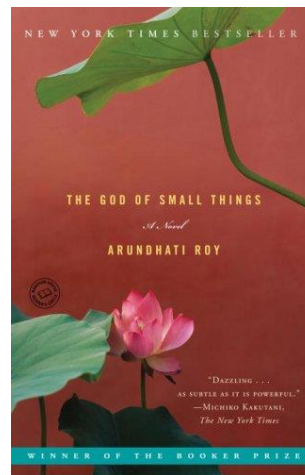
Abstract

In her novel *The God of Small Things*, Arundhati Roy represents violence as the problem in raising the voices of protest. She has written essays protesting against the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. She attacks the use of nuclear weapons, which could end in the dislocation of millions, through the *Narmada* dam project. Her novel is analyzed as the portrayal of violence against the weaker sections of Indian society such as women,

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children, lower-caste, the powerless and the poor. Roy has powerfully represented violence through the intelligent imitation of social happenings. The tragic murder of the male protagonist represents the prototype of the socio-political violence against the lower-caste. Ammu is rejected for her love affair with the lower caste. Her tragic death represents the suffering of women. In a nutshell, Roy raises the voice of protest against the domestic as well as the socio-political violence which in turn is universally appealing.

Keywords: representation, domestic violence and socio-political violence

Introduction

Non-expatriate Indian woman writer and social activist Arundhati Roy was born on 24 November 1961, in Meghalaya, one of the states of North-East India and was educated in Kerala, a state of South India. She moved to Delhi for higher studies and joined the Delhi School of Architecture. She has worked as a film designer, actor and screen-play writer. Meanwhile, she wrote her first novel *The God of Small Things* which was first published in 1997 and became tremendously successful. She is the first Indian woman to win Britain's premier Booker Prize for it. In addition, she has also received the *Lannan Foundation Award 2002*, *Noam Chomsky Award 2003*, *Norman Mailer Prize 2011* for her literary works and *Sidney Peace Award 2004* for the promotion of human rights and non-violence.

2. Roy's Works

2.1. Essays

Arundhati Roy's major writing till date includes: *The End of Imagination, The Cost of Living, The Greater Common Good, The Algebra of Infinite Justice*, *Power Politics, War Talk, An Ordinary Person's Guide To Empire, Public Power in the Age of Empire, The Checkbook and the Cruise Missile: Conversations with Arundhati Roy, The Shape of the Beast: Conversations with Arundhati Roy, Listening to Grasshoppers: Field Notes on Democracy, Broken Republic: Three Essays, Walking with the Comrades*. Through these writings, she continuously opposes the *Narmada Dam* project, India's plan for nuclear weapons and the corrupted bureaucracy. She is an advocate of anti-globalization and alter-globalization and neo-imperialism.

2.2. Novel

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Arundhati Roy has powerfully presented domestic and socio-political violence faced by all weaker sections of human society including women, children, the aged, the disabled, the poor, the powerless and the lower caste in her novel. Hence, the study title is chosen - *The God of Small Things:* Presentation of Violence.

3. *The God of Small Things:* Presentation of Domestic Violence

Ammu is the female protagonist and the daughter of a Syrian Christian family of Kerala. She marries Baba, a Bengali man and divorces him when he turns out to be a violent alcoholic and a brutal abuser. She returns to her parental home in Kerala, and undergoes beatings and violence from her maniacal father who is described as 'monstrous' and a 'suspicious bully' for his brutal beatings of his wife, as the narrator describes him: "But alone with his wife and children he turned into a monstrous, suspicious bully, with a streak of vicious cunning. They were beaten, humiliated and then made to suffer the envy of friends and relatives for having such a wonderful husband and father." (180)

In her childhood, Ammu has to run out of her home in the middle of the night in order to escape the beatings of her brutal father, "Ammu had endured cold winter nights in Delhi hiding in the *mehndi* hedge around their house (in case people from Good Families saw them) because Pappachi had come back." (180-81) He was an "ill-tempered father" (39) as the narrator reports, "When he finished beating her he made her bring him Mammachi's pinking shears from her sewing cupboard." (181) She suffers violence from her sadist father, "her father looked at her with cold, flat eyes, and rocked and rocked and rocked." (181)

Moreover, Ammu is deprived of education because, "Pappachi insisted that a college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl [. . .]" (38), whereas, her brother Chacko is sent to Oxford University for higher education. She waits for redemption by means of marriage in the society that strictly observes dowry system. The narrator says, "Since her father did not have enough money to raise a suitable dowry, no proposals came Ammu's way. Two years went by. Her eighteenth birthday came and went. [. . .] She grew desperate." (38) She wants liberation from her father and, "All day she dreamed of escaping from Ayemenem and the clutches of her ill-tempered father and bitter long-suffering mother." (39)

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Ammu gets married hoping for the liberation from her father; but, her married life turns out to be an extremely unpleasant as, "Her husband turned out to be not just a heavy drinker, but a full-blown alcoholic with all of an alcoholic's deviousness and tragic charm." (40)

Ammu's husband Baba works under Mr. Hollick, the English Manager who is upset about his carelessness, and hence, cunningly intends to exploit his wife Ammu sexually: "Mr. Hollick suggested that Ammu be sent to his bungalow to be 'looked after'." (41-42) She is forced to go to Hollick's bungalow, but she is reluctant. The narrator says:

> He grew uncomfortable and then infuriated by her silence. Suddenly he
> lunged at her, grabbed her hair, punched her and then passed out from the
> effort. [. . .] immediately began to badger her about helping with his transfer.
> This fell into a pattern. Drunken violence followed by post-drunken
> badgering. (42)

Ammu has "returned, unwelcomed, to her parents in Ayemenem." (42) She is not given proper education, yet she is not dependent on others. She does much work in her mother's pickle factory, nevertheless, "as a daughter, had no claim to the property." (57) She was tortured, tormented and abused verbally by her aunt Baby Kochamma for her inter-caste marriage.

In an extreme loneliness, Ammu falls in love with Velutha but for her brother and aunt, "She was just that sort of animal" (180), and her brother Chacko expels her from her parental home saying, "Get out of my house before I break every bone in your body!" (225). According to critic K. V. Surendran, "Ammu's is more than a tragedy" (65). Once she is pushed out, she is left with nothing. She has no recognition, no family and no love. She becomes jobless, penniless and sick. Her existence becomes meaningless. Her hope turns to hopelessness. The narrator states:

> Ammu died in a grimy room in the Bharat Lodge in Alleppey, where she had
> gone for a job interview as someone's secretary. She died alone. With a noisy

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ceiling fan for company and no Estha to lie at the back of her and talk to her. She was thirty-one. Not old, not young, but a viable, die-able age. (161)

Ammu's mother Mammachi spends her life in persistent physical abuse, interruption, destruction, disturbance, beating, devastation, torture, torment and criticism. Consequences of her husband's beatings are illustrated as, "On her scalp, carefully hidden by her scanty hair, Mammchi has raised, crescent-shaped ridges. Scars of old beatings from an old marriage. Her brass vase scars." (166) Her skull is permanently damaged and deeply marked by physical injury through beatings. It is stated, "Every night he beat her with a brass flower vase. The beatings weren't new. What was new was only the frequency with which they took place. One night Pappachi broke the bow of Mammachi's violin and threw it in the river." (47-48) Critic C. Gopinatha Pillai's comments about Pappachi as, "In him, Patriarchal authoritarianism coincides with misogynistic misdemeanours manifest in his violence towards his wife Mammachi, and daughter, Ammu" (88). Mammachi is characterized as a "bitter long-suffering mother" (39), who represents all Indian mothers suffering from domestic violence under gender discrimination in the Indian patriarchal homes. Her son Chacko suppresses his mother Mammachi in all decision making. Kundu opines about Roy's depiction: "She also shows how women and the untouchable are both treated as impersonal and subjugative objects [. . .]." (96)

Child characters, the twins Estha and Rahel are victims of vicious domestic violence, perpetrated on them by their father, and Ammu had left her husband only for this reason. They suffer domestic violence together with their mother in Ayemenem house also. They were prohibited from having friendship with the untouchable Velutha. The narrator states, "They were forbidden from visiting his house, but they did" (78). Their mother Ammu scolded them and Chacko spoke against her, "'It's fascist, the way you deal with them,' Chacko said. 'Even children have some rights, for God's sake!'" (85). They felt unwanted. K. V. Surendran says, "Barring a few golden moments like the ones they spent with Velutha, they were failing, failing miserably to live like the other children. In this sense the whole novel tells about their tragedy, the tragedy of Estha and Rahel." (68) The words generate extreme pathos and they were tragic characters.

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Estha has been characterized as "quietness", whereas, Rahel has been characterized as "emptiness". They lived utterly lonely and meaningless lives. When their best friend Velutha is arrested and taken into police custody, Baby Kochamma forces them to speak falsely against him by threatening to imprison them. When Sophie Mol was drowned, Estha and Rahel desperately tried to save her, but it was all in vain. Yet their aunt Margaret thought that they killed her, "She said nothing, but slapped Estha whenever she could in the days she was there before she returned to England" (31). Baby Kochamma blamed them as murderers "'It's a terrible thing to take a person's life,' Baby Kochamma said, 'You know that I know that it wasn't an accident. I know how jealous of her you were'." (316) They were harassed, abused and intimidated by her as, "How you forced her to go with you although you knew that she couldn't swim. How you pushed her out of the boat in the middle of the river. It wasn't accident, was it?" (316-17).

By harassing the twins Baby Kochamma wants them to confess the lie to the police. That is why she hurts, intimidates and tortures them. The narrator speaks about their broken experience: "By then Esthappen and Rahel learned that the world had other ways of breaking men." (6) Estha is forced to return to his father as words go, "That Estha be Returned". (322) The narrator comments on Estha, "His expulsion from Ayemenem had been so sudden and unceremonious, and so very long ago." (14)

Rahel remains in the Ayemenem house and suffers, drifting from one school to another, and spends eight years in college, in Delhi, without getting a degree. Her meaningless life under the ruggedly patriarchal society has been intensified: "Without anybody to arrange a marriage for her, without anybody who would pay her a dowry and therefore, without an obligatory husband looming on her horizon" (17). Rahel marries an American, and goes to the United States with her husband. But her frustrating conjugal life makes her a divorcee just like her mother and then she returns to Ayemenem to meet her twin brother Estha.

4. *The God of Small Things:* Representation of Socio-political Violence

J. P. Tripathi writes that, "we note that the brightest part of the novel is the social criticism that Arundhati Roy presents through it and her exposures of the hypocrisies,

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envies and secret jealousies of the people by means of satire, irony and sarcasm" (42). Roy presents the cruel consequences of the caste system of India and explicitly acknowledges the continuing untouchablity. K. M. Pandey wrote a paper on this novel, and stated about such presentation: "The present paper aims at studying the novel as a love story whose dimensions touch and are touched by caste, creed and other socio-political realities existing in the regionally contextualized boundaries of the South Indian State of Kerala." (47) Mallikarjun Patil comments that, "Arundhati Roy has criticized both casteism of Hindu society and male superiority in different walks of Indian life" (57).

M. Dasan says that all the protest movements of the untouchable people of Kerala have been the result of the continual practices of the caste system that Roy has depicted: "Contemporary political polarisation in Kerala and India - the assertion of Dalit identity and consolidation of Dalit political power, the emergence of Dalit Bahujan forces as the fourth national party - makes it difficult to dismiss Arundhati's observation." (27)

Ammu suffers socio-political rejection as she speaks, "There was much trauma for me in the 60s as Kottayam did not accept me as I was a woman separated from my husband." (5) She is not allowed to take part in the public ceremony with others. In Sophie Mol's funeral ceremony, she is separated from the rest of her Syrian Christian community members. The narrator says, "Though Ammu, Estha and Rahel were allowed to attend the funeral, they were made to stand separately, not with the rest of the family. Nobody would look at them." (5) They suffer public humiliation. Mohit K. Roy's comments about Ammu: "At her home and in her family and the society she became virtually 'untouchable'." (67) When her lower caste lover Velutha is beaten severely by the policemen, she went to the police station to save him, by revealing the truth to the police inspector Thomas Mathew. In contrast, the inspector Mathew attempts to terrorize her so that she would be afraid to reveal the truth. He considers her a prostitute *(or veshya),* and "[. . .] his eyes were sly and greedy" (7).

Ammu's aunt Baby Kochamma says to the police that she is a prostitute and Estha and Rachel are illegitimate children. This is a false statement to put her to shame and humiliation. When Inspector Mathew realises that innocent Velutha was killed by mistake, his reaction is terrible: "Then he tapped her breasts with his baton. Gently. Tap,

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Tap. As though he was choosing mangoes from a basket. Pointing out the ones that he wanted packed and delivered." (8) "It was a premeditated gesture, calculated to humiliate and terrorize her. An attempt to instil order into a world gone wrong" (260). J. P. Tripathi writes, "Naturally enough, her own mother, aunt, brother and society in general impose punishment" (33). The narrator states, "The church refused to bury Ammu on several counts. So Chacko hired a van to transport the body to the electric crematorium" (162). Further, it is written, "Nobody except beggars, derelicts, and the police-custody dead were cremated there, people who died with nobody to lie at the back of them and talk to them" (162). Dushyant B. Nimavat comments, "She became the victim of the male dominated society" (143).

Christians are not supposed to practice caste system; ironically, the *Brahmin* Syrian Christians of Kerala have been continuously practicing it and it is apparent from the narrator's comments, "Pappachi would not allow Paravans into the house" (73). The term 'paravan' refers to the people of lower caste. Mammachi exploits, discriminates, dominates, pressurizes, and hates the lower-caste people. She pays less to Velutha as he was an untouchable man; every other touchable betrays him.

Velutha fixes everything around Ayemenem House, from the factory's canning machine to the cherub fountain in Baby Kochamma's garden. He proves himself as an essential worker for each one's existence. He becomes substitute to Ammu's husband and the twins' father. Therefore, he is referred to by the title of the novel, *The God of Small Things* (330). A. N. Dwivedi says, "Thus, 'the small things' in the title of the novel suggests the fulfilment of sexual hunger, the satiety of physical desires. Hence the title is a pointer to the unrequited love of Ammu and Velutha. It is Velutha who is 'the God of Small Things' for Ammu" (9). J. P. Tripathi also opines the similar idea about him as, "Velutha is the giver, the god of these small things to the children of Ammu. He is the alter-ego of a husband to Ammu and that of a father to her children, without formalization of relations." (29)

Nevertheless, the higher caste factory workers become jealous of him and compel their leader K. N. M. Pillai to terminate his job contract. The touchables resent and wish ill for him. The leader Pillai plays the double role, both as the protagonist and the antagonist. He says to Chacko at his meeting with him, "'That Paravan is going to be

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trouble for you' he said. 'Take it from me ... get him a job somewhere else. Send him off'." (278)

Communism, as a principle, does not discriminate the people on the basis of caste, colour, creed, religion, and ethnicity. Nevertheless, Pillai discriminates against Velutha for the political gain from the higher caste factory workers and says to Chacko, "Send him away? But why? I have no objections to him being a card-holder." (278) Although he is the only card-holding member among all factory workers, he is the one denied of all his rights and privileges.

Although Baby Kochamma appreciates Velutha's hard work, sincerity and honesty, yet "She began to hate him" (82), as she realizes that he loves Ammu and she seeks an opportunity to destroy him. Thereafter, she speaks a lie against him at every twist and turn. She blames him as the kidnapper of three children; she tells lies that he had threatened women of the house. She fabricates details to turn a simple case of accident into a murder. The narrator states: "Baby Kochamma misrepresented the relationship between Ammu and Velutha, not for Ammu's sake, but to contain the scandal and salvage the family reputation in Inspector Thomas Mathew's eyes" (259).

Ammu visits the police station with the intention of revealing the truth. Baby Kochamma hears about it and is terrified. Hence, she forms a plot against her: "she had to get Ammu out of Ayemenem as soon as possible" (321).

Even though Velutha has gotten political protection, Pillai denies it. Although Pillai knows that Velutha has been falsely blamed, he refuses to speak on behalf of him. Pillai betrays Velutha completely in order to please the fellows of his caste. Critic Vinita Bhatnagar writes about Velutha: "His tragedy is representative of the fate of the untouchables" (95). Twinkle B. Manavar writes, "Velutha stands out as the representative of the untouchables in the novel. They were a class of people who were not allowed to walk on the public roads, not allowed to cover their upper bodies and not allowed to carry umbrellas." (124) Velutha, the lover of Ammu and her twins, is severely beaten and destroyed. The narrator says, "In the back verandah of the History House, as the man they loved was smashed and broken" (309).

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Roy uses certain terms to intensity the violence against the lower caste Velutha - "brutality", "urge to destroy" (308), "complete monopoly", "damaged him", and "smashed and broken" (309). The brutality is more accurately stated in the following lines:

> Four of his ribs were splintered, one had pierced his left lung, which was what made him bleed from his mouth. The blood on his breath bright red. Fresh. Frothy. His lower intestine was ruptured and haemorrhaged, the blood collected in his abdominal cavity. His spine was damaged in two places, the concussion had paralysed his right arm and resulted in a loss of control over his bladder and rectum. Both his knee caps were shattered. (310)

The senselessness of the police is depicted as, "One of them flicked at his penis with his stick. 'Come on, show us your special secret. Show us how big it gets when you blow it up.' Then he lifted his boot (with millipedes curled into its sole) and brought it down with a soft thud." (311) Velutha's situation worsens: "And the God of Loss. He couldn't walk. So they dragged him" (312).

Because he is from an untouchable community as defined by the Hindu religion, Velutah is betrayed by his master and mistress, by his leader and colleagues. In a desperate situation, his own father Vellya Paapen also betrays him because of the fear of society. In fact, each of them is supposed to uphold his rights. Ironically, all of them speak ill of him. The whole cosmos seems to be antagonistic to him, because he loves the unloved one (Ammu) and that love ultimately kills him. She accepts it; "'He's dead,' Ammu whispers to him. 'I've killed him'." (8) According to G. D. Barche, "The sea of our society swallows them up". (45)

Moreover, the author presents violence against children, child-abuse and child-negligence. Estha was eleven years old; he was sexually exploited by the Orangedrink Lemondrink Man in a movie hall. He told Estha to masturbate his penis, "Estha held it because he had to". (103) Estha's terror is described as, "a Little Man's first encounter with Fear" (119). Further, it says, "The lemondrink was cold and sweet. The penis hot and hard". (103) Orgasm or climax is depicted as, "Then the gristly-bristly face contorted, and Estha's hand was wet and hot sticky. It had egg white on it. White egg white. Quartered-boiled". (104) Estha was "Feeling vomity" (107), when semen fall in

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his hands. By representing this incident, Roy makes her readers aware of the violence against children. She sarcastically states:

> 'India's a Free Country,' Estha said.
>
> No one could argue with that.
>
> India was a Free Country.
>
> You could make salt. Row jam, if you wanted to.
>
> The Orangedrink Lemondrink Man could just walk in through the gauze doors.
>
> If he wanted to. (197)

Estha represents a child abuse in public, and thus, a socio-political violence because this incident led him to the loss of the capacity of expression. He became quiet, hence, characterized as "quietness", for he could never ever share this shameful torture. He passed through a stage of mental tormentation of masturbation and the abominable semen in his hand. A. N. Dwivedi comments as, "Arundhati has definitely succeeded, through this episode, in raising the issue of child-abuse and child-negligence". (136)

Everybody else sleeps well in the hotel room, but he could never. The narrator says, "Estha Alone walked heavily to the bathroom. He vomited a clear, bitter, lemony, sparkling, fizzy liquid". (119) He is tortured and tormented by Baby Kochamma at the police station. As a result "quietness" captures his whole being. He stops speaking. The narrator says, "Once the quietness arrived, it stayed and spread in Estha. It reached out of his head and enfolded him in its swampy arms". (11) Further it is stated as, "Slowly, over the years, Estha withdrew from the world". (12)

Furthermore, the police call Estha an "illegitimate", and his mother a *"veshya"*. (8) The twins saw their mother Ammu crying with tears after the police Inspector tapped her breasts with his baton, "It made the twins sick with fear". (8) People of Ayemenem perpetually hate them because they are not the children of a Syrian Christian. It is written, "Worse still, they were Half Hindu Hybrids whom no self-respecting Syrian Christian would ever marry" (45). They represent the violence and hatred against the mixed-blood and they are separated from others in all the social activities. (5)

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The manager's attempt to exploit Ammu sexually makes her husband force her to submit to the manager. Abuse of authority is represented here when powerless workers suffer violence under a powerful manager. As an English Manager, he certainly represents the colonial power that exploited India for centuries.

Roy presents the exploitation of the workers even in the post-colonial India. Their reasons for the revolution, and the demands are stated as:

> Their demands were that paddy workers, who were made to work in the fields for eleven and a half hours a day - from seven in the morning to six-thirty in the evening - be permitted to take a one-hour lunch break. That women's wages be increased from one rupee twenty-five paisa a day, to three rupees, and men's from two rupees fifty paisa to four rupees fifty paisa a day. (69)

The workers are given less wages and made to work for the extra long hours. Moreover, Kerala is facing the problems of unemployment and famine. Mammachi also exploits her workers by giving inadequate wages to them. Hence, the workers are dissatisfied. The entire factory workers of India have been experiencing the same kind of exploitation by the masters a representing their situation, Roy raises the voices of protest against such exploitation.

5. Conclusion

This research aimed at analysing Arundhati Roy's novel *The God of Small Things* presents violence as a problem in order to raise the voice of protest against agonies and sufferings of the suppressed people. Roy has spoken on behalf of the suffering subjects of India as their representative, and opposed violence generating customs, culture, religion, systems and practices. The novel can be considered an apologetic writing- as a formal written defence that strongly opposes the problems of domestic and socio-political violence against women, children, lower-caste, poor and the powerless people of Indian society. It is universally appealing because violence is not the property of Indian society as it is universal.

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Roy suggests that the traditional social structure of India as a whole plays a role of an antagonist to destroy the lives of the weak and innocent human beings. This can be understood implicitly and explicitly by means of her presentation of a situation in which a higher-caste woman Ammu and a lower-caste man Velutha have fallen in love. This is the breaking of the social taboos - the narrow orthodoxy of the caste system. Velutha has been projected as a gentle lover who satisfies his partner, "He kissed her eyes. Her ears. Her breasts. Her belly". (337)

Roy opposes the rough handling of wives by their brutal husbands, "The Kathakali Men took off their make-up and went home to beat their wives. Even Kunti, the soft one with breasts". (236) Men in society act in dramas and show that they are kind and gentle towards their women. In actuality, they beat their wives in their homes. Every sentence of the novel is satiric. Critic A. N. Dwivedi, has got a similar opinion about Roy's presentation. He says, "She seems to be a harsh critic of the traditional way of Indian life, especially the one that Indian women have been leading" (11). K. M. Pandey writes, "Thus, the Ammu-Velutha relationship is portrayed as a protest against the existing laws of society". (54)

The lower-caste Velutha has been beaten to death by the higher-caste policemen. It is the common phenomena in the caste-ridden society India. According to Roy it is the "Feelings of contempt born of inchoate, unacknowledged fear – civilization's fear of nature, men's fear of women, power's fear of powerlessness". (308) Roy's portrayal of Velutha's persecution, abuse and ill-treatment in the hands of the policemen speaks in itself that such brutality is violation of human rights. She vigorously opposes such violence. Velutha is an apostle of non-violence. Twinkle B. Manavar appreciates him as:

> In his 'affair' with Ammu he was unique in his own way. He was a very good friend to Estha and Rahel. His loyalty to the party was unquestionable and as trade unionist he was committed to protect the rights of his fellow workers at any cost. His place is certainly nearer to a Shakespearean tragic hero. (129)

Roy has raised her voice of protest against the problems of violence against children in the characters of Estha and Rahel. Their sufferings in the hands of their father

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and, torture and harassment in Ayemenem house; Estha's sexual exploitation by the Orangedrink Lemondrink Man and the terrorization by the police - all these destroyed his personality.

The novel portrays gender discrimination. The character of Chacko is promiscuous, but his mother Mammachi and aunt Baby Kochamma have no objection to it. When Ammu has no one to love, and when she is loved by Velutha, they oppose and destroy both of them.

Roy attacks the selfishness of Communists in the character of Comrade Pillai who betrays his innocent and honest party worker Velutha and violently captures Chacko's pickle factory. She attacks the selfishness of the colonizers in the character of the English manager Mr. Hollick who wants to exploit the wife of his Indian worker. Roy also protests against the exploitation of the workers who receive inadequate payment for their work. This has been presented through the less paid workers of Mammachi's factory.

In this way, Arundhati Roy has accurately and explicitly presented, and vividly depicted the problems of domestic and socio-political violence of India; thus, the novel *The God of Small Things* is a protest novel and it portrays violence.

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Diglossic Situation in Central Punjab: A Case of Urdu and Punjabi Language

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Abstract

The present case study is an exploratory study, focusing on the status of Punjabi and Urdu languages in Central Punjab, Pakistan. From sociolinguistics point of view, Pakistan is linguistically a rich region having many languages and language varieties. Bilingualism and diglossia are fascinating phenomena in Pakistan. The present study investigates the diglossic situation in Central Punjab analyzing Urdu and Punjabi and concludes that there is a diglossic situation with respect to Urdu and Punjabi in Central Punjab, Pakistan.

Keywords: diglossia, Urdu, Punjabi

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1. Introduction

The present study is concerned with the diglossic situation in Central Punjab, Pakistan taking Urdu as a High variety (H) and Punjabi as a Low variety (L). Urdu enjoys a status of High (H) variety and Punjabi, being Low (L) variety, constantly goes behind the curtain. More prestige is given to Urdu than Punjabi in circumstances of prestige. Most of the Punjabi speakers in Central Punjab have the fear of being labeled as low status social class, and some are of the opinion that Urdu is more likeable and that Urdu speaking is encouraged as compared to Punjabi. Although, Punjabi being the mother tongue, is widely spoken at homes, with friends as vernacular, it has been facing strict limits and specific settings as to where and when it should be used. Electronic Media and Print Media, no doubt, promote Punjabi, but as a whole the proportion of media, which serves Punjabi is very small. There are only three Punjabi channels in Pakistan in comparison to ever-growing Urdu channels. Moreover regular viewers and audience of such channels are also less in number as compared to those of Urdu Channels.

Use of more than one language is a global phenomenon. In today's globalizing world, it is estimated that more than half of the world's population is bilingual (Grosjean, 2010).

Communicative purposes and intentions determine the variety or language that may be used in a specific social setting such as home, school, office, etc., which make one language (dialect) used formally and another informally.

Pakistan is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural country where Urdu has the status of national and urban language and Punjabi as a vernacular like many others. Punjabi is gradually losing its educational and social status in the complex socio-political and cultural contexts of Pakistan. Although Urdu is the National Language, it is not given that esteem regarding its national status as is clear from exam results of all Pakistani Universities and Boards, but it does enjoy great prestige when compared to Punjabi.

Literature Review

Concept of Diglossia

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The concept of diglossia was put forward by Ferguson in 1959. According to Ferguson, a diglossia is "a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation", Ferguson, Charles F (1959).

H and L differ from each other both linguistically and socially. Linguistically, they do so with respect to grammar, phonology, and vocabulary; socially, they differ in function and prestige, as well as in literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, and stability. Both varieties (H) and (L) of diglossia have their own clearly defined boundaries for their occurrence. Trudgill (1974), while examining Greece diglossic phenomenon, states that sometimes political affiliation may also be responsible for different attitudes of people towards the varieties of language. Ferguson's concept of *diglossia* is a very restricted one, as Hudson (1994) points out that Ferguson's definition of *diglossia* is specifically associated with two varieties of the same language and it does not account for the other situations present in today's diverse linguistics world.

2.2 Fishman's Concept of Diglossia

Joshua Fishman presented an extension in Ferguson's (1959) original but relatively strict concept of diglossia in 1967. He proposed an expansion of Ferguson's definition of diglossia in two respects:

A diglossic speech community is not characterized by the use of two language varieties only. There may be more than two language varieties used within a diglossic community.

According to Fishman (1967), diglossia refers to all kinds of language varieties which show functional distribution in a speech community. Diglossia, as a consequence, describes a

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number of sociolinguistic situations, from stylistic differences within one language or the use of separate dialects (Ferguson's 'standard-with-dialects' distinction) to the use of (related or unrelated) separate languages. Matthews (1997) also has the same opinion. That is, a diglossic situation may be related with two different languages as well as with two varieties of same language. Trask (1999) also derived a similar opinion regarding today's ever-expanding bilingual world, where two languages may and may not be in diglossic situation.

Sociolinguistically, most of the countries of the world can be defined as diglossic societies. But diglossia is not always a simple phenomenon. Sometimes, it is a very complex situation; there may be a diglossia within a diglossia. Linguists have originated terms like polygolssia, overlapping diglossia, and triglossia to adhere to the diverse diglossic linguistics situation of the present globalizing world.

Hypothesis

Hypothesis for the present study is:

H: There is a diglossic situation in central Punjab, Pakistan with respect to Urdu and Punjabi.

Hypothesis Test

For the present study, key defining characteristics of diglossia as described by Ferguson (1959) are used to test the hypothesis of the study. High (H) variety means Urdu whereas low (L) variety is used for Punjabi in the study.

Features which make a linguistics situation diglossic as defined by Ferguson are:
1. **Function.** H variety is used mostly for official purposes whereas the L variety is used in informal situation.
2. **Acquisition.** H variety is acquired consciously in a clearly predetermined setting whereas L variety is learned unconsciously in a casual way.
3. **Prestige.** H variety is considered more prestigious with respect to L variety.
4. **Standardization.** H variety is more standardize with respect to L variety.

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5. **Grammar.** Grammar of H variety is more clearly defined but not in the L variety as much.

6. **Lexicon.** Lexicon of H variety is greater and increasing as compared to L variety.

7. **Phonology.** Phonology of both varieties is different but some features may be overlapping.

8. **Stability.** Diglossic situation is present for a considerable time.

Britto (1991) while discussing Tamil diglossia says that out of these defining features function and acquisition are most significant.

Diglossia in Central Punjab

Central Punjab of Pakistan is dominated with three main languages; Punjabi, Urdu and English. Punjabi is vernacular of common folks' informal discussion, Urdu being the national language and English as lingua franca of elite class. Urdu is considered more prestigious with respect to Punjabi.

The hypothesis is now being analyzed based upon the defining characteristics of Diglossia described by Ferguson (1959) and expanded by Fishman (1967) as already discussed above.

Function. H variety is used in formal where L variety is used in informal linguistics situation. Urdu is used in formal contexts like in classrooms, law offices, etc., whereas Punjabi is used in informal contexts like home, with friends', etc. It is obvious from the functional perspective that Urdu and Punjabi are used in different linguistics contexts, Urdu being formal and Punjabi being informal.

Acquisition. H variety is acquired consciously in predetermined linguistics settings whereas L variety is learned in casual way. Urdu is being learnt at schools and collages but not the Punjabi. Although being the language of 44.15% (Census, 1998) of the entire population of Pakistan, Punjabi language does not have any primary school textbook for the children and it is an optional subject after High School education. As compared to Punjabi, Urdu is a compulsory subject at

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the primary level of education. Punjabi language is being learnt unconsciously but Urdu is learnt consciously as well as unconsciously up to some extent.

Prestige. H variety is considered more prestigious as compared to L variety. Prestige is associated with social power. Urdu is associated with educated and social power group whereas Punjabi is normally associated with villagers and uneducated people. Because of these complex social structures, Urdu is considered more prestigious as compared to Punjabi. Now, even people from villages do not want to be labeled as uneducated due to Punjabi language use. Due to prestige, literature in H variety is more abundant and flourishing as compared to L variety. Same situation is prevailing with Urdu and Punjabi.

Standardization. H variety is more standardized with respect to L variety. Urdu is more standardized with dictionaries and grammar books in increasing numbers, but this is not the case with Punjabi, where one hardly finds any recent book on its grammar and any modern dictionary of Punjabi in Pakistan. Urdu is more standardized than Punjabi language.

Grammar. Grammar of H variety is more clearly defined but not the L variety as much. Urdu grammar is being taught in schools but this is not the case with Punjabi. Grammar of Punjabi is not clearly defined to people and students in schools unlike Urdu.

Lexicon. Lexicon of H variety is larger and is ever expanding as compared to L variety. The same is the case with Urdu and Punjabi, where Urdu lexicon is larger but not the Punjabi lexicon.

Phonology. Phonology of both varieties is different but some features may be overlapping. This is also true with Urdu and Punjabi languages. Phonology of Punjabi is different from Urdu. But there are certain characteristics which are present in both languages as well.

Stability. Diglossic situation is present for a considerable period of time. This is also true for Urdu and Punjabi as well because the diglossic situation in Urdu and Punjabi is a persistent one for a considerable period.

Conclusion

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From the above discussion and analysis, it is quite clear that the hypothesis of the present study is true, and that there does exist a diglossic situation in Central Punjab, Pakistan with respect to Urdu and Punjabi. Urdu offers the High (H) variety and Punjabi offers the Low (L) variety. This linguistic situation fulfills the criteria set by Ferguson (1959) and further expanded by Fishman (1967) for the description and definition of diglossia.

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Quantity Maxim and Pakistani Women's Speech

Sikander Ali, Ph.D. Scholar (NUML, Islamabad)

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Abstract

Grice is of the view there should be observance of certain maxims which he termed as, in this book logic and conversation, maxim of quality, quantity, relevance and manner, in speech. Adherence to these maxims makes a speaker so obliged, that the information passed by him/her must carry quantity in it – it should be as informative as is required (Grice, 1975). Observance of these maxims in cooperative principal is a rational behavior which benefits the participants in conversation (Verschueren 1999). In this paper, Qualitative method was used to investigate either observance, or non-observance of Gricean maxim of quantity by females in their formal speech. For finding this, formal presentations of females were recorded in national / international conferences. So, the main focus of this research was to discover if the maxim of quantity was

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either observed, or not by females in their formal speech, or not. The results have proved that there does exist non-observance of quantity maxim in Pakistani females' formal speech.

Introduction

Gricean maxims and gender issues attracted the attention of many researchers to embark on this topic. According to Lakoff, there are multiple ways of women's speaking, which reflect their marginal, or subordinate role in a society. According to her, women's language is loaded with linguistic devices such as, mitigators, inessential qualifiers and so on. This language renders women's speech tentative, powerless and trivial, which is why they more often than not, are disqualified from the position of power and authority. This shows that language itself is a tool of domination which is learned as a part of learning to be a woman, in which societal norms plays a vital role. This ultimately keeps women in their place (Lakoff, 1975).

General Charactersistics

In accordance with certain sociolinguists, women are more polite, cooperative and considerate than their male counterparts. But this can be generalized that this type of speech style can be associated, within a very specific context, and with a few middle class women (Ali, 2014). Holmes and Coates are of the opinion these cooperative styles must be re-evaluated and they even question whether powerlessness can be attributed to women's speech. Both argue that there must be re-evaluation of women's concern for others in speech (Coats, 1998). They claim that women's extra cooperation within the work environment leads to productive deliberations. Powerlessness is stereotypically associated with women, still, all women cannot be considered as impotent. So, this is a reason, why women are seen through the lens of men and they are judged aggressively according to certain norms, especially stereotypical ones (Sunderland, 2006).

Research Question

Is there any non-observance of Gricean maxim of quantity in females' formal speech?

Literature Review

Levinson (2000), in his theory of 'Generalized Conversational Principle', found ideas about the derivative nature of conversational meaning by Grice, are revolutionary in nature. And,

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according to Senft, Levinson was not the only one who gave this sort of idea about Gricean perspective. The idea given by Grice was adopted by many semanticists and pragmaticians as well linguists interested in the philosophy of language.

Especially the lecture delivered by William James at Harvard University in 1967 on 'logic and conversation' (Grice 1967, 1975), gave new insights that were taken up quite enthusiastically. Senft says that he himself was surprised, when he was doing his PhD about the nature of Gricean Maxims. Even at that time these maxims had already acquired a type of 'cult' and Senft himself was intrigued by the original nature of these maxims. He was intrigued by 'what is conversationally implicated is not implied but rather inferred on the basis of assumption about the nature of conversational activity as stated in Cooperative Principle and its constituted maxims of conversation' (Levinson, 2000). However there are still certain linguists who argue against conversational maxims of Grice, for example, Kiefer (1979) says:

> There are ample references, in recent linguistic literature, where we come across conversational maxims which are asserted as basis on which non-literal meaning can be built. There is uncritical acceptance of these maxims, without having attention on their theoretical value…..in his renowned paper Grice mentioned several conversational maxims as general rules of conversation. The conversational maxims are, generally, unclear, so 'anything can be worked out almost on the basis of any meaning' (Senft, 2008).

So, non-observance is the means by which an illocutionary act is performed obliquely (Searle, 1975). It is the way in which meaning is conveyed by non-observance of the maxims of quantity, quality, relevance and manner e.g. if someone tells a lie, changes statements rapidly, forward information without having comprehension or use hedges in order to achieve certain goals (Ali, 2011). And in communication it can be taken as a strategy to achieve a certain goal, which carries multiple facets and can underlie phenomena such as humor, implication, irony, metaphor, etc.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

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Research Methodology

In this research a qualitative approach was applied to answer the research question. So, the data of Pakistani female presenters in national / international conferences was collected for this research work. Almost all of the presenters were teachers serving at different universities. There were both male and female presenters, but the recordings of females were conducted due to the nature of this research work. Purposive sampling was used for collecting data. All of the conferences were in Pakistan and held during my research period from 2011 to 2014. Twenty five presentations / lectures by female scholars were audio and video recorded. These recordings consisting of varying time, from 10 to 30 minutes, were transcribed later on.

These recordings were conducted in different conferences and later on the same recordings were transcribed in order to comprehend the nature of the speeches made by females in those conferences. In order to see the observance / non-observance of the maxim of quantity, the total number of words were counted and then divided into the number of minutes, so that we may have the actual standard number of words per minute. If the words are found more or less than the standard WPM, it means there is non-observance of the maxim of quantity. That all considered, the readers need to comprehend whether or not there is any non-observance of Gricean maxim of quantity in the formal speeches of Pakistani females.

Quantity Maxim

In his book 'Logic and Conversations', Grice (1975) introduced four rules to observe in conversation. These rules are termed as maxims of conversation. The maxim of quantity is one of these rules. These maxims are considered as unstated assumptions in conversation. It is generally assumed that people provide appropriate amount of information – that is why, people speak truth, give certain information and try to be clear and relevant, up to the mark. According to the maxim of quantity, the information passed by speaker must carry quantity in it – it should be as informative as is required. While an average speaker engaged in a conversation speaks at a rate of roughly 110-150 words per minute, so according to this standard wpm should be in between (Marshall, 2008). So, the use of more / fewer words per minute up to the standards wpm

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shows non-observance of the maxim of quantity, because Grice is of the view that one should participate neither more nor less than the certain quantity.

Maxim of Quantity and Non-Observance

Sr. No.	Title of Presentations	Total Words	WPM	Non-Observance of Quantity Maxim
1	Inference meanings from text	1100	44	Quantity
2	Language Loss	1725	58	Quantity
3	Recent trends in Pakistani Protest Songs: A Critical Discourse Analysis	3560	119	Nil
4	Truth Value, Cognitive Strategies & the Black magic	1708	85	Quantity
5	Net-speaking	2215	63	Quantity
6	Language Policy in Pakistan	1808	90	Quantity
7	Investigate the intended meaning in different texts	2636	132	Nil
8	Language Death	2931	112	Nil
9	Translation and Inter-texutality: An Analysis of Translations of Iqbal's poems by Francis Pritchett	730	73	Quantity
10	Corpus Linguistics: A different perspective to Understand Language	3135	125	Nil
11	Autonomy in Learning	2373	79	Quantity
12	English Language Teaching	1062	70	Quantity
13	Classroom Management	1577	105	Nil
14	An American Barat	1403	93	Quantity
15	Speaking Skills, first step to communicate	1300	65	Quantity
16	Language legacy and impact on Colonialism	3060	129	Nil
17	Alice in the Modern Wonderland of	1497	112	Nil

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	Violence			
18	Richards' Maxims in Teaching Profession	1336	110	Nil
19	Literary Aspect of folklores	2003	100	Quantity
20	Conflict Management	2340	117	Nil
21	Problems and Issues in English language learning	1789	119	Nil
22	Methods of Observation & Analysis in Research	1335	89	Quantity
23	Fictions and English Literature	1410	94	Quantity
24	Bilingual writers' writings in English	1868	121	Nil
25	The representation of the strange and the familiar in Jamil Ahmads' the Wandering Falcon	1797	100	Quantity

In this first presentation there were 1100 words spoken by the first presenter in almost twenty five minutes, 44 words per minute. While an average speaker engaged in a conversation speaks at a rate of roughly 110-150 words per minute, so according to this standard wpm should be in between (Marshall, 2008). Hence, the use of more / fewer words per minute up to the standards wpm shows non-observance of the maxim of quantity, because Grice (1975) is of the view that one should participate neither more nor less than the certain quantity. The numbers of words spoken by the second presenter are 1725, which means 58 words per minute, which once again demonstrates non-observance of the quantity maxim. But, the speaker is aware of the quantity maxim as she says, '**to cut the long story short**, when languages…..' In the fourth presentation there were 1708 words spoken by the fourth presenter in 20 minutes i.e. 85 wpm, because there is a less number of words than the standard quantity which shows non-observance of the maxim of quantity.

There was non-observance of the maxim of quantity by the fifth speaker, whose words were 2215 uttered in approximately 35 minutes, which shows 63 wpm. The same is the situation with the sixth presenter who used 1808 words in approximately 20 minutes, with the ratio of 90 words per minute. But one important factor worth mentioning is, the speaker seems to be cognizant of

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the maxims of quantity. However, in practice, in her effort to be precise, she says less than a normal speech limit.

1. So, **just putting the matter in nut shell**, (conscious of quantity maxim) the preservation of linguistics diversity has become a major concern to the nation.

There were 730 words spoken by the ninth presenter in approximately 10 minutes, which showed 73 wpm, which determines the non-observance of the maxim of quantity in her speech. Then there is non-observance in the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth and fifteenth presenter, where the number of words spoken by the presenter was 2373 which means 79 words per minute, 1062, having 70 words per minute, 1403 words in approximately 15 minutes with the ratio of 93 words per minute, and 1300 words in approximately 20 minutes, having the ratio of 65words per minute. All of the preceding examples show non-observance of the maxim of quantity. The last mentioned presenter was mindful of the quantity maxims as she said,

1. I am just **going to sketch** (Conscious of quantity maxim) the later part again.
2. **I am sorry to be so sketchy** (Conscious of quantity maxim)**.**

Then non-observance of this maxim comes in with the nineteenth presenter where the number of words is 2003 in approximately 20 minutes, which showed 100 wpm. This type of non-observance can be seen in Achilles when he offers surplus reply – why he was making Priam to sleep outside and having misplaced the support that he could deal with a potential interference by Agamemnon.

This sequence of non-observance is carried on by the following three presenters: twenty second, twenty third and twenty fifth. There were 1335 words spoken by the twenty second presenter in approximately 15 minutes with the ratio of 89 words per minute, 1410 words spoken by the twenty third presenter in approximately 25 minutes, which showed 94 wpm, and there were 1797 words spoken by the last presenter in approximately 18 minutes with the ratio of 100 words per minute. The above quoted examples determined there was non-observance of the maxim of quantity.

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Conclusion

The total number of words spoken by the female speakers is 47698, in approximately 520 minutes in twenty five speeches, having 2404 words with the ratio of ninety words per minute. These recordings vary in size, ten to thirty minutes. As mentioned earlier, there must be 110 to 150 words per minute. According to Grice (1975), conversation should be neither more nor less than requisite. In twenty five presentations there is seventeen times non-observance of the maxims of quantity which shows the percentage of the non-observance is sixty eight. So, this shows the non-observance of the maxim of quantity in Pakistani women's formal speech.

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Finiteness Features in Modals - Telugu

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Abstract

The present paper concentrates on the finiteness and its relationship with the sentence structure in modals. In most of the languages, clauses have been classified into two types: finite and non-finite clauses. The decisive feature of finiteness may differ from language to language and it depends on the nature of the respective language. This paper tries to investigate the relevant feature which is responsible for finiteness, in Telugu, with respect to modals. Finiteness in Telugu is a complex phenomenon and it does not lend itself to a strait forward analysis. It is said that there are no principled grounds for establishing which feature is responsible for finiteness. In generative theory, tense and agreement play an important role to decide finiteness.

Key words: Finiteness, modals, (abstract) tense, agreement, embedded clauses.

1. Introduction

It is noticed that only finite verb is able to form an independence utterance in the languages. The notion of finiteness has been widely described by linguists in different ways. *Denoting a form of a verb or auxiliary which can in principle serve as the only verb form in a sentence and which typically carries the maximum in morphological marking for such categories as tense and agreement permitted in a language.* (Trask 1993: 103-4)

Cross-linguistically, finiteness has been observed that neither tense nor agreement comes under universal category. Therefore, anything which is chosen from the above two will be absent in a number of languages. For instance, if agreement is taken to be the relevant category, where verbs inflect for tense but not agreement, we can say that languages like Japanese which lack agreement lack finiteness altogether. If tense is considered as a decisive feature, the finite/non-finite opposition appears to be absent in languages like Lango, where verbs do not inflect for tense (Noonan 1992).

2. Modal Auxiliaries –*wacch* and –*āli/-wāli*

This paper examines what determines finiteness in Telugu with respect to modals. In Telugu, the notion of finiteness is considered as a morpho-syntactic feature. In English the modal verb precedes the main verb whereas Telugu modal verb follows the main verb. In most of the modals, we don't find the agreement markers as shown below. In this paper, we examine two modals in Telugu with respect to agreement and tense. They are '**-wacch'**, *(may),* and **'–āli/-wāli'** *(should/must).*

The modal auxiliary -**wacch**, which is similar to *'may'* in English, has the meaning 'it comes' when it is used as the main verb (probabilitative-permissive, allowed to, permitted to) and **'–ali/-wali'** (Obligative-*should/must*).

1. a. wāru   ā sinima cūḍa-**wacch.**

     they-nom the movie watch-may

     They may watch the movie.

b. wāḍu   ā   sinima cūḍa **-wacch.**

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he-nom the movie watch-may

He may watch the movie.

2. a. nīvu   wārini   kalav-**āli.**

you-nom   they-acc   meet-should

You should meet them.

   b. āme   atanni   kalav-**āli**

she-nom   he-acc   meet-should

She should meet him.

Sentences (1, a-b) and (2, a-b) contain the modal -**wacch** 'may; and–**āli/wāli** 'should/must. These clauses have default present tense reading. These modals don't show any PNG features and they are not overtly marked for tense. Both the features are not present overtly.

So, we assume that these clauses are finite clauses and they can stand alone. They also have nominative NPs.

In Old Telugu, *'-walay-un'* 'is needed' got grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb and then as a mere bound morpheme *'-āli/-wāli'*, (Krishnamurti 2003).

3. ataḍu   kāryālayani-ki   veḷḷawalayun

he-nom   office-dat   go-should

He should/must go office.

4. āme   ā   pustakamu   konawalayun

she-nom   the   book   buy-should

She should/must buy the book.

These sentences (3-4) have the present tense reading. They are independent clauses and they also have the nominative subject NPs. So, it is clear that they are finite. In this way, Old/Modern Telugu modal verbs don't overtly inflect for tense and agreement so it is difficult to

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say which decides finiteness. So, we will look at the examples in which one of them is absent or present. Consider the examples below:

3. Declaratives

5. ataḍu   āme-nu   koṭṭ-**tā**-**ḍu**

     he-nom   she-acc   beat-non-pst-3rd sg.M

     He beats her.

6. āme   atanni   koṭṭ-**in**-**di**

     she-nom   he-acc   beat-pst-3rd sg.F

     She beat him.

In the above examples, finite (main) verb inflects for tense and agreement. In Telugu, we have two morphemes which represent past and non-past morphemes. They are *–in* and *-tā* respectively. In these sentences, tense and agreement both are morphologically present. Cross linguistically, it is observed that the nominative Subject NP gets case from tense. So, we assume tense is the finiteness marker in Telugu. Now, we will look at the negative construction and how the finiteness can be found in this.

4. Negatives

In Telugu *-a* and *–l*ē negative markers which represent non-past and past.

7. jān   ra-***a***-**ḍu**

   John-nom   come-neg-3rd sg.M

   John does not come.

8. nēnu   ra-***a***-**nu**

   I-nom   come-neg-1st sg.N

   I don't come.

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Both of them show agreement but they have present tense reading but they lack overt tense marker. And they cannot occur with **ninna,** 'yesterday'.

9. *nēnu **ninna** ra-***a*-nu**

   I-nom yesterday come-neg-1st sg.N

   I did not come yesterday.

However, we observe (10) and (11) lack agreement. But they can also be considered to be complete finite clauses. Because they can stand there own and they have a nominative subject.

10. jān ra- *l*ē -dhu

    John-nom come-neg-def.agr

    John did not come.

11. wāru ra- *l*ē -dhu

    they-nom come-neg-def.agr

    They did not come.

12. * wāru rēpu ra- *l*ē -dhu

    they-nom tomorrow come-neg-def.agr

    They won't come tomorrow.

In these sentences we can see the absence of agreement. It is noticed that **-** *l*ē negative marker can occur only in past tense. It represents the completion of the time. In the same way it can't occur in future reading as in sentence (12). This observation leads that there is an abstract tense which assigns nominative case. So, they are finite clauses.

Now, let us go back to modals, in some constructions, tense is realized overtly as shown in the below.

5. Finiteness Features in Modals

13. pillalu   ninna/ippḍu   akkaḍi-ki   veḷḷ-i-un-ḍalis-**in**-di

     children-nom   yesterday/now   there-dat   go-cpm-aux-should-pst-def.agr

     Children should have gone there yesterday/now.

14. *pillalu   rēpu   akkaḍi-ki   veḷḷ-i-un-ḍalis-**in**-di

     children-nom   tomorrow   there-dat   go-cpm-aux-should-pst-def.agr

     children should have gone there tomorrow.

The example (13) is grammatical, in this, adverbs decides the time reference as we see *'ninna/ippḍu'*. In this sentence, there is no change on the verbal inflection, the agreement is absent, and the past tense morpheme *'in'* is presented. If the adverb place is replaced by the adverb *'rēpu'* tomorrow in the same construction (14), that is ungrammatical. So, we assume, in Telugu, there are only two tenses past and non-past. Tense plays an important role to determine finiteness in this language.

15. āme   ī   kānpharens-ki   vacciunḍawacch

     she -nom   this   seminor-dat   come-cpm-aux-might

     She might have come to this conference

16. wāru   ī   kānpharens-ki   vacciunḍawacch

     they-nom   this   seminor-dat   come-cpm-aux-might

     They might have come to this conference

It is clear that the above clauses are finite. In these clauses, we can observe that the presence of aux and the nominative subjects which make us to claim they are finite and moreover they are syntactically independent.

17. rādha   akkaḍi-ki   veḷḷ-i-un-ḍalis-**in**-di

     Radha-nom   there-dat   go-cpm-aux-should-pst-def.agr

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Radha should have gone there.

18. kṛṣṇa   akkaḍi-ki   veḷḷ-i-un-ḍalis-**in**-di

    krishna-nom   there-dat   go-cpm-aux-should-pst-def.agr

    Krishna should have gone there.

Agreement is absent in these clauses as we have seen earlier. As sentences (17-18) show overt past tense marker–***in***, it is assumed that tense determines finiteness in these clauses. These clauses also have the aux and nominative NPs, and moreover they are syntactically independent. It is assumed that (abstract) tense is finiteness marker in Telugu.

6. Modals in Embedded Clauses

19. [nīvu   pāḍa-**valas**-**in**-**a**]   pāṭa   nēnu   pāḍ-ā-nu

    [you-nom   sing-should have-pst-rel] song   I-nom   sing-pst-1st sg.N

    I sang the song which you should have sung

20. [ataḍu   cēya-**valas**-**in**-**a**]   pani   nēnu   cēs-ā-nu

    [he-nom   do-should have-pst-rel]   work   I-nom   do-pst-1st sg.N

    I did the work which he should have done

The above embedded verbs don't inflect for PNG features but they inflect for tense marker ***–in-.*** So, we assume in many sentences the non-past lack overt tense marker whereas past tense generally has a tense marker. These modals don't appear in non-finite clauses. It is clear that tense is finiteness marker in Telugu.

Conclusion

The present paper focuses on the modal auxiliaries in Telugu with respect to finiteness and it also describes whether the modal verbs inflect for tense and agreement or not. The main objective of the paper is to find out what determines finiteness in Telugu. Modals never occur in

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non finite context. Therefore, this paper shows (abstract) tense is the main feature to decide finiteness.

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Abbreviations

acc = accusative	neg = negative
aux = auxiliary	nom = nominative
cpm = conjunctive participial marker	non-pst = non-past
dat = dative	pst = past
def.agr = default agreement	rel = relative

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IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON
JAFFNA TAMIL (A Text Book for University Students)
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Foreword

Professor Suntharesan discusses in this book the impact of borrowings from English in Jaffna Tamil, a rich standard dialect of Tamil spoken in Sri Lanka. Scholars from Jaffna have enriched Tamil literature, both in poetry and prose, for centuries. Primarily through their efforts, Modern Tamil prose was well established. Earliest textbooks in Tamil on a number of subjects were written by Jaffna scholars and these became models for textbooks in Tamil used in Tamilnadu, India. Tamils around the world owe a sense of debt and gratitude to the scholars of Jaffna.

Professor Suntharesan's book presented here offers many insights into how Tamil has borrowed and assimilated words from English and other languages. Even as the impact of English on Tamil grows on a daily basis, Tamil language provides for loan translations. Meanwhile the distance between spoken and written varieties of Tamil is getting to be wider.

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Research presented in this book *IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON JAFFNA TAMIL* will enable us to adopt an appropriate language planning strategy.

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IMPACT OF BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH ON JAFFNA TAMIL
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KEY TO PRONUNCIATION OF QUOTED EXAMPLES

Tamil Phonetic Chart

Consonants

P as in padam   (Picture)

t as in matam   (Tree)

ṯ as in ṯamil   (Tamil)

ṭ as in vi:tu   (House)

c as in catti   (Pan)

k as in katavu   (Door)

m as in mani   (Bell)

n as in kan   (Eye)

i as in valai   (Net)

l as in palam   (Fruit)

r as in ṯari   (Loom)

v as in valai   (Net)

y as in yannal   (Window)

Vowels

i as in ilai   (leaf)

e as in eli   (Rat)

ə as in ətu   (Take)

æ as in ælai   (Wave)

t as in talai   (String)

i: as in ni: ṯi   (Justice)

e: as in e:ti   (Stream)

ə as in ṯə:tu   (Search)

u as in utai   (Dress)

o as in onru   (One)

a as in avan   (He)

o: as in o:sai (Sound)

u: as in nu:ru (Hundred)

a: as in a:ru   (River)

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Bilingualism and Language Contact

The Jaffna Tamil Society in Sri Lanka comprises both bilinguals in Tamil and English and Tamil monolinguals. It's a common feature that bilinguals and monolinguals in Jaffna use a number of English words in their day-to-day speech and in writing in Tamil at home in social interaction , in education, for religious purpose etc. In case of bilinguals the use of English words may be through Language contact situations like code switching, code mixing borrowing etc. But the English words used by the monolinguals are only borrowings. This volume focuses on English borrowings only among the Tamil monolinguals in Jaffna as English borrowings are more used by the monolinguals and the characteristics including the assimilated forms of the borrowings and the functions of the borrowings can be better identified and studied among the monolinguals.

The initial development of bilingualism in Tamil and English in Jaffna is the outcome of English Education and civil administrative activities through the English medium during the British colonial rule in Sri Lanka. English is still taught as a Second Language in educational institutions and a considerable part of the administration is carried out in English in Sri Lanka. As a result, English still continues to be in contact with the national languages Sinhala and Tamil and this language contact situation has led to the presence of several English borrowings in Tamil.

Two or more languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons. Bilingualism is the practice of alternately using two languages and the persons involved are bilinguals. As a result of language contact there have been instances of deviations from the norms of either language. These deviations occurring in the speech of bilinguals because of their familiarity with more than one language are referred to as interference. The term interference implies the rearrangements of patterns resulting from the infiltration of foreign elements into the highly structured domains of language such as the phonemic system, morphology and syntax and some area of vocabulary. Such transfer of elements from one language into the other is called borrowing in general. The extent of interference relies on the extent of differences or similarities between the languages concerned (Weinreich, 1953)

Extreme similarity or extreme dissimilarity between languages is said to be an unfavorable condition for language interference. The mere contact of two languages is not supposed to lead to a situation in which one language borrows elements from the other language. Two conditions are essential for borrowing to occur. The meaning of the borrowed word should be comprehended by the person intending to adopt that word in his Language or he should convincingly assume as if he has comprehended it.

One language borrows from another language not only for the reason that the recipient language lacks such terms. But due to the contact of foreign languages terms

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infiltrate into the recipient language causing changes in the recipient language and not in the donor language.

Borrowing of certain items takes place only under the condition of large scale bilingualism and the borrowing of some other kind of items occurs under the condition of large scale monolingualism. It is the basic vocabulary of a language which is subject to borrowing under the former condition and the vocabulary for artifacts which is subject to borrowing under the latter condition. Further the possibility for borrowing is greater under the latter condition.

In case of Jaffna Tamil, the parts of speech mainly nouns, verbs and adjectives as basic vocabulary in English are used as borrowings under condition of large scale bilingualism. For example the English nouns like radio, cycle, computer, studio, sofa etc, are borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in their assimilated forms as re:tio caikil, kampu:tar, istu:tio, so:pa, etc. respectively.

Similarly English verbs like test, try, help, taste, cut, join, etc. are borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in their assimilated forms testu, rai, kelpu, te:stu, kat, yoyin etc respectively. These borrowings take the Tamil verb form "pannu" (Do) to harmonize with the Tamil syntactic structure.

Examples of Tamil sentences:
- vayarai yoyin pannu
    (Join the wire)
- vattiyai test pannu
    (Check the battery)

English adjectives like neat, dry, round, easy, tight, loose, etc are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil in assimilated forms as ni:tu, rai, ravuntu, lu:si etc respectively. These types of borrowings take the Tamil form "a:" ,the shortened form of "a: ha" (to become) to comply with the Tamil syntactic rules.

Examples of Tamil sentences:
- "arai ni:ta: itukku"
    (The room is neat)
- "kanakku i:sia: itukku"
    (The sum is easy)

The English words which have become borrowings like the above types are more popular among the bilinguals in Tamil and English. These types of English words very often occur in situations like code- switching or code – mixing in the speech of Jaffna Tamils. Therefore these types of borrowings are used under condition of large scale bilingualism.

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Members of labour class and peasantry deal with artifacts to a higher extent due to the nature of their occupations. The English like hammer, screw driver, pick axe etc. are very common among them and these names have become borrowings in assimilated forms as a:m:a:r, isku:traivar, pikka:n etc. respectively. Since the majority of the working class people in Jaffna are Tamil monolinguals the vocabulary for artifacts is subject to borrowing under condition of large scale monolingualism.

In Sri Lankan Tamil as in Indian Tamil, many words have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Tamil and Sanskrit came into contact due to ethnic, cultural and religious intercourse in India. A number of Sanskrit words are mixed with Tamil in literature written by Indian authors and such literature has been used as texts in government schools and universities in Sri Lanka. Hence the mixing of Sanskrit words in Sri Lankan Tamil and the following examples could be cited.

Sanskrit	**Tamil**
• ṭu: ṭa	ṭu: ṭu (messenger)
• ta:na	ṭa:nam (donation)
• Pa:na	pa:nam (a drink)
• Pu ʃpa	putpam (flower)

Sri Lanka was under the rule of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English around 1543, 1650 and 1796 respectively. Their languages came into contact with the national languages including Tamil through administrative, educational, religious and legal set up and as a result a good number of borrowings from the said languages are found in Sri Lankan Tamil.

Portuguese	**Tamil**
• ko:po	ko:pai (cup)
• cappa:to:	cappaṭu (shoe)
• tu:lha	ṭuva:i (towel)

Dutch	**Tamil**
• fiscal	piska:l
• appeal	appi:l
• advocate	appukka:ṭu
• balkje	ba:ja:

During the British colonial era in Sri Lanka, the English educated natives were employed by the rulers to assist them in administration. An elite society the members of which were highly proficient in English emerged. Even after the independence, English was still the medium of instruction in government and private educational institutions until 1945 when mother tongue was introduced as the medium of instruction. But English continued to

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hold a prestigious position. Thus English bilingualism developed among the natives of Sir Lanka. The subsequent language contact situation between English and Tamil inevitably led to borrowings from each other. Compared to the Tamil borrowings in English, English borrowings in Tamil are much greater in number.

After the mother tongue replaced English as the medium of instruction, though English bilingualism declined to a considerable extent, the scientific and technological development internationally has led to the entry of several hundred English technical terms into the day-to-day speech of natives. Such terms are frequently used even by many monolinguals that may be traders, industrialists, and mechanics, employees of government as well as private sectors and ordinary members of the public

It's encouraging to note that today a great emphasis is being laid on the formulation of technical terminology in Tamil. Vast attempts are being made at the state level in India and Sri Lanka in this respect. It has been intended to involve personnel with high proficiency and expertise in both languages in this task. The coexistence of English borrowings and their Tamil equivalents will further expand the scope of the Tamil language.

Almost all the English borrowings are used in their transliterated forms in the speech of Tamils although some borrowings have Tamil translated forms. In writing both transliterated and translated forms are used. The use of transliterated forms can be partially attributed to the lack of translated forms. In view of this feature this volume may be useful to some extent to those who are involved in producing technical terminology in Tamil.

For example, the translated form "ca:nriṭal" and the transliterated form "ce:tipikattu" are used for the English word ,certificate. The translated forms are generally used in literary form of speech and writing whereas transliterated forms occur in casual or colloquial speech. When transliterating an English word it is written in the Tamil scripts mostly with phonetic change.

Literature Review

In this section, some studies relevant to language contact and borrowing carried out already by researchers and scholars are reviewed.

Language Development

The comment of Nuhman (1993) on language development is summarized as follows.

The adaptability of the language of a particular community according to the communicative needs is meant by language development. The social development of a community throughout time increases the communicative needs.

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Language development involves not only the addition of new words, but the changes in all the language domains such as phonology, morphology and syntax. Since language is a social media, the language changes and the subsequent language development are ultimately determined by social changes. Various policies and procedures are adopted at present and there are contradictions and conflicts over the same issue. The final objective of language development would be to modernize the language and language modernization implies the adaptability of the language according to the needs of the present day modern communication.

Scholars like Karunakaran (1978), Annamalai (1980) and Shanmugam (1983) have studied in detail on modernization of Tamil. According to them the expansion of the current needs, the abolition of old usages of words and the adoption of the usage of common words are included as aspect of language modernization.

Since the latter part of the 18th century, a gradual development in Tamil could have been observed. Religious preachers, modern literary and technical experts.writers, journalists and mass media personnel have contributed substantially toward modernization of Tamil.

There is an anti − modernization campaign which does not approve the aforesaid changes in Tamil. They are of the opinion that the traditions and norms of the language will be threatened by the new changes. The language traditionalists emphasized the preservation of the old traditions of a language. The language traditionalism is of two schools of thought each different from the other. One school of thought stresses the grammatical purism and the other both the grammatical purism and language purism.
(Nuhman, 1991)

Grammatical Purism and Language Purism

Grammatical purism is concerned with maintaining the traditional grammatical rules with no deviations and neglecting new changes. It also focuses on completely preventing the influence of speech form on the written form and on modifying the speech form in accordance with the norms of written form. In short the rationale behind grammatical purism is that the traditional grammar should be followed in both speech and writing. In other words it is the stress on maintaining a high literary standard.

Language purism refers to the usage of only the native language elements. Language purism focuses on the elimination of foreign words and the use of only Tamil words. Sri Arumuga Navala, a Tamil scholar and a pioneer in the modern Tamil prose style can be regarded also as the pioneer of the movement of grammatical purism in Tamil. The following comments are notable.

"Sri Arumuga navalar has contributed
considirably in maintaining a rigid nonflexible

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Prose style in Tamil". (Kamil Zvelabil, 1978, P.259)

The Tamil scholars who followed Sri Arumuga Navalar also had serious concern over grammatical purism in Tamil. Saint Vipulananda, a profound Tamil scholar who always maintained a thorough grammatical purism in Tamil remarked thus. "Every language has its unique features and these features should be maintained without being deviated……" (Vipulananda, 1973, p 155-56)

All grammatical purists are not language purists. Several Sanskrit words are found in the works of Sri Arumuga Navalar. He has used even English words amply in his writings related to social and political matters. (Nuhuman, 1993)

Language purism has become a popular concept and there has been a big controversy over the issue of the effects of other languages on Tamil, in a language contact situation. A language not only reflects the society which speaks that language but the culture of the society also. The role of language in an individual is also equally important. Language appears to be a medium which links the individual with the society to which he/she belongs and which links him/her to the past or the future. Language plays a crucial role in one's thoughts and actions.

The impacts of the colonial rule on the socio cultural life of the natives have led to an extreme language fanaticism. Like nationalism, language sentimentalism can be expected to produce both progressive and retrogressive effects.

As a consequence of the prolonged argument in India that Tamil derived from Sanskrit, many efforts were taken to emphasize the distinctiveness of the Tamil language.

Evidences were established to prove that Tamil belongs to the Dravidian family and it is as old as Sanskrit in its origin. There were debates not only to maintain the differences between Tamil and "vatamoli" but to prove the superior features of Tamil also. The influence of Sanskrit upon Tamil was caused by religious and political impacts in various times. In spite of such influence Tamil has developed further in scope and essence. The elimination of excessive domination of "Sanskrit" over Tamil and the restoration of Tamil to its classic purism are different in nature. The enthusiasm in establishing that Tamil is the oldest language and in condemning Sanskrit as an inferior language have been the result of extreme Tamil fanaticism.

The link between Sanskrit and Tamil has in fact contributed much to the development of Tamil. As English has been enriched by Latin and Greek Tamil has been fostered by Sanskrit. Tamil has not lost its basic features by Sanskrit borrowings. The emphasis on Tamil purism known as "ṭæniṭamil va:ṭam" in Tamil, is of course based on the resistance against the Sanskrit influence on Tamil. The advocates of this campaign did not bother about the English influence on Tamil. It should be recognized that this campaign has contributed to the

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simplicity of Tamil to some extent. But there has been more concern on purism than simplicity and as a result the campaign has obstructed the vocabulary expansion of Tamil, and in some cases simple words have been replaced by more complex ones.

The classic Tamil which was in usage in south India and the present day Tamil are different in certain features. Most of those who are proficient in present dayTamil are unable to read and appreciate the "Sanka literature" (Classic literature). The vocabulary and in a less degree the structure   of Tamil language have been changed. A number of classic words lost by present dayTamil are found in other Dravidian languages. (Sivasekaram, 1993)

The fact that Tamil which is used presently is a modern form of classic language and the changes occurring in it are historically significant cannot be refuted.

All scholars including language purists admit that new words and new phrases are necessary for the development of Tamil. Opinions differ only in creating these new words. Creating new words based on the Tamil roots to meet the needs of the modern society will be practically impossible and harmful to the development of the language. (Sivasekaram, 1993) Therefore discussion on formulating new words based on the foreign language borrowings would be beneficial in this context.

Language purism at its intense stage emerged into Tamil purist movement and this movement was founded by Marai Malai Adikal, a Tamil genius. The advocates of this movement maintained that grammatical purism and language purism should be preserved. It is pointed out that Tamil would perish due to the mixing of foreign language elements. The following remarks are worth quoted here.

"Unless Sanskrit words are banned in Tamil, Tamil will lose its uniqueness and grow deviated from its original form. Addition of foreign language words toTamil causes the disappearance of many Tamil words from usage" (Somale, 1956, P 71).

Tamilization of Foreign Language Words

No language borrows words from other languages without phonological deviations and the borrowed words are not assimilated with perfect phonological features of the native language.

At the same time foreign language sounds and sound clusters are borrowed by the native language. Due to the contact with Sanskrit letters ஜ(d3)ஸ(sa), (ʃa) and ஹ(ha) and their corresponding sounds have been borrowed in Tamil. These sounds are helpful in writing the borrowed names in English and other languages, in Tamil.

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Maraimalai Adikal's view that a language loses its purity due to the mixing of another language is unsound from socio linguistic point of view. In fact a language is further developed with expansion of its vocabulary due to its mixing with another language (Nuhman, 1993)

Borrowings

Due to the contact with other cultures, the objects and concepts of those who belong to those cultures are introduced in a community and consequently the words denoting such new objects and concepts find their way into the native tongue of that community.

Words like cycle, car, bus and lorry have been borrowed from English into Tamil. The usage of such words is indispensable in our day – today communication. There have been attempts to translate these words. The word cycle, was translated into Tamil as 'miṯivanti', 'i:turuli' and 'ṯuvit ʃakkaravanti' and bus was translated as 'pe:tunṯu'.

In spite of these translations, these words are still used in their original forms. The word lorry is pronounced as 'la:ri' in Tamil Nadu, India and as 'lori' in Sri Lanka.

Somale (1956) reported thus. "Information about a war cannot be conveyed without the use of words like 't æ:nki', 'vima:nam', 'petto:l', 'mo:ta:r', 'kuntu', 'pi:tanki' etc."

'vima:nam' – (Sanskrit)

'kuntu' – (Marati)

'pi:tanki' – (Portuguese)

These words are difficult to translate into Tamil.

Many scholars are of the opinion that Tamil Purist Movement is detrimental to language development. According to Vaiyapuripillai (1989), this movement resembles the trend of a civilized man turning out to be a savage. Kailasapathy (1986) commented that the effort to prevent Sanskrit mixing in Tamil is retrogressive.

When classic words or newly formulated technical terms are employed to replace the currently existing usage in a language on account of maintaining language purism, the difficulty of comprehending the ideas will arise. At this point, there will be a conflict between purism and simplicity of the language. Conflict is the result when new words or phrases are prevented by purists' concept, from entering the scope of Tamil (Annamalai, 1993,).

Seenivasan (1972) remarked that the poetic words in Tamil as referred to by Tolkapiyar, a renowned Tamil grammarian of the 4-5th century, are the 'iyat sol', 'ṯiti sol',

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'ṭisai sol' and 'vata sol'.

Among these, the vata sol refers to words which are borrowed from Sanskrit and ṭisai sol refers to words borrowed from all other languages, in Tamil. This reference indicates that there were foreign language words in the classic Tamil literature.

The foreign language words are received and used in a native language for lexical need purpose and for prestige motive. There is a general intendancy among the natives to imitate the language of the people whom they regard as a prestigious community. The following comments are notable in this context.

"People emulate those whom they admire in speech pattern as well as in other respects." (Hockett 1960, P 424.)

It's quite natural that when there are political changes in a country, words from rulers' language are received by the native language.

Many Sanskrit words have entered Tamil as a result of the admiration of Sanskrit literature. Particularly several Sanskrit words were borrowed in Tamil during the Pallawa's region in Tamil Nadu 6th – 9th century A.D.

Due to political influence, several Hindustani and English words have penetrated into Tamil.

There is always more probability for the foreign language words to be borrowed in the native language rather than the native words to be borrowed in the foreign language. There is greater concern and consciousness in speaking a foreign language correctly while there is little attention to the linguistic purism of the speaker's own language. Hence the mixing of foreign language words in the native language. This view is endorsed by the following comments.

"It is the not foreign language a nation learns that turns into a mixed language., but its own native language becomes mixed under the influence of a foreign language" (Jespersen, P . 208 quoted in Seenivasan, 1972).

Assimilation of English Words

Many English words have been assimilated in Tamil and used as if they are Tamil words. The English Veranda, Hospital, Bottle, Train, Bank, Tumbler, Tea and Hotel are assimilated and pronounced as kospital, rein, væ:nku, tamlar, ti: and o:tal respectively.

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Borrowings, Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

        Borrowing is quite different from code- switching and code- mixing. There has been much discussion on this issue among researchers. Hamers and Blanc (1989) stated that borrowing is generally limited to lexical units which are more or less well assimilated, but code-mixing transfers elements of all linguistic levels and units ranging from a lexical item to a sentence. Code-switching and code-mixing are strategies of the bilingual speaker whereas monolinguals practice borrowing in language contact situations. According to Ryes (1974), only single words that may be either morphologically adapted or not adapted are involved in borrowing but code-switching occurs at clearly discernible syntactic junctures. Haugen (1956) and Hasselmo (1970) commented that whatever the length of the item, if it has been adapted to the phonological and or morphological pattern of the language being spoken, it becomes a borrowing and if not it can be called code-switching. These comments are supported by Grosjean (1982) who stated "a code –switch can be of any length (a word, a phrase, a sentence) and is a complete shift to the other language, whereas a borrowing is a word or short expression that is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken."

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CHAPTER 2
THE BRITISH RULE AND THE DOMINANT
ROLE OF ENGLISH IN SRI LANKA

In this chapter, various measures taken by the British colonial rulers to impart English education among the Sri Lankan natives to obtain the assistance of the natives in their rule have been discussed. Because it has been the English education which caused the development of bilingualism in English and either of the national languages due to the contact of English with the national Languages of Sri Lanka including Tamil, and subsequently the presence of English borrowings in Tamil.

English Bilingualism in Sri Lanka

Bilingualism in English in South Asia developed vastly following the colonization by the British. The Colonization began in South Asia in the sixteenth century and the process went on vigorously throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as the British established their full political control in this region. The British strengthened their power in colonies and the English language also had a firm position there. Consequently it created an atmosphere where English L_2 speakers emerged in a large number though their competence of the language varied.

Queen Elizabeth-1 granted a charter to some merchants of London authorizing them to engage in trade with India and the East on 31st December 1600, and through such trade activities English penetrated into the Indian subcontinent. English bilingualism was introduced in Sri Lanka by the efforts of three distinct groups. They are the missionaries who arrived in the island for religious purposes, a small group of Lankans who desired to use English as a tool for scientific and material gain and the politicians who emphasized the need of English by their policies.

English Education in Colonial Ceylon

The educational activities accelerated by the British Colonial rulers and the consequent influence of the English language over the life of the natives of Sri Lanka are matters of interest.

On the 15th of February 1796, the colonial power of Sri Lanka came to the hands of the British. Many remarkable political and educational changes took place in Sri Lanka during the period from 1798- 1805, when the Hon. Frederic North was the governor. According to the educational policies adopted by North, the learning of English language by natives was given much importance and motivation and several measures were taken to impart English education. Two main categories of higher grade schools were established. One of them was founded in Colombo and called the Academy or seminary to provide the highest form of education. The other kind of such school was a little lower than the Academy in status and it was known as the preparatory school as the responsibility assigned to this kind of school was to impart instruction and prepare scholars for the entrance to the Academy. Those who qualified from these two categories of schools found opportunities in the government service.

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A good course in fundamental English education was made available for a period of eight years. English was included in the curriculum in the preparatory schools. Since the need of English was strongly felt in the government service, the sole aim of these schools was to well qualify candidates in English.

One of the major functions of the academy was to cater to the needs of the higher grade public service by preparing youths educated in English. Further the most intelligent students were selected from the academy and sent to England for further education. On their completion of study in England, they returned to the homeland and were placed in responsible government posts.

The following extract from the report submitted by the principal of the Academy on 1st April 1800 is evidence of the Enthusiasm shown by students in learning English.

In the Malarbar School, "The first class………..can repeat almost one thousand words of the English vocabulary and one hundred and fifty phrases in conversation. They read eight pages of the grammar and repeat about one thousand English words, spelt, pretty well……"

Teaching English together with the mother tongue of children was a notable feature of the academy.

North even declared that petitions only in English could be accepted from the general public. In connection with it, arrangements were made to assign students in the academy to translate petition from vernacular or even Dutch into English.

After the retirement of governor North, Sir Thomas Maitland assumed the position of governor on the 19th of July 1805. His administration lasted from 1805 to 1811 and the educational progress during this period was slow owing to economic reasons.

Sri Robert Brownrig was appointed Governor of the settlement on 10th March, 1812 and his administration lasted till 1820. His contribution to the promotion of education was remarkable. It's worth mentioning that it was during his time, a printing press was established in Colombo for educational and religious publications. As great educational activities, Charity schools, Sunday schools and the introduction of the monitorial system came into being during his administration.

Among the educational reforms, attempts to bring the native youths from interior villages to the academy to provide English education were included. It was intended to popularise English education among the natives.

Brownrig being fascinated by the significant changes which took place in the sphere of education in England was eager to implement similar schemes in Sri Lanka. One of the new methods he wanted to experiment in Sri Lanka was the monitorial system, a successful educational system recommended by Dr. Bell.

He introduced this system in some of the schools established by him with the hope of obtaining pupil- teachers for imparting the English language among natives. Of course, the cry for English education originated in his time as his activity encouraged the study of English.

As the Kandyan kingdom was captured by the British on the 11th of February 1815, this British administration was expanded further and as a result, an increasing need for the government translations in English arose. This led to the attempts to popularize the English

language in the island. As stated previously Brownrig's plan to bring natives from the districts to be educated at the academy started working successfully. By 1816, thirty Sinhalese, ten Tamil and forty Portuguese children were found receiving English education in the academy in Colombo.

The implementation of the monitorial system as referred to earlier, was another factor for the spread of English education. This system was tried out in a school set up for the children of the soldiers and the progress recorded was quite satisfactory. The following is an extract of the report of Brownrig to the home government, about the progress of the school.

At present I am …….. Prepared to state to your Lordship, that the number of children already received to the school exceeds one hundred …….. the plan of education is Dr. Bell's system……. the establishment will in a short time produce pupils capable of assisting in the general & most desirable object of propagating the English language among the rising generations of the natives" (Brownrig, quoted in Ruberu, 1962, P.136).

The role of Missionaries in imparting English Education

Brownrig extended his invitation to the Wesleyan Missionaries to teach English. A team of four Wesleyan Missionaries arrived in the island for the first time in 1814 and they were paid generously by Brownrig for their service of teaching the native Headmen and their children to acquire knowledge of the English language.

The different Missionaries functioning in the country differed in attitude towards the use of English in the schools established by them. The American Missionaries who preferred to have their permanent residence in Jaffna insisted on the teaching of English. It was stated in the prospectus of the proposed Mission college that the main objective of the college was "to give native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language." This Mission put its policy into practice in the schools it established in Jaffna.

The medium of instruction in these schools was English. The mission emphasized the teaching of English so that the native youths could acquire the knowledge of European sciences and Literature. Furthermore the mission felt that by obtaining a good number of English educated scholars, important English books could be translated into the native language by these scholars.

May be the expected outcome and progress in the teaching of English in the schools maintained by the missions other than the American Mission were unsatisfactory. Though the missionaries attached to these missions were immensely keen in making the process of English teaching a success, the lack of fund hindered their activities. The teaching of English involved a great experience since foreign teachers were to be employed in the teaching profession.

The following extract serves as an evidence of the recognition of the importance of English and of the inadequacy of the funds experienced by these missionaries.

"The English language is introduced into as many schools as the limited nature of funds will admit and it would be desirable to increase the number of English schools the advantages resulting from such instructions being very great; but it is not merely the acquisition of English which is to be looked to. though that so of great importance; but in

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school where English is taught it is necessary to appoint a man not only with the English language but also with European ideas, and modes of thinking and acting and rudiments of other branches of useful knowledge"

What could be gathered from this extract is that it was the intention of the missionaries not only to impart the English education but nurture the children in an English culture also.

The American Mission paid excellent attention to the progress of education in Jaffna. It established schools at Vaddukkoddai, Tellippalai, Uduvil, Pandaththarippu and Manippai. The Central day schools were one of the three categories of schools founded by the mission. There were central Day schools in the stations of Vaddukkoddai, Uduvil, and Manippai. The students attending these schools were seventy five in 1832. English was taught in all these Central Day schools.

Another category of schools run by the American Mission was the charity Boarding schools and English was a compulsory subject in these schools. The objective in running these schools is clearly reflected in a letter written by the missionaries to the Colebrook commission. According to this letter, more than 180 lads and youths were learning in these schools and the teaching of English was the main concern. The charity schools were intended to popularize English education and prepare teaching personal to teach the natives.

Later on the mission decided to set up an institution for providing higher education and the objectives of the proposed institution were stated in the prospectus entitled, "Statement concerning a mission college for Tamil and other youths in Jaffna" which was published in advance. The emphasis on the teaching of English was clearly laid down in it.

The higher institution founded at Vaddukkoddai in the Jaffna district was known as the Batticotta seminary and Gabriel Tissara, a well qualified native was the tutor in English and Tamil. In addition there were assistant teachers. As noted earlier, the American Mission was eager to promote the English education and the following extract supports this fact.

"There is no other way of opening to the mind of youth channels of knowledge so pure and full as are opened by communicating in early youth beginning even in childhood a thorough acquaintance with the English language …… with a good knowledge of English they may transfer much of the learning of the west in to the language of the East. But unless a large class of good English scholars are raised up from among the natives from which quarter our teachers, translators & native authors to be produced, how is European Science to be brought" (Colonial Office Records P,104, Letter of Barnes to Secretary to State, 11 March, 1829 Quoted in Ruberu,1962,P.197).

The curriculum of the seminary included English and the scientific course was mostly conducted in the English medium.

The Academy or the seminary in Colombo was a Government school system. This seminary had two English teachers and in the instruction in reading and writing English was given importance. It is the only Government institution which provided English teaching.

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The Establishment of Private Schools

Another significant feature in the educational progress during the period of Brownig was the establishment of private educational institutions. A number of private English schools were set up. In fact, it was the growing demand for English education that caused the emergence of the private English schools. The period between 1812 and 1825 witnessed the development of many private English schools in Colombo. Individuals who ran these schools charged fee from pupils for providing English education. In May 1818, a private boarding school was set up by Mr. William Taylor. The school curriculum included English language, Grammar, Reading and other subjects.

People realized the value of English by 1818 and they openly expressed their demand for an English education. Subsequently there was the growth of private schools. Most of the students in the private schools were males because the parents were convinced of having employment opportunities for their sons through English education. Females were deprived of the employment opportunities then. As the government could not afford financially to provide a full fledge English education, the private schools came into being. Forty boys were attending four private schools at Nallur in Jaffna. The significant feature of the private schools was that they were totally secular.

The Advent of the Colebrook Commission

Colebrook and his secretary Gregory arrived in Sri Lanka on 11th of April 1829. Charles Hay Cameron arrived in Sri Lanka on 27th of April, 1830 to assist Colebrook. As a barrister Cameron took the responsibility of reporting on the judicial system and legal procedures while Colebrook on the general administration and the educational reforms. On the recommendation of the Colebrook commission, English was made the medium of instruction in government schools.

To facilitate the administrative procedures, the knowledge of English was felt to be a must among those who were to be involved in the administration. Further it was expected that the natives could be in good affinity with the rulers through English. The anxiety of the natives to gain social and economic prospects was also a factor which motivated the commission to insist on the English education.

On the recommendation of the commission, an avenue of public service to native people was opened. All the dealings in this avenue were carried out in English. It motivated the natives to learn English in order to qualify themselves for finding higher employment opportunities.

English became the state language and the Government schools which hitherto had been conducted in the vernacular were converted in to English schools. The school masters in Government schools had to be appointed on the recommendation of the commission and naturally the commission recommended only those who had a good competence in the English language. In this manner English was made the medium of instruction in Government schools. It was a deliberate attempt of the commission to insist that the school masters should possess English knowledge in order to replace the vernacular by English. It was cited that out of over 12,000 children under instruction those who are taught the English language does not exceed 800. Hence the commission's proposal to convert the government schools into English schools.

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The Role Played by the National Languages

While English had a prominent place in administrative and the Courts, native languages had the place only in the domestic spheres and particularly in their transaction with people in inferior positions. English was the language of those who borrowed the culture, civilization, norms and other values of the rulers and adopted them in life to differentiate them from others in the society and establish themselves as a prestigious group. The native languages were relegated to insignificance. English educated men enjoyed the privilege of entering into the civil service and professions. The snobbery associated with the English education was strengthened by economic and class considerations. High fees were charged by English medium schools and vernacular schools were free. Thus the English educated people were usually the members of the wealthy section of the society whereas the vernacular educated people were the ordinary poor masses. The vernacular educated men had the access only for the lower levels of the occupations.

The Position Occupied by National Languages in Education

The Government subsidized heavily the education in English schools. The total number of English schools in 1939 was 336 and the number of pupils attending these schools was 80,381. The Government spent Rs. 25.08 a year in respect of bilingual schools and Rs. 18.70 a year in respect of vernacular schools.

Despite the outstanding influence of the English language, there was the growing awareness among some of the natives of the country about the indispensable need of the mother tongue to be used as the medium of instruction. To ensure the achievement of educational goals, it was felt that education be made available in the natural way. i.e through the mother tongue.

The proposal that the medium of instruction be the mother tongue underwent severe criticism. The detrimental effects of this proposal were pointed out by some educationists and the English educated elite in Ceylon. It was argued that the English medium education was a must as English was the vehicle of "Mutual intelligibility" between Communities.

On the other hand some leading personalities like Anagarika Darmapala, and D..B. Jeyatileke appealed to cultivate Sinhala and some experts who visited the island to study education suggested improvements in the educational system and some Directors of Education were of the firm opinion that the absence of the vernacular teaching in school was educationally harmful. Consequently in 1939 vernacular languages were introduced as compulsory subjects at examinations for government jobs and the teaching of the vernacular languages was thus geared.

The 'Swabasha' movement gained momentum especially among the teaching professionals. The Northern Province Teachers Association and its counterpart in the South strongly advocated this movement of educational reforms.

The NPTA and the Jaffna youth congress gave support to the 'Swabasha' movement. Two popular Newspapers 'The Hindu Organ' and the 'Morning Star' wrote editorials in support of the movement. The following is an excerpt from an article which appeared in the Hindu Organ.

"Until the language of the mother tongue is restored to its rightful place and the rulers are assigned the position of a window in the scheme of education, nothing of permanent value

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can be created. A century of English education with a vengeance has created only a race of snobs whose ecstasies over their pettifogging ways knows no limit."

C.W.W. Kannankara, the Minister of education during the Donoughmore period was the one of the leading proponents of the 'Swabasha' movements. W. Dahanayake who was also a protagonist of this movement remarked.

"What is it that the English education had done to us? It has impeded the natural development of each individual of this country. Knock out English from the pedestal it occupies there on our Sinhalese & Tamil Languages and we shall soon be a free race."

As the Swabasha movement gained support from various circles, measures were taken to teach Sinhalese as a second language in the North and Southern provinces. S.O Canakaratnam, the Tamil member for Batticaloa South, moved a resolution in the State Council, in 1937 that teaching of Sinhala in Tamil schools and Tamil in Sinhala schools be made compulsory.

Sinhala classes were conducted in schools in 1938. The Hindu Board of Education took the initiative to conduct Sinhala classes for Tamil teachers also. The NPTA passed a unanimous resolution in 1938 that the teaching of Sinhala and Tamil be made compulsory in all government schools in Sri Lanka. The resolution was openly recognized by the Jaffna youth congress in 1939.

In the late 1930s, a movement was organized in the south to promote the learning of Tamil among the Sinhalese. A series of Tamil classes for pupils up to the fifth standard were conducted at Ananda College, a leading Buddhist Boys' school and the teachers too were taught Tamil in 1939.

The Position of National Languages in Administrations

In 1934, at a political meeting, a motion that the members of the civil and clerical services, Justice of the peace and Lawyers should reach a certain standard in Sinhala and Tamil and Lawyers be allowed to conduct trials in Sinhala or Tamil was passed and in 1935, motions urging that Sinhala and Tamil be made the language of administration and the Courts were passed.

Today the medium of instruction in all government educational institutions including universities in Sri Lanka is the mother tongue of students. Amendments were made then and on to the official language policy and Sinhala and Tamil are made the official languages. All these glorious changes are the outcome of the agitation and sacrifices of the patriots of the Country.

The Current Status of Sri Lankan English

English has attained the status of both intranational and international language. People with English knowledge are distributed in each district of Sri Lanka. English newspapers namely the Daily News, Sunday Leader, Week End Express etc…. are published in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. English is the language of the judicial system. It is also the prime language in Parliamentary proceedings and a compulsory language of most of the public examinations of higher study courses like M.BA and CIMA. The degree programs in Engineering and medicine are conducted in the English medium in Universities. South Asian English should not be considered in terms of linguistic homogeneity or of a uniform linguistic

competence. Several regional varieties including Lankan English are covered by this term. The educated South Asian English are basically of two sub varieties namely the Pidgin English and the Standard English.

The sub varieties and registers are concerned with language function. Sri Lanka comprises communities which are ethnically and linguistically pluralistic and therefore the role of English should be related to this type of pluralistic characteristic. English was used as a link language during the colonial era and it still continues to play the same role. The functions of English can be categorized into four major types viz. instrumental, regulative, interpersonal and creative. The instrumental function refers to the use of English as the medium of instruction at various stages of education. The use of English in the legal system and administration is referred to as the regulative function. In the interpersonal function, English provides a code of communication to linguistically and culturally diverse groups. As a part of the influence of English, a significant body of South Asian English writing had emerged in which the natives have displayed their innovative skills.

This new body of English writing emerged in Sri Lanka also. The native Sri Lankans produced English works including Algu Subramanian's which were highly appreciated by the local reading population, because in these works there is a blend of local culture and life style. Among the Sinhala writers Edirwira Sarachchandra, Sri Gunasinghe, Punyakanti Wijenaike and Gunadasa Amarasekara are some of the leading personalities. Gradually the English writings by the Sri Lankan natives influenced the literatures of the national languages also. Consequently the fiction, poetry and drama in Tamil also experienced new genres. Today it's very rare to find writings in Tamil which are free from the inclusion of English borrowing.

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CHAPTER 3
LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BORROWING

The contact of Tamil with English in Sri Lanka, the subsequent development of bilingualism and the presence of English borrowings in Tamil, are studied in this chapter. The analysis in this chapter is restricted to English borrowing occurring only in the speech of Tamils since borrowings in literature are studied in the last chapter of this volume.

Language Contact

Contact between languages is a historical necessity and the subsequent mutual influence of languages contributes immensely to linguistic development. The extension of trade, advancement of science and technology and vast improvement of communication strategies bring languages into contact. When one or more languages come into contact, they tend to react more or less upon one another. Based on this truth, according to certain philologists there is no language which is free from being a mixed language in certain respects.

The domination of one language over the other and its status heavily depend on the speech community concerned. The political situation plays a great role here. Because of the patriotic feeling or of the inclination towards independence certain people may oppose the influence of one language and uphold and develop the other.

Following the adoption of English language as the administrative language and as the medium of instruction in Sri Lanka around, 1832, Sinhala and Tamil national movements emerged to revive the native languages. Origin of these movements was primarily political and the chief motive was to free the natives from the traditional enemy- the influence of English.

Although political reasons governed the rivalry of English and the native languages to great extent, religious feelings too increased the resisting power of the native's languages. The native Sinhalese and Tamil patriots determined not to sacrifices their mother tongues and adopt that of a conqueror that they despised. They took all efforts to preserve their mother tongues. However English the Language of the oppressor was still used for administrative purposes. It can be speculated how difficult the Sinhala and Tamil ethnic communities have found it to keep up the integrity of their languages alongside of English. Employees and domestic staff spoke English with their employers. In towns a constant exchange of business was carried on and tourists were continuously coming and going. English became the common or standard language.

Some Views on Mixed Languages

According to Vendryes certain philologists are of the view that all languages are more or less mixed languages. Languages get mixed when they are in contact. In the view of some

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philologists, mixed languages generally seem to be examples of worn- out languages. The reciprocal influence of the languages in contact ultimately results in mutual loss. (Vendryes, p. 281, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P.115). The following example is often cited. In Caucasus, a considerable mixture of language is found. The prime reason for the vast degeneration of these languages is exactly the influence of their neighbors. In the south –east part of Daghestan, on both banks of the Samur River, a series of dialects belonging to the Kurine group of languages is found. These languages have lost their vigour by the flood of American and Tartar. Their area too has been restricted. (Hymes, 1974, P .86)

In 1819, Grimm, a renowned scholar maintained that contact of languages inevitably led to the loss of their grammar. When a language is used in a foreign country, it is subjected to be exposed to many and varied influences. Ultimately it loses its individual characteristic more rapidly than other languages. (Christina Bratt Paulston, Mary Newton and Bruder, 1976, P.92). Because of this linguistic state of affair, there have been instances which demand the establishment of a common language. It results into the formation of a mixed speech which can serve as a common language. Sabir which is a mixture of French, Spanish, Greek, and Italian and Arabic is used in the Mediterranean parts. Particularly these languages have lent their vocabulary in the Far East and broken English used by the natives of Sierra Leone are examples for mixed languages.

The following quotation is worth mentioning in this context. "Certain philologists have even gone so far as to say that there is no language which is not in certain respects a mixed language". (Vendryes. Language, P. 281. As quoted by Varatharajan. P. 93)

Every Language has to borrow a considerable number of words which are technical terms. Protest against such borrowings does not arise because those who deal with technical terms are not many in number and they realize the importance of technical terms in their specific usage also. It should be admitted that in contexts which do not require technical terms, the deliberate insertion of foreign language words is undesirable. It's equally undesirable to insert foreign language words while words with equivalent meanings are available in the native language itself. It should also be borne in mind that it is extremely difficult to project a language devoid of borrowings.

When borrowing occurs between two languages which are equally influential, both languages will exit. If one language is more dominant than the other, the more dominant language will flourish and the other will deteriorate. In Europe following the mixing of Armenian with Russian, the Armenian language declined in status. In Ireland in spite of the vast extend of mixing of English, the Irish language still thrives. Even though Germans and the French settled in the USA, their native languages vanished and only English is surviving. If one language has both oral tradition and script tradition and the other has not the oral tradition, the former will borrow more words than the latter. This is the reason for the existence of more number of Vatamoli words in Tamil which has both oral and script traditions and for the existence of less number of Tamil words in Vatamoli. The same reason is applicable for the presence of greater number of English borrowing in Tamil and the less number of Tamil borrowings in English because during the British rule in Sri Lanka,

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communication and correspondence in administrative, educational, socio economic and cultural affairs were mostly carried out through various forms of English materials compared to oral means.

Language Modification

Languages are modified in various levels daily. Some languages get modified naturally and others purposefully. Due to changes and developments in a society, new language elements are added to respective languages every day. Both in speech and writing language components multiply. The existing components of a language may be either expanded or contracted depending on the social environment. In some instances, traditional grammatical rules are abandoned or they are simplified. In some other cases, technical terms and other language components are either expanded or contracted. Thus language planning is carried out to develop language resource and language skills.

Bilingualism

Language is said to be the property of a group and bilingualism is the property of the individual. The use of two languages by an individual indicates the existence of two different language communities. The bilingual community consists of bilingual individuals with reasons for being individuals. The existence of different monolingual communities results in the contact between them and such contact leads to the state of bilingualism. (Macket, 1968)

Many different definitions of bilingualism have been given by researches. Bloomfield defined bilingualism as the "native like control of two languages"(1933,P 56). This definition implies the idea of balanced bilingualism. In contrast to this definition, Macnamara (1969) stated that a bilingual is anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, i.e listening, speaking, reading and writing a language other than his mother tongue. Hamers &Blanc (1989) reported that between these two extremes one encounters a whole array of definitions. According to the Webster's Dictionary (1961) bilingual is defined as "having or using two languages especially as spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker; a person using two languages especially habitually and with control like that of a native speaker' and bilingualism as 'the constant oral use of two languages'.

All these definitions range from a native-like competence in two languages to a minimal proficiency in a second language. A number of theoretical and methodological difficulties involve in these definitions. These definitions do not specify what is meant neither by native competence which may vary even within a unilingual population nor by minimal proficiency in a second language, nor by obeying the concepts and structure of that second language (Hamers and Blanc 1989, P 7).

In consideration of the dimension of bilingual competence, a distinction has been made between a balanced bilingual and a dominant bilingual. A balanced bilingual is a person who has equal competence in his native language and a second language. A dominant

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bilingual is the one who has greater competence in one of the languages, usually in the mother tongue. (Lambert, 1955, Quoted in Hamers and Blanc 1989, P.8)

The function of each language determines the degree of its proficiency. In other words language proficiency depends on the uses of the language by the individual & the condition under which it is used. These functions may be external or internal.

The external functions of bilingualism depend on the amount of contact and on the variations of the area of contact in duration, frequency and pressure. The language usage of the home, the community, the school and the electronic and printed media may be the area of contact through which the language proficiency can be acquired by an individual. (Mackey, 1968).

Home Language

In some families of elite group, a private tutor may be engaged to teach children English. There may be some other families in which one of the parents may be proficient in English, a second language and English becomes to be used as one of the two home languages. Even in some other families one of the parents makes it a habit of speaking to the child in one language. For instance, the mother sticks to Tamil and the father English, when talking with the child. These are different situations prevailing in families which induce bilingualism.

Community Language

The opportunities an individual can have to develop bilingualism include the languages spoken in his neighborhood, ethnic group, occupation group and recreation group.

The active role of an individual in the social life of his ethnic group may motivate him to maintain his other languages, which may be English.

Language of occupation group and recreation group

The occupation an individual holds and the members of his recreation group may oblige him to use English. The language used in correspondence or any other form of communication in the office where one is employed may be English. Or the language spoken in club meeting such as the meeting of Lion's Club and Rotary Club in connection with his recreation activities may be English.

Schools, Universities and other educational institutes play a vital role in developing bilingualism. In all the government and private schools English is taught as a second language. In the science and medical faculties of the universities, the medium of instruction is almost English. The medium of instruction of most of the private courses conducted by institutes is strictly English.

Besides, there is the frequent service of private teachers teaching English. Some families engage private teachers to teach their children English with prestige motive. Finally

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there is the individual who improves knowledge of English through self instruction. The process of self instruction includes reading English materials and listening to English programmes on the electronic media.

The electronic media like the radio, television, the cinema and recordings and the press media like Newspapers, magazines and books have great influence on the individual in his being a bilingual. Regular habit of watching programs held in English or reading materials printed in English would certainly enhance one's knowledge of English. Reading is regarded as a very effective way for improving the knowledge of a foreign language since the access to reading materials is the most available.

An individual may develop bilingualism by regularly corresponding in English on various purposes including business, penfriendship etc.

Duration

The duration of language contact determines the extent of the influence of the language on the bilingualism of the individual. For instance, the competence in English of an individual who has spent more years in an English speaking country may be greater than that of another individual who has spent relatively fewer years there.

Pressure

The economic, administrative, political, cultural, military, historical, religious or demographic factors may demand the individual to use a particular language.

In case of some private sector firms, English proficiency is a must for recruiting employees. Men seeking economic prosperity through employment in private firms endeavour to achieve the required level of English proficiency.

In certain state administrative departments, employees are expected to possess a good knowledge of English.

For cultural reasons an educated person is expected to be fluent in one or more foreign languages. Greek and Latin were the cultural languages of the educated Europeans one time. In Sri Lanka English language has been cultural language.

The use of English is maintained by pressures of political circumstance. Political prestige of the super powers in the world may have led to this situation. Under the British Colonial rule, English was given much prominence in political, administrative, economic, social, cultural and trade activities. Though the national languages have been duly recognized for official purposes at present, English still enjoys its established prestige in Sri Lanka.

The language which the bilingual must learn and the extent to which he must learn them may depend on the past historical experience. The status of English in Sri Lank is attributable to the historical role of Great Britain in this country.

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A bilingual may master English language for religious purpose also. In Christian seminaries, the clergy may be required to learn English compulsorily. Thus the members of clergy attached to the Christian Church are considerably bilinguals.

The maintenance of the languages of the bilinguals depends on the number of persons he comes into contact. However together with the number, the distribution too should equally be taken into consideration. The native speakers of some languages other than English are greater in number than that of English. Yet English has a greater distribution and it is used as official and administrative languages in many parts of the world. In Sri Lanka too, English still enjoys the administrative language in some government departments and private institutions.

Contact and Interference

The language contact may cause structural changes in one or both of the languages concerned and this tendency of changing the structure is termed as interference. In other words the violation of the norms of any of the languages involved by the individual in his speech as a result of languages contact is known as interference. Interference may result in rearrangement of the definite organized structure of a language from the introduction of foreign elements such as phonemic system, morphology and syntax and certain part of vocabulary.

The learning problems and the amount of interference depend on similarities of the languages in contact. Accordingly the extent of interference may vary whereas the mechanism of interference remains the same between any languages.

In addition to similarities or dissimilarities between languages that are in contact, there are non-linguistic or non- structural factors which have some influence, as follows. (Weinreich, 1979: P3)

1. The speaker's mastery of oral skills of the languages and his ability to handle two languages independently.
2. Relative proficiently in each language.
3. Mastery of either language by topics and interlocutors.
4. Manners of learning each language.
5.   Attitudes towards each language, whether idiosyncratic or stereotyped.
6. Attitudes towards the culture of each language community.
7. Attitudes towards bilingualism.
8. Tolerance or intolerance with regard to the mixing of languages and to incorrect speech in each language.
9. Relation between each of the language communities.

Language contact is one aspect of Cultural contact. Due to Cultural diffusion and acculturation interference may occur. For the better understanding between language contact and culture, anthropologists, psychologists and linguists should work together.

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Process of Borrowing

Due to the changes in the physical, political, economic, social and cultural environment, a need arises for new meanings and such need is met by extension or the transfer of the already existing words of a language. However there may be a great demand for new words as well. The chief sources of new words are borrowing, derivation, compounding and clipping. Borrowing is the most important source of the new words. A considerable part of the present day Jaffna Tamil vocabulary is made up of borrowed words. It is true that the core of the Tamil vocabulary including the function words dealing with fundamental and relatively unchanging realities remains native.

Karunakaran's (2011) comment in this context that the total vocabulary of an individual is not constant at any age and time and it is subjected to change, is quite relevant.

With regard to the element to be borrowed, the following comments are appropriate in this context.

"There are degrees of kind as well as of extent in the process of borrowing. What is most easily taken out for the stores one language to be added to those of another is the names and epithets of things, nouns and adjectives; verbs, much less easily; particles hardly at all apparatus of derivation prefixes and suffixes of inflection, ending of declension and conjunction, least of all" (Whitney, , P119 quoted in Varatharajan, P 123-124)

In case of Jaffna Tamil, English nouns, verbs and adjectives only are used as borrowing. For Example, English nouns like Bulb, Tape, Pipe Envelop etc are borrowing in their assimilated forms as valppu, te:ppu, 'paippu', envalappu etc respectively.

English verbs like Close, Type Weld etc are used as borrowings in the assimilated forms as kulo:s taippu, veltu etc respectively.

The use of new objects brings new words to languages. If a language has a specialized field of knowledge, we borrow words from that language when we gain the specialized field of knowledge. A country may have contact with another for political, religious or trade reasons. The epic of Manimekalai is evidence of the entry of Samana and Buddhist words into Tamil.

It's worth mentioning the following statement at this juncture.

"One reason for this extensive borrowing is the fact that the particular circumstances favoring it have existed frequently in the history of English. The chief of these is language contact that is the presence in close geographical, political, and economic proximity making use of different languages." (Francis, 1964, P. 132)

The language from which words are borrowed is called the donor language and the language receiving words, the borrowing language. As languages are concerned the borrowed word needn't to be returned to the donor language. Besides the donor language does not lose

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any aspect while borrowing languages may undergo changes to some extent. Prestige motive and need filling motive are generally attributed to borrowing.

One of the reasons of borrowing words from other languages is that the particular circumstances favoring it have prevailed very often. The chief of them is the language contact. Bilingualism the inevitable result for language contact may be of various kinds and it ranges from the complete and approximately equal use of two languages for both speaking and writing for almost all purposes to the limited use of a second language for certain purposes such as scholarship, diplomacy, religion etc. In most cases one language seems to be dominant and it is usually the first language of the bilingual and the one used for day –to – day activities.

As developing countries like Sri Lanka are concerned, owing to the slow development in the scientific and technological disciplines these countries heavily depend on the western nations which are developed for materialistic needs. Consequently a large number of articles including instruments, equipment, spare parts etc are imported into the developing nations. Most of the names of these goods have become borrowings in these countries.

In case of English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil, almost all the borrowings are nouns. There are very limited number of borrowings which verbs, like 'test' (test), join (Join), kanaik (Connect), peint (Paint), veld (Weld), pætʃu (Patch), etc. Most of these verb borrowings are used by mechanics.

'Larger amount of borrowing is from the dominant language into the second language. But the bilingual speaker may use a word from his second language to fill what may be a gap in the lexical system of his dominant or native languages or a gap in his own knowledge of it'. (Nelson Francis, 1963, P. 132)

The above quotation has much relevance to the Sri Lankan English bilingual.

The mere contact of two languages is not supposed to lead to the situation in which one language borrows elements from the other language. Two conditions are essential for the borrowing to occur. The meaning of the borrowed word should be comprehended by the person intending to adopt it in his language or he should convincingly assume as he has comprehended it.

The bilingual speaker may be compelled to use a word from the second language to fill the gap in the lexicon of his native tongue. If the borrowed word is taken up by other speakers, it becomes an addition to the semology of the total language. Or else it may be used as a synonym for an already existing word. Words like 'Torch' and 'concrete' have no Tamil equivalents. Words like 'Harbor' and 'Light house' exist together with their with their Tamil equivalents 'ṭuraimukam' and 'Velitʃa vi:tu', respectively.

Hudson stated that one language borrows terms from another language not only for the fact borrowing language lacks such terms. But due to the contact of the foreign language,

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terms infiltrate into the borrowing language causing changes in it and not in the donor language. The borrowing of certain items takes place only under the condition of large scale bilingualism and the borrowing of some other kind of items occurs under the condition of large scale monolinguals. It is the basic vocabulary of a language which is subjected to borrowing under the former condition and the vocabulary for artifacts which is subject to borrowing under the latter condition.

As long as a borrowed word is used only by bilingual speakers, its foreign quality is preserved by them, especially in pronunciation.

Soon after a borrowed word is used by monolinguals, its sound system is adapted to the native tongue. Within a generation or two of its first use, the fact that the word is a borrowed one is forgotten by monolinguals. From then on the process of change in pronunciation and meaning as well will not be different from that of native words.

Sanskrit Borrowings in Tamil

In Sri Lankan Tamil as in the Indian Tamil, a good number of words borrowed are from Sanskrit. Sanskrit has been in close contact with Tamil since the age of Tholkapia, a great grammarian. A large number of Sanskrits words are found in Sanga literature. Following examples can be cited in this respect.

Words	Literature
a: ti (beginning)	kuruntohai
d₃ a: mam(Midnight)	kalitohai
aram (Ethical deed)	kalitohai
amiltam(Celestial food)	tirumuruhattupatai
intiran(Lord of Devas)	cilappatika: ram
pa:vanai(Gesture)	manimekalai
ati(a woman of low caste)	tirukkural
pahava:n (Abhramin)	tirukkural
kamalam(loutus)	patipa:tal

In the 11th century A.D, the Manippiravala style, a language form with Tamil and Sanskrit words being mixed, came into being. In the 20th century also, the use of Sankrit words can be observed in the poetry of Parathy.

The following set of Tamil sentences is an example of *manippiravala* style in which Sanskrit words are mixed.

"Λm mænitan puʃpankalai koitu mavnama:ha iraivanai panintan. pin ci:kitama:ha avan veliye:ri cenra:n".

("The man plucked flowers and silently prayed to God. Then he left quickly)

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In the above example, the underlined words pujpankal (Flowers) mavnama:ha (Silently) and ci:kitama:ha (Quickly) are Sanskrit words in their inflected forms.

Literatures including the above mentioned ones are used as texts in government schools and universities in Sri Lanka. Besides large volumes of Indian Tamil journals and magazines containing a considerable number of Sanskrit words are read in Sri Lanka. Hence the mixing of Sanskrit words is found in Sri Lankan Tamil. Several Sanskrit words are used by Sri Lankan Tamils in speech colloquially as well as literally and in writing today. Following are examples of such words.

Sanskrit	**Tamil**	
• manṯra	manṯitam	(Hymn)
• kaviṯa:	kaviṯai	(Poetry)
• va:sa	va:sam	(Living)
• va:ta	Va:tam	(Week)
• putuʃa	Putuʃan	(Male)
• nimitṯa	nimitṯam	(Good omen)

Portuguese and Dutch Borrowings in Tamil

Following the arrival of Portuguese and Dutch in Sri Lanka by 1543 and by 1650 respectively, their languages too came into contact with Tamil via political, educational and legal procedures mainly. Consequently some Portuguese and Dutch words infiltrated into Tamil.

Portuguese	**Tamil**	
• ko:ppo:	ko:ppai	(Cup)
• sappa:to	cappa:tṯu	(Shoe)
• toaltha	ṯuva:i	(Towel)

	katuṯ a:si	(Paper)
	va: ṯṯu	(Duck)
	aluma:ti	(Almirah)
Original Portuguese words for these derivations are not known	ca:vi	(Key)
	a:ya:	(Nanny)
	anna:si	(Pine apple)
	sannal	(Window)

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Dutch	Tamil
▪ Fiscal	piska:l
▪ Advocate	appuka:ttu
▪ Balkje	ba: ʃa:
▪ Appeal	æppi:l

Original words are not known. { kΛkku:s (Lavatory)

ula:nṭa: (Surveyor)

English Borrowing in Tamil

Following the arrival of the British in Sri Lanka in 1796, many English words have been borrowed into Tamil.

In a survey related to the use of English vocabulary in the Jaffna Tamil, Karunakaran, (2011) endorsed that the majority of the subjects revealed that they use English borrowings in their day-to-day interactions.

The following is the list of some English borrowings in Tamil as per the observation of the author of this volume.

English Words	Assimilated Forms
● Accident	aksitentu
● Accountant	akkavuntan
● Acre	əikar
● Aero plane	əro:ppilen
● Agent	e:d₃entu
● Aids	eids
● Airport	eya:po:ttu
● Album	ΛlvΛm
● Aluminum	æluminiyam
● Amen	a:men
● Antenna	æntena
● Apothecary	apo: ṭikæti
● Apple	Λppil
● Army	a:mi
● Arrest	ærestu
● Asthma	æsma
● Aunt	ænti
● Auto	o:to:

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- **Baby**   **bə:bi/ ve:vi**
- Bag   væ:kku
- Bakery   və:kkari
- Balcony   vælkani
- Bank   væ:nku
- Bankruptcy   vankuro: ṭu
- Barber   va:var
- Barrel   væræl
- Basin   veicin
- Basket   va:skæt/ pa:skæt
- Bath room   va: ṭru:m
- Beach   bi:tʃu
- Bell   vel/pel
- Bible   vaivil
- Bicycle   vaisikal
- Bill   vil/pil
- Biscuit   visukko: ṭu
- Bishop   visop
- Black market   vilæ:kma:kkat
- Blade   vileitu/pileitu
- Blender   vilæntær
- Blouse   vilaucu/pilaucu
- Blue film   vulu:pilim
- Board   po:tu
- Boarding   vo:tiŋ/p:tiŋ
- Body   voti
- Bomb   vom
- Bomber   vomper/pomper
- Brake   vireikku/pireikku
- Brandy   viranti/piranti
- Bulb   vælpu
- Business   visinæs
- Butter   pattar
- Bye   bai

- **Café**   **kavei**
- Cake   keikku
- Calendar   kælæntar
- Camera   kæmæra:

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- Camp   kæ:mpu
- Campus   kʌmpasu
- Can   kæ:n
- Cancer   kæ:ncer
- Canteen   kænti:n
- Canvas   kænvas
- Cap   kæp
- Car   ka:r
- Carrot   kætatu
- Carbon   ka:van
- Card   ka:ttu
- Cardboard   ka:tpo:ttu
- Carnival   ka:nival
- Carpenter   ka:ppentar
- Carpet   ka:ppetu
- Carrier   karriyal
- Caste   ka:stu
- Cement   ci:menṯu
- Certificate   cə:tipikkətu
- Chain   cein
- Chalk   co:kku
- Cheap   ci:pu
- Check   cəkku
- Cheese   ci:su
- Cheque   cəkku
- Chimney   cimini
- Chlorine   kulo:rin
- Chocolate   co:kiləttu
- Choke   co:ku
- Christmas   kirismasu
- Church   cə:t ʃu
- Cigarette   ci:kirætu
- Circus   cə:kasu
- Civil   civil
- Clerk   kila:kku
- Clinic   kilinikku
- Clip   kilippu
- Coat   ko:tu
- Coco   kokko:
- Coffee   ko:ppi

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- Cogwheel   kokkuvi:l
- Coil   ko:il
- Collar   kolar
- College   kolit ʃu
- Colony   kolani
- Colour   kalar
- Commission   komisan
- Company   kompæni
- Compass   kompa:su
- Computer   komputtar
- Concrete   konkiri: ṭṭu
- Conductor   kontʌktar
- Congress   konkirasu
- Cooker   kukkar
- Copy   koppi
- Cordial   ko:tiyal
- Coupon   ku:ppan
- Court   ko:tu
- Cover   kavar
- Cream   kiri:m
- Cricket   kirikættu
- Cross   kuros
- Cup   kʌppu
- Curfew   kə:viu
- Current   kærantu
- Cushion   kusan
- Customs   kastampsu
- Cycle   caikil

- **Dance**   **tæ:nsu**
- Deck   tekku
- Design   tisain
- Diary   tayari
- Dickey   tikki
- Diesel   ti:sal
- Dish   tis
- Divorce   tivo:su
- Doctor   toktær
- Double   tʌvil
- Dowry   tavuri
- Driver   raivar

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- **Elastic**   əla: ṭikku
- Election   let ʃæn/leksæn
- Enema   ənima:
- Engine   indȝin
- English   inkili:su
- Entry   enti
- Envelop   envalappu
- Eraser   re:sar
- Estate   este:tu

- **Fail**   **peil**
- Fan   pæ:n
- Father (Rev)   pa: ṭar
- Film   pilim
- Firing   payarinku
- Flask   pila:sku
- Force   po:s
- Foreign   porin
- Free   piri:
- Full   pul
- Funnel   punæl

- **Gallon**   **kælæn**
- Galvanize   kælvanaisu
- Garage   kæra:t ʃu
- Gate   keitu
- Gear   kiyar
- Generator   cenare:tar
- Glass   kila:su
- Goal   ko:l
- Government   kavanme:nṭu
- Gram   kira:m
- Gravel   kiraval
- Grenade   kiraneitu

- **Halt**   **ko:ltu**
- Handle   kæ:ntil
- Hardware   ka:tvayar
- Headlight   ketlaitu

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- Heat   ki:t
- Heater   ki:tar
- Helicopter   kelikoptar
- Hurricane   atikkan
- Hello   kælo:

- **Ice**   **aisu**
- Identity card   aitiŋka:tu
- Inch   intʃi
- Iron   ayan

- **Jam**   **yæ:m**
- Jean   d₃i:n
- Jeep   yi:ppu
- Jet   d₃et
- Join   yoin
- Jug   yokku

- **Kettle**   **ke: ṭil**
- Kilo   kilo:

- **Lamp**   **la:mpu**
- Lavatory   lævæti
- Law   lo:
- Level   leval
- License   laisensu
- Lieutenant   leptinæn
- Left   leptu
- Light   laitu
- Lily   lili
- Line   lain
- Load   lo:ttu
- Local   lo:kæl
- Lock   lokku
- Loose   lu:su
- Lorry   lori
- Love   lΛv

- **Machine**   **mesi:n**
- Mail   meyil

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- Malaria   mælætiya
- Manager   mænetʃær
- Marble   ma:vil
- Market   ma:kattu
- Maroon   matu:n
- Mass   ma:s
- Master   ma:star
- Match   mætʃu
- Mayer   meiyær
- Mental   mentæl
- Meter   mi:tar
- Metre   mi:tar
- Mill   mil
- Motor   mo:tar
- Muscle   masil

- **Net**   **nettu**
- News   niyu:s
- Nice   naisu
- Notice   no:ti:su
- Number   numpær
- Nurse   ne:su

- **Office**   **ovisu**
- Ounce   avunsu
- Overseer   o:vasiyær
- Orange   oreintʃu
- Orator   ore:tar

- **Packet**   **pækketu**
- Paint   peintu
- Paper   pe:pær
- Parachute   pæræsu:tu
- Parallel   pætælæl
- Parcel   pa:sal
- Pass   pa:su
- Passport   pa:spo:ttu
- Pedal   petal
- Pen   pe:nai

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- Pencil   pentʃil
- Pension   pentʃan
- Peon   pi:o:n
- Permit   pə:mitu
- Photo   po:to:
- Pipe   pæppu
- Pistol   pistal
- Plan   pilæ:n
- Plane   pile:n
- Plaster   pila:star
- Plate   pile: ʈu
- Plug   pilʌkku
- Pocket   pokkatu
- Police   polisu
- Polish   polisu
- Post   po:stu
- Powder   pavutar
- Power   pavar
- Principal   print ʃipæl
- Public   pʌpilikku
- Pump   pʌm
- Puppy   pʌppi

- **Queue**   **kiu:**

- **Radio**   **re:tio:**
- Razor   re:sar
- Receipt   risi:tu
- Repair   ripæyar
- Report   ripo:ttu
- Reserve   risə:vu
- Rewind   rivain
- Rim   rim
- Road   ro:ttu
- Rose   ro:su
- Rowdy   rauti

- **Saloon**   **salu:n**
- Sanitary   sanitary
- Scent   sentu

- Screen   iskiri:n
- Screw   iskuru;
- Seat   si:ttu
- Sergeant   sa:yan
- Shed   settu
- Shirt   sə:ttu
- Shock   sokku
- Sister (Rev|)   sistar/sis ṭar/sitar
- Size   sayisu
- Soda   so:ta
- Sofa   so:Pa:
- Sound   savuntu
- Spring   ispirinku
- Station   iste:san
- Stool   istu:l
- Strike   istaiku
- Studio   istu:tio
- Style   istayil
- Support   cΛpo:ttu
- Suspender   caspentar
- Switch   cuvit ʃu
- Slip   cilipu
- Slate   cile:tu
- Slow   cilo:

- **Tailor**   **teyilar**
- Tank   tæ:nkku
- Tape   te:ppu
- Teacher   ti:t ʃar
- Tea   ti:/ ṭe:
- Television   telivisan
- Thanks   thanks
- Theatre   ṭiye:ttar
- Ticket   ṭikættu
- Tie (n)   tai
- Toddy   toti
- Toffee   topi
- Torch   to:c[v]
- Towel   taval
- Train   rain

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- Transformer   ranspo:mar
- Transistor   ræ:nsitar
- Tray   re:i
- Trouser   ravusær
- Town   tavun
- Tuition   tu:san
- Tutory   tu:tari
- Type   taippu/tappu

- **Union**   **yu:nian**
- Video   vi:tiyo:
- Visa   visa:
- Vote   vo:ttu

- **Ward**   **va:ttu**
- Watch   va:t ʃu
- Watcher   va:tʃar
- Wine   vayin
- Wire   vayar
- Whisky   viski
- **Zip**   **cippu**

The following are some examples of Tamil borrowings in English.

- Onicut
- Ola
- Conjee
- Catamaran
- Kanakkapulle
- Coir
- Curry
- Teak
- Poonac
- Puja
- Mango
- Betel
- Mulligatawny
- Cheroot
- Pandal
- Balcony
- Pariah
- Chatty

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- ▪ Sandal
- ▪ Chunam
- ▪ Mudeliar

Borrowing from Other Languages in Tamil

1. Marati Borrowings

According to Tamil Lexicon, there are fifty five Marati words in Tamil.

Examples:　　sə:mia:

　　　　　　kitʃtʃati　⎫　Food　　　　dʒa:ti　⎫　Vessels

　　　　　　kasa:yam　⎬　　　　　　　kunta:n　⎬

　　　　　　patta:ni　⎭

- ▪ kaila:hu　　　(Hand shaking)
- ▪ apa:ntam　　(Accusation)
- ▪ killa:ti　　　(Rowdy)

2. Telugu Borrowings

The Tamil lexicon states about three hundred twenty five Telugu words in Tamil.

Examlpes:

- ▪ ṭurai (Coast)
- ▪ ṭi:vatti(torch)
- ▪ kʌttitam(Building)
- ▪ kalappatam (Adulteration)
- ▪ uruntai(round)
- ▪ ravikai(blouse)
- ▪ kʌ:yam (wound)

3. Kannada Borrowing

The Tamil lexicon speaks about thirty eight Kannada words in Tamil

Example:

- ▪ sama:littal　　(bring under control)
- ▪ sotṭu　　　　(asset)
- ▪ patta:katṭi　　(a hand knife)
- ▪ kulukuṭal　　(Shaking)

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4. Malayalam Borrowings

Examples:

- vellam (jiggery)
- aviyal (boil Rice)
- kʌ:la:n (Mushrooms)
- tʃakkai (Waste residue)

5. Sinhala Borrowings

Examples:

- murunkai (A vegetable tree)
- pilly (Exorcism)

6. Chinese Borrowings

Examples:

- tʃampa:n (A kind of boat)
- kʌnŋu (A large earthernware)
- pi:nka:n (Glass)

7. Turkey Borrowings

Examples:

- ṭuppa:ki (Gun)
- va:nko:li (Ostrich)

8. Urudu Borrowings

Examples:

- amul (Bring to effect)
- ra:dʒ ina:ma: (resign)
- ina:m (Free)
- usa:r (Activeness)
- u: ṭuvarti (incense)
- kuṭṭahai (lease)
- sanṭa: (Subscription)
- sata:sati (Average)
- sa:ma:n (Articles)

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9. French Borrowings

Examples:

- po: ṭṭal   (Bottle)
- la:nṭar   (Lamp)
- a:suppaṭṭiri   (Hospital)
- no: ṭarisu   (Notary)
- poṭ ṭa:n   (Button)

Most of the borrowings from other languages were mixed in Tamil long before the mixing of English borrowings in Tamil in India which has multiethnic and multi linguistic communities. It was possible because of the languages contact situations between Tamil and other languages within the country itself. Following the cultural diffusion between India and Sri Lanka, the borrowings from other Indian languages were mixed in Sri Lankan Tamil also. Thus in Sri Lanka also the borrowings from other languages were found in Tamil long before the English borrowings.

In case of English borrowings even the monolinguals in Jaffna are aware that these borrowings except 'te:t tanni:r' (Tea), 'la:mpu' etc are of English origin. But as the borrowings from other languages are concerned, both the Tamil monolinguals and bilinguals in Tamil and English except the linguistic specialists believe that these are Tamil words and any need for distinguishing them as foreign words doesn't arise in them either.

Factors Contributing to Borrowing

1. Prestige Motive

Men of authority, power and privilege receive honour in a society and people in general tend to adopt practices and speech of these men of elite group. The terms denoting kingship like "Daddy", "Mummy" and "Amma", "Aunt" are preferred to the Tamil "appa", "amma". and "ma:mi" respectively. There have been instances when Tamils imitated the English men in speech and culture to achieve status.

2. Need-filling Motive

The entry of a foreign word into a language may be encouraged because of the absence of a term to refer to an object or a concept in that language. New experiences, new objects and new practices form essential situations for the entry of foreign words into a language.

Examples for English borrowings in Tamil in this respect: Computer, police, election, etc.

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3. Concealing Social Identity

The meaning of certain words in the native language is regarded as derogatory and the equivalent words in another language are treated as cultured. The English 'barber' and 'dhoby' are preferred to the Tamil caste names, 'ampattan' and 'vanna:n' by members of these castes.

4. Register Influence

Registers are firmly established in all languages. For instance, the administrative, political, technological and legal registers undergo Anglizisation. Since these registers have a firm root in the native languages, it's usually difficult to introduce the equivalents in the native languages and get the natives acquainted with such equivalents even if they are available. For example, the English 'License' is in usage among the monolingual Tamils, with some phonological deviation.

5. Interpreting Facility

A borrowed word may be used as a device for elucidation and interpretation. Particularly in languages in which registers are not established or have not received general acceptance, borrowed words enjoy a prominent place. For example one finds it easier to interpret the Tamil term 'alaippa:nai' by mentioning its English equivalent 'summons'.

6. Neutralization

A borrowed word may function as a source of neutralization. The borrowed lexical item may be attitudinally and contextually neutral. The contextual clues for identification will be absent in it. For example, the English 'father' denoting the paternal kingship is sometimes preferred to the Tamil 'tantai' (Literary form) or 'appa', or 'appu' (Colloquial form).

The use of some words which is generally embarrassing in public places is replaced by English words. For example the word 'attain' is used in its assimilated form "attæn" to refer to menstruation of a girl, among the Jaffna Tamils. Similarly, 'virast ka:ncar' (Breast cancer), 'u:tin testu' (Urine Test), 'kitni ravil' (Kidney trouble) etc are common expressions among Jaffna Tamil monolinguals. These expressions function as neutralization.

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7. Marker of Modernization

A borrowed word may be used as a marker of modernization, socio economic position and membership in an elite group. When one wants to demonstrate authority, power or identity one may use it. A person who is a Grama Sevaka by profession may not like to be addressed as 'vita:nai' but he would rather prefer to be called 'G.S'

8. Economy of Usage

The need to designate new things, places or concepts is also a reason for borrowing. Almost all the English names of carpentry and masonry tools and stationery are found used with phonological adaptations by Jaffna Tamils, because of the economy of expression.

Examples: Screw driver, mason, pen etc.

The converted Christian natives of Jaffna still bear foreign names such as Joseph, Clives, Antony, Mary, Christebella and Jasintha.

The words referring to Christian religious practices such as 'Prayer', 'confession' and 'mass' are frequent in the speech of Jaffna Tamil. There are some place names in Jaffna, which are English.

Examples: Jaffna, Delft, Kytes, Point Pedro.

9. Discourse Strategy

English borrowing are sometimes used as a strategy in discourse. Canagaraja cited examples of English borrowings such as 'fis' (Fish). 'kira:b' (Crab), 'pro:n' (Prawn), 'master' (Master) and 'pirais' (Price) used by fish vendors when dealing with their customers to establish a good rapport with them, in Jaffna (1992, P. 8).

There are three reasons for borrowing, according to Jespersen. They are as follows.

1. When new objects are introduced in a country, the foreign language names of such objects are borrowed.
2. When a new branch of knowledge from a foreign country is introduced, technical terms are borrowed.
3. Due to idle tendency translators mix the foreign language words with their native languages instead of tracing the native equivalents.

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(Jespersen. quoted in Varatharajan. 1996, P. 95)

It's worth mentioning the following quotation in this context.

"When a nation produces something that its neighbors think worthy of imitation those will take over not only the thing but also the name" (Jespersen,.quoted in Varatharajan. 1996, P. 95).

The English names of foreign products such as radio, cycle, television, motor etc have become borrowings in Tamil.

Many words associated with the parliamentary system which are found in French have been borrowed from English because the parliamentary system was established for the first time by the English. Since France is a country with developed civilization and some articles from that country have been introduced in England, the French names of such articles have been borrowed in England.

Some people have the tendency of changing their habits with no regards for their traditions. Some others tend to regard foreigners as superior to them. When these tendencies are abundant in a speech community there will be more possibility for borrowing words from other languages.

Laziness is also a reason for using foreign words without any efforts for finding equivalent native forms for them. Otto Jespersen endorsed this view thus.

"When a nation has once got into the habit of borrowing words, people will very often use foreign words where it would have been perfectly possible to express their ideas by means of native speech material, the reason for going out of one's own language being in some cases the desire to be thought fashionable or refined through interlarding one's speech with foreign words, in others simply laziness." (Jespersen, quoted in Varatharajan, 1996, P, 96-67).

In case of English borrowings in Tamil, words like Plug, Frame, Stencil, Offset, Shell, Motor, Adaptor etc have becomes borrowing since no attempts are made to create Tamil equivalents for these words because of laziness.

Other Sources of New Words

Though borrowing has been the chief source of addition to the vocabulary of a language, new words are created in other ways also.

1. New words may be created by fusing a suffix from the native language with a foreign word. For example, in spoken Tamil in Jaffna, the inflection "a:" is fused with some English words which are borrowings. This feature can be observed in the following examples.
- ravila:itukku (It's troublesome)
- ki:tta: itukku (It's hot)

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- 'sumu: ṭṭa itukku (It's smooth)

Similarly, the English 'Clerk' and 'Shroff' receive the Tamil 'ir' suffix to form words 'kila:kkær' and 'cira:ppar' used among the Jaffna Tamils.

2. There have been instances of creations of new words when some borrowed words undergo changes in meaning. For example, the word 'ti:tjar' which is the assimilated borrowings of the English 'Teacher' is used to refer to only a female teacher among the Jaffna Tamils. Likewise, the borrowing 'ne:su' (Nurse) is used to refer to a female nurse only.

The presence of English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil has in fact expanded the scope of Tamil to a large extent, particularly in its vocabulary. The use of English words facilitates communication with greater effect and desired objectives. Vast progress in economic and trade activities, transport system, cultural intercourse and communicative systems has quite changed the life style of the people. Unless the language of a speech community is modified according to the changing systems, members of the speech community can't satisfy their needs. In this senses, the presence of English borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and the subsequent facilities in communication are beneficial to the society.

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THE ASSIMILATION OF ENGLISH BORROWINGS

The borrowings from English in Tamil are pronounced strangely or differently by monolinguals or even by bilinguals sometimes, since the sound system of Tamil differs from that of English. In casual discussions, assimilated forms of borrowings are used by interlocutors who may be all bilinguals or bilinguals and monolinguals. Monolinguals may tend to assimilate the English sound into Tamil even though they listen to the accurate English pronunciation of words due to unfamiliarity with English sound system.

It's notable that the great Tamil grammarian ṭolka:pia encouraged the mixing of foreign words in a language with the condition that such words should be modified according to the phonetic system of that language. (Varatharajan. 1975, P, 101).

Before attempting to examine the nature of assimilation of English borrowings in the speech of Jaffna Tamil monolinguals, some general features of sound system of languages are discussed initially and then some generalizations regarding the assimilation patterns of English borrowings are given in this chapter.

Sound Variations of Languages

The sound system of languages varies. The differences in sound systems among languages are much less than the differences in words or phrases of them. The basic sounds are nearly the same in all languages. But the variations of sounds occur as some sounds are significant in some languages and some other sounds are more significant in some other languages. For example, the sounds represented by ழ (la) and ற (ra) in Tamil and (ha), (sa) ஷ (sha) in Hindi are prominent.

Some languages are full of weak sounds while others have ample strong sounds. There are rules defining the occurrence of certain sounds in the final position and combined sounds in the intermediate position in words in some languages. Such rules are not found in other languages. Sound variations occur among languages in this manner.

Innumerable sounds can be produced by man. But only certain sounds are used by him in the spoken language. The sounds which are easy to be articulated and are distinctively different from others are used in the spoken language. The following statement endorses this view. "Of the indefinite number of distinguishable sounds which it can produce, only a fraction, of twelve to fifty are put to use in any one language…from among the many possible, these have hanged to be taken, mainly the sounds easiest to make, and broadly distinguished from one another" (Whitney, quoted in (Varatharajan, 1975, P137).

The nature and weather influence the use of sounds in language. Hard sounds can be found in language spoken by people who struggle with the nature and control it, for their survival. People who do not confront with nature and who indulge in the delight of the nature choose mild sounds in their languages. The English who live in countries which have severe

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cold climate use hard sounds. Clusters of two three consonants in the initial position as well as in the final position of words can be found in their languages. English words like Strength, Grind, Prink, Click, bright etc. can be cited in this respect. The Tamils who live without much exertion to struggle with the nature in countries like India, and Sri Lanka where there is a suitable climate for them, used mild sounds. Many grammar rules have been prescribed in Tamil to pronounce words. When strong sounds like க், ச், ட், த், ப் and ற் occur in the final position of a word, it will be difficult to pronounce the word. In such instances, உ (u) sound is added to the word to pronounce the word easily. English Mike, Torch, Shirt, Booth, pump etc. are pronounced as maikku, to:tʃu, se:tu, pu: ṭu, pampu etc… in their assimilated forms when they are used as borrowings in Tamil.

Features of Phonetic Changes

The changes occurring in sounds of words are beyond the intention of speakers. The following view is worth mentioning in this context. "Phonetic changes doubtless take place mechanically, independent of the will or even of the knowledge of the speaker, but with a regularity so limited in principle and a variety so disconcerting in results that one can hardly rediscover in it any of the characteristics of a given type of Language" (Vendryes, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P140).

The will of the speaker is not involved in the phonetic modification but it is the speech organs including the tongue which gradually cause the phonetic modification. It is observed that the phonetic modification occurs because of the euphonious effect. If two consequent sounds are of the same class, or if they are analogous in nature, it will be easy to articulate the combined sound. Phonetic modification progresses toward this case. This view of supported by Otto Jespersen "Euphony depends not only on customs. But even more on articulation and on ease of perception. What requires intricate or difficult movements of the organs of speech will always be left as cacophonous, and so will, anything that is indistinct or blurred" (Jespersen, as quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P140). For examples, the English Bench, Rubber, Belt etc. have become borrowings in Tamil in their assimilated forms as pentʃu, rappar, velitu etc. These assimilated forms are created in accordance with the euphonious effect.

Economy of efforts is also a factor which influences phonetic modification. For example the English shock absorber has become a borrowing in the Jaffna Tamil and is used as "sokatʃco:r" in a shorten form. The shortening of words in this manner is intended to speak much with less effort within a short span of time. Further examples of borrowings in shortened forms are given below.

English	Borrowings
▪ Identity card	itiŋca:t
▪ Battery	Vætti
▪ Factory	pæktri

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One learns to speak a language as one hears another person speaking it. The person speaking and the person hearing the language can't be expected to speak that language in the same manner always. The mentalities and the state of senses vary from person to person. Therefore changes occur in the features including the pronunciation of words of a language. The following views are appropriately expressed by linguists in this context.

"No two speakers of a language have absolutely identical habits of pronunciation and in some cases there is a great variation from person to person or from region to region… consequently a good pronunciation of such a language need not be an exact counterpart of any one native speaker's pronunciation; if we establish habits well within the range of variation found among native speakers themselves, our pronunciation will count…..as good" (Charles, 1950, P. 262).

"Tradition is by its very nature imperfect and inaccurate "no one has ever yet been able to prevent what passes from mouth to hear from getting altered on the way…. and all through the life long process of learning one's mother tongue, one is liable to apprehend wrongly and to reproduce inexactly" (Whitney, quoted in Varatharajan, 1975, P. 146)

Assimilation

Assimilation is a kind of sound change commonly found in languages. In assimilation, one consonant becomes similar to another depending on the point of articulation or the manner of articulation. The following remarks on assimilation elaborate it further.

Perhaps the most common type of conditioned sound change is assimilation, whereby one sound becomes more like a neighboring one. Obviously this can be considered a simplification of the muscular movements needed to pronounce a given word. Assimilation is a very frequent phenomenon in just about all the languages of the world. In terms of articulator phonetics assimilation of consonants usually involves in one or more of the following three ways.

- Point of articulation
- Manner of articulation
- Voicing

(Arlotto, 1972, P. 81)

The above features of assimilation are well applicable to English borrowings when they are assimilated in Tamil.

The English Bomber and Ounce are borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and they are pronounced as 'Pomper' and 'avuntju.'

These assimilations are examples which are based on the point of articulation.

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The English Paint and Chimney are borrowings in the Jaffna Tamil and are pronounced as 'Peintu' and 'cimini'. These assimilations are examples based on the manner of articulation. The assimilation can be categorized into two types:

- Progressive assimilation
- Regressive assimilation

Progressive Assimilation

If a phoneme is modified in harmony with the preceding phoneme, the assimilation is called progressive assimilation. Arlotto remarks thus." Progressive assimilation takes place when the phoneme is dominant and, in some way, makes the second more like itself" (Arlotto, 1972, P. 81). The following are some examples of English borrowings which have undergone progressive assimilation in the Jaffna Tamil.

English	Borrowings
Film	pilim
Camera	kæmæra:
Basket	ba:skat
Receipt	risi:ti
Trouser	ravusær
Watcher	wa:tʃar

Regressive Assimilation

If the pronunciation of a phoneme is changed in harmony with the phoneme following it, in a word the assimilation is called the regressive assimilation. Arlotto remarked thus. "Regressive assimilation means that a conssonant becomes more like one that follows; in other words, the force of the change proceeds backwards, from a phoneme to the one which precedes it. Presumably, this shift is explained as an anticipation of the muscular movements which go to make up the second phoneme" (Arlotto, 1972, P. 81).

Some examples of English borrowings which have undergone regressive assimilation are shown below.

English	Borrowings
Pencil	pentʃil
Pension	pentʃæn
Principal	printʃipæl
Ounce	Avuntʃu

Levels of Assimilation

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Borrowings may be assimilated either totally or partially and there are borrowings which are used without being assimilated.

The followings are examples of English borrowings which have been totally assimilated, partially assimilated and unassimilated in the Jaffna Tamil.

Total assimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Bank	vanki
• Kettle	keiṯal
• Advocate	appuka: ṭu
• Will	uyil
• Count	ko: ṯu
• Rubber	rappær
• Bankruptcy	vankuro: ṭtu
• Hurricane Lamp	ætikæn la:mpu

Partial assimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Receipt	risi:tu
• Shock	sok
• Bakery	veikari
• Inch	inch
• Certificate	cetipikat
• Chain	sein

Unassimilation

English	Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil
• Acre	eiker
• Aluminum	aluminiæm
• Level	level
• Line	lain
• Lorry	lori
• Car	ka:r
• Campus	kæmpæs
• News	niu:s
• Wine	vain

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Some features of Assimilation caused by the difference of consonantal clusters between English and Jaffna Tamil.

Due to the differences in the above discussed patterns of consonantal clusters between English and Jaffna Tamil, English borrowings in Jaffna Tamil undergo assimilation in a fixed manner. Some examples in this respect are shown below.

I. In certain words which have two consonants in combination in the initial position, a sound reduction occurs initially when they are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil to maintain an analogy with the Tamil phonetic system.

	eg.	**English**	**Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil**
		• Train	rein
		• Tractor	raktar
		• Transistor	ransister
		• Transformer	ranspo:mar
		• Driver	raivar

II. Another feature in words which have consonant clusters in the initial position is that the consonant cluster is split by inserting a vowel sound to maintain an analogy with the Tamil phonetic system when these words are used as borrowings in Jaffna Tamil.

eg:	**English**	**Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil**
	▪ Clerk	kila:ku
	▪ Brake	vireiku
	▪ Plate	pileitu
	▪ Grinder	kiraintar
	▪ Blade	vileitu

III. In words which have consonant clusters in the final position, the split occurs in the final position as shown in the following examples.

eg:	**English**	**Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil**
	• Film	pilim
	• Bulb	valupu
	• Silk	siliku

IV. Words which have consonants in the initial position are pronounced with a vowel sound initially.

eg:	**English**	**Borrowings in Jaffna Tamil**
	• Store	isto:r
	• Station	isteisæn
	• Stock	istok
	• Start	ista:t

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- Screw   iskuru:
- Strike   istaik

Tamilisation of English borrowings

Many English borrowings gradually find their way into the day-to-day speech of Tamil monolinguals in Jaffna. The names of new things and practices are pouring in almost daily. In business, industry, financial institutions, recreations, and at home, use of English words is very frequent. Most of the English borrowings undergo a phonological change when they enter into the speech of monolinguals. The followings remarks by Hudson are appropriate at this point.

"It is common for items to be assimilated in some degree to the items already in the borrowing variety, with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds and so on". (1980, P.59).

The basic reason for the phonological deviation is the difference between the sound systems of English and Tamil, and the number of phonemes in English and Tamil is not same. The sounds produced by the English letters b, d, g, f, v, θ, r, s, and z are new or troublesome for Tamil monolinguals. Ultimately these sounds are altered or adapted phonologically and pronounced conveniently by Tamil monolinguals who may not have any familiarity with the English language.

The comments of Nelson Francis are notable.

"As soon as borrowed words get taken up by monolinguals their sounds are adapted to the sound system of the host language. Within a generation or two of its first borrowed usually is forgotten by monolingual speakers, it has become naturalized."(Francis, 1963, P 133).

It has been suggested that every foreign language word should be Tamilised before it is allowed for usage. When Tamiliing a word, the traditions of Tamil language should be taken into account also. In this context there have been various interpretations for tradition. However, all the interpretations acknowledge one fact that lexical rules of a properly structured written language should be taken into consideration when creating a new word in that language. Yet there are various interpretations for a properly structured written language. In the view of some scholars a properly structured written language is "Sentamil" (Highly literary Tamil) as acknowledged by pundits and for some others it is the form of Tamil structured by the fundamental grammatical rules which contains the Vadamoli scripts.

The above approach of creating new words is not totally false or retrogressive. This approach seems important to some extent to maintain the basic order of a language and eliminate confusion that may be caused by the presence of foreign language words. However this type of approach appears to be harmful as it ignores the changes that have occurred in the language and the necessity for changes in the languages in view of the contemporary needs.

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At one time the Sanskrit borrowings and other foreign language borrowings were totally Tamilised before they were added for usage. However at a later stage due to the great impacts of North Indian Culture, Vatamoli words had to be used in a comfortable familiar form without being Tamilised. "Kiranthta" script which was in usage in South India from 6th century A.D to 10th century A.D during the reign of Pallawas, was used for this purpose. The Sanskrit letters ஷ (sha), ஸ (sa), ஜ (i), ஹ (ha), and ஹி (hi) were also used in Tamil. It seems impossible to eliminate the practical use of these letters in written form of Tamil, as they have taken a firm root. The use of these letters is helpful in writing many foreign language words so as to pronounce them accurately.

The English borrowings in Tamil or the English names known by Tamil are not pronounced precisely as they are pronounced by Englishmen.

At an early stage, it was possible to Tamilise the foreign language borrowings. But presently great difficulties are faced in Tamilising the borrowings. This is because of the comparatively lesser number of borrowings and the lesser degree of the complexities involved in Tamilisation in the earlier days.

The need for the creation of new letters, to meet the new sound requirements caused by foreign language words has been emphasized. It has been suggested that the new letters to be created should be of the features of letters like ஷ (sha), ஜ (i), ஸ (sa), etc. Creations of new letters to produce new sounds based on adapting the existing Tamil scripts would rather lead to further complications. (Sivasekaram, 1993)

A considerable number of French words which are found in English are pronounced precisely with their French sound by the English. (Sivasekaram, 1993, P. 30)

The sound differences in the pairs B-P, T-D, and K-G and sounds of F and Z are carefully stressed in the English names borne by Tamils. They are carefully distinguished in speech also. But they cannot be represented in Tamil phonetics. Therefore the need for a script reformation in Tamil is widely felt today.

Mathematical symbols and chemical formulas are used in their original forms as found in their European languages in Tamil writing. No equal Tamil forms are available for them.

During the last half of the 20th century, most of the foreign language borrowings in Tamil have been from English. These words have gained a firm position in the spoken Tamil in Sri Lanka and South India. The Tamilisation of such words started declining but they are used in convenient English pronunciation by Tamils presently. When foreign language words are used in Tamil writing particularly in creative work they are either transliterated or used in their English forms.

These are evident of the permanent status achieved by these words and the subsequently entry of new phonemes in Tamil. The allophones for the old phonemes too were raised to the phonemic level. In certain cases in Tamil writing, in place of foreign language

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words unfamiliar Tamil technical terms or approximately alternate Tamil equivalents are used. To make the meanings of such words clear, English words are given in parenthesis. These attempts may further widen the gap between the spoken and written forms of Tamil and the consequences may be harmful to the development of Tamil.

The above discussion stresses the adoption of a proper script reformation scheme to deal with the foreign language borrowings in Tamil.

Foreign Symbols in Tamil

The numbers which are used in Tamil at present are from foreign languages. Punctuation marks like comma, full stop, question mark and exclamation mark are not found in classic Tamil. Without these numbers and marks ideas cannot be brought out satisfactorily. The advocates of Tamil purist campaign do not bother about the use of these symbols and marks.

The creation of scientific technical terms in Tamil has caused difficulties always. No terms are available in Tamil to refer to many of the chemical elements and metals which are new to the Tamils. The names of metals Potassium, Sodium, Magnesium, Aluminum etc are used in their transliterated forms. Though there are Tamils names such as itumpu, sempu, na:ham, kati, kantaham etc.., the substances referred to by theses names are denoted by their English transliterated names ayæn (iron), koppar (copper), siŋu (Zink), kʌ:pan (Carbon), sʌlpar (Sulphur) etc. respectively, in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The scientific formulas of these elements and their compounds in Roman letters have been internationally recognized. The unit denoting measurements, m, kg, kw, etc. also are accepted for usage in Roman or Greek letters.

Tamilisation

A concept or a name which is completely alien to Tamil may be introduced in Tamil when need arises. For example the phrases Blue Film, Cold War, Black Market etc. have been phrases frequently used in Tamil. But the direct translation of these phrases will not yield the implied meaning of these phrases. In such cases, it is advisable to use these phrases in their English forms.

English tradition is followed in writing addresses and dates when writing letters, in Tamil. The usual order in the address in English is as follows: Name of Addressee, House Number, Street Town, and Province and Country. But as per the Tamil tradition it should be as follows: Country, Province, Town, street, House Number and Name of Addressee. Similarly the order in writing the English data is the day, month and the year whereas it is the reverse in Tamil. In writing both addresses and dates, English tradition is followed by Tamils.

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The names of year and names of most of the months in Tamil are from Sanskrit. Among the names of the days "putæn" (Wednesday) and "sæni" (Saturday) are of Sanskrit origins. Since the structure of the days of a week in Tamil shares common features with that in other languages, no disparity arises in their usage. Since some Tamil months differ from the parallel English months in number, a difficulty in using the names of Tamil months is caused. Tamil months are considered only in religious occasions and customary practices. On other occasions Tamilised forms of English months are used. For example January has been Tamilised as either 'yænævari' or sænævari.

English Domination in Tamil Vocabulary

The use of English vocabulary in Tamil can be subjected to Tamilisation in three ways.

1. Some words are substituted for effective Tamil words in course of time. Words like 'pæ:tæ:lumanram' (Parliament), 'va:noli' (Radio), 'ənkanitam (Arithmetic) etc are in broad usage in Tamil.
2. Pronunciation of some other English words can be modified to fit into the Tamil phonetic system and such words can be used with their modified pronunciation. Words like 'ko:ppi' (Coffee), 'rappær' etc. are examples of this type.
3. The English vocabulary penetrates into Tamil very fast at present. The acquaintance of Tamils with English sounds is also considerable. A number of English words are used in their original forms in the spoken Tamil. Words like Stapler, File, Screwdriver, Gear, Tube, Light, Stool etc. are in broad usage in Tamil speech. These words are of course new to Tamil but they are not substitutes.

In classic Tamil clear rules are prescribed for Tamilising foreign words. In Tamil the consonants ட் (t), ந் (it), ர் (ir), ல் (il), ழ் (il), and ள் (il) can't occur in the initial position of words. Therefore the vowels அ (a), இ (i), and உ (u) should be placed initially in the foreign words beginning with the said consonants.

e.g:	Foreign words	Tamilised words
•	Dutch	idatchu
•	Rubber	irappær
•	Rose	uto:sa:

The strong form of a single consonant cannot occur in the final position of a word in Tamil. Thus when Tamilising the English 'Brake', it should be either 'vireikku' or pireikku'

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The ancient Tamil grammarian Tolkaapiya suggested that foreign language words should be phonetically modified according to the rules of the recipient language. (Varatharajan, 1996,P 82) Words like airo :ppa" (Europe), ingila:ntu (England), a:ngileiyær (The English), uyil (Will), kiri:sṭu (Christ), villiam (William) etc. are some examples for phonetically modified English words which are in usage in Tamil. The following quotation is notable in this context.

"The Chinese change every r into l and the nearest approach they can make to the pronunciation of Christ is kiliseet (u). The Japanese, on the other hand cannot manage and in their mouths accordingly idolatry becomes idolatry" (Sayce, quoted in (Varatharajan,1996, P.82)

In contrast to what has been discussed so far, a negative trend has been developed to accept the borrowings without any phonetic change. The scholars and grammarians of the present day agree in the sense that giving different names in different countries for the same object or concept would obstruct the development of knowledge and unity of nations. The following vital features are observed in respect of the English and Tamil phonological systems, which contribute considerably to the assimilated forms of English borrowings among the Jaffna Tamils.

1. The labiodental fricative 'f' is realized as 'p' in Jaffna Tamil, since the 'f' sound is not found in Jaffna Tamils.

    Further Examples

English	**Jaffna Tamils**
Fail	peil
Firing	paeriŋ
Free	pri:
Foreign	porin
Father (Rev)	pa: ṭar
Lift	lipt
Office	oppis
Coffee	ko:ppi

2. The velar fricative 'h' in English is realized in Tamil as 'k' in the initial position but has almost similar pronunciation in inter vocal position.

e.g:	**English**	**Tamil**
	Hospital	kospital
	Handle	kæ:ntil
	Hardware	ka:tvayar

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'H' in inter-vocal position

- ka:ham   (Crow)
- naharam   (City)
- ṭaharam   (Tin)

In the English 'Hurricane', the 'H' together with 'u' is realized as 'æ' and the word is pronounced as 'ætikan' in 'ætikan la:mpu'.

3. The palatal affricate (ʃ), the 'sh' sound is substituted with (s) in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Shop	sop
Ship	sip
Shirt	se:ttu
Shed	set
Shock	sok
Bishop	visop
Fashion	pæsan
Mash	mæs

Similarly the sound (ʃ) produced by 'it' is substituted by (s) as found in the following examples.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Tuition	tu:san
Station	ste:san
Petition	pettisan
Application	applike:san

4. The alveolar fricative 'Z' is also pronounced as (s) in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Tamil
Zip	sip

5. The sibilant 's' is generally preceded by a vowel sound in Jaffna Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Stool	istu:l
School	isku:l

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(These words receive a vowel sound 'I' in the initial position)

- Style   istail
- Start   ista:t
- Screw   iskru:

Inter- vocal position

- Suspender   susupender
- Biscuit   visuko: ṭtu

6. The bilabial stop (Voiced) in English is equated with labiodentals (v).

English	Jaffna Tamil
Biscuit	visket

(The word in its fully assimilated form in Tamil is visuko:ttu).

- Belt   velittu
- Bathroom   va: ṭru:m
- Bus   vas

When (b) occurs in the intervocalic and final position, it is replaced by (P) sound in Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Carbon	carpan
Lab	læp

7. The velar voiced stop (G) in English is pronounced as velar unvoiced stop (K).

English	Jaffna Tamil
Gate	ke:tu
Glass	kila:su
Garage	kara:tʃu
Cigarette	si:kkirettu
Plug	pilΛkku
Jug	dʒakku
Bag	væ:kku

(G) In final position becomes (K) and followed by a vowel sound, usually (U).

8. Alveolar fricative (d) in English is realized as (y).

English	Jaffna Tamil
Jam	yæ:m

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- Jack   yæ:k

9. (t), (p), (d), (g) in final position in English are always followed by a vowel sound (u)

English	Jaffna Tamil
Cement	simenṯu
Scent	sentu
Shirt	sə:ttu
Lamp	la:mpu
Bulb	valpu
Cup	kΛppu
Bag	bæ:kku/ væ:kku
Nud	nattu
Road	ro:ttu

10. In the following examples [r] in the final position in English is pronounced as (l) in Tamil, by most of the monolinguals. This tendency of pronouncing can be explained as follows.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Carrier	kærial
Barrier	bærial

In Tamil, two forms of the same word like 'panthal' and 'panthar' (Roof of a shed), and 'sa:mpal' and 'sa:mpar' (ash) are in usage. The familiarity with these dual forms of the same word may have induced Tamils to give such identical sounds to the words 'carrier' and 'barrier'.

11. (T) Followed by a consonant in English is dropped in Tamil.

English	Jaffna Tamil
Train	rein
Travel	rævæl
Traffic	rævik

Most of the English borrowings are used in their assimilated forms and used by both the bilinguals and monolinguals. Because of the difference of the sound systems of English and Tamil, the English borrowings are adapted to the Tamil phonological system and conveniently pronounced. The monolinguals use the assimilated forms of borrowings without knowing that they are of English origin. The assimilated borrowings are much helpful in using them in speech.

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CHAPTER 5
BORROWINGS VERSUS THEIR TRANSLATED FORMS

The History, the types and the benefits of translations are briefly taken into account initially in this chapter. Because an immediate need for the creation of technical terms in Tamil is felt and in order to create technical terms, a good knowledge of translation skills is indispensable. The necessity for getting Tamil translated forms for the English borrowings is realized since the use of translated forms is preferred to that of English borrowings especially in Tamil literary texts.

History of Translation

The sign language including facial expressions and gestures was the very first means of communication of man. Speech and written form of language developed after that. Following the advent of written form of language, the task of translation has been carried out to date. Since the written form of language is said to have a history of nearly five thousand years, the process of translation too can be believed to have undergone the same length of time.

There was great enthusiasm in translating literature in Greek and Latin. Homer's Odeysey was translated for the first time from Greek into Latin, by Livius Andoniyus in 250 BC. Latin writers showed more interest in translation. Particularly Carttalus, Cisaro and some others translated many masterpieces from Greek into Latin. After the establishment of the Roman Empire, several works were translated from Greek into Latin. Following the educational development in Arabia in the 8th and 9th centuries, much of Greek literature like the work of Arisotolle, Plato and Hipokritos was translated into Arabic

The 12th century was significant as it is in this century there were good impetuses for the pursuits in translation. In 1494 and 1536, William Tydales translated the New Testament into English. In 1536 he translated New Testament from Greek and the Old Testament from Hebrew into English. In the 16th century Bible was translated into many European languages. By 1541 Bible was translated into English, Dutch, German and French and Erasmus was mainly behind this effort. George Chapman embarked on the task of translating several of the Homer's works into English in 1590. Between 1614 and 1616 he brought out a translated volume in English, comprising the complete work of Homer. Denham and Cowley were notable contemporary translators of George Chapman. (Sivasanmugam and Thayalan, 1986).

In the beginning of the 16th century, the French scholars like Jaques and Dolet presented more elaborative explanation about translation than the English. Between 1647 and 1656 Hobbes D Avenant, James Howel and John Evenly contributed much in translating

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popular works in other languages into French. Shernurne and Fanshawe published translation volumes titled "poems and Translation" and selected parts of Horace", in 1650 and 1652 respectively (Sivasanmugam and Thayalan, 1989).

In the latter part of the 17th century, Andrew Lefevere began compiling data in German regarding translation. Some others who were notably engaged in translation at that time included Hoby, North, Floria and Phoilemon Holund.

The art of translation flourished in the 18th century. A translator's function was regarded to be similar to that of a painter or an imitator in this century, since a translator was expected to bring out the exact facts from the source language into the target language. It was thoroughly acknowledged in the 18th century that the spirit in the source language should be well reflected in the target language.

Much explanation in translation was given in the 19th century and the explanation was based on the principles and norms already put forward. When many works of German literature was translated into English in 1809, much controversy regarding translation arose. There were differences of opinion as to whether the art of translation was creative skills or mechanical skills. A number of people were keenly involved in translation in the 19th century and Newman Caryle and William Morris were remarkable among them.

The discipline of translation developed steadily in the 20th century. Taylorian was mainly behind this development. The talk which he delivered in 1931 was very remarkable as it vividly illustrates the procedures to be involved in translation. His talk suggested tactics to overcome many practical difficulties. There is a rapid progress in translation in many countries in the world, particularly in Japan, France and Russia.

Types of Translation

The major types of translation are Literal, Faithful, Idiomatic, Loose, and Free. (Mohamud Sherriff, 1999, P.8)

1. **Literal**

   This is the word to word direct translation which doesn't undergo any change in the original form. This kind of translation is said to be effective since the concept to be conveyed cannot be brought out clearly. Korunets remarks thus.

   "Hence literal translation has some restriction in its employment and does always help convey the lexical meanings of words (morphemes, words groups) having identical lingual form in the language and in the target language."

2. **Faithful**

   This kind of translation is more effective than the literal translation. Faithful translation is free from word to word translation and sufficient effort is made bringing out the overall concept.

3. **Idiomatic**

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The idiomatic words of the source language become the idiomatic words of the target language, in this kind of translation. (Parthsarathy, 1986, P 61- 72)

4. **Loose**

A good extent of freedom is allowed to the translator. As a result of it, sentence structure of wrong order may occur.

5. **Free**

The translator pays much attention to the hard portion of the source materials in order to bring out the essence. This kind of translation is desirable when translating classical literatures, without ruining the central theme of the source materials, idiomatic words, proverbs etc are modified according to the target language (Parthsarathy, 1986, P 61- 72).

In addition to the above stated translations, other two types of translations namely (1) Transcreation and (2) Popular translation are recommended.

Creative works like poetry are preferably transcreated.

Popular Translation

Popular translation is needed for translating news items to be published in newspapers. The literacy of an average person is taken into consideration and the news is either elaborated or reduced accordingly. The translator uses his own style and structure while maintaining the accuracy of the theme of the news.

Adoption

Adoption does not come under the category of translation. The theme of the source material is extracted and the translator takes liberty in producing events, characters plot etc.

In addition to the above translation methods, the following methods are suggested by Sellamuttu (1987). The following is about instrumentality while the preceding is about process.

1. Human Translation
   This method involves entirely the human efforts.
2. Human assisted Machine translation
   This method of translation is carried out by machines with the assistance of humans.
3. Computer assisted Human Translation
   In this translation, the translator is assisted by a computer.
4. Pure Machine Translation
   The translation is purely done by machines.

In case of the second method of the above stated translation, machines are inevitably assisted by man at certain instances, when translating from one language into another. This

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kind of translation has been in effect for over 25 years. This translation seems very useful in translating several literary works found in foreign languages and translating equipment manuals which are essentially needed owing to labor diversification.

As the 3ʳᵈ type of translation is concerned, technical terms of literary and technical terms of literary and technical discipline are stored in the computer and they are made available to the translator together with their respective target language terms, when required.

The third type of translation, the pure machine translation is of two major divisions viz. 1. The Interlingua method of machine Translation and (2) the Intermediate language based machine Translation.

The first division is associated with two languages which have close affinity in grammar and semantics. The second division is used when two language are grammatically and structurally entirely different.

In the second division of translation, the terms in the source language are translated into the intermediate language and then into the target language.

Translation of Poetry

The translation of poetry involves greater efforts and intelligence. Therefore it is suggested that poetry should be translated by poets.

"It has been said that translator of poetry are also poets in the new language". (Chellappan.1982)

Srinivasa Iyankar commented thus on poetical translation (1977).

"Poetry by its very nature is untranslatable. Ideas can be translated from language to language with the magic of phrase and incensory music competent translation can, however play the good broker between the poet and the reader, and surpassing the mere prose of statement can give intimations of the poet's sovereign utterance. Good translation can create trust and it can stimulate intrest."

Panduranga Rao viewed thus (1985),

"It is true that in poetry certain expressions do not lend themselves to translation as they not only communicate ideas but generate an emotional background and an explicate feeling in the receptive minds and hearts of the readers."

In India, around seven hundred poetical work s have been translated into Tamil from Arab, English, Hindi, Greek, Gujarat, Sinhala, Chinese, Telugu, Bulgarian, Persian, polish, Marathi, Russian, Latin, Bengal and Sanskrit, so far. (Mohamud Sheriff, 1977, P 30).

Among the works translated from Tamil into other languages Thirukkural is prominent. There are 122 versions of Thirukkural in 25 languages. In English itself there are 49 Versions of translations of Thirukural. (Sivakamy1983)

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Next to Thirukkural, poems of Bharathy, a popular Tamil poet in Tamil Nadu, India gains the majority of translation in other languages. In English, there are more than 15 versions of translation of Bharathy's poems. (Subramaniyam 1983).

Several works of epics and myths, religious oriented materials and Vedic scripts were translated from Sanskrit into Tamil. Next to Sanskrit, a good number of English verses were translated into Tamil. In the North Indian languages, from Bengal many works of Rabindra Nath Tagoor were translated into Tamil. (Subramaniyam 1983).

Thirukkural

The foreign missionaries who arrived in Tamil Nadu., India to propagate their religion learnt Tamil and translated Thirukkural into English. Rev. G.V. Pope, Rev. W.H Drew and Rev. F.N. Ellis were remarkable among them.

The following are the remarks of Pope on the purpose of translating Thirukkural (1979 P XIII-XV).

"It is primarily intended to make classical Tamil easier to English students, while to native students, it may afforded means for a, more comprehensive and fruitful study of their greatest classic author, who has sung of so many topics, coontinngens Cunctalepore, touching all things with poetic grace."

"That this publication may be useful in promoting the real study of Tamil, and so help those who go to South India as officers of Govt. or as missionaries, better to understand the mind of the people among whom live and work is my one desire in sending it forth."

"The whole difficulty of the translator's task lies in the fact that it is, as a rule, impossible to render exhaustively both the denotative and the expressive functions of poetic text and therefore semantic losses are virtually inevitable in poetic translation." (Shveitser 1985, P. 145).

"At its best particular synthesis of conflict and complicity between a poem and its translation into another poem creates the impression of a 'third language' or a medium of communicative energy which somehow reconciles both language in a tongue deeper, more comprehensive than either." (Chellappan 1982, P 29)

Benefits of Translation

The Benefits of Translation are classified into six kinds. (Sivakamy, 1983).

A translation brings enrichment to the target language as it creates new words and produces new reading materials in this language.

The translations of classic literature result into the comparative study of literature. The transitions, culture and civilization of an ethnic group can be studied.

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Unique features of the source language and the scholarly capacities of the author can be learnt.

The translation of materials in Science and medicine provides information about the progress achieved in the said discipline and thus knowledge is imparted widely.

The translation of materials in the discipline of Arts may lead to culture infusion.

One can gather information about the achievement of internationally renowned men in their respective pursuits, through works of translations.

The multifarious benefits of translation can be summarized through the view of Jespersen, on language.

"Language is not an end in itself, just as little as railway tracks: it is way of connection between souls, a means of communication. The highest purpose in the teaching of language may perhaps be said to be the access to the best thoughts sand institutions of a foreign nation, its literature, culture in short, the spirit of the nation widest sense of the world." (Mohamud Sheriff, 1997, P. 14)

Prerequisite for a translator

A translator should be equally competent in both source language and target language.

Maharajan, in his series of essays on "Translation of Shakespeare into Tamil-some problems" stated as follows (1976).

Firstly the translator should have enjoyed voraciously all the fine features of Tamil literature.

Secondly he should have thoroughly acquainted himself with the poetic skills of Shakespeare and English literature.

Thirdly he should identify himself with the characters of Shakespeare.

Further the translator should posses the ability in grasping the meaning of words and phrases in context so as to bring out the original idea lying in the source material.

Another vital factor affecting the process and result of translation is the personality of translator himself as one of the participants in the interlingual communicative action. (Sellamuthu, 1987)

According to Benamin Jovat, "All translation is a compromise the effect to be literal and the effect to be literal and the effort to be idiomatic" (Mohamud Sheriff. 1997, P. 20).

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Translation of Literary Words - International Words

Since most of the literary words are international ones, it's always advisable to categorize them before translating. For example, words like chemistry, biology, mathematics, physics and astronomy are in usage in various developed languages. Similarly words in the discipline of Arts, like theatre, play, tragedy and melodrama are in global usage. Words like democracy, parliament, franchise, bill and politics are of politics.

The technological advancement in the 20th century has resulted in several new words like Computer, robot, radar and television.

The discipline of physical education has provided words Cricket, Hockey, Semi final etc.

Because of the common food habits, words like tea, coffee, chocolate, etc. have been widely introduced in the day-to-day speech of nations.

On the basis of the examples shown above, it may be decided as which words are to be translated and which ones translated.

Technical Words

The technical words in Tamil are inadequate. The attempts to create terminologies have been unsatisfactory. It's deplorable that Tamil has failed to keep pace with English and other languages in producing technical words. Since most of the technical terms in Tamil are translations, a single English word may have more than one translated forms. This situation, in turn, creates the need of selecting the most suitable form.

Difficulties in Translation

Social Habits

Not only languages but various cultures and civilizations are also involved in translations and therefore the translator should possess a good knowledge of such cultures and civilizations, since a part of the purpose of translation is to propagate traditions and norms.

Folklore songs

Recently the insertion of folklore songs then and there in creative works has become popular and this trend is welcome among readers. However translating such folklore songs from one language into another is indeed a task which requires additional care.

Proverbs

Proverbs are powerful expressions reflecting the history, heritage and traditions of a country or an ethnic group. Proverbs are said to be the base for the emergence of folklore. Thus quoting proverbs in literature is indispensable. The word to word translation of proverbs

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from one language into another would result into absurdity. Translation should be carried out so as to bring out the social consciousness of the community from which it emerges.

Direct translation of a proverb does not give the right message always and therefore the use of an equivalent proverb in the target language is preferable. Some examples of equivalent English and Tamil proverbs appear below.

- Empty Vessel makes sound – niraikutam ṭalamap: ṭu
- Strike while the iron is hot – ka:ttula po: ṭe tu :ttikol
- Haste is waste – paṭara: ṭa ka :tiam siṭara: ṭu
- Little strokes fell great oaks – ati me:l ati vaṭta:l ammium nahatum

Jokes

Bringing out the essence of jokes or humorous expression from one language into another through translation cannot be always successful. Jokes are characteristic of the traditions and customary practices of the respective languages and therefore the implied idea of some jokes cannot be made clear through tradition.

For example, the expression "sinna vi:tu" in Tamil is associated with the practice of adultery, and the direct translation :Small house" would not reflect the hidden message.

Abbreviations

Some phrases are used in abbreviations for convenience. However no uniformity is adopted in using the English abbreviations in Tamil. Both translation and transliteration of the same English abbreviations are found used in Tamil.

Examples: - SAARC
              - BBC
              - UNO

Pun

Every language has pun. Puns are frequently found in Tamil poetry and a translator intending to translate Tamil poetry is expected to be well versed with it.

Transliteration

In transliteration, a word of a language is written using the alphabet of another language. In reading materials, transliterated forms are given in parentheses to facilitate the comprehension of readers. Transliteration is not new to Tamil, since Tolkapiar, the grammarian prescribes rules to transcribe foreign words in Tamil.

All the foreign words of various branches of knowledge which are introduced in one language are impossible to be translated, and therefore transliteration can be in usage as

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an interim arrangement. Unless an essentially organized structure is followed for transliteration, it will lead to a lot of complexities. Several words associated with military profession are transliterated due to clarity and ease in comprehension.

Examples: General, Lieutenant, Brigadier, Major, Captain, Corporal, Sergeant, Colonel.

According to Valarmathy, following situations demand transliteration. (1987, P 173-174.)

1. Difficulty in translating words from the situations demand into the target language.
2. Names of books or new inventions in the source language may demand transliteration in the target language.
3. Names of books or new inventions in the source language may demand transliterations in the target language.
4. The absence of the sound of the source language in the target language may require transliteration.
5. Place names and names of persons should be transliterated.

Problems in creating technical terms in Tamil

Tamil is a language which has rich grammar and literature and as a result, a number of technical terms in these two disciplines are found in it. No attempt has been made so far to include all these words to bring them out in the form of a dictionary. Philosophical and religious terms have also found their way into Tamil.

"In compliance with the rules of ":thatsamam" and "thatpavam", words from other languages, chiefly pali and Sanskrit were either borrowed or translated and used in Tamil. The text "Nannu:l" prescribes rules for translating Sanskrit words into Tamil. Today a large number of European words have penetrated into Tamil. However no effort has been taken so far to transliterate them properly. The necessity for a standard system of transliteration has been realized because day by day several technical terms of science and technology continue to enter into Tamil.

A literary discipline may have both verbal units as well as non verbal units. The non verbal units such as formula, equation and symbol needn't be Tamilized. They can be used in their original form.

e.g: HCl

$$C + O_2 = CO_2$$

Acronyms and abbreviations too needn't be Tamilized.

e.g: - AIDS, LASER, etc

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- UNESCO, ASSRC, BBC etc

The anthropological study was primarily introduced by the British in 18309s in Tamil Nadu in India and in Sri Lanka. A book entitled "Palakanitham" was published in 1849 in Sri Lanka. In 1855 a book of Algebra entitled "Iyatkanitham" was released in Tamil. In the same year another book of Algebra "Veesakanitham" was published. Subsequently in 1850s, great achievements were recorded in Sri Lanka. (Rama Sundaram 1993)

In 1948, Dr. Samuel Fish Green, an American physician arrived in Sri Lanka and contributed to a great extent by translating some European medical literature. He suggested some rules for the creation of technical terms also.

The English books translated into Tamil by him include 'Anatomy', 'physiology', and 'Hygiene', 'Midwifery', 'Human Anatomy', 'The principles and Practice of Medicine', The Science and Art of Surgery' and 'Chemistry'.

The following are his works on technical terms.

1. Materia Medica and terms.
2. Midwifery
3. Diseases of Women and Children
4. Medical Jurisprudence.
   (Ramasundaram, 1993, P.112).

According to Dr. Green, the technical terms should preferably be Tamil and if they are not available in Tamil, borrowings can be sought from Sanskrit or English. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

While many individual scholars in India showed interest in formulating technical terms, a committee known as Vernacular Scientific Term Committee was formed by the Madras Government for the Creation of technical terms .P.V Manikanayakar, a member of the committee created more than two hundred technical terms, the majority of which are from Tamil. In 1955, a list of technical terms including the official terms used in government departments, names of designations etc was released in Sri Lanka. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

Almost all those who were engaged in the task of making technical terms were of the view that these terms should be purely Tamil. In a seminar organized by the 'Madras Thamil Sangam' in 1934, in India, this view was stressed. In 1938, a list of 10,000 terms was released in Madras and Saint Vipulananda assisted in this wok. The majority of these words are Tamil.

P.V Manikanayakar, K. Subramania Pillai and Awai Thuraisamipillai were some of those actively involved in this pursuit and they agreed that all technical terms should be purely Tamil and no addition of Sanskrit words is allowed. When Tamil words are not available, English words could be Tamilized. (Ramasundaram, 1993).

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General suggestions made were that the use of internationally used technical terms should be encouraged and the Tamilization of them should be maximized. The Tamil words used should be as familiar as possible to people of all literary level. Whenever Tamil words are introduced, English equivalents should be given in brackets.

In international Tamil Conferences, the necessity for the creation of technical term was continuously emphasized.

Lack of Uniformity

Since technical terms are created not by a single authoritative body of experts, but by various groups at various times for different purposes, with the involvement of manifold rules, there is a lack of uniformity in their formulation. Further Complexity is added as the task of creation technical terms is carried out in various countries where Tamil is spoken and no coordination is found among those who are engaged in such task. As a result, more than one technical term are created for the same concept.

Standardization of Technical Terms

Standardization is indispensable to overcome the problem of having more than one technical term for a single concept. Ambiguity in meaning can be eliminated and precisions and clarity can be maintained through standardization. Standardized technical terms should reflect the expected meaning content with appropriateness.

Prerequisite for Standardization

All the available technical terms should be codified before standardization. After grouping them according to their discipline with their meaning written against each word, the link between each word and its meaning should be analyzed. The principles should be devised for the final task and experts may involve in the process of standardization, on principles agreed.

Eugene Worster an Austrian engineer derived some principles on the creation of technical terms in his book, "International Standardization of Technical Terminology", written in 1931. Since then many organizations have vigorously engaged in producing technical terminology. In 1951, the international organization of standardization of technical terminology was established. The secretariat of this organization is functioning in Vienna. Workshops on the standardization of technical terminology were held in Tanjure Tamil University in 1983 and in 1984 and more than 30,000 technical terms were standardized. In 1984 a seminar on the standardization of medical technical terminology was also held and 5000 medical words were standardized.

Principles for Standardization of Technical Terms

1. **Appropriateness and Efficiency**

   When there is more than one technical term for a single concept, a good choice should be made out of them

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2. **Adaptability**

It is the acceptance of the word which is in more usage than the others. The greater usage of a word indicated the general acceptance of it in the society.

3. **Economy and Simplicity**

The standardized word is expected to be of simplicity and economy.

For example, the word 'Mincaram" has been reduced to 'Min' and compounded with other words according to needs.

4. **Uniformity**

Uniformity should be maintained at maximum level when standardizing the technical terms of the same category.

The word 'Tele' refers to remoteness and uniformity can be observed in the following set of terms.

English	Tamil
• Telephone	ṭolaipe:si
• Telescope	ṭolaino:kki
• Television	ṭolaika:tci

Followings are examples for the difficulty in maintaining uniformity in some technical words.

English	Tamil
• Civil dress	sa: ṭa:tana utai
• Civil rights	kutiyiyæl utimai
• Civil disobedience	satta maruppu

Purity of Language

It has been generally expected that technical terms should be Tamil, as far as Tamil language is concerned and suggested that foreign words particularly the Sanskrit ones should be eliminated. The European language experts do not advocate this view but these languages are allowed to receive words mutually from one another since they have close link among them.

Preservation of Technical Terms

The technical terms which have been formulated so far should be collected and documented.

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A bureau of standardization of Tamil Technical Terms should be established. The bureau should comprise experts of various branches of studies including Medicine, Engineering etc and linguistic and language scholars.

Dictionaries of standardized technical terms should be published by the bureau and text books should follow these dictionaries for the inclusion of technical words in them.

Communicative capacity of Technical Terms and Modernization

Language is a symbolic system which fulfils the communicative needs of a society. A language has the capacity to perform a number of social tasks. But languages differ from each other in the manner in which they perform such tasks. For a better contribution of a language in its social task, the language should be developed. A language can be developed by improving its vocabulary and grammatical and literary resources. In order to make a language to be self sufficient and effective in its use, language planning is necessary. Weinstein (1980) stated that language planning is the planned change in the language use of a society and this change would contribute to solving the problems faced in communication. It's also recognized that the role of languages and language planning are significant for the development of a nation.

In countries where there is a multiethnic environment, languages are classified and used based on their specific assignments. Hence all the languages may not be used in all circumstances. That's why a particular language is chosen as the national languages in developed countries and it is used in all circumstances (Coulms Florium, 1989). Likewise the colonial nations used to use their own languages for communicative needs. Scholars like Ferguson, Haugen and Fishman establish that language development could be achieved only through Language planning. (Ramamoorthy,1933).

Modernization

Modernization plays an important role in language development. Ferguson, (1968) stated that modernization is the modification of a language to keep pace with the capacity of other languages in their language use, in view of the changes to be brought in the language usage according to modern improvements. According to Ferguson, modernization can take place at two stages.

1. Expansion of vocabulary
2. Creation of structures

Today because of the rapid progress in science and technology, new concepts and ideas emerge. In the effort of interpreting these new concepts and ideas, new technical terms are produced. In this matter, a language gets modernized.

Haugen Eind (1986) divided language development into 4 stages: 1 Choice 2. Design 3. Expansion and 4. Social adaptation. Ferguson relates his view on modernization with expansion.

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Modernization implies not only the addition of vocabulary but grammatical innovation also. Simplification, through which the language elements are made easy for understanding in communication, is also a part of modernization.

Modernization includes expansion and simplification of language elements when using a language in new disciplines and when expressing new ideas.

The role of language elements is very important for effective communication. There are two ways which can be followed in modernizing a language. They are (1) borrowing elements from other languages (2) modifying its own language elements by some means and increasing the language effectiveness.

In south Indian languages, modernization occurs through borrowing from English loan blend, translation, meaning extension etc (Krishnamoorthy, 1984).

The Role of Dictionary in Language Modernization

Modernization in any language can be explained in terms of three aspects. First an understanding of the distinction between modernization andWesternization may be beneficial in this context. Modernization of Tamil does not imply that Tamil should resemble English. It does not follow that English should be regarded as a model and all its elements should be transferred to Tamil. Due to contact between Tamil and English, there is more possibility for mutual borrowings and mutual translation.

One of the aspects of modernization is the instruction of technology in language. Technical equipment such as Typewriter, Computer, Fax and E- mail are helpful in communication beyond space and time, in increasing the speed and of language conveyance and in storing information. This equipment assists in utilizing the language resource fully and efficiently.

The second aspect is the expansion of language resource. It is functional in creating new words, new styles and new expressions. These features provide heterogeneity to a language. New language disciplines like scientific technical term and legal terms and journalistic style and administrative language style and short story form and Advertisement form have come into being in Tamil. Due to their presence, there have been changes in the structure and grammar of the language. New phonemes, new phrases and new rhetoric have appeared in the language.

The third aspect of modernization is the changes in the semantic structure which are supposed to bring out new social values. As a result for example, in Tamil, words like "ampattan" and "vanna:n" referring to "Barber" and "Dhoby" in English respectively have come to be replaced by words "muti ṭituṭ tuvo:r and "sælævai ṭolila:li". In this example the first pair is on caste division, but the second pair is formed on account of the labor type. Tradition and modernity are maintained by the usage of "kanakkuppilai" (Accounts clerk) in traditional business centers and "kanakka:lar" in modern business complexes. Words like "minsa:tam" and "minalai" referring to electricity and electric wave in English which are

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associated with human inventions, have been derived from the word "minnal" referring to lightning in English which denotes a natural phenomenon. (Annamalai, 1993).

The recent publication of a Dictionary titled "Griyavin Thatkala Thamil Akarathy" has compiled with words of current innovation and newly formed concepts in Tamil. Lexical meanings according to the current usage have been provided in this dictionary. The elimination of slang and old words is a significant feature of this dictionary. The functional aspect of Tamil has been brought out by giving denomination to words, such as Sri Lankan word, extinct word etc. The meaning divisions and boundaries indicate the meaning extension and change of the present day Tamil.

The above said dictionary points out the norms of the modern Tamil, indirectly. Definition of meanings in contexts with clues is a remarkable feature. Precise meaning is given for new concepts like existentialism, women's right etc. Thus the dictionary serves as a good source to assess the extent of modernization in Tamil and to instill the newly arrived elements.

It is a list showing some English borrowings with their commonly accepted translated forms.

TRANSLATED FORMS

Borrowings	Tamil translations
Accountant	kanakka:lar
Aero plane	a:hayavima:nam
Agent	muhavar
Airport	vimanaṯalam
Army	padæyinar
Arrest	kaiṯu
Bathroom	kuliyal arai
Bicycle	tuvitʃakkaravʌnti
Bill	ciddai
Bishop	pe:ta:yar
Black market	karuppu cantai
Blade	cavara alahu
Boarding	vtituṯi
Bomb	kuntu
Bomber	kuntu vimanam
Bulb	minkumil
Calendar	na:dka:tti
Camera	puhaipada katuvi
Camp	muha:m
Campus	vala:ham

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- Cancer   puttuno:i
- Certificate   ṭata: ṭatappaṭtitam
- Chalk   venkatti
- Cheque   ka:so:lai
- Christmas   nattar
- Church   tə:va:layam
- Clerk   eluṭuvinaiyar
- Coil   curul
- College   kallu:ti
- Commission   a:naikkulu
- Computer   kanani
- Copy   piraṭi
- Court   ni:timanru
- Cricket   tudupa:ttam
- Cross   ciluvai
- Curfew   u:tadaŋku
- Current   minnƆ:ttam
- Customs   cuŋka atika:ti
- Diary   na:dkurippu
- Divorce   viva:hatattu
- Election   ṭe:rṭal
- Engine   iyanṭiram
- Entry   muraippa:du
- Fan   minviciri

- Flask   veppakuduvai
- Generator   minpirappa:ki
- Identity card
- Identity Card   adayala attai
- Iron   istirikkai
- Helicopter   ilaŋku vanurti
- Lavatory   malasalaku:tam
- Machine   iyanthiram
- Manager   muha:maiya:lar
- Muscle   tasaikal
- Nurse   ta:ti
- Office   ka:tiya:layam
- Overseer   Ɔ:vasiyar
- Packet   poti
- Paper   ka:hitam

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- Pass   anumatipattitam
- Passport   kadavuci:ttu
- Pencil   elutuko:l
- Pension   ɔ:ivu:tiyam
- Photo   puhaipadam
- Radio   va:noli
- Report   arikkai
- Station   nilaiyam
- Strike   ve:lainituttam
- Switch   a:li
- Television   tɔlaika:dci
- Train   puhaiyiratam
- Type   taddaccu
- Video   ɔlippativu

Due to the continuous increase of English borrowings in Tamil and the number of Tamil literacy publications including school and tertiary level institutional text books which require technical terms, a great difficulty arises in getting Tamil translated form for all the necessary English borrowings. Since there is no adequate resource personnel to undertake the task of translation material producers are forced to use the English borrowings either in their transliterated forms or assimilated forms in their works.

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CHAPTER 6
BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH IN THE MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE AND TAMIL LEXICONS

In the previous chapters of this dissertation, the use of English borrowings in the speech of Tamils has discussed. This chapter is devoted to analyse the feature and functions of English borrowings in Tamil writings. A few examples of English borrowings from fiction, poetry and drama in Tamil written from 1980 up to date and a Tamil Lexicon titled "Kriyaa:vin ṭatka:laṭ Tamil Akara:ṭi" have been selected for discussion in this chapter. During the recent past, particularly from 1980 to date, the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has been severe and as a result a large number of English words associated with warfare like Shell, Sentry, Camp, Bunker, and Rekey etc have become borrowings in Jaffna Tamil as Jaffna, in Sri Lanka has been the central place of confrontations between Tamil militants and State forces. Besides the authors of the selected writings are natives of Jaffna and it is assumed that their writings would reflect the culture of the Jaffna Tamil society and inevitably bear evidence of the use of English borrowings in this society.

Although the chief lexicographers of the Tamil lexicon which has been selected for discussion in this chapter are Indian scholars, a Sri Lankan Tamil scholar Dr.M.A Nuhman has also contributed as an assistant lexicographer in completing this lexicon. Besides it is the only one Tamil lexicon which contains some English borrowings found in Indian as well as in Sri Lankan Tamil.

An attempt has been made initially to assess the impact of English on Tamil writings. Particularly the impact of English on Tamil literary traditions and the subsequent changes have been discussed.

Cultural Supremacy of English

The political and administrative system of the British in Sri Lanka was more direct than it was in India. The impact of English education changed the ethos of the two national languages Sinhala and Tamil, of the country. Changes in the syntactic structure, new idioms and typically Western literary forms are evident of the impact of English education on these languages. The linguistic and literary attempts of the native scholars to maintain the tradition and the individuality of the age old literary tradition were the outcome of the intensity of the impact.

The political importance of the English education is not the only factor which influenced its impact on the literary activities. The cultural supremacy of the English language due to the political dominance of its users in the West also played a vital role in this respect. Though English was imposed in Sri Lanka as a language of administration and education, a tradition of intellectual inquiry and search for social truths accompanied it. In fact English came as the language of the West and the chief agent of Westernization.

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English gained its pre-eminence as a world language as a result of industrialization and modernization in Great Britain. Further as it was the language of the natives of English and the USA, it has expressed the scientific and the technological innovations and the subsequent socio economic and cultural aspirations and struggles. Consequently English became a language which could be well suited to the changes occurring at national as well as international level in various disciplines of knowledge and social aspects.

Thus owing to the social experience of the English languages, many non- European countries were persuaded to recognize English as their 2nd language.

However certain factors with regard to the attitudes of the natives of Sri Lanka restricted its acculturation, in terms of its areas of influence and the extent of its penetration into the culture and thought of the people.

Nationalist Educational Movement and English

The Nationalist Educational Movement started by Arumuga Navalar and later supported through the contribution of Anagarika Dharmapala and Colonel Olcott and Sideek Lebbe Araby Pasha emphasized that English should be used as a medium for educational purpose but not as a cultural system. The outcome of this movement was positive. The intellectual and social experiences acquired through English were exercised to modify the native age-old traditions. English was used such in a manner to suit the native environment. In this situation it was hard to find a creative writer in English among the native Sri Lankans because the members of the traditionally privilege communities were extremely concerned of their own religious values and social traditions. Creative writing in English can be possible unless the writer emerges from an environment which has no any inhibitions against thinking and feeling in English. In case of the popular Sri Lankan writer Alagu Subramaniam who contributed to English literature had a Methodist background and lived in England for a considerable time.

As far as Tamil is concerned, adapting English to the native culture had much positive impacts on Tamil literature. New ideas and concepts introduced through English in fact influenced the Tamil literature and enriched its potential and literary experiments and adaptations were carried out successfully in Tamil literature.

The Educational system which prevailed in the early 20th century in Sri Lanka did not allow the native students to imbue with English tradition thoroughly. The student was exposed to English language and literature only after he had completed his primary education in the national languages for 3 to 5 years. The awareness and practice of traditional culture at home and the emphasis on the native cultural values at school level induced the student to acquire the English knowledge in terms of his own culture. However the secondary education and higher education provided through the English medium made the natives realize the importance of English to adapt to the modern life. It led to the influence over the spirit of the national languages. Consequently the English novel and the English short story led to the emergence of Sinhala and Tamil novels and short stories.

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Amendment to the Educational System

The new educational system provided facilities to a larger section of population. The democratic and secular attitudes in education led to independent writing in the national languages. The expression of this class of writers in turn led to the democratization of the literary contents. The availability of educational facilities to all citizens persuaded them to read and write in an unprecedented manner.

The secularization as well as the democratization of education created the need for works in fields like Physics, Chemistry, History, and Geography etc in Tamil which were to be used as text books in schools.

What should be noted is that literary prose was in use earlier also, but a serious awareness for creating literature in prose arose following the aforesaid changes in educational system. Even today when the supremacy of prose is recognized as the vehicle of literary conveyance, there are scholars with conventional thinking and attitude who insist that creative works should be produced in verse only. Despite their narrow minded criticism, novel and short story have come to exist. The process of democratization was further escalated by the nature of the contents of novel and short stories, viz an attempt of revealing the mental conflicts of an individual who is harassed by various evil forces in the society. The earlier traditions highlighted the affairs of heroes and heroines who were peerless and privileged highly in societies. In contract the novel and the short story centered round the innocent victims of societies and thus they became themselves great democratizing force.

Development of a New Tradition in Tamil Writings

Since drama comprises dialogues, it began to depend on prose. Drama was the first to use colloquial expressions and soon fiction too followed the usage of colloquial expressions. Many features of Senṭamil (the sanctified literary form) were replaced by new dramatic devices including the transcription of the spoken word with all its phonetic peculiarities. Language here was adopted as a reflection of the powerful social undercurrents that were transferring the life of Tamils.

Fiction grew with popularity and as a result many English translations of non- English fictions, especially Russian and French were introduced in Tamil. Readers and writers were able to detect closer affinities with certain other cultures than with English. The works of authors like Chekhov, Gorky etc. had better appeal to Tamilian sensibility than most of the English authors themselves. (Sivathampy, 1979)

The role of poetry was strongly influenced by the changes which occurred in creative literature. The impact of English poetry resulted in a gradual specialization in the context of Tamil poetry. Now the personal response of the poet to the human environment and social set up is expressed through poetry and poetry serves as a medium to bring out the innermost feelings of man. The Indian Tamil poet par excellence Bharathi undertook to bring modernity into Tamil. He brought a new dimension to the rather obliquely practiced social function of poetry.

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English and Tamil scholars

The period of Arunuga Navalar (1822-1879), a prominent Tamil scholar is of much importance in the history of the impact of English on Tamilian life in Sri Lanka. He was pleased about the use of English as a language but he eschewed English cultural traditions. Navalar profoundly used prose in his works and excluded any non-salivate influences from higher literature. His innovative trends in thinking paved the way for a new form of Sri Lankan literature.

The English school soon began to assert itself and there arose social activities and scholars like Pavalar Thuraiyappapillai in whose literary and educational efforts the imprint of English is already seen. The play titled "Cakala Duna Compannan" written by him is a Tamilised version of the English morality play. Sri Lankan Tamil novalists grew prominent at the turn of the century. Eminent personalities like Simon Casie Chetty, Sir. P. Muttukumarasamy, Sir. P. Arunachchalam and Sir. P. Ramanathan translated some fine Tamil works into English to let the English know of the great cultural heritage of the Tamils. The "Arichandra Natakam", a drama translated from Tamil into English by Sir. P. Muttukumarasamy was presented to Queen Victoria. As started earlier it was the intention of preserving the purity and distinctiveness of Tamil which caused the initial reaction to the impact of English on Tamil writings (Sivathampy, 1959).

Soon there arose a keenness to modernize the creative literature in Sri Lanka mainly due to the influence of English education. It can't be started that all who opted to indulge in modernization were English educated. Some writers being inspired by Bharathy grew anxious to introduce creative norms in Sri Lankan Tamil writing especially in fiction. It is notable that the influence of English on Tamil writing could be more observed in the works of those who were not English educated.

Modernism in Tamil Writings

As the British rule began to be identified as an imperialistic force meant to exploit the resources of the colonies including Sri Lanka, there was a change in the attitude toward English. A tendency to take only the progressive aspect of English culture developed. Consequently Russian authors and more socially conscious French, American and British authors were appreciated, by the local reading and writing population. Yet the Sri Lankan Tamil writers continued to have inspiration from English or translated works from English.

The notification of Tamil literature in a true sense began in the thirties and the forties. The features of this novel type of Tamil literature can be found in the plays written by Prof. Kanapathippillai. He has used a raw dialectical form of Sri Lankan Tamil mingled with earthiness and wit.

After Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948 and particularly after 1956, there was a change in the Sri Lankan Tamil. A need for a truly Sri Lanka Tamil literature which could express the hopes, aspirations and fears of Tamils was felt. There was a movement which demanded for Sri Lankan Tamil literature which was genuinely nationalistic in character. The

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movement was led by a dynamic group of writers called the Progressive Writers Association. This Association strongly opposed the influence of the South Indian writing, particularly the market oriented literary stuff from South India. The movement was highly influenced by Marxist ideology. The problems related to the social consciousness of the literature and the social responsibility of the writers was the main concern of the movement. In support of the movement, the American, Australian and Canadian models of creating a literary tradition depicting their own cultures and rejecting the impact of socially irrelevant work from England were brought forward. This movement was stunted in 1954 and its outcome was immense in the early sixties. (Sivathamby, 1979)

English Influence on Modern Literature

An analysis with regard to any relationship of English with this movement would be beneficial in this study because most of the writers belonging to this movement were from working class ranks and others were, of course, educated in the Tamil medium, and English is probably alien to them. The following remarks are very appropriate in this context of discussion.

"The cultural flexibility of both the creative writer and the critic has reached such a stage today that some of them use English words in Tamil writing not in the transliterated form but in the full majesty of the Roman script. The untranslatability of the word at its inevitability in the context (at least from the point of view of the writer – let us not look into his competence) indicate that English has a place in Tamil literature not enjoyed even by Sanskrit for when the Sanskritists wanted to use Sanskrit word in Tamil they used the Grantha script, never the Devanagari". (Sivathamby,1979, P. 60)

Sivathamby's remarks that some of the writers use English words in their writings are disagreeable in today's context. The situation prevailing today is much different from the situation when he made these comments. At present almost all the creative writers use English inevitably in their writings. The ever increasing scientific and technological developments, and the expansion of new disciplines of knowledge and the war situations particularly in Jaffna bring forth several hundreds of new concepts and new objects day by day. It is extremely difficult to create technical terms or find Tamil equivalents for all of them at a time. For this reason and for various other reasons which will be discussed in the followings sections in this chapter later, in almost all the creative writings in Tamil produced by Jaffna writers, the use of English words can be observed.

English Borrowings in the Modern Tamil Literature

The modern Tamil literature has the tendency of deviating from the conventional style and adopting a casual style implying the exclusion of highly literary terms belonging to the high variety of Tamil and the inclusion of plain ordinary words and phrases which are easily accessible to the average reader. This tendency can be observed in the literature publications of Jaffna Tamil writers also. The poems by the late Rudramoorthy, A. Jesurasa, E. Murugaiyan and S. Pathmanathan, short stories and novels by S. Kandasamy, Kokila

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Mahendran and N. Shanmugalingam and plays by N. Sundarampillai all who are Jaffna Tamil writers can be cited in this respect. The modern Tamil literature accommodates ordinary words and phrases and English borrowings as well.

In the following section, the features and functions of English borrowings which appear in some selected fiction, poems and plays written by Jaffna Tamil writers (from 1980 to date) have been separately discussed.

English Borrowings in the Tamil Fiction

Almost in all the works of Tamil fiction which have been produced by the Jaffna Tamil writers the presence of English borrowings is a prominent feature. Some examples of English borrowings which appear in a few short stories and novels have been selected for discussion below. The English words of the borrowings are given within brackets against the borrowings.

Example -01

In the short story entitled "Mella Tamil Ini" the borrowings 'telipo:n pu:ʈ" (telephone booth), "po:nko:l" (phone call) and "ala:tam" (Alarm) are found. As the characters that use the borrowings in this short story are illiterate, these borrowings are associated with them to maintain a natural style of conversation. As the word Alarm is concerned, its phonetically modified form "ala:tam" is commonly used in Tamil fiction. It can be observed that though Tamil translated forms "tolaipeisi" and tolaipeisi alaipu" are available for Telephone and Phone Cell, the author of the story intends to introduce the borrowings which are familiar to the average reader, through the characters. (Kandasamy, 1999, P. 92) (See appendix No. 1).

Example -02

In the short story titled "Etʃankal", the borrowings "telipo:n" (Telephone), "Pæ:ku" (Bag), "tikæt" (Ticket) and "a:mika:tan" (Army Soldier) have been used. The writer of this story has chosen these borrowings to maintain a casual style since these borrowings very frequently occur in the ordinary conversation of people. (Rani, 2001, P.04) (See appendix No. 2).

Further, it's a usual feature in Tamil that ending "ka:tan" is added to male persons' names of kinship or occupation. Similarly "ka:ti" goes with females. For examples, one's uncle is sometimes referred to as ma:manka:tan" and aunt is "ma:mika:ti", in Tamil. The words "ma:man" and "ma:mi" refer to uncle and aunt respectively in Tamil.

Example -03

The borrowings "tiyə:tar" (Theatre) and "sinima:" (Cinema) are among some other borrowings used in this short story titled "Alaikal". The borrowings "tiyə:tar" is frequently used by monolinguals to refer to the cinema theatre as well as the operation theatre depending

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on the situation. Though the word Theatre (Cinema Theatre) has translations like "ṭiraiyarankam" and "patama:lihai" in Tamil, such translations have been deliberately avoided here. Because these two borrowings appear in a conversation between two ordinary characters in the novel and the writer of the story has used these borrowings since the translated forms are generally used in literary form of writings. . (Kandasamy,1999, P. 18) (See appendix No. 3).

Example -04

The borrowing "ko:ras" (Chorus) has been used in the novel titled "Sa:nro:n Ena kə :ta ṭa:I", to create a sense of humor. The situations concerned in the novel is a class room and the manner by which the pupils greet their teacher collectively and tunefully has been described as they greet their teacher in chorus. (Shanmugalingam , 1993, P. 1) (See appendix No. 4).

English Borrowings in Tamil Poetry

Example -01

In the poem titled "Muham" the borrowing "vasu" (Bus) appears. Though a Tamil translated form "pe: ṭuntu" is available for the English word Bus, the borrowing "vasu" has been used to rhyme with theTamil word "va:sal" which means entrance, in the preceding line in the poem. (Jesurasa , 1984, P. 9) (See appendix No. 5).

Example -02

The borrowings "ka:r" (Car) ro:tu" (Road) and "ṭa:r" (Tar) have been used in the poem titled "kuntu:si". Here the words "ka:r" and "ṭa:r" are used in the first and the second lines to create a rhyme effect. Though the English word Road has its Tamil equivalents "vi: ṭi", pa: ṭai" and sa:lai", the word "ro:tu has been preferred to such Tamil equivalents as this borrowing is generally used in casual speech and all the lines in this poem suggest a casual tone. (Jesurasa , 1984, P. 9) (See appendix No. 6).

Example -03

In the poem titled "Na:tu katanṭuvita Nanpanuku", the borrowing "so:pa:" (Sofa) has been used to produce a mock effect by condemning the emigrated Sri Lankana who have sought asylum in foreign countries. The asylum seekers are ridiculed as if they have neglected their native culture and indulged in the foreign culture and life with sophisticated household facilities. The word "so:pa" of course, has been used as a symbol of their indulgence in foreign culture.

In the same poem, the borrowing "sel" (Shell) has been used to describe the disasters caused by the ongoing civil war in Sri Lanka. Since there is no Tamil translation for this borrowing and as the people in Jaffna are well familiarized with this borrowing, the same is used in this poem. (Sayipiriyan, 1992, P. 9) (See appendix No. 7).

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Example -04

In the poem titled "padaiyal" the borrowings "keiku" (Cake), "sæːnvitʃu" (Sandwich) and "kʌtlætu" (Cutlet) have been included to create a ridiculing effect. The poem is intended to ridicule the natives of Jaffna who attempt to adopt the foreign culture by entertaining hosts with foreign food items at traditional ceremonies. (Sokalingam, 1982, P. IV) (See appendix No. 8).

English Borrowings in Tamil Plays

Example -01

In the play titled "Naːlai Nalla Naːl", the borrowings "maːster" (Master) and "puroːkar" (Broker) are found among some other English borrowings. The characters which use these borrowings in a conversation are depicted as uneducated, ordinary persons. The borrowing "maːstar" is very frequently used by Jaffna Tamil monolinguals to refer to a male teacher. The Tamil equivalents "guru". "aːsitiyar" and "upaː ṭiyaːyar" etc. are generally used in literary form of speech and writing. These are not used in casual dialogues. Similarly the word "puroːkar", a totally assimilated form of the English word Broker is used to refer to especially a marriage broker in the Jaffna social environment. The Tamil equivalent "ṭatakar″ for Broker is found in the literary form of writing only. Due to the familiarity of the ordinary people with the above mentioned borrowings and as the situation of the play is reflected through means of a dialogue, these borrowings have been selected by the writer of this play. (Sivapalan, 2001, P. 03) (See appendix No. 9).

Example -02

The borrowings "keitu" (Gate), "pilsu" (Pill) and "seitʃu" (Church) are some of the English borrowings found in the play titled, "Niː Seiṭa Naːtakame". The Tamil equivalents and translations patalai, maː ṭirai or maruṇṭu kulisai and ṭəːvaːlayam are respectively available for these borrowings. But in the Jaffna spoken Tamil, in consideration of the economy of effort, these borrowings are generally used. Both Tamil monolinguals and bilinguals in Tamil and English use these borrowings in their day- to-day casual speech.

The characters which use the above borrowings in this play are depicted as illiterate ordinary people and thus the writer has chosen these borrowings to impress the readers with a familiar, casual environment. (Shanmugalingam, 2002, P. 5,6,13) (See appendix No. 10, 11, and 12).

Example -03

The borrowings "tiusan" (Tuition) and "paːsu" (pass) are in vast usage among the monolinguals in Jaffna today. The student population is much higher than before and almost all the students attend private tuition classes in Jaffna. The performance of the students in school examinations and public examinations like G.C.E (O/L) & G.C.E (A/L) examinations

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is very often discussed by parents with great keenness and the borrowings "pa:su" (pass) and "peil" (fail) are very common in the speech of Jaffna Tamil monolinguals.

In the play titled "kita:ṭayin" vətəna mara", these borrowings "tiusan"and "pa:su" found among some other borrowings are used in a dialogue between two characters who are uneducated parents, in the play. (Sivapalan, P. 2001, P. 54) (See appendix No. 13).

The Emergence of a Group of New Anti-Purist Writers

One factor worked against the Tamil purist movement started by S. Vedachchalampillai in Thanjavur district, India about the 1950s. In India as well as in Sri Lanka, due to post- Independence problems, conditions were created for the emergence of a group of writers who belonged to traditionally oppressed sections of Tamil society. Many of them were impressed by Marxist- Communist ideals which provided them with a broad world view and also the confidence to express their thoughts and feelings freely, to struggle against oppression. Though their educational level was low, they ushered in new experiences, and visions into fiction, poetry and drama. They scorned "Correct" Tamil taught at school and ignored pure Tamil (Kalaisapathy, 1986, P. 21).

Elements such as regional and social dialecticisms, colloquialisms, neologisms etc. which were considered to be incorrect or unacceptable in writings earlier, have become very vital to a writer nowadays, since these elements constitute the basis of important ingredients for his literary communication. During the two decades modern Tamil writers waged incessant struggles to overcome languages barriers and to use what they call 'living language'. The modern Tamil writers in Sri Lanka during the course of the last two decades produced new variety of writing in which many novel features have been introduced. Since the writers became acquainted with new areas of social and personal experiences, and extended the range of portrayal of emotions and psychological state of characters, their linguistic scope too broadened. They attempt to produce works which could be read and understood by ordinary people. It was Subramaniya Bharathi (1882-1921), the greatest Tamil poet of the modern age in India who properly introduced modernism. In the preface to "Paanchali Chapatham" (1910), he wrote:

"He who produces an epic in simple style and diction, easily understandable metres and popular tunes will be infusing a new life into our language. The meaning must be crystal clear even to the neo- literates; at the same time, the poem must not be wanting in the graces and refinements that are expected of an epic" (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 43).

Many Sri Lankan modern writers followed the literary style of Subramaniya Bharathy. Novelists like Daniel, S. Ganeshalingam, S. Yohanathan and Benedict Balan to mention only a few have utilized the day-to-day spoken Tamil of ordinary people in their creations.

A new variety of poetry called "puṭu kaviṭai" (New Poetry) is very popular in Jaffna nowadays. The following remarks by kailasapathy on New Poetry are notable.

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"Perhaps the one single important features of the 'new poetry' is psychologicism. The individualized inner experiences of the poets find their expressions in their (often fragmentary) poems. What sometimes jars or disconcerts readers (who are unilingual) of these poems is their betrayal of excessive imitation of the avant-garde poetry in other parts of the world. These poets also have a weakness for using English words, often unwarranted in their poems"... (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 47).

It is quite evident from the above remarks that English words probably English borrowings are used in poetry in the present day. In the view of Kailasapathy, the use of English words in poems shows the weakness of poets. He seems to hold this view because he is an admirer of traditional poetry and he himself admitted it when he commented thus. "I myself do not approve of everything said and done under the banner of 'New Poetry. Personally I prefer rhyme and metre, and I have expressed my penchant for them in my Critical writings" (Kalaisapathy, K. 1986, P. 46).

The use of English words in poems does not show the weakness of the poet, but in fact, it reflects the artistic devoices of the poet in making this poems impressive among readers.

As a curious phenomenon Westernization is more evident in recent Tamil writing in Jaffna. It is curious because one may have expected that the gradual decline of English education in Sri Lanka and the increasing use of national languages for official purposes, a more inward literary climate would emerge. Such tendencies of Westernization should be considered in terms problems connected with emigration, brain –drain etc. The reference of foreign countries and foreign practice in the Tamil fiction is but another aspect of the migratory inclinations of certain of people in the society. There is a real connection between certain ideas about literature and the role of the writer and social factors.

Western Influence in Tamil Writings

The modern writers introduced new genres and experimented with western literary modes. They focused on a new literary language which could bridge the divisions that existed between the traditional literature and western, mainly English influences. Because English influences became to dominate over the experiences and way of life of the natives. They attempted to create a literary language to express their experiences of the changing trend of social and intellectual world. Their works of course reached out to the large middle-class reading public. The growing awareness of the socialist atmosphere of the sixties made literature to seriously focus on social and political issues. In today's context, social relevance is the most important issue. Almost all literary works, be they poetry, fiction or drama concern themselves with political and social issues (Obeyesekers, R, 1981, P. 57). The writers of the early 20th century were concerned with social issues, but the people in that period did not bother much about social issues. But today both creative writers and the public are concerned with social and political issues.

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As far as the modern Tamil writings are concerned, the replacement of words and phrases which were quite unfamiliar to the average reader, by plain and ordinary words and phrases including English borrowings which have become very vital elements of the day-today expressions of the public is skillfully carried out by writers. This feature of the modern Tamil literature in fact makes the message to be conveyed through such writings sound and forceful.

English Borrowings in the Tamil Lexicon

Some of the English borrowings found in the Indian Tamil and Sri Lankan Tamil have been included in the Tamil lexicon titled "kriyavin Tarkala Tamil Akarati" (Subramanian,1992). (See list A).

The prominent feature of the borrowings found in this lexicon is their total assimilation into Tamil. For example the English word court has become a borrowing in its assimilated form as "ko:tu" in the Sri Lankan Tamil. Similarly words like Hurricane, Cholera and Receipt are borrowings in their assimilated forms as "atikan", "ka:lata:" and "rasi: ṭu" respectively both in the Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil. Since the borrowings found in this lexicon are vastly and very frequently used by both monolinguals and bilinguals, they have been totally assimilated.

Among the borrowings incorporated in the lexicon, three are indicated as Sri Lankan borrowings. Of these three, except the borrowing "ko:tu" (Law court) the other two borrowings. "ṭei″ (Tea) and ″la:mpu″ are found in their hybridized forms as ″ṭeiṭanni:r″ (a drink of tea) and ″la:mpǝnnai″ (Kerosene oil) respectively.

Though only three of the borrowings are indicated as usages in Sri Lanka, all the English borrowings found in this lexicon are borrowings in Sri Lanka also.

LIST A

English Borrowings in "Kriyavin Tarkala Tamil Akarati"

English   **Borrowings**

- Hurricane   atikan
- Aluminum   aluminiam
- Amen   a:men
- Islam   isla:m
- Will   uyil
- Vote   o:tu
- Catholicism   kaṭ ṭo:likam
- Coffee   ka:pi
- Compound   ka:mpavuntu
- Colony   ka:lani

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- Cholera   ka:lata:
- Christianity   kiriṭavam
- Christ   kirisṭu
- Court   ko:tu (Sri Lankan usage)
- Chutney   catni
- Sherbet   carpaṯ
- Saloon   calu:n
- Cinema   cinema:
- Scent   cent
- Cycle   caikil
- Soda   co:ta:
- Tumbler   ṭamlar
- Dozen   tadȝan
- Doctor   ta:ktar
- Dollar   ta:klar
- Trunk   titaŋu
- Tin   tin
- Drawer   tita:yar
- Tea   ti:
- Teacher   ti:tʃar
- Dupe   tu:b
- Tar   ṭa:r
- Tea   ṭei (Sri Lankan usage)
- Protein   putaṯam
- Bourgeois   pu:rva:
- Bible   paiple
- Button   poṭṭa:n
- Police   po:li:s
- Marxism   ma:rksiam
- Mile   mayil
- Minor   mainar
- Receipt   rasi: ṭu
- Rubber   rappar
- Rail   rayil
- Rose   ro:sa:
- Rowdy   ravuti
- Lantern   la:nṭar
- Lamp   la:mpu (Sri Lankan usage)
- Bank   vanki
- Hall   ha:l

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- Homeopathy   ho:mio:paṭi

Summary

Modern literature in Tamil produced by writers who are natives of Jaffna contain English borrowings amply, as the modern era witnesses the advent of new concepts of diverse branches of knowledge and the introduction of new articles as a result of vast development in science, technology, trade, communication etc at international level. The developments in these fields have caused a sort of dramatic, revolutionary changes in the life style of people which in turn has modified sharply the creative thinking as well as the style of criticism.

The presence of English borrowings enriches the contents of literature by providing it with novel dimensions that may appeal to the minds of the reader and serve as a device to convey ideas with striking effects. Further the modern literary works in Tamil produced by Jaffna writers provide documentary evidence for the influence of English borrowings in the social interaction of Jaffna Tamils.

The modern Tamil literature free from literary terms of high variety Tamil but inclusive of ordinary words and phrases and borrowings accessible to the average reader marks the changing trend of literary tradition from classic into modernism. Modernism in literature gives awareness to the reader about social surrounding. The presence of English borrowings is an inevitable feature in modern Tamil literature of Jaffna in the sense that it grafts some new variety of elements onto the existing tradition.

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CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

After the colonial power to the hands of the British in 1796 much importance was given for imparting English knowledge among Sri Lankan natives. English was made the medium of instruction in government schools and even private schools were established to provide English education. English became the state language and soon grew to be a prestige language. English used by the Sri Lankans gained a unique status due to its distinct features and was popularly known as the Sri Lankan English.

The contact between English and Tamil, one of the national languages of Sri Lanka and the subsequent development of bilingualism led to the borrowing of many English words into Tamil. The verbal interaction between bilinguals and monolinguals in various contexts led to the infiltration of English words into the speech of Tamil monolinguals.

The difference in the sound systems and the number of phonemes of English and Tamil is the main cause of assimilation of English words in the speech of Tamils. Particularly the Tamil monolinguals that are not conscious of the origin or source of the English words use them conveniently in assimilated forms.

Though equivalent Tamil terms have been made available for some English technical terms, the English terms are preferred in the casual speech of Tamils because of their popularity. The translated or the transliterated forms of English words are used in written texts.

An acute decline of English bilingualism can be observed in Jaffna at present, particularly following the introduction of mother tongue as the medium of instruction in government schools and other higher educational institutions in 1945. There are still other factors contributing to the negligence toward English. The residents of Jaffna do not have the access to have a good exposure to English. Due to political, socio economic and cultural factors tourist, industrial, trade and cultural activities have been paralyzed. Improper transport service hinders free contacts with those residing outside the peninsula. This kind of obscured and culturally confined surrounding in Jaffna turns out to be shutters against the English oriented world.

The patriotic feeling of the Tamils too has caused some restriction on the use of English. There have been campaigns insisting on the use of Tamil technical terms possibly for all general concepts and familiar objects.

Also a lack of interest can be observed among the people of Jaffna in appreciating the English programs delivered by the electronic media such as radio and television and the press media. Indifference to English programs and materials may be attributed to lack of English proficiency.

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Nevertheless the availability of several hundred household articles, electronic equipment, consumable goods etc. which arrive at the market as new products daily cause numerous English terms to infiltrate into spoken and written Tamil. During business transactions and bargain in Trade centre, financial institutions like banks and normal social interactions, the mixing of many English words can be observed.

The economy in usage and the assimilation of such English words and perhaps the unavailability of Tamil equivalent terms induce people to mix them. There are instances when speakers attempt to use English terms with prestige motive in exposing themselves as educated ones so as to establish social identity.

The writers of modern Tamil literature attempt to introduce new genres and adopt western literary modes in their works. They intend to bridge the divisions that exist between the themes, language and style of the traditional literature and the western, mainly the English influences that are becoming increasingly a part of the experience and way of life. To achieve this target, they concentrate on a new literary language which is flexible enough to express the experiences of the changing trend of social and intellectual set up and which can be reach out to a wide middle class reading public which is eager for reading material but not intellectually competent enough to read classic literature. Today social relevance has become a vital issue. Almost all works on literature whether fiction, poetry or drama seriously focus on political and social issues and themes.

The use of English borrowings as part of the English influence over the social and political experiences of people has become inevitable in the modern Tamil literature produced especially by Jaffna writers, since the ethnic crisis and the related issues have become intense in Jaffna. The use of English borrowings is adopted as a literary device to stress ideas and create effects of humor, mockery, ridicule etc, Further the unavailability of Tamil equivalents or translations and in case of certain borrowings the greater familiarity of people with the language of these borrowings make writers choose borrowings in their works. The presence of English borrowings in the modern Tamil literature contributes, of course, toward the success of the writer in conveying the theme.

The penetration of English words has indeed enriched and expanded the Jaffna Tamil vocabulary. The presence of English words has facilitated one's expression of ideas with ease and effect.

It is also encouraging to note that today a greater emphasis is laid on the production of technical terminology in Tamil. Vast attempts are made in India and Sri Lanka in this regard. Coexistence of English terms and Tamil terminology will be further addition to the Tamil vocabulary. The state should take initiative to produce resource personnel who are specialized in Translation. Glossaries should be designed and made available to students and professionals concerned. Separate glossaries for subjects such as Geography, History, Economics, Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, Science etc should be made available.

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Particular attention should be paid to produce a set of uniform technical terms at least in the academic discipline to avoid confusion caused by the presence of different Tamil translation for the same English term. Besides, in some texts Tamil translations and in some other texts transliterations are used for the same English terms. Therefore it is essential to decide whether an English term, be it a borrowed word or not, should be used in its transliterated form or it should be replaced by a Tamil translation. In deciding it, the economy of effort in pronunciation, appropriate meaning expression etc, should be taken into consideration.

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மெல்லத் தமிழ் இனி...!

இறும்பூதெய்தினால். அத்துடன் கடிதம் வருவதும் அருகிப்போயிற்று.

இதனிடையில் இங்கேதான் எத்தனை பிரளயங்கள்! 'சூரியப்பிரகாசம்', 'முன்னேறிப்பாய்ச்சல்' 'சூரியக்கதிர்', 'வெற்றிஉறுதி'.... வன்னிக்குஇடம் பெயர்வு ....மீளக்குடியமர்வு...என்று நாடு இப்போது வழமைக்குத் திரும்பிவிட்டதாக ஒரு மாயத் தோற்றம் மூன்று நாட்களுக்கு ஒரு தடைவை அணைந்து அணைந்து ஒளிரும் மின்சாரம் ஆடிக்கொருமுறை அமாவாசைக்கொருமுறை நடைபெறும் கப்பல் சேவை, இரணைத்தீவு பிராந்தியத்தில் அந்தரத்தில் தரித்து நிற்கும் விமான சேவை... இத்தியாதி இத்தியாதி... நாடு வழமைக்குத் திரும்பி விட்டதாகப் பீற்றிக் கொள்வதில் மட்டும் ஒன்றும் குறைச்சல் இல்லை.

ஆனால் ஒன்று, தடுக்கி விழுந்தால் 'டெலிபோன் பூத்தில்' தான் முட்டிக்கொள்ளும் அளவுக்கு ஆங்காங்கே தொலைத்தொடர்பு நிலையங்கள் முளைத்துவிட்டன. இத்தனைக்கும் முன்பு கொழும்புக்கோ பின்பு யாழ்ப்பாணத்திற்கோ சென்று ஒரு **'போன்கோல்'** எடுக்க முயற்சிக்கவில்லை. ஆசை ஆரைத்தான் விட்டது? இப்போது காலடியில் டெலிபோன் பூத் கிடக்க இத்தனை நாள் அவள் இதயத்தில் உறங்கிக் கிடந்த ஆவல் கிளர்ந்தெழ... நாளை எப்படியும் மகனோடு போனில் பேச வேண்டும் என்று புருஷனை நச்சரித்து முடிவாக்கியும் விட்டாள். எத்தனை நேரம் விழித்திருந்தோம் எப்போது தூங்கினோம் என்று எதுவுமே தெரியாது அவளுக்கு. 'அலராம்' கூட வைக்காமல் 'சடக்' கென்று நாலு மணிக்கே விழிப்புக்கண்டுவிட்டது. வாரிச் சுருட்டிக்கொண்டு எழுந்தாள் சீதா. மளமள வென்று காலைக் கடன்களை முடித்து தேநீர் தயாரித்து கணவனுக்கும் கொடுத்து தானும் ஒரு மிடறு.

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எச்சங்கள்....

(ராணி சீதரன்)

கடல் மகளுக்கு வகிடெடுத்து இரண்டு புறமும் வெண்பூக்களைச்சூட்டி விட்டது போல 'சிற்றி ஒவ் றிங்கோ' கப்பல் வெண்நுரைகளைச் சிந்திக்கொண்டு அந்த அமைதியான இரவில் பயனித்துக் கொண்டிருந்தது. திருகோணமலையிலிருந்து யாழ்ப்பாணம் செல்லும் கப்பலிற்கு அனுமதிச்சீட்டு பெறும் வரை எத்தனை கட்டடங்களைத் தாண்ட வேண்டி யிருக்கின்றது. என்பதை நினைத்தபோது பத்து வருடங்கள் பிறந்த மண்ணை மறந்திருந்ததிலும் நியாயம் இருக்கிறது என மனதை தேற்றிக்கொண்டேன். காலையில் திருகோணமலை பஸ்ஸில் ஏறினால் மதிய உணவு யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் சாப்பிடக் கூடிய வகையில் போக்குவரத்தும் நாட்டுநிலையும் இருந்த நிலைமாறி, இன்ற சனம் நாய்படாப்பாடு படுவதோடு ஒரு பகலையும் ஒரு இரவையும் கப்பல் பயணம் விழுங்கி விடுகிறது. பொழுது கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்மாக புலரத் தொடங்க கப்பலும் காங்கேசன்துறை முகத்தை நெருங்கிக்கொண்டிருந்தது.

"முதலில் ஆம்பிளயளைக் கொண்டு 'பாக்'குகளை இறக்குவார்கள். பிறகுதான் நாங்கள் இறங்கலாம்". என்னை அவசரப்பட வேண்டாம் என்பது போல பக்கத்திலிருந்தவர் அந்தத்தகவலைச் சொன்னார்.

"விசவத்தனையோனே, பத்து வருஷத்திற்கு பிறகு வருகிறேன். உனது தேர்த்திருவிழாவை பார்க்க வைத்துவிடு". நான் முருகனை மனமாற வேண்டியிருந்தாலும் கூட, தங்கை "அக்கா கப்பல் நேரத்திற்கு வராது. தேர் பார்க்கிற ஆசையை விட்டுப்போட்டு வாங்கோ" நேற்று

உறுதியாக **ரெலிபோனில்** சொன்னது மனதில் உறுத்திக் கொண்டிருந்தது. ஆனாலும் போய்ச்சேருவேன் என்ற நம்பிக்கை குறையவில்லை 'பாக்' குகளை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு ஒவ்வொருவரும் வரிசையாகப் போய்நின்றார்கள்.

இராணுவத்தினரின் **பஸ்** வந்து நின்றது. வரிசையிலும் தள்ளுப்படத் தொடங்கினார்கள். **'பாக்'** குகள் ஏற்றியபிறகு **'ரிக்கர்'** எழுதுபவர் வந்து 'பாக்' ஒவ்வொன்னுக்கும் நாற்பது ரூபா ஆளுக்கு நாற்பது எனக் கட்டணத்தை அறவிட்டார்.

கப்பலில் ஏறியதிலிருந்து வீடு போய்ச் சேரும்வரை காசால் விசுக்கிக் கொண்டுதான் போக வேண்டும். பட்டி அடைத்தது போல 'பஸ்' வண்டிக்குள் இடிபட்டு மூச்சத்திணறி பட்ட அவஸ்த்தைகளுக்குள்,

'ஏன் தூக்கிப்பாக்கிறியள் **ஆமிக்காரன்** இறக்கிவைச்சு சாத்து சாத்தப்போறன். ஒருவர் செய்யும் பிழைக்கு எல்லாரும் தண்டனை அனுபவிக்க வேணும்" காலைப் பொழுதில் அருகில் நின்றவருக்கு ஞானம் பிறந்து அதனால் வாயைத் திறந்து உபதேசம் செய்கிறார்.

'குப்' பென்று மூக்கிலே வந்தடித்த அந்த மணத்திலே கொஞ்நேரம் சுவாசிக்க மறந்து நிற்கிறேன். பஸ்ஸில் இரண்டு பக்கமும் நீலத் திரையால் மறைக்கப்பட்டதன் காரணத்

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"என்ன இருந்தாலும் நான் செய்தது குற்றம்தான், அவரை அப்படிப்பேசியிருக்கக் கூடாது" தனிமையின் வேதனையில் மனதில் ஒரு மன்றம் எழுப்பி, பொங்கி வரும் எண்ணப் போராட்டங்களை வாதப் பிரதிவாதங்களாக்கி, தனக்கொரு நீதி வழங்குவதுடன் சமாதானம் தேடிக் கொள்ள முயற்சிக்கிறாள் பேதை. கண்கெட்ட பின் சூரிய நமஸ்காரமா?

அன்றிரவு யோசெப் சாப்பாட்டிற்கு அமர்ந்தபோது, வட்டிலில் இட்ட சோற்றில் அவனுக்குப் பிடித்தமான சுறாமீன் குழம்பை ஊற்றியவளின் வாய் சும்மா இருந்திருக்கக் கூடாதா?

"கேட்டியளோ! இண்டைக்கு சென்றல் **தியேட்டரிலை** புதுப்படமாம். 'பணமா பாசமா' ஓடுது".

"ஓடட்டன் அதுக்கென்ன இப்ப" உற்சாகமின்றி மொழிந்தான் யோசெப்.

அவனிறுத்த பதிலில் பிலோமினாவின் முகம் சுவையுள்ள சோற்றை உண்ணும் போது, முரசில் மீன் முள்ளுக் குத்திய மாதிரி பல கோணங்களில் நொருங்கி நெளிந்து சுண்டி விட்டது. இருந்தாலும் சுதாகரித்துக் கொண்டு "படத்திற்கு போகலாமா என்றுதான் கேட்கிறன்" என்று ஒரு வித அதிகாரமும் உரிமையும் இழையோடக் கேட்டாள் பிலோமினா.

யோசப்பிற்கு **சினிமா** கேளிக்கைகளில் நாட்டம் இல்லை. எப்போதாவது இருந்தாற்போல் போவதுண்டு. அதுவும் பிலோமினாவின் நச்சரிப்பிற்காக. இன்று அவனுக்கு சரியான களைப்பு வேறு- மறுத்து விட்டான்.

"ஏன் நீங்களும் வாங்கோவன். நல்ல படமாம்! அந்த 'எலந்தைப்பழம்' பாட்டிற்காக எத்தனை முறை வேணுமானாலும் பார்க்கலாமாம்" என்றால் பிலோமினா ஆர்வத்துடன்.

"இப்ப படம் பார்க்காமல் என்ன குறைந்து விட்டது?"

"ஒன்றும் குறையல. எல்லாம் நிறைஞ்சிருக்கு.

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மணி அடித்து ஓய்கின்றது, நீண்ட நேரமாக பெய்து கொண்டிருக்கும் மழை இன்னும் ஓய்வதாயில்லை. காற்றின் வேகமும் குறைவதாயில்லை. மழையோசையை மிஞ்சி ஒலித்த மாணவரின் சத்தம் மட்டும் ஊய்கின்றது. முண்டியடித்து தங்கள் தங்கள் இடங்களில் இடங்களில் அமர்ந்து கொள்கின்றனர். ஆனாலும் ஆறேழு பேராக ஒரு வாங்கில் இடிபடும் வழமையான நெருக்கடி இன்றில்லை.

"என்ன இவ்வளவு பேர்தானா... மிச்ச ஆக்கள் எல்லாம் மழையில கரைஞ்சிட்டாங்களா..."எனக் கேட்டபடி வகுப்பினுள் நுழைகின்றார் ஆசிரியர்.

"குட்மோனிங் சேர்" என்ற கோரஸ் என்று சுருதி குறைந்து ஒலிக்கின்றது.

"புதுப்பாடம் துவங்க வேணும். எல்லோரும் கண்டிப்பாக வரவேண்டும் என்று கடைசி வகுப்பில் சொன்னேன்... இல்லையா" எனச் சற்றுக் கோபத்துடன் கேட்டார் ஆசிரியர். எல்லா மாணவர்களும் ஒரே நேரத்தில் தலையாட்டுகின்றனர்.

"இவ்வளவு பேருடன் புதுப்பாடம் இன்று துவங்க முடியாது... இதற்கு முன் படித்தவற்றில் விளங்காத பகுதிகளைக் கேளுங்கள்..." என்று ஆசிரியர் சொன்னது தான் தாமதம், "புயல் வருகுதாம் சேர்" என்றான் ஒருவன்.

"அது பயங்கரமான வேகத்துடன் வருவதாக ரேடியோ சொன்னது சேர்" என்றான் இன்னொருவன். சரி சரி சத்தம் போட்டு அடுத்த

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ஏக்கம்

நான் வரண்டு கிடக்கிறேன்,

மழை பொழியப் பயிர் சிலிர்க்கும்

வளம் நிறைந்த வயலென்றால்

பொங்கும்…….

மகிழ்ச்சிதான்….!

முகம்

மென்முகத்துச் சிறு சோகம்

காண்பதற்கு எனக்கா வல்,

உன்னுடைய கடை வாசல்,

தரிப்பிடத்து *வசு வந்தால்

என்னுடைய தலை நீண்டு

உன்னிடத்தைத் தான் தேடி,

கன்னந்தனைக் கண்டுவிட்டால்

என்னுடைய வெறு நெஞ்சும்

முகத்தால் நிரம்பி விடும்!

*வசு – பஸ்

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குண்டூசி!

கார் ஓடும் *கோல்றோட்டில்
தாருருகி ஓடுகிற-
மதியத்தில்,
குறுக்கு மறுக்கான
கூட்டத்தில் போகையிலே
செருப்பறுந்து, போச்சுது...!
'ச்சீ... சனியன்
அறுந்து போச்சுதே
என்னண்டு போறதெண்டு'
குழம்பி நிற்கையிலே,
நீதந்த குண்டூசி...!
குத்தி ஒருபடியாய்
மேல் நடந்து போனேன், நாம்
தோழா! என்நன்றி
உந்தனுக்கும்,
உன்னுடைய ஊசிக்கும்!

*Galle Road

பெருமிதம்

என்னுடைய வாழ்வுக்...
காலத்து ஒருநாளில்,
சந்திரனில் முதல் மனிதன்
காலடியை எடுத்து வைத்தான்!
நீண்டு..., மிக நீண்ட
அண்ட வெளிச்ச சூனியத்துச்
சுற்றுகின்ற கிரகத்தில்
மனிதத் தடம் பதியத்,
தொடங்கியதோர்
யுகத்தின் முதல் நாளில்,
நானும் வாழ்ந்திருந்தேன்!

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நாடு கடந்து விட்ட நண்பனுக்க...

-செ. சாயிப்பிரியன்-

அன்பின் நண்பா!
அகதி என்ற பெயருடன்
அடுக்கு மமாடியில் வாழ்பவனே!
கூவி வரும் ஷெல்கள்
குண்டுச் சத்தங்களைத் தவிர்த்து
இதமான வாழ்வுக்காய் நீ
இம்மண்ணை விட்டுச் சென்று விட்டாய்.
இங்கு

ஆளே விறைத்துப் போகும்
அளவற்ற குளிரிலும்
மனமாற்றம் தருகின்ற
மதுப்புட்டிகளிலும்
சோபா மெத்தைகளிலும்
சொகுசான சுகங்களிலும்
ஊரென்றும் உறவென்றும்
உடன்பிறப்பென்றும் இல்லாது
இயந்திரத்தோடு இயந்திரமாய்
இதயமற்று வாழ்வதிலும்
மழலையாய் நீ தவழ்ந்த
மண்ணை மறந்திருப்பாய்!

இங்கு
கூவி வரும் ஷெல்கள் குறையவில்லை
குண்டுச் சத்தங்கள் இன்னும் ஓயவில்லை
எங்கள் வீடுகள் யாவும்
எதிரியவும் பிடிக்குள்
எமது வரவை எதிர்பார்த்து
ஏங்கித் தவிக்கின்றன.
நாங்கள் ஓடிவிளையாட
நாகமுத்தர் வீடு இப்போ

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படையல்

கேக்கும் பற்றிசும்

சான்ட்விச்சும் கட்லெற்றும்

புதிய பலகாரங்கள்

இனிய சுவை உண்டு

விரும்பிய பலர் உண்கிறார்கள்

சாமர்த்தியச் சடங்கு

திருமணம் திவசத்திற்கு மட்டும்

வடையோடு அரியதரம்

சிப்பி பயற்றம் பணியாரம்

இவற்றைத் தயாரித்து பரிமாறுதலே

தங்கள் பண்பாடு என்று

காட்டியும் சுவைத்தும்

சந்தோஷப்படும் இனம்

எங்கள் தமிழினம்!

பாரதிக்கு நூற்றாண்டு விழா

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குணம் : ஆளின்ர நிலை இப்ப என்னமாதிரி...

சோமு : ஆஸ்பத்திரியில சேர்த்தாச்சு எண்ட நிம்மதிதான்... அங்கால விதி எப்பிடியோ...

பூரணி : ஏனண்ணை... ஏனாம் அந்தப் பிள்ளை இப்பிடி...

சோமு : என்ன செய்யிறது... வாழவேண்டிய வயசில வந்த துணைய பறி குடுத்திட்டு... வாறவை போறவையின்ர வாயள் வேற சும்மா கிடந்தா தானே... எல்லாம் சேர்ந்ததிலே மன விரக்திதான்...

குணம் : பூரணி வேற என்னவெல்லாமோ சொன்னாள்... தங்கச்சியாற்ற சம்பந் விசயமா...

சோமு : ஓமெண்டு சொல்லுங்களன்... நீங்கள் கைவிட்ட கணக்கா வேறொரு பகுதியும் வந்து இந்தா தானெண்டிட்டு மெல்ல விலகியிற்று...

குணம் : ஏனாம்...

சோமு : ஏனெண்டா... நீங்கள் சொன்ன காரணம்தான்... புருசனை இழந்ததொண்டு வீட்டுக்க இருக்க போயிற்றா எல்லாம் பெரிய பொறுப்பாய் போயிடும்...

குணம் : இதெல்லாம் ஏன் சோமு இந்தப்பிள்ளையின்ர காதில விழவேணும்...

சோமு : இந்தப்பிள்ளை என்ன பால்குடியா மாஸ்ரர் ஒண்டும் விழங்காமல் இருக்கிறதுக்கு அதோட நாங்களென்ன எல்லாத்திலும் நாகரீகமாகவா நடந்து கொள்கிறம்...

குணம் : ஏன் சோமு நான் உன்னட்ட சொன்னன் தானே... இதுதான் காரணமெண்டு அங்க சொல்லாத எண்டு...

சோமு : நானெண்டால் சத்தியமாச் சொல்லயில்லை மாஸ்ரர்... ஊர் வாயை மூடமுடியுமா?... ஏதோ எப்பிடியோ கசிஞ்சிட்டுது... பிறகு வந்தவை வஞ்சகமில்லாம புரோக்கரிட்ட நேரடியாச் சொல்லிப்போட்டினம்... வாழ்விழந்து ஒண்டு வீட்டுக்க வயது போன தாய்... இதெல்லாம் பெருஞ்சுமையெண்டினமாம்.... பின்ன அந்தப் பிள்ளை தன்ர சுமையைக் குறைக்கப்பாத்திருக்கு...

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'நீ செய்த நாடகமே'

பாடல்

தாமே தமக்குச் சுற்றமும்

    தாமே தமக்கு விதிவகையும்

யாம் ஆர் எமது ஆர் பாசம் ஆர்

    என்ன மாயம் இவை போகக்

கோமான் பண்டைத் தொண்டநொடும்

    அவன் தன் குறிப்பே குறிக் கொண்டு

போம் ஆறு அமைமின் பொய் நீங்கிப்

    புயங்கன் ஆள்வான் பொன் அடிக்கே.

        -திருவாசகம்- யாத்திரைப் பத்து-3-

பாடல் முடிவடைய கனகசபை- கமலம் இடது புறத்தால் மேடைப்படிகளில் ஏறிவருவர். இடது கோடியில் இருக்கும் அழகானந்தைக் கண்டதும்.

கனக : என்ன விசேஷம்? புனைகதை எழுத்தாளர் அழகானந்தத்தார் இண்டைக்கு வெள்ளனவே வீதிக்கு வந்திட்டார்?

அழகா : வாழ்க்கையே புனைகதையாய்ப் போனதும், எழுத்தாளன் வீதிக்கு வந்திட்டான். தலை எழுத்து வெற்றி கண்டிட்டுது.

கனக : சலிப்பு வேண்டாம் அழகானந்தம்!

விசாலா : கண்படக்கூடாது! கனகசபையாரும் கமலாக்காவும் குடுத்துவைச்சனீங்கள்!

கமல : நாங்கள் குடுக்கவும் இல்லை வைக்கவுமில்லை.

கனக : வச்சுக்குடுக்கவுமில்லை, விசாலாட்சி!(சிரிக்கியார்)

கனகசபை : கமலம் தங்கள் வீட்டுக்குள் செல்கின்றனர். படித்துக்கொண்டிருந்த கபிலன் இவர்களைக் கண்டுவிட்டு

கபிலன் : அக்கா ஆறு மணியாச்சுது!

கவிதா : பாட்டாவும் பாட்டியும் வீதி உலாப் போய் வந்தால், கேற்றடியில கால் வைக்க ஆறு மணிஅடிக்கும.

கனக : கவிதா நேரம் பவித்திரமானது! கபிலன் இன்னும் அரை மணித்தியாலம் இருக்கு, படிப்பு முடிச்சுக் கதையள் கதைக்க!

கபிலன் : எங்கட பாட்டா "டைம்கீப்பரா" இருந்தவரா?!

கனக : மனிசனாய்ப் பிறந்தவன் எதிலும் 'டைம்கீப்' பண்ணவேணும்!

கவிதா : அப்பிடி எண்டா?

கனக : காலம் கணிச்சு வாழவேணும்! காலத்தை அறிஞ்சும் வாழவேணும்! அது முடியாத போது தானே காலமாகி விடவேணும!

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-கனகசபை சிரித்துக் கொண்டு அமர்கின்றார். காயத்திரி மூவருக்கும் தேநீர் பரிமாறுகிறார். கமலம் முன்னமே உள்ளே சென்றவர், கையில் தனது தேநீருடன் வந்து அமர்கிறார். கதிர்காமநாதனும் தேநீர் பருகியவாறு வருகிறார்.

கபிலன் : அப்பாவும், அம்மாவும் ஏன் 'வோக்கிங்' போறதில்லை

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APPENDIX -11

காயத்திரி : நாங்கள் 'வேக்கிங் பீப்பிள்' ஆனபடியால் தேவை இல்லை!

கதிர் : நான் இன்னும் பத்து வருஷத்துக்கு நடக்கத் தேவையில்லை!

கவிதா : ஏனப்பா?

கதிர் : எனக்கு இப்ப 50 வயது. அறுவது வரை இங்க இருந்து கச்சேரிக்கு சயிக்கிள் மிதிக்கிறது போதாதா?

கனக : நொண்டிக்கழுதைக்கு சறுக்கினது சாட்டு!

கவிதா : பாட்டா, அப்பாவை கழுதை என்கிறார்!

கபிலன் : திருவன் வளத்த குதிரையைப் போல, அக்காதும் பெண்டு நினைச்சுத் தாடியைப் பிடிக்கிறா!

கமல : இன்னும் நாலு மாதத்தில கவிதாவுக்கு 'கம்பஸ்' கடைசிச் சோதனை நடக்கும் அதோட படிப்பும் முடியும்.

கபிலன் : அக்காவுக்கு இனிக் கலியாணம் பேசவேணும் எண்டு பாட்டி சொல்லாமல்ச் சொல்கிறார்.

கவிதா : ஓ , இவளுக்குத்தான் எல்லாம் விளங்கும்!

காயத்திரி : எதையும் செய்து முடிக்கிற காலத்தில செய்து முடிக்கத்தானே வேணும்.

கதிர் : செய்வம் இப்ப என்ன அவசரம்

காயத்திரி : இருவத்திமூண்டு வயசாகிது

கனக : ஆகட்டும், சோதனை முடியட்டும்! என்ன காயத்திரி?

காயத்திரி : ஒம் மாமா!

கபிலன் : அக்கா! பாட்டாவில கோவமா?

இந்தச் சறிய பகிடிக்கும் இக்குடும்பம் சிரித்து மகிழ்கிறது. அடுத்து இவர்கள் தத்தம் அலுவல்களில் அமைதியாக ஈடுபடுகின்றனர். உள்ளே செல்பவர் சென்று விடுவர். சதாசிவத்தை மனைவி சரஸ்வதி கையில் பிடித்து அழைத்து வந்து அசனத்தில் இருத்துவார்.

சரஸ் : இந்தாங்கோ! இந்த 'பில்சை' விழுங்குங்கோ

சதாசி : என்னது?

சரஸ் : முட்டுக்குளிசை!

சதாசி : தந்திட்டுப் போம்! நான் விழுங்கிறன்.

சரஸ் : விழுங்கிறெண்டு சொல்லி, இவ்வளவு நாளும், நான் தந்திட்டு போக, மருந்தை யன்னலுக்கு வெளியாலை எறிஞ்சு போட்டு, சுடு தண்ணியை மட்டும் மடக்கெண்டு குடிக்கிறீங்கள்.

சதாசி : (சிரிக்கிறார்)

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சரஸ் : சிரிக்கிறார் கள்ளன்! ஆவெண்ணுங்கோ வாயை!

அவர் குழந்தை போல வாயைத்திறக்க, சரஸ்வதி   மருந்தை ஊட்டுகிறார்.

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மரங்கள் அப்பிடி இல்லை. எனக்கும் பாப்பாவுக்கும் மூண்டு வயது தான் வித்தியாசம்!

ராஜா : எனக்கு இருபத்தி நாலாகியும் ஒண்டும் இன்னம் அருளுதில்லை!

பரா : எனக்கு இருபத்தைஞ்சு ஆச்சு, பாப்பாவுக்கு இருபத்தெட்டு, நாங்கள் மரிபண்ணேக்க.

ராஜா : எங்க மம்மி, கலியாணம் நடந்தது?

பரா : முதல்ல 'சேச்சிலை' கெபிடிச்சது! பிறகு எங்கடை வீட்டிலை, ஹிண்டு வெடிங்!

ராஜா : 'சேச்சிலை' கெபிடிச்சு, வீட்டில கால் பிடிச்சு அம்மி மிதிச்சது! உங்களுக்கு ரெண்டு கலியாணம்!

பரா : ஓம்!! ரெண்டு வெடிங் (F) போட்டோசும் இருந்தது எங்கடை பழைய வீட்டிலை ஷெல் அடிச்சதால கூரை பிஞ்சு, வீடு நனைஞ்சு, படமெல்லாம் பழுதாப்போச்சு.

விசாலா : (தன்பாட்டில்) பதினைஞ்சு வருஷமா என்ர மனிசன் பாடாக் கிடந்தது! பாக்காத பரியாரமில்லை! கடைசிலை சன்னதியிலை கொண்டு போய் வச்சிருந்தனான் கடவுள் விட்ட வழி எண்டு! அங்க நாலு வருஷம்! கந்தனும் கண்ணை மூட, அவரும் மூடிவிட்டார்! கொண்டு போய் கடற்கரையில எரிச்சுப்போட்டு நான் அநாதையா வீட்டை வந்தனான். என்ன இருந்தாலும் கஞ்சியோ கூழோ!பிச்சையோ! பருக்கையோ! புருஷன் பிள்ளையோட கூட இருந்து குடிக்கிறது போல வருமே! இம்..!..!

பரா : படத்திலை நான் நல்ல வடிவு! பப்பாவுந்தான்!

ராஜா : இப்பவும் நீங்க வடிவுதானே மம்மி!

பரா : எனக்கு எழுவது வயதுதானே! எண்பது வயதுக்குப் பிறகும் மினிஸ்டர், பிறெசிடென்ட் எண்டு வேலை பாக்கினம், போகமனமில்லாமல்!

ராஜா : மம்மி! நான் போயிட்டு வாரன்.

பரா : எங்க ராஜன்?

ராஜா : வயோதிபர் இல்லத்துக்கு

பரா : வயோதிபர் இல்லமா?! ஆ..! (F) போர்த ஏஜட்! பாவம் அதுகள்! வயது போன சனங்கள்! சரியா 'ஓல்ட்' ஆக்கள் தான் அங்க இருப்பினம். அந்த வயது வரைக்கும் நான் இருக்கக் கூடாது எண்டுதான் ஆண்டவரை பிறே பண்ணிறனான்.

ராஜா : மம்மிக்கு எவ்வளவு வயதிருக்கு, வசதி இருக்கு! நான் வாறன் மம்மி

பரா : ஓம் மகன்!

-ராஜன் வெளியேறுகிறான். அவ்வேளைகனகசபை வீட்டில் சதாசிவம், கபிலன் இருவரும் கதைக்கிறார்கள். சதாசிவம் அமர்ந்திருக்கிறார். கபிலன் எதையோ சுவைத்தவாறு வருகிறான்.

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கிட்டாதாயின் வெட்டென மற

பாத்திரங்கள் : தம்பையா சரசு (தம்பதியர்)

மணியம் (தம்பையாவின் நண்பன்)

குமார் (தம்பையாவின் மகன்)

கண்ணன் (குமரின் நண்பன்)

காட்சி — 01

தம்பை : இவன் குமார் எங்கயப்பா போயிற்றான்…

சரசு : பிள்ளை வெள்ளணத்தோட ரயூசன் எண்டெல்லோ போனவன்

தம்பை : கண்டறியாத ஒரு ரியூசன்… படிப்பு ஏறுதோ இல்லையோ ரியூசனுக்குப் போறது இப்ப ஒரு பெசனாப் போச்சு..

சரசு : அவனும் பிள்ளை கஸ்டப்படுறான்… ஒண்டும் சரிவந்ததாகக் காணயில்லை… நானும் எல்லாக் கோயிலுக்கும் நேத்தி வைச்சுப் போட்டிருக்கிறன்.

தம்பை : இஞ்ச பார்… நீதான் அவனைக் கெடுத்துக் கொண்டு போறாயெண்டு நான் சொல்லுறன்… ஒரு தரம்… ரெண்டு தரம் …சரி மூண்டாம் முறையும் பாத்தாச்சு… மொத்தமா பாஸ் பண்ணின பாடம் முறைக்கு மூண்டைத்தாண்டயில்லை… இதுக்கு பிறகும் ரியூசனென்டா…

சரசு : இன்னொரு முறை எடுப்பமெண்டு சொல்லுறான்..

தம்பை : அவன் சொல்லுவான் தானேயப்பா.. சுகமான சீவியமல்லா இது…இன்னும் ஒரு முறையென்ன ஒம்பது முறையெண்டாலும் பெடியன் ஒ.எல் சோதினையை எடு எண்டு சொன்னா எடுத்துக்கொண்டுதானிருப்பான்… ரெண்டாம் முறை சோதனை மறு மொழி வந்த கையோட சொன்னனான் ஆளை ஏதாவது தொழில் துறையைப் பார்த்து இறக்குவமெண்டு… ஆத்தையும் மகனுமாச் சேர்ந்து கொண்டு மறுத்துப் போட்டியள்… அப்ப நான் சொன்னபடி கேட்டிருந்தா இண்டைக்கு ரெண்டு வருஷ தொழில் அனுபவமாய் இருக்கும்…

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Negotiating Globalization through Hybridization: Hip Hop, Language Use and the Creation of Cross-Over Culture in Nigerian Popular Music

Wale Adedeji, Ph.D.

Abstract

The process of globalization has been of a tremendous impact on African societies while the status-quo of expressive cultures have obviously not remained the same due to this factor with popular music gradually becoming homogenized to fit into the western stereotypes. The Nigerian popular music has been greatly influenced by the dictates and progression in the international scene due to global communication and cultural flows as exemplified by the popularity and proliferation of hip hop culture among the youths from the 1990s.

It is quite evident that English is more or less the official language of popular music while the glorification and promotion of foreign music styles especially hip hop and its cultural

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expressions is almost making the local music practices less fashionable. This paper explores the Nigerian popular music practice through the current mainstream hip hop and identifies how its practitioners have successfully formulated a sub-genre dubbed 'Afro hip hop' through hybridization whereby African identity is portrayed and maintained by asserting linguistic independence with the use of Nigerian languages as medium of delivery through code-switching. This is also followed by appropriating indigenous popular music style especially *fújì* and *highlife* to create a fusion that appeals to home-grown sensibilities while still subscribing to the global hip hop community. This paper reveals the effectiveness of 'Afro hip hop' as hybrid music and how it is being used as a strategy of resistance towards seemingly popular music homogenization brought about by globalization.

Keywords: *Popular music and identity, Hip hop, Code-switching, Globalization, Nigeria, Hybridism.*

Introduction

Globalization, in its simplest meaning, 'refers to a world in which societies, cultures, politics and economies have in some sense come together' (Kiely 1998: 3). This implies that the world has been brought together as an entity through varieties of ways where it is now possible to look at the same thing at the same time in a synchronised manner irrespective of location. This can further be seen as interconnectivity of people and activities at the highest level notwithstanding the distance or regional boundaries, brought about by technological development through the internet, transportation, or exchange of information via satellite broadcast. However taking a critical look at this phenomenon from another perspective one can sense an undertone of dominance and hegemony: did the whole world actually want to be homogenized? Or are there some powerful forces determining trends and events elsewhere?

Nigerian Popular Music

The Nigerian popular music over the years has been greatly influenced by conditions in the international scene as evidenced by the popularity of hip hop a global phenomenon that has gradually become a dominant culture and subculture across the world. However, in discussing globalization and popular music one cannot but look at the angle of 'cultural

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imperialism' and 'popular music homogenization' which has been closely linked to this interconnectivity. According to Turino (2000:6) 'the contemporary language of globalism rhetorically and ideologically links a particular cultural aggregate (modernist capitalism) to the totalised space of the globe, leaving people with alternative life ways no place to be and nowhere to go'. This is an indication that the proliferation, dissemination and dominance of a particular (stronger) culture over the weaker ones, if left unrestricted and uncurbed, can be inimical to the growth and development of the local cultures and in this perspective musical practices.

Hip Hop Music Outside America

The proliferation of hip hop music outside America and especially in the third world is a clear indication of international cultural flow and potency of globalization which is almost making the local music practices less fashionable. There has been an incubation period for rap music in Africa in the 1980s being projected by gross imitation of its American source while in the 1990s African rappers became comfortable in their skin and thereafter reached a level of maturity and urgency as portrayed among others by an influx of documentary films across the continent from Kenya to Ghana, South Africa to Tanzania and Senegal to Burkina Faso, each 'making compelling cases for how the genre has become one of the most relevant cultural forms of expression for African youth[s]' (Charry, 2012:1).

Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture in Nigeria

This surge and thirst for Rap music and hip hop culture facilitated the establishment of MTV Base Africa in 2005 and also the incorporation of MTV Africa Music Awards (MAMA) which is now a yearly event. In Nigeria, the extent of the global influence on local music practice cannot be over-emphasised as it remains a powerful force that has pushed the hip hop genre to the mainstream while also shaping the existing styles. Here music practitioners are persistently pushing the boundary while constantly negotiating the terrain through compromise. The Nigerian musician is now caught in a dilemma over how to remain relevant in the local context despite the continuous longing and subscription of his audience for foreign culture and lifestyle.

Background to Nigeria's Hip hop

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Hip hop and all its associated culture is now a phenomenon which is standing in the forefront of Nigeria's popular music with a unique style emanating from Lagos which is also gaining global recognition. The presence and dynamism of artists as well as music industry apparatus involved in promoting the culture have also been receiving commentaries. Reuben Abati (2009) in *The Guardian* attested to the popularity and strength of hip hop in Nigeria, noting that 'they [hip hop artists] are so successful... [while] Nollywood [Nigeria's movie industry] has projected Nigeria; the next big revelations are hip hop... Nigeria's hip hop is bringing the country so much international recognition'.

In the same vein, Tony Okoroji a former president of PMAN (Performing Musician Association of Nigeria), also attested to the resilience and strength of the hip hop artists, saying 'they are professionals creating a positive identity for the Nigerian nation at this point under terrible conditions and without any contributions from our national treasury, these young Nigerians have done what had appeared impossible a few years ago... They restored our dignity by ensuring that when you come to Nigeria the music you hear on the airwaves... [is] predominantly created by Nigerians' (Okoroji 2009).

The trend and the popularity of Nigerian hip hop can be traced back to the 1990s with the release of 'Sakomo' (1998), a song blended in Yorùbá and English on a sampled beat of MC Lyte's 'Keep on keeping on' by a group called The Remedies, consisting of the trio of Tony Tetuila, Eedris Abdulkareem and Eddy Brown. The success of this song as a radio release with the later release of a full album by Kennis Music paved the way for what was to be a redefinition of Nigeria's music industry and the birth of a unique style of hip hop that is fully Nigerianised which would later be known as 'Afro hip hop', a musical sub-culture that was a product of the socio-political and economic situation in Nigeria at that period.

Military Rule and Music Business

The second phase of military rule began in Nigeria in 1983 with the seizure of power from Alh. Sheu Shagari the then elected executive president by the duo of General Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon. The country has been under military rule (first phase) from 1966 to 1979 while the military take-over of 1983 was to eventually end in 1999 and it was within this

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period (which witnessed different successive military governments due to incessant coups) that many changes took place in the country's economy which vitally affected the business sector among which is the entertainment industry. The country was wallowing in external debt and in 1986 introduced the Structural Adjusted Programme (SAP) with strict economic measures accompanied by devaluation of the currency. Capturing this period of Nigerian history Falola and Heaton wrote:

> Devaluation of the currency brought with it rapid inflation and a decrease in the purchasing power of the average Nigerian. The Naira which stood at ?1 =$1 in 1985 fell to ?4.21 to the dollar in 1988, ?7.48 in 1989, ?22 by 1994. The inflation rate stood at between 40 and 70 per cent from about 1988 to 1995 and per capita income declined from estimated $778 in 1985 to just $105 in 1989 making it difficult for people to afford basic necessities such as food, clothing electricity, health care, education and anything else that cost money. (2008: 219)

This serious economic crisis led to the collapse of most businesses while the music industry was not spared, and there began an exodus of major international labels like Polygram, EMI, and Sony Music while the indigenous independent labels that were hitherto vibrant became moribund. Most artists were finding it very difficult to survive due to low patronage and as the economy put pressure on people the country started witnessing mass migration. This exodus of professionals also affected Nigerian established artists who found it difficult to survive due to the economy and exit of major labels. There began a migration of Nigerian artists into the diaspora in search of greener pastures along with other experienced professionals, where big players in the music industry like Mandators, Majek Fashek, Mike Okri and Ras Kimono left Lagos in quick succession creating a huge vacuum in the industry.

Entry and Growth of Hip Hop

Hip hop came on board at this period in Nigeria's music and cultural history, filling the interregnum and satisfying people's desire to listen to something new, global but with the local ingredient. The success of hip hop is also connected to the development of computer-aided

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music technology which made its inroad into Lagos around this time, making it easy and cheap to make music. As there were fewer labels around ready to bankroll or sign an artist, an average aspiring Nigerian artist during this lull resorted to the art of DIY, making music with sampled beats and producing promotional radio releases on CDs whose subsequent air-play on radio encouraged a proliferation of hip hop songs on the charts.

The growth of hip hop around this time can then be seen as a bridge and a form of expression by the youth taking advantage of the digital technology and finding a way of reacting to the prevalent socio-economic impoverishment by having a sense of connectivity with their counterparts in North America, where hip hop has been used as a weapon by the marginalized social class and a mouthpiece of expressive and militant advocacy. According to Ugor 'through their music young artists now criticize the political class for the failure of the state, the collapse of the economy, and the absence of basic infrastructure such as electricity, good roads, decent housing and an efficient health care system' (2009: 66).

Nigeria's Afro Hip hop as a Sub-genre

Nigeria's Afro hip hop can be classified as a variant of America's hip hop which is already a global phenomenon, while Afro hip hop's indigenization and uniqueness in style has earned it a place on the world stage. The uniqueness of Afro hip hop lies in its language of delivery giving it a distinctive characteristic as 'the real ingenuity is revealed in the use of pidgin English blended nicely with Yorùbá, Igbo, Hausa or any other language to produce melodies just as nice as any of the foreign ones we have craved all these years' (Ebele 2006).

Music – Tool to Create Identity

Scholars have observed that music is a tool towards the creation of an identity (Euba 1989), and this is true of Nigeria's Afro hip hop, in its creation of a unique sound that is truly African in style and language of delivery. According to Eedris Abdulkareem, a foremost rapper 'you don't have to rap in English, nobody's gonna feel you, I wanna rap in broken [Nigerian Pidgin English], Yorùbá and Ibo' (BBC 1-Xtra 2008). Hip hop is being re-defined by Nigerian artists and taken back to Africa which has been credited as its origin.

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Looking at the progression of hip hop in Nigeria, it has been rightly observed that in the past:

> Many [artists] have tried, unsuccessfully, to mimic the lyrics, beats and sounds of American hip hop. Some would rap in English, not necessarily the language they were most at ease with. Others would adopt fake American accents and use slangs that originated from America's inner cities but bore little resemblance to the reality of modern Nigerian life... It is not suprising that [these] Nigerian urban artists soon found themselves ridiculed as poor imitators of American hip hop. (Adesioye 2009)

Foreign and Incomprehensible?

Perhaps in reaction to this rejection and lack of patronage in the formative years when Nigeria's hip hop was still looking for acceptance while the culture was beclouded with rejection as being too foreign and incomprehensible. This propelled young Nigerian hip hop artists to make a change of agenda by going back to their roots in order to engage with their audience directly in the language they understand, the Nigerian mother tongues, while also appropriating elements from the existing popular music genres like jùjú, fújì or highlife. The result is that Nigerian hip hop has become the mainstream music in the country while its presence is being felt internationally. Nigeria's Afro hip hop can now be distinguished by its use of a blend of native languages termed in the linguistic parlance as 'conventional code switching' and also the absence of heavy sexualisation, misogyny and gangsterism that has been a major criticism of North America's hip hop culture. Here the use of multilingualism and code switching is a major peculiarity that gave Afro hip hop its unique Nigerian identity and originality.

Code-switching as Expression of Identity

Hip hop as an expressive art is heavily dependent on narratives which originate from experiences. Here language plays a significant role and one of the ways in which the Nigerian scene adapted the genre to suit the home context is by employing the art of code-switching which has gradually become the identity marker of Afro hip hop. Here an artist performs music using more than one language or code. Socio-linguistic studies have found that this phenomenon is

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commonly exhibited in a multicultural society in which languages influence each other through contact.

According to Bokamba (1989) 'code-switching is a mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech events' (quoted in Ayeomoni 2006: 91). To Babalola and Taiwo (2009) code-switching is 'a means of communication which involves the speaker alternating between one language and another in communicating events. In other words, it describes someone who code-switches using two languages (interlingua) or dialects (intralingua) interchangeably in a single communication' (p.2). While the phenomenon has often been studied in relation to conversation it has also been observed in other communicative spheres like music or poetry where it can contribute to the aesthetics of rhetoric in a carefully constructed manner (Davies and Benthalia 2008: 2).

Hip Hop – A Fertile Ground for Code Switching

Hip hop performance outside America has been observed as a fertile ground for code-switching where the use of the indigenous language is seen as a way of 'domesticating' the genre to give it a local tenor. Some perspectives outside Nigeria present interesting discoveries. Oduro-Frimpong (2009) presents contemporary hip hop in Ghana as hip life, 'a blend of the U.S. music variety *hip hop* and *highlife*, a Ghanaian popular music genre that blends distinct African rhythm with that of Euro-American and African diaspora' (p. 1086), while its unique attribute is the blend of two or more languages, primarily Akan, Ga, English and pidgin.

On the Montreal hip hop scene Sakar et al. (2005) observed that using French as a base language 'several languages and varieties are commonly used and mixed by Montreal rap artists' (p. 2057). Here commonly used languages include Standard Quebec French, Non Standard Quebec French, Caribbean Creole, African-American English among others, where 'hip hop groups are a mirror of the ethno-linguistic diversity that is so salient a feature of the downtown Montreal scene' (ibid: 2060). In Kenya, hip hop has developed its own language

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Sheng, 'a mix of broken Swahili, English and tribal languages... [which] has inspired many others and given Nairobi hip hop its own distinctive classless flavour' (Howden 2009).

Code Switching in Afro Hip Hop

In the Nigerian sub-genre of Afro hip hop, code-switching has been constantly employed combining two or more languages which include Standard English, Nigerian pidgin, Yorùbá, Igbo and other languages. Sound Sultan is a prominent Nigerian hip hop act and below is an excerpts from his acclaimed song 'Motherland' to show a typical code-switching pattern in Afro hip hop. The song lyrics shows that the chorus line of the song is rendered in Yorùbá (in bold) and Nigerian pidgin (italics) while the intro and body of the song is rendered in Yorùbá, international English (underlined), and Nigerian pidgin.

'Motherland' by Sound Sultan (2006)

Song Lyrics

Yeah, Sound Sultan,

Naija ninja Kennis Music

You know how we dey do am

This one na for all ma brothers

Who don go outside Naija

Who don **ja** *commot for Naija*

Always try to dey look back

<u>Because there's no place like home</u>

<u>You know what I mean?</u>

Yorùbá man tell me say...

Ajo o dabi ile

Na true <u>Check this out, Oh, yeah</u>

Ajo o dabi ile

<u>No matter where you go</u>

Make u no forget area oh Area oh Na naija

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Ti ode ba tile

Pada wale o, wale o.

Translation

Yeah Sound Sultan ,

Naija Ninja Kennis Music,

you know how we do it

This is for all my brothers

That has left Nigeria for good

Always try to look back

Because there's no place like home

You know what I mean

Yorùbá man says that ...

There is no place like home

It's true Check this out ,Oh yeah

There's no place like home

No matter where you go

Don't forget where you come from

Which is Nigeria

If it gets tough out there,

Come back home.

Language of Delivery

Language is an important means of communication and where popular music is involved the language of delivery is a coded embodiment of the speaker's culture. It is also a common saying that 'music is a universal language' meaning music should be enjoyed and felt the same way anywhere irrespective of the language of delivery and location. However writing about indigenous hip hop cultures and in particular the South African variant Kwaito, Kelefa Sanneh in the *New York Times* (2005) asks 'Why is kwaito so much obscure in America? Part of the problem is language: kwaito lyrics are usually delivered in a mashed up slang that draws

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heavily on Zulu, and Xhosa and Afrikaans'. I tend to believe that kwaito's non-popularity in America based on language is rather parochial pointing to the fact that globalization is just a one-way affair and the third world can only be a consumer. Otherwise, if Jay-Z or Lil Wayne can be played on African radio and enjoyed irrespective of the language/accent there should be no reason Spikiri (a South African kwaito veteran), 2Face Idibia or Ruggedman cannot be accorded the same privilege in America or elsewhere.

Globalization and Popular Music

Looking at globalization, popular music and language critically it is obvious that 'English is the language of popular music, arguably a form of linguistic globalization…' (Shuker 2005: 127), the Nigerian hip hop has been able to use hybridization as a strategy of resistance to popular music homogenization by exhibiting linguistic independence from English and adopting multilingualism where the Nigerian pidgin and Yorùbá language become prominent. Giving credence to the assertion of linguistic non-conformity in Nigeria's hip hop as a resistance strategy Omoniyi (2009: 124) also believes that 'Nigerian hip hop artists as social critics and activists explore language choice as a multilingual skill and in the process establish for themselves a creative patch and a non-subordinate local identity within the global hip hop constituency'. With this Nigerian hip hop is able to retain and assert its African identity while still subscribing to the global hip hop world in a process of cultural re-territorialisation.

Hip Hop and Fújì Synergy: A Reactionary Hybridism

Hybridity or the process of hybridization is originally a biological term denoting cross-breeding to produce an offspring which is referred to as a 'hybrid'. Now the term and procedure has surfaced in nearly all aspects of human endeavour, so that among others we now have cars that are called 'hybrids' in that they were designed to be powered by both fuel and electricity. According to Kerri Iyall Smith (2006: 9) 'hybridity results when two or more cultures are incorporated to create a new cultural identity, the identities are not assimilated or altered independently [but] bits of identities become elements of a new identity'. This follows older

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themes of syncretism or creolisation and can exhibit a wider range of multiple identity or crossover, border-crossing and multi-culturalism among other themes (Pieterse 2001: 221).

Hybridity is an amalgamation and coalescing of different cultural or musical forms to foster or create a new identity thriving on the idea of border-crossing, Nigerian hip hop has been able to do this by creating a sub-genre in 'Afro hip hop' and fostering an African identity in it by infusing traditional musical forms, especially fúji. In this context globalization has created a dynamic energy which triggers a reactionary proccess resulting in creating new cultural forms. Corroborating this concept Shonekan (2012: 147) stated 'the people of Nigeria have embraced and imbibed African-American popular music for decades and in the process have created new cultural and artistic products' which in this vein is 'Afro hip hop'. Let us now see how Afro hip hop as hybrid music is becoming a strategy of resistance towards musical homogenization brought about by globalization.

Fuji within Hip hop

The term *fújì* can be used to identify a type of popular music mostly patronized by muslims (Barber and Waterman 1995) having various dance styles performed at parties. Fújì emerged from the Muslim wake-up music that is widely perfomed during the Ramadan (fasting) festival by '*ajísààrì*' (i.e. singers that wake us up to eat '*sààrì*' or break our fast). 'Fújì' itself derives from the Yorùbá word *fàájì* meaning enjoyment (Euba 1989: 12). The musical composition of fùjí consists of assemblages of Yorùbá drums which are combined in various textures where the *sakara* plays an important role. Fújì is a percussive music that thrives on Yorùbá rhythmic accompaniment while its thematic content is always laden with quranic citations. Often the introduction of most fújì song is performed in a Muslim chant-like vocal delivery style similar to that used in the mosque to call the faithful to prayer.

Although fújì developed out of the Yorùbá Islamic music tradition it is now secularised, modernized and enjoyed by all and sundry, and while most of its lyrics still possess extraction of quranic texts and citations, as an art form it is totally panegyric in nature in terms of its dependence on the patronage of the rich and powerful patrons who compensates the artist with

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financial favours when he sings their praises at parties or on recordings. Fújì has been in existence from the 1970s long before the emergence of hip hop and is still the music of choice for parties and social functions popularly called *ariya* in Nigeria. However, the proliferation of hip hop have also pushed the genre to the periphery as according to Adewale Ayuba a successful fuji star 'hip hop rules in today's Nigeria'(Pius 2009). In recent time there has been appropriation of this genre in a strategic way by hip hop artists blending fújì sounds and vocal delivery with high tech hip hop flows in a unique way and where fújì and hip hop meet the result is the creation of a fusion or crossover sound the process that can be termed hybridization.

Hip Hop Experiment with *Fuji*

One of the earliest experiments with fújì by a hip hop artist in Nigeria can be traced back to 2001 when Baba Dee then an aspiring hip hop artist recorded a song 'So di' with a renowned fújì artist Abass Akande Obesere .He appropriated the fújì genre successfully to create a hybrid song which defined his career and pushed him to the mainstream of Nigeria's hip hop. 'So di' in 2001 can be seen as a way in which Baba Dee used fújì within hip hop to appeal to the local sensibilities while Obesere exhibited a unique fújì vocal prowess in Yoruba on a rap flow by Baba Dee to create a perfect blend. Here the audience were given the best of the two worlds in what was to be the beginning of hip hop domestication and authenticity, a trend that has since been followed by others till date. Other successful collaborations includes, 'So ligali' (2002) - Eedris Abdulkareem (hip hop) featuring Pasuma Wonder (fújì artist) , 'Raise da roof' (2002) - Jazzman Olofin (hip hop) featuring Adewale Ayuba (fújì artist), 'Iwolomo' (2007) - Pasto Goody Goody (hip hop) featuring Pasuma Wonder (fújì artist), and 'Jobobalejo' (2008) -Sound Sultan (hip hop) featuring Pasuma Wonder (fújì artist).

Fuji in Reaction to Hip hop

While hip hop has successfully appropriated fújì in a crossover move to establish its popularity, fújì as a Yoruba popular music is feeling the encroachment of hip hop as a dominant popular culture in the Nigerian music scene. This is not unexpected as one of the features of globalization that brought hip hop is the exhibition of its cultural hegemony. Taking a critical look at the effects of globalization on the local setting Shuker asks, 'Do policies and activities of

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multinationals inhibit the development of indigenous music in local markets? The response is complex and varies from country to country' (2005: 127). Here indigenous music practice like fújì is feels the dominance of hip hop and as admitted by Adewale Ayuba 'if you go to any party [or shows] today R&B and hip hop are in vogue. You hardly hear them play fújì or any indigenous music' (Pius 2009). This has triggered a reaction and resistance in him as one of his musical project did create an hybrid and cross-over music in order to resist the dominance of hip hop and ensure the continuous patronage of his own genre.

Cross-Overs

In 2009 Ayuba made a cross-over album titled *Camellion* with the main purpose of creating a hybrid sound that will blend hip hop with fújì in various collaborations where he featured seasoned hip hop artists like Sound Sultan, Luralph and Banky W. Here Ayuba hoped to bring fújì back to the mainstream while riding on the back of hip hop. To correct the under-representation of fújì on the mainstream his answer was to create a mix of hip hop and fújì rhythm—a fusion resulting in the crossover album *Camellion* of which 'Mo fe' (2009) was the first promotional single. This track ('Mo Fe') featured Luralph and Sound Sultan as hip hop artists while Ayuba was able to negotiate his way for acceptance within the Nigerian hip hop audience and at the same time took fújì to a more exotic clientele.

Conclusion

In the popular music sector globalization has vitally affected the way music is perceived, made or disseminated whereby the North American originated culture like hip hop has become a dominant feature in local music cultures across the world. In Nigeria, the mainstreaming of hip hop has triggered different negotiating strategies among music practitioners who wanted to remain global and yet domestic. It is evident that 'the spread of hip hop has generated exciting tentacles of hybridity that have encroached on but not always subverted existing traditions, art forms and cultural mores' (Shonekan, 2012:147). And in this context local cultures and practices are being sub-merged due to popularity and overt visibility of African-American oriented expressive culture brought about by inter-connectivity where hybrid culture is now being formulated as a negotiating tool.

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Hybridization is an indication of change which comes as a result of contact and multiculturalism and also can be a negotiating strategy in maintaining and preserving the local cultures and practices from homogenization. This has been exemplified by Nigeria's hip hop where the sub-genre of Afro hip hop has been strategically crafted using the local languages and appropriating indigenous style to portray authenticity. This has been a vital tool in this situation where 'the transcultural character of current hybridity territorialises international music and prevents the homogenization of popular music from the world' (Martinez 2007). Creating hybrid forms of music from hip hop and fújì supplants the homogeneity of popular music promoted by globalization while ensuring the relevance and development of home-grown music and expressive cultures.

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Code-Switching and Code-Mixing
A Case of EFL Teachers Affecting L2 Learners' Learning

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Abstract

This study explores the effects of code-switching/code-mixing found among the students of BS English .The data were collected through a questionnaire based on three point rating scale. The questionnaire was designed after reading a lot of literature on the topic concerned. The purpose of devising this questionnaire was to investigate the effects of code-switching/code-

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mixing among BS English Students**.** The questionnaire is consisted of ten questions. The results of the data have been collected through sixty respondents are shown through the graphs. In the end, it was concluded that the fear of teacher's negative comments, linguistic difficulties, pressure of time and perfect work , insufficient writing practice and problems with topic affect a lot while writing in English.

Keywords: Linguistic difficulties, insufficient understanding, problems with intermingling of two languages.

Introduction

Language is primarily a speech. It is used in a society and it is a social phenomenon. Any natural human language cannot survive on its own without a society, as it is learnt from a society and is used within a society. People use a language for communicative purposes with one another. The basic function for which any language is used by the people is to communicate. Human beings can use other methods of communication as well; like gestures, posture movements etc. but speech is the most effective way of communication which man has discovered and evolved up till now.

In today's globalizing world, it is estimated that more than half of the world's population is bilingual (Grosjean, 2010). Bilingual means a person who can use two or more than two languages for communication. Rene Appel and Peter Muysken (2006) has discussed two definitions regarding a bilingual speaker. According to them Bloomfield had made highest demands. According to Bloomfield, a bilingual should possess native like control of two or more languages (Rene Appel and Peter Muysken, 2006). MacNamara (1969 cited in Rene Appel and Peter Muysken, 2006) proposed that somebody should be called bilingual if he has some second language skills in one of the four modalities in addition to his first language skills, definition of a bilingual speaker is generally accepted one in bilingualism.

Pakistan is a multicultural country having a large number of languages being spoken in it. Urdu is the national language whereas Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Blochi are commonly used languages in its four provinces. English language is the lingua franca of elite class in Pakistan and it is used as a second language in most of the official works.

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When two or more bilingual speakers interact, they do not use only one language for their conversation. They often utilize both languages at different ratio, a phenomenon which is known as code-switching or code-mixing in bilingual literature.

Code

The concept of code was put forward by Bernstein (Liu Jingxia 2010). Code is something which carries concrete meaning like arithmetic numbers, traffic signs and signals, Morse code etc. Wardhaugh (2006) pointed out that code is not a specific term like dialect or style, rather it is a general term and it can be used to refer to "any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication" Wardhaugh (2006).

Accordingly, a language is also a type of code which is utilized by the people in daily life for communication. In order to fully understand any given language code participants must know the conventions of that particular language code to fully comprehend it. People do not always relay upon one code when they have more options like in bilingual community where people have two or more than two language codes available. When people shift from one language code to another during a conversation, this phenomenon is termed as code-mixing or code-switching.

Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

Code-mixing and code-switching are the terms upon which linguists have argued much but still we do not have a single agreed upon definition of them. Some linguists do find a difference between these two terms while others take them as a single term for describing a linguistics phenomenon. According to Redoune (2005) first definition regarding code-switching goes back to, bilinguals are those people who shift their language code during a conversation Redoune (2005). Skiba (1997) says that code-switching can take many forms even at phrase level between two language codes. " Code-switching consists of eighty four percent single word switches, ten percent phrase switches and six percent clause switching in normal conversations between two bilinguals'' HadiHamidi & SaeidNajafiSarem (2012).

Myers-Scoton (1989) claims that code switching in linguistics is the use of more than one language or even language variety in communication among bilingual speakers.

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Cook (2008) defines code-switching in another way. According to him code-switching is "going from one language to the other in the mid-speech when both speakers know the same languages" (Cook, 2008).

According to Redouane (2005), Muysken (2000), code-switching and code-mixing are two different phenomena. Muysken (2000) claimed that code-switching is the use of two language codes in a speech event whereas code-mixing is referred to all situations where lexical as well as grammatical features of two different language codes appear in single sentence. For this study, the researcher is using code-switching and code-mixing as a single term to describe a linguistics phenomenon and it will be written as code-switching/code-mixing.

Types of Code Switching

Many linguists have tried to give a typology of code-switching phenomenon. Popelack (2000) gives three types of code-switching. These are tag, inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching.

Tag code-switching is the process where one particular phrase is inserted into another language system. Normally fixed phrases like greetings are found in it and tag code-switching face minimal syntactic restrictions.

Inter-sentential code-switching takes place at clause or sentence boundary. Romaine (1989) says that inter-sentential code-switching required more mastery of both languages as compared to tag code-switching.

Intra-sentential code-switching is the most complex one of all and it takes place within single sentence. In intra-sentential code-switching syntactic risks is much greater as compared to rest of the two.

Gumperz (1982) gives another typology of code-switching; namely, situational and metaphorical switching. Situational code-switching occurs when participants or strategies of speech event changes, whereas metaphorical code-switching occurs when there is a change in

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topical emphasis. Auer (1998) gives two types of code-switching; discourse related alternation and participant alternation.

In this research Clyne's definition (2000) of code-switching is adopted. According to him code-switching is the alternative usage of two languages in conversation whether within a sentence or between sentences. Intra-sentential code-switching means within a sentence and inter-sentential between sentences, whereas extra-sentential will be used for tags in this study.

Code-Switching/Code-Mixing By EFL Teachers in Classrooms

Since 1980, code-switching/code-mixing as a specific technique in foreign language classrooms got much attention. Some scholars hold a positive attitude for using this technique in EFL classrooms, whereas some have negative attitude for using code-switching/code-mixing in EFL classrooms. Ellis (1984), Wong-Fillmore (1985), Chaudron (1988), Lightbown (2001), (cited in Liu Jingxia, 2010) advocate that teachers should create a pure linguistics environment in EFL classrooms and code-switching/code-mixing to L1 by EFL teachers will have a negative impact on target or foreign language learning. On the contrary, researchers like Vazquez-Faria (1982), Levine (2003), Chen Liping (2004) (cited in Liu Jingxia, 2010) argue for the positive aspects of code-switching by EFL teachers in EFL classrooms and claimed that code-switching/code-mixing to L1 by EFL teachers will make target or foreign language easy and learning among the students will be accelerated.

Previous Studies

Whether code-switching/code-mixing is beneficial for students L2 learning or not, is a hot debate among the scholars and linguists since 1980 and many empirical researches have done in this regard. One of early research in this regard was conducted by Guthries (1984, cited in Liu Jingxia, 2010). Investigating the classroom conditions for L2 learning, Gutheris checked for use of TL by six French teachers and found that most of the times they use TL While teaching. 5 out of six used TL 83% to 98% while teaching (Liu Jingxia). Kannan R. (2009) advocates that only the TL should be used in EFL classrooms and an English language teacher should encourage the students to use only English for conversation. According to Kannan R. (2009) adopting a bilingual method will slow down the process of learning. Kamal R. Mourtaga investigated the low English proficiency among learners in Ghaza Strip and concluded that less exposer of FL is

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one of the most contributing factor for low English proficiency among the learners. Erlenawati Sawir (2005) conducted a research on communication problem of international students in Australia. From the research findings, she concluded that, one of factor for international students' lack of fluency in English is the use of L1 by their teachers at their primary and secondary EFL classes. David D. I. Kim & Douglas Margolis (2000) conducted a research on listening and speaking exposure of Korean university students to English language and concluded that students should be given maximum exposure to TL when they are learning it to get maximum learning output.

Contrary to these researches, there are many researchers who has advocated for the positive effects of code-switching/code-mixing to L1. Rolin-lanziti & brownlie (2002, cited in Liu Jingxia, 2010) by investigating four high school classes argued for the positive usage of L1 for better understanding of the students when some new input of TL is given to them. Liu Jingxia (2010) conducted a research on teachers' code-switching in Chinese universities and from research findings concluded that, code-switching to L1 has a positive influence upon the students learning in EFL classrooms. Mingfa Yao (2011) also derived the same opinion from his research and suggests for the usage of code-switching technique in EFL classrooms. Ehsan Rizvi (2011) while investigating code-switching in Iranian elementary EFL classrooms also drew the same results and concluded that "skillful use of CS can lead to better teacher-student classroom communication boosts the quality of teaching, help students' comprehension, and foster a healthier friendlier teacher-student relationship, especially for the lower levels" Ehsan Rizvi (2011, p.23).

Problem Statement

The present study intends to explore the attitude of the business students towards teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1 in classrooms and its influence on their L2 learning. It is because Most of the studies on code-switching/code-mixing by the EFL teachers focus while teaching second or target language, whereas effects of this linguistics phenomenon on the L2 learning of business students is almost neglected one. Business students need greater communicative skills in L1 as well as in L2 because they have to interact with others to greater extent as compared to other students. Particularly in our local context, no particular research is conducted to account for the phenomenon of code-mixing/code-switching influencing the L2

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learning of the business students. Most of the research regarding this particular linguistics phenomenon is conducted in West and up to some extent in China as well, but no particular attention is given to it in our own context. The present study is a step in that direction and intends to explore the influence of code-switching/code-mixing to L1 by EFL teachers on L2 learning of the business students.

Research Questions

Investigating the attitude of business students towards teachers code-switching/code-mixing and its influence on their L2 learning, the study will attempt to answer the following research questions.

1. What is the attitude of business students towards teachers' code-switching /code-mixing to L1?
2. What is the influence of teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1 on L2 learning of the business students?

Hypothesis

1. Business students have a positive attitude towards EFL teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1.
2. Teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1 has a positive influence on L2 learning of the business students.

Objectives of the Study

The major objectives of the study are:
1. To investigate the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching /code-mixing by EFL teachers in business students classrooms.
2. To explore its influence on L2 learning of the business students.
3. To make explicit statements about the attitudes of the business students towards EFL teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1.

Significance of the Study

There is a need to explore the phenomenon of code-switching/code-mixing to L1 by the EFL teachers in business students' classrooms, as it is inevitable in a bilingual society like our

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own. The study is designed to explore this phenomenon and its effects on L2 learning of the business students.

The study would provide recommendations for policy interventions and planning to provide a realistic environment for L2 learning process of business students. In addition to this, this study will also provide a ground for those who are interested in exploring the effects of code-switching/code-mixing to L1 by teachers in business students' classrooms in their own context.

Delimitation of the Study

L2 learning of the business students can be investigated in a number of ways. However, this study is limited to EFL teachers' code-switching/code-mixing to L1 influencing L2 learning of business students at two major levels; specifically; Bachelor and Master.

The study aims to gather information from representative groups of private as well as public sector universities' students. Thus the findings and recommendations will be generalizable to this population only.

Methodology

From the population of BS English students at UOS M.B. Din Pakistan, the sample of sixty students was selected through convenience sampling that involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close to hand and it includes people who are easy to reach. The data were collected through a questionnaire based on three-point rating scale. The Questionnaire was designed after reading a lot of literature on the topic concerned.

The purpose and aim of devising this questionnaire was to explore the scope of code switching and code mixing of teachers in classroom. The questionnaire consisted of ten items because the nature of questions was comprehensive enough to serve the purpose. The results of this study are only generalized able to this specific population. The results of the data collected through sixty questionnaires are shown through the graphs.
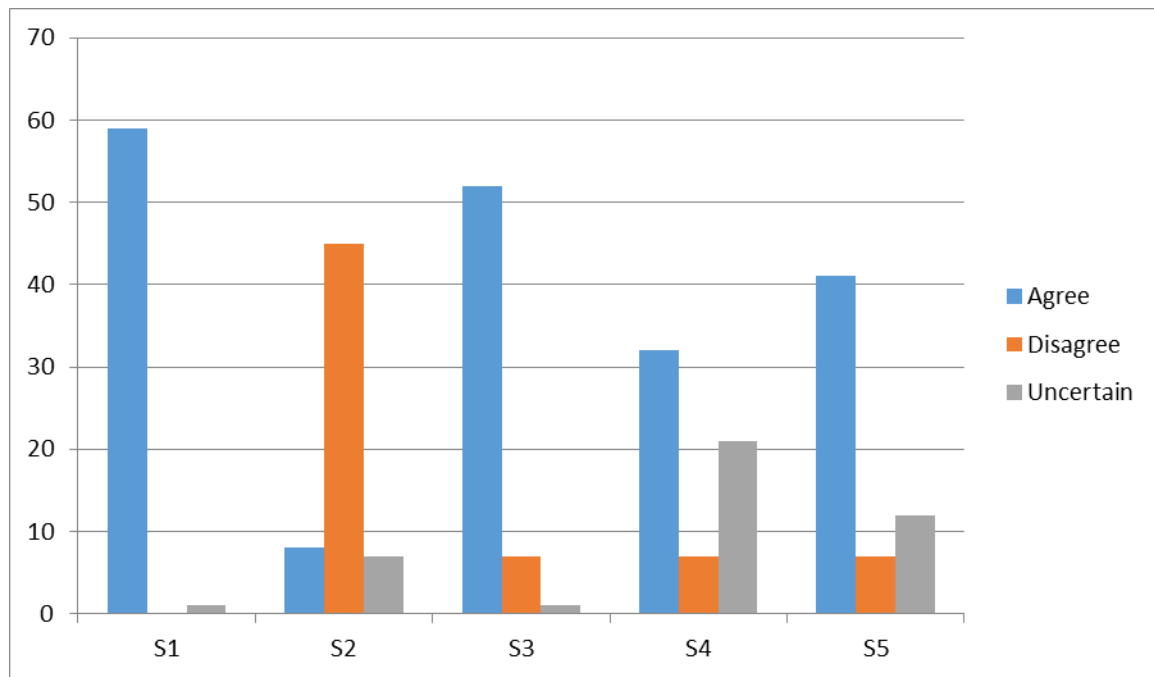
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Data Analysis

Table 1

Statement	Agree %	Disagree %	Uncertain %
Code-switching/code-mixing helps you in memorizing the information easily.	98	0	2
During teacher's code-switching/code-mixing, you feel anxiety due to linguistic difficulties.	13	75	12
You feel comfortable during teacher's code-switching/code-mixing to L1.	87	12	2
There is determined effect on students due to teachers code-switching/code-mixing.	53	12	35
Code-switching/code-mixing decreases the pressure of L2 language on B.S students.	68	12	20

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Table 2

As far as the first statement of questionnaire is concerned, it is agreed by 98% of the respondents that Code-switching/code-mixing helps them in memorizing the information easily. Assumption can be made that fear of teacher's negative comments is not found in B.S English students.

As far as second statement is concerned, it is disagreed by 75% of the respondents that during teacher's code-switching/code-mixing, they feel anxiety due to linguistic difficulties. Results indicate that insufficient writing practice is found in B.S English students. Level of insufficient practice is high.

Third statement is agreed by 87% of the respondents that they feel comfortable during teacher's code-switching/code-mixing to L1.

Results indicate that the problem of insufficient writing techniques is found in B.S English students to noticeable extent.

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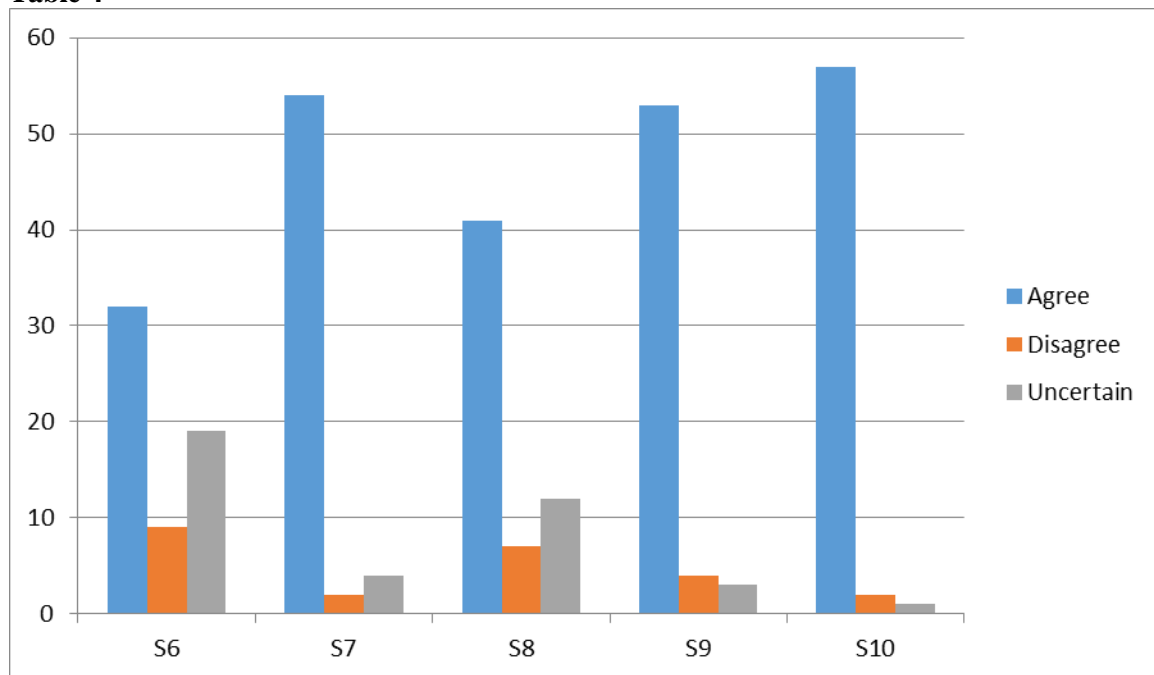
53% of the respondents agreed to the fourth statement that. Assumption can be made that there is determined effect on students due to teacher's code-switching/code-mixing the anxiety due to problems with topic is found in half of B.S English students.

The fifth item of the questionnaire is strongly agreed by 68% of the respondents that Code-switching/code-mixing decreases the pressure of L2 language on B.S students. Results indicate that Linguistic difficulties are the greatest cause of writing anxiety in B.S English students so far so the perception and opinion of students is concerned.

Table 3

Statement	Agree %	Disagree %	Uncertain %
Code-switching/code-mixing intermingles your concepts of L1 to L2.	53	15	32
Code-switching/Code-mixing increases your communicative skills.	90	3	7
Code-switching/Code-mixing provides a realistic environment for L2 learning process.	68	12	20
Code-switching/Code-mixing makes you bilingual.	88	7	5
Code-switching/Code-mixing helps you in understanding difficult words, concepts, and terms.	95	3	2

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Table 4

For statement no. six 53% of the respondents agreed that Code-switching/Code-mixing increases your communicative skills**.** So far he seventh statement is concerned, 90% of the respondents show agreement that Code-switching/Code-mixing increases your communicative skills. It can be assumed that pressure of time effects while writing in English.

Eighth statement is disagreed by 20% of the respondents that. Results indicate that Code-switching/Code-mixing provides a realistic environment for L2 learning process is not found in students.

The ninth statement is disagreed by 7% of the respondents that Code-switching/Code-mixing makes you bilingual. Assumption can be made that the fear of writing test is not found in students.

The tenth statement is disagreed by 3% of the respondents that Code-switching/Code-mixing helps you in understanding difficult words, concepts, and terms. Results indicate that high frequency of writing assignments is not a cause of writing anxiety in students.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The result indicates that code-switching/ code-mixing helps the students in memorizing the information easily. Moreover, mostly students agree that they feel comfortable during teacher's code-switching/ code-mixing to L1. Because teacher's code-switching/ code-mixing decreases the pressure of L2 language on B.S students. In addition to, teacher's code-switching/ code-mixing make the students bilingual. Mostly students feel difficulty to understand words,

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concepts and terms of L2. Hence, teacher's code-switching/ code-mixing is helpful in solving these problems.

The findings show that code-mixing/code-switching is liked by university level students. The pedagogical implications of this study are as under:

- Code-mixing/code-switching can be helpful among students through developing the listening power of the students and improving the linguistic difficulties.
- Much hearing practice and linguistic techniques can ameliorate the level of understanding among students.
- Code-mixing/code-switching can be helpful for students by solving their linguistic difficulties and increasing their listening power.
- From speaking of tough vocabulary should be avoided so that the students may feel relaxed to conceive the point.
- The teachers should guide the students to minimize their linguistic errors. Through practice, it can be lowered and gradual improvement in learners' writing can be ensured.

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An Insight into the Challenges in the Teaching and Learning of Spoken English in Indian Context

Darakhshan Zafar, UGC NET, Ph.D. Candidate

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Abstract

English is taught as a second language in India. Due to its ever growing needs in everywhere in the world, it is given due importance in Indian universities also. The recent anti-English campaign in some parts of India has hardly affected its status, and the importance has not lessened in any way. However, the learning and teaching of English in the Indian classrooms need improvement. Teachers of English in India need further training and tools to improve their sincere efforts. Hence this paper highlights the challenges encountered by the teachers and learners in the teaching/learning of spoken English and also suggests some remedial measures to overcome those problems.

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Introduction

The most common problem with the ESL students in producing a spontaneous speech is that they are not adequately exposed to the English language. Speaking needs some kind of real exposure to an audience. These students are conscious of making mistakes and have a fear of attracting criticism from their audience. Naturally, they prefer to remain silent. As mentioned by Ur (1991), L2 learners feel that they are unable to think of what to say when they are asked to speak English. He further says that the ESL students feel "unnatural to speak to one another in a foreign language" (p. 121). Besides the affective variables, the structure of classroom discourse and certain phonetic features pose difficulty in developing the skills of oral communication of the learners.

Understanding the Classroom Discourse of Indian Universities

According to Ho (2007), many challenges prop out because the language learnt in an institution is totally different from what is used and spoken in the real world. She puts it succinctly in the following lines:

The second language is found to be based on literate and academic knowledge and preoccupied with the written word (Barnes, 1975; Widowson, 1978; Brynes, 1998) in the sense that emphasis is placed on the standard written code found in formal texts, even in oral communication. (p. 39)

It is also mentioned by the author that learning a language gets priority over using a language. Kramsch (1998, cited in Ho, 2007) claims that oral fluency has not been given much importance in "academic discourse" (Ho, 2007, p.40) and the skill learnt at academics requires one to achieve competence within the school setting. As a result, they are not competent enough to use the language divergently in the outside world. This incompetence in language causes the feeling of being tongue-tied and creates anxiety and frustration among the learners (Leaver, Ehrman & Shekhtman, 2005).

Classroom Talk

A class room talk as described by Ho (2007) is characterized by an exchange which is carried out in three parts between the teachers and the students. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, cited in Ho, 2007) named this three-part exchange structure as I – R – F (initiation – response – feedback). If a teacher initiates the interaction, there has to be a participatory response from the student which in turn is evaluated by the teacher through a feedback move. But for many years, the initiation by teachers is in the form of a display question where teacher already knows the answer. Wells (1999, cited in Ho, 2007) while analyzing the I-R-F exchange finds that such talk moves around a very limited range of content and thus has a very little capability to promote talk in the target language. Unless a student is able to participate in the natural use of the target

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language, she/he cannot be a fluent speaker of that language. It is claimed by Ho (2007) that "the more well defined the structure of authority in the schools and classrooms the more students are discouraged from using the target language in an interactive and spontaneous manner" (p.21). Rogoff (cited in Ho, 2007) says that there should be a dialogic teacher-pupil relationship and the students must have an active role in negotiating the instructional process.

Another drawback with the ESL classroom talk in most of the Indian universities (mainly state universities) is that it is teacher-centered. As stated by Aslam (2008), a student hardly gets more than ten seconds to speak English in class out of the forty minutes period. The lack of exposure to English in classroom itself makes students incompetent in the language.

Classroom Settings, Teaching and Testing Methodologies

Teaching of second language as observed by Fazili (2007) has not been following appropriate methodology in Indian classrooms. The reasons which contributed towards this situation are listed below:

a)   There is a wide heterogeneity in the competence levels of the students in the classroom.

b)   Many Indian universities face the problem of large classroom where the number of students exceeds one-hundred sometimes. In this situation the teacher is unable to implement new teaching strategies in the classroom and fails to exercise his/her creativity.

Language learning/ teaching is considered to be a process that is purely mechanical and that ignores the cognitive aspects in most of the Indian classrooms. The teachers are kept at the bottom-most position in the curriculum framework. They are only responsible for transferring the materials advised by higher authorities to the students without analyzing their needs. The other problem lies with the poor examination system because it merely tests memory and luck of the students, instead of their competence and performance in the specific skills. This point is also supported by Ho (2007), who says that ESL learners learn the language to pass the tests. Hence, English is considered "just another subject" (Willis, 1981, p.41) that has to be mugged up to score well in exams. Willis (1981), too, agrees with Ho (2007) and says that "unfortunately the requirements of the exam dictate teaching priorities, and all, too often students leave schools unable to communicate orally in English" (p.41).

Therefore, non-native English teachers are compelled to rely mostly on the text books. They are unable to connect classroom teaching of L2 to the need for the same in the world outside the class. Completion of the syllabus becomes the sole aim of both the teachers and the students. Also, the monotony in the pattern of questions in the examination question papers over the years has compelled the teachers to stick to the age old teaching methods. These exams assess spoken English merely through dialogue and debate writing, writing minimal pairs for the given sounds and identifying consonants and vowels in the given words.

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Lack of Smart Classrooms

The agenda to introduce smart classrooms is still under process in many universities. In this era of technology advancement, most of the classrooms are devoid of modern technologies and teaching is dependent on blackboard and chalk. Even if some universities have got the smart classroom set-up, the in-service training for the teachers to get themselves acquainted with the smart classroom is still on hold.

Challenging Phonetic Features for ESL Learners

Apart from all these, certain phonetic features are problematic for the students learning English as a second language. These phonetic features make them unintelligible to their audience; consequently they prefer to remain silent. Shackle (1987) has discussed certain phonemes that have their equivalents in Indian languages, but there are some which cause problems in the articulation. Some of the phonetic problems are explained below:

• Consonants: Consonants like /p, b, g, m, n, j, h, s, f, v, t, d, z, k, l, ʃ, ŋ, r, tʃ, w, dʒ/ do not create much problem of intelligibility and articulation. However, sounds like /ʒ, θ, ð/ cause problem of articulation. Consonants like / θ, ð/ are replaced by aspirated dental /tʰ/ and unaspirated /d/ respectively, which may cause problem of intelligibility at the national as well as international levels. Distinction between /v/ and /w/ is also not very clear with many of the ESL language users but they hardly affect listeners' comprehension. However, substituting one consonant by another is the most problematic area which is discussed below:

1. /ʒ/ of *measure* is often replaced by / dʒ/ sound which confuses the listener.

Thus *measure* becomes *major*. Sometimes /ʒ/ is also replaced by /z/ and *measure* becomes /me:zə/.

2. Most of the speakers from Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat interchange the use of /s/ and /ʃ/sound. For example, the speaker intends to say "She's the one whom I saw at the sea shore" will say /si:z də wən ai sɔː æt də ʃiː ʃɔːr/. Thus the meaning comes out as *cease the one I saw at the sea shore.*

3. Sometimes /z/ is replaced by / dʒ/ by the speakers from Bihar and Bengal. For example /zest/ becomes / dʒest/.

4. /dʒ/ is used in place of /z/. For example *damage* becomes /dæmez/.

5. Most of the Indian speakers use aspirated /pʰ/ istead of /f/ sound. For example *fool* becomes /pʰuːl/. (Shackle, 1987; Shuja, 1995)

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• Vowels also create much problem for the ESL learners, for instance there are certain vowel sounds that make Indian speech unintelligible and hence destroy their fluency. These are as follows:

1.   /e/ and /æ/ are often interchanged when they are used in English speech. For example: *bed* becomes /bæd/, *back* becomes /bek/ and *snacks* becomes /sneks/

2.   Shortening of the long vowels. Example *seat* becomes /sit/.

3.   Elongation of the short vowels. Example *Delhi* becomes /de:li/.

4.   The diphthongs /ei/ and /əu/ are articulated as the monophthongs /e:/ and /o:/, respectively. Example *cake* /keik/ as /ke:k/ and *boat* as /bəut/ as /bo:t/.

5.   /a:/ generally replaces the vowels /ɔ/ and /ɔː/. Example: *ball* becomes /ba:l/.

The above mentioned problems are mostly found in the speakers of Uttar Pradesh. (Shackle, 1987; Shuja 1995)

• Consonant clusters: English language permits certain consonant clusters at the beginning and at the end of a word. But different languages have different rules for the consonant clusters. For example, English allows initial consonant cluster /sk,sp, st, sn, sm/ which Urdu language does not permit. This feature causes the hindrance in the English speech of Urdu speakers and thus they face embarrassment when exposed to native speakers of English or those which have near native like pronunciation in English. Epenthesis is the most common phenomenon found in the speech of many ESL learners. Due to unavailability of certain English consonant clusters in their mother tongue, they mispronounce the word. Example: insertion of vowel in consonant clusters. *Class* is mispronounced as /kila:s/, and *bread* is /bi:red/.

• Stress: It plays a vital role in conveying meaning. If a word is wrongly stressed, it may affect the listeners' comprehension and the intended meaning of the speaker may get destroyed:

Example: The sentence "The doctor advised me *operation* (/ɒpə-rei- ʃn/)." Here the syllable /rei/ gets the primary stress. If the stress is wrongly placed on the syllable /ɒpə/ the word becomes *oppression* (/ɒp-re:- ʃn/). Hence the wrong stress pattern can lead to miscommunication. ESL speakers have the tendency to put the stress in words or sentences improperly because of the interference from the mother tongue which may follow different stress patterns. Thus, they cut a sorry figure among their target language audience.

• Intonation: According to Shackle (1987),

> The typical rising intonation of question in English is reserved for expressions of surprise in most South Asian languages. Their characteristic interrogative pattern,

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in which the end of a question is marked by a rise-fall in the intonation, is quite unlike the English norm, and can easily cause misunderstanding (p. 232).

Thus, it can be said that correct intonation pattern should be executed in English speech so that the message gets conveyed successfully.

Remedial Measures

A sound knowledge of phonetics practiced with activities would be helpful to improve English speech. Leaver et al (2005) have suggested some remedies that would improve and relax the anxious speakers of English. They are:

•   Simplification: Use of short phrases and sentences are to be encouraged.

•   Islands: Learning to speak on topics which are frequently used may help ESL learners to use English confidently.

•   Focus on the known: Making the language work with the limited knowledge of that language would motivate the students to speak efficiently.

Another thing to be taken care of is the teacher talk. It should maximize the use of referential questions in the classroom. Moreover spoken language should be assessed orally, not through written mode. The evaluation of candidate's performance should not only consist of summative assessment but also the formative and alternative ones. This measure will help the teachers to cover the syllabus patiently over the academic year. Also, teachers should be at the top most position during the designing of the syllabus because they are the one who are aware of the classroom situations.

The pronunciation problem of the students can be improved by making them to practice the sounds (International Phonetic Alphabet symbols) with the help of communicative activities. Some of the activities which can be used in the classroom are as follows:

Activities

Aim: The aim of this activity is to make the students pronounce words intelligibly.

Organization: The class is divided into groups of three: student A, student B and student C. The pronunciation of student A is better than student B in each group. Student C acts as an observer who keeps a check that the group talks in English and the game is played fairly. The teacher exchanges the student C of each group with the other ones in a way that each group has an observer of some other group. The observer is provided with game markers which are given to the group for each correct response. Therefore, if a group has less game marker in the first part of the activity, it tends to work harder to collect more game markers in part two of the game. At the

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end of the game (i.e. after the completion of part 1, part 2 and part 3), the game markers of each group are counted. Those who earn the maximum number of beads become the winner.

Preparation: Few List of words.

Activity 1

This activity will be carried out in three parts.

Part One

Procedure: Student A will read aloud the given list of words for student B. After listening carefully to A, student B will match each word on the left with the word on the right which has the same initial consonant (sound, not letter), and put the appropriate number in front of the word. An example is given. The words in the left-hand column below begin with 22 different consonants. The words in the right-hand columns begin with the same 22 consonants, but in a different order. The group that gets the maximum number of beads in minimum time wins the game.

List of words:

1	bag	tomato
2	cat	Czech
3	cent	yacht
4	check	loose
5	dude	There
6	fan	guess
7	gem	Dare
8	leap	Vote
9	meek	kneel
10	nail	Kite
11	zoom	Wild
12	pain	Holy
13	ptomaine	Pest

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14	room	Phone
15	shave	Jest
16	then	Zest
17	thick	Send
18	vest	Rhyme
19	weight	Main
20	whole	Thin
21	young	Boom
22	gas	Chef

Part Two

Procedure: Student A will read aloud the other list of words for student B. After listening carefully to A, student B will match each word on the left with the word on the right which has the same final consonant. An example is given. The words in the left-hand columns below end with 21 different consonants. The words in the right-hand columns have the same final consonants, but in a different order. The group that gets the maximum number of beads in minimum time wins the game in this part.

List of words:

1	Both	Love
2	Car	rogue
3	Clothe	dome
4	Dumb	grud
5	Fate	smooth
6	Globe	ridge
7	Graph	sane
8	Lace	beige

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9	Look	lung
10	Odd	gruff
11	phrase	eight
12	pole	Fade
13	rage	Toll
14	rich	Daze
15	rouge	Lock
16	rug	Loss
17	save	Hope
18	sign	Youth
19	soap	Care
20	tongue	Ash
21	wash	Witch

Part Three

Procedure: Student A will read aloud the third list of words for student B. After listening carefully to A, student B will match the final consonant of each word in the left-hand columns with the initial consonant of a word in the right-hand columns –if there is such a match. An example is given. The group that gets the maximum number of beads in minimum time wins the game in this part.

List of words:

1	beige	Pitch
2	breathe	Team
3	chip	Kill
4	coach	Bad
5	comb	dame

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6	cough	Goal
7	door	choke
8	face	Jell
9	lane	Fun
10	ledge	Think
11	lice	Safe
12	maid	Vain
13	meat	They
14	nave	Zone
15	nose	Mode
16	robe	Name
17	rogue	Lace
18	rung	Rake
19	rush	Yell
20	ruth	Wet
21	sail	Head
22		Shift

After completing the above three parts, student A and student B have to discuss the following questions:

• Two of the words in the left-hand columns have final consonants for which there is no match in initial position. What are the words?

• Three words in the right-hand columns have initial consonants for which there is no match in final position. What are they?   (Kreidler, 2004, p.30-1)

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Activity 2

Student A will read aloud the list of words for student B. After listening carefully to A, student B has to identify three consonants in each word. These words have three consonants separated by two vowels (CVCVC). The first has been done as an example.

- Cherub   tʃ -r-b   Thistle   Ptomaine

- Garage   Havoc   Possess

- Philip   Jealous   Gingham

- Receipt   Package   Righteous

- Machine   Kenneth   Sheriff

- Budget   Disease   Nothing

(Kreidler, 2004, p. 41)

Conclusion

This paper focussed on the issues related to teaching and learning of spoken English in Indian context. Besides talking about the problems of ESL classrooms and learners in India, this work has also presented some of the remedial measures to overcome the challenging issues of spoken English.

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