
LANGUAGE IN INDIA

Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow

Volume 17:5 May 2017

ISSN 1930-2940

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com is included in the UGC Approved List of Journals. Serial Number 49042

Contents

Materials published in Language in India www.languageinindia.com are indexed in EBSCOHost database, MLA International Bibliography and the Directory of Periodicals, ProQuest (Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts) and Gale Research. The journal is included in the *Cabell's Directory*, a leading directory in the USA.

Articles published in Language in India are peer-reviewed by one or more members of the Board of Editors or an outside scholar who is a specialist in the related field. Since the dissertations are already reviewed by the University-appointed examiners, dissertations accepted for publication in Language in India are not reviewed again.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

This is our 17th year of publication. All back issues of the journal are accessible through this link: <http://languageinindia.com/backissues/2001.html>

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Chain Reactions of Private Tutoring in English Language Learning at the SSC Level of Bangladeshi Students: Problems and Probable Solutions

Md Abu Nayeem, M.A. in TESOL

Abstract

Private Tutoring in English Language Learning is a very common phenomenon among Bangladeshi learners at the SSC level. Many learners are very eager to receive private tutoring supports in ELT. Parents also depend upon private tutoring to cut good figures of the examinations of their children. Monthly payment in private tutoring is on the increase day by day in Bangladesh. This study aims to examine the major reasons of private tutoring in English Language Learning at the SSC level of Bangladesh Education System. Moreover, it aims to investigate the problems of the learners why they are so weak in English. To carry out this project at Gazipur District in Bangladesh, 10 teachers (both schoolteachers and tutors), 20-25 students of SSC level and 15 parents were taken interview with a questionnaire process. An observation was done in the classroom to investigate where there was any weakness in English teaching capability of the private tutors. The findings from the survey show that most of the SSC level students receive private tutoring support and they have a satisfactory mentality with English Language Learning process provided by the private tutors rather than school teachers. But in real sense, learners should not rely upon private tutor. Private tuition has both positive and negative aspects. Parents and learners should understand the necessity of private tutoring in English Language Learning and at the same time be conscious of problematic aspects of private tutoring as well.

Key words: ELT, Private Tutoring, Tutors, SSC Level Students, Parents and Teachers

Introduction

Private tutoring in academic subjects is defined as tutoring provided on a supplementary basis at the end of the school day, at weekends, or during vacations. It is paid for by fees and it

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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typically involves two individuals, a tutor (the teacher or the person who helps someone to learn) and a tutee (the person being taught). The tutor is more knowledgeable or expert than the tutee, and attempts to help the tutee learn, usually in an academic area. Age is not necessarily a factor in the tutoring relationship – the tutor and tutee may be the same age – as long as the tutor has greater knowledge or skill than the tutee. Traditionally, tutoring has involved one-to-one instruction, but some tutoring programs do involve a tutor and two or three tutees. Tutoring does not include extracurricular subjects such as sports and art lessons or family members on voluntary basis. (Bray, 2003, p.13)

Private tutoring is a widespread phenomenon in many developing and developed countries around the globe. It is a byproduct and a characteristic of certain educational system which makes to establish a milieu for its prevailing system. This is the case in the educational system in Bangladesh, where private tutoring is on the increase across the country despite the government has taken some protesting steps against it. Private tutoring does affect many subjects, like English, Mathematics, Accounting, and Science in the Bengali educational curriculum, though certain subjects take the lion's share of attention of the SSC learners in Bangladesh. One of these subjects is English as a foreign language (EFL). This is due, for the major part, to the importance of this language in future studies or work opportunities in Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh, many SSC level learners have a strong motive towards private tutoring, they think that there is no alternative means without private tutoring. Guidance have also same motive like their children. Both parents and students think that private tutoring can bring for them a brilliant success in each examination.

The current study wants to examine the issues of private tutoring in relation to the subject of English Language Learning, with a consideration of its reasons and impacts on Bangladeshi students' learning motivation. To acquire the target, the study has taken interviews of 20 students as well as their parents to investigate what makes them adhere to private tutoring and what impacts it has on them and their learning.

The reasons as stated above, I would like to find out the “Impact of Private Tutoring on English Language Learning at the SSC Level of Bangladeshi Learners: Problems and Probable Solutions.” For this purpose, I did carry out the tiny research project in the English Language Home situated at my local zone, Tongi under Gazipur district of Bangladesh with a view to investigating a new dimension of the 21st –century ELT at the SSC level of Bangladesh Education System.

Research Questions

In the light of the discussion stated above, this study, would like to answer the following questions:

1. What are the major reasons of Private Tutoring on English Language Learning at the SSC Level of Bangladesh Education System?
2. To what extent do students have to face problems for private tutoring?
3. Why do teachers and tutors get themselves in private tutoring?

Literature Review

Private Tutoring is defined as fee-based tutoring that provides supplementary instruction to children in academic subjects they study in the mainstream education system. (**Dang & Rogers, 2008, p.161**) Educational institutions are the places where tuition is supposed to take place. The teachers and the students jointly participate in classroom situation to achieve education. The education provision is such that in majority cases the students require study at home in order to supplement school education. It is done in the form of homework and learning what was asked by the schoolteachers. Studying at home requires tutoring support, which sometimes the parents, relatives or the household members provide and sometimes do not, so, an external support is often sought for this and such support is sometimes provided free of cost and often on a payment basis. Therefore, private tutoring means payment-based tutoring support to the students outside official school hour. (**Nath, 2006, p.1**)

Bangladesh is a developing country and private tutoring in Bangladesh is delivered by mainstream teachers, teachers from other institutions or even non-teachers. Lessons occur one-to-one, in small groups (5-10 students) or in large groups (20 students or more). The venue of the teaching can be tutors place of residence (one-to-one or small groups), the tutee’s place of

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residence (usually one-to-one) or special teaching centers (large groups) known as coaching centers. **(Hamid; Sussex & Khan, 2009, p. 281)** There are many differences found in the ages and qualifications of private tutors. In many settings, secondary school students earn pocket money by tutoring primary school children, and similarly, university students tutors secondary students. At other end of the age scale, many tutors are retirees who wish still to contribute to society and earn some extra money. Between these two extremes of age are others who provide tutoring on a full time or part time basis, and who may or may not have formal training. This picture contrasts with mainstream schooling, in which teachers are expected to be aged between 21 and 65 and to have formal training. **(Bray, 2006, p.529)**

Bray (1999) also called private supplementary tutoring a “shadow education system”. The metaphor of a shadow is appropriate in several ways. First, private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education exists, second, as the size and shape of the mainstream system change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring, third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow, and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream system. Tutoring reduces the workload of mainstream teachers and helping the students to understand the materials which have been presented during the school day. **(Bray, 1999, p.17)** Private tutoring is also embedded in South Korean society, where it is known as ‘hagwuan’ or cram schools. **(Hamid, Sussex & Khan, 2009, p.282)** It is also an integral part of education in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, a 1998 survey of four schools serving different populations groups found an average on 41% of grades 3 and 39% of grade 6 pupils receiving private tutoring. **(Bray, 1999, p.24)**

Private tutoring is described as a shadow for several reasons. First, it only exists because the mainstream education system exists. Second, it imitates the mainstream: as the mainstream changes in size and orientation, so does the shadow. Third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream. Tutoring is a huge industry

in much of Asia and is growing fast elsewhere, particularly in Africa, Europe and North America. (Bray, 2005, pp.1-2)

Moreover, Foondun (2002) has used the term *Private Tuition* and defined it as extra coaching in academic and examinable subjects that is given to students outside school hours for remuneration. On the other hand, Wolf (2002) who was writing about the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) used the term *Extra School Instruction* (ESI) to denote teaching and coaching activities in mathematics and science taking place outside of the regular school structure. It excludes extra help given to students by teachers under the auspices of the school. Following from these descriptions of private tutoring, private schools can be excluded from the category of PST, although private schools constitute an aspect of private education.

Reasons of Private Tutoring at the SSC Level in Bangladesh

Private tutoring in English is on the increase in urban and rural schools in Bangladesh. It is implemented at all stages of education. Private tutoring in Bangladesh is tutored by mainstream teachers, teachers from other institutions, or students of schools, colleges and universities. The system of private tutoring varies from each other. Students of SSC level are being taught in a small group within 10 to 15 students or in large groups within 20-25 students or more. The placement of the teaching can be the tutor's house, tutee's house, or special teaching places like coaching centers. Most parents provide their children with private tutors, because they think that it would help them learn the language, or to get higher grades in English subjects and English is very necessary for future expectations and career opportunities. So many children leave schools with or without break for private tutoring in English. Many others children also receive tutoring on non-school days at weekends, during vacations and on public holidays (Hamid et al, 2009, p. 284).

Teacher shortages and overcrowded students in schools help to make a large market for private tutoring throughout Bangladesh. The rate of private tutoring at the SSC level is on the increase per year over the past decade. Although private tutoring receives greater among boys, urban students, and wealthier households, but it is observed to receive private tutoring even the

poor family. A research investigated by BRAC's Research and Evaluation Division shows that private tutoring in Bangladesh helps students learn more than those who have no such support. Private tutors for SSC level have become a very common phenomenon across the country. Bangladesh is not the only country which only depends on tutors. The World Bank reports that tutors have become a pillar of education in many developing countries.

To Get Higher Grades

School teachers cannot teach English in classroom because of time constraints. They cannot be able to teach the students English in an English class. And, it is difficult for the younger learners to understand English grammar in a very short time. Yet they are determined to cut a good figure in the English exam. So, they have to rely upon the private tutors for learning English and also getting good marks in English.

To Decrease the Workload Of the Schoolteachers

Private tutoring decreases the workload of school teachers through helping students understand the sources which are supplied in the classrooms. All lessons are not possible to teach in the class, so, in this regard, private tutoring plays alternative role to develop the students' potential in English.

Lack of Ample Teachers

In Bangladesh, at the SSC level, students are on the increase by leaps and bounds, but the number of the school teachers is not increasing in comparison with the students. So, it is not feasible for the teachers to provide quality education in teaching English for all students at the SSC level. As a result, students have to depend on the private tutors due to the lack of ample teachers.

Economic Constraints

Another reason of private tutoring is poor salary of the teachers in Bangladesh schools. They want to overcome economic crisis, so they are compelled to offer private after school. To

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earn extra income source, schoolteachers are devoted to private tutoring. Moreover, the economic situation of the teachers are not well-to-do, they have no alternative means without depending upon private tutoring. It may be expressed that private tutoring is their second income source policy to lead their family in Bangladesh.

Lack of Scientific Teaching Capability

Our English teachers are not trained up scientifically in teaching English subjects at the SSC level of Bangladesh. One of the main reasons for the spread of private tutoring education strategy is poor teaching and learning capability among the teachers and students. If the teachers could be able to provide postmodern education policy in teaching their students English subjects in the classrooms, the students at the SSC level certainly receive scientific education system from the highly qualified English teachers, but here in Bangladesh, the situation is totally opposite. So the students have to rely upon their tutors.

Necessity of English Learning

There is important cause of private tutoring is over growing competition at the higher level of education and job market in Bangladesh. Educated and well-to-do guardians expect from their children a very satisfactory result in English subjects in the examination in order that they can be able to get admitted at Public institution, like University, Medical Science, Engineering, Marine Engineering, and Business Faculty at the tertiary level so that they can be able to hold the topmost situation in the job market. The necessity of learning English beggars descriptions to the SSC level learners.

Social Pressure

In Bangladesh, most students receive private tuition in English. Sometimes, social pressure dwindle the students and their parents to get involved in private tutoring. Many younger students are completed to teach SSC level students due to family crisis or limited income source in society and family. Social pressure is a very general matter in our Bangladeshi society. It may be a major cause to get engaged in private tutoring.

Parental High Expectations

Many parents have high expectations for their children's education, especially for English language learning. They think that if their children are good at English subject, in course of time, they can be able to get a lucrative job, and they will be able to have economically developed. So they directly motivate their children to get engaged in private tutoring in English learning so that they can cut a good figure in English subject and in future, their knowledge of English can be able to bring about a significant change in own society and family.

To Improve English Knowledge

In Bangladesh, private tutoring is a common platform for learning English. Students want private tutors, because those tutors help them participate effectively in the classroom activities and therefore, the students at the SSC level depend on private tutoring with a view to upgrading their general knowledge of English language. Parents have a notion that if their children learn from the tutors, they would learn English language properly and get a satisfactory marks in English subjects.

Familial Reasons

There are various reasons why people want to be tutored or to teach as tutors. Private supplementary tutoring improves the students' learning and it also provides constructive activities for children during out-of-school hours. (Bray, 2003, p. 14) Often people who can afford to decide to hire a tutor to teach them or their family members English, because this way of learning English language is favorable for them all. Parents choose to employ professionally trained tutors, because they are concerned about their children's capability of learning English at school. When being tutored, learners can choose quantity of education provided -- they have to decide on how they take a lesson according to their needs and financial situations. Also, the most significant opportunity of private tutoring is that students can be taught at home, they do not have to attend any classes beyond house or flat, and they can choose when and for how long they want to be tutored according to what suits them the best, which is convenient, especially for students and people working in various times of day.

Tutors' Reasons

Private tutoring may bring about a potential change in the mental satisfaction of tutors in some families. Some tutors are mainstream teachers who gain extra incomes from supplementary teaching policy, like private tutoring. Others are employees of companies that provide tutoring, or students, retirees or other individuals who are self-employed (Bray, 2005, p. 2). Tutoring can provide a reasonable living for an ESL teacher (one who teaches English as a second language) or an EFL teacher (one who teaches English as a foreign language) at the SSC/HSC/Tertiary level of Bangladesh Education System. It has certain merits, one of which is that the tutors can choose their students, so they can teach the learners they like to work with and then, keep teaching them for many years. Tutoring can also be a well-paid part-time job, which is convenient for the tutors who are students themselves. They can decide on the quantity of tutoring – they can offer individual, or group lessons. They can choose to teach their classmates or the foreign students who have language difficulties (Camenson, 2001, p. 12).

Social Insecurity & Eve-Teaching

Many parents don't want send the female children outside home due to social insecurity in Bangladesh. Social insecurity is a very common problem for the female students in the city or in the urban areas. For instance, eve-teaching is on the increase swiftly across the country, while any female student leaves home for private tutoring, their parents are very anxious for their children. Due to the fear of eve-teaching, sensitive parents employ tutors at home. At wealthy family, parents don't like send their female students outside of home for private tutoring.

Negative Aspects of Private Tutoring

Private tutoring has also negative aspects of English learning in Bangladesh. There have many negative attitudes towards private tutoring. At schools, the number of absentees rose high due to private tutoring. Sometimes private tutoring is reported to have a negative effect on mainstream classes. Yasmeen (1999) expressed her view regarding the practices of private tutoring:

Most students tend to rely on private tutors for everything including homework and exam tips. As a result classroom attention tends to dwindle creating discipline problems

for schoolteachers. Supplementary or top-up teaching is becoming more important than the synergistic classroom experience. (Bray, 2003, p.30)

Students do not pay adequate attention to their lessons, because they have already covered the topics with the help of tutors, and also they are not satisfied by the teaching process of their schoolteachers. The majority of students think that the quality of instruction in the tuition class is much better rather school teaching at the SSC level. They express their comments as follows:

This has a negative impact upon due respect they have self-confidence in the classroom teacher and his teaching policy. Negative students' behavior and non-participation in the teaching-learning process turn them into poor quality teaching, for which they have to adhere to private tutoring, and private tuition also leads to negative students' behavior in the class, which in turn turns to deterioration of classroom teaching. (My Translation)

Private tutoring practice improves welfare in family and society, but it also increase disparity between students and teachers. Many parents who have much property as well as financial support can provide more books, learning instruments, and even full-time tutors for the development of their children. But, on the contrary, low income or poor parents cannot provide financial supports for their children, and cannot be able to pay for private tuition fee in time. Thus, private tutoring increases financial crisis among the poor income families in Bangladesh. When students of SSC level are away from home and their parents, sometimes, family bonds gets weakened. This is one of the negative aspects of private tutoring. Sometimes students go to tutoring classes without taking food or rest and they return home late and get tired. So I think, private tutoring weakens their health and mentality.

Private tutoring puts extra loads on the students who attend both regular class at school and private tutoring class. It affects the daily life of students for which they are fully deprived of extracurricular activities, recreational activities. Moreover, the negative aspects of private

tutoring as stated above, I think, there are some major psychological problems between female students and tutors, which are very much common practical issues published in the Daily News and telecast in the social media all the year round. In my opinion, these common problems may be mentioned below:

Physical Relation

Due to regular private tutoring at tutor's home and private room, there occurs a physical relation between teachers and female students. This current situation is greatly noticed across the country. Female students of SSC level are, of course, immature and innocent mind. They have no practical knowledge of life, and even familial concerns of their own. Emotionally, both teachers and students get engaged themselves in physical relation each other. They fail to control emotion, feeling and fancy. Tutors in Bangladesh are like vagabonds, most of them have no permanent residence or dwelling place, they just tutor female students for the temporary basis to bear education expenses, to maintain familial crisis, and to lead a fops and foolish life style in the urban and city areas in today's Bangladesh. Anyway, I think, this type of physical relation becomes a severe problem for the immature ones.

Early Marriage

Many a times, in Bangladeshi society and family, private tutoring may be regarded as a negative issue of early marriage. Both students and teachers get themselves married very early in their immature life without parental consents and permission. Early marriage, I think, brings about a tragic downfall in the minds of both teachers and students. As we know that Bangladesh sometimes fails to afford her large population economically and socially. At such critical and juncture situation, if early marriage is on the increase due to private tutoring, the nation will have to face a hurdled situation.

Familial Crisis

Separation, divorce, and familial crisis are now-a-days observed due to private tutoring. Many married tutors are addicted to illicit relationship with their female students. Sometimes they get married their students, keeping the while matter secret to their students and even to their

own family. Immature students unknowingly fall victim of familial crisis. As a result, the future dream and expectation of female students remain unfulfilled and unveiled. At one time they have to bear a big burden on their shoulders throughout their life, So, I think, private tutoring is one the major causes of familial crisis in postmodern times. Besides these, there are many negatives sides of private tutoring, which I would investigate in my future research writing.

Methodology & Data Collection

For documentation of this project, I have followed the APA (6th edition) style. In this qualitative method, data about the practices and policies of private tutoring were collected from different types of participants, including--schoolteachers, tutors, students of SSC level and their parents. In this field survey, 10 teachers (both schoolteachers and tutors), 20-25 students, and 15 parents did take an active part at the English Language Teaching Home of Tongi under the district of Gazipur, Bangladesh. The sample for the teachers, students and parents was a convenience sample as some of them were unwilling to express regarding private tuition fee/monthly payment basis face to face while the interview was being taken. The participants were asked to fill up a survey form. Through the field survey form for the schoolteachers and tutors, reasons for giving private tuition, the common organization of a typical tuition session, how the tuition sessions were connected to the task done at the SSC level of students near by a coaching centre at Tongi, their assigned teachers and other important information about private tutoring and its tuition were investigated. Further clarifications were done through an interview with other students and guidance. The sample of students were asked to fill another survey form relating to the reasons for taking private tuition in English Language Learning, how private tutoring helps the students of the SSC level understand English grammatical knowledge, reading comprehension, composition, application, paragraph, letter, story writing. The researcher had to spend 15 days to collect data so that he could enable to show a faithful picture of private tutoring at the SSC level of the 21st –century Bangladesh EFL learners.

The researcher proposed the topics for discussion during the interview process, but asked few specific questions. (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) During each of the interviews, the researcher recorded the interview and prompted the participants to express what they thought were the

reasons of their resorting to private tutoring in learning English language, and what effects private tutoring had on students' learning capability.

Because the format of the different types of interviewing process was open, some participants responded with more details, while others simply agreed with what had been said. Students' and parents' interviews lasted for approximately 2 hours and 1.5 hours, respectively. After the interviews were completed, the researcher went through the audio recording, and transcribed the two interviews by noting complete thoughts and useful information.

Data Analysis

The content of the participants' responses in different types of interviews was investigated and coded. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), "Coding is the process of grouping interviewees' responses into categories that bring together the similar ideas, concepts, or themes you have discovered". (p. 238) In coding the interview data, the researcher underlined or circled words, phrases, or sentences that caught his attention and that had potential to serve as a category. This procedure enabled the researcher to gather new information into categories or central themes, including To get Higher Grades, to decrease the Workload of the Schoolteachers, lack of ample teachers, economic constraints, lack of scientific teaching capability, necessity of English learning, social pressure, parental high expectations, to improve English knowledge, familial reasons, tutors' reasons, social insecurity & eve-teaching, and so on.

Participants like schoolteachers, tutors, students of the SSC level, and their parents groups did express different views about the causes and impacts of English private tutoring on English Language Learning. Responses from the participants were compiled and problems and reasons for private tutoring emerged from the data.

Findings of the Study

This research project shows that most of the students of SSC level have to depend upon the private tutors throughout the country rather than their school teachers due to time constraints in the classroom. Students have to face different types of social problems for private tutoring in Bangladesh, especially for girls, like eve-teasing, kidnapping, psychological problems and so on.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Due to economic constraints, both teachers and tutors get themselves involved in private tutoring with a view to maintaining familial demands. This study also shows that both teachers and tutors regard private tutoring as a weapon of income source in a developing country, like Bangladesh. Many poor parents cannot afford to bear educational expenses for private tutoring because they are financially poor and weak. Anyway, many students and their guardians think that it is not possible to cut a good figure in the SSC examination without private tutoring though the present Government is trying to ban this system.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research project dealt with the reasons and problems of private tutoring in English for the students of the SSC level in Bangladesh. From the above discussion it can be said that private tutoring has not only positive aspects, but also negative aspects. Private tutors help their students solve the complex problems of what they cannot be able to learn from their schoolteachers. The weaker students need learning supports in English subjects which can be provided by the private tutors. It would not be a wise decision for the Bangladesh Government to ban the private tutoring centers. Learners should understand why they need private tutors and how they can be benefitted from their tutors. So Bangladesh Government should raise awareness about the practical merits of private tutoring for the students of SSC level.

Private tutoring has both positive and negative aspects. Parents and students ought not to rely on private tutors. We would try to find out better effects of private tutoring and make the best use of it. So some important recommendations are given below:

- At first, the teaching system of our schools should be modified and updated. Large number of students in a class is the core of these problems. As there are too many students, teachers could not give their proper attention to all students in the class.
- Another problem is while teaching, English is not given priority. In the class, all subjects are taught in a proper way, and English should be taught like other subjects. But, I think, English, including grammar, reading comprehension, vocabulary, and writing skill need to be given special care.
- After studying English for so many years, students cannot be able to communicate in English satisfactorily. So, it needs to be practiced more and more. In this case, students

can take help from their private tutors to make English language learning very effectively.

- Weaker students can be sent to private tutors for a scheduled time. Private tutors should try to find out their problematic issues and try to solve them as earliest possible.
- Lastly, I recommend that school teachers, private tutors, students and even their parents should be conscious of all subjects, especially Mathematics, English, Accounting, and Science. The Government should provide scientific training approach for the teachers. English learning centre ought to be established at schools; expert teachers should be appointed to develop the potential of the students.

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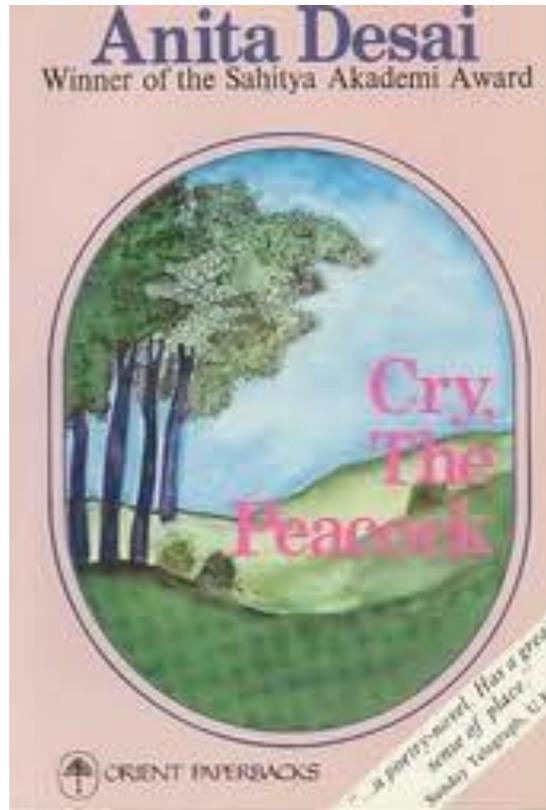
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The Theme of Alienation in Anita Desai's Novel, *Cry, the Peacock*

G. Aruna, M.A, M.Phil.
Dr. V. Peruvalluthi



Abstract

Anita Desai is one of the few feminist voices in the Indian literary firmament who carved a niche for herself. She has made a landmark contribution by the flair of her creativity and imagination to remain an inspiration to the subsequent generations of women writers. She is vociferous against the wrongs done to her gender, through her works. Only very few writers like Kamala Markandeya, Nayanthara Seghal and others have portrayed 'woman' in such glorious uncertainties in their works. Desai's primary concern as a novelist is with the sequestered individual living in an abandoned limbo of personal privation. She projects the psycho emotional and socio psychic states of protagonists living in an alien and cloistered world of existential problems and passions. Desai herself has disclosed in an interview that her concern revolves

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around the ‘solitary and individual beings’. Her fictional world portrays alienated characters who find it difficult to come to terms with reality. Writer Desai is not far from her fictional world as her novels are purely subjective. Her protagonists are women who find themselves caught in the web of social, economic, cultural and political crises. Anita Desai has been categorically hailed as a ‘feminist writer’ by several critics, although she never missed an opportunity to deny it. But analyses of her novels in the light of feminist ideology prove that her critics are right. *Cry the Peacock* stands tall in that order.

Keywords: *Cry, the Peacock*, alienated women, hysterical minds, horoscope predictions, mental agony, Indian women, psychological alienation

Cry, the Peacock

Anita Desai’s first novel *Cry, the Peacock* reveals the inner realities and psychic reverberations in the minds of her characters. In this novel Desai explores the hysterical mind of an Indian housewife, Maya. Her novel faithfully captures the contemporary Indian reality, especially the domestic life. The novel is an attempt to account the turbulent, emotional world of the neurotic protagonist, Maya who is married to Gautama. Maya is portrayed as a spoilt and pampered daughter of a wealthy Brahmin. The pre-marital freedom she enjoyed in her father’s house puts her utterly defenceless when she counters a different code of conduct in her father-in-law’s house. Moreover she is portrayed as a woman constantly haunted by the predictions of the horoscope which adds more woes to her married life.

The Albino Prophecy

Albino prophecy has predicted that either of the couple will die after four years of married life. She desperately needs someone to take her away from the dark shadow that lingers in her mind. Her husband who is supposed to give solace invigorates it instead. Her preoccupation with death is so strong that she contemplates the chances of her death as well as that of her husband Gautama. When the couple were watching the moon Maya feels that it is her husband who will die, as he accidentally comes between her and the moon. Such was her belief in the horoscope predicted by the astrologer. Desai explores the inner shores of Maya’s world, an

unfeeling world and the resultant mental agony and presents to the world as an example of Indian Women.

The Theme of Isolation in the Novel

In *Cry, the Peacock*, Desai aims at tracing the theme of physical isolation and psychological alienation, a sort of estrangement from someone or something with which she or he is attached or identified - family, friends, society and even one's own self. In this novel it is the mental estrangement rather than physical sufferings of the characters that come to the front. Desai depicts the inner struggle of the Maya, the heroine of the novel whose neurotic condition is brought about by a variety of factors such as marital discord, barrenness and psychic disorder. In Desai's words she is an ideal example of her characters who are not normal human beings, but have been driven into some extremity of despair and are found wanting when coping with the normal living standards of society.

Maya

Maya is portrayed as an emotional character who is over sensitive in mental proclivities but affectionate in nature. Her expectations of a caring soul who could sympathize commensurably with her sensibilities were not fulfilled by her husband Gautama. He never cared to understand her sentiments and becomes the reason for all the tragedies. For instance, when Maya's pet dog Toto was dead Maya was totally shaken, but Gautama never tried to console her. He was preoccupied with the problem of the disposal of the carcass. After the death of her dog, Maya started interpreting every object she sees in terms of death.

Death lurked in those spaces, the darkness spoke of distance, separation, loneliness - loneliness of such proportion that it broke the bounds of that single world and all its associations, and went spilling and spreading out and about, lapping the stars, each one isolated from the other by so much. And the longer I gazed, the farther they retreated, till there was only the darkness hanging, like a moist shroud, over our heads. (24)

Similarly even a casual scene of people lying down on the streets reminds her of death. What pains Maya most is not her loneliness, but the thought that there is no one to share her

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feelings hurts her. What she gained from her married life is nothing, but the ossification of her senses of this otherness in discharging her role as a childless wife. Gautama's age and attitude make her a much disappointed woman. Desai takes that extra yard to portray the disillusionment of her heroine.

Intellectual and Spiritual Repose

Loneliness that produces anguish in Maya provides intellectual and spiritual repose to Gautama. Driven by loneliness Maya reverts back to childhood memories to escape the present. But her neurotic sensibility makes her hysterically aware of the past. The vision of the lime trees, her pet dog Toto remind her of her hallucinatory world. The aristocratic life style of her father hampers Maya's freedom of growing as an individual. As a grown up woman now, she cannot relate herself to the realities of married life. Her husband Gautama is not a suitable substitute of her father. Maya the domestic outcast and alien house wife wants from her husband Love and Passion, but what she gets is logic and philosophy.

The Symbols Signify Isolation

Anita Desai's prime intention of writing novels is not to deal with the plot and the story, instead to explore the inner recesses of the characters to demonstrate the causes of their strange behaviour. The novel is a rich reservoir of symbols giving plural meanings. Desai uses symbols to penetrate into the chaotic world of Maya and explores her psychic state caused by her morbid preoccupation with death and records them with a subtle realism. Symbols drawn from human life and nature, both past and present are effectively utilised to show the cause of Maya's anguish, despair, paranoia and the tragic end. The names of the major characters in the novel signify a philosophical world view. The name Gautama itself signifies Buddha who remained disinterested in the material world and who advocated human beings to give up desire to come out of the illusion (Maya).

Anita Desai uses the bird 'Peacock' as a symbol throughout the novel not without reason. Peacock is the only bird that could sense oncoming death beforehand. Since Maya has been portrayed as a character preoccupied with death from childhood days, it becomes easy for Desai to relate her to the bird peacock. Both the bird and the girl now have the knowledge of their

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impending death beforehand. The peacocks know that death is the ultimate reality and that when it rains they will die. They gaze at the approaching cloud as the approach of death and that they are never free from the sense of death throughout their lives. The peacocks first fight, then mate and in the end die. The peacock symbol articulates Maya's agony and predicament: "The iterative symbolism of the peacock suggests Maya's struggle for life-in-death and death-in-life". (Sharma, 35)

Symbols: Maya and Gautama

Maya and Gautama, the major characters in the novel are steeped in symbolic association. Maya's name is symbolic and she is aware of it as "only a dream - an illusion". "Maya", my very name means nothing, is nothing, but an "illusion". (144) Her name also means worldly pleasures and temptations which will kill a person who comes in contact with them. So she dies in the end. Gautama dies due to his association with Maya. Maya stands for imagination and the dream world. She is the symbol of heart, loveliness and sensuousness; she symbolises the positive side of life with all its joys and beauties. Gautama on the other hand implies the negative side of life in the name of reality. Gautama stands for mind, logic and detachment. His name evokes the image of Gautama Buddha whose name suggests "detachment" and rejection of pleasures (Maya). Hence for Maya her husband Gautama:

... looked very much the mediator beneath the Bo tree, seated upon a soft tiger skin, too fastidious to touch the common earth, with those long, clean cut hands of his, too fastidious to admit such matters as love, with its accompanying horror of copulation of physical demands and even, overbearingly, spiritual demands of possession and rights won and established. (96)

Desai weaves a series of images into a cluster of symbols to express desperate and chaotic incidents into a pattern, providing richness and depth to the novel. The images are ornamental as well as functional which reflect the inner state of the characters.

Conclusion

The other characters in the novel also present the sad state of women in the society. Maya's friend Leela is another pathetic woman character in the novel, portrayed as a woman nursing a dying husband. But she accepts it as her fate and continues to live that way. Maya's childhood friend Pom was presented as a rebellious character in the beginning. She tried to rebel against her mother-in-law's arrogance and dominance but she succumbed to her supremacy at the end. Desai has deftly delineated the neurotic self of Maya in the show-down battling with the pangs of alienation, for emancipation, by a dexterous array of piebald images and symbols. In short to sum her character in the words of Gopal: "Maya stands as a victim of the constant tension between the vain glory of city life and regressive tendency to recapture the childhood world of innocence and purity". (20) The isolation and expectation of Maya only echoes the psyche of Indian women in general. Indian Women feel that they are uprooted from the family where they were born, in the name of marriage. Their existential struggle in the in-laws' house consumes their freedom. The thought of emancipation forces them to linger into childhood memories and subsequently intensifies their alienation. Maya succumbs to that alienation as she feels that all the routes for emancipation are closed to a childless wife in India.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Code-switching: An Ethnographic Case Study of Four British-Bangladeshi Bilinguals

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Abstract

This paper reports on a study that aimed at identifying the factors that affect the switching of linguistic codes by the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals living in London and Manchester, UK. Taking an ethnographic approach, four British-Bangladeshi bilinguals were observed as well as interviewed to examine how and why these bilinguals switch codes within a multilingual context (i.e., the United Kingdom). The findings indicate that the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals switch codes for various reasons, including business communication, poor lexical knowledge in English or in a dialect, multilingual family environment, among others. The study has implications for those who are interested in bilingualism and multilingualism.

Key Words: Code-Switching (CS), British-Bangladeshi Bilinguals, Factors affecting CS, Attitude towards CS

1. Introduction

Most of the British-Bangladeshis living in the United Kingdom (UK) are Bilinguals. As a result, the use of more than one language in the same conversation has become a norm for this group of people. Although code switching (CS) is a common phenomenon for these bilinguals, no research has been conducted yet by the Bangladeshi sociolinguists to examine the CS phenomenon for the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals.

The current study, therefore, aims to fill in this gap by exploring how and why these people switch to different linguistic codes (in this case, English and Standard Bengali, the state language of Bangladesh/Bengali dialects (e.g. Chittagonian, Dhakaya, Sylheti, etc. which are used locally in different divisions of Bangladesh), and why they do so within a

multilingual context (i.e., the UK). For the purpose of this study, four British-Bangladeshi bilinguals living in London and Manchester were selected; two of them were born in the UK while two others migrated from Bangladesh and got settled in England.

2. Review of Literature

Code switching (CS) is “a change by a speaker (or writer) from one language or language variety to another” (Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p.81). In other words, CS indicates the use of more than one language by bilinguals (Baker, 2000). CS is one of the important areas within sociolinguistics (Arnfast & Jorgensen, 2003), which may be located within macro sociolinguistic paradigm in particular (Auer, 1998). CS may be “domain-based or situational” and “addressee-based” (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 121). In the “domain-based or situational” CS, language users’ changes of codes are determined by the context (i.e., where the speaker is) while in the latter CS is influenced by the interlocutor, i.e., who the speaker interacts with (ibid.).

Previous research studies have illustrated some factors that affect CS. Among others, the habit of the bilinguals is a dominant factor that influences them to switch codes (David, 2003). Bilinguals are also found to switch codes as a symbol of smartness- they think the use of two codes in one conversation upholds their image in the society (Jorgensen, 2003). Some researchers (e.g., Alam, 2006; Hossain & Bar, 2015) have found CS helps the bilinguals to maintain fluency while they engage in conversation with other bilinguals.

The traditional CS studies focused mainly on general functions within CS contexts. Chan (2003), however, emphasises that CS research needs to focus on the community-specific norms that play vital roles to motivate code-switching among various communities. Eventually, this new trend of the CS research led many sociolinguists towards more in-depth explorations of community-specific research within multilingual societies (Ayeomoni, 2006). Such investigations, however, have ignored the CS phenomenon within the British-Bangladeshi community in the United Kingdom (UK) although most of the British-Bangladeshi people living in the UK are Bilinguals. Al-Azmi (not dated) claims:

In spite of being one of the largest growing ethnic minority populations in Britain, there has been very little work on the sociolinguistic aspects of Bangladeshis in Britain. We know very little about the state of bilingualism among the Bangladeshis living in this country (ibid. p. 54).

This study is significant. The findings of the current research may be used to theorise the CS phenomenon in relation to a group that has not been investigated within sociolinguistic research, i.e., the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals in the UK.

3. Method

This research employed an ethnographically based approach which allowed the researchers both to observe the participants and to elicit their opinions through informal interviews. During the observations we aimed at examining the following: (a) who the participants were speaking to, (b) the topic in their conversation, and whether the topic affected their code-switching, and (c) how often they switched codes during the conversation. The participants were observed in different social spaces- their homes, outside of their homes during shopping, chatting with friends and relatives, and having telephone conversation. The collection of the data took a month. The observation was supplemented with open-ended interviews with the four participants. The aim of the methodology was to explore the community-specific sociolinguistic factors that affect the code-switching tendency of the participants under investigation. As an in-depth understanding of the sociolinguistic factors also requires an understanding of the background of the individuals, the following section focuses on the profile of the participants.

3.1 Bio-profiles of the Participants

Participant A

Mithu is a 35-year old native speaker of the Bengali language who works for a Bank in London as a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). He was born in Chittagong. Chittagong is the commercial capital of Bangladesh, where Chittagonian dialect is usually used by people in everyday life. He reported that he started studying English at the age of 6 but he could not use it fluently even after the completion of his BA. Therefore, he got admitted into a private English language school where he did a TOEFL preparation course in 1999. He claimed that

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he became a good user of English after completing the course. He moved to the UK in 2006; since then he got enough opportunity to use English every day. Now he considers himself as a 'fluent bilingual'. Moreover, he considers himself as a very good user of the Bengali language as he is familiar with the two styles of the language (Shadhubhasha- formal form of the Bengali language which is used in official writing; and Cholitobhasha- less formal form that is used in day-to-day conversation).

Participant B

Wali is a 24 year-old man. He was born in Manchester, UK. He moved to Bangladesh with his parents when he was four years old. As far as he could remember he could speak English at the time of moving to Bangladesh. He studied in Bangladesh up to grade 7 and came back to the UK later. Like participant A, he also considers himself as a bilingual. He can speak fluently both the Sylheti dialect which is used as a local dialect in Sylhet, and the standard Bengali, and he has a very good command over English. Now he stays in Manchester and works in a money exchange company. All of his co-workers' ancestral language is Sylheti dialect.

Participant C

Jalal is 25. He was born and brought up in Manchester. His parents are from Bangladesh and they speak the Sylheti dialect. Jalal can understand standard Bengali though he cannot speak the standard Bengali except for some fixed words. He has got some books in Bengali but faces challenges to read them. He uses English with his brothers and sisters, but he uses the Sylheti dialect with his parents. He works in TESCO. TESCO is a British international grocery and general merchandising retail distributor which is considered as the biggest British retail merchant in the UK where most of his co-workers are the native speakers of English.

Participant D

Yousuf is 41. He came to the UK at the age of 18. He received 8 years of formal education in Bangladesh. He studied English only for four years in Bangladesh and then he came to the UK. He can speak English to some extent, but faces problems in reading or writing English. Yousuf is a very fluent speaker of the Urdu language. He works in a fish

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processing company in Manchester and most of his co-workers are from Pakistan and their native language is Urdu.

4. Research Findings

4.1 Language(s) the Participants Use

During the observation, participant A (Mithu) was found to use English at his workplace, while he used the Chittagonian dialect and the standard Bengali at home. He used Sylheti dialect to communicate with Sylheti people. He claimed that the technique helped him to improve his business communication within his community. Being competent both in English and the different dialects of Bengali, this participant could use different linguistic codes to fulfil his purposes which included the improvement of business communication. Participant B (Wali) used Sylheti dialect at home and sometimes at his workplace too. He, most of the time, spoke Sylheti and English outside of his home. He was hardly found to use standard Bengali. Participant C (Jalal) used the English language most of the time although sometimes he needed to speak the Sylheti dialect in order to communicate with the older people from his own community. Participant D (Yousuf) was a bit different from others as he could speak neither standard Bengali nor English fluently. He was found to use Sylheti dialect at home and Urdu in his workplace. He said- ‘‘I do not need standard Bengali or English to survive, I am good at what I need’’.

4.2 Factors Affecting Their Code-switching

The data exposed different factors that affected code-switching of the participants. Participants A, B and D mentioned they switch codes because of their poor vocabulary knowledge in a particular language. When they do not find any similar word either in English or in a dialect, they switch codes (See also, Hossain & Bar 2015).

Code-switching may occur subconsciously when bilinguals of varying ages sit together for a family discussion. Participant C acknowledged that code-switching takes place frequently during their family meetings where his brothers, sisters, parents and grandparents converse together. He claimed:

It actually happens automatically and I can't say the exact reason why it happens more during the family chat. I use English most of the time with

my brothers and sisters, sometimes they speak in Hindi and Sylheti, and I follow them unconsciously.

The family background of Participant C has sociolinguistic implications for code-switching by the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals in the UK. First, it can be explained from the point of view of the age and the varying British-Bangladeshi generations in the UK. Jalal as well as his brothers and sisters' preference to use English exposes their acculturation with the English language. This has a clear indication for language shift towards English only within family language use by next generations. This finding supports Al-Azmi (not dated) who claims:

There are a large number of first generation Bengali speakers in Manchester, and these first generation speakers are the main bilinguals among the community. Bilingualism among second generation Bangladeshis is moving towards 'language shift', because younger speakers lose fluency in their native language and the dominant language becomes their first language (p.53).

Jalal's parents belong to the first generation people in the UK who have migrated from Bangladesh and got settled in the UK. They still use their local dialect at home and this is the main linguistic medium they use to communicate with their children. The CS phenomenon within Jalal's family can also be interpreted from the point of view of the relationship development and maintenance. Jalal claimed that he uses the Sylheti dialect when he communicates with his parents as he believes using some sentences in Sylheti dialect with his parents makes him more intimate with them, especially with his mother.

It was also observed that Jalal as well as his brothers and sisters use Hindi so often when they watch Bollywood (Indian) movies. It is interesting to note how the CS is influenced by current media. This new notion transgresses the sociolinguistic boundary. The speakers- though they are in the UK- are influenced by the Indian movies which are mostly set in India and which use the Hindi language as a medium of communication. The implication is that multi-modal entertaining sources in different languages available through internet can contribute to the acquisition of many codes by the current generation of people.

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Such languages acquired through entertainment seem to emerge spontaneously when people are in front of TV screen watching a movie in one of those languages.

Participants A and C claimed that CS helps them to transfer their message clearly to others. According to participant A:

I usually talk to Sylheti people in their own dialect; it is not that I like the dialect. I just do it to impress them and to avoid any possible misunderstanding as most of them have problems in understanding standard Bengali. I, sometimes, face problems in speaking Sylheti as I am not very good at it. I need to change languages while talking to the older working class people as they usually do not like people who speak in standard Bengali with them.

The statement indicates that CS by the British-Bangladeshi people is influenced by the characteristics of interlocutors and the context of interactions. There are different reasons for adult bilinguals' code-switching, such as ethnic identities, negotiation of socio-cultural roles and position, establishment and maintenance of inter-personal relationship, etc. It seems that the social factors of CS by the adult British-Bangladeshi people are conditioned by community factors (see also, Genesee, 2002; Ronald, 2011). Mithu's (participant A) choice of the Sylheti dialect while speaking with the Sylheti people, on the other hand, indicates that social scales may be negotiated within conversation (see also, Canagarajah, 2013). Mithu's conversation with the working class people and his code-switching to the Sylheti dialect have implications for understanding how power and agency within the British-Bangladeshi community are negotiated through changes in linguistic codes. It appears here that social scales and the contexts of conversation are not static; people change codes to negotiate meaning, maintain inter-personal relationship by indexing various identities through CS.

Participant B (Wali) also mentioned the same thing but he considers his clients too. Based on the interlocutors, Wali was seen to use English, standard Bengali and the Sylheti dialect to deal with his customers. As Wali works in a money exchange company, he needs to deal with customers from many different countries. Also, he needs to deal with people from different parts of Bangladesh who speak various local languages. It was observed

in the study that CS contributes to the business communication development as customers appreciate when an employee switches to the languages of the customers.

Participant C and D were found to switch codes in order to hide information from others. Yusuf's (participant-D) code-switching exposes a function of the CS within workplaces. Being a supervisor in his workplace, he needs to report many things to the authority over the phone. He uses code-switching strategy to complain against the workers under him so that his co-workers cannot understand what he reports. Participant C was also found to adopt the same strategy when he spoke with his brothers and sisters in front of their parents. While talking to his brothers and sisters, C was found to use "Hindi and English together" to hide some matters from their parents. It appeared that they switched codes to maintain privacy.

The findings also exposed that the participants switch codes to emphasise on different issues. It is better to switch codes than repeating the same sentence. Sudden change of a language can be more effective to stress on something. During an argument (which was recorded) among Participant C and four other people it was observed that Participant C was changing codes again and again to support his argument. After their debate when the record was played, the participant (i.e., C) himself was surprised to experience how often he switched codes.

In this study, the participants also considered code-switching as their habit (See also, David, 2003). Participant A remarked:

I use the languages [Bengali and English] together as one language, I think I even cannot use a language to continue discussion as changing the languages has been my habit.

This finding- habitual mixing of English with Bengali together in one conversation- indicates how the British-Bangladeshi people index their identity within the multilingual context (here, the UK). This may be explained as a result of their contact and communication in English with people from many different countries within multilingual England. Due to social networking activities and social networks (e.g. Facebook), the second generation

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British-Bangladeshi people in the UK are more engaged in the multilingual England than their first generation predecessors. Their engagement and linguistic acculturation have a clear impact on their language use which is different from the first generation British-Bangladeshi bilinguals in the UK. Al-Azmi (not dated) showed the morphological and the syntactic differences in code-mixing between first generation and second generation British-Bangladeshi people in the UK: The second generation inserts Bengali words into English sentences while the first generation does the opposite.

The data exposed that the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals consider code-switching as a fashion. They believe that changing the languages frequently makes them ‘smarter’. The participants in this research claimed that they often code-switch during conversation with their friends. They believe that code-switching helps them to look smarter in front of their seniors too (see also, Jorgensen, 2003). Participant A claimed that he changes codes to attract attention of the people he talks to. He reported that during the training session of the bank that he works for, he used code-switching strategy which helped him to remain at the central point. It seems that employers consider an employee’s ability to speak more than one language as a linguistic capital which may arguably be useful for a bank as a resource to enhance their business communication. In other words, the notion of CS ability as a resource motivates participant A to switch codes within his workplace.

All the participants in this study opined that code-switching makes them fluent and help them to continue conversation without pause (see also, Alam, 2006; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Hossain & Bar, 2015). The observation data showed that participants frequently switched codes both at their homes and outside of their homes when they faced problems with vocabularies in a particular language. While speaking with his parents using Sylheti dialect, Jalal was also found to use English occasionally to repair the communication break. On the other hand, first generation British-Bangladeshi Sylheti people too were found to mix codes [i.e. PLATE khan PASS kori dewkka (Please pass the plate).] to continue communication smoothly with the second generation.

5. Conclusion

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Code-switching: An Ethnographic Case Study of Four British-Bangladeshi Bilinguals

Taking an ethnographic approach, this study investigated the case of four British-Bangladeshi bilinguals living in London and Manchester to explore how they switch linguistic codes and the factors that affect their code-switching in different domains. The findings suggested that the bilinguals switched codes in different social spaces due to the following reasons:

- a) to be intelligible to audience;
- b) to improve business communication;
- c) due to poor lexical knowledge in English or in a dialect;
- d) due to multilingual family environment;
- e) to maintain relationship with family members (i.e., parents);
- f) to maintain relationship with various people within a community;
- g) due to the influence of media;
- h) to hide information within family and workplace;
- i) to maintain privacy;
- j) code-switching as an outcome of habit;
- k) to emphasise on an issue in order to avoid repetition;
- l) to avoid misunderstanding among interlocutors as they use different dialects (e.g. Chittagonian, Sylheti, Dhakayan) of the Bengali language;
- m) as an instrument to develop relationship with customers in banks; and
- n) to maintain fluency in conversation.

In this study, it was seen that code-switching is a natural practice which adds to the fluency of the speakers enabling them to communicate in a better way. Though switching or mixing codes are not seen positively by many people (Gardner-Chloros, 2009), the participants in this research do not feel ashamed in using two languages simultaneously. The CS phenomenon was rather seen in this research as a way to reconstruct social identity. The participants changed codes to maintain social relationship, negotiate meaning and create social spaces for them and others. Indeed, the CS practice was found as a positive activity- the participants knowing different codes switched to a language or dialect which was the only code their interlocutor knew. Hence, CS promoted the communicative scope for participants in real contexts.

In addition, the nature of the CS phenomenon within the British-Bangladeshi family has an implication for ‘language shift’. It seems that though the second generation British-Bangladeshi bilinguals may continue to use their ancestral dialects (e.g. Sylheti, Chittagonian, etc.) for maintaining their community relationship, they are more likely to abandon their original language or dialect at home. In that case, the multilingual code-switching phenomenon, as it is available within the first generation British-Bangladeshi family, may be a lost case in the generations to come.

In conclusion, it may be argued here that code-switching among the British-Bangladeshi bilinguals may result from their individual, family, community and socio-economic relationship. What is interesting, however, is that the influence on people to switch codes also comes from outside the community through media and internet. This indicates a new challenge for the sociolinguistic research on code-switching. In other words, community based CS research now needs to transgress the physical setting of a community. With the globalisation of the media and culture, such research also needs to take into account the virtual settings of media in which other languages (e.g. Arabic, Hindi, etc.) are also used.

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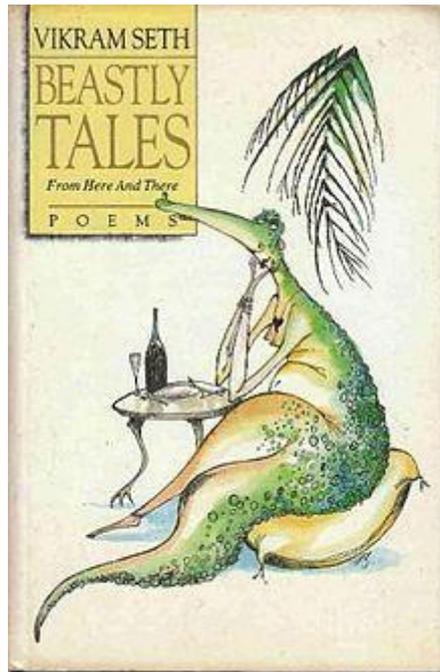
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**Ecocritical Exploration in Vikram Seth's Poem,
*The Elephant And The Tragopan***

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Abstract

Eco-centrism in the external world is not a new thing in Literature, it has been prevailing from times immortal. However, in Thomson's *The Seasons*, nature, for the first time has been made the pivotal theme instead of remaining subordinate to man. Return to nature plays a very prominent role in the revival of the Romantic spirit of the Elizabethan age and it has contributed to a great literary era in English Literature. The Romantic Period English Litterateurs have never failed to express the aesthetic and invigorating life of the world of flora and fauna. The longing of the people for the freshness of nature to extricate themselves from the suffocating and crowding ambience of the urban and semi urban city have become the point of discussion in Eco-critic literary theses. The world of literature not only throngs with the works dealing with the beauty and power of nature, but it is also well known for reflecting the contemporary issues. With the continuous threat to our precious ecology, the zest, love and passion for nature among the literary writers have been progressing insistently into a matter of motherly concern which in turn has started reflecting

in their works of art. This paper explores the eco-critical perspectives in Vikram Seth's Poem *The Elephant and the Tragopan* – precisely, it is this sense of concern towards the environment and its reflection in the works of literature that has given rise to a new branch of literary theory called Ecocriticism.

Keywords: Ecocriticism, Ecology, Ecosystem, Anthropocentric, Bio-centric and Ethical System

1.1 Introduction

The word "Ecocriticism" first appeared in William Rueckert's essay "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism" in 1978. It was not a sudden outburst but the result of long, gradual growth and development. At present ecocriticism is in full swing and it is a readily accepted theory worldwide. As far as Indian Literature is concerned the poetic works of Rabindranath Tagore, "The Tame Bird was in a Cage" pictures the pathetic condition of the bird which has forgotten even to sing and "I Plucked you Flower" portrays the selfish attitude of every human that plucking flowers is their own right which are imbued with ecological elements. In Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* and A.K. Ramanujan's "*A River*", Man's selfish use of the river by obstructing its natural flow i.e. making dams, throwing garbage and many other human atrocities have been visualized by the writers. In the above works one gets a glimpse of man's selfish motives.

Vikram Seth's Ecofriendly Writing

Keeping up to this tradition of ecofriendly writers is Vikram Seth, one of the most eminent modern Indian writers in English. His poetry as well as fiction reflects the relationship between his literary view points and his ecological perspectives of the world. Ecocriticism gives increased attention to literary representations of nature and is sensitive to the interdependency of nature and man.

In Vikram Seth's Poem *Beastly Tales from Here and There*, the animals are not only humanized, but by itself it is a human drama with special significance to environmental issues. In a way, all the stories of the *Beastly Tales* highlight different moods, levels and activities of man and his attraction is more towards the negative aspects than the positive.

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Focus of This Paper

This paper deals with the Ecocritical exploration in Vikram Seth's poem *The Elephant and the Tragopan*, the longest tale in the group (about 800 lines) from his book "The Beastly Tales from here and there". The poem combines social expediency, with political manoeuvre.

1.2 A Collection of Animal Fables

Vikram Seth's *Beastly Tales from Here and There* (1992) is one of the important poetical compositions dealing with ecocriticism. This book contains a collection of ten animal fables in rhymed couplets. These fables are similar to the work of Pandit Vishnu Sharma's *Panchatantra* which is a blend of Philosophy, Psychology, Politics, Music, Astronomy and Human relationships.

The work has resemblance also to T.S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*. In Pandit's work *Panchatantra* animals in general and in Eliot's work *Cats* in particular are humanized. The animals in the *Beastly Tales* are also humanized with all their multiple activities and manners and with all their involvements in the daily process of living. The tales have an implied moralistic attitude.

1.3 A Juxtaposition of Eco System and Ethical System

Our global crises is not because of how ecosystems function; it is because how ethical system functions. Getting through the crises requires a clear understanding of our impact on nature. Understanding of ethical system and using the understanding to reform them is the need of the hour. Every one of us is aware of global warming, climate change, depletion of Ozone layer and other large scale environmental disasters that threaten our very existence. Even then people choose to bury themselves in the sands of time.

The poem *The Elephant and the Tragopan* begins with an account of rich and luxuriant nature. Nature is represented as a minor paradise with calmness, peacefulness and happiness:

In Bingle Valley, broad and green,
Where neither hut nor field is seen
.....
Where a cold river, filmed with ice
Sustains a minor paradise. (337)

As in the real world, this “minor paradise” is going to be destroyed by man’s selfish attitudes, and the elephant and the tragopan get information about the man’s crazy scheme. They decide to organize a full meeting of the Forest Folk. With that ends the first phase of the poem.

1.4 Biocentric Vision against Anthropocentric Vision

Man has his Anthropocentric vision as opposed to Biocentric vision. And his compulsion to conquer, harmonize, domesticate, violate and exploit every natural thing which in the end leads to his own extinction along with the total destruction of the Biosphere. Biocentric attitude means extending inherent value to all living things.

The poet tries to compare and contrast both these visions and allows the readers to decide by themselves to choose the path they want to tread. As in the poem “*Road Not taken*” by Robert Frost, Vikram Seth points out that one is for the betterment and the other is for destruction. In the former poem, one is not aware of which one of the roads would lead to betterment and which to destruction; but in this poem by Vikram Seth each and every reader is well aware that only the biocentric vision will lead him to prosperity and anthropocentric vision will not only end in his own catastrophe but destruction of the whole bio-sphere. These two visions are well depicted in the next phase of the poem *The Elephant and the Tragopan*.

In the next phase there is a meeting of the forest folk which includes gibbons and squirrels, snakes, wild dog, blood sucking leeches and leopards in their spotted suits. The discussion includes the long speech by the elephant that reflectively points out man’s true nature and character to destroy everything for his selfish ends (Anthropocentric Vision of man).

The poet pointing to man's selfish attitude towards our ever precious planet via the elephant's voice says:

He is a creature mild and vicious,
Practical minded and capricious,
Loving and brutal, sane and mad
The good as puzzling as the bad.

He sees the planet as his fief
Where every hair or drop or leaf
Or seed or blade or grain of sand
Is destined for his mouth or hand. (342)

So too, is his enormous greed, and his enormous capacity to destroy
Environment:

For nowhere lies beyond man's reach
To mar and burn and flood and leach
A distant valley is indeed
No sanctuary from his greed (344)

Thus anthropocentric vision is depicted by the poet which assumes the primacy of humans, who either sentimentalize or dominate the environment.

In conclusion a decision is taken to take out a rally. Readers get an account of the rally which is cheered by the Villagers on the way. The poet wants to elucidate the fact that man can survive in the animal habitat, but animals cannot survive in human habitat. Thus the poet is exhibiting his biocentric vision on environment:

So stunned and stupefied were they
They even cheered them on the way
Or joined them on the route to town (347)

1.5 Eco Critics View about Nature

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Eco critics do look at the natural world differently. They switch critical attention from the inner to outer sphere and reject the belief that everything is socially or linguistically constructed. The next scene brings man to the scene. The depiction of power hungry, corrupt government officials would be hilarious if it were not so alarmingly familiar.

The negotiation is between the beasts on one side headed by the Elephant and his Secretary, the Tragopan and the elected ruler of the town, the Great Bigshot “Sri Padmabhushan Gobbardhan” and his associates. When the aggrieved people expose the motivated selfish doings of the rulers, the Bigshot tries to persuade the beasts. The poet refers to the political reality, how they sustain themselves in power and continue administration.

It's not just water that must funnel
Out of the hills through Bingle Tunnel.
Do animals have funds or votes –
Or anything but vocal throats?
Will you help me get re-elected (355)

The sudden jutting in of Small fry, the Number Three and the Bigshot Number One's son, gives a jolt to the latter. In comparison he is much more transparent and more akin to the demands of the beasts, and in support of keeping the environment intact (“As the roads come, the trees will go”). But he is rudely stopped by his father, who decries his upbringing, the attitude of younger generation, and most important of all, maintains that the son should inherit the father's political legacy willingly and smoothly:

One day all this would have been yours –
These antlers and these heads of boars,
This office and these silver plates
These luminous glass paper weights,
My voting bank, my number game
My files, my fortune, and my fame (358)

The whole account is full of ironical twists, and put forward devastating comments on the politicians and their deceitful ways of sticking to power without any consideration of the good of the country. The environment and the country are symbolic of the prevailing state of affairs.

1.6 The Anti-Climax and Climax

The end is both an anti-climax and a climax. The Small fry and the Elephant are silenced, the Tragopan gets killed. The conclusion takes on different dimensions, also a reflection of what happens at times. The Tragopan becomes a martyr and his death achieves what could not have been achieved while he was alive – the whole country takes up his cause – the cause of the aggrieved.

The poem “*The Elephant and the Tragopan*” has continuous ironical dimensions – irony at the expense of projects, governments and motivated rulers and has got implicit symbolical bearings to suggest how best man can live in this planet and how fruitfully:

For it undoubtedly was true
That suddenly the whole state knew
Of Bingle Valley and the trek
That ended in the fatal peck. (361)

.7 Conclusion

Vikram Seth’s tales on Beasts is a continuation of the Panchatantra tradition, and an improvement on it, in the sense that it is more related to the factors or reality, relating to the environmental aspects as available at the present modern age. The writer has offered no resolution to the environmental problem. He has only highlighted the inevitable destruction of environment and how best that can be averted. Man has created a huge fence around himself by his artificial way of living so that animals have to stay away from him to survive.

In all religions, the people who are shown to be at peace are shown to be at harmony with nature. For instance, the Bible presents Adam naming the animals as they come to him (Gen. 2:19). Mystics are shown to be able to converse with animals. His creativity is moulded by his immediate environment.

A critic observes: “A step further is Lawrence Buell, who boldly coined the phrase *environmental imagination* referring to how the physical environment shapes imagination.

This definition shows that the physical environment can be combined with an attitude indicating that there is ‘the cultural geography of a region’. This is the reason why there is the *urban imagination* or *island imagination*.

According to Buell, “re-imagination” is essential. Nature provides the environment for creativity. Ecocritical texts have an important characteristic of nature being not only the background or the setting for a text, but for being a part of the text. When ecocriticism emerged as a separate discipline in the 1990s, the relationship between man and his physical environment came to be understood in one way, according to Buell, “man always exists *within* some natural environment or, there cannot be *is* without *where*”. (Tosic 44)

Studying Indian Literature in English, the poem, “*River, Once*” by R. Parthasarathy, is highly suggestive and it indicates that it was a river (Vaigai) once and it is no longer a river due to man’s indifference to the beauty of nature. Here the poet makes a reference about the poets of the past who came to her for inspiration. She inspired them to write great poetry. The poet shows how the river was once the cradle of the three great Tamil academies that flourished at Madurai in the ancient past and to the great contribution made by the Sangam Poets to the richness of ancient Tamil Poetry.

Vikram Seth depicts the interrelationship between man and nature through a sample representation in the characters of Elephant and the Tragopan. The whole text is a careful rendering of the myth of Elephant and the Tragopan to present the environmental calamity that man sets off every day. By the tragic end of the Tragopan, the poet highlights the fact that the callous nature of mankind towards Nature is too close to man and would lead him to death, decay and destruction. Man realises his loss only when it is too late for remedy. If man realises that if he sustains nature, nature would in turn sustain him, perhaps his endless destruction of nature would stop. But he continues to tramp over the face of the earth quiet ruthlessly, unmindful of the destruction he causes every day. However much nature gives to man, man is unable to nurture it in turn and the majority of mankind spurn the tender care of

nature due to their sheer arrogance, selfishness and greed. Nature is not a silent spectator. One day it will react. It would not be just a thorn prick, but could be a mighty tsunami, the poet warns humanity.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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**Gordimer's *Once Upon a Time*:
A Tale of the Disastrous Legacy of Apartheid in South Africa**

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Nadine Gordimer 1923-2014

Courtesy: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nadine-Gordimer>

Abstract

The Nobel Laureate Nadine Gordimer has written numerous novels, essays and short-stories on the South-African way of life. Through her works, she has not only highlighted the plight of the black and coloured people living in South Africa, during Apartheid, but she has also underlined the predicament of the white liberals in South Africa, who existed in a very small number, in the country. Her works were much preoccupied with the political, social, cultural and

psychological impacts of power during Apartheid, that people often wondered, what her subject matter would be, when apartheid will eventually come to an end. But Gordimer has chosen other themes and has proved that the end of the Apartheid era by no means brings an end to her vocation as a writer. She has opted new themes that concern life, death, insecurities, fatal diseases and many other.

But the most interesting part of her writing during the apartheid regime, towards the end of it and after the end of it, has been her skill to delve deep into the psychology of people, irrespective of their class, colour and gender. It is this very insight, this very observation and this very understanding of human nature which makes her stand above the rest and makes her one of the greatest writers of the world. This paper attempts to look into that ability of Nadine Gordimer to look deep into the psychology of people, paying particular attention to “*Once Upon A Time*”.

Keywords: Apartheid, South Africa, *Once Upon A Time*, Nadine Gordimer, racial struggle

Gordimer’s Writings

Gordimer has very keenly observed the nuances of the shifting of power from Whites to Blacks towards the late 1980’s. Through her writings, Gordimer has always been a champion of the blacks. But at the same time, her keen observation does not fail to see, how insecure the whites feel, when they are robbed of the power – which they used to enjoy over the majority of blacks.

July’s People

The dilemma is beautifully taken up by Gordimer in her novel, *July’s People*, where Maureen, fails to accept the reversal of power between her and her servant. Gordimer has often projected the plight of the liberal whites, who always remained the sufferers, even when whites were in power and even when blacks came into power, because in both the situations, they were trusted neither by racial whites nor by blacks. Gordimer’s keen observation doesn’t fail to understand that:

“Just as there are people physically maimed by the struggle between white power and black liberation, there is psychological, behavioural damage that all of us in South

Africa have been subject to in some degree, whether we know it or not, whether we are whites who have shut eyes and electronically- controlled gates on what was happening to blacks, or whether we are blacks who have been transported and dumped where the government wished, tear-gassed and shot, detained, forced into exile, or have left to join the liberation army which came into being when no other choice remained. Violence has become the South African way of life.” (*Living in Hope and History* 140)

Gordimer’s *Once Upon a Time*

Gordimer has taken up this very disastrous aftermath of the racial struggle as the theme of her beautiful short-story, “*Once Upon a Time*,” which appeared in 1989. In this particular story, she has dealt with the insecurity of the white populace, towards the end of the apartheid regime. The story deals with a family, which comprises a man, his wife, his mother and his son who live peacefully in a white suburb. They have a faithful maid and a gardener for the maintenance of their home. They have virtually everything which a happy family can ever desire for. But despite having a beautiful home, a car, a swimming pool and a pet dog, they don’t have peace of mind. Fear keeps lurking in their hearts. The fact that the blacks have been wronged for a very long period of time by the whites, makes them suspect that blacks can now harm the white people. Another reason for feeling threatened by the black people was that the couple was very well aware that the blacks were economically very poor and the instinct for survival can lead them to commit crime.

The Family and Its Insecure Feeling

The family depicted in the story, represents Whites in general, who felt extremely insecure in the changed environment and who inculcated imaginary fears within themselves, and in order to keep themselves protected from the wronged black populace, they took all possible precautions and safety measures. Incidents like burglaries in the neighbourhood and riots outside the city scared them beyond limits and they tried their best to ensure their safety by fitting electronically-controlled gates, by getting burglar-bars fitted, by setting the alarms, by raising the walls of the house and finally by installing “... a continuous coil of stiff and shining metal serrated into jagged blades, so that there would be no way of climbing over it and no way

through its tunnel without getting entangled in its fangs”. (*Jump and Other Stories* 29) The safety instrument was so much effective, that “there would be no way out, only a struggle getting bloodier and bloodier, a deeper and sharper hooking and tearing of flesh”. (*Jump and Other Stories* 29) Having taken all the possible security measures, the family felt self-assured that no outsider can now dare to creep into their house. But they hardly imagined that their little son barely understood the imaginary fears of the whites against the blacks and the logic behind the installation and the procedure of the working of these instruments. For him, the receiver kept at the electronically-controlled gates was no better than a “walkie-talkie” (*Jump and Other Stories* 26) to play with his friends. Even the “DRAGON’S TEETH” (*Jump and Other Stories* 29) for him was some kind of an adventurous device to play with.

“Dragon Teeth”

Unfortunately, the little boy’s mother had narrated a fairy tale to him, the previous night, and the poor child imagined himself to be the Prince of that particular fairy tale and attempted to show his courage, by trying to enter the house through the devastating device, namely, “DRAGON’S TEETH,” (*Jump and Other Stories* 29) imagining it to be a grove of spikes. As Gordimer puts it:

“... he dragged a ladder to the wall, the shining coiled tunnel was just wide enough for his little body to creep in, and with the first fixing of its razor teeth in his knees and hands and head he screamed and struggled deeper into its tangle”. (*Jump and Other Stories* 30)

And, thus the poor child becomes the victim of the imaginary and precautionary fears of the parents rather than any outside burglar or invader. Through this story, what Nadine Gordimer seems to suggest is, that the damage done by apartheid will not come to an end immediately. The legacy of apartheid, its devastating social, psychological and economic effects will continue to affect the people of all races, even after it comes to an end.

Story within the Story

In the story, *Once Upon a Time*, Gordimer employs the technique of story within the story. When the story begins, the writer suddenly wakes up in the night due to some strange sound and she gets scared as she believes that someone is approaching towards her room. She is scared, as she realizes:

“I have no burglar bars, no gun under the pillow, but I have the same fears as people who do take these precautions, and my windowpanes are thin as rime, could shatter like a wine glass”. (*Jump and Other Stories* 23-24)

The fear in her heart makes her recall the recent murders that were committed, by men invading the homes of people. But soon she realizes that her fear was uncalled for, as, “there was no human weight pressing on the boards, the creaking was a buckling, an epicentre of stress”. (*Jump and Other Stories* 24) Actually the reason of the sound was the mine work and not the intrusion of intruders.

Godimer’s Implicit Suggestions

But what Nadine Gordimer seems to suggest through this particular episode, is that even after apartheid comes to an end, the disastrous effects, whether economical or psychological, will take a very long time to come to an end. The whites - both who had wronged the black populace for so many years and the ones who were liberal, would not be distinguished by the wronged black populace. As a result, all the Whites, will have to remain scared and frightened all the time.

Thus, Nadine Gordimer, through this short-story seems to suggest that the disastrous legacy of apartheid will continue, long after the policy comes to an end. And the whites will have to consistently live under fear and take necessary precautions. They will have to live in self-created prison-houses. But the irony is that even this over- precaution on their part can lead to their self-destruction, as is depicted through the life of the white family in the story.

Gordimer, through this story, also seems to suggest that not only the precautionary gadgets can harm the scared Whites, as happens in the case of the little boy, but the other precautionary measures taken by the whites, including not employing the poor blacks and not offering them food, can also bring about their destruction, as the ones craving for food will be

left with no option but to commit crime. The only solution to bring an end to the post-apartheid violence, is creating economic justice in the society. Gordimer rightly observes:

“I believe we must create material justice before we can hope to eliminate the kind of violence that has become a tragic habit in South Africa. Given that base, I believe there is a good chance of decent relations between black and black, black and white in our country, whatever languages they speak, whatever their ethnic origins may be”.
(*Living in Hope and History* 145)

Thus, the story, *Once Upon a Time*, beautifully takes up the issue of the violence in South Africa, and it skillfully analyzes the root cause of this violence which is both the fear in the whites as well as the unemployment, poverty and starvation of the Blacks.

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**T. S. Eliot as a Social Critic -
Bringing Some Order into the Modern Intellectual and
Ideological Chaos with His Impact
Felt in Religious Thought, Social Thought and Art:
An Appraisal**

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T.S. Eliot (1888-1965)

Courtesy: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T. S. Eliot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T._S._Eliot)

Abstract

This article examines T. S. Eliot as a universally acknowledged writer who established himself not only as a poet but also as a penetrating analytic critic. Eliot's practical and theoretical criticism is widely admired by many critics in the English-speaking world and they use his criticism as a corrective of the eccentricity and waywardness of the contemporary impressionistic school of criticism. The paper also explores the philosophical traits reflected profoundly in Eliot's criticism leading to a religious philosophy of life with a clearly formulated message for humankind by understanding the present-day human situation in all circles at all levels.

Key words: T.S. Eliot, social critic, intellectual and ideological chaos, religious philosophy

T.S. Eliot

Universally acknowledged as the most notable and most important critic of the twentieth century in the English-speaking world, T.S. Eliot established himself not as a poet but also as a penetrating analytic critic both of the past and of the present, guarding the integrity of the past tradition by making it co-relate with the contemporary life. A deep study and analysis of his critical essays and writings will bring home the point that Eliot is a poet-cum-critic *par excellence* among the greatest literary critics of England.

Eliot's Criticism

In his early criticism, Eliot wrote as a poet-critic and critic-poet with a deep concern for defending poetry against any standards framed for judging its meritorious quality. As a young poet-critic, he wrote polemical essays so as to clarify his aims as an artist, relating these to the scrupulously examined and analysed works of the past tradition and recommending the creative and critical activities of himself and those contemporaries, like Ezra Pound.

Becoming part of the English literary scene in the late twenties and early thirties, Eliot was found writing literary essays of great interest and placed them “on par with discussion of general problems of culture, education, sociology and politics” says Stephen Spender. (P. 13)

Escape from the Subjective Self

The first and foremost aim running through Eliot's criticism as well as his poetry is nothing but the aim of escaping from the subjective self into a world of objective values. He offered it “a new range of rhetorical possibilities confirmed it in its increasing contempt for historical processes and yet reshaped its notion of period by a handful of brilliant intuitions” said George Watson (p 186-87). This double resonance of poet and critic is said to have given Eliot's name its authority, its place in the role of English literary dictators beginning with Ben Johnson and carrying through the nineteenth century with the careers of those poet-critic-theologians. In the words of Rene Wellek,

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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“T. S. Eliot is by far the most important critic of the twentieth century in the English-speaking world. His influence on contemporary taste in poetry is the most conspicuous; he has done more than anybody else to promote the ‘shift of sensibility’ away from the taste of the ‘Georgians’ and to reevaluate the major figures and periods in the history of English poetry. He reacted strongly against Romanticism he criticized Milton and the Miltonic tradition he exalted Dante, the Jacobean dramatists, the metaphysical poets, Dryden and the French symbolists as ‘the tradition of great poetry’ (P 3)

Dealing with “Essentials and Not with Accidentals”

As a critic, Eliot stands alone among his contemporaries, because in his best works, he deals with ‘essentials and not with accidentals’. Perhaps he might be almost the only critic of his age who made a constructive contribution to the literature of criticism. He did affirm the need of a strict critical method as opposed to the “inner light” of the impressionistic critics belief in the craftsman-critic, provided that such a critic has a highly developed “sense of fact” (Selected Essays 23). As M. C. Bradbrook has rightly put it, “His equipment as a poet; each reanimates the other” (P 126).

A Reaction and a Reassessment

Eliot’s criticism offers both a reaction and a reassessment making a complete break from the 19th, century tradition so as to give a new direction to literary criticism and his critical concepts got scattered all over his five hundred and odd essays and reviews. He has coined a number of memorable phrases like ‘concept of impersonal poetry’ dissociation of sensibility’, ‘perfection of common speech’ ‘final facts’ etc., which have gained wide currency. Whatever may be the ultimate value of his criticism, there can be no denying the fact that he is a great irritant in thought. In the words of George Watson, “Eliot made English criticism look different”. His criticism has been revolutionary, for he has turned the critical tradition of the whole English speaking world upside down.

Since the publication of *The Sacred Wood* in 1920, his critical authority has steadily increased. As John Hayward has put it, “I cannot think of a critic who has made widely read and discussed in his own life-time; not only in English but in almost every language except Russian throughout the civilized world” (P 31)

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Eliot's practical criticism offers a re-assessment of earlier writers, whereas his theoretical criticism represents a reaction to romantic and Victorian critical credo. He called himself 'a classicist in literature'. The reaction was started by T. B. Hulme but Eliot carried it on, made it a force in literature thus bringing about a classical revival both in art and criticism. He did vehemently reject the romantic view of the perfectibility of the individual, stressed the doctrine of the original sin and exposed the hollowness of the romantic faith in the 'inner voice'. According to Eliot, a critic is one who must follow objective standards; instead of following merely his 'inner voice' he must conform to tradition. His classical bent of mind is rooted in a sense of tradition, a respect for order and authority. To attest to this as a proof of evidence, the essay of his "Tradition and Individual Talent" was written as the manifesto of his critical creed. In this respect, his criticism is nothing but a corrective to the eccentricity and waywardness of the contemporary impressionistic school of criticism, No doubt, he is the critic who ought to correct the excesses of what he contemptuously called 'the abstract and intellectual school of criticism represented by Arnold.

A Sense of Fact

Eliot is of the view that a critic is to have a highly developed sense of fact and he has to judge on the basis of facts with perfect detachment and impartiality. Keeping this in mind, he sought to raise criticism to the level of science; in his objectivity and scientific attitude, he is the English critic who almost closely resembles Aristotle. In his stress on facts, on comparison and analysis, Eliot has exercised a profound influence on the new critics, setting up many new trends in English criticism. Eliot writes:

"The significance of the term critic has varied indefinitely; in our time, the most vigorous critical minds are philosophical minds, are in short, creative of values" (The Criterion 51)

Indebtedness to Other Writers

Eliot acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. John Middleton for pointing out to him the complex and contentious character of a problem. It is thus that Eliot gets involved in the discussions of the fundamental problems of life and thought in his critical essays. The

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philosophical elements in Eliot's criticism in his endeavor to create values in terms of which "the relation of the work of art to art, of the work, of literature to literature' of criticism to criticism' and of 'literature to religion' can be assessed" (Selected Essays 25). According to A. G. George, "The most important contribution of his criticism to modern thought consists not in introducing "traditionalism", nor in exploding Romanticism and bringing about a classical revival of letters, but in the philosophy of life implicit in it. The 'vigour' of his literary mind is the "vigour" of his philosophical mind" (P 241).

Eliot's Celebrated Conceptual Notions

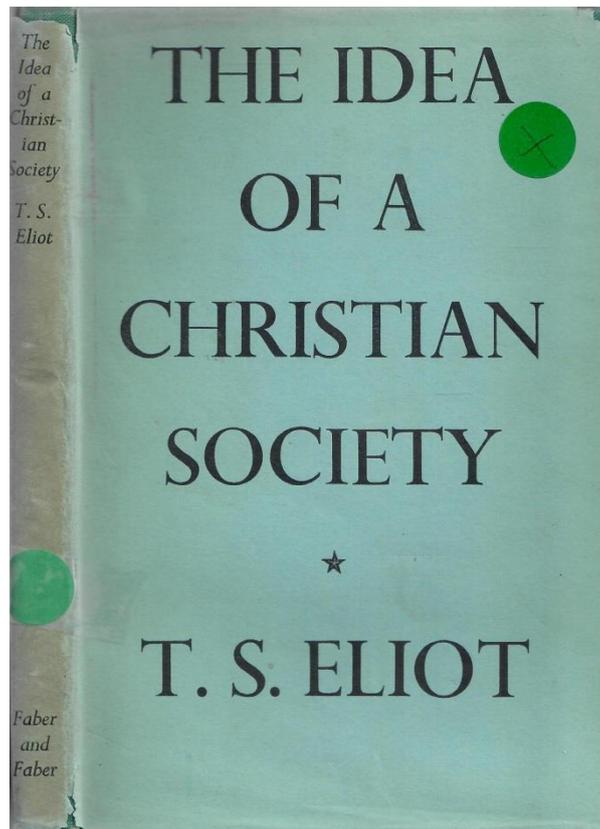
The most such celebrated conceptual notions advanced by Eliot as those of "objective correlative", "dissociation of sensibility" "separation of intellect from emotion", "impersonality in art", "tradition", "orthodoxy" and "original sin" are all formulated not merely from the standpoint of literary criticism but from a philosophical standpoint, for Eliot wrote the best part of his criticism during the inter-war decades during which period European and American thinkers were chiefly pre-occupied with the attempt to create new philosophical systems to take the place of the Christian philosophy of life which they felt had lost its cogency for the modern man. Eliot did not offer his contemporaries a synthesis for he has tried to create a tradition or a synthesis. Instead he did point out a particular Christian tradition in art and thought. He had chosen to be on the Catholic side of the protestant Anglian High Church rather than on the protestant side of the Roman Catholic Church. He pointed to the need for modern man of such a tradition of Christian Catholicism as that one which produced great heroes of religious faith in the past. One had to commit oneself in faith to this tradition. Writing in 1926, Eliot stated his principal aim as a literary critic by stating, "... We must find our own faith, and having found it, fight for it against all others" (The Criterion 5). To fight for a faith was the most urgent task of criticism in the inter-war periods.

An Analyst of Social Forces

Eliot advances the Catholic social order as the most feasible form of social institution. In advocating the Catholic order, he was not speaking either explicitly or implicitly as a Public Christian apologist but as an analyst of social forces. It is obviously stated by Eliot as;

“one can assert that the only possibility of control and balance is a religious control and balance; that the only hopeful course for a society which would thrive and continue its creative activity in the art of civilization is to become Christian” (PP 23-24)

Value and Impact of Religion



Eliot has firm belief in the view that international concord and amity can only be realized by “a religious unification”, i.e., “cultural unity in religion”. While examining the implications of this phrase “cultural unity” in religion in “Notes towards the definition of culture”, Eliot himself quotes a number of wrong uses of these words “culture” and “civilization” ‘culture’ is “a way of life” (Eliot 47). It may “even be described simply as that which makes life worth living” (P 27), and he defines religion as the whole way of life of a people from birth to the grave from morning to night and even in sleep and “that way of life is also its culture” (P 31). This at once presupposes a relation between religion and culture.

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Matthew Arnold discovers the meaning and sense of the past by examining the past so that he might obtain guidance for the future of mankind but for Eliot, the past and future are contained in the present, in the “here and now”. In Eliot’s thought, time is related to eternity and history to God. Consequently there is a sense in which one can rightly speak of a relation between culture and religion. It is Eliot’s firm conviction that without faith in God, no scheme for social improvement can function. This springs from his doctrine of human nature. In Arnold’s view, anarchy can be prevented through culture but to Eliot, even culture is not possible without faith. A society with faith disintegrates and this fear of social insecurity and the analysis of its causes are seen to be closely related to his essential outlook Eliot sees no escape from the nemesis of artificial culture. Man’s only freedom lies in discipline, both personal and social.

Thus, Eliot’s social criticism leads to a religious philosophy of life with a clearly formulated message for mankind. Eliot’s special achievement lies in that he had brought some order into the modern intellectual and ideological chaos. Through this achievement of his, he has enabled himself as well as his contemporaries to understand the present-day human situation fully. It was Eliot who made his impact felt in religious thought, in social thought and in art.

Eliot’s Worldview

Eliot is said to have created a world-view based on a few distinctive principles and his philosophy of life is in all respects extracted out of Buddhism, Indian Upanishadic thought and Greek philosophy, Christian mysticism. Despite all these, he is highly indebted to the essential tradition so as to assimilate all diversified materials and bring forth a consistent theory of life and art as a significant achievement worthy of a great literary and critical mind. It is , no doubt, this marvelous capacity that brought him the wide popularity he now enjoys not only in the English-speaking world but also on the European continent. The intellectual climate into which he entered was one of total confusion with every philosophical and critical thinker apprehending the approach of the end of an age. In such an age of rapidity and variety of changes and opposing beliefs coupled with clashes and conflicts leading to the din and noise of ideological conflicts, the reality of human life got terribly ignored or bypassed. Critics like T. S. Eliot endeavoured to set right everything by restoring to man his true moral

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and spiritual dignity. In Eliot's words, romanticism became a heresy and in the nineteenth century, a new kind of materialism started threatening to rob man of his individual freedom. At the dawn of this century, man remained "dehumanized", a plaything for politicians and object of curious investigation for scientific research. Eliot's did his best through his writings to reinstate the dignity, glory and liberty of man, thus defending "the category of the individual" in thought. No doubt, he pleaded for a realistic and correct appraisal of human nature in all respects. The so called idealists and the romanticists, while they spoke for man, did not analyse human nature correctly. But Eliot advanced a realistic doctrine of human nature. He brought attention to bear upon the dualism inherent at the heart of man as a battlefield of good and evil and viewed life as a conflict between good and evil. The reason for his stress on the religious plane of life is for great discipline. Only by religious discipline, by prayer, and by divine grace, man can keep the forces of evil under control. In his matured view, "society is for the individual and the individual must be sacrificed for the society" (Matthiessen 148). Thus, human dignity does spring up from the fact that man is a compact of the finite and the infinite, of good and evil, of freedom and necessity, the natural and the supernatural, the contingent and the eternal, of matter and spirit. Eliot's achievement lies in recognition and dissemination of this idea of man.

Spokesman of His Age

T. S. Eliot can, no doubt, be considered as the spokesman of his age and yet one of his great contributions consists in having given expression to dominant anxieties and feelings of his age. Through the medium of his poetry especially, he has rather objectified the inner struggle of man. Without comment or criticism, the poems communicate the anguish of the soul and his great claim to originality consists in his recognizing the artistic possibilities of the belief that anguish and sinfulness are intrinsic to human nature. He is said to have found appropriate methods of expressing the tragedy of the modern predicament through the use of conversational rhythm and everyday imagery in poetry, the objective correlatives, the use of symbols and by the method of juxtaposing passages from great works of the past and the present side by side with his own, giving a new direction to literature and presenting a coherent philosophy of life. Just like Shakespeare, Eliot's oeuvre is also a precise way of thinking and feeling. His philosophical ideas, his capacity for subtle analysis, his widely admired lucidity and severity of his prose style, his communicative power of poetry and his

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power synthesizing opposites made him one of the most distinguished among the contemporary critics, that too, with a social critical notion rooted in his thought, mind and art in all respects.

To Conclude

To conclude, it may be said that through his practical criticism, Eliot has brought a reevaluation of the great literary names of the past three centuries. His recognition of the greatness of Donne and the other metaphysical of the 17th century has resulted in the revival of metaphysical poetry today. The credit for the renewal of interest in the metaphysicals and Jacobean dramatists goes to Eliot alone and none else. Likewise, it is Eliot who restored Dryden and the other Augustan poets to their rightful place in the hierarchy of the English men of letters. According to Eliot, the end of criticism is to bring about a readjustment between the old and the new and his own criticism performs this function to nicety. With his assertion, “Honest Criticism and Sensitive appreciation is directed not upon the poet but upon poetry” (Selected Essays 17), modern critical method reaches its anti-Romantic extreme. Eliot opposes Romantic bias of the personal and the emotional by his theory of impersonality in art. In a word, the essay “Tradition and the Individual Talent” is nothing but the manifesto of his critical creed, i.e., a critic must follow objective standards; instead of following merely his inner voice, he must conform to tradition – a sense of tradition, a respect for order and authority, is at the core of Eliot’s critical classicism. Thus, his criticism is nothing but “a corrective of the eccentricity and way-wardness of the contemporary impressionistic school of Criticism.

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A Study of Esan Dialects

Ikoyo-Eweto, Evarista Ofure. Ph.D., M.A., P.G.D.E., B.A.

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Abstract

This work is the second in a series of dialect studies on Esan. Its motivation is borne out of the need to further define the internal linguistic relations that may exist within the language commonly described as multidialectal. Esan is classified as North Central Edoid. A preliminary phonetic study classified the language into eight dialects.

This study is lexicon based. It adopted principles of lexicostatistical glottochronology, an approach to language study with the aim of determining levels of mutual intelligibility.

Data were collected from twelve adult Esan native speakers, each of whom spoke one of the twelve Esan speech varieties identified for this work. The Ibadan word list of 400 Basic items was the main instrument for data collection. The later were transcribed in phonetic format in International Phonetic Alphabet tradition. Available data were subjected to comparative analysis using some principles of lexicostatistical glottochronology. Segmental and tonal features were compared across Esan speech varieties for dialectal indices.

The twelve Esan speech varieties emerged as separate dialects when a combination of segmental and tonal patterning on lexical items were adopted as basis for comparison, whereas Esan emerged as two dialects when tonal patterning on lexical items was considered in isolation.

The study showed the existence of tonetic and segmental diversities within Esan. The statement that Esan comprises multiple dialects is further confirmed. It provides a framework for understanding the internal linguistic variation within Edoid and an avenue for the documentation of Esan speech varieties. This study would serve as a basis for further research on other aspects of Esan grammar for the identification of linguistic variation in the language and other related languages.

Key Words: Dialect, Edoid, Esan, Lexicon, comparative

1. Introduction

This work is a study of the dialect status of Esan. The impetus for this study is the dearth of dialect studies of Edoid languages despite the common claim that most of these languages comprise many dialects. Elugbe (1989) and Egbokhare (2003) are seminal works in this regard, as they

establish broad frameworks for understanding the relationships which may exist between members of this group of languages. This study is therefore conducted with a view to furthering existing comparative works on Edoid languages, even though the objectives of these studies may not be symmetrically coterminous. The present effort seeks to investigate the claim that Esan is multidialectal, a claim credited to Ejele (1982, 1991, 2003); Okojie and Ejele (1987:3) amongst others. Okojie and Ejele specifically claim that Esan consists of ‘varieties’ as well as ‘dialects’. The main goal of this study therefore is to make an empirical statement about the dialect status of Esan.

This study falls within the branch of linguistics known as dialectology. Francis (1983:1) defines it simply as the study of dialects, while Crystal (1987:26) states that it is a systematic study of regional dialects. A more rigorous definition of this branch of linguistics also referred to as ‘dialect geography’ or ‘linguistic geography’ is

...a branch of general linguistics concerned with the analysis and description of regional, social or temporal varieties of a language, showing how they differ in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary and how they are geographically distributed.

(Hartmann and Stork 1972:66).

Literature reveals that early comparative works on African languages have been geared towards the classification or grouping of these languages into language families according to their perceived relatedness. Bernd (1974:7) lends credence to this observation when he states that:

Most comparative work in the field of African languages have focused on the discovery of genetic relationships, as if there are no other equally interesting goals that language comparison can achieve.

1.1 Esan language and people

Esan is classified as a member of the North Central branch of Edoid (NCE). The Edoid group of languages belongs to the New Benue Congo of the Niger Congo Phylum (Elugbe 1989). It has as immediate neighbours on the classificatory chart, Edo to the left, and the dialect cluster of Ora-Emai-Iuleha to the right. Native speakers of the language concede to the occurrence of linguistic similarities between Esan and some of her close neighbouring languages. Esan has a proposed orthography (Okojie and Ejele, 1989).

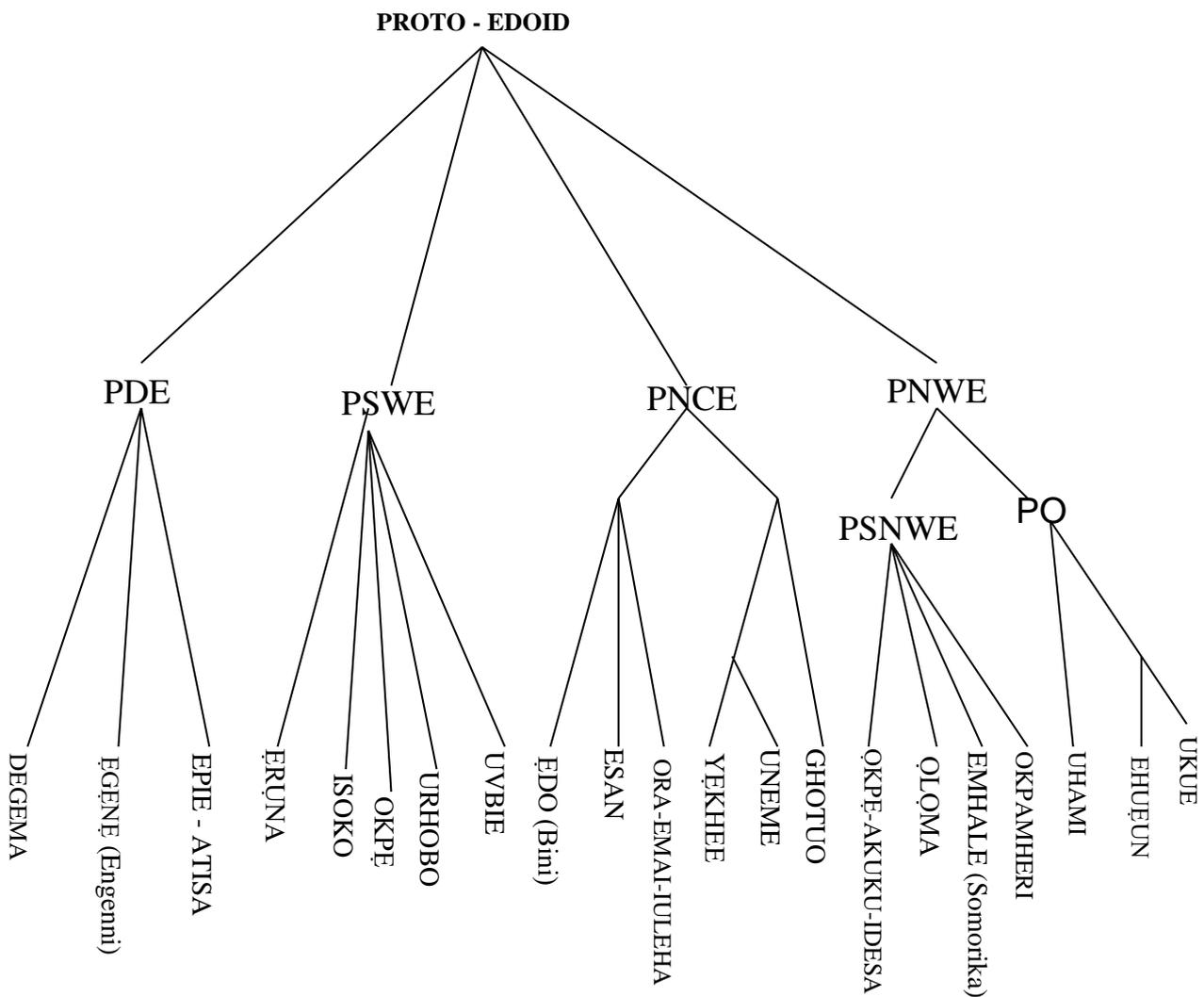
1.2 Previous studies

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A foremost classificatory work on Esan is Elugbe (1989) where the language is identified as a member of the “Edoid group” along with Ukue, Ehuen, Uhami, Okpamheri, Emhale, Oloma, the dialect cluster of Okpe – Akuku – Idosa, Ghotuo, Uneme, Yekhee, the dialect cluster of Ora – Emai, Iuleha, Edo, Uvbie, Urhobo, Okpe, Isoko, Eruwa, the dialect cluster of Epie – Atisa, Egene and Degema. Specifically, Esan is grouped with Edo, Ora – Emai – Iuleha, Yekhee, Uneme and Ghotuo as Proto North Central Edoid (PNCE). The Edoid family tree as presented in that work is replicated in figure 1.



Key

- PDE - Proto Delta Edoid
- PSWE - Proto South Western Edoid
- PNCE - Proto North Central Edoid
- PNWE - Proto North Western Edoid
- PSNWE - Proto Southern North Western Edoid

Figure 1: The Edoid family tree (Culled from Elugbe, 1989:26)

Although his comparative work of his Edoid languages includes Esan, Elugbe states categorically “I have, unfortunately, no data on Esan though I have read Akpamu’s (1971) phonology of one of the Esan dialects.” (cf. Elugbe, 1986). Thus, the absence of illustrations from Esan in that work is obviously a result of the dearth of data on Esan mentioned above.

According to Ejele (1994:69) Esan phonemic system consists of 25 consonant phonemes. She also identifies 7 oral and 5 nasal vowels. These are presented in tables IA and IB respectively.

Table IA: Phonemic consonant chart of Esan

Place	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	alveopalatal	Palatal	velar	labio-velar	glottal
plosive	p b		t d			k g	kp gb	h
fricative	β	f v	s z	ʃ		x y		
affricate				tʃ dʒ				
nasal	m		n					
lateral			l					
trill			r					
glide					j		w	

Table IB: Phonemic vowel chart of Esan

Place	front/nasal	central/nasal	back/nasal
Manner			
high	i ĩ		u ũ
mid	e		o
halfmid	ɛ ẽ		ɔ ɔ̃
low		a ã	

Osiruemu (2005), identifies the high (H), low (L), rising (LH) and falling (HL) tones for Esan, at the systematic phonemic level.

Table IIA: Tonal contrasts in Esan

- i. /éǝ/ ‘rat’
- ii. /èǝ/ ‘edge’
- iii. /ékpà/ ‘vomit’
- iv. /èkpà/ ‘punch’
- v. /ǝkpá/ ‘one’
- vi. /ǝkpà/ ‘cock’

(Osiruemu 2005:xxi)

The falling and rising glides are derivations from phonological processes such as vowel elision. These gliding tones occur following the disyllabification of the first of two adjacent vowels bearing non-identical tones. A falling glide is formed when the tones on the vowel sequence are HL, while a rising glide is formed when the sequence is LH. These gliding tones are exemplified below in Table IIB

Table IIB: Tonal Glides in Esan

- (vii). /èvá # èvá/ → /è v ê v á/
- (viii). ‘two two’ in twos’
- (ix). /údò # údò/ → /ú d ũ d ò/
- (x). ‘stone stone’ ‘all stones’

The H and L tones occur word initially, medially and finally on lexical items. There are no instances of the HL and LH tones in word initial position.

Ikoyo-Eweto and Jamgadi (2012) is a pioneering effort in the study of Esan dialects. That study identified eight phonetic varieties of Esan. The goal of this study is to further clarify the dialect status of the language.

1.3 Data and methodology

This study is based on 12 speech varieties of Esan. These Esan speech varieties are presented below by their common nomenclature. Their individual identification for the present work is provided in brackets after the name for each speech form as follows: Ekpoma (EK); Ewatto (ET); Igueben (IB); Ilushi (IL); Irrua (IR); Ogwa (OG); Ohordua (OH); Ubiaza (UB); Udo (UD); Ugbegun (UG); Ugboha (UH); Uromi (UM). These speech varieties were identified from responses of subjects for this study to preliminary questions from the instrument for data collection. Table I contains information about towns and Local Government Areas where these Esan speech varieties are mostly spoken.

Table III: Main speech areas of identified Esan speech varieties

S/N	Identified Esan speech form	Towns		Local Government
		Esan name	Official name	
1.	EK	Ekuma Irukekpen	Ekpoma Irukekpen	Esan West
2.	ET	Ebhoato	Ewatto	Esan South East
3.	IG	Igueben	Igueben	Igueben
4.	IL	Ilushi	Ilushi	Esan South East
5.	IR	Uruwa	Irrua	Esan North East
6.	OG	Ogua Ugiogba	Ogwa Ujogba	Esan West
7.	OH	Okhuedua	Ohordua	Esan South East

8.	UB	Ubiaza	Ubiaja	Esan South East
9.	UD	Udo	Udo	Igueben
10.	UG	Ugbegun	Ugbegun	Esan Central
11.	UH	Owaha	Ugboha	Esan South East
12.	UM	Urhomwun	Uromi	Esan North East

This attempt at capturing these locations should be viewed against the background of the pervasiveness of heterogeneity within a given language. These speech areas actually flow into each other. This view of the physical bounding of dialect areas is buttressed by the opinion in contemporary dialectology that "... there are no clear cut dialect areas, only gradual transitions..." Thus language variation is usually not even across a whole area but intensifies at some points and rarefies in others.

Data collected for this study were transcribed phonetically, in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) format and subjected to principles of lexicostatistical glottochronology. This analytical method is an approach to language study devised in the late 1940s by the American linguists Morris Swadesh and Robert Lees (cf. Campbell, 1998). It is used to work out the length of time which has lapsed since two languages thought to be related began to diverge. The technique is used by counting the number of similar words between the languages in question, using the sample of vocabulary taken from them, with the relevant word list. The lower the number of vocabulary agreement between two samples, the longer the languages have been separated. Thus, two languages which have 60% vocabulary in common would be thought to have diverged longer ago than languages which have 80%.

This approach to language relatedness has met with criticisms because of its perceived shortcomings. Bennett and Sterk (1977) state that although this method of data analysis is useful for preliminary sub-grouping, it is not – if used alone – adequate for indication of fine degrees of relationship. They opine that the nature of this method of analysis is such that geographical and social proximity tend to increase cognateness scores significantly. Hymes (1964) drew attention to the semantic difficulties encountered in using the same test list across cultures. Modifications resulting in the need to surmount such difficulties impede standardization of studies in lexical relationships. Akinkugbe (1978:44-46) explains that lexicostatistics lacks uniform cut-off points and a means of quantifying degrees of similarities among cognates – a measure of reliability which is invaluable to

dialectology. Swadesh suggested that speech forms scoring below 86% cognateness relatedness be regarded as belonging to different languages and those scoring above 86% as belonging to the same languages. Williamson, 1973b (cf Akinkugbe, 1978) takes scores below 80% to mean that speech forms “clearly” belong to different languages and between 81% and 85% “arguably” belong to different languages. The consensus about the use of lexicostatistics is that since the method is not complete in itself, results have to be checked with other types of evidence. For the reasons explicated above, which among other things show that an adoption of lexicostatistical glottochronology, in its entirety, would not adequately address the aims and goals of the present study, a modification in methodology was adopted as follows:

- (a) The ‘Ibadan Word List of 400 Basic Items’, rather than Swadesh’s 100-word list was used as the main instrument for data elicitation.
- (b) The lexicostatistical method for the analysis of data was adopted as well as the cut off levels (86%) for determining relatedness between speech forms.
- (c) Lexical items on the word list would be compared on the basis of complete similarity and dis-similarity, rather than cognation, across the identified Esan speech varieties under focus.

1.4 Data analysis

Analysis of data available for this study was conducted as follows:

Lexical items were compared across the identified Esan speech varieties to determine their levels of relatedness. This comparison was conducted between a pair of speech varieties at a time, until all twelve speech varieties were compared with one another. The sum totals resulting from the comparisons were subsequently converted to percentile values. The statistical formulae by which the analysis of available data were conducted for this work were as follows. Three variables – y, x, z – were introduced to capture the lexical relationships between Esan speech forms under study. The values of these variables are:

- i. y → total number of items compared between two given speech forms at a given time.
- ii. x → total number of identical items between two given Speech forms at a given time.
- iii. z → total number of un identical items between two given speech forms at a given time.

To calculate the value of each given variable, the following formula was used.

iv. $X + Z = Y$

This formula taken for each variable would translate into the following two simple formulae.

$$\text{iv. } X = Y - Z$$

$$\text{v. } Z = Y - X$$

To calculate the percentile values of these variables, the following formula was applied.

$$\text{vi. } \frac{(X,Z) \times 100}{Y} = \frac{(X,Z)\%}{y}$$

Taken simply for each variable, this formula would read as follows

$$\text{(vii) } \frac{X \times 100}{Y} = \frac{X\%}{Y}$$

$$\text{(viii) } \frac{Z \times 100}{Y} = \frac{Z\%}{Y}$$

With these formulae, percentage scores of relatedness between the speech varieties under study were generated. Tonal permutations on lexical items across the Esan speech varieties formed the basis for tone statistical analysis in the work. Comparisons between the lexicons of the Esan speech varieties were conducted along the following three sub-parameters:

- (1). Relatedness between Esan speech varieties considering both segmental and tonal constitution of lexical items.
- (2). Relatedness between Esan speech varieties considering only segmental constitution of lexical items.
- (3). Relatedness between Esan speech varieties considering only tonal patterning on lexical items.

This exercise resulted in close to 70 comparisons, and about 410 calculations to arrive at the statistical evidence presented in this work. Each comparison yielded statistical values which formed the criteria for determining the linguistic relatedness between Esan varieties. Percentile relatedness of 86% and above was adopted as basis for considering Esan speech varieties as close enough to be regarded as belonging to the same dialect. Such linguistic relatedness was considered insufficient to mar mutual intelligibility. Relatedness values below 86% was adopted as basis for considering Esan speech varieties distant enough to be considered separate dialects.

2. Identification of Esan Dialects

The identification of Esan dialects presented in this section is a logical deduction from the results of analysis of available data. These findings are presented as follows.

2.1 Results of Data Analysis

The values and deductions accruing from the application of statistical formulae to available data are presented below.

2.1 .1 Relatedness of Esan speech varieties considering both segmental and tonal constitution of lexical items

At this level of comparison, dichotomy was between lexical items which bore identical segmental and tonal constitution and those which did not. Statistical values of these comparisons are as follows.

Table IVA: Statistical values of lexical items with identical segmental and tonal constitution across Esan speech forms

Key: ET= Ewatto, UG = Ugbegun, UM = Uromi
 UD= Udo, OG = Ogwa, UH = Ugboha,
 UB= Ubiaza, EK = Ekpoma, OH = Ohordua
 IB= Igueben, IR = Irrua, IL = Illushi

ET											
32	UG										
39	50	UM									
45	41	50	UD								
39	36	38	46	OG							
36	35	47	42	31	UH						
42	46	53	47	37	48	UB					
32	53	46	39	41	33	38	EK				
61	36	44	51	38	41	46	33	OH			
20	18	19	20	27	15	18	20	21	IG		
32	51	52	44	35	35	50	52	34	19	IR	
44	41	55	47	38	59	52	40	46	20	41	IL

Shared lexicostatistical values between paired Esan speech forms are highlighted in Table 4B.

Table IVB: Shared Statistical Values of Paired Esan Speech Forms with Identical and Tonal Constitution

ET/UG 32	UG/UM 50	UM/OG 38	UD/EM 39	OG/IL 38	UB/IL 52
ET/UM 39	UG/UD 41	UM/UH 47	UD/OH 51	UH/UB 48	EK/OH 33
ET/UD 45	UG/OG 36	UM/UB 53	UD/IB 20	UH/EK 33	EM/IB 20
ET/OG 39	UG/UH 35	UM/EK 46	UD/IR 44	UH/OD 41	EM/IR 52
ET/UH 36	UG/UB 46	UM/OH 44	UD/IL 47	UH/IB 15	EK/IL 40
ET/UB 42	UG/EK 53	UM/IB 19	OG/UH 31	UH/IR 35	OD/IB 21
ET/EK 32	UG/OH 36	UM/IR 52	OG/UB 37	UH/IL 59	OH/IR 34
ET/OH 61	UG/IB 18	UM/IL 55	OG/EK 41	UB/EK 38	OH/IL 46
ET/IB 20	UG/IR 51	UD/OG 46	OG/OH 38	UB/OD 46	IB/IR 19
ET/IR 32	UG/IL 41	UD/UH 42	OG/IB 27	UB/IB 18	IB/IL 20
ET/IL 44	UM/UD 50	UD/UB 47	OG/IR 35	UB/IR 50	IR/IL 41

Based on the statistical levels adopted for this work, which is 86% (see section 1.4), each of the twelve identified Esan speech varieties attained below the adopted value of relatedness when compared with one another. Thus all twelve Esan speech varieties are considered autonomous dialects of Esan.

Table 4C contains examples of data illustrating lexical items in this category of comparison across Esan speech varieties.

Table IVC: Lexical Items with Identical Segmental and Tonal Constitution Across Esan Speech Forms

S/N	ET	UG	UM	UD	OG	UH	UZ	EM	OD	IG	IR	IS	GLOSS
1.	àkɔ	àkɔ	àkɔ	àkɔ	àkɔ	Akɔ	àkɔ	Àkɔ	akɔ	àkɔ	àkɔ	àkɔ	tooth
2.	àmè	water											
3.	ɔkà	maize											
4.	ìyòyò	smoke											
5.	òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	otɔ	òtɔ	Òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	òtɔ	ground
6.	ùkì	ùkì	ukì	ùkì	ùkì	ukì	ùkì	Ukì	ukì	ùkì	ùkì	ùkì	moon
7.	ɔkpà	cock											
8.	èvá	èvá	evá	èvá	èvá	èvá	èvá	Evá	evá	èvá	èvá	èvá	two
9.	gwà	to hoe											
10.	xwǎ	heavy											

2.1.2 Relatedness of Esan Speech Forms Considering Only Segmental Constitution of Lexical Items

At this level of comparison, dichotomy was between lexical items which bore identical segmental constitution and those which did not. Tonal constitutions of lexical items were ignored. Statistical values of lexical items which bore identical segmental constitution only across Esan speech varieties are as follows:

Table VA – Statistical values of lexical items with identical segmental constitution only across Esan speech forms

ET											
36	UG										
42	54	UM									
48	45	53	UD								
42	40	40	50	OG							
39	38	49	44	34	UH						
44	48	55	50	39	51	UB					
39	58	51	45	46	37	42	EK				
64	40	48	55	42	43	48	38	OH			
38	32	34	36	47	29	33	35	38	IB		
35	55	55	48	37	28	52	56	39	30	IR	
46	42	57	50	40	60	53	41	49	36	44	IL

Table VB: Shared statistical values of paired esan speech forms with identical segmental constitution only

ET/UG	UG/UM	UM/OG	UD/EK	OG/IL	UB/IL
36	54	40	45	40	53
ET/UM	UG/UD	UR/UH	UD/OH	UH/UB	EK/OH
42	45	49	55	51	38
ET/UD	UG/OG	UM/UB	UD/IB	UH/EM	EK/IB
48	40	55	36	37	35
ET/OG	UG/UH	UM/EK	UD/IR	UH/OD	EK/IR
42	38	51	48	43	56
ET/UH	UG/UB	UM/OH	UD/IL	UH/IB	EK/IL
39	48	48	50	29	41

ET/UZ 44	UG/EK 58	UM/IB 34	OG/UH 34	UH/IR 38	OH/IB 38
ET/EK 39	UG/OD 40	UM/IR 35	OG/UB 39	UH/IL 60	OD/IR 39
ET/OD64	UG/IB 32	UM/IL 57	OG/EM 46	UB/EK 42	OH/IL 49
ET/IB 38	UG/IR 55	UD/OG 50	OG/OH 42	UB/OH 48	IB/IR 30
ET/IR 35	UG/IL 42	UD/UH 44	OG/IB 47	UB/IB 33	IB/IL 36
ET/IL 46	UM/UD 53	UD/UB 50	OG/IR 37	UB/IR 52	IR/IL 44

From the analysis presented above, all twelve Esan speech varieties exhibited below the 86% lexicostatistical value adopted for this work. This analysis confirmed the verdict from the preceding one that the identified Esan speech varieties under focus are autonomous Esan dialects. A notable increase in statistical values from comparison between Esan speech varieties emerged at this level of analysis. This occurrence could be a result of the lowering of the number of linguistic features used as parameters of comparison. The highest value of 61% rose to 64%. Table 5C features lexical items in this category of comparison across the twelve Esan speech varieties.

TABLE VC: Lexical items with identical segmental constitution only across esan speech forms

S/N	ET	UG	UM	UD	OG	UH	UB	EK	OH	IG	IR	IL	Gloss
1.	etò	etò	étò	étò	etò	étò	etò	étò	étò	etò	étò	étò	hair
2.	óbᵛ	obᵛ	óbᵛ	óbᵛ	óbᵛ	óbᵛ	obᵛ	óbᵛ	óbᵛ	obᵛ	óbᵛ	óbᵛ	hand
3.	unù	unù	únù	únù	unù	únù	unù	únù	únù	unù	únù	únù	mouth
4.	ᵛpjà	matchet											
5.	ewà	ewà	èwà	èwà	ewà	èwà	ewà	èwà	èwà	èwà	èwà	èwà	mat
6.	úkpᵛ	cloth											
7.	íyô	íyô	iyô	iyô	íyô	money							
8.	enì	enì	énì	énì	enì	énì	enì	énì	énì	énì	énì	énì	elephant
9.	igbé	igbé	ìgbé	ìgbé	igbé	ìgbé	ìgbé	ìgbé	ìgbé	igbé	ìgbé	ìgbé	ten
10.	kpâ	to vomit											

2.1.3 Relatedness of Esan Speech Forms Considering Only Tonal Constitution On Lexical Items

At this level of comparison, dichotomy was between lexical items which bore only identical tonal patterning, and those which did not. Statistical values of lexical items in this category across Esan speech varieties are:

Table VIA: Statistical values of lexical items with identical tonal patterning only across Esan speech varieties

ET											
96	UG										
97	96	UM									
97	96	97	UD								
97	96	98	96	OG							
97	97	98	98	97	UH						
98	98	98	97	98	97	UB					
93	95	95	94	95	96	96	EK				
97	96	96	96	96	98	98	95	OH			
82	86	85	84	80	86	85	85	83	IG		
97	96	97	96	98	97	98	96	95	89	IR	
98	99	98	97	98	99	99	99	97	84	97	IL

Table VIB: Shared tonostatistical values of paired Esan speech varieties

ET/UG	UG/UM	UM/OG	UD/EK	OG/IL	UB/IL
96	96	98	94	98	99
ET/UM	UG/UD	UM/UH	UD/OH	UH/UB	EK/OH
97	96	98	96	97	95
ET/UD	UG/OG	UM/UB	UD/IB	UH/EK	EK/IB
97	96	98	84	96	85
ET/OG	UG/UH	UM/EK	UD/IR	UH/OD	EK/IR
97	97	95	96	98	96
ET/UH	UG/UB	UM/OH	UD/IL	UH/IB	EK/IL
97	98	96	97	86	99
ET/UB	UG/EK	UM/IB	OG/UH	UH/IR	OH/IB
98	95	85	97	97	83
ET/EK	UG/OH	UM/IR	OG/UB	UH/IL	OD/IR
93	96	97	98	99	95
ET/OH	UG/IB	UM/IL	OG/EK	UB/EK	OH/IL

97	86	98	95	96	97
ET/IB	UG/IR	UD/OG	OG/OH	UB/OH	IB/IR
82	96	96	96	98	89
ET/IR	UG/IL	UD/UH	OG/IB	UB/IB	IB/IL
97	99	98	80	85	84
ET/IL	UM/UD	UD/UB	OG/IR	UB/IR	IR/IL
98	97	97	98	98	97

At this level of analysis, all twelve Esan speech varieties exhibited high relatedness values (80% -99%), when only tonal patterning on identical lexical items was used as parameter for comparison. The twelve Esan speech varieties under focus fell into two dialect groups, by the levels adopted for this study as follows.

1. Igueben – Irrua – Ugbegun – Ugboha
2. Ewatto – Uromi – Udo – Ogwa – Ubiaza – Ekpoma – Ohordua – Irrua - Ilushi – Ugboha – Ugbegun.

By this grouping, Igueben shared above the cut off value of relatedness (86% and above) with Irrua Ugbegun and Ugboha, while with all others, relatedness was below the adopted statistical level for determining dialectal status in this work. Irrua, Ugbegun and Ugboha however, shared above 90% relatedness value with all the other Esan speech forms, an evidence suggestive of a closer linguistic relatedness with them, than with Igueben. On the basis of the argument stated above, a finer verdict would be that which classified Igueben as a separate dialect from the other eleven Esan speech forms, on the basis of tonostatistical evidence. The emergence of the three speech forms of Irrua, Ugbegun and Ugboha as members of the two identified dialects in 1`and 2 confirm the opinion in contemporary dialect study that dialect areas are usually gradual transitions, rather than clear cut boundaries – (see section 1.3). These three speech varieties have exhibited what may be called a transition between two dialects. That occurrence may be explained in either of two ways as follows:

- (i). Irrua, Ugbegun and Ugboha are in a process of becoming more like Igueben with which they share a lower percentage of resemblance by a process of gradual evolution through socio-linguistic processes like language contact.
- (ii). Irrua, Ugbegun and Ugboha have, over the years gradually evolved to become more like the other members of the second dialect group with which they share above 90% level of resemblance. The probability of their total disappearance as members of the first dialect group in future is high. Igueben had, thus far, maintained its linguistic distance between it and the other Esan speech forms.

- (iii) Tonostatistical values between Esan speech forms, as revealed at this level of comparison, suggests that the larger majority of Esans speak the same form of the language.

Table VIC illustrates lexical items at this level of analysis, across Esan speech forms.

Table VIC: Lexical items with identical tonal patterning only across Esan speech forms

S/N	ET	UG	UM	UD	OG	UH	UB	EK	OH	IB	IR	IL	Gloss
1.	ìtábà	ìtábà	ìtábà	tábà	itábà	ìtábà	ìtábà	ìtábà	itábà	ìtábà	tábà	tábà	tobacco
2.	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	íxjàḃḃ	okro
3.	émátḃ	úkpelḃḃḃ	émátḃ	elḃḃḃ	emátḃ	émátḃ	émátḃ	émátḃ	elḃḃḃ	émátḃ	elḃḃḃ	elḃḃḃ	iron
4.	òlû	òlú	òlúlù	kpelébe	íkpírjàgbèdê	òwû	òwû	olú	olû	òlú	úkpòlú	òwû	thread
5.	eere	èlele	èlele	èlele	elee	èlee	èlele	elee	erere	èelee	èlele	èlele	eight
6.	isírì	ìsílì	ìsílì	ìsílì	isílì	ìsì	ìhílì	isílì	isílì	ìhílì	isílì	ìsílì	nine
7.	sâ	sâ	sâ	sâóxù	sâγóxù	sâ	sâ	sâ	sâ	sâ	sâóxù	sâ	jump
8.	γàḃ	gbèyáé	γà	γà	γàlè	γàè	γàlá	γàè	γǎ	γǎ	γàléá	γà	divide
9.	häsá	häsà	Häsà	häsà	häsà	hàè	häsà	häsà	häsà	häsà	häsà	hà	to pay

Conclusion

Statistical analysis of available data confirmed the claim that Esan is multidialectal. The statistical values, which emerged from analysis of data, within the stated parameters, provided evidence to substantiate this claim as follows.

1. When both segmental and tonal constitution on the one hand, and only segmental constitution of lexical items, on the other, were used as parameters for determining linguistic relatedness, each Esan speech variety emerged as an autonomous Esan dialect.
2. When only tonal constitution on identical lexical items formed the parameter of comparison, Esan speech varieties fell into 2 dialect groups.

Summary

This research effort is a study in dialectology. Its main aim was to empirically evaluate the common claim that Esan is multidialectal. Sub-goals of this effort included identifying Esan dialects by determining the levels of relatedness between twelve Esan speech varieties and their levels of mutual intelligibility. This dialect study was based on the lexicon of Esan. The Esan varieties identified were Ekpoma, Ewatto, Igueben, Ilushi, Irrua, Ogwa, Ohordua, Ubiaza, Udo, Ugbegun, Ugboha, Uromi. Data were elicited from twelve adult Esan native speakers with the Ibadan word list of 400 basic items as the main instrument. Analysis of available data was conducted using some principles of lexicostatistical glottochronology, an approach to the historical study of languages, used to determine linguistic relatedness and distances between languages thought to be related.

Results which emerged from the adopted levels of analysis provided empirical evidence in favour of the claim that Esan comprises more than one dialect. Specifically, lexicostatistical analysis of Esan speech varieties revealed them as autonomous Esan dialects when segmental and tonal constitution on lexical items, on the one hand, and only segmental constitution of lexical items on the other hand, formed the basis for analysis. Two Esan dialects were identified when only tonal constitution on lexical items was used as parameter for comparison. The levels of mutual intelligibility which Esan speech varieties exhibited correlated directly with their dialectal status, as speech forms belonging to the same dialect group featured a higher level of mutual intelligibility when compared with those which fell into different dialect groups. This study therefore gave insights into the dialect status of Esan. Esan speech varieties shared higher levels of relatedness when linguistic principles of comparison were lowered than when they were raised. Findings showed that although identical tonal configurations on lexical forms suggested a high level of mutual intelligibility

between Esan varieties, when both tonal and segmental constitution of lexical forms were used as parameters of comparison, the language presented as a cluster of dialects.

The pioneering status of this work leaves unattended, many researchable areas in determining more comprehensively, the linguistic status of Esan. Further comparative research on other areas of grammar such as sentence structure, tense and aspect, may yet provide further evidence for making more far reaching statements about the dialectal status of Esan.

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- Ikoyo-Eweto, Evarista Ofure. Ph.D., M.A., P.G.D.E., B.A.
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The Effectiveness of Collaborative Work in Developing Students' L2 Writing Achievement across Social Orientation

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Abstract

The present study investigated the effect collaborative work on students' L2 writing achievement across the social orientation, introvert and extrovert. There were 84 university students who were later divided into three different groups, one non-experimental group and two experimental groups. At the end of the research, the participants were asked to write an argumentative essay to see the effect of the collaborative work seen from different social orientation, introvert and extrovert. To answer the research question, the Independent Samples T test and one way ANOVA were employed. The result of the study suggests that collaborative work is better than the individual work, the extroverts outperforms its counterpart, introverts, in terms L2 writing achievement, and no significant difference found in the subsets of writing to the students' L2 achievement. Thus, the result of the study implies that the use of collaborative work in the teaching of writing is suggested to help students write better.

Key Words: Collaborative Work, L2 Writing Achievement, Social Orientation, Extroversion, Introversion

Introduction

The position of English as the foreign language makes the learners have difficulties to write well. Some researcher have investigated the teaching and learning English which mostly focused on the individual work. In general, they found that students still had problems in EFL writing. Academic writing is still the main problem in EFL writing (Kasman, 2004). It is in line with Irawati who found that many college students and university graduates in Indonesia had low competence.

In line with those findings, other researcher (Sabarun, 2006; Attanum, 2007; Ulfiati, 2010; & Isnawati, 2010) also state similar findings related to the writing performance of students working individually. In general, they found that most students had problem with writing. In detail, the students were low in three aspects, namely, motivation, writing ability, and confidence. Most of the students had low motivation since they did not do their exercise seriously. Having difficulties in organizing, exploring ideas are the reflection of their poor writing ability. It is also reflected when they don't know what to write and make some mistakes on grammar and dictions. Although they could complete their task but the result indicated that they were still low in writing. Many of them only rewrite what they had written. They last aspect is their confidence which critically low. They still have high anxiety once it comes to writing and expressing their ideas. The fear of making mistakes triggers the low confidence of the students.

Some other reserchers also found that students had writing problems in the aspects of grammar, vocabulary, cohesion and coherent, content, and organization (Barret & Cohen: 2011; Zakaria & magaddam: 2013; and Javid & Umer; 2014). Paying attention to what was found by previous researchers above, it seems that the findings meet Cahyono and Widiati's statement (2011) saying that writing is often believed to be the most complex one compared to the other three skills (listening, speaking, and reading). In addition, the findings also support the ideas by Richards and Renandya (2002) saying that the skills involved in writing are highly complex. It consists of the higher level skills of planning and organizing ideas as well as the lower level skill of spelling, punctuation, and word choice.

In relation to the students problems in writing, it is necessary to conduct a research focusing on the strategies which might help students to improve their writing ability. One of the ways to improve their writing is by providing them activities which trigger their involvement and work together. Collaborative work is one of the ways which gives students opportunity to work together with their peers. This study also focuses on the collaborative work across social orientation, introvert and extrovert. There is no adequate investigation on the personality types of students related to their writing ability, especially collaborative writing.

Thus, the present study will focus on collaborative work in which the social orientation will be the factor in students' L2 achievement.

The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. Do students who work collaboratively write better than students who work non-collaboratively?
2. Is there any significant difference in L2 writing performance between extrovert and introvert students when writing collaboratively?
3. Is there any significant difference between extrovert and introvert students in terms of different subsets of writing, content, organization, vocabulary, language use, and mechanics when writing collaboratively?

Review of Literature

There are many reasons for using collaborative writing in the classroom. First, collaborative writing prepares students for it parallels the way writing is carried out in the professional world (Woolever, 1991). Collaborative writing is common in the workplace because it generates quality ideas and enables the pooling of resources to produce a well-written document. It allows students to improve their idea by learning from others since there will be a pool of ideas during the writing activity. Second, collaborative writing fosters reflective thinking especially when learners are involved in presenting their opinions to their peers (Higgins, Flower & Petralgia, 1992). It occurs when students are engaged in the act of explaining and defending their ideas to their peers (DiCamilla & Anton, 1997; Swain & Lapkin, 1998; Storch, 2002). When students are engaged in learning, they tend to perform their best to get the message across to the peers. They would try their very best effort to finish the gaps they want to solve, their language problems. Once the students talk about the language, they unconsciously internalize the knowledge they are working on. In this case, the students have to use their cognitive skills actively in order to follow an argument.

The third reason of using collaborative writing is dealing with the stages of writing. Collaboration is useful for all stages of writing since it promotes planning in writing (Dale, 1997).

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Collaborative writing results in good idea generation, pooling knowledge, and better organisation which results in grammatically accurate texts that fulfil task requirement (Donato, 1988; Storch, 2002; Storch 20 05). Donato (1988, 1997) describes the knowledge-sharing process as collective-scaffolding in which learners help each other in their learning. Collaborative writing also helps novice writers with revision (Dale, 1997). The composing process can be regarded as revision itself by experienced writers because the process is recursive (Flower & Hayes, 1981; Sommers, 1980).

Fourth, the process of collaborative writing builds self-awareness and self-confidence in the writer because one is affirmed of the ability to produce before the product is completed (Duin, 1991). This occurs especially when the writer has to perform a difficult writing task. It is in line with Kuiken and Vedder (2002) who state that the collaborative writing will increase the writers awareness upon the existing gaps in their language repertoire since interaction triggers their consciousness mechanism. Thus, the writer is assured of the possibility to perform it successfully due to the guidance provided by the group members.

The collaborative work has shown its power to help students learning in many ways. It gives the students the chance to produce ideas which in turn will give opportunity for learning since it will make them want to contribute when they come to the language source problem. In this case output is really essential for the students as the device of learning because it triggers them to discuss on the language problem which is actually the source of the problem. They will talk about the language they do not really know or understand. Output is one of the learning sources that learners can use to help them learn better. Swain (1985) states that comprehensible output is the output that extends the linguistics repertoire of the learner as he or she attempts to create precisely and appropriately the meaning desired. She also argued that producing the target language may serve as “the trigger that forces the learner to pay attention to the means of expression needed in order to successfully convey his or her own intended meaning. It is no doubt that the output will give benefit for SL learners to acquire the target language better.

Swain (1995, 2005) has identified three for output: noticing function, a hypothesis-testing function, and a metalinguistic function. The noticing function holds that when learners produce output, they may notice gaps in their knowledge because through output they may realize they cannot say what they want to say. The second function is hypothesis testing that is, when talking to others, learners may try out different ways of saying the same thing and may also come to realize whether their utterances are comprehensible and well formed. When learners cannot express their intended meanings, they may search their existing knowledge to find solution to the problem. If they cannot find a solution, they might seek help from others or pay closer attention to the subsequent input. The last is metalinguistic function which is very useful for reflection. That is, output may encourage learners to consciously reflect upon language and consciously think about what to say and what not to say. Swain (1998) has stated that the learners' own language indicates and awareness of something about their own, or their interlocutor's, use of language.

The strength of the collaborative and output may become powerful pedagogical activities which can help learners acquire the target language better. Ellis (2003) urges that there is a need to conduct a research on the use of classroom activities that promote both communicative interaction and attention to form. One way of promoting such opportunities is through pedagogical task that encourage negotiation of meaning, while at the same time providing opportunities for feedback and attention to form (Samuda and Bygate, 2008).

The collaborative work will benefit learners for their learning since it involves interaction among them. The sociocultural framework provides a strong basis for using pedagogical activities that encourage learners to work together and produce language collaboratively. Swain and her colleagues argued that such activities are effective because when learners collaborate to produce output, they use language not only to convey meaning, but also to develop meaning (Swain, 2005). These activities are beneficial because when learners attempt to produce language through collaboration, they will not only produce output, but they may get help from their peers while they try to make their meaning precise (Kowal & Swain, 1994; Swain, 2005). It is in line with the Vygotskian sociocultural theory of ZPD which refers to the distance between the actual

development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978).

Based on those theoretical arguments, several studies have empirically examined the role of collaborative work which involves output as the result of the students' learning. In a study, Storch (1999) stated that collaboration effect on overall grammatical accuracy. Then, Storch (2005) conducted another research on how effective a collaborative work was. She examined the effectiveness of collaborative work when students produced a written text either in pair or individually. The result showed that the collaborative pair work led to many opportunities for exchanging ideas and peer feedback. The result also showed that students who produced the text collaboratively wrote shorter but grammatically more accurate and more complex in comparison to those who produced them individually. But the difference between individual and pair work was not statistically significant. She suggested that a larger scale of sample should be used to see the effects of the collaboration on the product. The type of the text also effects the insignificant result of the collaboration.

In 2007, Storch conducted another research which focused on the same topic. She examined the effectiveness of pair work by comparing learners' performance on completing an editing task. The result showed that when the students completed the tasks in pairs they were actively engaged in interaction and reflection about language form. Again, no significant different was found between the accuracy of the task when completed collaboratively and individually. She argued that it has to do with the scope of the topic. There is no much to discuss about the topic when the students worked on it.

Another researcher who reveals the effective of collaborative work (pair work) is Shehadeh (2011). She found that collaborative writing had an overall significant effect on students' L2 writing performance. However, this effect varied from on writing skill area to another. Specifically, the effect was significant for content, organization, and vocabulary but not for grammar and mechanics.

Collaborative work also can outperform the individual work in term of accuracy. Jafari and Ansari (2012) state that students who worked in pair have better writing accuracy than those who work individually. In their study, it was revealed that working collaboratively (pair work) contributes to the improvement of students writing performance.

The next researcher who investigated the effect collaborative (pair) work toward students writing performance is Biria and Jafari (2013) they found that practicing in pairs really improved the overall quality of the learners' writing production even though the fluency of the written texts did not change significantly.

The last researcher investigated the effect of collaborative writing in writing summary which revealed that collaborative gives ample opportunities for feedback and idea sharing that can lead to the meaning negotiation (Sajedi, 2014). He found that students who wrote the summary collaboratively (pair or group) outperformed the students who wrote the summary individually. In his research, he also reported that the pair work outperformed the group work (consisted of three students) in the summary writing. So the result of the study suggested that the type of the collaboration might not play a significant role on students L2 writing performance.

The results of previous studies on how effective the collaborative work is and how beneficial output for the improvement of writing skill may somehow confusing because those results do not tell us who contribute more or less when the students are writing. There must be some other factors which essentially contribute to the quality of the students' language performance. Kayaoglu (2011) states that there personality types are significant factors in education, especially language learning because they are believed to contribute to language behavior. The personality type which influence students' learning are extroversion and introversion. Extraversion (E) and introversion (I) dichotomy deals with the way people prefer to attain energy and focus their attention. Extroverts prefer to get energy from outside sources or outer world, but introverts prefer solitary activities and the inner world of ideas as the source of their energy (Eysenck & Chan, 1982). According to Jensen and Ditiberio (1984), it is the first

dimension of Jung's system identified a person's general orientation toward life. Extroverts mainly focus their energy outward and tend to interact with people and things. Outer experience (i.e., talking and acting) is so highly important for them that they often begin performing tasks with little planning, then rely on trial and error to complete the task. Since they spend more time dealing with outer experience rather than inner experience (i.e., reflecting and observing), they think most clearly and develop more ideas in action or in conversation.

Different from the extroverts, the introverts mostly focus their energy inward; they tend to consider and contemplate. More cautious about the outer world; they anticipate and reflect before becoming involved in action to avoid errors. When they are alone and uninterrupted by people and incidents, they think best and develop more ideas. Thus, the personality type should be into account to decide the best learning strategy which might work. Some researcher have investigated that the personality types contribute to the mastery of the language skills and component; listening, speaking, reading, writing, and vocabulary (Gan, 2011; Sadhigi, 2013s; Roudgarsaffari, 2015; Arem & Hazrati, 2015).

Chen, Jiang & Mu (2015) investigated the correlation between personality types and oral English outcome which showed that the extroverted students outperformed the introverted ones in terms of oral proficiency. The result of the research suggests that introversion becomes the barrier to their oral English learning. On the other hand, Gan (2011) found that there was no significant correlation between the social orientation and the students' oral achievement.

The social orientation, introversion and extroversion, also gives contribution to the students' achievement in learning reading. Some researcher have investigated how the extroversion and introversion benefit the students in reading comprehension. The research conducted by Sarem and Hazrati (2015) showed that the the introvert learners with mean score(46.60) outperformed the introvert learners with the mean score(43.15). however, the difference between their performances was not statistically significant. One of the justifications that they make is that the introverts have been known as studious and hard-working students compared to more extroverted and out- going ones. Contrast with Sarem and Hazrati's research

result, Roohani, Hasanimanesh, and Boroujeni (2015) revealed that introverts significantly outperformed extroverts in all subsets except organization. The justifications are that introverts carefulness, more concentration, and the ability to generate much more ideas alone.

Methodology

A. Participants

The participants of the study were 84 undergraduate students of Brawijaya university in Indonesia. The students were at the sixth semester who were taking Essay Writing subject.

B. Instruments

In order to see the proficiency level of the students, the TOEFL test scores were used to make sure that all the participants had the same proficiency. To see the social orientation/personality type, the researcher used the “The Big Five” personality questionnaire which was modified to fit the purpose of the study. There were 30 question as the total in which 15 items were designated for introverts students and another 15 items for the extrovert students. The writing test was used to measure students’ achievement from which the data was gained to see the effect of the collaborative work across the social orientation. The students were required to write an argumentative essay individually about a topic which was provided by the researcher. The topics were chosen in such a way to fit the students’ level and familiarity so that they could write as good as possible.

C. Procedure

At first, the researcher administered the TOEFL test to participants to homogenize them in terms of proficiency. Only students who scored more than 450 points of the total possible score were selected as the samples for the study. Then, “The Big Five” personality questionnaire was distributed to decide the students’ social orientation, extroverted or introverted.

D. Data Collections and Analysis

To deal with the data collection procedure, firstly, the researcher administered the TOEFL test to the students to determine the level of students’ proficiency. Secondly, the

personality questionnaire was administered to decide what social orientation the students belong to. After the administration of the questionnaire, the students were asked to write an argumentative essay within 120 minutes to check the achievement after the manipulation. To answer the research questions, the researcher employs Independent sample t test which used to see the difference between collaborative and individual work and the difference between the extroverts and introverts. To see what subsets of writing contribute more on the students' achievement, one way ANOVA was employed

Findings

This chapter covers the research findings and verification of the hypothesis of the research. All the gained data answer the research problems formulated and verify related all the hypotheses related to the problems. The data in this chapter are provided to decide whether there is significant difference between the collaborative work and the individual work on students' L2 achievement seen from the different social orientation, which are calculated by means of statistical procedure in hypothesis testing. In other words, the data are analyzed to give detailed explanation of the effect of collaborative work on students' L2 achievement across social orientation.

Table 1
The Summary of Students L2 Achievement between Experimental and Non-experimental Group

Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
				Mean
individual work	42	65,7143	16,16875	2,49489
collaborative work	42	81,7143	12,11587	1,86952

Based on the table 3.1, it is clearly seen that the mean score of the students in the experimental group is greater than the students' score in the control group. The mean difference of the two groups is significant, 16 points, which tells that the experimental group outperforms the control group in the L2 writing.

Table 2
The Result of Independent Samples Test between Experimental and Control Group
Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper	
Score	Equal variances assumed	4,456	,038	5,132	82	,000	16,0000	3,11763	22,2015	9,79805
	Equal variances not assumed			5,132	76,006	,000	16,0000	3,11763	22,20928	9,79072

Table 2 shows that there is significant difference between the experimental and non-experimental groups. The gained p value is smaller than the set p value .05 which indicates that the null hypothesis (Ho) is rejected. The researcher takes the alternatives hypothesis which says

that there is significant difference between students who write collaboratively and students who write individually.

The Difference of Students' L2 Writing Achievement of Different Social Orientation

The difference between the experimental and the no-experimental group leads the researcher to answer the next research question in which involves the students' social orientation. There are two types of social orientation involved in the present study, introvert and extrovert, which are believed to contribute to the students' L2 writing achievement. To know the difference in the L2 writing achievements between these two types of personality, the researcher employs independent sample t test. The result of the statistical computation is shown in table 3

Table 3
Summary of L2 Writing Achievement between Introvert and Extrovert Students Working Collaboratively

Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std.	
				Error Mean	
Score	introverts				
	collaborative				
	work of	21	76,8095	12,88650	2,81207
	collaborative				
Score	extroverts				
	collaborative				
	work of	21	86,6190	9,18410	2,00413
	collaborative				

Table 3 shows the mean difference between the introvert and extrovert students working collaboratively. The mean score of the extrovert students is greater than the mean score of the introvert students, 86,6190 and 76,8095 respectively.

Table 4
The result of Independent Samples Test between the Introvert and Extrovert Students
when Writing Collaboratively

		Levene's		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper	
Score	Equal variances assumed	1,465	,233	-2,841	40	,007	-9,80952	3,45315	16,78861	2,83044
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,841	36,150	,007	-9,80952	3,45315	16,81183	2,80722

Table 4 indicates that there is significant difference between the two groups because the p value is less than .05 in the level of 95% confidence. The result also summarizes that the researcher rejects the null hypothesis and take the alternatives hypothesis which later leads him to see which subsets contribute more on the students' L2 writing achievement. There are five subsets of the writing which contribute to the writing of the students namely content, organization, vocabulary, language use, and mechanic.

The Difference of Writing Subsets which Contribute to the Students' L2 Writing Achievement

Table 5
The Result of the Descriptive Statistics of Writing Subsets Score

subsets_ score	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
					content	21		
organization	21	89,2857	14,94036	3,26025	82,4849	96,0865	50,00	100,00
vocabulary	21	83,3333	9,94778	2,17078	78,8052	87,8615	75,00	100,00
language use	21	77,9762	11,11359	2,42518	72,9173	83,0350	50,00	100,00
mechanic	21	84,5238	11,79563	2,57402	79,1545	89,8931	75,00	100,00
Total	105	84,4048	13,17652	1,28590	81,8548	86,9547	50,00	100,00

Table 5 shows the descriptive result of the students' for each subsets which describes the means of the students score gained for each subsets. The highest score of the writing subsets is on the organization which is 89,2857. The second highest score is on the content, 86.9048, which is not really different from the organization score. The difference between the two highest subsets is 2,3809 which considered not significantly different. the mean score of mechanic is 84,5238 which is not significantly different from language use which is 83,3333. The lowest score students gained is on the language use which is 77,9762. This score is significantly different from the highest students gained on organization.

After knowing the mean scores of each subset, the researcher needs to see the homogeneity of variances. The homogeneity is shown in the table 6 below:

Table 6
The Result of the Homogeneity of Variances

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

subsets_score

Levene			
Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
2,468	4	100	,050

Table 6 indicates that the p value is .050 which is exactly at the limit point of the 95% confidence. Since the *p* value .050, it indicates that the groups are homogeneous.

Table 7
The Result of ANOVA

subsets_score

	Sum of		Mean		
	Squares	df	Square	F	Sig.
Between	1523,810	4	380,952	2,304	,064

Groups			
Within Groups	16532,738	100	165,327
Total	18056,548	104	

Table 7 shows that the p value, .064, is greater than the set p value .05. Since the gained p value is greater than the set p value, it indicates that the researcher accepts the null hypothesis (Ho) which says there is no significant difference among the subsets of writing on the contribution to the L2 writing achievement of the students. It concludes that the researcher cannot proceed to the next test (pot hoc test) to see the difference among the subsets because there is no enough evidence to continue.

Conclusion

The Effect of the Collaborative Work on Students' L2 Writing Achievement

Based on the statistical analysis of the data, the formulated research problem on the effect of collaborative work on students L2 writing achievement is solved. The result shows that the experimental group, collaborative work outperforms its counterpart, non-experimental group which is individual work. The mean score of the students who worked collaboratively is higher than the mean score of the students who worked individually from which the researcher can take a conclusion that writing collaboratively is more effective than writing individually.

The result of t test demonstrated that the mean score of the students who worked collaboratively; 81,7143, is significantly different from the individual ones, 65,7143. The gained p value also proves that there is significant difference between collaborative work and the individual work. These findings are in harmony with the previous research (Shehadeh, 2011; Fernandez Dobao, 2012). They found that collaborative experiences had a beneficial effect on students' L2 achievement. Dobao (2012) states that higher level of success achieved by the collaborative work was due to the pooling of knowledge within the group in which different members likely shared their knowledge and collaborated to solve their language-related problem. Within the interaction of the students, they corrected each other from which every member

learned new ideas they might not know yet. Feedback given by the peers would give them new knowledge and help them to write better in the area they had problem on, for example vocabulary or language use.

Negative or corrective feedback as part of the meaning negotiation process is considered one of the salient features of conversational interaction by which the interlocutors detect the existing discrepancies in their output and try to resolve the communication breakdown. Lyster and Ranta (1997) believed that corrective feedback encourages self-repair involving accuracy and precision as well as comprehensibility. Thus, this type of feedback which occurs during the interaction contributes to the pooling of knowledge within the group member which is later believed to be one of the contributors to their L2 writing achievement in the present study. It is in line with Shehadeh (2011) who found that collaborative work on writing enables the students to generate ideas, pool ideas together, discuss and shape plan, generate their collaboratively, provide each other with immediate feedback, and put their text in better shape.

Despite of the pool of knowledge among the members which is claimed to contribute to the improvement of their L2 achievement, Shehadeh (2011) found collaborative work enhanced not only their writing ability, but also their self-confidence. The confidence is raising among the students because they realize that all of them made mistakes while they learned to produce the target language. Once they found mistakes on their peers' utterances, they were willingly helped the peer to correct the mistake in which they encourage each other to learn.

But their other skills as well that the collaborative writing is enjoyable for the students which is believed to lead to their learning. It is believed that once the students feel comfortable while interacting with their peers within a group, they will produce more output and give opportunity for the less able students to learn more from their more capable peers' explanation on the language-related problem.

The Effect Collaborative Work on Students' L2 Writing Achievement with Different Personality Types

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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The findings of this study suggest that the extrovert students are more superior to its counterparts for some reasons. Sulaiman (2014) states that extrovert learners use the language to interact without inhibition, tend to take action with less reflection. These characteristics are powerful to make the students learn better since they tend to work all out in a way they do not hesitate themselves to get involved in learning activities. When they are well engaged in their discussion, they will produce output which is useful for everyone within the group. The extrovert collaborative work is really beneficial as the device of learning to make learners engaged in the learning with the purpose of helping the less capable students to catch up with the more capable students where learning occurs.

Eysenck and Chan (1982) state that the extroverts think most clearly and develop more ideas in action. This is really beneficial for the students in idea development during the writing process. During the writing process, students are discussing which focus on meaning and form from which they complete each other's ideas so that they come up with a very good idea. This suggests that the pooling of ideas from the students would give all members of the group advantage in writing better.

The Contribution of Each Subset of Writing on Students' L2 Writing Achievement

The ANOVA test shows that the p value is .065 which is higher than the set p value which is .05. It suggests that there is no difference among the subsets of the writing in the contribution of the students writing achievement. The possible causes of the insignificant result is that the homogeneity of the subject. It shows that the gained p value for the homogeneity of variance is .05 which is exactly on the limit value. It might influence the result of the ANOVA test which suggests that there is no significant difference among the subsets of writing to the students' achievement.

Suggestions and Recommendations

The findings of this study revealed that there is significant difference between the collaborative work and individual work on the students' L2 writing achievement. Therefore, by

using the collaborative work in teaching writing, teachers/lecturers can help the students better as a result the students will write better as well.

The result of this study suggests that different personality results in different writing achievement. This study concludes that the students who are extroverted outperform students who are introverted in terms of their writing performance. The extroverts produced better argumentative essay because the ideas are pooled from different students within the group which resulted in one best idea. They tend to produce better piece of writing than the introverted students.

To sum up, teachers/lecturers can use the method in the teaching of writing because of its effectiveness. Although there is no significant different among the subsets in the contribution of students' L2 writing achievement but the overall result shows that the collaborative work is effective for the teaching writing especially for those students who belong to extroverted personality. Knowing the difference of the introverts and extroverts, teachers/lecturers are suggested to use particular method in the teaching of writing which fits the characteristics of these two personalities.

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Language Borrowing in Hunphun-Tāngkhul

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Abstract

This present paper will discuss on Cultural borrowing with the focus of the study on English Loan Words (ELW) in *hunphun-Taykhul*(HT). Words are then categorised into borrowable and non-borrowable, presenting the word groups mostly borrowed with examples, followed by discussion. This study also answers the question, ‘why borrowing?’ and the contrastive attitude of the Native speakers toward English and their language. In the case of ELW in HT, it is the result of prestige language attitude towards English Language (EL) or prestige motive as part of westernisation, need-filling motive and preferential motive. Dialect Borrowing is studied as a factor leading to speech variation in HT. Discussion is also done on the role of Tāngkhul Literature Society (TLS) in standardising the language.

Key Words: English Loan Word (ELW), English Language (EL), Hunphun-Tāngkhul (HT), Standard-Tāngkhul (ST)

1. Introduction

Language change is the result of many factors, among which borrowing is one major factor. Borrowing is the process of taking linguistic items from other language/s and using it as one’s own; these borrowed items are known as loan words. Lexical Borrowing is the borrowing of the content word groups: Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs and Verbs (refers to some objects, action or characteristic). This process is also an important source of enriching the recipient language. Borrowing takes place due to language in contact. Almost all the languages of the world borrow from other language/s with varying degree. Language like, English for instance is an intense borrower as compared to those not much in contact with other culture. The borrowed lexis in many cases dominated the lexicon of the recipient language. The result is that, the use of some native words ceased, as they were replaced by the new words. In such scenario as the process progressed, the native lexicon changes. “The acquisition of a loanword constitutes in itself a lexical change....” (Hockett: 1958). Borrowing becomes a need for effective communication in a globalised world today.

Bloomfield (1933) divides borrowing into two types: dialect borrowing, where the borrowed features come from within the same speech-area (as, father, rather with [a] in an [ɛ]- dialect), and cultural borrowing, where the borrowed features come from a different language. Hockett discusses under the conditions of borrowing; the prestige Motive and the Need-Filling Motive. Borrowing occurs either because the borrowed language is considered more prestigious or because there is no lexicalised form to express something that is new to the native culture. Borrowing may also be due to language preference. The speaker may prefer to use the lexis of other's language instead of his own, as he finds the other better expressed his thoughts.

The present paper will discuss cultural borrowing within its sub-category on lexical borrowing from English language and dialect borrowing in connection to language change. In John Lyons' words, two of the most general factors of language change were analogy and borrowing. It is to find out the category of words mostly borrowed and why words are borrowed in *hunphun-tāṅkhul* (HT) Sociolinguistic context. The study is also done to find out how borrowing contributes to the language change in HT.

Data have been collected from primary as well as from secondary sources like published books and print media. The researcher is a HT speaker. So, data have also been collected from speaker's native intuition of the language, interaction with the people and from observing the way people use language in everyday discourse.

2. Language Area

HT Lexicon consists of words not only of native origin but many day today words and registers are borrowed directly or indirectly from Manipuri, European and Indo-Aryan languages. Loan Words from Indo-Aryan languages like Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Assamese were indirectly borrowed from Manipuri which serves as the intermediary language. From European languages, English acts as the intermediary language.

The researcher has specifically chosen Lexical Borrowing in HT from English Language (EL) as the focal area of this present study. Since the time HT was made as the Standard-*Tāṅkhul* (ST), it has undergone numerous changes in its lexicon. Borrowing as a result of language in contact is one of the major factors leading to change in a language.

English Language (EL) bears the status of official language in Ukhrul district. It is also used as the medium of acquiring modern education. With such prestigious status, when in contact with HT, the latter is greatly influenced by the former.

3. Place of English Language in Ukhrul District

English and Manipuri serve as the official language of Manipur state but the later is mainly confined in the Capital city, Imphal. English co-exist with ST as the official language of *Ukhrul* district. Documentation in government offices are done in EL. ST is used mostly in verbal communication and in documentation within the community's local bodies and organisations, but even there EL is used hand in hand with ST. EL is termed as the language of education in the district. People learn EL as their Second Language (L2). According to Yule, The term learning, however, applies to a more conscious process of accumulating knowledge of the features, such as vocabulary and grammar, of a language, typical in an institutional setting. All schools and colleges in *Ukhrul* district are English medium, except for government Lower Primary schools, even there EL is being taught with ST. Great knowledgeable books of the world are written or translated in EL which is why learning EL becomes a need in order to have access to the storehouse of knowledge. Somebody with good commands of EL is looked upon as an educated and learned person. V.Saraswati (2004) also asserts that English is inevitably used among literate Indians today and with the move to globalisation, there is no looking back.

Hunphuns are no exceptions to this. The only monthly journal of *Ukhrul* district, 'Legacy' is a bilingual of ST and EL. So also, The *Ājā* /acu/ and The Dawn *Tantak* /təntək/ are bilingual dailies. EL is made compulsory in formal education. Students are compelled to use EL in discourse within the school premise. Not adhering to the rule is punished or fined. So EL is either learnt out of compulsion or learnt out of the need-filling motive.

It was Rev. William Pettigrew, a Scottish Missionary, who Romanized HT dialect. After equipping few students the rudimentary of literacy, he sends them out to different parts of *Ukhrul* district to teach. The student turned teachers were highly respected by the people. Since from that time, till today EL has the ideological connotation of job and respect.

Today, educated people among the HT, especially the younger generation prefer to switch to EL in discourse as they feel their thoughts are better expressed in EL rather than their native

language. Some use EL for style as part of westernization. Educated and uneducated parents send their children to English medium schools to learn to speak fluent English. Most of the formal meetings, seminars and the likes are conducted in EL. Religious services in some cases are also conducted in EL. In such condition, those without the knowledge of EL are out of place and feel inferior as compared to their counterparts.

Introduction of ST as a subject is made from 1 to 12th Standard by the Manipur Board of Secondary Education to promulgate the significance of preserving indigenous language. ST is the first Tribal language from North East India to be included in the CBSE (Centre Board of Secondary Education) syllabus with effect from the year, 2011. It has also been included by the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) as a major Indian language Subject.

But in spite of all these, the fact is that EL is still looked upon as more prestigious than ST. When two or more languages are in contact, it is a natural phenomenon that the vocabularies of the more prestigious one are borrowed to its counterparts. This is vividly manifested in the English loanwords borrowed to ST/HT.

It is common to all the Commonwealth countries that even after colonialism, the colonizer's language became impossible to be completely rooted out. There has been issue on whether to continue using EL as the official and educational language or not. Many countries choose to retain the official status of EL along with the standard native language. "English has, as a consequence, retained its standing within Indian society, continuing to be used within the legal system, government administration, secondary and higher education, the armed forces, the media, business, and tourism." (David Crystal, 1997). Sidney Greenbaum (1996) also discusses on the need to learn English in order to adopt the convention for public writing, as English language is the norm for public writing. Today, EL is spoken as a first language or second language in most of the countries of the world. Many among have also developed their own native variety of English. General Indian English (GIE) is one fine variety.

4. English Loan Words in *Hunphun-Tangkhul*

Large influx of English vocabulary in HT has become the order of the day in this modernised and technicalised age. These vocabularies are then used as part and parcel of everyday discourse. The use of ELW in the HT has become so natural that hardly people are conscious about

it at the time of use. Educated and uneducated; literate and illiterate; young and old are all inevitably within the sphere of using ELW with varying degree.

Not all the categories of words are borrowable. Words are categorized into functional and content words or lexical words. Functional words are those grammatical particles like prepositions, articles, pronouns, determiners, conjunction; while Lexical Words are those words carrying the content of the message conveyed. Functional words are rarely borrowed when the structure of the languages are not the same. These are closed class of words and addition and subtraction of morphemes to and from these words are restricted. On the other hand, Lexical Words are those that form the nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs in a language. These are open class words and there is flexibility in the addition and subtraction of morphemes or other lexical items. Lexical Words are for this reason more borrowable. The word group of ELW in HT is the lexical one. The categories of words that made up the ELW in HT are Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives.

4.1. Noun

Noun is the word group that has the most ELW added to HT lexicon. Followings are the criteria of nouns which composed the ELW in HT.

4.1.1. Kinship Terms

Mummy, Daddy, Aunty, Uncle, Papa, Mama, Baby.

4.1.2. Animal and Birds

Lion, Tiger, Leopard, Tortoise, Rabbit, Hippopotamus, Giraffe, Rhinoceros, Parrot, Cuckoo, Peacock, Hornbill, Nightingale, etc.

4.1.3. Fruits, Flowers and Vegetables

Apple, Mango, Grapes, papaya, Litchi, Watermelon, Rose, Lily, Lotus, Jasmine, Esther, Daisy, Sunflower, Orchid, Christmas flower, Tomato, Broccoli, ,Lettuce, Cauliflower, Ladies finger, Carrot, Beetroot, etc.

4.1.4. Weapons and Musical Instruments

Machine gun, Air gun, Bomb, Rifle, Piano, Casio, Guitar, Drum, Trumpet, Violin etc.

4.1.5. Christian terms

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 **17:5 May 2017**

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Church, Baptism, Mass, Sabbath, Rosary, Fellowship, Worship, Fasting, Devotion, Offering, Deacon, Deaconess, Pulpit, Cross, Meeting, Reverend, Bishop, Father, Mother, Sister, Brother etc.

4.1.6. Educational Related Items and Terms

School, College, University, Coaching, Teaching, Department, Higher Secondary, Elementary School, Primary School, Pre-Nursery, Kinder-garden, Tuition, Recess, Pencil, Pen, Notebook, Textbook, Office, Principal, Headmaster, Headmistress, Punishment, Question, Answer, Bell, Peon, Education, Physics, Science, Biology, Chemistry, Maths, Botany, Statistics, Home-Science, History, English, Civics, etc.

4.1.7. Political Terms

Government, Governor, President, Prime-Minister, Home Minister, Finance, Chief Minister, Deputy, Secretary, Vote, Parliament, Article, Constitution, Chairmen, Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Scrutiny, etc.

4.1.8. Cosmetics Related Terms

Cream, Lotion, Scrubber, Facial, Medicare, Pedicure, Hair Dye, Hair Dresser, Stylist, Beauty Parlour, Saloon, Body Massage, Toothbrush, Face Pack, Nail Polish, Soap, Sunscreen, Body Spray, Spa, Perfume, Compact, Lipstick, Lip-gloss, Eyeliner, Foundation, etc.

4.1.9. Technology and Electrical Appliances

Car, Truck, Bus, Winger, Train, Aeroplane, Computer, Laptop, Mobile, Internet, Mouse, Pen drive, Hard-drive, phone, Tablet, GB, MB, Ship, Steam Boat, Rocket, Jetfighter, Satellite, Telescope, Microscope, Missile, RAM, Chips, Helicopter, Washing Machine, Fridge, Microwave, etc.

4.1.10. Measurement Terms

Weight, Kg., Drop, ml., Litre, Centimetre, Inch, Feet, Metre, Kilometre, Mile, etc.

4.1.11. Colour Terms

Black, White, Red, Yellow, Green, Indigo, Purple, Saffron, Violet, Blue, Golden, Silver, Sky Blue, Orange, Brown, Grey, Ash, Lime Green, Dark, Light, Blue Black, etc.

4.1.12. Garments and Footwear

Skirt, Frock, Mini Skirt, Long pant, Half pant, Jogging Shirt, Coat, Sweater, Jacket, Shirt, Jeans, High neck, Fitting dress, Inners, Stockings, Leggings, Neck-tie, etc.

4.1.13. Place and Person Names

View-land, Happy-land, New Canaan, Seven-Finance, Mary, Linda, Louis, Rosy, Moses, Peter, James, Henry, Lucy, etc.

4.1.14. Medical Terms and Diseases

Hospital, Ward, Doctor, Nurse, Lab technician, medicine, Syringe, Operation Theatre, Caesarean, Surgery, Injection, Glucose, Cancer, Allergy, Malaria, Diarrhoea, Brain tumour, Dysentery, Typhoid, Heart attack, Paralyse, Ulcer, etc.

4.1.15. Professions

Professor, Reader, Engineer, Scientist, Doctor, Peon, Businessman, Architecture, Designer, Painter, Artist, Astronaut, Pilot, Captain, Lieutenant, Brigadier, Advocate, etc.

4.1.16. Sports and Related Terms and Items

Football, Cricket, Hockey, Bat, Volley Ball, Basket Ball, Long jump, High jump, Marathon race, Polo, Tennis, Goal, Draw, Golf, Coach, Trophy, Cup, Stump, Striker, Player, Wimbledon, Point, Ground, Stadium, etc.

4.1.17. Parts of House and Day-to-day Items

Kitchen, Bedroom, Toilet, Bathroom, Sitting room, Veranda, Ceiling, Wall, Floor, Window, Chimney, Bed, Table, Blanket, Billow, Mosquito net, Curtain, Screen, Bed sheet, Cushion, Carpet, Plate, Spoon, Container, Fork, Gas Cylinder, Stove, Cooker, Plastic, Cotton, Silk, Aluminium, Newspaper, Magazine, Album, etc.

Discussion

Hunphun-tanjkhuls used English vocabularies to express more complex objects and ideas which is new to their culture and has no lexicalised form to express. The word group most borrowed is the noun as it is an open class of word. In using ELW for the things imported, people also tend to substitute some existing vocabulary of the native language. Some English words have the HT version, but hardly many words are translated. Loan translation is time consuming and

nobody likes to use the translated version, as it seems an obviously awkward form. For example, ‘gramophone’ was once translated as *okola* meaning ‘Box-Song’ and ‘mirror’ as *kula-ru-ηəyot* meaning ‘image/shadow-liquid/water- look+purpose,’ but nobody uses these translated forms.

Some native words are also completely substituted by the borrowed language because the existing native word cannot be used in all contexts. For example the word *leingapha* /*leiηəphuu*/ which means ‘trade-disperse,’ similar to the concept of ‘Bazaar,’ but it cannot be referred to all the trading place and occasion. During the olden days *Hunphun*, a specific place and time was fixed for this purpose and only on those days people from around the *Hunphun* village brought their own speciality to trade with each other: western villages or *khuraa* were known for weaving traditional attires, northern villages or *ruphei* were known for *həmpai* ‘earthen pot’ and *haoməci* ‘hao-salt’ and *Shirui* village, situated at the foothill of *Shirui* Hill, which is at the east of *Hunphun* was known for *sopkai* ‘Bamboo baskets.’ *leiηəphuu* was held only once in a year during the *luiru* festival which falls in the month of February. So, only that particular place and time was termed *leiηəphuu*. As a result ‘Bazaar’ has completely substituted the former word as it surpassed the suitability of usage to refer to any trading place. Another factor is the intermixed settling of people speaking different languages.

Loan Translation is one of the altitudes of concern of the Tāngkhul Literature Society in order to enrich the ST lexicon. But the translated forms often remain within the four walls of the classroom as the general mass is not aware of it. There are not much publications of literature in the native language. Greater portions of the available literatures fall in the category of Christian literature. This is the reason that among the translated words, Christian terms have more pragmatic effect. Words like *kəsakhəva*, *kəziηrəm*, *kəziηrao*, *meifu*, *Seiha* which were translated from the EL concept of Creator, Heaven, Angel, Hell, and Prayer are prominently in use today. Borrowing also occurs where there is no direct semantic translation into the borrowing language but only the concept is borrowed. Some of such words as innovated by The Tāngkhul Literature Society are: *jaruiwo*, *məsowo*, *Khəmiwo*, *thanme*, *kuirə*, *kuirumvuu*, *kuirumla* which are borrowed from the EL concept of Chairman, Guest of Honour, Chief Guest, Moderator/Conductor, Mr., Mrs., and Miss.

4.2. Adjectives

Cool, branded, hot, sexy, smooth, bright, shine, dark, light, silky, patience, discipline, high-fi, standard, unique, smart, right, left, side, careless, straight, lucky, gentle, educated, uneducated,

proud, romantic, sensitive, serious, power, dry, attractive, naughty, mature, half, full, round, flat, unbreakable, blue, pink, green, yellow, etc.

Discussion

Adjectives relating to the description of the quality, shape and texture of the noun are often borrowed. Colours are used to qualify the hues and shades of noun. Shape is used to describe the appearance of the noun. Raw material is used to talk about the texture of the object or thing.

HT: *kuihon ci piŋ^k-nəi*.

Trans. The hat/cap is pink.

HT: *khəmui ci raun-nəi*.

Trans. The bread is round.

HT: *iwui phuhon asa hi kotən-nəi*.

Trans. The fabric of my dress is cotton.

HT basic colours are *kəcər*, *kəzik*, *kəhuŋ*, *khəmətek*, *khəməjiŋ* (white, black, red, green, blue). Other colours other than these are expressed along with the object modelling that colour as *ŋəleipan* (soil-colour), *cinaiipan* (Chinai+mushroom-colour) etc. But with the influx of English colour terms, preference has been shifted to it.

Adjectives of number is also borrowed to specify the number of the nouns and also to state the place or position of the noun in order. Words indicating directions and geographical locations associated with a noun, like southern, northern, eastern are also borrowed.

HT: *a northən foŋwui minə*.

Trans. He belongs to the northern side.

4.3. Verb

Turn, practice, maintain, repeat, betray, doubt, encourage, try, call, send, receive, edit, save, rewind, forward, backward, record, on, off, renew, recycle, kick, repair, conduct, organize etc.

4.3.1. Discussion

Action words relating to technology and sports constitute the major portion of the ELW verbs in HT. Words like copy, install, uninstall, download, browse, insert, delete, upload, call, receive, message etc are the computer and mobile phone related verbs that is widely used among the

Tāngkhuls today. Rarely these words are translated. Some of the sports related verbs like kick, throw, pass, strike, hit, loose, practice etc. are unavoidably used while playing games.

Messaging on mobile phones through social media apps like Whatsapp, Facebook, Hike and also emails and the likes are mostly done in English even among the Tāngkhuls. This is one great influence that leads to large influx of ELW in HT. The affluence of American media entertainment shows and movies has a dramatic effect on the way people use language, especially among the youngsters; they tend to mimic the westerners in every aspects in their craving to be identified with them. Language and culture are inseparable. Wardhaugh has defined culture as “whatever a person must know in order to function in a particular society.” With the shade of westernisation, there has been a tremendous change in all aspects of HT culture. As culture change there is also change in its language to accommodate the new culture. It is true that every living language change; this change shows the fact of the language being alive. But complete substitution of the native word by the loan word is a problem itself which if not checked on time may lead to language endangerment. Likewise, negative attitude of the native speakers toward their language is an agent to language endangerment, which if not checked on time, may lead to language dead.

4.3.2. Dialect Borrowing

hunphun-tāngkhul(HT) is originally the dialect of the *hunphun* village which is the district headquarter of Ukhrul in Manipur state. The district comprises of 221 villages with a population of 183,998 as per 2011 census, with almost all the villages speaking a dialect of its own. Like all other Naga villages, Hunphuns in the past were xenophobic towards intruders. However, the social scenario changed dramatically with the setting up of Hunphun Village as the American Baptist Mission headquarter and centre for education in 1896 by Rev. William Pettigrew, a Scottish missionary and an educationist. It was this time few youths from surrounding villages began to take temporary settlement at Hunphun village for educational purpose. Housing system began to change slowly after 1960s. Somewhere from mid 20th century after the 2nd World War, the actual migration from other villages to Hunphun village began, eventually leading to exposure of its dialect to the rest of the *Tāngkhul-Naga* Villages’ dialects which gradually rise to variations in the use of HT.

There is so much spelling irregularity in HT. Much probable reason lies on the Romanisation; the alphabet was adopted as it is, regardless of the unavailability of some sounds in the adopting language. As taught and learnt academically, Standard Tāngkhul (ST)/HT alphabet comprises of 28 letters: A, Ā, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, and Z. For

instance there are no voiced sounds like /b/, /d/, /g/,/ʒ/ in HT native words except in loan words. Voiceless /p/,/t/, /k/, /c/can be heard instead in speech. There's no sound with C alone without being accompanied by H as/ch/./ch/is likely to be written as J when it occurs in an environment where it is followed by *i* or a /u/in a syllable. Some continue to write /ch/ as pronounced. Other sounds like /q/ and /x/ are absent. There is variation in the use of /r/and /l/. This cause inconsistency in spellings, as people usually writes the way as pronounced by them. So, often it is complained by some *taṅkhul* language teachers as careless in speaking. But spoken language is more alive than written; the former is what linguists are concerned of.

Phonemic Distribution of /l/ and /r/ in *hunphun-taṅkhul* (HT)

/l/ initial	/l/medial	/l/ final
<i>La- lasem,lanpar</i>	<i>yamkuili</i>	
<i>Le-lepao,lengkhor</i>	<i>philavuu</i>	
<i>li-likruu</i>	<i>ḡəlāi</i>	
<i>lo- loṅnao, lokhui</i>		
<i>lu-luk, luṅkui</i>		
<i>lə -lən, ləṅcin</i>		
<i>lāi - lāipan, lāikəfi</i>		
<i>lui-lui, luiva</i>		
/r/ initial	/r/ medial	/r/ final
<i>Ra-ram,raman</i>	<i>hərva,ḡərāi, otrom</i>	<i>khor, khəjir, kəthər,</i>
<i>Re-reṅkhor, riḡronthāi</i>	<i>sarip, varok, ḡəreo,</i>	<i>var, kəthor etc.</i>
<i>Ri-riṅkəpha, rinrin</i>	<i>carui etc.</i>	
<i>Ro- rontha, roḡrər</i>		
<i>Ruu-ruuwon, rutək</i>		

On keen observation, /l/ occurs both in the initial position and medial position but absent in the final position. HT uses mostly /r/ in the medial position and /l/ in the initial, which is castigated by those who goes by the Standard variety. In fact, /l/ and /r/ are used interchangeably in these two positions which sound typical *hunphun-Taṅkhul*. This is termed as an error in speech by many, but which in fact is a fine feature of HT dialect/language.

HT: wukruṅ, məruṅ, khərəp,raruirə

ST: wukluṅ, məluṅ, khələp, raluirə

Some *Hunphuns* will pronounce /l/ in these words while some /r/ and some other use both, depending on the speech context. This results to the inconsistency in the use of /l/ and /r/. An evident that HT/ ST do not have final /l/ is the pronunciation of 'Ukhrul' as *ukhrur* and *Tangkhul* as *tangkhur* by many people, as the etymology of these words are not of the native origin.

HT dialect change in progress can be observed in the variation in the use of the dialect by other Tangkhul village dialect speakers in speech. Some people from the north or *ruphəi* villages find difficulty in pronouncing /h/ so they pronounce /kəthi/ meaning 'dead' as /kəti/. Likewise some other people belonging to western villages have difficulty with /v/, where these sounds occur they tend to substitute with /w/. Southern villages are more fluent with Manipuri than Tāngkhul, mostly they have issue with /ʃ/ and /z/, for which they substitute with /s/ and /c/. Some eastern villages also have issues with /ʃ/ and /z/. There are many such variations in use, the cause/s of which are yet to be studied intensively.

4.3.3. Role of Tāngkhul Literature Society

Tāngkhul Literature Society (TLS) was founded in the year 1937 by a few Tāngkhul elites who were the second generation western-educated Tāngkhul-Nagas. The society was founded with the motive of enriching the language in the field of literature. Christian Literature was the primary concern of the society. Loan Translation is one of the altitudes of concern of the Tāngkhul Literature Society in order to enrich the ST lexicon. The present Bible translation in ST which is used by all the *Tan̄khul* Christian denominations is the work of TLS. The Tāngkhul Literature Society has much to do in bringing about change in HT linguistic sphere. There was subtle change in the language before the intervention of the TLS. The society takes initiative in uplifting the standard of *Tan̄khul* literature by taking charge in publishing academic textbooks for students, they are sole responsible for Bible translation from English to ST. Apart from these the bi-monthly bi-lingual of English and *Tan̄khul* journal 'The Legacy' is a publication of TLS under the forum 'A Centre for Tāngkhul Socio-Historical Research and Documentation' (CENSHIRE) which points its origin to a seminar of *Tan̄khul* Language intellects conducted by the TLS. The main focus of CENSHIRE is to open a forum to standardise HT in all its linguistic spheres to bring uniformity in speech and letter. The wide range of irregularity and inconsistency in the use of the language ushered to such step forward. Lots of spelling modifications have been done depended on tonal value. As per the TLS spelling rule, in homonymic words or syllables, voiced sounds are used when pronounced in low tone but voiceless is used when the tone is higher. This rule is applied to voiced /b/, /d/, /g/, /ʃ/ and its counterparts voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/. In an attempt to use all the letters that

consist the English alphabet, /q/ has been agreed upon to use with *quira* and *quirumla* which actually sound as *kuirə* and *kuirumla* in native speech. The only word with /x/ as given by TLS in Class IX and X students Tangkhul Grammar textbook, 2013 is *sixileironrixxila* where /x/ is pronounced as in English ‘six’ with /ks/ immediately followed by /s/. Since TLS is the apex body in shaping the language, not adhering to its laid down rules is considered incorrect. Formal writing goes by this, whereas on the other hand many *hunphun-Tan̄khuls* continue speaking the unmodified form, which in some cases are even visible when put down into words. There are no voiced /b/, /d/, /g/, /ʒ/ in HT speech but are likely to have been introduced. The unavailability of these sounds in HT can be confirmed when the native speaker, especially those who have no idea about the difference between voiced and voiceless sounds pronounce loan words which require these sounds. Ahum (1997) placed the voiced /b/, /d/, /g/, /ʒ/ as the allophone of /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ rather than placing them as separate phonemes.

Since HT is the lingua franca of the *Tan̄khuls* who are further divided into different native speech communities, there is always the influence of their L1 when using the L2. The peer group gets influenced with each other, which therefore results to variation in HT speech. There is also shortage of letters to represent all the phones of the language orthographically. /e/ and /ə/ are both represented by letter *e*, in word like *saser* ‘do all’ in which it is pronounced as /sasə/ instead of */saser/ while *serkakhui* ‘to tear and take’ is pronounced as /serkəkhui/ and not */sərkəkhui/.

5. Conclusion

The place of English Loan Words (ELW) in *Hunphun-Tan̄khul* (HT) language is to fill the wide gap of effective communication in today’s globalised world. If not for ELW, coping with the ever growing science and technology would have been very difficult. Loan translation is often time consuming and not very necessary when the idea and the concept can be rightly conveyed in much lesser time by Loan terms. Use of ordinal numbers like first, second, third and educational terms like school, class, blackboard etc., in speech by people above 70 or 80 years old who have never gone to school is an evidence of the inevitability of ELW in the present social context. Local news papers, radio program, journal and books have ample amount of ELW present in each of it, which if translated would consume a lot of time. On the other hand, depending too much on the loan terms, some of the existing native vocabulary lost its use to the new loan terms. Today nobody uses the word *khayiyar* /khəjijar/ for which they use either *Shartin*, a modified version of Manipuri *Shatin* or umbrella in English. If we ask any HT ‘what do you call the thing on which you sleep on? All young and old, without fail would say it is called *bed*. People below 20 years would hardly know

that ‘peacock’ is called *yongyingkui /yɔŋjɪŋkui/* and ‘hornbill’ *hangkhokhrāng /həŋkhokkhrəŋ/* in HT. In the case of ELW in HT, it is the result of prestige language attitude towards English Language (EL) as part of westernisation or prestige motive, need-filling motive, preferential motive and suitability motive. Borrowing on one hand is a need for effective communication in this globalised world. While a very crucial issue in language change is the negative attitude of the native speakers toward their language; which if fed and foster, may lead to language dead.

The kind of borrowing which Bloomfield called dialect borrowing has also contributed to variation in the use of HT. One would hear multiple dialects in HT area where people from all the villages of Ukhrul district settled in amalgamated sociolinguistic context. In this case, the ground of borrowing is the interference of the first language (L1). Everybody speak in their own accents which is why it is very audible in native ear to identify the village or the region one belongs to. Villages from Northern region would somewhat speak HT alike as Tāngkhul-Nāgā is a dialect continuum. The orthographic representation of the language has also contributed to the phonological variation of HT in speech. The Tāngkhul Literature Society plays a vital role in standardising the spelling and innovation of new words in the language.

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Vocabulary Enhancement of Female ESL learners through Short Stories: A Rural/ Urban Perspective

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Abstract

Teaching of English has undergone a rapid progress with the changing needs of society. Present study aims not only at testing of vocabulary enhancement through short stories but also checks its effects on rural and urban population at secondary level. Present study uses Pre-test, post-test experimental design. Before the commencement of study, 50 students took their pre-test from rural site and 50 students took their pre-test from urban site. Only those 20, 20 students were selected from both sites whose accumulative score was almost the same. After this, five short stories were taught to both groups for five weeks with the same methodology. After the completion of coaching, a post-test was conducted. Marks of pre-test and post-test of both rural and urban groups were compared to see difference in learning. Data was analyzed statistically by using SPSS 20 for windows. Analysis of data proved that urban group had statistically significant improvement as compared to rural group.

Key words: Short Stories, Vocabulary Enhancement, ESL, ELT

Introduction

Language learning is of prime importance in almost every walk of life. Without sufficient vocabulary, one faces difficulty in the expression of views. A lot of work has been done to devise different novel and interesting teaching methodologies to improve vocabulary. Use of literature in language teaching has been appreciated by a lot of researchers especially by Maibodi (2008) and Vaughnetal (2004). Nasreen (2010) further strengthens this view by saying that “short-stories” will create a marked difference in the process of language teaching and improving vocabulary.

Students in Pakistani schools are taught English from the very first class but most of graduates are unable to use English fluently and correctly which is the result of rote-learning system. To cope with this situation, a number of changes are being introduced in the field of education which is quite evident from the conversion of Urdu medium schools into English Medium by Government of Pakistan. Waqas (2011) further supports it by saying that Punjab government has felt the importance of English language by making it a compulsory subject from class one. Government teachers are regularly trained to teach English efficiently. Present study is designed to do a comparative analysis of rural and urban students regarding vocabulary enhancement through short stories. It was hypothesized for the present study that short stories will prove to be an effective tool in vocabulary enhancement of both rural and urban students. It was also to be tested that for which group this methodology was more suitable. Moreover, it is an effort to reduce tension and anxiety among students as it is really useful not only for teachers but also for students, parents and policy makers to use new techniques in language teaching.

Number of Vocabulary Items Learners Must Know

Many researchers have tried to estimate the number of lexical items that native speakers of any language know to assess that how many words other than non-native speakers must know to learn the language. For a native speaker, this estimate varies between 12,000 to 20,000 words depending on the level of education (Goulden, Nation and Read, 1990). Exposure of a few words can lead to greater comprehension for non-native speakers. For instance, the students who have the knowledge of most frequent 20,000 words would be able to understand almost 80% of the words in an average text and if the knowledge of words is 50,000, then learner's understanding is increased to 88.7% (Francis and Kucra, 1982). For spoken language 1,800 words make up over 80% of the spoken corpus. (McCarthy and Carter, 2007).

Vocabulary Enhancement through Short Stories

Short stories are also considered to be very powerful teaching tools especially for vocabulary enhancement. According to Pesola (1991), storytelling gives more fruitful results with young language learners than anyone else. Isbell (2002) further elaborates it by saying that children enjoy only those stories which include repetitive phrases and unique words. Meyer

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(2000) is also of the view that stories contain culture load which refers to the way in which language and culture are related and the amount of cultural knowledge which is required to understand meanings in order to participate in activities. Students should know not only the words but also cultural background and they should learn the vocabulary in context.

Short stories also help children to recall or reread the story to build their conceptual knowledge. Stories help learners to develop concepts about new words, print and books as well as evaluating students current language levels (Morrow, 2001). Students' language proficiency is also developed with the help of such practices. Richgels (2000) is of the view that story recall provides students with an opportunity to organize the sequence of events, to utilize the vocabulary items present in the story and to expand children's comprehension of the world as well. Story recall is not only a research tool for the researchers as it gives a large amount of data to gain insight into learner's comprehension processes (Goodman, 1982) but also an instructional strategy that has the potential to improve many literary skills.

Attitudes towards Vocabulary Enhancement through Short Stories

It is proved by research that students have a positive attitude towards short stories methodology. Maibaodi (2008) conducted a study on learning English through short stories on 200 female adult, Persian speaking university undergraduates and found that they showed positive attitude towards short stories. Erakaya (2003) is of the view that short stories enable the students to engage all the four skills of English language. Lao and Krashen (2000) conducted a study between two groups. The results of first group showed their improvement through reading literary texts and the other group showed results of non-literary texts. Oster (1989) also affirms the importance of "literature by saying that literature helps students to write more creatively" (p. 85). Nasreen (2010) also conducted a study on higher school level students and found a positive response of research population towards this strategy. Khatib (2011) conducted a study at Allameh Tabataba'i University Iran with 24 students in one group and 21 in other group. This study suggests that short stories remained effective in improving student's linguistic skills regardless of the way used to teach to students. Kirkgoz (2012) conducted a study on 21 Turkish university students regarding their responses towards short stories. The findings of this study

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suggested that short stories contribute a lot in the overall understanding of the students. Strodt-Lopez (1996) used short stories to improve comprehension skills of the students. Findings signify the importance of short stories. Pardebe (2012) also used short stories on Indonesian students to improve their linguistic proficiency and the findings of this study suggested that utilization of short stories improved students' language proficiency. Murdoch (2002) is of the view that short stories enhance the linguistics and paralinguistic competence of the students. Ellis and Brewster (1991) are of the view that stories motivate the students towards learning English as a foreign language.

Research Question

Does rural / urban setting affect vocabulary enhancement and to what extent can vocabulary be enhanced through short stories in rural and urban settings?

Hypothesis

Location does affect the learning of the students.

Research Methodology

Participants

As mentioned earlier that out of 100 students, only 40 selected students of class 9th participated in this study. Out of these forty students, twenty belonged to rural site i.e. GG High School SherGarh District Okara and twenty belonged to GG High School Hujra Shah Muqem District Okara. It was kept in mind that accumulative score of both groups in pre-test was almost the same which showed that students of both groups were almost of the same intellectual level.

Instruments

- i. Pre-test, containing 10 MCQs out which five were related to antonymous and 5 were related to synonyms. The lexemes were selected from the textbook of class 8th that has been read by both rural and urban students.

- ii. Post-test also contained same number of questions on the same pattern that was used in pre-test. The difference was that now the content of the post test was selected from the short stories which were taught by the researcher.

Research Design

Before the actual start of the study, formal consent of the students was sought. 100 students took pretest and the result of pre-test marks enabled the researcher to select twenty students from rural and twenty from urban site. On the very first day of commencement of classes, every student was provided with a short story and it was read aloud in the class room. Students were asked to underline unfamiliar words while reading and they were explained these difficult words with the help of TPR (total physical response) along with contextual clues, key word method. One week was spent on each story. Short stories were available in the class room for students. Their availability in the classroom facilitated the students for self study. The rest of the four short stories were taught to both rural and urban group students through the same methodology as explained above. At the end of the whole intervention, all the students appeared in a very formal post-test session at their respective sites.

Data Analysis

Does rural / urban setting affect vocabulary enhancement and to what extent can vocabulary be enhanced through short stories in rural and urban settings?

Results of pre-test showed that mean score and standard deviation in pre-test for rural group were 6.80 (2.419) and for rural group mean score and standard deviation were 6.60 (1.429). These results showed that both groups had almost the same results. The detail of this data is showed in table 1.

Table 1: Mean score and standard deviation in pre-test of both groups

Variable	Group	No. of Students	Mean Score	Std. Deviation
Pre-test	Rural	20	6.80	2.419
	Urban	20	6.60	1.429

Results of independent samples t-test proved that there was no significant difference in the pre-test mean scores as $t(38) = 0.352$, $p = 0.727$, $\alpha = 0.05$ (See Appendix A).

Post-test marks of both urban and rural groups showed that there was an improvement in the mean score and standard deviation of both groups. Mean score and standard deviation for rural group was 7.65 (1.089) and for urban group, mean score and standard deviation in post test were 7.85 (0.988). So increase in mean score of post-test for rural group was from 6.80 to 7.65 (difference = 1.00) and this increase for urban group was from 6.50 to 7.85 (difference = 2.35). Table 2 and 3 proved that both groups had performed better than before.

Table 2: Mean score and standard deviation in post-test for both groups

Variable	Group	No. of Students	Mean Score	Std. Deviation
Post-test	Rural	20	7.65	1.089
	Urban	20	7.85	0.988

Table 3: Mean change in test-score for both groups

Variable	Pre-test		Post-test		Change	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Post-test	6.80	6.50	7.65	7.85	0.85	1.35

Post-test results proved that rural group had improved much more in its mean score of post-test. Further analysis of improvement in post-test of both groups was conducted by using paired samples t-test. Paired samples t-test revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in post-test score of rural group as $t(19)$, $p = 0.163$, $\alpha = 0.05$ (See Appendix B).

Paired samples t-test revealed that there was a significant difference in the pre-test and post-test marks of urban group as $t(19) = -2.37$, $p = 0.01$, $\alpha = 0.05$ (See Appendix C).

It clearly proves the hypothesis that location has an effect on the learning of the students. So, it can be concluded that in terms of statistical significance, urban group had improved much

more than the rural group. All this change was due to the change in location of school. Short stories for vocabulary enhancement proved to be effective for both rural and urban groups but there was a significant difference in improvements of rural and urban students. One possible reason was the past exposure of urban students to short stories in the form of rhymes having short stories in them that they used to have at the beginning level of school. For rural students, it was quite a new methodology due to which they couldn't perform like urban students. It may also be concluded that we can have wonderful outputs from students by introducing short stories from the very beginning level at school.

Discussion & Conclusion

All the possible steps were taken to provide controlled environment to both rural and urban groups of this study. Hard copies of short stories were provided to each student but before leaving the classroom, after lecture they were asked to submit these copies. So that no group member can have any help from her home. This was done because urban students might have some help from their parents or tuition teachers but rural students are commonly not provided with such type of guidelines. So students were asked to do everything at their own honestly and were prohibited to seek any type of help except teacher. It was also tried at researcher's level best that all the rural participants should belong to purely rural areas. Same precaution was also taken into account for urban group. Most of the participants of this study found vocabulary enhancement through short stories an interesting methodology. These were the core after effects of this methodology. Yet there was a significant difference between the outputs of rural and urban groups. Rural students expressed a wish that this methodology should be introduced from the primary level. In an informal session, they said that teachers should be properly trained by government for successful implementation of this strategy. It can be concluded that vocabulary enhancement through short stories is an effective methodology and it enhances vocabulary of urban secondary level students more than the rural secondary level students. Government should take steps to introduce literature for language teaching not only at secondary level but also at beginning level.

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Appendix A: Independent Samples t-test

Group Statistics

	pretest	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Marks	rural	20	6.80	2.419	.541
	urban	20	6.55	2.064	.462

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference
					Lower
Marks	Equal variances assumed	.727	.250	.711	-1.190
	Equal variances not assumed	.727	.250	.711	-1.191

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means
		95% Confidence Interval of the Difference
		Upper
Marks	Equal variances assumed	1.690
	Equal variances not assumed	1.691

Appendix B: Paired Samples t-test for Rural Group

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences				
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Pair 1	Pretest - Posttest	-.850	2.621	.586	-2.077	.377

Paired Samples Test

		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	Pretest - Posttest	-1.450	19	.163

Appendix C: Paired Samples t-test for Urban Group

Paired Samples Statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1 Pretest	6.60	20	1.429	.320
Pair 1 Posttest	7.85	20	.988	.221

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Differences				
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Pair 1 Pretest - Posttest	-1.250	1.970	.441	-2.172	-.328

Paired Samples Test

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1 Pretest – Posttest	-2.837	19	.01

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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 Vocabulary Enhancement of Female ESL learners through Short Stories:
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A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of Children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)

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**A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of Children with
Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)**

A Thesis

Submitted to the Department of English and Humanities

of

BRAC University

by

NAUSHIN NAZIFA ISLAM

ID: 14163003

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Arts in English

December 2015



Inspiring Excellence

BRAC University, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 **17:5 May 2017**

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A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of Children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Masters Dissertation

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly with proper and due references and acknowledgement. This thesis paper has not been submitted anywhere, either in a part or a whole, for a degree or an award, in this or any other university.

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Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my parents who have always supported and encouraged me through thick and thin in every possible way. I am always grateful to them for their support, cooperation, and affection. Thank you for your immense patience, precious advice, and kind consideration. I will always be indebted to you.

Acknowledgement

From my experience, I can say that it is almost impossible for anyone not to feel miserable or frustrated at one point or another while writing a thesis. Thesis is certainly an endeavor which cannot take place on its own. It is an amalgamation of hard work, critical thinking, and sleepless nights which can yield the desired outcome only with the assistance and encouragement of different people to facilitate the successful completion of the thesis.

My first and foremost worship and prayer go to the Almighty who enabled me to complete this research.

Then, my sincerest gratitude goes to my supervisor Ms. Shenin Ziauddin for her invaluable suggestions, assistance, and guidance while writing this paper. I should also mention the mental support she provided me with during my thesis which once again proved that a supervisor or a teacher is not just an educator but also a guide, a counselor, and certainly a facilitator.

And, to Professor Dr. Firdous Azim, the Chairperson of English and Humanities Department, Ms. Sabreena Ahmed, Ms. Asifa Sultana, Ms. Mahmuda Akhter, Mr. Mahumudul Haque, and all others those who helped me in different ways by giving me suggestions and directions. Their instrumental supports, lectures, and guidelines that I enjoyed in their course works have undoubtedly shaped my thoughts which I hope will continue to do so.

To my friends those who lent me their constant support and tolerated my strange temperament while writing this thesis.

To the schools, authorities, and teachers for giving me the opportunity to conduct the survey which was required for the successful completion of this paper.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of Children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Masters Dissertation

Abstract

This study attempts to find out the pragmatic language impairments experienced by the Bengali speaking children in with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in Bangladesh. The triads of symptoms-inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity hamper their practical use of language in social interaction. Different components of discourse analysis and pragmatics have been used to identify and explore the impairments, and how they affect these children's social functioning. Moreover, the idea of theory of mind and executive functions have been applied to find the connection between their pragmatic language impairments and social cognition deficiencies. For the empirical data, a survey was conducted with the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This paper concluded with some recommendations on what steps should be taken to overcome the limitations which were found during the research.

Key words and abbreviations: Bengali speaking children, Pragmatic Language Impairments (PLI), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Theory of Mind (ToM), Executive Functions (EF), Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), American Psychiatric Association (APA), Social cognition, Social functions.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Along with the subsequent development in the field of education and language, linguists and researchers are now more concerned than ever before about the linguistic and academic needs of the special children. As the name suggests, these special children need special care which is different from the mainstream children. To become aware of their needs, we first need to explore the spheres where they face problems and complications. As for children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), their principal impairment lies in the social use of language. Social use of language refers to the domain of language which deals with pragmatics or pragmatic use of language. Pragmatics is the social use of language and explains how the other aspects of language; e.g. phonology, semantic, morphology, and syntax are used in different conversational contexts (Camarata & Gibson, 1999, p.208). The nature of ADHD as described in the Fourth Edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of American Psychiatric Association indicates a potential association with language impairment and particularly with pragmatic language deficits (p.83). There are predominantly three types of ADHD children: inattentive, hyperactive-impulsive, and combined type (Holland & Higuera, 2015, n.p; Lange et al., 2010, p.253).

As a result of their pragmatic language impairments (PLI), they face great difficulties in following and maintaining everyday conversational conventions and discourse etiquettes (Rich, Loo, Yang, Dang & Smalley, 2009, p.2). The lack of social cognition, theory of mind (ToM), and executive functions (EF) are largely responsible for their pragmatic language difficulties. These three ideas are interconnected and influence one another. Social cognition refers to the

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idea of perceiving, encoding, processing, and using information according to the contextual needs (Crisp & Turner, 2007, p.39; Uekerman, 2010, p.734-735). At the same time, this situational demands also incorporate interlocutors' requirements during a conversation which can be met by integrating both the linguistic and metalinguistic features of language (e.g. tone, gesture, facial expression). To comprehend these demands, people need to be focused and attentive during a conversation which helps them comprehending others' perceptions, thought, and point of views and theory of mind helps people materialize it (Green, Johnson & Bretherton, 2014, p.22-24). On the other hand, Stevenson, Williams, and Baird (2000) opined that executive functions enable people to focus and use their working memory to organize and deliver a cohesive response in order to meet the needs of listeners' queries. Therefore, it can be said that theory of mind and executive functions ensure effective social cognition which in turn guarantee the appropriate use of language in various social settings (p. 21-22). However, as the ADHD children lack all these components, it hampers their social functioning which also indicates their deficits in social use of language.

In this paper, the author discusses different types of pragmatic language difficulties of children with ADHD in Bangladesh and how their impaired social use of language is influenced by the deficit in social cognition, the absence of theory of mind, and the lack of executive functions.

1.2 Research Questions

- a) What are the pragmatic language impairments (PLI) that are experienced by children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)?

- b) How is their pragmatic language use affected by the i) impaired social cognition, ii) absence of theory of mind, and iii) lack of executive functions?
- c) How is/are their social functioning/social skills influenced by the pragmatic language impairments?

1.3 Objective of the Study

This study aims at finding the pragmatic language impairments experienced by the children with ADHD. At the same time, this study also tries to explore the reasons and consequences of these pragmatic language difficulties.

1.4 Significance of the Study

In Bangladesh, there have not been many studies on children with special needs and how their needs can be met. Though there are some researches and studies on Autism Spectrum Disorder, there is hardly any study which includes Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, Down's syndrome, and so on. That is why this study has been designed for the children those who suffer from ADHD and experience diverse communicative disabilities. This study creates the ground which will assist the educators and academicians in conducting needs analysis and target situation analysis to design appropriate materials and curriculum for the ADHD children by keeping their psychological and communicative impairments in mind. Moreover, it will also raise awareness among the general mass that they should facilitate every possibility to create an environment which will render support to the ADHD children.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 History of ADHD

a) The incapacity of providing a necessary degree of constant attention

The very first example of a disorder that appears to be similar to ADHD was given by Sir Alexander Crichton in 1798. Crichton was a Scottish physician who was born in Edinburgh in 1763. Crichton defines inattention by explaining it from two perspectives. According to him, “First, The incapacity of attending with a necessary degree of constancy to any one object. Second. A total suspension of its effects on the brain.” (Lange, Reichl, Lange, L. Tucha & O. Tucha, 2010, p.242)

His characterization of the disorder as the “incapacity of attending with a necessary degree of constancy to any one object” is consistent with the symptom of inattention which is the difficulty they experience in sustaining attention while completing tasks or playing activities (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p.83).

b) Fidgety Phil

The German physician Heinrich Hoffmann created some illustrated children’s stories including a character named ‘Fidgety Phil’ (“Zappelphilipp” in German) in 1844, who in nowadays a popular allegory for children with ADHD. In the story of Fidgety Phil, Hoffmann illustrates a family conflict at dinner caused by the fidgety behavior of the son and culminating in his falling over together with the food on the table which can be interpreted as an early case of ADHD. At the beginning of the story, the father asks in earnest tone: ‘Let me see if Philip can be

a little gentleman; Let me see if he is able to sit still for once at table” (Lange et al., 2010, p.243).

8. THE STORY OF FIDGETY PHILIP.

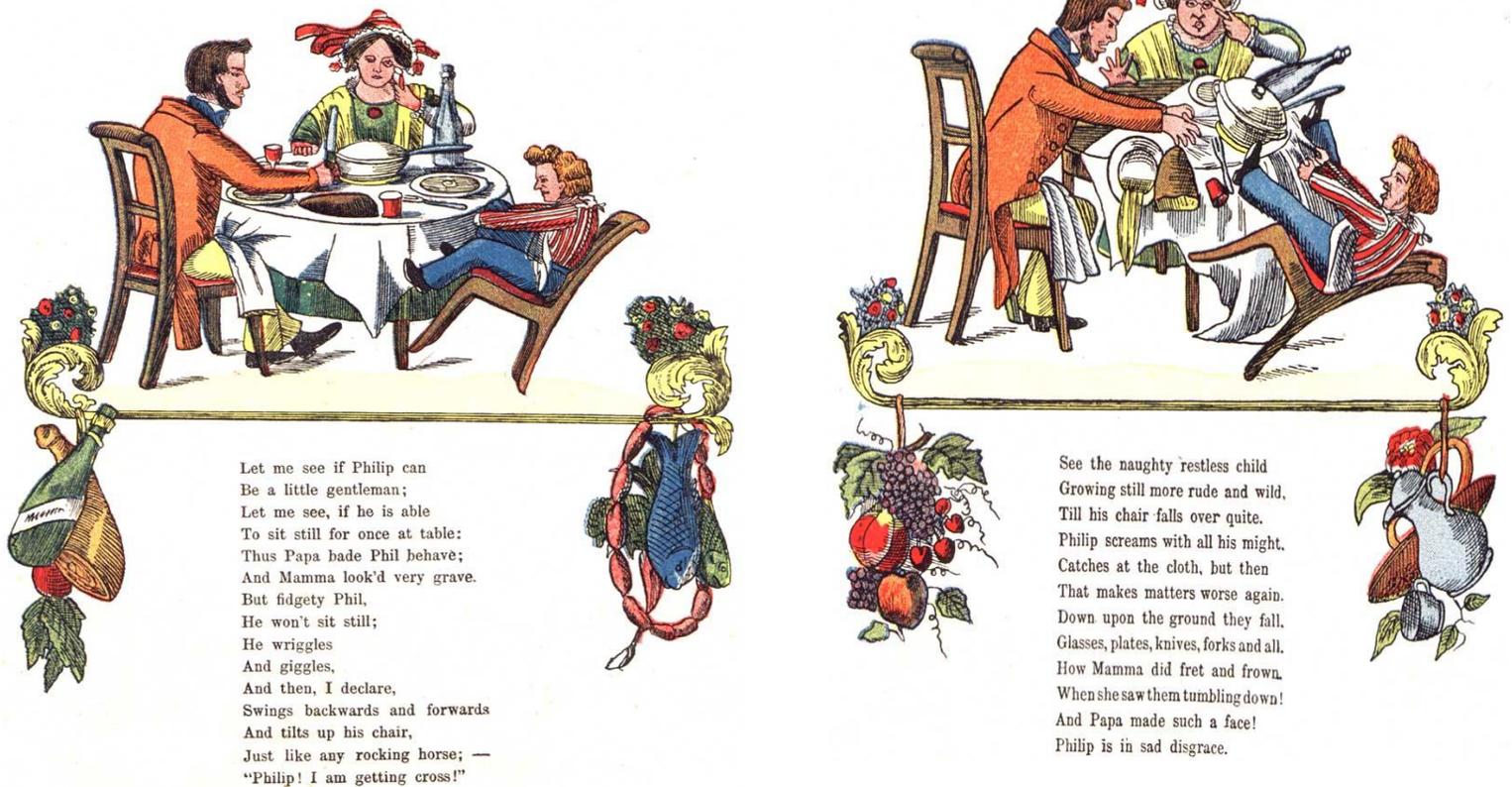


Figure 1 & 2: Extracts from the “Fidgety Philip” (Source: Google image)

The statement suggests that the father had anticipated some misbehavior of his son at the table and he was also aware of his son’s impulsive behavior from his early actions. It is a first hint at the presence of an underlying persistent disorder of ADHD of the symptom which refers to the existence of the sign to be present for at least 6 months (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p.82). Subsequently, Hoffmann describes symptoms of inattention and hyperactivity in Philipp. The boy’s reaction to his father’s cautions: “but Philipp did not listen to what the father

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was saying to him” (Lange et al., 2010, p.243). This behavior represents explicit symptoms of inattention. The DSM-IV describes that the patient “often does not seem to listen when spoken to directly” and “often does not follow through on instructions” (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p.83). Philip screams with all his might, catches at the cloth, but then that makes matters worse again: “Down upon the ground they fall, glasses, bread, knives forks and all”. The fact that Philipp’s parents become very angry in the story may hint at another criterion which is the behavior of children suffering from ADHD often causes conflict and they also have significant impairment in social functioning (Hoza, 2007, p.101-102).

c) Defects of Moral Control

The Goulstonian Lectures of Sir George Frederic Still in 1902 are by many authors considered to be the scientific starting point of the history of ADHD. British pediatrician Sir George Still found that some affected children could not control their behavior the way a typical child would. Most children for whom the first manifestation of the defect was determined before the age of 7 which currently is a diagnostic criterion of ADHD (U.S. Department of Education, 2003, p.3). Still furthermore recognized that a child’s moral control can be considered morbid only when the child does not meet the conventional standard of moral conduct which is considered and recognized as normal at a certain age within a range of variation (Lange et al., 2010, p.245). The American Psychiatric Association (1994) also states that for a diagnosis of ADHD, symptoms have to be present “to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with developmental level” (p.83). The keynote identified by Still fits an important finding of modern ADHD research which is inattention. Attention deficit is a main symptom of ADHD and,

according to the current DSM-IV-TR criteria, a child with ADHD experience difficulties in sustaining attention in tasks or play activities (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p.83).

d) Transitions in the Definition of ADHD in APA and DSM

The APA issued the first “Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders” (DSM) in 1952. This manual listed all of the recognized mental disorders but this APA did not recognize ADHD in the first edition (Holland & Higuera, 2015, n.p). A second DSM was published in 1968. This edition included and termed the hyperkinetic reaction of childhood as Hyperkinetic Impulse Disorder and was defined with the features of overactivity, restlessness, distractibility, and short attention span. (Lange et al., 2010, p.251).

In the 1970s, the predominant focus on hyperactivity was shifted toward an emphasis on the attention deficit in affected children. The APA released a third edition of the DSM (DSM-III) in 1980. They changed the name of the disorder from Hyperkinetic Impulse Disorder to Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). Scientists believed hyperactivity was not a common symptom of the disorder. This listing created two subtypes of ADD: i) ADD with hyperactivity, and ii) ADD without hyperactivity (Holland & Higuera, 2015, n.p). In order to further improve the criteria, the revision of the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R) in 1987 removed the concept of two subtypes and renamed the disorder Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). The symptoms of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity were combined into a single list of symptoms (Holland & Higuera, 2015, n.p; Lange et al., 2010, p.252).

The APA released the fourth edition of the DSM in 2000. The fourth edition established the three subtypes used by healthcare professionals today: i) Predominantly inattentive type ADHD, ii) Predominantly hyperactive-impulsive type ADHD, and iii) combined type ADHD (Holland & Higuera, 2015, n.p; Lange et al., 2010, p.253).

2.2 General Background of ADHD

ADHD is one of the most frequently recognized psychiatric conditions in children. It includes behaviors that seem to have impairments in the performance of social skills and their regular life which are resulted from their limited attention span, hyperactive, and impulsive behavior. ADHD is also responsible for children's communicative impairments or for their pragmatic language deficiencies (Kim & Kaiser, 2000, p. 155; Redmond, 2004, p.108-109; Stevenson et al., 2000, p.18). Tannock (n.d) opined that the diagnosis is normally based on the definition in the diagnostic statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM). This manual is used by clinicians and psychiatrists. An overview of all ADHD symptoms is presented below (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 83-84; Parigger, 2012, p.16-17):

2.2.1 Symptoms of ADHD

Inattention

1. Often does not give close attention to details or makes careless mistakes in schoolwork, work, or other activities.
2. Often has trouble keeping attention on tasks or play activities.
3. Often does not seem to listen when spoken to directly.

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4. Often does not follow instructions and fails to finish schoolwork, chores, or duties in the workplace.
5. Often has trouble organizing activities.
6. Often avoids, dislikes, or doesn't want to do things that take a lot of mental effort for a long period of time (such as schoolwork or homework).
7. Often loses things needed for tasks and activities (e.g. toys, school assignments, pencils, books, or tools).
8. Is often easily distracted.
9. Is often forgetful in daily activities.

Hyperactivity

1. Often fidgets with hands or feet or squirms in seat.
2. Often gets up from the seat when remaining in seat is expected.
3. Often runs about or climbs when and where it is not appropriate (adolescents or adults may feel very restless).
4. Often has trouble playing or enjoying leisure activities quietly.
5. Is often "on the go" or often acts as if "driven by a motor".
6. Often talks excessively.

Impulsivity

7. Often blurts out answers before questions have been finished.

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8. Often has trouble waiting for one's turn.

9. Often interrupts or intrudes on others (e.g., butts into conversations or games).

2.2.2 Evaluation of ADHD

Evaluation of Children with ADHD

Interviewing parents, teachers, and health care professionals can yield important findings regarding the children's evaluation of behavioral, educational, linguistic, and communicative impairments.

a) Behavioral Evaluation

Behavioral analysis can be considered as a pre-requisite to evaluate the behavioral patterns of the ADHD children. They can fall into any three categories of hyperactive-impulsive, inattentive, or combined type. That is why collecting information about the child's ADHD symptoms from several different sources helps ensure that the information is accurate. Appropriate sources of information include the child's parents, teachers, other diagnosticians such as clinical psychologists, educational psychologists, occupational therapists, speech therapists, and physicians (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p.80-81) Interviewing these individuals determines the child's specific behavior characteristics, when the behavior began, duration of symptoms, whether the child displays the behavior in various settings, and coexisting conditions. Behavioral evaluation can help the trainers/teachers or therapists decide and design appropriate behavioral techniques that can be applied in a variety of settings including school, home, and the community (U.S Department of Education, 2003, p.6-10).

b) Educational Evaluation

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An educational evaluation assesses the extent to which a child's symptoms of ADHD impair his or her academic performance at school. The evaluation involves direct observations of the child in the classroom as well as a review of his or her academic productivity which also teaches them to get accustomed to social settings. A child must be evaluated to determine (1) whether he or she has a disability and (2) whether he or she, because of the disability, needs special education and related services. An educational evaluation also includes an assessment of the child's productivity in completing classwork and other academic assignments. A full and individual evaluation is conducted for each child being considered for special education and related services. The child's individualized education program (IEP) team uses the results of the evaluation to determine the educational needs of the child (U.S Department of Education, 2003, p.7-8).

A person must exhibit several characteristics to be clinically diagnosed and evaluated as having ADHD (U.S Department of Education, 2003, p.3):

- i) **Severity:** The behavior in question must occur more frequently in the child than in other children those who belong to the same developmental stage.
- ii) **Early onset:** At least some of the symptoms must have been present prior to age 7.
- iii) **Duration:** The symptoms must have been present for at least 6 months prior to the evaluation.
- iv) **Impact:** The symptoms must have a negative impact on the child's social or academic life.
- v) **Settings:** The symptoms must be present in multiple settings.

2.3 What is Pragmatics?

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Pragmatics refers to the social language skills we use in our daily interactions with others. They include what we say, how we say it, our body language and whether it is appropriate according to the given situation. Pragmatic skills are vital for communicating our personal thoughts, ideas, and feelings (Camarata & Gibson, 1999, p.208). All through childhood and adolescence people gain more insight into the realm of language use: they start to understand different functional use of language, the difference between the forms and functions, they more readily apply the use of gestures to enhance understanding, and also start to grasp messages that are implicit and non-literal (e.g. jokes, sarcasm, metaphors, inferences). Moreover, they learn that different conversational partners and different conversational contexts require different forms of language. Pragmatic competence is known by many different names: communicative competence, social language use, socio-linguistic competence, conversational skills (Belinda Hill and Associates Speech Pathologists, 2008, n.p).

Initially, pragmatic competence has been a topic in the anthropology and linguistics research area. Gradually, the topic has also been picked up by philosophers, sociolinguists, and psychologists who used it to describe pragmatic competence as a function of culture and age and in the case of psychology as a function of a developmental disorder. Skills related to pragmatic competence are turn taking skills, nonverbal behaviors, topic-theme management. The use of cohesive ties, inference, and presuppositions are also connected to pragmatic competence (Spekman & Roth, 1982, p.251-252).

Although in clinical practice the term pragmatic competence is well established, it has suffered from a lack of a theoretical framework which makes it hard to provide a consistent definition of pragmatic competence. In an attempt to provide such a theoretical framework,

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Spekman and Roth (1982) identified three broad areas into which individual pragmatic skills can be categorized: communicative intentions, presuppositions, and the social organization of discourse (p.249-250).

- i) Communicative intention skills concern the range of intentions that a person can convey and comprehend as well as the forms that an individual can use to express those intentions.
- ii) Presupposition skills include the ability to assess the listener's informational and social needs and to adapt one's message content and form accordingly. Presupposition skills also include the appropriate use of cohesive devices such as references.
- iii) Social organization of discourse consists of abilities to maintain an effective conversation by turn taking, topic management, and conversational repairs.

2.4 Pragmatic Language Difficulties and ADHD

Children with poor pragmatic skills often misinterpret other's communicative intent and face difficulties in responding appropriately either verbally or non-verbally. Children with ADHD mostly experience impairments in following conversational rules (often 'off topic' or 'one-sided'). They also face difficulties while adapting their communication strategies according to the needs of the listener or situation and that is why, they either provide too little or too much background information and they also fail to adjust the formality level of language according to the person they interact with (e.g. friends, familiar adults, and teachers). They cannot extract salient points from a conversation, story, or information. They cannot even understand non-literal or indirect speech act and they also have difficulties in understanding jokes, idioms,

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metaphors, and sarcasm (resulting in overliteral comprehension). Furthermore, they also have impairments in understanding and using non-verbal communication and also in making and maintaining friendships. They lack variation in intonation and pitch (Belinda Hill and Associates of Speech Therapists, 2008, n.p; The Communication Trust, 2012, p. 60).

Ketelarrs (2010) argued that children with pragmatic language impairment often have difficulties in getting habituated to new situations or activities. These difficulties may occur due to raised anxiety because of poor situational understanding. They have a concrete understanding and struggle to understand higher level aspects of language like inference and they may easily be distracted (p.42-45). Moreover, some children with pragmatic language impairment have good decoding skills and will expect words to be meaningful; therefore they may under perform on the pseudo-words because they are trying to make them into real words (The Communication Trust, 2012, p. 61).

Hence, it can be said that the most problematic language domain for children with ADHD is pragmatics. ADHD children consistently perform less well than typically developing children on pragmatic language uses. They are severely impaired within the domain of social relationships and inappropriate initiations. It is because pragmatic impairments are not restricted to spoken language. A broader definition of pragmatics incorporates behaviors that encompass social, emotional, and communicative aspects of social interaction and impairments include socially impaired behaviors, such as screaming, crying, or throwing tantrums in a social setting (Leonard, Milich & Loch, 2011, n.p). Other symptoms include the inability to listen when spoken to, excessive talking, and frequent interruptions in conversation. The pragmatic difficulties of children with ADHD are also evident in analyses of conversations and narratives

(Rich et al., 2009, p.2-3; Staikova, Gomes, Tartter, McCabe & Halperin, 2013, p.3-4). Kim and Kaiser (2000) found that children with ADHD (6-8 years of age) produced more pragmatically incorrect utterances than control children (p.154).

Parigger (2012) talks about the five most common pragmatic errors and they are:

- i) not answering questions or requests,
- ii) interrupting others,
- iii) failing to give feedback to the conversation partner,
- iv) making use of non-specific vocabulary (i.e. overuse of unspecified referents that results in ambiguity of the message, inappropriate choice of lexical items)
- v) producing utterances which lacked cohesion.

Moreover, they sometimes made errors when ordering the plot components. The study also showed that these children made more misinterpretations, inaccurate substitutions, and ambiguous references (p.25). Therefore, it can be said that the discourse strategies of their conversation are impaired and this in turn is responsible for their incompetent social functioning. Zentall et al. (1983) did a qualitative study and found that children with ADHD (6 years of age) produced significantly more dysfluencies in conversations. To be more specific, they used more pauses, starters and fillers, revised, rephrased, and repeated what they said and completed fewer statements than the control group children (as cited in Parigger, 2012, p.23).

2.4.1 Characteristics of Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics

The ADHD children lack the characteristics of pragmatics or discourse analysis which study language's relation to the features of contextual background (Cutting, 2008, p.2).

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a) Context and Function

Context: Context is the most important feature of pragmatics and discourse analysis. They study the meaning of a word in a context and how the knowledge of the time and place in which the words are uttered can influence the communication and the meaning of the word. Both the pragmatics and discourse analysis give importance on the meaning of the words in interaction and how the speaker's meaning is dependent on the assumption of knowledge which is shared by both the speaker and listener (Cutting, 2008, p.2). However, children with ADHD have difficulties adapting their communication strategies according to the situational demands. As they cannot comprehend the importance of context-sensitiveness of a conversation, they fail to apply their pragmatic knowledge appropriately in a context (Green et al., 2014, p.23).

Function: Function is another feature of pragmatics and discourse analysis that refers to the idea of speaker's short-term purposes in speaking and long terms goals in interacting verbally (Cutting, 2008, p.3). As the children with ADHD have severe impairments in adapting their communication according to the task demands, they lack the functional properties of interlocution which are essential in order to meet the goals (Green et al., 2014, p.23)

b) Turn taking and Adjacency Pair

Turn taking: Conversation analysis is closely related to discourse analysis. It mainly deals with the data from real conversations and examines the language of that conversation. Turn taking is an integral part of conversation analysis which is absent in the speech of children with ADHD. Turn taking is important to manage the cooperation during the conversation. Usually, only one person talks at a time and the others talk when their turns come (Cutting, 2008, p.27).

Children with ADHD do not follow the turn taking policy. They often blurt out answers before questions have been completed and they often have difficulty awaiting turn (Camarata & Gibson, 1999, p.208-209).

Adjacency pair: In a discourse, the utterance of one speaker makes a certain response of the next speaker. This includes question-answer, offer-accept, blame-deny and so on (Cutting, 2008, p.28-29). However, children suffering from ADHD often do not seem to listen even when they are spoken to directly and as a result, many a time they do not reply to the question, request or greeting. The inattention subtype of ADHD is responsible for such type of behavior (Camarata& Gibson, 1999, p. 209; Redmond, 2004, p.110).

c) Maxims of the Co-operative Principles

Grice formulated a general principle which participants will be expected to observe in a conversation. Under the assumption of this general “Cooperative Principle”, Grice distinguished four categories: Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (Cutting, 2008, p.34-35). Among these maxims, there are obvious evidence of the violation of maxims of quantity, relation, and manner in the speech of the ADHD children. The maxim of quantity violates because of their tendency of excessive talking while answering any question out of their hyperactive nature or in some cases, not responding at all (Green et al., 2014, p.17). Again, sometimes they are not sincere or concerned about what they are talking about and most of the time they cannot keep pace with the running conversation because of being inattentive and they end up commenting on something which is not at all related to the topic. Therefore, it can be said that they even have difficulty in following the maxim of relation (Redmond, 2004, p.109). The maxim of manner is also violated

in the conversation of the children with ADHD as they cannot follow an orderly conversation and their speeches are often ambiguous and unclear (Camarata & Gibson, 1999, p.210).

d) Indirect Speech Act

People use indirect speech act when they want to convey an intended meaning that can only be drawn from the deep structure of the sentence. Indirect speech act can be used in the form of metaphor, sarcasm, irony, jokes, and so on. Moreover, it can also take place when the form and function of sentences do not match; for example, a declarative sentence can be used for requesting or ordering whereas an interrogative sentence can serve the function of an imperative sentence (Cutting, 2008, p.17). Children with ADHD experience difficulties in understanding sarcasm or figurative expressions. It is because they tend to interpret everything according to the literal meaning without paying any attention to the inner meaning which can only be comprehended by paying attention to the in-depth meaning of a sentence which goes beyond the surface level structure of sentences (Green et al., 2014, p.17).

2.5 Social Cognition

Crisp and Turner (2007) opined in their book that social cognition refers to the ability to understand the mind of others. It is essential for successful social interaction. Social cognition consists of encoding as well as interpretation and representation of social cues (p.39). Moreover, Uekerman et al. (2010) argued that social cognition also includes the perception of emotions from faces and prosody, theory of mind (ToM), executive functions (EF), empathy, and humor processing (p.734). According to Dodge's (1986) social information-processing model, social problem-solving requires 4 processing steps: (a) encoding of situational cues, (b) representation and interpretation of the cues, (c) mental search for possible solutions and (d) selection of a

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response. Again, humans are generally excellent at drawing conclusions from a person's facial expression, prosody or body posture upon the person's emotional state or intentions. The contribution of the Prefrontal Cortex (PFC) to social cognition is very important as studies have shown that social cognition impairments can be traced after the PFC injury or disruption of frontal-striatal connectivity (as cited in Uekerman et al., 2010, p.734-735).

2.5.1 Social Cognition, ADHD, and PLI

Deficient processing at each processing stage of the social information-processing model may occur in ADHD and thus lead to disruption of social cognition. In addition to inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity, social cognition deficits may also be considered as independent risk factors for interpersonal problems in children with ADHD. Interpersonal understanding can be considered as one of the principal elements of pragmatic language use. Successful social interaction is critically dependent upon our ability to understand other people's mind and their feelings (Nijmeijer et al., 2008, p.23-24; Uekerman et al., 2010, p735-736). At the same time, pragmatic language use also demands spontaneous decision-making ability from the available cues found in a specific context. For successful recognition of social and contextual inputs, people need to apply their theory of mind (ToM) and exercise the executive functions (EF). However, ADHD children lack both the ToM and EF which results in impaired social cognition. Moreover, impaired social cognition is responsible for their pragmatic language impairments (Farahi et al., 20014, p.7-8). In the next few sections, the author sheds light upon the idea of ToM and EF and how they affect the pragmatic language use of children with ADHD.

2.6 Theory of Mind (ToM)

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One of the most important developments in the childhood is social cognition and theory of mind is closely related to the development of social cognition. It is also essential for communicative and linguistic competence. Miller (2006) explained how the theory of mind helps children get along with other people and understand things from someone else's perspective other than their own. He also added that in typical development, theory of mind is so closely connected with the development of communication and language that we often do not recognize their interdependence. In children with developmental disorders, such as ADHD, deficits in the social use of language and/or theory of mind may draw closer attention to the relationships between them (p.142). Therefore, it can be said that theory of mind refers to the idea of understanding different mental states, such as belief, desire, and knowledge that enable people to explain and predict others' behavior and respond accordingly. That is why, people use theory of mind to explain their own behavior to others, by telling others what they think and want, and how they interpret other people's discourse and behavior by considering their thoughts and wants (Korkmaz, 2011, p.102; Miller, 2006, p.142; S.M.M. Farahi, S.M.M.M. Farahi, Abad & Abadi, 2014, p.7).

One of the most effective tasks to examine children's ToM has been introduced by Baron-Cohen, Leslie and Frith (1985) which is the test of the false-belief task. In this test, two dolls were used named Sally and Anne. Sally first placed a marble into her basket. Then she left the scene, and the marble was transferred by Anne and hidden in her box. When Sally returned, the experimenter asked the critical Belief Question: 'Where will Sally look for her marble?' If the children point to the previous location (basket) of the marble, then they pass the Belief Question by appreciating the doll's now false belief. If however, they point to the marble's

current location (box), then they fail the question by not taking into account the doll's belief (p.43-45).

2.6.1 Theory of Mind, ADHD, and PLI

Theory of Mind has special importance for children in developing and sustaining social relationships as functional relations, and adequate social interactions with peers which are fundamental keys to the pragmatic language development of children. ToM emphasizes the importance of social cognition for the establishment of an efficient social interaction. However, as the ADHD children experience significant impairments in social cognition because of PFC, they have lower social skills, impaired pragmatic language use, and dysfunctional social life (Pennington & Ozonoff, 1996, p.52-55).

Children with ADHD fail in some tests of ToM and display impairments involving emotion, face and prosody perception, and reduced empathy. It is likely that it is their impulsivity which is responsible for their attention and behavioral problems which in turn hinder ToM development in children with ADHD (Perner, Kein & Barchfeld, 2002, p.143-145). Farahi et al. (2014) have used the false-belief task to examine the ToM of the children with ADHD and they found that half of the children with ADHD could not give the expected answer in Sally-Anne False Belief Task and their performance was significantly lower than controls who gave the correct answer and their percentage was 86.60% (p.8-9). Moreover, Dodge (1986) found that children with ADHD have a great deal of difficulty in both adopting the perspective of others and evaluating others' intentions (as cited in McGlamery, Ball, Henley & Besozzi, 2007, p.32-33). Perception of affective prosody is frequently assessed by the presentation of sentences representing the emotional categories 'anger', 'happiness', 'fear', 'sadness', 'neutral' and the

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ADHD children fail to recognize the emotions and act accordingly. As a result, they cannot comprehend others emotions, beliefs, thoughts which are integral parts of the daily conversation. This failure in comprehending others' perceptions and thinking of something from a different point of view other than their own hinder their pragmatic language use because they cannot adapt their messages according to the situational or listeners' needs (Green et al., 2014, p.22-23).

2.7 Executive Functions

Executive functions refer to high-level cognitive processes which consist of skills, retention, strategic planning, impulse control, predict future, reconstruction, internal language and problem-solving, and cognitive flexibility to conduct everyday activities. Executive functions are needed for many everyday activities, especially non-routinized situations, such as organizing a family activity, meeting a friend downtown, doing the groceries and so on. It plays an important role in tasks that are fluid in nature in the sense those that require novel problem-solving qualities and place minimal demands on previous learning (Farahi et al., 2014, p.8; Parigger, 2012, p.34-35; Purdy, 2014, p.77-78). Executive functions, just like theory of mind, are strongly associated with the pre-frontal cortex of the brain (Pennington & Ozonoff, 1996, p.57-58). Luria (1966) was a prominent neuropsychologist who was intrigued with the brain and its mechanism. He documented the behaviors of individuals who sustained frontal lobe damage while they attempted to solve a problem and noted that they typically lacked a specific plan, did not acknowledge constraints of a problem, and were impulsive- a phenomenon that he described as "impairment in self-regulation" (as cited in Purdy, 2014, p.78). Traditionally, Pennington and Ozonoff (1996) discriminated between five executive functions: inhibition, working memory, planning, cognitive flexibility and non-verbal fluency (p.55).

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Dr. Brown has developed an expanded model to describe the complex cognitive functions impaired in ADHD. This model describes executive functions and the cognitive management system of the human brain that can be recognized in the six clusters of this model of executive functions:

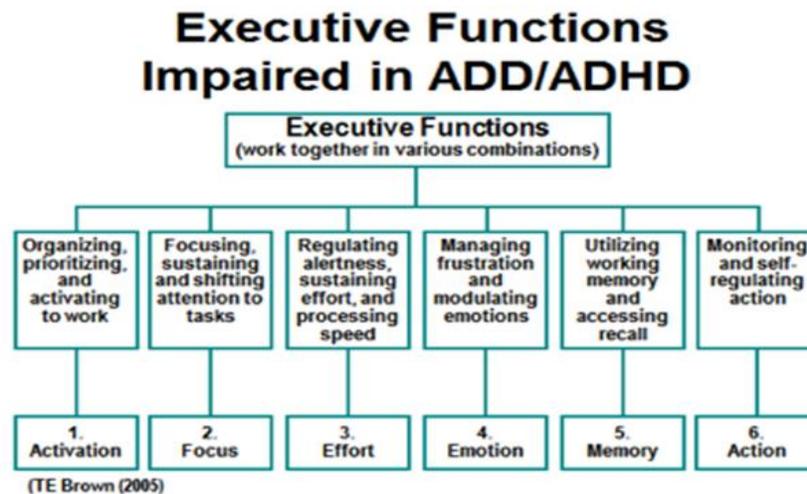


Figure 3: Brown’s Six Clusters Executive Functions (Source: Brown, 2008, p.13)

Brown (2008) describes all six clusters according to their contribution in everyday life and how their lack affects the linguistic and behavioral development of the ADHD children. Activation is all about organizing tasks and materials, estimating time, prioritizing tasks, and getting started on work tasks. Patients with ADHD describe chronic difficulty with excessive procrastination. Focus refers to the idea of focusing, sustaining focus, and shifting focus to tasks. They are distracted easily not only by things that are going on around them but also by thoughts in their own minds. Effort covers the notions of regulating alertness, sustaining effort, and processing speed. Many with ADHD report they can perform short-term projects well but have much more difficulty with sustained effort over longer periods of time. Emotion is about managing frustration and modulating emotions. They find it very difficult to get the emotion into perspective, to put it to the back of their mind, and to get on with what they need to do. The

memory includes the capacity of utilizing working memory and accessing recall. They may describe difficulty holding one or several things “on line” while attending to other tasks. In addition, persons with ADHD often complain that they cannot pull out of memory information they have learned when they need it. The action is the capability of monitoring and regulating self-action. Persons with ADHD also report problems in monitoring the context in which they are interacting. They fail to notice when other people are puzzled, or hurt or annoyed by what they have just said or done and thus fail to modify their behavior in response to specific circumstances (p.13-17)

2.7.1 Executive Functions, ADHD, and PLI

Pennington and Ozonoff (1996) reviewed the studies in which EF tasks were administered to children with ADHD, and found that of 60 EF measures used, children with ADHD performed significantly worse on 40 tasks. They concluded that (motor) inhibition is the main executive functioning deficit in ADHD (p.71-75). This inhibition may lead to impulsivity and attention problems (Farahi et al., 2014, p.8). In general, children with higher functioning autism exhibited more profound problems than children with ADHD. However, ADHD children performed worse than typically developing children on measures of inhibition and verbal fluency (Parigger, 2012, p.36-38).

It has been explained by Tannock and Schachar (1996) that the pragmatic language skills are nothing but complex, advanced, and implicate executive functions. These executive functions related to pragmatic language help people plan and deliver their content or utterances in response to others’ queries. As being an integral part of social cognition, EFs require the recognition of the social and informational demands of the situation. These requirements incorporate both the

formal and functional use of language. Nevertheless, the ADHD children do not have the ability to organize and express their thoughts and ideas through different channels of facial expression, gestures, tone of voice and so on (p.138-145). Moreover, they speak louder, fail to modulate their voice volume, speak for much longer at a stretch with many short pause durations during their talk, but take much longer to respond to the conversational partner. Analysis of children's elicited conversations reveal problems in the use of social communication conventions (e.g., failure to mark topic changes, turn-taking) and in dysfluency (e.g., false starts, hesitations, repetitions) (Tannock, p.49, n.d)

These narrative problems are believed to reflect the well-documented inhibitory control and planning deficits inherent in ADHD (Tannock, p.49, n.d). Executive functions are higher-order cognitive processes which help people make plans and decisions. At the same time, it enables people to self-regulate their behavior. Children with ADHD do not possess these traits and as a result, the absence of working memory deters them from being able to process several pieces of information and pulling out memory streams to keep pace and support their interlocution. Furthermore, as they cannot regulate self-action or self-attention, they end up interrupting conversations and they also cannot pay attention to other meta-linguistic features which are essential components of everyday discourse and conversation (Barkley, 1997, p.73; Brown, 2007, p.15-17).

2.8 Social Dysfunctions, ADHD, and PLI

As children make a transition from home to school and other social settings, the conversation becomes more important for establishing and maintaining social relationships. Leonard et al. (2011) opined in their article that through this transition, children are able to

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achieve their pragmatic goals such as asserting, denying, sharing information, bonding with others, and learn forms that help them achieve these goals. Age-appropriate skill in carrying on conversations has been implicated in children's success at making friends and being accepted by peers. Successful communicators are able to share information about themselves and their feelings and opinions, and they also ask questions to elicit information from others (n.p).

Therefore, it can be said that conversations and interactions play a significant role in children's language learning process. Children learn from the environment and peripheral surroundings with the help of the people those who have more advanced knowledge regarding the language than the children. The importance of social interaction has also been emphasized by psychologist Les Vygotsky. He opined that language develops primarily from social interaction. That is why, in a supportive environment where interactions take place easily and frequently, children are able to advance to a higher level of knowledge and performance. He referred to this place as 'Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)' where children can enhance their linguistic level more than what they can do on their own independently (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p.20).

This process of learning about the uses and usages of a language also help the children hone their ability to apply their linguistic knowledge according to the needs of the listener and context. By this way, they learn to establish the connection between different components of language and context. The connectionists argue that what children need to learn is essentially available to them in the language they are exposed to in their surroundings. Jeffery Elman and his colleagues explain language acquisition in terms of how children acquire links or 'connections' between words and phrases, and also between words/phrases and the context in which they fit in. They gave emphasis on this idea of Connectionism because it helps the

children connect the word or phrase and its meaning to a specific event or object (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p.23-24).

As the ADHD children fail to get engaged in interactions with others, they cannot enjoy the privileges of learning a language and its situational use from others as well as from the surroundings. At the same time, their incompetenc in social interaction and pragmatic language use also hamper their social life as they fail to mingle with their peers, teachers, and relatives. As a result, children with ADHD are more likely to experience disturbed peer relationships, rejection by peers, and failure to attain peer acceptance. Specifically, difficulties in engaging and sustaining attention in tasks or play activities, difficulties in waiting for his or her turn while conversing, and talking and fidgeting excessively may compromise children’s relationships with others. Understanding pragmatic language use difficulties as a function of “at risk” dimensions of ADHD among typically developing children is important in understanding the potential precursors of social skills problems (Hoza, 2007, p.102; Leonard et al., 2011, n.p). Hoza (2007) also said that when interacting with peers, children are able to maintain the topic of conversation, produce more topic continuations, topic invitations, and responses, produce fewer silent pauses, produce adjacency pairs, and become more proficient at controlling the processes of planning, production, and comprehension. These conversational conventions are missing in the interaction of the ADHD children which in turn make them seem significantly less adaptive in their ability to adjust social communication behaviors. Deficiencies in these skills have been documented to result in negative consequences such as being teased, victimized, and rejected by their peers (p. 102-103).

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Participants of the Study

a. Students: In the research, 12 students from 4 different classes were observed. The researcher observed them during the classes to find out the communication difficulties experienced by them from their conversation with their teachers and peers. The researcher was also allowed in two classes to interact with the children after the classes were over. The age range was from 4 to 10 years old and they were from pre-academic and early intervention classes.

b. Teachers: All these teachers were given a basic training on how to deal with the ADHD children or other children with special needs and had basic knowledge of different social and psychological difficulties of these children. The questionnaires were filled up by 30 teachers. The researcher explained the questions to the teachers in Bangla while conducting the survey. There was a separate comment section where teachers could write their comments after filling up the questionnaire.

c. Clinical psychologists: 3 clinical psychologists were interviewed. They regularly hold sessions for the ADHD children and they are mainly concerned about the psychological and neurological components of the disorder. They also evaluate students' behavioral development.

d. Educational psychologist: 3 educational psychologists were interviewed as well. They usually work in collaboration with the clinical psychologists and teachers/trainers. They measure children's linguistic proficiency and design Individual Education Program (IEP) after consulting with the clinical psychologists and later, hand the IEPs over to the teachers.

3.2 Instruments of the Study

a. Questionnaire for the teachers: Questionnaires were distributed to 30 teachers. There were 15 questions and they questions have multiple options, such as Always, Sometimes, Never, or Yes, No, and No comment. They had to tick on the answer which they thought appropriate for the question.

b. Interview of the clinical and educational psychologist: Interview was conducted for 3 clinical and 3 educational psychologists. There were 2 different sets of the question (with four questions) for them. They had to briefly explain the answers to justify their responses to different questions.

c. Observation of the children: In observation, there were 12 students from 4 classes. The children were from early intervention and pre-academic classes. They were taught how to communicate effectively with the help of different techniques, such as shadow teacher and role play.

3.3 Method of Analysis

Mixed and triangulation methods were used to find out about the pragmatic language impairments of the children with ADHD. The questionnaire, interview and observation were done for the research. Teachers participated in the questionnaire survey, clinical and educational psychologists took part in the interview, and students were observed in different classes. The responses to the questionnaire were converted into the percentage and the pie charts were made by using Microsoft Excel 2007© to represent the percentage. The questions those were not possible to answer with multiple-choices were incorporated in the interview. The observation was done for the empirical research to find out what are the pragmatic language problems the ADHD children experience in their everyday life.

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3.4 Settings of the Study

For the questionnaire survey, the researcher had access to the classrooms and had to do the survey with the questionnaire with multiple teachers at a time. They sat together and the answer. There was no colleague pressure because everyone answered whatever they thought were correct without being influenced by others' response.

Clinical and educational psychologists had their own individual rooms. They gave their interview in their personal office-rooms and they did not have any idea or they even did not want to know what the other psychologists (clinical and educational) had said. Therefore, there was no external influence in the interview as well.

Observations were done in 4 different classes. The researcher was allowed to interact with the students during and after the class. In these classes, there were ADHD children along with other autistic children who also showed the same kind of attention and hyperactive disorders. However, the researcher only observed the students who were only suffering from ADHD.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

- There are very few schools for children with special needs.
- The school authorities are not co-operative towards the researchers. They are reluctant to give permissions and needed information for surveys.
- The parents do not want to talk about their children who need special support and care. That is why the researcher could not interview the parents.
- It is difficult to conduct a survey of the teachers because they hardly get any free time to fill a questionnaire or give an interview because they always have to be with the students.

Otherwise, it is very difficult to control them without constant supervision.

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Chapter 4: Research Findings and Discussion

4.1 Interview of the Clinical Psychologists

Three clinical psychologists participated in this interview and there were 4 questions for them (see appendix 1).

1. At which age can children be diagnosed with ADHD? What specific criteria are needed to identify children with ADHD?

Clinical psychologist 1: Children start showing the symptoms of ADHD since the age of 3 or 4 years. Severity is an important factor to consider because during this age almost every child shows some impulsive and inconsistent behavior which are considered temporary as their restlessness gets over with the course of time. However, in the case of ADHD, it is just the opposite as their hyperactive or impulsive behavior worsens as they grow older. Therefore, if parents are careful enough to observe the differences in the behavioral development of their children, it becomes easier to diagnose the children with ADHD at an early stage.

Clinical psychologist 2: Usually before the age of 7, symptoms of ADHD start surfacing. Psychologists define a child as an ADHD child only when the symptoms remain in their behavior for at least 6 months. That is why for 6 months children are observed before being clinically termed them as the ADHD children. Though 7 years is a long time to find out the behavioral development of a child, sometimes parents fail to do so. As a result, the child already spends a longer period of time without being treated. Therefore, it becomes really difficult to counsel him or train him to bring the necessary behavioral and social changes when a child comes to the school at the age of 11 or 12.

Clinical psychologist 3: At the age of 3 or 4 one can first notice the presence of ADHD in his/her child. The behavior in question must occur more frequently in the child than in other children who belong to the same developmental stage. The symptoms also must be present in multiple settings. The sooner the children can be diagnosed, the better outcome can be expected.

Holland and Higuera (2015) and U.S. Department of Education (2003) also pointed out that prior to age 7 children start showing some symptoms of ADHD. The symptoms must also have been present for at least 6 months prior to the evaluation. Symptoms must be present in multiple settings. Therefore, severity, duration, and impact can be considered as some of the criteria along with symptoms to define the presence of ADHD.

2. How do impulsivity and hyperactivity lead to the attention problem of children with ADHD?

Clinical psychologist 1: There is no doubt that most of the children with ADHD suffer from attention problems because of their hyperactive and impulsive behavior. As they are very impatient in nature, they fail to provide required attention needed to complete a task or to get into a conversation. Their hyperactive nature always diverts their mind to different incidents or objects around them and as a result, they cannot respond to the stimulus they are supposed to respond. For example, when a teacher asks a child with ADHD that what he did in the weekend, most of the time either he does not reply at all or he says a few words but never completes the answer because he is busy in seeing what his other classmates are doing.

Clinical psychologist 2: Some children suffer from the combined type of ADHD. As a result, their inattention and hyperactivity are somewhat interconnected. Teachers or counselors cannot even make them sit in one place during the class/session because of their restlessness, let

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alone talking to them for a while or giving them a task to complete which will require a certain amount of attention and time span. These children fail to distinguish different inputs they get from the environment and act accordingly. Therefore, they cannot inhibit their urge to respond simultaneously to the sounds or visuals which are present in their surroundings.

Clinical psychologist 3: The first thing that anyone can notice while talking to a child with ADHD is that s/he hardly makes any eye contact with the speaker. This very thing proves that these children cannot focus on something or someone for a certain amount of time. It is believed that their mind roams around to different places and they lack the ability to keep the unnecessary thoughts aside and assign their full attention where it is required. Sometimes parents think that their child is not attentive to studies and keeps looking for excuses to play or do something else. However, if the parents will be careful, then they will notice that their child does not show this type of behavior only when he studies but also when he goes out to play in the field or when he watches the TV. Parents fail to find this connection from different contexts because they are watchful only when it comes to their child's study time.

Nijmeijer et al. (2008) and Lange et al. (2010) mentioned different aspects of ADHD in their articles. They talked about the combined type of ADHD which incorporates the features of inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity. As the ADHD children are always 'on the go' or 'driven by a motor', their attention gets diverted to other incidents and objects which in turn results in their attention problems.

3. What types of maladaptive and inconsistent behavior can be noticed among them?

Clinical psychologist 1: It varies from child to child because everyone does not show same inconsistent behavior. However, it is true that most of them show the inattention problem.

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Therefore, it can be considered as one of the most constant symptoms of ADHD. Along with their inattention, there can be other behavioral problems, such as being too stubborn, restless, showing rigid attitude and so on. In most of the cases, one behavioral problem gives rise to another, for example, if a child is too stubborn, then it becomes very difficult to make him accustomed to school's rules and regulations. Moreover, sometimes they cannot wait for their turn to come during an interaction because restlessness does not allow them to keep quiet and listen to others.

Clinical psychologist 2: Undoubtedly, impulsive, hyperactive, and hasty approaches or attitudes are most common among them. One can easily understand that a child with ADHD is different from other children if s/he spends just five to ten minutes with the child. They never make eye contact while talking and most of the time they talk about diverse topics within a single conversation which even does not have any connection between them. They change the subject of conversation very frequently and they cannot even notice the fact that they are not keeping pace with others because they do not pay any attention to them or to the topic. They also abruptly stop a conversation and leave the place. It is impossible for them to sit in one place for a long time and when they are bound to do so in a class or in a social gathering, they start throwing tantrums or keep fidgeting with their hands.

Clinical psychologist 3: As the children with ADHD significantly lack adequacy in social functioning, many of their behaviors seem maladaptive according to the social norms. For example, responding before asking a question, failing to follow the formality that varies from context to context etcetera. Inconsistent behavior includes changing topics or repeating and rephrasing the same sentence over and over again. While conversing with a child with ADHD, it

is very rare to get the answer which actually goes with the question. They talk about whatever they want, they do whatever they like and they are never ready to change their behavior according to the situation.

Parigger (2012), and Camarata and Gibson (1999) also mentioned in their articles that these children have trouble in keeping attention and do not give close attention to details. Parigger (2012) has also mentioned that ADHD children's utterances lack cohesion and they make errors while ordering the plot components. Hoffman's characterization of 'Fidgety Phil' also showed the inconsistent and maladaptive behavior of not following instructions, swinging chair backward and forward, fidgeting hands, and throwing tantrums. Moreover, Green et al. (2014) have mentioned in their article that these children fail to adapt their communication or transaction of messages according to the context. This impairment which can be considered as a pragmatic language impairment results from their behavioral inconsistency.

4. Do you think that the absence of theory of mind and the lack of executive functions are responsible for their pragmatic language impairments? If yes, why?

Clinical psychologist 1: Theory of mind is considered one of the most significant components which enable people to acquire the social skills successfully. It is because when people interact in a social setting or anywhere, at home or in an official meeting, theory of mind helps them understand what type of reply is expected in a certain context. Again, executive functions are important to function in our daily life. Both of these components are essential to adapt our behavior according to the necessity of the situation or task. As ADHD children have impaired theory of mind and executive function, it hampers their daily life as well as everyday communication.

Clinical psychologist 2: Theory of mind and executive functions are closely related in the sense that first one helps people adapt their message according to the point of views of the speaker whereas the latter one is all about spontaneous decision making. People tailor their content according to the needs of the interlocutors and for this one needs to comprehend others' thoughts, ideas and so on. ADHD children's lacking in theory of mind deters them from finding, comprehending, and conceiving how others' way of thinking is different from them and act accordingly. Furthermore, planning and organizing one's speech need enough attention which is difficult for the ADHD children because of their inattention problem.

Clinical psychologist 3: Both the theory of mind and executive functions are responsible for social cognition and social cognition is in control of the pragmatic language use. Working memory is an essential component of executive function. It is a system responsible for information processing and comprehending. As the ADHD children lack executive functions, it hampers their information processing and comprehending ability which retards the social use of language. At the same time, they cannot process others' empathy and perspectives because of the absence of theory of mind.

Farahi et al. (2014) opined in their article that the lack of theory of mind and executive functions are responsible for the ADHD children's impaired social functioning. This is also responsible for their impairments in self-regulation. According to Brown (2008), impaired executive functions can also be blamed for their limited attention span and working memory.

4.2 Interview of the Educational Psychologists

Three educational psychologists took part in this interview and they answered four questions (see appendix 2).

1. What are the different types of pragmatic language difficulties experienced by children with ADHD?

Educational psychologist 1: Children with ADHD do not have difficulties in language acquisition but they have severe impairments in pragmatic language use. It happens due to their impaired social skills and social functioning. They fail to use language appropriately according to the situational needs. The obvious impairment among these children is the difficulty that they face in maintaining the topic while conversing with others. Because of their inattention, they fail to keep track of what they are saying and what the speaker is talking about. Moreover, they never wait for the turn taking to take place and it happens because of their impulsive nature. It is almost impossible for them to wait patiently until their turn comes. As a result, they end up interrupting others' speech.

Educational psychologist 2: ADHD children cannot follow the established or standard norms of language use in their daily interactions. The very first problem that teachers and psychologists deal with is that they do not reply when they are asked something. They cannot follow the social greetings, such as giving 'salam' (form of Muslim greeting) to someone or replying/greeting someone back when they are greeted with 'Kemon acho?' (How are you?) or 'hi/hello' It is not that they do not know how to greet someone or give 'salam' to someone but it happens because of their inattention and hyperactivity. That is why when they are given prompts by their teachers or parents to greet someone back, they can do it.

Educational psychologist 3: Children with ADHD talk very fast and sometimes it is difficult to understand what they are saying. Sometimes they also add some newly learned words or phrases before everything they say regardless of the situation or questions asked. They keep

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repeating the same thing and some of their verbal expressions do not bear any meaning. They make meaningless sounds during a conversation and keeps interrupting. As they fail to understand speaker's intention, they fail to convey message or information according to the content demands. Moreover, cohesive devices and relevance are also missing in their language use.

These pragmatic impairments of using language were discussed by Belinda Hill and Associates Speech Pathologists (2008) and The Communication Trust (2012). They also opined that these children are often 'off topic' or 'one-sided' during a conversation. Kim and Kaiser's (2000) and Parigger's (2012) studies also showed that ADHD children use pragmatically incorrect utterances and inappropriate choice of lexical items.

2. Why do these children face such difficulties with language use in the social sphere?

Educational psychologist 1: Conversing or interacting do not necessarily mean only the use of language but also the use of appropriate expressions, words, and phrases which are suitable in that context. However, ADHD children fail to comprehend the importance of the context-sensitive use of language which is considered as a pre-requisite of pragmatic language impairments. Because of their hyperactive and impulsive behavior, they cannot pay attention to the ongoing interaction and as a result, they speak and comment on something which is not related to the topic. Moreover, people usually infer messages from an interlocution which help them decode pieces of information which have not been told explicitly or directly. It is a very common phenomenon which keeps a conversation going and people need to listen carefully to analyze the untold messages. Children with ADHD also fail to do so and that is why they need to be told everything directly.

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Educational psychologist 2: ADHD children have impairments in their pragmatic use of language because they fail to recognize the concept of social cognition. Social cognition is indispensable for social skills or social functioning. ADHD children miss the marks of social cues as well as interpretation and representation of gestures, prosody, and humor processing. All these factors play a significant role in using language in real life situations. Their behavioral and interpersonal problems which result from the hyperactive and impulsive nature also impede their successful pragmatic use of language. Because of the impaired social cognition, and inattentive and hyperactive behavior they cannot follow the communication strategies which are needed to comprehend the message and content of the interlocutors.

Educational psychologist 3: Using language in social spheres demand the understanding of metalinguistic cues other than only the language itself. It is not the language that creates problems for the ADHD children but the proper use of language which requires the meaningful interpretation of eye contact, intonation, inference and so on. People presume a lot when it comes to the daily conversation because many a time they share common knowledge or background, and it saves people from explaining every incident, action, and message. However, children with ADHD, as they are inattentive or restless, cannot find the reference or make the connection with their already known facts or pieces of information. Therefore, they need to be explained everything and also they need to be reminded that they know about the incident or information.

Their impairments in prediction, inferencing, and organization of skills have been discussed by Belinda Hill and Associates Speech Pathologists (2008) and The Communication Trust (2012). Green et al.'s (2014) study also showed that ADHD children have difficulties adapting their message or content of conversation according to the situational demands. Camarata and Gibson

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(1999), and Redmond (2004) mentioned in their articles how these children fail to follow an orderly conversation because of their ambiguous and unclear statements and speech. Moreover, Uekermann et al. (2009) in their article also talked about the importance of social cognition and how its absence affects ADHD children's use of language as they fail to understand social cues, gestures, facial expressions etcetera.

3. What procedures are usually followed to help them overcome their pragmatic language impairments?

Educational psychologist 1: Procedures which are followed to train to them vary from child to child because it depends on their behavioral or language problems. As their language problems are closely related to their behavior problem, they first go through the process of behavior modification. They are trained to behave according to the situational demands and this training incorporates the use of proper language, replying when questions are asked, greeting people and so on. Therefore, it can be said that through their behavior modification process they also get trained to function successfully in a social setting. These procedures vary for the different level of ADHD children, such as mild, moderate and severe.

Educational psychologist 2: The principal difficulties children with ADHD face center around the social skills or social functioning. Therefore, their socializing gets the highest priority during their training and session. Sometimes this training starts from the very basic norm, such as sitting quietly, replying to questions, finishing the lunch/tiffin, keep standing in the same place for five minutes and so on. Along with these types of training, they are also trained for the academic world by attending classes and completing classwork or homework. When there are considerable improvements in their behavior, they are sent to the classes of Academic Readiness.

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To teach them to interact with their peers, teachers, and other people, shadow teachers are assigned. Shadow teachers stand with two students and act as the speaker and listener on behalf of the children. When the speaker teacher asks ‘Kemon acho?’ (How are you?) to the listener teacher, the child with the speaker teacher repeats after her. Then, the listener teacher replies ‘Ami bhalo achi. Tumi kemon acho?’ (I am fine. How are you?) and the child with this teacher also repeats the same after him/her. This is very important to hone their communicative competencies.

Educational psychologist 3: There are some in-school types of training to make them accustomed to the social world. However, to make it more authentic and fruitful, teachers take the children out for social skill enhancement program. They go to the markets, shops, food courts and there they have to talk to the salesman to buy a product. They are also taught how to stand in a queue until their turns come to go to the counter or to get into the elevator. There are tasks to test their patience or perseverance which help them become less impulsive and work for an objective to achieve. It can also be considered as positive reinforcement for them as they get a prize if they can wait and successfully complete an activity within that time period.

As children with ADHD face difficulties with the social use of language because of their impaired behavioral development, counselors, teachers, and trainers conduct the comprehensive behavioral evaluation which helps them decide the appropriate techniques and procedures to train the children. Moreover, different procedures of educational evaluation along with behavioral and medical evaluation can bring the necessary changes among these children (U.S. Department of Education, 2003, p.6-7).

4. How can supportive environment help these children to overcome their communicative impairments?

Educational psychologist 1: Reinforcement is the pre-requisite for any desired outcome and in the case of the ADHD children, it is even more crucial. Unlike Autism Spectrum Disorder, most of the time parents fail to distinguish their ADHD children from the mainstream children. As a result, they deny the fact that their children need special care and it affects the children's behavioral and academic development. Even when these children are brought to the schools for special children, their improvements seem to be very poor because they do not get enough guidance and care which are needed when they go back to home. Teachers alone cannot do anything to bring the desired changes. Parents and relatives should also cooperate to support their children and create the environment to ensure children's proper psychological advancement.

Educational psychologist 2: There is no doubt that environment has a great impact on children's upbringing and it is even more significant when it comes to the children with special needs. Unfortunately, parents are always scared of being stigmatized by the society because their children do not match the conventional definition of children. As for ADHD, many children remain in the mainstream schools because their parents cannot conceive the notion that there might be some other reasons when their children are inattentive or hyperactive other than being naughty or day-dreamer. Nevertheless, there are also other parents those who are over concerned for their children and do not follow the prescribed routine at home because they do not want to make their children stressed. This creates problems for the trainers/teachers because children spend more time at home than school. For ADHD children it is very important that they get the

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required exposure to the social world to communicate with others which sharpen their social skills.

Educational psychologist 3: In a supportive environment children with special need and care can move and act without being afraid of being mocked or troubled. This type of environment is very important for their mental growth and behavioral development. In case of the ADHD children, they are already uncomfortable in dealing and interacting with people. Therefore, on the top of it, when they find the environment hostile and inhibiting, they feel even more demotivated to take a step. Parents should not be ashamed if they are blessed with special children. Rather, they should take the initiatives to make this society a better place for those children. Exposure, reinforcement, and opportunities can certainly bring significant changes in their lives.

From their interview, this point has been established that supportive environment is indispensable for the successful behavioral development of ADHD children which in turn contribute to their pragmatic language development. It has been mentioned by Camarata and Gibson (1999), and Hoza (2007) that these children cannot easily mingle with their peers or other people because of their lack in social function. That is why, U.S. Department of Education (2003) mentioned that behavioral techniques should and can be applied in a variety of settings including school, home, and the community.

4.2 Analysis of Questionnaire

There were 15 questions in the questionnaire (see appendix 3) and 30 teachers filled up the questionnaire.

Q1. Do children with ADHD have difficulties in keeping and sustaining constant attention?

Table 1

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	30	100%
Sometimes	0	0
Never	0	0

All the teachers (100%) agreed that ADHD children always have significant impairments in keeping and sustaining attention. This is also one of the components of the triad of symptoms which defines the ADHD children. American Psychiatric Association (1994), Parigger (2012), and Camarata and Gibson (1999) have also mentioned inattention as one of the principal characteristics of the children with ADHD.

Q2. Can significant impairments be noticed in the social functioning/social skills of the children with ADHD?

Table 2

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	28	94%
Sometimes	2	6%
Never	0	0

While answering this question, only 2 teachers (6%) said that significant impairments can sometimes be noticed in the social functioning of the ADHD. Remaining 28 teachers (94%) answered that these impairments can always be noticed among children with ADHD.

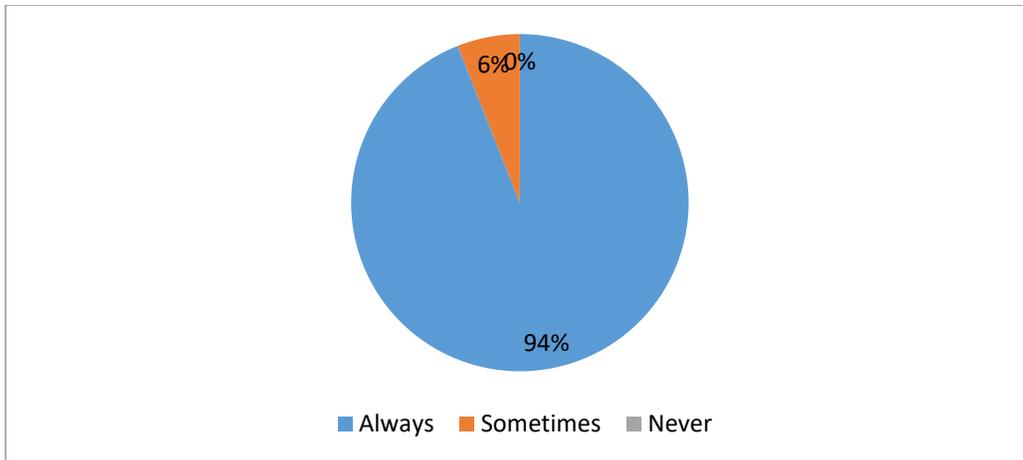


Figure 1: ADHD children's impairments in social functioning/social skills

Camarta and Gibson (1999), and Redmond (2004) have also agreed on the point that because of the children's hyperactive and impulsive behavior, they fail to function appropriately or according to the established social norms. This is the reason why they fall short in making friendships or new relationships.

Q3. Do they fail to control their behavior according to the situational needs/demands?

Table 3

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	26	87%
Sometimes	4	13%
Never	0	0

The maximum number of teachers picked 'always' as their answer. So, 87% teachers believe that children with ADHD always fail to adapt their behavior according to the situational

demands. Only 4 teachers (13%) replied that sometimes they fail to control their behavior. However, not a single teacher opined that they never fail to control their behavior.

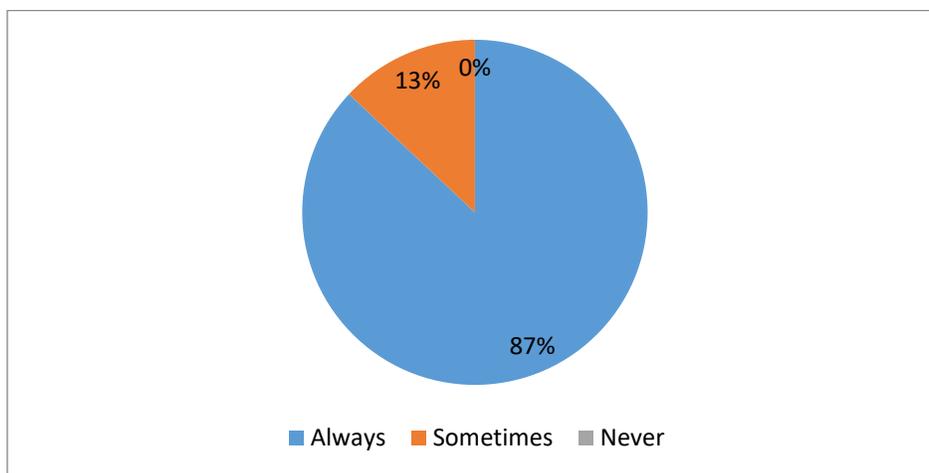


Figure 2: ADHD children's failure in controlling behavior according to the context

Ketelaars (2010) has also opined in his article that these children have difficulties in getting accustomed to new environment or situation because of their lack of situational understanding.

Q4. Are they easily distracted and forgetful in their daily activities?

Table 4

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	28	94%
Sometimes	2	6%
Never	0	0

Out of 30 teachers, 28 of them (94%) replied that the children with ADHD are always easily distracted and forgetful while doing their daily activities. Only 2 teachers (6%) replied that it happens sometimes but no one opined that ADHD children are never distracted or forgetful.

This trait has also been mentioned by Parigger (2012) in his article that because of their inattention, they tend to forget important tasks and can easily be distracted by external lights, sounds, and objects.

Q5. Do they suffer from pragmatic deficiencies which result in communicative impairments? (Pragmatics refers to the social language skills we use in our daily interactions)

Table 5

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	30	100%
Sometimes	0	0
Never	0	0

All the teachers (100%) agreed on the point that the children with ADHD always experience pragmatic language deficits which result in communication impairments.

Kim and Kaiser (2000) also found in their study that these children use more pragmatically incorrect and inappropriate utterances than other children.

Q6. Do they lack the conversational conventions (e.g. politeness, turn taking, levels of formality)?

Table 6

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	27	90%
Sometimes	3	10%

Never	0	0
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Maximum teachers (90%) opined that these ADHD children always lack the conversational conventions of turn taking, having adjacency pair, following maxims in their conversation whereas 3 of them (10%) opined that these children sometimes experience such impairments.

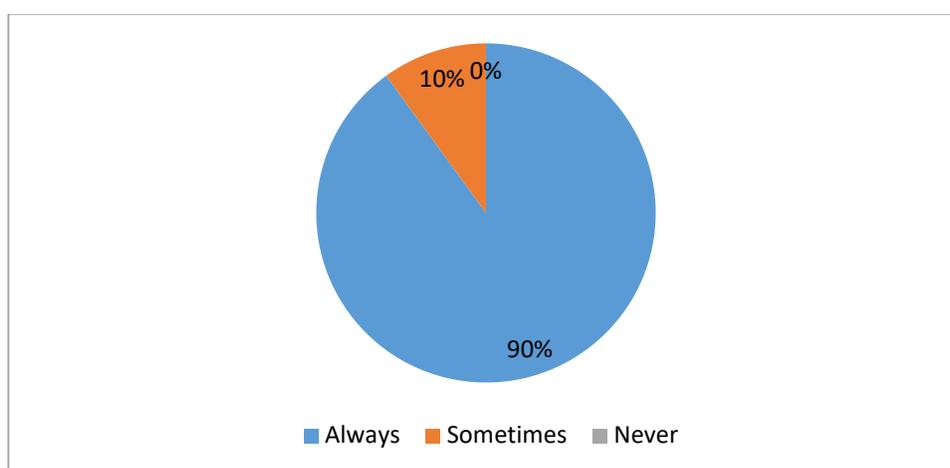


Figure 3: ADHD children's failure in following conversational conventions

Parigger (2012), and Camarata and Gibson (1999) mentioned in their articles about ADHD children's tendency of interrupting others or blurting out the answer before asking the question. Redmond (2004) and Green et al. (2014) talked about the absence of adjacency pair and maxims of quality, relation, and manner in their respective articles.

Q7. Do they frequently revise, rephrase, and repeat what they say?

Table 7

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
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Yes	23	77%
No	5	17%
No comment	2	6%

Mixed responses were retrieved from this question as 23 teachers (77%) agreed that these ADHD children frequently revise, rephrase, and repeat what they say. On the other hand, 5 teachers (17%) opined that ADHD children do not do this and other 2 teachers (6%) did not comment at all. In the comment section the teachers who chose ‘no’ as their answer mentioned that either ADHD children respond when they can pay attention or they simply do not respond at all.

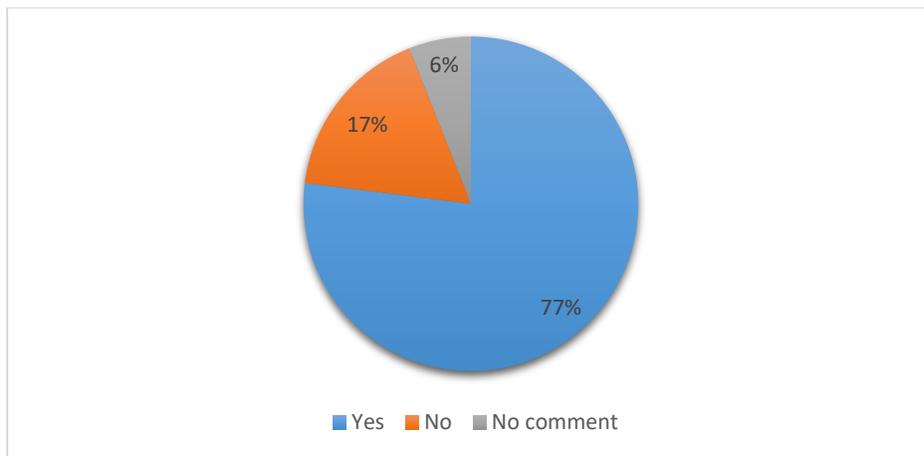


Figure 4: ADHD children's tendency of repeating and rephrasing utterances

Parigger (2012) mentioned Zentall et al.'s (1983) study where they found that ADHD children use more starters and fillers, and repeated and rephrased utterances than other children.

Q8. Can they tailor their content or message according to the informational needs of the listeners?

Table 8

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	0	0
Sometimes	2	6%
Never	28	94%

In total, 28 teachers (94%) thought that ADHD children can never tailor the content or message of their conversation according to the needs of the listener. Only 2 teachers (6%) opined that sometimes they can do it but no one opined that ADHD children can always do that.

As a result, the maxim of quantity is violated in their conversation as it is also put by Redmond (2014) in his article. McGlamery et al. (2007) also argued in their article that as these children lack the theory of mind and fail to recognize others' intentions and perceptions, they cannot modify or revise message according to the listeners' demands.

Q9. Can they be cohesive and relevant in their speech while they converse with others?

Table 9

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	0	0
Sometimes	0	0
Never	30	100%

All the teachers (100%) opined that ADHD children can never be cohesive and relevant while conversing with others. Because of their impulsivity and hyperactivity, they cannot be consistent during interlocution.

Redmond (2004) has also argued in his article that these children violate the maxim of relation in the conversation. The Communication Trust (2012) and Belinda Hill and Associates Speech Pathologists (2008) also mentioned that one of the pragmatic language impairments faced by the ADHD children is that they are often ‘off topic’ or ‘one-sided’.

Q10. Do they have problems in understanding the non-literal sequences (e.g. metaphor, sarcasm, irony, mockery)?

Table 10

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	24	80%
Sometimes	4	14%
Never	2	6%

This question also yields mixed responses from the teachers. The highest number of teachers (80%) opined that ADHD children always face problems in understanding non-literal sequences. On the contrary, 14% teachers thought that ADHD children sometimes face difficulties in comprehending metaphor, jokes whereas only 6% opined that these children never face any such problem.

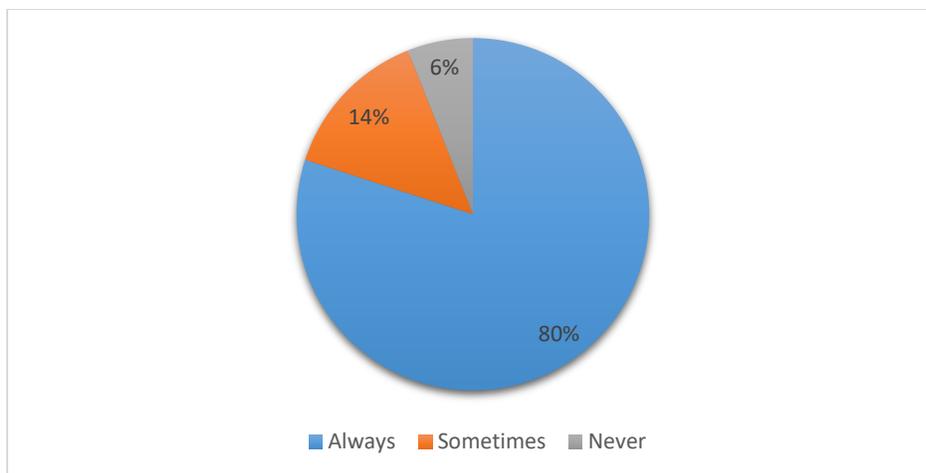


Figure 5: ADHD children's failure in understanding non-literal sequences

Belinda Hill and Associates Speech Pathologists (2008) and Green et al. (2014) have discussed in their articles that one of the components of their pragmatic language impairments is that they cannot comprehend any non-literal sequences or indirect speech act.

Q11. Does every child with ADHD lack 'Theory of Mind'? (It refers to the idea of understanding different mental states such as belief, desire and knowledge that enables us to explain and predict others' behavior)

Table 11

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Yes	26	87%
No	4	13%
No comment	0	0

While answering this question, 26 teachers (87%) picked the option of ‘yes’ and they believe that ADHD children do not have theory of mind. However, 4 teachers (13%) picked ‘no’ as they think that ADHD children do not lack theory of mind.

Nijmeijer et al. (2008) and Farahi et al. (2014) have argued in their article that ADHD children lack theory of mind because of the uneven development of their pre-frontal cortex.

Q12. Do you think that the absence of ‘Theory of Mind’ is responsible for the pragmatic language impairments of children with ADHD?

Table 12

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	21	70%
Sometimes	9	30%
Never	0	0

For this question, 21 teachers (70%) opined that absence of theory of mind is always responsible for the pragmatic language impairments whereas 9 teachers (30%) replied that it is sometimes responsible for the impairments. According to the latter group as they mentioned it in the comment section that many a time there are other environmental factors as well which can hinder these children’s pragmatic language development.

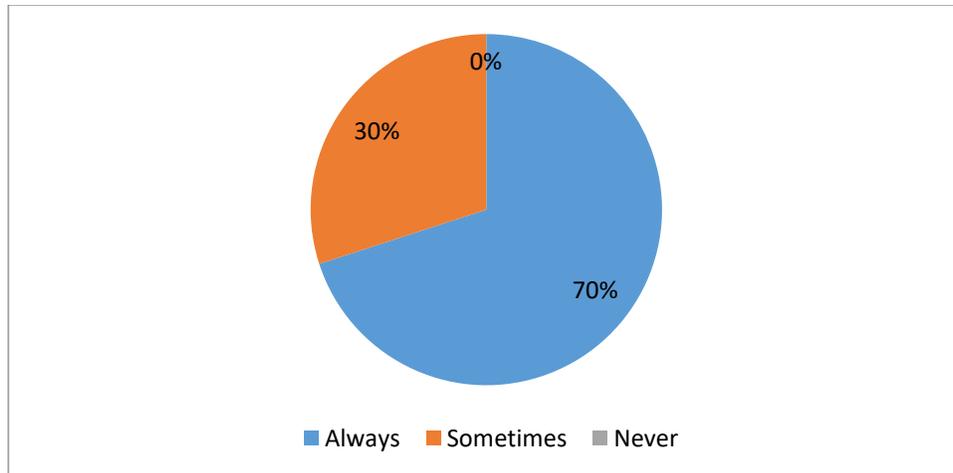


Figure 6: ADHD children's pragmatic language impairments because of the lack of ToM

Uekermann et al. (2010) showed in their articles that how the idea of social cognition and theory of mind are correlated which in turn enable people to function properly within the periphery of a society. This social functioning also includes the use of language which is decided and defined by the context. Thus, because of the absence of theory of mind, ADHD children fail to perceive the notion of language use according to the social understanding.

Q13. Can they come up with a spontaneous solution of any problem?

Table 13

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	0	0
Sometimes	0	0
Never	30	100%

All the teachers (100%) agreed upon the point that ADHD children can never come up with a spontaneous solution of any problem.

As Pennington and Ozonoff (1996) pointed out in their article that executive functions help people consider the current situation, comparing different variables, and finally coming up with a solution. This skill is very important in daily life and conversation where people face non-routinized and novel contexts and incidents. However, as the ADHD children lack executive functions, they fail to do so.

Q14. Do they face difficulties in making decisions based on the perception of what might happen in future?

Table 14

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	27	90%
Sometimes	3	10%
Never	0	0

While answering the question, 27 teachers (70%) opined that ADHD children always face difficulties in making a decision based on the perceptions that what will happen in future. Only 3 teachers (30%) replied that the ADHD children sometimes face such difficulties.

This is another feature of executive functions where people tend to make some decisions in present after considering what consequences the action might have in future. Brown (2008) also argued that ADHD children cannot do it because of the lack of executive functions which deters them from perceiving the futuristic outcome of any action.

Q15. Can they manage or modulate emotion and get on what they need to do?

Table 15

Answer Type	No. of Teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	0	0
Sometimes	0	0
Never	30	100%

All the teachers (100%) agreed upon this point that ADHD children can never control their emotion and carry on what they are supposed to do. Their hyperactive and impulsive behavior restrain them from working on their emotion and take logical steps to move forward and complete the task.

Brown (2008) has also argued that managing and modulating emotions is one of the key features of his executive functions framework which is absent among these children.

4.3 Analysis of Class Observation

Observed children were from pre-academic and early intervention classes. The checklist (see appendix 4) was followed during the class observation. These classes were mainly for the children those who had significant impairments in language and communication. Different activities were used to teach communicative skills to the students.

a) Behavioral Impairments

Children were running around the whole class and sometimes they also left the class to go outside. Teachers were telling them to sit properly but their behavior was showing that they were not listening to their teachers. One of the teachers said later that anyone, teacher or other school staffs, is strictly prohibited from entering the classes as these children easily get distracted by the external stimulus. One of the students started having tiffin in the middle of the class and when his tiffin box was taken from him, he started rolling on the floor and shouting. As the observed children were from the early intervention classes, it was really very difficult to control them. They were dragging the chairs, putting the books on the floor, kicking things and so on.

b) Pragmatic Language Impairments

As the ADHD children do not have language impairments, the early intervention classes for them were all about teaching them how to communicate in different settings. The researcher was also allowed to interact with the students. One of the common tendencies among them was not making eye contact with the speaker. They always looked at the other direction and talked to the speaker. Two of them kept repeating the same sentences for the whole 40 minutes of the class. One of them was saying ‘Oju koresi to’ (I have performed the wudu/ablution) which did not have any connection with the context. He used this same sentence before his every response/answer. The other student was saying ‘Ammu apel dibe’ (Mother will give apple) which was also another decontextualize use of the expression. The teacher knew the reason behind this expression. She explained that three days before she told the student that if he would listen to her, then his mother would give him an apple (as positive reinforcement because his favorite fruit is apple). Therefore, he was repeating the sentence that he heard a few days back from his teacher.

When they were asked other questions, they replied only to those questions which answers they knew beforehand. Otherwise, they repeated the question exactly in the same manner. For example, when the researcher asked one of the children ‘Tomar t-shirt ta to onek shundor. Ke diyeche aita tomake?’ (Your t-shirt is very nice. Who gave it to you?), he repeated the question ‘Ke diyeche aita tomake?’ (Who gave it to you?) as many times as he was asked the same question. The teacher explained later that when they do not know the answer to any question, they always repeat the question. They cannot come up with answers on their own spontaneously. They reply only when the answer is known to them, for example, what is their name, parent’s name etcetera.

They did not follow any topic while they were practicing conversing with their teachers. For example, teacher asked one of them what he did in the last night and he replied when his father bought him a Spiderman costume. They kept talking without paying any heed to the teacher that what s/he was talking about. Another striking point was that they suddenly said something out of nowhere which was actually the answer of a question or inquiry which was asked previously and they did not reply then. They could not follow instructions while role playing with their peers. The tendency of interrupting was also very common among them and the adjacency pair was absent. When the researcher greeted the students by saying ‘Hello’ and ‘Tumi kemon acho?’ (How are you?), none of them greeted her back. Even when the teachers asked the students to give ‘salam’ to the researcher, only one student said ‘salam’ but not ‘Assalamu Alaikum’ as she failed to comprehend the instruction and she only repeated what her teacher said.

c) Classroom Activities

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Shadow teacher and role play were used to teach the children how to interact and behave according to the needs of the specific context.

i) Shadow teacher: Shadow teacher was appointed for the students those who were at the very early stage of ADHD and those who did not know how to reply when someone is greeted or asked a question. Therefore, it can be said that shadow teacher helps them comprehend the idea of interlocution. Two teachers stood behind their students and asked questions and talked to one another. Students repeated after the teachers. They were not only taught the language of conversation but also the gestures, postures, intonation etcetera. Teachers taught them how to smile back to someone or how to greet others with a smile.

ii) Role-play: Children took different roles along with their shadow teachers, such as son-mother, niece-aunty, friend-friend, student-teacher, and so on. Initially, the role plays were conducted with the help of teachers and when students learned enough to take care of the given situation, they were allowed to do it on their own. First, they practiced different roles which are common in everyday life and which has its setting at home, in school. Later, the roles were set to an advanced level of outdoor social settings, such as marketplace, shop, food court, dance class, mosque and so on. Role plays were important to teach them how they can successfully function in social settings. They were taught how to stand in a queue, ask for changes, cancelling or changing an order politely. Food stall (table) with different food items were set in one of the classrooms where students went one after another and had to wait patiently to get their desired item of the food.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that children with ADHD experience severe communication difficulties in their everyday life. They have impairments in both receptive and expressive language. Receptive language skill is the ability to understand or comprehend the spoken language. Expressive language skill is the ability to communicate thoughts, needs, or wants. As the ADHD children have deficiencies in these skills, they are not able to communicate at the same level or with the same complexity as their interlocutor (Leonard et al., 2011, n.p). ADHD children's behavioral impairments are also responsible for their communicative impairments. Their inattentive, hyperactive, and impulsive behavior deter them from engaging their attention during a conversation. As a result, they fail to comprehend the linguistic and social cues which can help them in processing and comprehending others' message and managing and expressing their own utterances. These abilities are crucial for pragmatic language use because communication in social interaction is part of the pragmatic aspect of language. Moreover, as the pragmatic aspect of language is connected to the social interaction and social functioning, the notion of social cognition is an indispensable component of the social use of language. Theory of mind and executive functions enable people to recognize the social cues and contextual demands while using language. However, because of their impaired social cognition, theory of mind, and executive functions, they cannot distinguish different variables used in the pragmatic domain of language (Uekerman, 2010, p.734-738). Moreover, Prutting and Kirchner (1987) argued that this domain of language is not restricted to spoken language and the linguistic components of syntax, semantics, morphology and so on. It also incorporates topic

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initiation, topic maintenance, turn taking, use of context, interruptions, the amount of talk, eye contact, facial expression, physical proximity, and gestures (p.111). From the discussions and research, it has been proved that children with ADHD cannot follow the conversation conventions of communication which define the pragmatic or social use of language. Therefore, it can be said that children suffering from ADHD experience pragmatic language deficits in their everyday communication which also results in their social dysfunctioning.

5.2 Recommendations

- The inclusive program should be introduced in every school. It will benefit the special children by allowing them to mingle with the mainstream children. There should be provisions for children with special needs in every educational institution so that they are not left behind. They also have the right to enjoy the privileges which are available to the conventional children.
- Teachers and trainers should be trained properly. Teaching the special children is different than teaching the mainstream children. That is why teachers training institutions should also be established where teachers will be trained to teach children with special needs.
- The school and institutional authorities should be cooperative with the researchers. Studies and researches will help find out the necessary steps which are required for the development of this sector.
- There should be more institutions run and funded by the government, and a certain amount of money should be allocated for them in the budget. Most of the schools are run by private organizations. As a result, the tuition fee is really high and in some cases, it is

impossible for the middle class or low-income group people to get their ADHD or special children admitted to these schools.

- The mass people should be made aware of ADHD through the TV ads, seminars, campaign and so on. Unlike autism, many people do not have clear conception regarding ADHD. Even parents sometimes fail to recognize the special needs of their children and as a result, these children end up and get stuck in the conventional schools which hinders their further social, behavioral, linguistic, and academic development.

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Appendix 1

Interview Questions: Clinical Psychologists

1. At which age can children be diagnosed with ADHD? What specific criteria are needed to identify children with ADHD?
2. How do impulsivity and hyperactivity lead to the attention problem of the children with ADHD?
3. What types of maladaptive and inconsistent behavior can be noticed among them?
4. Do you think that the absence of theory of mind and the lack of executive functions are responsible for their pragmatic language impairments? If yes, why?

Appendix 2

Interview Questions: Educational Psychologists

1. What are the different types of pragmatic language difficulties experienced by children with ADHD?
2. Why do these children face such difficulties with language use in social sphere?
3. What procedures are usually followed to help them overcome their pragmatic language impairments?
4. How can supportive environment help these children to overcome their communicative impairments?

Appendix 3

Questionnaire

A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of the Children with ADHD

Name:

Institution's name:

1.	Do children with ADHD have difficulties in keeping and sustaining constant attention?	Always	Sometimes	Never
2.	Can significant impairments be noticed in the social functioning/social skills of the children with ADHD?	Always	Sometimes	Never
3.	Do they fail to control their behavior according to the situational needs/demands?	Always	Sometimes	Never
4.	Are they easily distracted and forgetful in their daily activities?	Always	Sometimes	Never
5.	Do they suffer from pragmatic deficiencies which results in communicative impairments? (Pragmatics refers to the social language skills we use in our daily interactions)	Always	Sometimes	Never
6.	Do they lack the conversational conventions (e.g. politeness, turn taking, levels of formality)?	Always	Sometimes	Never
7.	Do they revise, rephrase, and repeat what they say?	Yes	No	No comment
8.	Can they tailor their content or message according to the informational needs of the listeners?	Always	Sometimes	Never
9.	Can they be cohesive and relevant in their speech while they converse with others?	Always	Sometimes	Never
10.	Do they face problems in understanding the non-literal sequences (e.g. metaphor, joke, ...)	Always	Sometimes	Never

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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A Study of the Pragmatic Language Impairments of Children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Masters Dissertation

	irony, mockery)?			
11.	Does every child with ADHD lack ‘Theory of Mind’? (It refers to the idea of understanding different mental states-such as belief, desire and knowledge-that enables us to explain and predict others’ behavior)	Yes	No	No comment
12.	Do you think that the absence of ‘Theory of Mind’ is responsible for the pragmatic language impairments of the children with ADHD?	Always	Sometimes	Never
13.	Can they come up with spontaneous solution of any problem?	Always	Sometimes	Never
14.	Do they face difficulties in making decisions based on the perception of what might happen in future?	Always	Sometimes	Never
15.	Can they manage or modulate emotion and get on what they need to do?	Always	Sometimes	Never

Appendix 3

Comments Section

(If you have any further comment regarding the questions of the above questionnaire,
please write it down mentioning the question no.)

Appendix 4

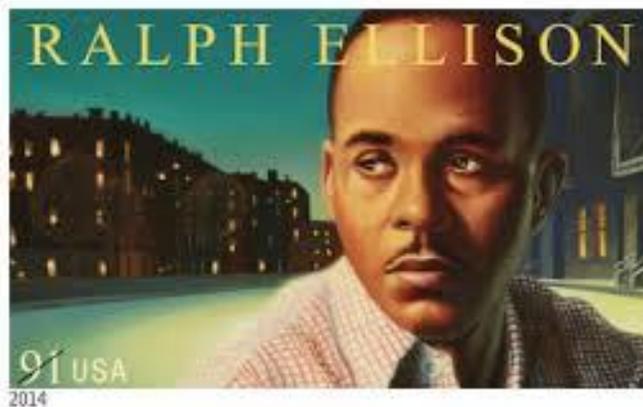
Checklist of the Observation

1. What types of behavioral impairments can be noticed among children with ADHD?
2. What are the different types of pragmatic language impairments experienced by them?
3. How do they respond or interact with others and among themselves?
4. What techniques and activities are used in the class to enhance their communicative and interpersonal skills?
5. How are these techniques and activities executed in the class?

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Visibility of Racism in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*

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Mythreyi. V, Graduate student, B.A. English



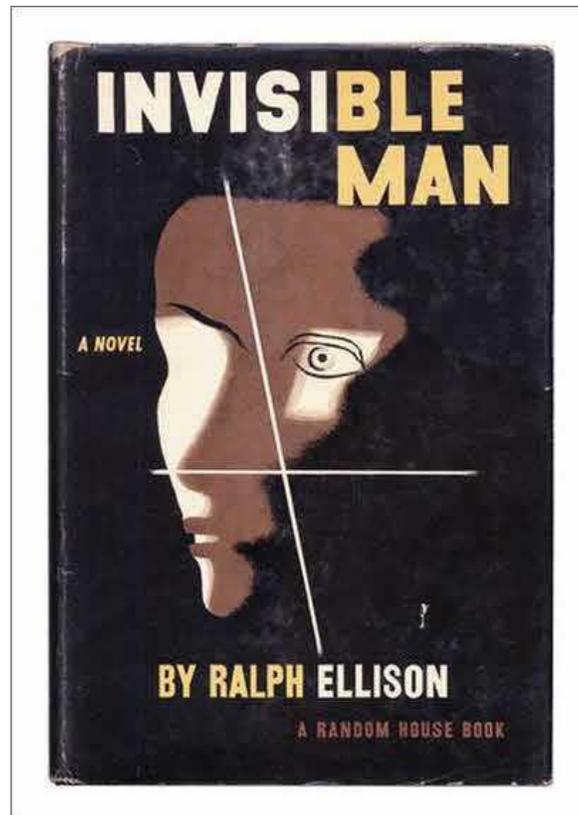
Abstract

Martin Luther King, Jr. once said “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of the skin, but by the content of their character”. Has his dream gotten fulfillment? Has his vision been accomplished? Yes, partly it has been accomplished. Racism still exists in the minds of some whites and is still visible in their actions. The Invisible Man is the nameless protagonist who is the victim of racism in the novel *Invisible Man* written by Ralph Ellison. The novel reveals the cruelty of racism which prevailed in American society.

The novel *Invisible Man* is the story which represents the life of a black-skinned person. The narrator is constantly trying to be someone else, other than himself because others refused to see him as he is. This creates a complete loss of his identity and thus he becomes a human being without soul.

This paper explores the visibility of racism in *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison. The main aim is to throw light on invisibility, inequality on the basis of skin colour and the hurdles faced by a black-skinned person in the society.

Keywords: *Invisible Man*, inequality, racism and stereotypical mindset, invisibility, Ralph Ellison



Courtesy: <https://13thfloorgrowingold.wordpress.com/2011/03/05/ralph-ellison-invisible-man-prologue-excerpt/>

Racism in USA

Racism was a major issue in the United States and it was largely spread from the southern states, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a large number of slaves from Africa being brought in slave ships, to be purchased and put to work on plantations owned by rich southern landowners. The African slaves were the most miserable and

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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unlucky of communities affected by racist feelings. They were ill-treated by landowning whites and they suffered from inequality on the basis of skin colour. Racism is a discrimination and prejudice towards people based on their race or ethnicity. Here the narrator gives an introduction about the central theme of the novel from the very first sentence, describing himself as an 'invisible man' who has a body and who takes physical space, but still invisible to others because they 'refuse to see him'.

Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*

Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, explores the concept of racism excellently. The nameless narrator is caught in an underground hole and he is narrating the incidents that happened in his past. He says according to science he is physically visible but in the minds of people he is always invisible, because people refuse to see him due to his dark complexion.

That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of construction of their inner eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality. (*Invisible Man* 3)

Invisibility

The black young man narrates how people refused to see him and how he became aware of his invisibility. The narrator struggles with white people's prejudice and he introduces himself in the prologue: "I am invisible; understand, simply because people refuse to see me". (*Invisible Man* 3) His invisibility or people refusing to see him is because of stereotypical mindset towards the black race. The narrator's incident, which made him understand about his invisibility in people's eyes which is mentioned in the prologue, when he accidentally bumped into a white man, and all of a sudden the narrator became visible" because of the near darkness he saw me and called me an insulting name". (*Invisible Man* 4) Next day, the narrator saw his photo in the Daily News, which had published an article about the accident which was an invisible man biting a white

man. In fact the narrator, the invisible man has not bitten the white man, but whites always have stereotypical thoughts about blacks that are born of fear and intolerance of someone who looks different.

A Complex Character

Here invisible man has developed not just a simple character, but a serious or a complex character from his life experiences. Through his experiences within both the black and white communities, the protagonist discovers his identity. He understands that various identities have helped him to discover his real African American identity. “He gradually assumes a mask of invisibility in order to rebel against this limitation”. (*Invisible Man* 13) From this quotation it is clear that the protagonist tries to find a refuge in the mask that makes him invisible in this community. After the narrator’s psychological growth, he realizes to what extent the social roles hinder him from discovering his individual identity. Finally, the narrator becomes more responsible; he decides to come out and face the whole world.

Strong Irony

Ellison uses strong irony that makes the reader to understand things that the narrator misses. The first flash back of the novel in the first chapter in South America is about the narrator’s high school and college days; he attends a southern black college, he was forced to participate and fight in a ‘battle royal’ in which he is pitted against other young black men in order to obtain scholarship. The narrator is punished by the college president, Dr. Bledsoe who gave him seven letters of recommendation addressed to the college’s white trustees in New York City, and sends him there in search of a job. He moves to Harlem and delivers the letters. But later he finds out that those letters were not recommendation, but rather advisements against hiring him. The seventh person, Mr. Emerson who received the letter gave him a job in a paint factory but he didn’t do the work properly. Thus he got his dismissal from there also.

Racist Mindset

Another significant event that happened in the narrator's life is when he woke upon the Liberty Pains hospital; he had temporarily lost his memory and ability to speak. He was admitted for treating his injuries which were caused by that accident. "the people were so remote, the pain was so immediate" (*Invisible Man* 233), he found himself in a white cold chair, the doctor asked him many question, about his identity like his name, his mother's name and about Buckeye The Rabbit, but the narrator was unable to tell anything about himself, he had completely forgotten everything about his identity.

The narrator's experiences in the hospital reveal the stereotypical mindset of racists towards blacks even in public places. Narrator says that "I was sitting in cold white reject chair, a man was looking at me out of a bright third eye" (*Invisible Man* 231) - this refers to the white men who are cruel creatures like the doctor who gave the narrator an electric shock treatment; he enjoyed it and said that the blacks had a dancing rhythm in their bodies. The doctor questions the narrator about his identity and asks the narrator to reveal his name. Then he again asks the narrator about the rabbit song which is related to his origin and ancient African culture. By asking about his origin the doctor's intention was to remind him about his African origin and slavery.

The narrator says that he might even be said to possess a mind. Here the major feature of racism is figured; that is the idea that black people are less intelligent than white people, or that racism encourages white people not to understand black brains (intelligence) and minds.

Brotherhood

The Brotherhood experience is one of the most prominent events that reflect the reality of the American society. This organization focuses on social activism, banding together to fight for people who have been 'dispossessed of their heritage'. In joining the Brotherhood the narrator's position within the organization provides him with the opportunity to do public speaking and thus he becomes the Brotherhood orator. The narrator later realizes that the organization does not care about individuals, but only about

its benefits. Brotherhood uses the invisible man as a property to achieve its goals. The Brotherhood considers the narrator not as an individual human being, but rather as an abstract symbol of his race.

African American Struggle

Ellison's invisible man experiences and memorizes the behavior of racist Whites with the powerful social and political forces that conspire to keep Black Americans in their place. African Americans during that period of struggles within the American society were like dementia praecox or a schizophrenic person who exhibits multiple personality; it is actually a mental illness in which a person's mind changes frequently. That person is the one who holds opinions about anything that seem to be binary opposites. Similarly, in the protagonist's identity, his experiences have strongly influenced the improvement of his identity standard which modifies with every new identity. From underground to manhood; the invisible man makes his identity from native person to a very mature one. The invisible man's adventure in the racist American society helps him to discover his real African American identity.

Regeneration and Second Childhood, Vital Role for Dreams

After the narrator's regeneration in Chapter Eleven, his relationship with Mary portrays his second childhood which rebuilds his identity. Mary is like his mother; she helps and prepares the narrator for reclaiming his Southern inheritance to face the society. After living with Mary for couple of weeks, the narrator embraces his inheritance with the eating of baked yams which symbolize Southern (American) black culture (African culture found among black slaves). In contrast, the Brotherhood tries to break his past and create a new identity for him.

In Ellison's *Invisible Man* dreams play a vital role. According to Freud's theories the narrator fulfils his wishes through his dreams, his hope is like all the African Americans, wanting to live in an equal society without any restrains of racist laws in

which the Americans accepted their European origins as superior. In Chapter 1, the protagonist has a dream that involves his grandfather:

That night I dreamed I was at a circus with him and that he refused to laugh at the clowns no matter what they did. And I did and in it I found an engraved document containing a short message in letters of gold. 'Read it,' my grandfather said. 'Out loud! 'To Whom It May Concern,' I intoned. 'Keep This Nigger-Boy Running'. (*Invisible Man* 354)

This reveals in the narrator's dream a reference to his grandfather's thoughts and beliefs. This dream symbolizes the narrator's grandfather believed in which the clowns represent the whites, who are trying to make him laugh and with his reaction clearly shows that he does not do anything which whites wishes him to do or he is not ready to act according to white's intentions. Thus narrator's grandfather decides not to laugh. The letter tells the whites to keep the narrator running away. From this dream arrogance and grudge of narrator is also represented as his dream. For narrator or for whole black race community whites are like clowns but whatever they does blacks are not ready to laugh or do anything according to their wish. This dream also gives some information about his future, when the narrator handed the letter in an envelope that says to keep him running, the letter represents the narrator's situation with white society that he actually conforms to them, the letter's envelope refers to the white standards which he believes in them.

In Chapter Sixteen, narrator has a dream of molding himself into an important person in the society and in the 'Brotherhood'. He believes that his dream could be transformed into reality when he works hard with high determination, "It was no dream, the possibility existed". (*Invisible Man* 344) Through this dream, Ellison motivates people, giving energy through his words to protest for getting their rights to reach the best positions in their lives.

A Reference Book

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Ellison's *Invisible Man* has made an effort to define the meaning of experience in the narrator. He succeeds in defining his own identity without any interference from others. From these experiences the protagonist's naivety is transformed into maturity which helps him to rediscover the values of his African American heritage which is reflected in his personality; it gives him the power to face the whole world.

Indeed, Ralph Ellison speaks out to all the people and against all those who try to place restrictive ideologies and identities over others. Ellison's effort of creating *Invisible Man* is really appreciable. His novel is like a reference book to know about racism which prevailed in the American society of the old days. Ellison's improvisational performance in his novel *Invisible Man* draws to the conclusion that the universal human struggle of finding one's identity while living one's life in a world built upon socially constructed stereotypical ideologies through his *Invisible Man*, reveals that the only way to liberate or free oneself from any role is by turning "invisible," destroying the socially constructed self to allow for the nothingness needed for the creation of the true, complex and ever-changing self.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Visual Onto-thesaurus for Tamil

Dr. Rajendran Sankaravelayuthan & Dr. Anandkumar, M.

Abstract

Tamil Visual Onto-thesaurus (TVOT or simply VOT) is an outcome of an extensive research activity that went on in the field of lexical semantics of Tamil. It went through several stages before being culminated into Tamil visual onto-thesaurus. It depicts our travel from Tamil thesaurus to Tamil word net. It is a lexical resource which amalgamates all sorts of information available in a dictionary, thesaurus and wordNet. The Dravidian wordNets (in which Tamil wordNet is one of the four components) built under the IndoWordNet project depended on an ontology developed by Western conceptualization of the world found in English). This has not taken into consideration the Indian conceptualization of the world depicted in the *nikhandu* tradition. Say for examples, *nikhandus* have classifications such a six types of tastes, nine types of planets (*gragams*), 7 types of *mandalams* (a type of division), 15 *tidis* (15 phases of moon), etc. which are crucial for Indian tradition. In the western oriented WordNet ontology there is no scope for the visualization of concepts depicted in *nikhandus*. Moreover building a wordNet based on Hindi wordNet which in turn is built on English wordNet will take many years to complete and it would miss the conceptualization depicted in Indian tradition. Apart from this the extension approach of building Tamil wordNet using Hindi wordNet cannot fulfill Dravidian conceptualization. A merger approach of building separate wordNets and collapsing them into one would have been a preferable approach. The present visual onto-thesaurus is based on the Indian and Dravidian conceptualization and the process of building one is comparatively very simple. We have the plan to mend it into a generic one so that all the Dravidian languages can be easily accommodated into it.

Key words:

Aristotle, Aristotelian principle, lexical semantics, thesaurus, paper thesaurus, Visual Onto-thesaurus, wordNet, Tamil wordNet, *nikhandu*, *nikhandu* tradition, Dravidian conceptualization, ontology, natural language processing, hyponymy, hyponym, homonymy, homonym, polysemy, hypernymy, hypernym, holonymy, holonym, troponymy, troponym, taxonymy, taxonym, entailment, superordinate term, lexical hierarchy, hierarchy, compatibility, incompatibility, opposition, antonym, antonymy, hierarchical classification, semantic field, semantic network, unique beginner, generative lexicon, linguistic issue, computational issue, congruence relation, lexical relation, lexical inheritance, meronymy, meronym,

taxonomic hierarchy, hierarchy, meronymic hierarchy, entity, entities, events, abstracts, relationals, component, semantic component, componential analysis.

1. Introduction

A paper thesaurus for Tamil was prepared in 1990 based on the principles of componential analysis of meaning propounded by Nida (1975), Indian tradition of *nikhandu* and Aristotelian principle of genera and species and was published in 2001 (Rajendran, 2001), nearly after a decade. Following the paper thesaurus, an Electronic thesaurus for Tamil was attempted and a book on Tamil electronic thesaurus was published in 2006 (Rajendran and Baskaran, 2006). The preparation of wordNet for Tamil was undertaken (2001-2003) with the financial assistance from Tamil Virtual University (renamed now as Tamil virtual academy) and a crude version of it based on the ontology developed by Rajendran (Rajendran, 2001) was submitted to the institute in 2003. After that, from 2009 onwards with the fund received from MHRD and Department of electronics and information Technology of Govt. of India the building of Dravidian wordNets were executed based on Hindi wordNet; nearly 30000 synsets (concepts) have been completed. Still we have a long way to go to achieve the desired target. At present a team from CEN, Amrita University is involved in building onto-thesaurus for Tamil as a part of the project entitled "Computing Tools for Tamil Language teaching and learning". The project is funded by Tamil Virtual Academy, Chennai.

The principles of ontology and various kinds of ontologies and ontological applications are elaborately discussed in this paper as the present VOT has taken into its fold many of the ideas discussed in them.

2. Ontology

The subject of ontology is the study of the categories of things that exist or may exist in some domain. The word ontology is from the Greek *ontos* for being and *logos* for word. One classical dictionary definition of Ontology is: "The branch of metaphysics that deals with the nature of being". It originated with Aristotle's effort to classify things in the world. Ontology is an explicit specification of a conceptualization. As a term borrowed from philosophy, ontology means a systematic account of 'existence'. AI systems deliberates that what "exists" can be represented in a program code. They try to represent knowledge of a domain in a declarative formalism; the set of objects that can be represented is called the universe of discourse. This set of objects, and the describable relationships among them, are reflected in the representational vocabulary with which a knowledge-based program represents knowledge. We can describe the ontology of a program by defining a set of representational terms. In such ontology, definitions associate the names of entities in the universe of discourse (e.g., classes, relations, functions, or other objects) with human-readable text describing what the names mean, and

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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formal axioms that constrain the interpretation and well-formed use of these terms. Formally, ontology is the statement of a logical theory (Smith, 2003).

Ontologies prove to be extremely useful in the representation of lexical knowledge. Their renewed interest in lexical semantics and natural language processing (NLP) can be attributed to this use. The meaning of a lexical item is partly determined by the position in the ontology occupied by the concept or concept it expresses. Representing one of the meanings of a word minimally implies (i) distinguishing it by other senses the same word might have, (ii) capturing certain inferences which can be performed from it, and (iii) representing its similarity with the meaning of other words (Busa, et al. 2001: 31). Ontological representation is useful for this purpose. For instance, given the word *mouse*, a proper although minimal representation of its meaning requires distinguishing the sense of 'small rodent' from the one of 'small pointing device for computers'. Moreover, the same representation should be able to capture the fact that being a rodent entails being a mammal, as well as the fact that the sense of *mouse* as 'small rodent' shares with the meaning of other words such as *dog*, or *cat*, the fact of being subtypes of mammal. Ontologies are therefore powerful formal tools to represent lexical knowledge, exactly. The word meanings can actually be regarded as entities to be classified in terms of the ontology types. In this perspective, a given sense can be described by assigning it to a particular type. The ontology structure will then account for entailments between senses in terms of relations between their types. The sharing of the same ontology type can be attributed to the resemblances between word senses (Busa et al 2001: 31).

2.1. Principles of ontology

Hyponymy and its consequence taxonomy are the fundamental building blocks of ontology. Hyponymy and its natural partner, incompatibility, are described by Lyons (1977) as “the most fundamental paradigmatic relations of sense in terms of which the vocabulary is structured”. Lyons (1977) states that taxonomic lexical hierarchies are structured by the relations of hyponymy and incompatibility. The relation of hyponymy imposes a hierarchical structure upon the vocabulary and upon particular fields within the vocabulary; and the hierarchical ordering of lexemes can be represented formally as a tree diagram (Lyons, 1977: 295). It is hard to conceive of any language operating satisfactorily in any culture without its vocabulary being structured in terms of the complementary principles of hyponymy and contrast (Lyons, 1977: 300). Meronymic or partonomic relations are ontological relations that are considered as fundamental as the ubiquitous, taxonomic subsumptions relationship (Pribbenow, 2002: 35). There are numerous lexemes in the vocabularies of languages whose meaning cannot be specified independently of some part-whole relation of sense (Lyons, 1977: 314).

Taxonomy is usually only a hierarchy of concepts (i.e. the only relation between the concepts is parent/child, or sub-class/super-class, or broader/narrower), but in an ontology, arbitrary complex relations between concepts can be expressed too (X married to Y; or A works for B; or C is located in D,

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etc.). Although taxonomy contributes to the semantics of a term in a vocabulary, ontologies include richer relationships between terms. It is these rich relationships that enable the expression of domain specific knowledge, without the need to include domain-specific terms.

Ontology has a richer internal structure as it includes relations and constraints between the concepts. Ontology claims to represent a certain consensus about the knowledge in the domain. This consensus is among the intended users of the knowledge, e.g. doctors using a hospital ontology regarding a certain disease, artists relating to historical art and so on. Word vocabulary and ontology are often used interchangeably. But a more strict definition is that a vocabulary is a collection of terms being used in a particular domain that can be structured (e.g. hierarchically) as a taxonomy. This taxonomy when combined with some relationships, constraints and rules, form the ontology. A combination of ontology together with a set of instances of classes constitutes a knowledge base as given below (Breslin et al, 2009: 58):

Vocabulary + structure = Taxonomy

Taxonomy + Relationships, constraints and rules = Ontology

Ontology + instances = Knowledge base

2.2. Ontology of Aristotelian Origin

Aristotle instigated the history of scientific taxonomy. It is predicated on a first philosophy of essentialism. Aristotle's work on natural history and logic laid out taxonomic principles. Taxonomy or the division of things into genera and species is a way of classifying predicates in the logic; it is a refinement of the ten basic categories of predicates. The basic idea was developed in detail in the long tradition of Aristotelian logic. The branching tree diagrams that specified the various genera and species of the category are founded on the classification of the various categories, say, of substance. The taxonomic notions of genus and species were developed in Aristotle's natural history, as opposed to his logic, to handle relations between things, primarily animals (Slaughter, 1982: 15).

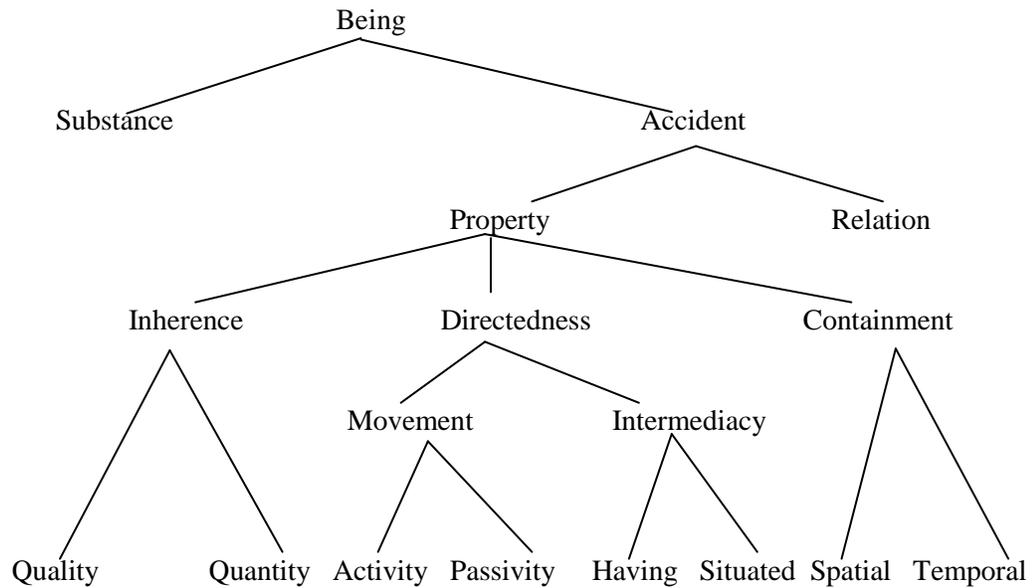
Aristotelian philosophy is founded on qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, differences. Aristotle's notions of classification have two sources: the first is in the logical works where he lays down the general theory of classification; the other is in the biological writings where he discusses the problems arising in the classification of animals. There is evidence which indicates that Aristotle's early biological studies were instrumental in his developing taxonomic as logical concepts (Slaughter, 1982:27). The process by which genera are distinguished into species is called logical division. Aristotle has provided the first division, the summa genera, in his ten categories, and within the category of substance, his cosmology and biology were but further elaborations of division. Aristotle offered an ontology which included 10 categories, shown as the leaves in the tree shown in figure 1 (from Sowa, 2009, after Brentano).

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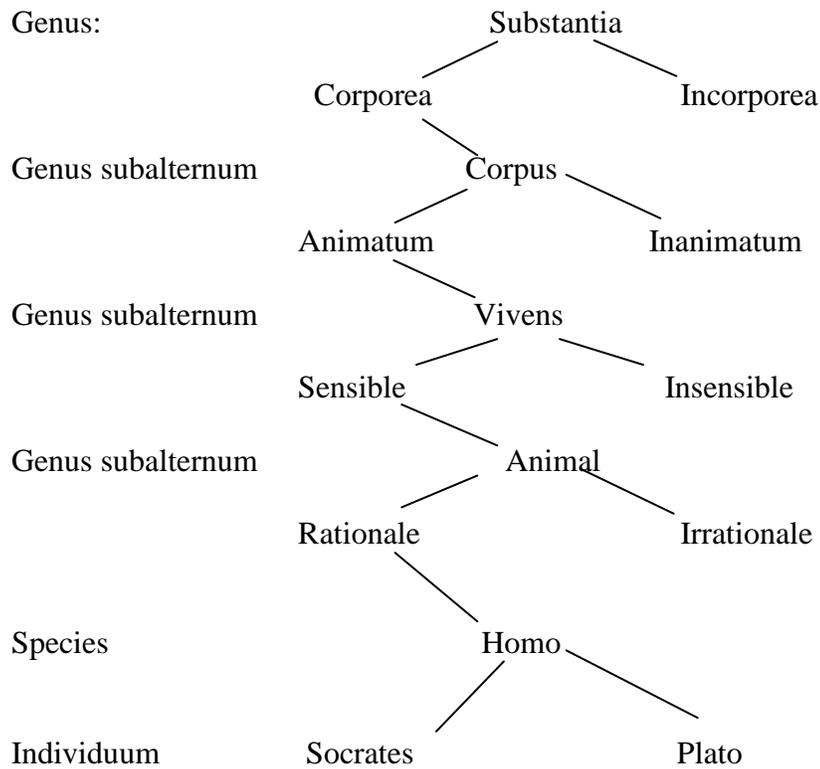
Figure 1



Aristotle did not extend this division to develop a hierarchical arrangement but his commentator Porphyry did and the Porphyrian tree of hierarchically linked genera and species became canonical in the tradition of Aristotelian logic. The tree provides a logical classification of the category of substance as Figure 2 shows (Slaughter, 1982: 29):

Logical Classification of the Category of Substance

Figure 2:



We find in Aristotelian logic books further divisions in each category and the philosophical and scientific lore of the age is included in these divisions and tables by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The examples of Bunddeville (figure 3) and Du Moulin (figure 4) are typical of the encyclopedic nature of these logics (Slaughter, 1982:39).

Figure: 3

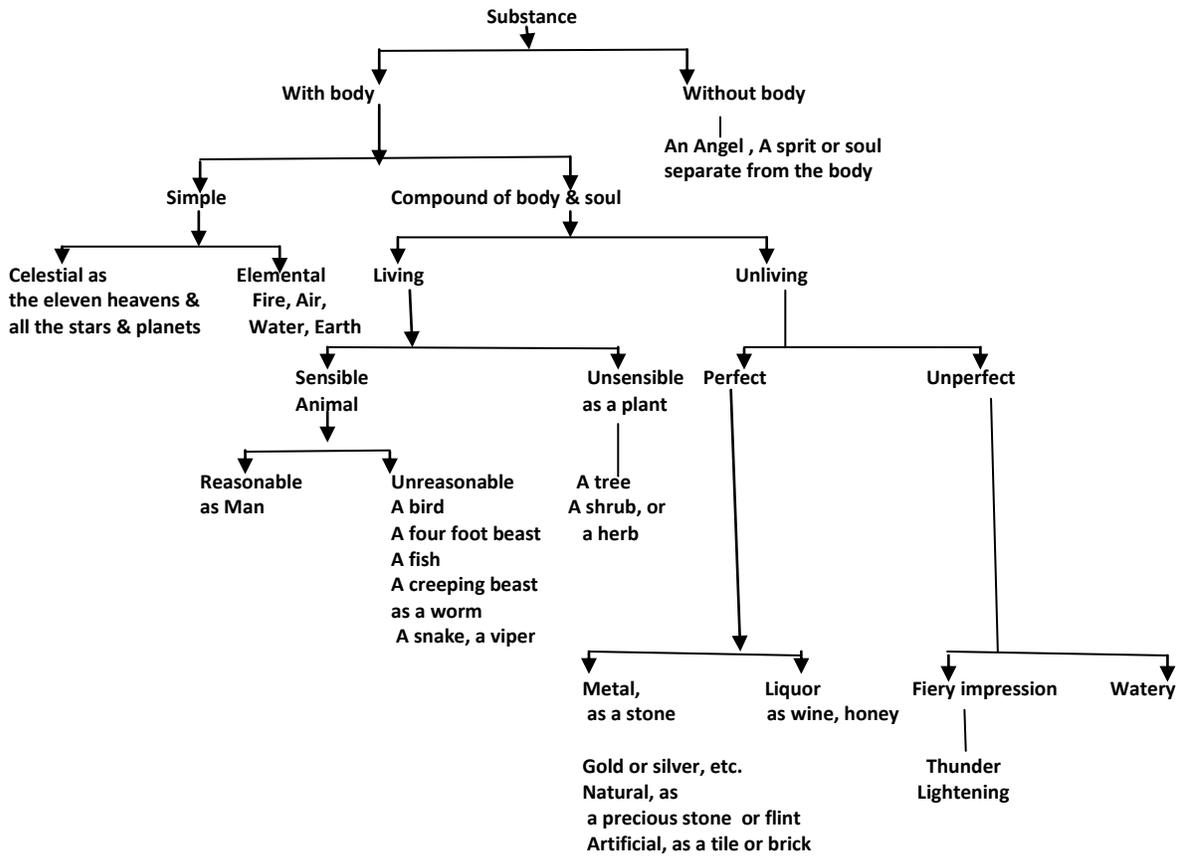
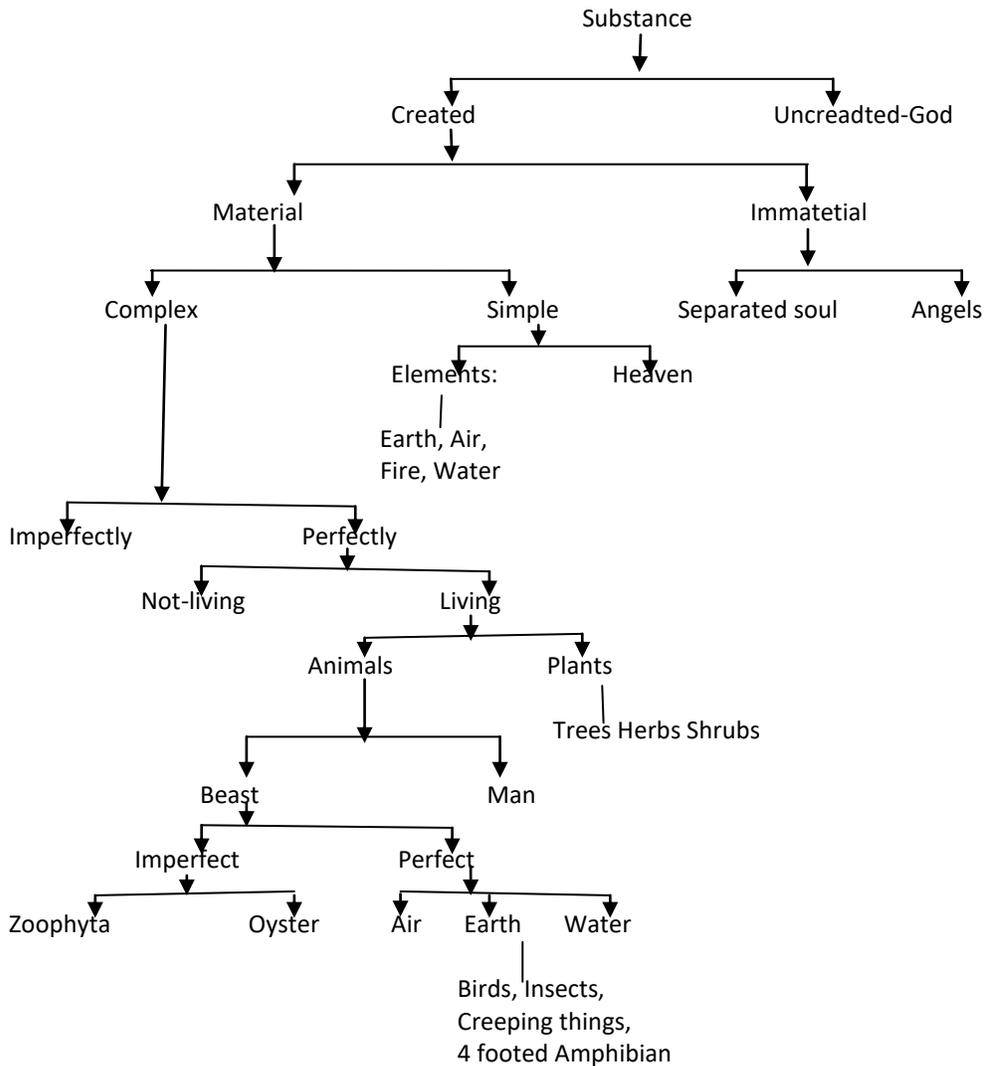


Figure 4



In scientific sense, the Great Chain of Being cannot be called as a taxonomy; rather it can be considered as a predecessor of scientific taxonomy and as a highly elaborated folk taxonomy. Originally, the Aristotelian world view retained and popularized in the concept of the Great Chain of Being. It incorporated all phenomena of nature – everything embraced hierarchically from the heavenly planets to the lowliest worm and the mud in which it burrowed. Mechanistic philosophy made inroads on the higher reaches of the heavens but for the most part it left untouched the world of living creatures (Slaughter, 1982:38).

Aristotle had posited that animate and inanimate natures are two fundamentally different things. Decontextualization and universalization of the words or concepts were attempted. This led to the

development of a scientific (botanical) taxonomy. The following levels of taxa are found (Slaughter, 1982:55):

1. Unique Beginner: e.g. plant, animal
2. Life form: e.g. tree, bush, flower, weed, fern
3. Intermediate: this is an unstable category that manifests itself during a period of adjustment in the taxonomic system and then disappears when a settled, adjusted system is re-established
4. Genus: pine, oak, masterwort
5. Species: ponderosa pine, black oak
6. Variety: northern ponderosa pine, swamp white oak

A Comparison of Berlin's folk taxonomy with a fully developed hierarchy of specialized taxa will reveal two ways of classification of things (Slaughter, 1982: 55).

Figure 5

FOLK TAXONOMY	SCIENTIFIC TAXONOMY
Unique Beginner	Kingdom
Life Form	Phylum
	Class
	Order
	Family
	} Specialized taxa
(Intermediate)	
Genus	Genus
Species	{ Species
	{ Sub-species
Variety	Variety

2.3. Ontology in Thesaurus

A thesaurus in its widest contemporary sense is a classification of words by concepts, topics or subjects; it need not contain synonyms, and the fact that some items in a given class are synonymous is coincidental. A synonymous dictionary, by contrast, deals with word groups, and does not constitute a conceptual classification the system of kind exemplified by Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases (1852). This is a crude distinction: thesaurus frequently contains synonyms, and synonymous dictionaries are thesauric, if the groups in them are large and cross-referenced and reflect a wide interpretation of synonymy (Jones, 1986). The following is the plan of classification adopted in Roget's thesaurus (Mawson, 1956).

Figure 6:: Plan of Classification in Roget's' Thesaurus

Class	Section	Sub section
ABSTRACT RELATIONS	I. Existence	
	II. Relation	
	III. Quantity	
	IV. Order	
	V. Number	
	VI. Time	
	VII. Change	
	VIII. Causation	
SPACE	I. In General	
	II. Dimension	
	III. Form	
	IV. Motion	
MATTER	I. In General	
	II. Inorganic	1. Solids
		2. Fluids
	III. Organic	1. Vitality
		2. Sensation
INTELLECT	I. Formation of Ideas	
	II. Communication of ideas	
VOLITION	I. Individual	
	II. Intersocial	1. In General
		2. Possessive relations
AFFECTIONS	I. In General	
	II. Personal	
	III. Sympathetic	
	IV. Moral	
	V. Religious	

2.4. Ontology in *nikhantu* Tradition

The earliest work for information on lexical items in Indian as well as Tamil tradition is *nikhantu* which is comparable to the thesaurus tradition of western community. *Nikhantus* try to give semantic information on vocabulary of a language in a thesauric or classificatory format. The trend was started in

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Sanskrit and spread to other Indian languages. Tamil easily adopted Sanskrit oriented *nikhantu* compilation and came out with a number of works.

2.4.1. *Amarakosha*

The Amarakosha is a thesaurus of Sanskrit written by the ancient Indian scholar Amarasimha. It is the oldest extant *kosha*. The *Amarakosha* consists of verses that can be easily memorized. It is divided into three *khandas* or chapters. The first, *svargadi-khanda* (“heaven and others”) has words pertaining to gods and heavens. The second, *bhuvargadi-khanda* (“earth and others”) deals with words about earth, towns, animals and humans. The third, *samanyadi-khanda* (“common”) has words related to grammar and other miscellaneous words.

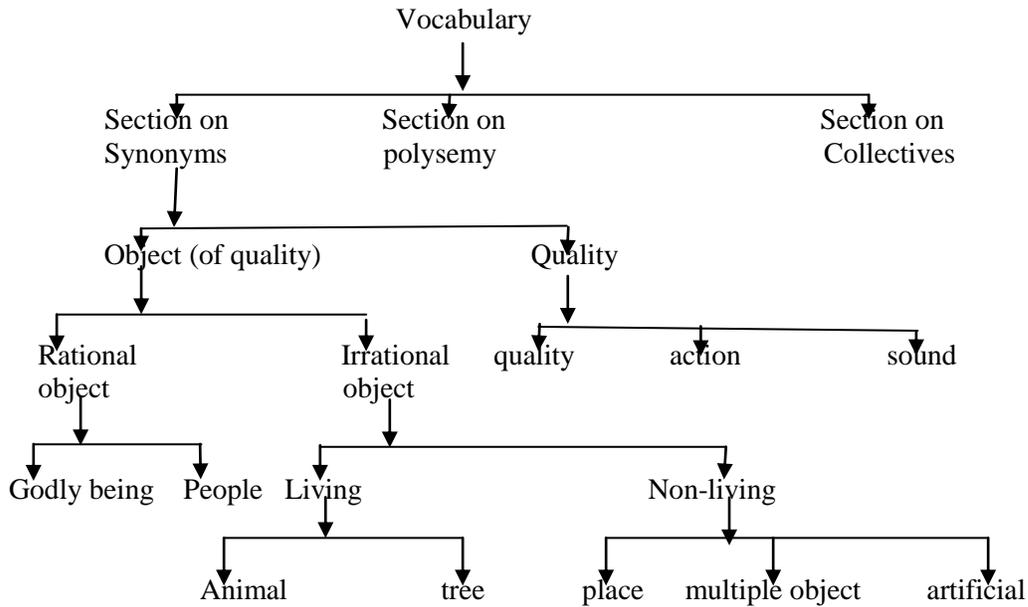
2.4.2. *tivaakaram nikaNTu*

Attempts to classify vocabulary of a language are found in *nikhaNTus*, which lay foundation for the compilation of thesauri or thesaurus dictionaries. The *tivaakaram nikaNTu* (*tivaakarar*, 1958) of early Tamil *nikaNTu* tradition classify words into twelve sections/chapters.

1. Chapter on god names
2. Chapter on human names
3. Chapter on animal names
4. Chapter on tree names
5. Chapter on place names
6. Chapter on multiple object names
7. Chapter on artificial form names
8. Chapter on quality names
9. Chapter on action names
10. Chapter on sound names
11. Chapter on polysemous names
12. Chapter on collective names

This can be classified in the following fashion.

Figure 7



2.4.3. *naamatiipa NikaNTu* (1810)

The following classification is found in *ndaamatheepa nikaNTu* (*cuppiramaNiyak* 1930) of Tamil.

Figure 8

Rational creatures: 1. Divinities
2. Human Beings

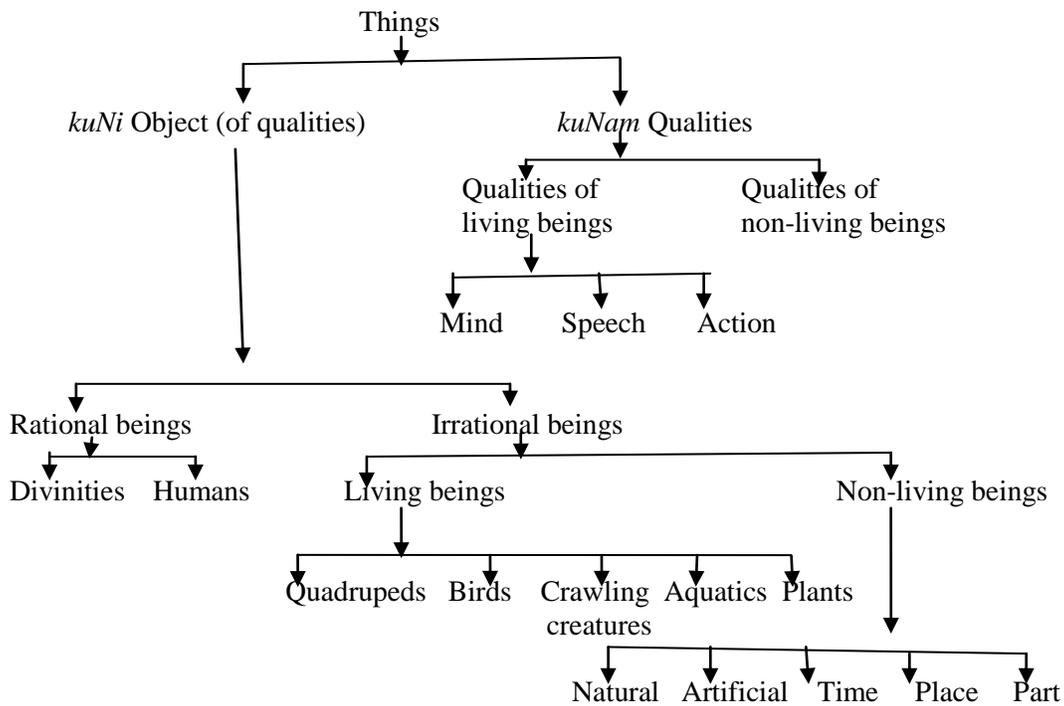
Irrational creatures: 1. Quadrupeds
2. Birds
3. Crawling beings
4. Aquatics
5. Plants

Irrational non-living beings: 1. Natural things
2. Artificial things
3. Place
4. Time
5. Part

Qualities: 1. Living creatures: mental qualities
2. Living creatures: communicative qualities
3. Living creatures: qualities of action
4. Qualities of non-living beings

The classification can be restructured as follows:

Figure 9



2.5. Ontology in Nida's thesauric dictionary

Nida (1975) who was concerned with the preparation of a thesauric dictionary for Greek gives the following as the tentative hierarchical classification of the referential meanings or lexical concepts (Nida1975:178-186). His is a componential approach to meaning. He elaborately discusses about the foundation of his theory classification in his work entitled "Componential Analysis of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantic Structure" (Nida 1975) He has classified the lexical concepts under four categories: entities, events, abstracts and relationals. The following is the outline of his design (Nida, 1975: 178-186).

I. Entities

A. Inanimate

1. Natural

- a. Geographical
- b. Natural substances
- c. Flora and plant products

2. Manufactured or constructed entities

- a. Artifacts (non-constructions)

b. Processed substances: foods, medicines, and perfumes

c. Constructions

B. Animate entities

1. Animals, birds, insects

2. Human beings

3. Supernatural power or beings

II. Events

A. Physical, B. Physiological, C. Sensory, D. Emotive, E. Intellection, G. Communication, G. Association, H. Control, I. Movement, J. Impact, K. Transfer, L. Complex activities, involving a series of movements or actions

III. Abstracts

A. Time, B. Distance, C. Volume, D. Velocity, E. Temperature, F. Color, G. Number, H. Status, I. Religious character, J. Attractiveness, K. Age, L. Truth-falsehood, M. Good-bad, N. Capacity, O. State of health, etc.

IV. Relationals

A. Spatial, B. Temporal, C. Deictic, D. Logical, etc.

This classification is based on referential meanings and it is not possible to obtain one to one correspondence between the semantic domain of classes and the grammatical classes. A paper thesaurus and electronic thesaurus are prepared by Rajendran based on the classification given by Nida (1975).

2.6. Ontology in Semantic Fields

Ontology can be related to semantic fields. Aspects of semantic fields presume that the vocabulary of a language is structured in accordance with the structures of grammar and phonology of a language. The words of a language can be classified into sets which are related to conceptual fields and divide up the semantic space or the semantic domain in certain ways. The works of German linguists of a half century ago and that of American anthropologists have led to the development of field theories (Lehrer, 1974: 15). Trier was most influential among the German linguists. Trier distinguishes between lexical and conceptual fields. The lexical field divides the conceptual field into parts, like a mosaic. A word acquires its meaning by its opposition to its adjacent words in the pattern. Field theories are suitable for analysis of some sets of words and unsuitable for others. Trier believed that linguistic fields are not isolated, but rather that they “join together to form in turn fields of higher order, until finally the entire

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vocabulary is included” (Lehrer, 1974: 17). Whether or not a progressive synthesis of small fields into larger ones is semantically enlightening is an open question. There is evidence for the view that semantic structures can be looked at in a variety of ways.

Lyons defines the meaning of a term as a function of its relationship to the other term in the lexical field, and the relationships (synonymy, antonymy, class inclusion, incompatibility, etc.) are primitive in his theory (Lehrer, 1974: 22). Synonymy can be defined as a bilateral implication: A and B are synonyms if $A \supset B$ and $B \subset A$. Class inclusion is unilateral implication. $A \supset B$, where B is higher in the taxonomy than A, but it is not the case that $B \subset A$. Class inclusion is the taxonomic relationship ‘kind of’ relationship, and this is one of the most basic and important notions in the taxonomy. $A \supset B$, where B is higher in the taxonomy than A, but it is not the case that $B \supset A$. The highest term in the taxonomy has been called by various names: head word, cover word, superordinate word or archlexeme. Occasionally there is no appropriate head word for a taxonomy, although people make use of a number of devices to fill this gap. Overlap is not permitted in a true taxonomy. Strictly speaking the following chart is not taxonomic (Lehrer. 1974: 24).

Colour				
red	orange	yellow	green	blue
tangerine	Gold	chartreuse	aqua	

But one finds structures that are hierarchically arranged but with some overlap, except in a relatively few domains. One finds overlap even in biological classification. Word contrast in taxonomy is incompatible. If A and B are incompatible, then $A \supset \text{not } B$ and $B \subset \text{not } A$. In the chart given below, dog, cat, horse and sheep are incompatible Lehrer. 1974 (: 24).

Animal			
Dog	Cat	Horse	sheep

Although the concepts of synonymy, incompatibility, and class inclusion are fairly clear in most cases, there are areas of overlap and many words are in borderline.

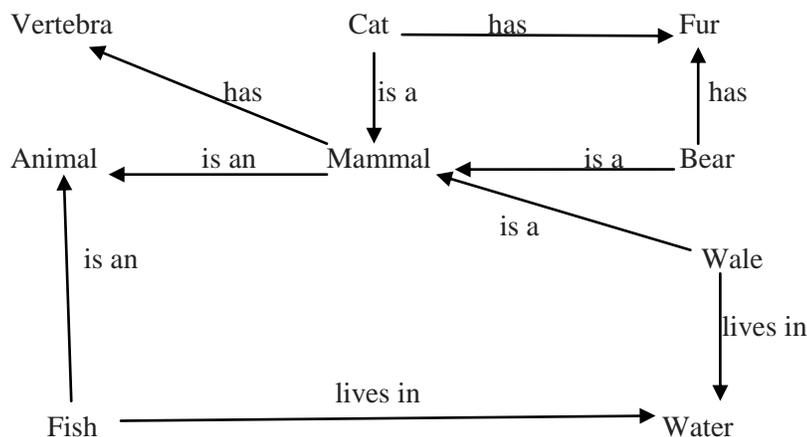
The field theory provides a good model for deciding what to look for and what to describe when dealing with sets of words that are obviously closely related. Sets of words show different types of patterns. For example cooking words, kinship terms and colour terms show different types of patterns exhibiting different types of relations between the words.

2.7. Ontology in Semantic Networks

One of the important applications of ontologies is semantic networks. A semantic network or net is a graphic notation of representing knowledge in patterns of interconnected nodes and arcs (Sowa, 1984: 76). Computer implementations of semantic networks were first developed for artificial intelligence and machine translation, but earlier versions have long been used in philosophy, and linguistics. What is common to all semantic networks is a declarative graphic representation that can be used either to represent knowledge or to support systems for reasoning about knowledge. Some versions are informal, but other versions are formally defined systems of logic.

A semantic network, or frame network, is a network that represents semantic relations between concepts. This is a kind of knowledge representation. It is a directed or undirected graph consisting of vertices, which represent concepts, and edges, which represent semantic relations between concepts. The following example will exemplify the semantic network (Wikipedia on Semantic network).

Figure 10



2.8. Ontology in WordNet

There is a claim from others (not by the creators) that wordNet itself is an ontology. WordNet, (Miller et al 1990) is an example of a semantic network. WordNet is sometimes called an ontology, a persistent claim that its creators do not make. It is an online lexical database initiated for English first. [It is enhanced into Euro-wordNet (Vossen, 1998) consisting of interconnected wordNets of European languages. Tamil WordNet, a component of Dravidian Wordnets (Rajendran 2009, Rajendran et al 2010) which in turn are connected with Indo-wordNet (Bhattacharyya, 2010) which in turn is connected with English or Euro-wordNet is under preparation.] It is a sort of amalgamation of thesaurus and dictionary.

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It groups words into sets of synonyms called synsets, provides short, general definitions, and records the various semantic relations between these synonym sets. The WordNet by its nature turns to be an ideal lexical accessing system as it links concepts with another concept by multifarious meaning relations. WordNet not only links one concept with another concept through semantic or meaning relations, but also captures the contextual meaning variations of a particular word i.e. the polysemy of a word. The four major syntactic categories (Noun, Verb, Adjective, and Adverb) are treated separately. Nouns are organized in lexical memory as topical hierarchies. Verbs are organized by a variety of entailment relations. Adjectives and adverbs are organized as N-dimensional hyperspaces (Miller et al, 1990).

Some of the most common semantic relations defined are meronymy (X is part of Y, i.e. Y has X as a part of itself), holonymy (Y is part of X, i.e. X has Y as a part of itself), hyponymy (or troponymy) (X is subordinate of Y; X is kind of Y), hypernymy (X is superordinate of Y), synonymy (X denotes the same as Y) and antonymy (X denotes the opposite of Y) (Miller et al, 1990). WordNet properties have been studied from a network theory perspective and compared to other semantic networks created from Roget's Thesaurus and word association tasks. From this perspective the three of them are a small world structure. (Wikipedia on WordNet under Semantic network).

2.8.1. Unique Beginners in WordNet

Based on the hierarchical principle it is possible assume that all nouns are arranged in a single hierarchy. But in WordNet the nouns are separated into several hierarchies, each with a different unique beginner. Relatively distinct semantic fields, each with its own vocabulary, can be correlated to these multiple hierarchies. Unique beginner corresponds roughly to a primitive semantic component in a compositional theory of lexical semantics (Miller, 1998:29).

List of 25 unique beginners for noun source files of EuroWordNet

{act, activity}	{natural object}
{animal, fauna}	{natural phenomenon}
{artifact}	{person, human being}
{attribute}	{plant, flora}
{body}	{possession}
{cognition, knowledge}	{process}
{communication}	{quantity, amount}
{event, happening}	{relation}
{feeling, emotion}	{shape}
{food}	{state}

{group, grouping}	{substance}
{location}	{time}
{motivation, motive}	

These hierarchies vary widely in size and are not mutually exclusive – some cross-referencing in required – but on the whole they cover distinct conceptual and lexical domains. WordNet’s nouns are contained in the twenty-five component files. The following is the diagrammatic representation of hyponymic relations among seven unique beginners denoting different kinds of tangible things (Miller 1998).

	{plant, flora}
{living thing, organism}	{animal, fauna}
	{person, human being}
{thing, entity}	{natural object}
	{artifact}
{non-living thing, object}	{substance}
	{food}

The verbs in WordNet are grouped under 15 semantic domains listed below (Miller et al, 1990; Fellbaum, 1998):

1. Verbs of bodily functions and care (Ex. sweat, shiver, faint, etc.)
2. Verbs of change (Ex. change, etc.)
3. Verbs of communication (Ex. stammer, appeal, bet, teach, creak, etc.)
4. Competition Verbs (Ex. fight, etc.)
5. Consumption Verbs (Ex. drink, etc.)
6. Contact Verbs (Ex. hit, scrub, wipe, etc.)
7. Cognition Verbs (Ex. infer, guess, assume, etc.)
8. Creation Verbs (Ex. engrave, print, etc.)
9. Motion Verbs (Ex. gallop, race, fly, swim, etc.)
10. Emotion or Psych Verbs (Ex. amuse, charm, etc.)
11. Stative Verbs (Ex. surround, cross, etc.)
12. Perception Verbs (Ex. watch, spy, etc.)
13. Verbs of Possession (Ex. have, rob, bestow, auction, etc.)
14. Verbs of Social Interaction (Ex. impeach, franchise, excommunicate, etc.)
15. Weather Verbs (Ex. rain, thunder, snow, hail, etc.)

The division of the verb lexicon into semantic domains not only gives one a grip on organizing a large amount of data, but is also necessitated by the absence of a single root verb or “unique beginner” that could head the entire verb lexicon. Within a single semantic field it is frequently the case that not all verbs can be grouped under a single unique beginner.

2.8.2. Organization of Lexical Items in WordNet

In wordNet the four major syntactic categories (Noun, Verb, Adjective, and Adverb) are treated separately. Nouns are organized in lexical memory as topical hierarchies, verbs are organized by a variety of entailment relations, and adjectives and adverbs are organized as N-dimensional hyperspaces. (Miller et al, 1990). The nominal synsets are related to one another by the meaning relations hyponymy-hypernymy, meronymy-holonymy and antonymy. The verbal synsets are related to one another by the meaning relations troponymy and entailment. The adjectives are related mainly by the relation antonymy in a unique fashion.

2.9. Ontology in Generative Lexicon

Pustejovsky (1995), the messiah 'generative lexicon', characterizes a generative lexicon as a computational system involving at least the following levels of representation (Pustejovsky, 1995:61):

1. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE: Specification of number and type of logical arguments
2. EVENT STRUCTURE: Definition of the event type of an expression and its subeventual structure
3. QUALIA STRUCTURE: A structural differentiation of the predicative force for a lexical item
4. LEXICAL INHERITANCE STRUCTURE: Identification of how a lexical structure is related to other structures in this type of lattice

Qualia structure is generally understood as representational tool for expressing the componential aspect of word meaning (Pustejovsky, 1995). The basic vocabulary relies on qualia structure for structuring the semantic/conceptual types. Unless there is a way of structuring word meaning along such multiple dimensions, the model would fail to provide an appropriate semantics for them. Qualia structure specifies four essential aspects of word's meaning (or qualia) (Pustejovsky, 1995:76):

- FORMAL ROLE- provides the information that distinguishes an individual within a larger set. It expresses the ISA relation which applies to all categories of the language.
- CONSTITUTIVE ROLE- expresses a variety of relations concerning the internal constitutions of an entity or event.
- TELIC ROLE- expresses the typical function of an entity, the purpose for carrying out an event, i.e., what the entity is for.
- AGENTIVE- expresses the origin of an entity, or the coming into being of a property or of an event.

Qualia structure is generally understood as a representational tool for expressing the componential aspect of word meaning.

The qualia structure is the core of the generative properties of the lexicon, because it provides a general strategy for creating increasingly specific concepts with conjunctive properties. A simple schematic description of a lexical item, α , using this representation is shown below (Pustejovsky, 1995):

Figure 11

α
 ARGSTR = ARG1=x
 ...
 CONST = what x is made of
 QUALIA = FORMAL = what x is
 TELIC = function of x
 AGENTIVE = how x come into being

The lexical structure for *puttakam* 'book' as an object can then be represented as follows (Pustejovsky, 1995: 116):

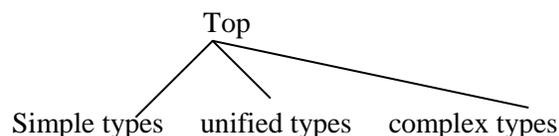
Figure 12

puttakam 'book'
 ARG1= x: *takaval* 'info(rmation)'
 ARGSTR = ARG2= y: *pautikapporuL* 'physobj'
takaval. pautikappaoruL 'info.physobj_lcp'
 FORMAL = *koNTiru* 'holds' (y,x)
 QUALIA = TELIC = *paTi* 'read' (e,w,x.y)
 AGENT = *ezutu* 'write' (e', v, x, y)

The above representation of *puttakam* 'book' reveals the following facts: *puttakam* 'book' is a physical object made of papers bounded together into an object; it contains information there by distinguished from notebook; it is written by somebody who is the author of the book and published by somebody who is the publisher of the book.

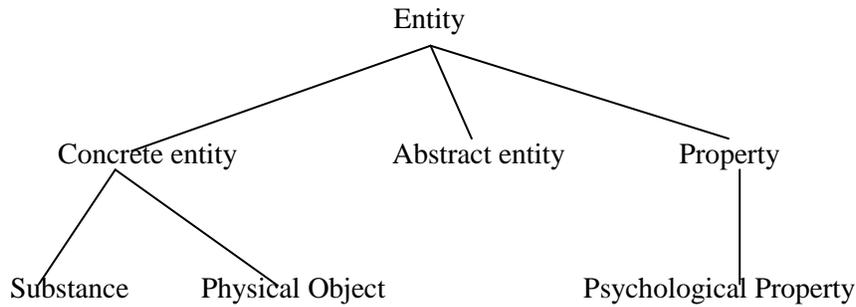
Lexical items are organized in the lexicon in terms of tripartite structure distinguishing between simple types, unified types, and complex types at the top level (Busa et al, 2001: 338).

Figure 13



Intuitively, the type of a lexical item is simple if the item is uniquely defined in terms of a taxonomic relation to another entity in a hierarchy. Natural kind entities are such an example. Similarly, “information,” “abstract,” are also members of the set of simple types when they do not involve richer information concerning other aspects of meaning (Busa et al, 2001: 338).

Figure 14

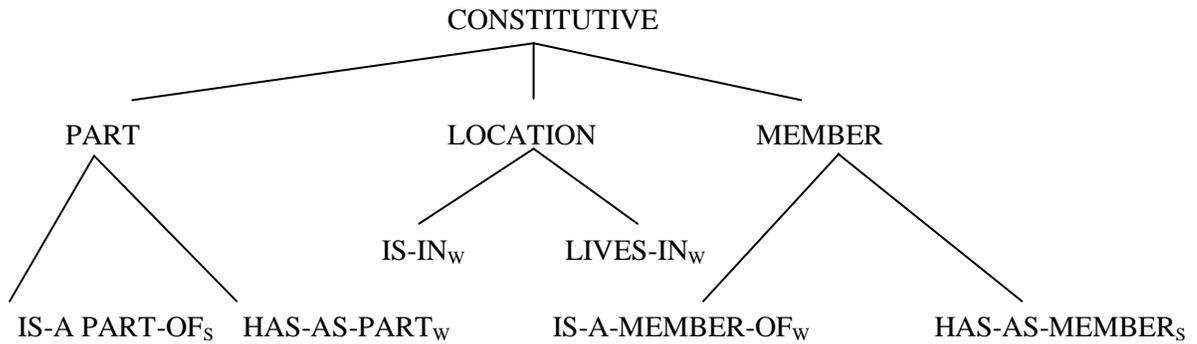


Unified types implement the principle of orthogonal inheritance, which allows a lexical item to fall into multiple classes along different dimensions of meaning. A unified type is created by recursively combining a simple or another unified type with additional elements from qualia structure (Busa et al, 2001).

When using a semantic vocabulary for structuring a large number of word meanings, it turns out that there are lexical items that share, on the surface, the same structural properties (e.g., they may involve TELIC role), but they differ in their linguistic behaviour. For each element in the qualia set we also distinguish between strong functional types and weak types. Weak and strong qualia determine whether or not orthogonal components of meaning give rise to simple or unified types. (Busa, et al., 2001)

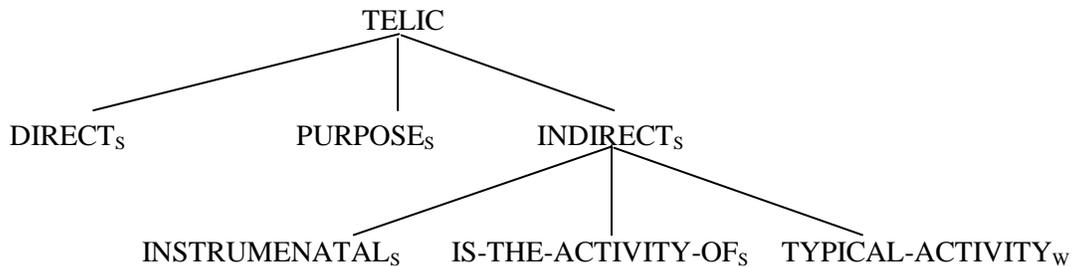
The qualia set for the CONSTITUTIVE role involves a number of subtypes, which expresses different constitutive relations that contribute to the semantic description of various concepts (Busa, et al., 2001: 341).

Figure 15



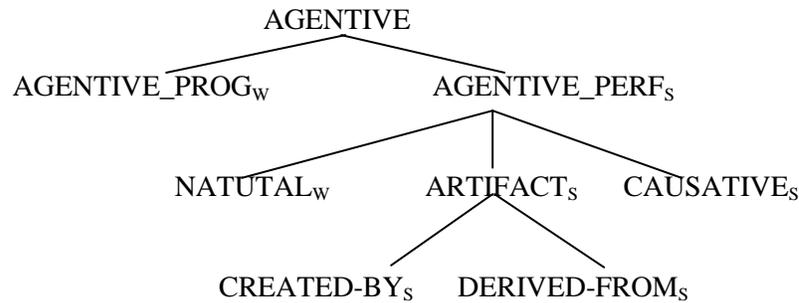
The TELIC involves a set of subtypes that distinguish lexical items according to a number of parameters. The first is discussed in Pustejovsky (1995) and concerns the distinction between DIRECT and INDIRECT TELIC. The PURPOSE TELIC is one associated with verbs, expressing the goal of the agent for performing a given action (Busa et al, 2001: 342).

Figure 16



The AGENTIVE qualia set distinguishes between persistent and temporary properties of the event encoded therein. AGENTIVE_PROGRESSIVE (AGENTIVE_PROG) is distinguished from AGENTIVE_PERFECTIVE (AGENTIVE_PERF). AGENTIVE_PERF is further distinguished for natural kinds, artifactual entities, and for causation involved in complex structures (Busa et al, 2001: 342).

Figure17



3. Tamil Visual Onto-thesaurus

Thesaurus is a in its wider sense is a classification of words by concepts, topics, or subjects. The present Tamil Onto-thesaurus is the extended version of Electronic thesaurus of Tamil focusing more on the ontological features. Two kinds of issues arise in the preparation of Tamil onto-thesaurus:

- Linguistic issues
- Computational issues

3.1. Linguistic Issues

It involves mainly the following four tasks:

1. Developing ontology for Tamil based on structural semantic principles.
2. Establishing semantic domains and sub domains based on distinguishing semantic or componential features of lexical items.
3. Classifying Tamil vocabulary to fit into the ontology developed.
4. Linking words by various semantic or lexical relations such as synonymy, hyponymy-hyperonymy, meronymy-holonymy, compatibility, and incompatibility.

3.2. Computational Issues

It involves mainly the following three tasks:

1. Conversion of linguistic data base into computer accessible format.
2. Preparation of a tool to provide the facilities for augmenting, entering and editing the raw data, and classifying the lexical items in a semi-automatic way.
3. Creation of user friendly interfaces for accessing the onto-thesaurus in simple manner.

3.3. Ontology of Tamil Vocabulary

The ontology available in Rajendran (1982, 2001), which is founded on the theory of componential analysis of meaning propounded by Nida (1975a), Indian tradition of *nikhandu* and

Aristotelian principle of genera and species is enhanced to suit the present purpose. Following Nida (1975a) the vocabulary of Tamil is grouped initially into four domains: entities which consist of referential meanings of concrete concepts, events which consist mainly of verbs and verbal nouns and abstracts which consist mainly of adjectives and adverbs apart from abstract nouns and relationals which consists of functional words including postpositions, connectives and coordinators. These four domains are further hierarchically classified into sub-domains under which the lexical items are listed. One will be able to capture the meaning of the concerned lexical item from the domain to which it belongs in a hierarchical fashion. A full-fledged detail of building ontology for the vocabulary of a language is available in Nida (1975a).

3.4. Structuring of Vocabulary by Lexical Relations

Lexical semantics offers foundation for structuring vocabulary in terms of lexical relations (Lyons 230-335, Cruses 1986. In the NLP oriented papers, the general practice are to avoid giving linguistic details based on which the system is built. But here we would like to give the lexical semantics of building onto-thesaurus to make it more transparent.

3.4.1. Congruence Relations

There are four basic relations between classes that furnish a model for establishing the fundamental group of sense relations and for defining a set of systematic variants applicable to virtually all other paradigmatic sense relations; they are identity, inclusion, overlapping, and disjunction (Cruse, 1986:86-87).

Identity: class A and class B have same members.

Inclusion: class B is wholly included in the class A

Overlap: class A and class B have members in common but each has members not found in the other

Disjunction: class A and class B have no members in common

These four congruence relations culminate into the four lexical relations discussed below.

3.4.2. Lexical Relations

There are at least four lexical or meaning relations by which lexical items can be linked or related to one another in the ontological structure of Tamil vocabulary. They are synonymy, hyponymy, compatibility and incompatibility (Lyons, 1977; Cruse, 1986:84-111). A word acquires its referential meaning in being a member of a semantic domain by the common features it shares with other members in that domain, and having contrasting features which separate it from other members of the domain. It is the semantic relations among words, such as synonymy, hyponymy, compatibility and incompatibility, which help one to classify and organize words in terms of semantic domains in a structural fashion.

Synonymy: e.g. *puttakam* 'book': *nuul* 'book';

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Hyponymy-hypernymy: e.g. *pacu* 'cow' : *vilangku* 'animal';

Meronymy-holonymy: e.g. *uTal* 'body': *kaal* 'leg';

Compatibility: e.g. *cellappiraaNiv* 'pet': *naay* 'dog'

Incompatibility: *malai* 'hill': *maTu* 'water hole'; incompatibility leads to the relation called opposition which culminates into many types which are discussed below.

Nida (1975a: 68-110) makes use of the following sets of meanings to establish "related meanings of different lexical units": contiguous sets of meanings (e.g. *hat*, *cap*, *beret* and *helmet*), included sets of meanings (e.g. hierarchically related items such as *mammal*: *cat* and *tiger*), overlapping sets of meanings (e.g. *peace*: *tranquility*, *father*: *daddy*, *paper*: *article*) and complementary sets of meanings (which includes opposites, reversives and conversives/reciprocals). (See Nida 1975a for the proper understanding of his classification of lexical concepts.)

3.4.3. Lexical Inheritance

Hypernymy-hyponymy and meronymy-holonymy assure a lexical item to inherit semantic features as exemplified below:

kuiyl 'quail' – *iniya kuraluTaiya kariya paRavai* 'a black bird with sweet voice'

paRavai – *irukaalkaLum alakukaLum uTaiya, uTalin iruppakkangkaLilum paRappataRku eeRRavakaiyil ciRakukaL koNTa vilangkinam* 'an animal with two legs and a beak and wings at its sides of its body for flying'

vilangkinam 'animal' – *taanaaka iyangkum uTal uRuppukaLum celluloos ilaata celkaLum uLLa uyiringkaL* 'living beings with parts functioning automatically and cell walls without cellulose'

uyirinam - uyir vaazkiRa onRu 'one which lives'

3.4.4. Lexical Oppositions

There are many types of oppositions (Lyons, 1977: 270-290; Cruse, 1986: 197-263, Cruse, 1986: 165-176). They can be grouped into two types of oppositions or contrasts based on the number of items involved in the contrast: binary contrast or opposition and non-binary contrast or non-binary opposition. If the contrast is made between two lexical items, it is called binary contrast; if the contrast is made between more than two lexical items, it is called non-binary contrast. The binary-contrasts are listed below with examples from Tamil.

Gradable opposites: The gradable antonyms or opposites occur as end points on a scale, and the denial of one member of the pair does not imply the assertion of the other. E.g. *nalla* 'good': *keTTa* 'bad'; *azakaana* 'beautiful' : *kuruuramaana* 'ugly', *uyaramaana* 'long' : *kuLLamaana* 'short'.

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Ungradable opposites or non-gradable opposites: Non-gradable antonymy divides the universe of discourse absolutely without admitting degrees of more or less. E.g. *aaN* 'male': *peN* 'female'; *kalyaaNamaana* 'married': *kalyaaNamaakaata* 'un-married', *uyiruLLa* 'live': *uyiraRRa* 'dead'.

Complementaries: Complementaries do not fall on a scale, though in certain borderline cases something like a scale might exist. E.g. *pakal* 'day': *iravu* 'night', *uNmai* 'truth': *poy* 'false', *aaN* 'male': *peN* 'female' *veRRi* 'success': *toolvi* 'failure'.

Privative Opposites: In privative opposition, one item of the pair denotes some positive property and the other denotes the absence of that property. They are referred as privative opposites. E.g. *uyiruLLavai* 'living beings': *uyirillaatavai* 'non-living beings'.

Equipollent opposites: In equipollent opposition, both the contrasting lexemes denote a positive property. They are referred as equipollent opposites. E.g. *aaN* 'male': *peN* 'female'.

Converses: Converseness is the relationship that holds between such pairs of words (i.e. converses) in which one can be considered as the reverse of the other. Converseness is distinguished from antonymy and complementarity. e.g. *kaNavan* 'husband': *manaivi* 'wife', *kol* 'kill': *kollappaTu* 'be killed', *vaangku* 'get': *koTu* 'give'; 'X is Y's husband' means 'Y is X's wife'. There are various types of converses.

1. Converse pairs of social roles, e.g. *vaitiyar* 'doctor' : *nooyaaLi* 'patient', *ejamaanar/ejamaani* 'boss': *veelaiyaaL* 'servant';
2. Converse pairs of Kinship terms, e.g. *tandtai* 'father'/*taayaar* 'mother' : *makan* 'son'/*makaL* 'daughter';
3. Converse pairs of temporal relations, e.g. *munnaal* 'before': *pinnaal* 'after', *munnar* 'earlier': *pinnar* 'later';
4. Converse pairs of spatial relations, e.g. *munnaal* 'in front': *pinnaal* 'at the back', *meelee* 'above': *kiizee* 'below'

Directional opposites: e.g. *meelee* 'above' : *kiizee* 'below', *vandtuceed* 'arrive': *puRappaTu* 'start', *vaa* 'come': *poo* 'go'

Orthogonal opposites (perpendicularly opposites): e.g. *vaTakku* 'north' : *meeRku* 'west', *vaTakku*: *kizakku* 'east'; i.e. *meeRku* 'west' and *kizakku* 'east' are perpendicularly opposite to *vaTakku* 'north'

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Antipodal opposites (diametrically opposites): *vaTakku* 'north' : *teRku* 'south'; *kizakku* 'east' : *meeRku* 'west'; i.e. *vaTakku* 'north' is diametrically opposite to *teRku* 'south' and *kizakku* 'east' is diametrically opposite to *meeRku* 'west'

Non-binary Opposition: As stated above, if the opposition involves more than two lexical items such contrasts are called non-binary opposition (Lyon, 1977:271). There a number of types of non-binary contrasts. They are dealt under non-branching hierarchies.

3.4.5. Hierarchies

Hierarchies (Cruse 1986:112-118) are of two types: branching hierarchies and non-branching hierarchies.. The branching hierarchy shows tree structure, where as non-branching hierarchy does not show tree structure.

Figure 18

Branching hierarchies

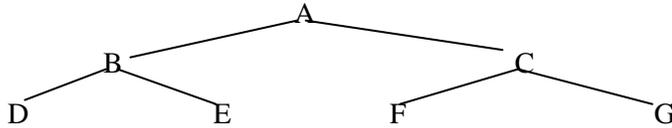


Figure 19

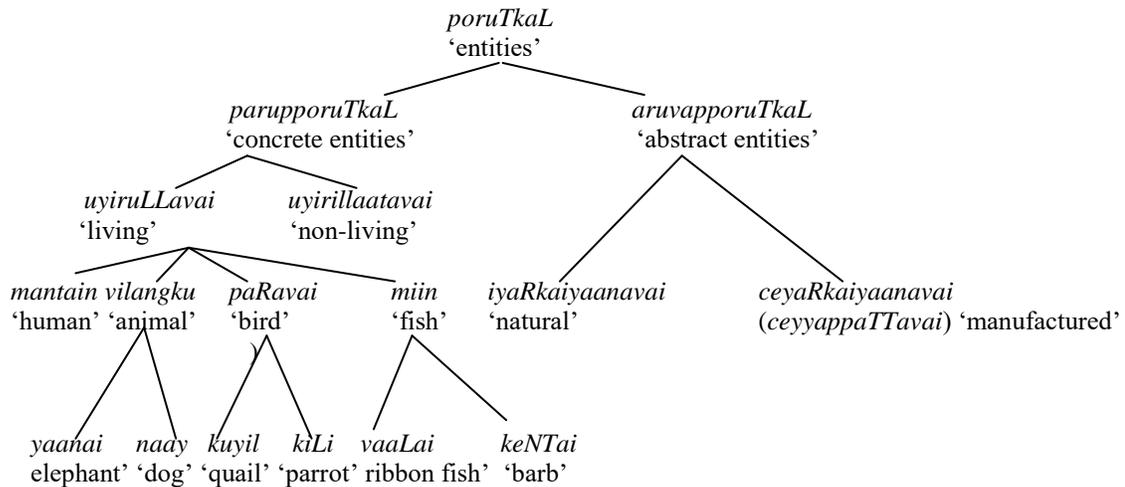
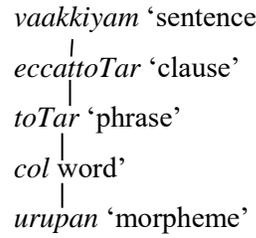
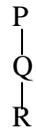


Figure 20

Non-branching hierarchies



3.4.5.1. Taxonomic Hierarchies

The first major type of branching lexical hierarchy is the outcome of the hyponymy-hypernymy relation between lexical items. The sequence of hyponymy-hypernymy relation leads to branched-hierarchical structure of a set of vocabulary items which show this pair of relations among themselves. Taxonomic hierarchies (Cruse, 1986: 136-155) are more liberal than hyponymy-hypernymy hierarchies. The following is an example.

Figure 21

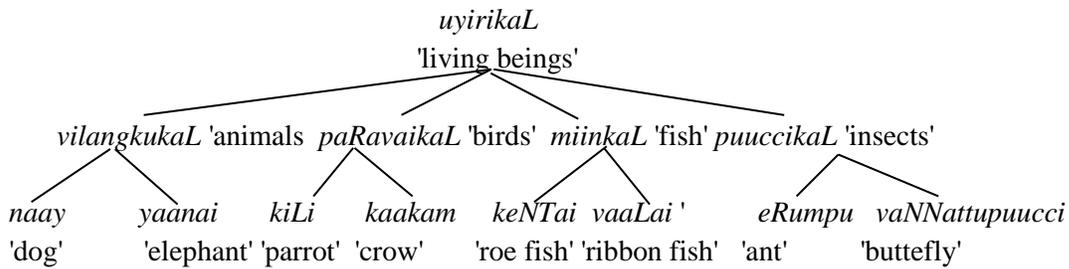
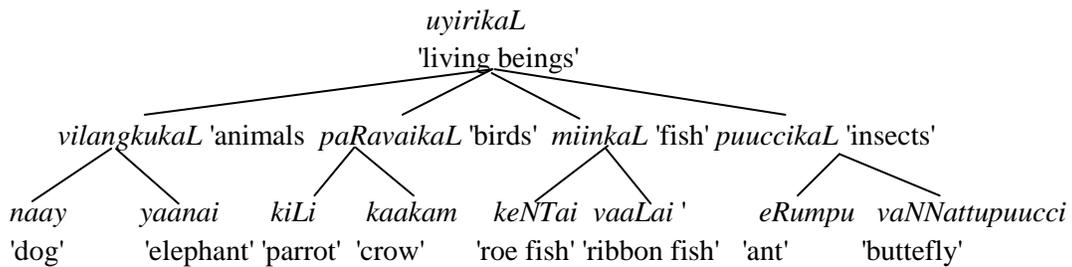


Figure 22

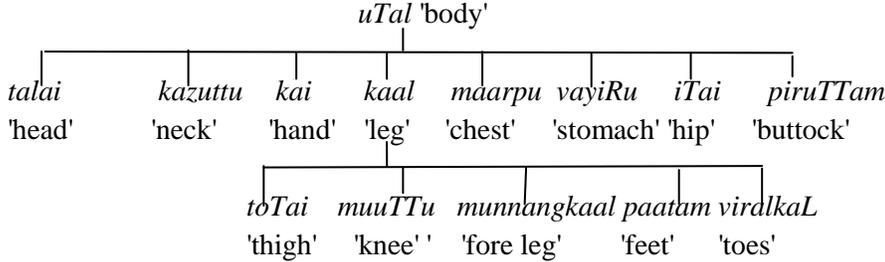


3.4.5.2. Meronymic Hierarchies

The second major type of branching lexical hierarchy is the part-whole type which is called meronymies. (Cruse, 1986: 157-180). Meronymic hierarchies are the result of meronymy-holonymy

relation shown by the lexical items. The meronymy-holonymy relation also gives hierarchical structure to a set of vocabulary. The following is an example.

Figure 23



3.4.5.3. Non-branching Hierarchies

Non-binary opposition leads to a number of types of non-branching hierarchies. They are listed below:

Bipoles: The bipoles is the simplest kind of linear structure found in a pair of opposites. They are simply oppositions which we have discussed earlier (Cruse, 2000: 189). e.g. *niiLamaana* 'long': *kuTTaiyaana* 'short', *viraiyaaka* 'fast': *metuvaaka* 'slowly'.

Bipolar chains: The bipolar chains imply a scale on which a pair of opposites operates denoting different degrees of the property. They have implicit superlative terms of opposite polarity at each end of the scale (Cruse, 2000: 189). The following is the example: *mikanuNNiya* 'very minute', *nuNNiya* 'minute', *ciRiya* 'small', *periya* 'big', *mikapperiya* 'very big'

Monopolar Chains: In monopolar, there is no sense that the terms at the ends of the chain are oriented in opposite directions. Degree, stages, measures, ranks and sequences come under monopolar chains (Cruse, 2000: 190).

Degrees: Degrees incorporate as part of their meaning different degrees of some continuously scaled property such as size or intensity (Cruse, 2000: 190). e.g. *paarai* 'mound': *kunRu* 'hillock': *malai* 'hill' : *maamalai* 'mountain'

Stages: Stages are points in a life cycle of something and normally involve the notion of progression (Cruse 2000: 190). e.g. *kuzandtaip pruvam* 'child stage': *vaalipap paruvam* 'young stage' : *mutir paruvam* 'adult stage': *mutu paruvam* 'old stage'.

Measures: Measures are based on part-whole relationship, with each whole divided into a number of identical parts (Cruse, 2000: 190). *cekaNTu* 'second', *miniT* 'minute', *maNi* 'hour', *naaL* 'day', *vaaram* 'week' *maatam* 'month', *aaNTu* 'year'.

Ranks: The lexical items under ranks entails a sequential order which is not gradual (Cruse, 2000. 191). e.g. *virivuraiyaaLar* 'lecture', *mutunilai virivuraiyaaLar* 'senior lecture', *iNaippeeraaciriyar* 'reader', *peeraaciriyar* 'professor'. Lyons (1977: 290) includes numeral under rank as an unique type. E.g. *onRu* 'one', *iraNTu* 'two' .. *pattu* 'ten', *irupatu* 'twenty, ... *nuuRu*, *iRunuuRu*, ...

Sequences: Sequences are lexical items which are ordered but do not bear increasing property as in the case of previous chains (Cruse, 2000: 191). e.g. *iRandta kaalam* 'past tense', *nikaz kaalam* 'present tense', *etir kaalam* 'future tense'; *kaar kaalam* 'rainy season' *kuuLir kaalam* 'cold season', *munpani kaalam* 'early cold season', *pinpanik kaalam* 'late cold season', *iLaveeniR kaalam* 'milder hot season', *mutuveeniR kaalam* 'hot season'.

Cyclical Sets or Cycles: The sequential lexical item (Cruse, 1986:187-190) can entail a cyclical order of time in the natural arena. e.g. *kaarkaalam* 'rainy season' *kuutirkaalam* 'cold season', *munpanikkaalam* 'early cold season', *pinpanikkaalam* 'late cold season', *iLaveenirkaalam* 'milder hot season', *mutuveenirkaalam* 'hot season'; *canavari* 'January', *pepravari* 'February', *maarc* 'March', *eeppiral* 'April', *mee* 'May', *juun* 'June'... }; *njaayiRu* 'Sunday', *tingkaL* 'Monday', *cevvaay* 'Tuesday' , *putan* 'Wednesday', *viyaazan* 'Thursday', *veLLi* 'Friday', *cani* 'Saturday'.

3.4.6. Propositional series or grids

Cruse (1986: 118-133) discusses about propositional series elaborately under lexical configurations. Propositional series is a type of lexical configuration; the other lexical configuration is hierarchy. He uses term grid for the same in another occasion (Cruse, 2000:191-193). The grids generated by recurrent sense relations, or which comes to much the same thing, by recurrent semantic components. The unit of a grid is the cell, which consists of four lexical items, any one of which must be uniquely predictable from the remaining three (Cruse, 2000:191). The followings are the examples of cells: *pacu* 'cow': *kanRu* 'calf' :: *kutirai* 'horse': *kuTTi* 'foe' ; *paampu* 'snake' : *kunjcu* 'young one': *palli* 'lizard' : *kunjcu* 'young one' ; *yaanai* : *piLiRu* 'trumpet' :: *nari* 'fox': *uuLaiyiTu* 'howl'. Propositional series or grids help us to relate lexical items by different types of meaning relations. Even derivative relation can be expressed using grids; e.g. *kuLi* 'bathe' : *kuLittal* 'bathing': *kuTi* 'drink': *kuTittal* 'drinking'.

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3.4.7. Clusters

Cruse (2000: 193) prefers to make use of the term clusters in the place of synonyms. For him clusters are essentially groups of synonyms. He opines that the name is intended to indicate that the sharpness and complexity of structuring is much less than in other types of fields. For him they are somewhat informal groups. He identifies two main types of cluster, centred cluster and non-centred cluster. The centred cluster has more-or-less clear core of one or two, and a penumbra of more peripheral items. In non-centred clusters, the items spread over a spectrum of sense, but there is no superordinate item. It should be noted that Nida (Nida, 1975a) makes use of the term “contiguous sets of meanings”. (The opinions of Nida and Cruse are taken into consideration while building VOT for Tamil.)

3.5. Creation of database for VOT

As mentioned earlier, the lexical items are arranged into four major categories entities, events, abstracts and relationals in line with Nida (1975a). Each category requires different representation in the VOT because of their inherent componential features. The organization of lexical items in the data base is discussed below:

3.5.1. Entities in VOT

Nida’s (1975a) classification of entities is given above. Rajendran (1983, 2001) has elaborately studied entities and made an operational classification of entities using the principles of componential analysis. Entities are represented as nouns in the surface level or formal level. It is proposed to make use of Nida’s classification for organizing entities in VOT. Relations pertaining to entities can be captured by lexical relations such as synonymy, hyponymy, compatibility, incompatibility and meronymy which have been elaborately discussed in the previous sections.

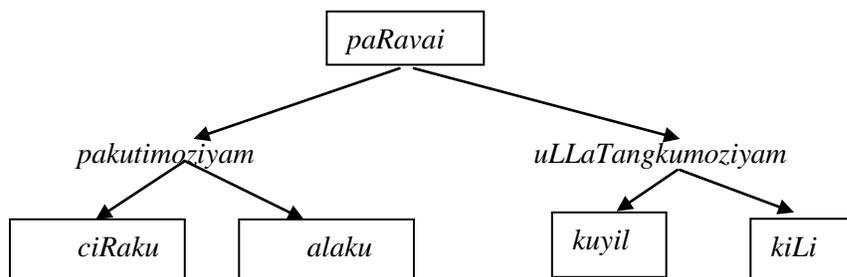
Entities in VOT contain lexical items denoting concrete objects. Like any thesaurus, synonymy is captured in VOT as a set of lexical items denoting the same meaning and labeled as *iNaiccoRkaL* ‘the lexical items having the same meaning’. The notion of synonymy (referred here as *iNaimoziyam*) does not entail interchangeability in all contexts. By that criterion, natural languages have few synonyms. The more modest claim is that synonyms can be interchanged in some contexts. Although synonymy is a semantic relation between word forms, the semantic relation that is most important in organizing entities is the relation of subordination (or class inclusion or subsumption), which is called hyponymy. It is this semantic relation that organizes entities into a lexical hierarchy. Each hyponym leads on to a more generic hypernym. Hyponymy-hypernym relation cannot be represented as a simple relation between word forms. Hyponymy is a relation between lexicalized concepts, a relation that is represented in VOT by the label ‘*uLLaTangkumoziyam* ‘hyponymy’ between the appropriate lexical concepts. A lexical hierarchy can be reconstructed by following the trail of hyponymically-hypernumerically related lexical items.

For each hyponymic relation we can add a corresponding hypernymic relation that points in the opposite direction. What emerges from this manner of representing hyponymy and hypernymy is a lexical hierarchy. Hierarchies of these sorts are widely used by computer scientist as a means of representing knowledge. The entities in VOT from a lexical inheritance system; a systematic effort has been made to connect hyponyms with their hypernyms (and vice versa). VOT presupposes a linguistic knowledge of anaphoric relations; an anaphor can be a hypernym of its antecedent.

More generally, a hyponym can replace a more specific term whenever the context ensures that the substitution will not produce confusion. It is of some interest that these levels are shallow. In principle, of course, there is no limit to the number of levels in inheritance system can have. Lexical inheritance systems, however, seldom go more than ten levels deep, and the deepest examples usually contain technical levels that are not part of the everyday vocabulary. Some hierarchies are deeper than others:

Another important relation which helps in the tree representation of entities is part-whole relation. Part-whole relation between entries is generally considered to be a semantic relation, called meronymy. It is comparable to synonymy, antonymy, and hyponymy. The relation has an inverse: if x is a meronym of y, then y is said to be a holonym of x. For concrete objects like bodies and artifacts, meronymy can help to define a basic level. Meronyms are distinguishing features that hyponyms can inherit. Consequently, meronymy and hyponymy are intertwined in complex ways. For example, if *alaku* ‘beak’ and *ciRaku* ‘wing’ are meronyms of *paRavai* ‘bird’, and if *kuyil* ‘koel’ is a hyponym of bird, then by inheritance, beak and wing must also be meronyms of *kuyil* ‘koel’. In VOT the relation homonymy is referred as *uLLaTangkumoziyam* and the relation meronymy is referred as *pakutimoziyam*. The above mentioned scenario is depicted in VOT by the tree-viewer (explained at the end) as follows:

Figure 24



It has been said that distinguishing features are introduced into noun hierarchies primarily at the level of basic concepts; some claims have been made that meronym is particularly important for defining

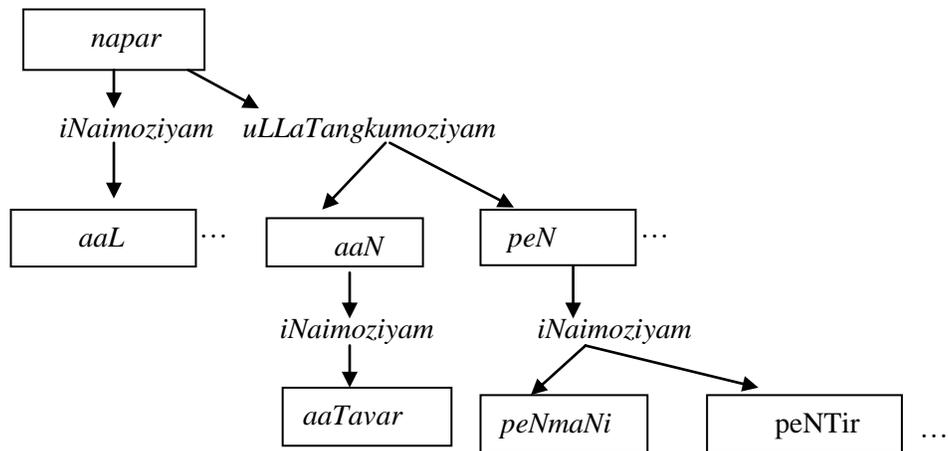
basic concepts. Meronymy is often compared to hyponymy: both are asymmetric and transitive, and both can relate terms hierarchically. In many instances transitivity seems to be limited for meronymy. For example, *piTi* ‘handle’ is a meronym of *katavu* ‘door’ and *katavu* ‘door’ is a meronym of *viiTu* ‘house’, yet it sounds odd to say *viiTTiRku piTi irukiRatu* ‘The house has a handle’ or *piTi viiTin oru pakuti* ‘The handle is a part of the house’.

The strongest psycholinguistic indication that two words are antonyms is that each is given on a word association test as the most common response to the other. Semantic opposition is not a fundamental organizing relation between nouns, but it does exist and so merits its own representation in onto-thesaurus.

napar ‘person’, *aaL* ‘person’ {*aaN* ‘male person’, <*aaTavar* ‘male person’>} *peN* ‘female person’, <*peNmaNi* ‘female person’, *peNTir* ‘female person’>}

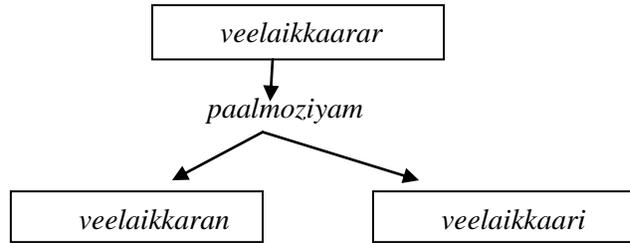
Note that hyponyms arranged (or included) under hypernym(s) by using the curly brackets ({}) and synonyms are arranged (or included) under the respective word-form by using the ankle brackets (< >). This will give the following visualization in the tree-viewer:

Figure 25



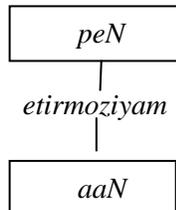
In Tamil certain human entities have three forms; one is the epicene form, another is male form and the third is the female form; the epicene form implies a kind of respect when compared to the other two forms. For example for the word *servant* there are three forms: *veelaikkaarar* ‘servant’ (epicene form), *veelaikkaaran* ‘male servant’ and *veelaikkaari* ‘female servant’. In the tree viewer the gender marked forms are given under epicene form with the label *paalmozিয়am* ‘gender marked relation’.

Figure 26



The relation between the three forms are established by giving the gender marked forms under the epicene form by using the special separators. Antonymy is a lexical relation between words, rather than a semantic relation between concepts. The antonyms are related to one another by using the special separators: % and *. For example *peN* ‘female person’ is given under *aaN* ‘female person by using the above mentioned separators as follows: *aaN %peN**. In the tree-viewer this will be represented by using the label *etirmoziyam* ‘antonymy’ as given below.

Figure 27



When all three kinds of semantic relations – hyponymy, meronymy, and antonymy – are included, the result is a highly interconnected network of entities.

The term ‘function’ has served many purposes, both in psychology and linguistics. The functional feature of a nominal concept is intended to be a description of something that instances of the concept normally do, or that is normally done with or to them. For example, it seems natural to say that the function of a pencil is to write or the function of knife is to cut, to say that the function of a canary is to fly or to sing seems a bit forced. Nominal concepts can play various semantic roles as arguments of the verbs that they co-occur with in a sentence (Miller et al 1990).

katti ‘knife – *veTTu* ‘cut’

kuzi ‘hole’ – *tooNTu* ‘dig’

paTam ‘picture’ - *varai* ‘draw’

There are also linguistic reasons to assume that a thing’s function is a feature of its meaning. It should be mentioned here that Pustejovsky (1995) in his generative lexicon talks about telic role in his qualia structure. At present VOT does not relate entities with their ‘function’ or telic role. This will be incorporated in VOT latter.

Relations	Subtypes	Example
Synonymy		<i>puttakam</i> ‘book’ to <i>nduul</i> ‘book’
Hypernymy- Hyponymy		<i>vilangku</i> ‘animal’ to <i>paaluuTTi</i> ‘mammal’
Hyponymy- Hypernymy		<i>pacu</i> ‘cow’ to <i>paaluuTTi</i> ‘mammal’
Holonymy- Meronymy	Wholes to parts	<i>meecai</i> ‘table’ to <i>kaal</i> ‘leg’
„	Groups to members	<i>tuRai</i> ‘department’ to <i>peeraaciriyar</i> ‘professor’
Meronymy- Holonymy	Parts to wholes	<i>cakkaram</i> ‘wheel’ to <i>vaNTi</i> ‘cart’
„	Members to groups	<i>paTaittlaivar</i> ‘captain’ to <i>paTai</i> ‘army’
Binary Opposites	Antonymic (gradable)	<i>ndallavan</i> ‘good person’ to <i>keTTavan</i> ‘bad person’
„	Complementary	<i>aaTavar</i> ‘man’: <i>makaLir</i> ‘woman’
	Converse	<i>kaNavan</i> ‘husband’ to <i>manaivi</i> ‘wife’
„	Privative (opposing features)	<i>ahRiNai</i> ‘irrational’ to <i>uyartiNai</i> ‘rational’
„	Equipollent (positive features)	<i>aaN</i> ‘male’ to <i>peN</i> ‘female’
„	Reciprocal Social roles	<i>vaittiyar</i> ‘doctor’ to <i>ndooyaaLi</i> ‘patient’
„	Kinship Relations	<i>ammaa</i> ‘mother’ to <i>makaL</i> ‘daughter’
„	Antipodal Opposition	<i>cikaram</i> ‘peak’ to <i>aTi</i> ‘foot (of mountain)’
	Orthogonal opposition	<i>ciRumi</i> ‘girl’ : <i>ciRuvan</i> ‘boy’ and <i>peNTir</i> ‘woman’

“	Degrees	<i>paaRai</i> 'mound': <i>kunRu</i> 'hillock': <i>malai</i> 'hill' : <i>maamalai</i> 'mountain'
”	Ranks	<i>virivuraiyaaLar</i> 'lecture', <i>mutunilai virivuraiyaaLar</i> 'senior lecture', <i>iNaippeeraaciriya</i> 'reader', <i>peeraaciriyar</i> 'professor'
Compatibility		<i>ndaay</i> 'dog' to <i>cellappiraani</i> 'pet'

3.5.2. Organization of Events in VOT

The semantic domain EVENTS comprises of verbs and the abstract nouns derived from them. Nida's (1976b) tentative classification of events into twelve semantic domains based on componential analysis has been given already. Events are mostly realized in the surface level as verbal forms. Rajendran (1978) classified verbs into 31 groups out of which nine are major important semantic domains. The important semantic domains identified by him based on componential analysis of verbs are: 1. Verbs of movement (i.e. change of position), 2. Verbs of transferring (change of possession), 3. Verbs of change of state (change of shape, condition, etc), 4. Verbs of impact, 5. Verbs of senses, 6. Verbs of emotion, 7. Verbs of intellection, 8. Verbs of communication and calling, 9. Verbs of association. Each major domain is divided into sub domain by taking into account distinguishing semantic component. This classification need second look to make it more user-friendly. Even though verbs do not show hierarchical ordering, a quasi-hierarchical ordering is possible by taking into account certain pertinent distinguishing semantic features. For wider coverage of verbs, it is proposed to follow the twelve-way classification of verbs by Nida (1975a) and this tentative classification is liable to change to accommodate more verbs.

3.5.2.1. Polysemous Nature of Verbs

The verbs are fewer in number than nouns in Tamil and at the same time verbs are more polysemous in nature than nouns. The semantic flexibility of verbs makes the lexical analysis of verbs difficult. A look at the Tamil corpus or Tamil dictionary will reveal the polysemous behaviour of verbs. The polysemy will be captured in line with Nida (1975). He elaborately discusses about the representation of polysemy of the verb *run* (Nada: 138-150) in his thesaurus. The following table outlines the different senses in *ooTu* is used (Rajendran, 1978).

Different senses	Examples
I. Movement	
1. run as animals	<i>avan pattu mail tuuram ooTinaan</i>

	‘He ran for about ten miles’
2. run as a liquid in a channel, river, tube, vessel, etc. (Note: <i>poo</i> ‘go’ can replace <i>ooTu</i> in this context.)	<i>aaRRil veLLam ooTukiRatu</i> ‘The water is running in the river’
3. work as a machine (the movement of which can be seen from the movement of wheels).	<i>kaTikaaram ooTukiRatu</i> ‘The clock is running’
4. run as vehicles (generic locomotion); ply.	<i>rayil taNTavaaLattil ooTukiRatu</i> ‘Train moves on tracks’ <i>kappal taNNiirril ooTukiRatu</i> ‘Ship moves in water’ <i>cennaiyilirundtu kanniyaakumaarikku bas ooTukiRatu</i> ‘Buses are playing between Chennai and Kanyakumari’
5. escape	<i>avan miinaip piTikkap poonaan, aanaal atu ooTiviTTatu</i> ‘He tried to catch the fish, but it ran away’ <i>avan vaNNattuppuucciyaip piTikkap poonaan, aanaal atu ooTiviTTatu</i> ‘He tried to catch the butter-fly, but it ran away’
6. elope (Note: The compound <i>ooTippoo</i> ‘having run go’ also gives the meaning ‘elope away’)	<i>avaL avan kuuTa ooTiviTTaal</i> ‘She eloped away with him’
II. abstract movement	
1. run or go on as a performance, a business, an organization, life, etc. (Note: <i>ndaTa</i> ‘walk; happen’ can be used in the place of <i>ooTu</i> in all these contexts. Running of dance or drama performance cannot be denoted by the verb <i>ooTu</i> .)	<i>anta tiyeeTTaril oru cinimaa ooTukiRatu</i> ‘A cinema is running in that theatre’ <i>viyaapaaram ndanRaaka ooTukiRatu</i> ‘The business is going on well’ <i>kampani ndanRaaka ooTukiRatu</i> ‘The company is running well’ <i>vaazkkai eppaTiyoo ooTukiRatu</i> ‘The life is going on somehow’
2. pass quickly as time.	<i>ndaan inkee vandtu muunRu varuTankaL ooTiviTTana</i> ‘Three years have passed after my coming over

	here'
3. by capable of comprehending, doing work, etc. (Note: <i>poo</i> 'go' is synonymous to <i>ooTu</i> in this context. Note: The verb in this context receives a dative-subject. The verb <i>vaa</i> 'come' can also be used in the place of <i>ooTu</i> . <i>ooTu</i> in this context when compounded with the negative auxiliaries <i>illai</i> and <i>maaTu</i> gives the meaning 'be incapable or paralyzed'.	<i>enakku kaNakku ooTum</i> 'I can comprehend mathematics' <i>avanukku kottaveelai ooTum</i> 'He can do masonry' <i>enakku kaNakku ooTavillai</i> 'I could not comprehend mathematics' <i>enakku veelai ooTamaaTTeen enkiRatu</i> 'I am unable to work' <i>avanaip paarttatum enakkuk kaiyum kaalum ooTavillai</i> '(As soon as I saw him I could not operate my hands and legs) I was paralyzed by seeing him' <i>enakku onRumee ooTavillai</i> 'I could not do anything (I am inactive).

Nida (1975a) elaborately discusses about treating "different meanings of the same lexical units". At present polysemy is not taken care of explicitly in VOT. The verbal polysemy is a challenging problem. The conceptual classification of lexical items, itself will take care of certain amount of polysemy. The contrastive polysemy is very well taken care of in VOT. Only certain types of complementary polysemy need to be taken care of. This will be done at the later stage of VOT. Predictable polysemy can be tackled by incorporating more features in VOT. Metaphorical and metonymic extensions of meaning of lexical items can be resolved by incorporating Pustejovsky's (1995) principles of generative lexicon.

3.5.2.2. Componential Features of Verbs

Verbs can be paraphrased in terms of finer semantic features. The decompositional nature of verbs can be exploited for the interpretation of verbs denoting complex events in terms of verbs denoting simple events. For example the verb *kol* 'kill' can be decomposed into 'cause not to become alive'. The verb *eRi* 'throw' can be decomposed into 'cause an object to move away from one's possession by force'. The decompositional nature of verbs reveals the entailment relation existing between verbs. For example, the entailment of simple verb under causative verb (ex. *ooTu* 'run' vs. *ooTTu* 'cause to run') is understood by decompositional nature of verbs. The decompositional features of verbs can be captured by the componential analysis of verbs into finer semantic components (Leech, 1974). All types of lexical relations such as synonymy, entailment, hyponymy and troponymy and sentential properties such as

presupposition, inconsistency, tautology, contradiction, and semantic anomaly can be mapped clearly if verbs are decomposed into componential features. The decompositional means of relating verbs or events will be considered in VOT.

3.5.2.3. Synonymy among Verbs

Synonymy is a rare phenomenon in verbal domain. Verbal domain exhibits only a few truly synonymous verbs. Take for examples the words *paTi* 'read' and *vaaci* 'read'. *avan puttakam paTikkiRaan* 'He is reading a book' can entail *avan puttakam vaacikkiRaan* 'He is reading a book'. The relation existing between *paTi* and *vaaci* is synonymy and *paTi* and *vaaci* are synonyms, at least in this context. Truly synonymous verbs are difficult to find, mostly quasi synonymous verbs are found in Tamil. The existence of a simple and a parallel compound forms (noun + verbalizer) prompts synonymy (quasi synonymy) in verbal system of Tamil.

kol 'kill' and *kolai cey* 'murder

vicaari 'enquire' and *vicaaraNai cey* 'investigate'

The synonymous expressions of many verbs show that they are manner elaborations of more basic verbs. For example, *viniyooki* 'distribute' can be considered as an elaboration of the basic verb *koTu* 'give'. The more effective way of depicting the lexical and semantic relations among verbs is to establish these relations in terms of different senses of each verb. VOT makes use of synonymy to relate one verb (verbal concept) with another verb (verbal concept) whenever it is possible.

3.5.2.4. Lexical Entailment and Meronymy

Lexical entailment refers to the relation that holds between two verbs when the statement "X entails Y". For example, *kuRaTTai viTu* 'snore' lexically entails *tuungku* 'sleep' because the sentence *avan kuRaTTai viTukiRaan* 'he is snoring' entails *avan tuungkukiRaan* 'he is sleeping'; the second sentence is true if the first one is true. Lexical entailment is a unilateral relation: if a verb V1 entails another verb V2, then it cannot be that case that V2 entails V1. For example, *uRangku* need not entail *kanavukaaN*.

The entailment relation between verbs discussed above is similar to meronymy found between nouns, but meronymy is more suitable to nouns than to verbs. Fellbaum and Miller (1990) argue that, first, verbs cannot be taken as parts in the same way as nouns, because the parts of verbs are not analogous to the parts of nouns. Most nouns and noun parts have distinct, delimited referents. The referents of verbs, on the other hand, do not have the kind of distinct parts that characterize objects, groups, or substances. Componential analyses have shown that verbs cannot be broken into referents denoted solely by verbs. It is true that some activities can be broken down into sequentially ordered sub-

activities, say for example *camai* 'cook' is a complex activity involving a number of sub-activities. Consider the relation between the verbs *vaangku* 'buy' and *koTu* 'pay'. Although neither activity is a discrete part of the other, the two are connected in that when you buy something, somebody gives it to you. Neither activity can be considered as a sub-activity of the other. Consider the relations among the activities denoted by the verbs *kuRaTTaiviTu* 'snore', *kanavukaaN* 'dream', and *uRanku* 'sleep'. Snoring or dreaming can be part of sleeping, in the sense that the two activities are, at least, partially, temporally co-extensive; the time that you spend snoring or dreaming is a proper part of the time you spend sleeping. And it is true that when you stop sleeping you also necessarily stop snoring or dreaming. The relation between pairs like *vangu* 'buy' and *koTu* 'pay' and *kuRaTTaiviTu* 'snore' and *uRangu* 'sleep' are due to the temporal relations between the members of each pair. The activities can be simultaneous (as in the case of *vaangku* 'buy' and *koTu* 'pay' or one can include the other (as in the case of *kuRaTTaiviTu* 'snore' and *uRangu* 'sleep'). VOT makes of entailment to relate one verb with another verb whenever it is possible.

3.5.2.5. Hyponymy among Verbs

Some verbs seem more generic than others. For example, *koTu* 'give' describes a wider range of activities than *viniyooki* 'distribute'. The hyponymous relation of the kind found in nouns cannot be realized in verbs. The sentence frame, *An x is a y*, which is used to establish hyponymous relation between nouns is not suitable for verbs, because it requires that *x* and *y* be nouns. The scrutiny of hyponyms and their superordinates reveals that lexicalization involves different kinds of semantic expansions across different semantic domains (Miller 1990, Felbaum, 1998). The analysis of verbs of motion in Tamil (Rajendran, 1978) reveals the fact that the semantic component such as +DIRECTION (eg. *eeRu* 'climb up' vs *iRanku* 'climb down'), +MANNER (eg. *ndazuvu* 'slip down' vs *vizu* 'fall') + CAUSE (eg. *ooTu* 'run' vs. *ooTTu* 'cause to run'), +SPEED (e.g. *uur* 'crawl' vs *ooTu* 'run') added to the common semantic component +MOVE establish co-hyponymous relation found among verbs of motion. Miller (1991) makes use of the term troponymy to establish this type of relation existing between verbs. "When two verbs can be substituted into the sentence frame To V1 is to V2 in a certain manner, then V1 is a troponym of V2" (Miller, 1991:228). For example, *ndoNTu* 'to walk unevenly' is a troponym of *ndaTa* 'walk' as the former entails the latter.

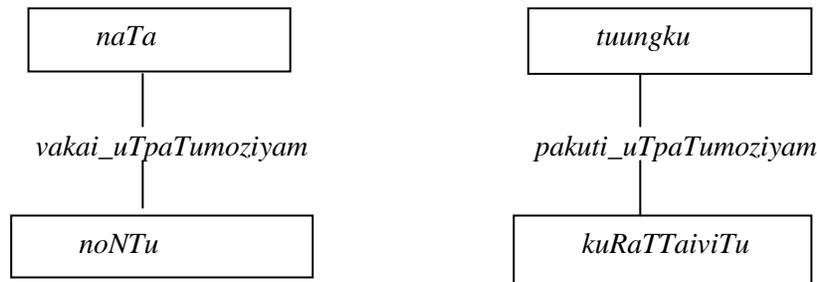
3.5.2.6. Troponymy and Entailment

Troponymy is a particular kind of entailment in that every troponym of a more general verb X also entails Y (Miller 1990, Felbaum, 1998). Consider for example the pair *noNTu* 'limp' and *naTa* 'walk'. The verbs in this pair are related by troponymy: *noNTu* is also *naTa* in a certain manner. So *noNTu* is a

troponym of *naTa*. The verbs are also in entailment relation: the statement *avan noNTukiRaan* 'he is limping' entails *avan naTakkiRaan* 'he is walking'.

In contrast with pairs like *noNTu* 'limp' and *naTa* 'walk', a verb like *kuRaTTaiviTu* 'snore' entails and is included in *tuungku* 'sleep', but is not a troponym of *tuungku*. Similarly *vaangku* 'buy' entails *koTu* 'give', but is not a troponym of *koTu* 'give'. The verbs in the pairs like *kuRaTTaiviTu* 'snore' and *tuungku* 'sleep' are related only by entailment and proper temporal inclusion. It can be generalized that the verbs related by entailment and proper temporal inclusion cannot be related by troponymy. If the activities denoted by two verbs are temporally co-extensive, they can be linked by troponymy. Troponymy represents a special kind of entailment. In VOT the lexical items linked by troponymy are plotted in tree viewer as given below. The relation between *naTa* and *noNTu* are referred as *vakai_uTpaTumoziyam* 'type-troponymy' and the relation between *tuungku* and *kuRaTTaiviTu* are referred as *pakuti_uTpaTumoziyam* 'part-troponymy'.

Figure 28



Troponyms can be related to their superordinates in various ways, subsets of which tend to come together within a given semantic domain. In the semantic domain of verbs of communication, troponyms denotes the speaker's objective or drive for communicating. Even though troponymy culminates in hierarchical structure for verbs parallel to hyponymic structure for nouns, they vary significantly. Verbs tend to have superficially branched structure. In most case, the number of hierarchical levels does not exceed four. Moreover, within a semantic domain, not all verbs can be grouped into a single hierarchy, under a single term. VOT makes use of paraphrases (or descriptions) to relate certain pairs of verbal concepts or events.

3.5.2.7. Opposition Relations and Entailment

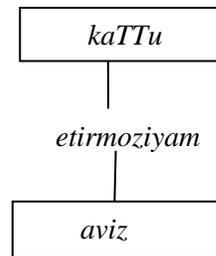
Opposition relations are psychologically significant not only for adjectives, but also for verbs. It is found that after synonymy and troponymy, opposition relations are the most frequently coded semantic relations in building database for verbs (Miller 1990, Felbaum, 1998). The semantics of opposition

relations among verbs is complex. As far as Tamil is concerned there is no morphologically derived opposite verbs. Some of the oppositions found among nouns are absent in verbs. A number of binary oppositions have been shown by the verbs that include converseness, directional, orthogonal, and antipodal oppositions. Active and passive forms of transitive verbs can be taken as showing converse opposition. *avan avaLaik konRaan* is in converse relation with the passive expression *avaL avanaal kollappaTTaaL*. Thus active-passive pairs of transitive verbs in Tamil show converse opposition. The relation between the verbs *vaangku* 'buy' and *vil* 'sell' is rather more complex. The lexical items that are directionally opposite are in directional opposition. The relationship which hold between the pairs such as *vandtuceed* 'arrive' and *puRappaTu* 'reach', *vaa* 'come':and *poo* 'go' is directional opposition. Under this category are the verb pairs such as *uyar* 'rise' and *taaz* 'go down', *eeRu* 'ascend' and *iRangku* 'descend'. There are many other oppositions with reference to change of state, manner, speed, etc. as exemplified below:

<i>kaTTu</i> 'build'	: <i>iTi</i> 'demolish'
<i>kaTTu</i> 'tie'	: <i>aviz</i> 'untie'
<i>ottukkoL</i> 'agree'	: <i>maRu</i> 'disagree'
<i>uLLizu</i> 'inhale'	: <i>veLiviTu</i> 'exhale'
<i>ndaTa</i> 'walk'	: <i>ooTu</i> 'run'

The opposition between verbs is represented in VOT as follows:

Figure 29



Not only the opposing features, even the presence or absence of a feature can also keep two items in opposition relation. These contrasting or distinguishing features can be arrived at by componential analysis of verbs (Rajendran, 1978). The componential analysis of verbs shows that many verb pairs in an opposition relation also share an entailed verb. For example the pair *jeyi/vel* 'succeed' and *tool* 'fail' entails *muyal* 'try'. The relation between the first and the second are referred as *muRkooL_uTpaTumoziyam* 'presupposed-troponymy' .

3.5.2.8. Causation and Entailment

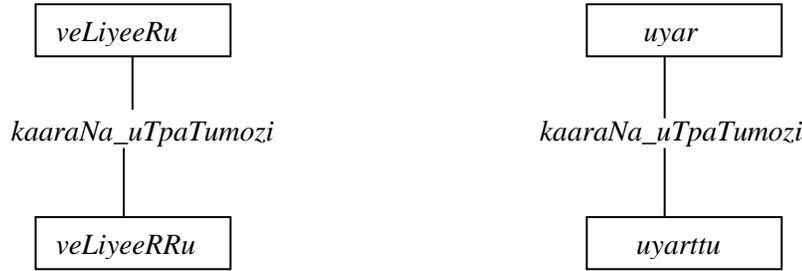
The causative relation exists between two verbal concepts: one is causative (e.g. *koTu* 'give') and the other is resultative (e.g. *peRu* 'get'). Causation can be considered as a specific kind of entailment as denoted by the following examples (Miller 1990, Felbaum, 1998).

veLiyeeRRu 'expel' entails *veLiyeeRu* 'leave'

uyarttu 'raise' and *uyar* 'rise' (temporal inclusion)

We have distinguished four different kinds of lexical entailment that systematically interact with the semantic relations mapped in VOT. The concerned pairs are linked by the relation referred as *kaaraNa_uTpaTumozi* 'cause_ entailment'.

Figure 30



3.5.2.9. Syntactic Properties and Semantic Relations

In recent years there is a trend incorporating syntactic properties in the lexicon itself. Viewing verbs in terms of semantic relations can also provide clues to an understanding of the syntactic behaviour of verbs. Incorporating the syntactic properties of verbs in VOT has to be explored for the better understanding of verbal concepts or events.

3.5.2.10. Summing up of Relations of Events in VOT

The following table sums up the lexical relations to be captured in the verb net.

Relations	Definition/sub types	Example
Synonymy	Replaceable events	<i>tuungku</i> 'sleep' → <i>uRangku</i> 'sleep'
Meronymy- Hypernymy	From events to superordinate events	<i>paRa</i> 'fly' → <i>pirayaaNi</i> 'travel'
Troponymy	From events to their subtypes	<i>naTa</i> → <i>noNTu</i> 'limp'

Entailment	From events to the events they entail	<i>kuRaTTaiviTu</i> 'snore' <i>muyal</i> 'try' <i>tuungku</i> 'sleep'
“	From event to its cause	<i>uyar</i> 'rise' → <i>uyarttu</i> 'raise'
“	From event to its presupposed event	<i>vel</i> 'succeed' → <i>muyal</i> 'try'
“	From even to implied event	<i>kol</i> 'murder' → <i>iRa</i> 'die'
Antonym	Opposites	<i>kuuTu</i> 'increase' → <i>kuRai</i> 'decrease'; <i>kaTTu</i> 'build' <i>iTi</i> 'demolish'
“	Converseness	<i>vil</i> 'sell' → <i>vaangu</i> 'buy'
“	Directional opposites	<i>puRappaTu</i> 'start' → <i>vandtuceer</i> 'reach'
Derivatives	Verb to verbal noun	<i>paTi</i> 'study' → <i>paTippu</i> 'education'

3.5.3. Organization of Abstracts in VOT

As we noted already, Nida (1978) classifies abstracts into following classes:

1. Time, 2. Distance, 3. Volume, 4. Velocity, 5. Temperature, 6. Color, 7. Number, 8. Status, 9. Religious character, 9. Attractiveness, 10. Age, 11. Truth-falsehood, 11. Good-bad, 12. Capacity, 13. State of health, etc. (Nidia, 1978)

Nida considers abstracts as meanings which can be realized at the outset as adjectives and adverbs. Dixon (1982) has suggested that the lexical items that are generally found to get included in the category of adjectives can be grouped into seven distinct semantic types. They are:

- Dimension (ex. *kuTTaiyaana* 'short', *kuRukalaana* 'narrow')
- Physical Property (ex. *periya* 'big', *cinna* 'small')
- Colour (ex. *veLLai* 'white', *kaRuppu* 'black')
- Human Propensity (ex. *kuruTTu* 'blind', *ceviTTu* 'deaf')
- Age (ex. *putiya* 'new', *pazaiya* 'old')
- Value (*ndalla* 'good', *keTTa* 'bad')
- Speed (ex. *veekamaana* 'quick', *metuvaana* 'slow')

Rajendran (2001) has classified abstracts in which adjective forms a part into 38 sub-domains by taking into account the componential features of meaning and classification of Nida (1978) and Dixon (1982). The inherent adjectives and adverbs are comparatively less in number than the derived adjectives and adverbs in Tamil. In VOT the derived abstract concepts (i.e. adjectives and adverbs) are represented mainly in their nominative forms and the adjectival and adverbial concepts related to them by derivative relation. The lexical sets are built taking into account the above mentioned classification and the adjectival and adverbial concepts are related to their nominal counterparts by certain relation discussed below.

Abstracts in VOT contain mainly adjectives and adverbs apart from abstract nouns. Noun modification is primarily associated with the syntactic category “adjective.” Similarly verb modification is associated with the syntactic category “adverbs”. Adjectives have their sole function the modification of nouns, whereas modification is not the primary function of noun, verb, and prepositional phrases. The lexical organization of adjectives is unique to them, and differs from that of the other major syntactic categories, noun and verb. Three types of adjectives can be distinguished: Descriptive adjectives (Ex. *periya* ‘big’, *kanamaana* ‘heavy’), Relational adjectives (Ex. *poruLaataara* ‘economic’, *cakootara* ‘fraternal’), Reference modifying adjectives (Ex. *pazaiya* ‘old’, *munnaaL* ‘former’) (Miller, 1998b).

3.5.3.1. Descriptive Adjectives

A descriptive adjective is one that ascribes a value of an attribute to a noun. For example, *atu kanamaana cumai* ‘that luggage is heavy’ presupposes that there is attribute *eTai* ‘WEIGHT’ such that *eTai* (*cumai* ‘luggage’) = *kanam* ‘heavy’. In the same way *taazndta* ‘low’ and *uyarndta* ‘high’ are values of HEIGHT (Miller, 1998b).

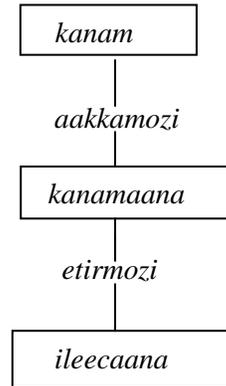
VOT has to link the descriptive adjectives with the appropriate attributes. The descriptive adjectives require a semantic organization which differs drastically from that of nouns. The hyponymic relation that builds nominal hierarchies is not available for adjectives. It is not possible to say that one adjective ‘is a kind of’ some other adjective. Relating descriptive adjectives with the particular noun they pertain to is known by the term pertainymy.

3.5.3.2. Antonymy in Adjectives

Antonymy is the basic semantic relation that exists among descriptive adjectives. The word association testes reveal the importance of antonymy in adjectives (Miller, 1998:48-52). As the function of descriptive adjectives is to express values of attributes, and that nearly all attributes are bipolar, antonymy becomes important in the organization of descriptive adjectives. Antonymous adjectives express opposing values of an attribute. For example, the antonym of *kanamaana* ‘heavy’ is *ileecaana* ‘light’ that expresses a value at the opposite pole of the *kanam* ‘WEIGHT’ attribute (Miller, 1998).

Antonymy, like synonymy, is a semantic relation between word forms. The problem is that the antonymy relation between word forms is not the same as the conceptual opposition between word meanings.

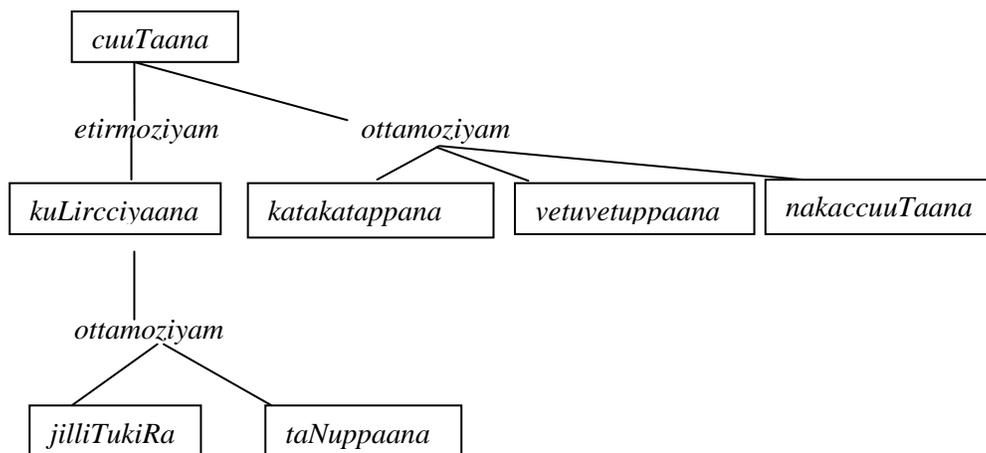
Figure 31



3.5.3.3. Similarity in Adjective

Adjectives show bipolar structure (Miller, 1998:50-52). A set of adjectives show similarity of meaning with an adjective which is antonymous with another set adjectives which show similarity with another adjective. The following examples show the existence of a bunch of adjectives denoting hotness against the bunch of adjectives denoting coldness. We can link them through their typical representatives as shown below. Similarity relation is mentioned in VOT as *ottamoziyam*. *Ottamoziyam* ‘similarity’ relation is different from *iNaimoziyama* ‘synonymy’.

Figure 32



It can be inferred that *periya* ‘big’ and *ciRiya* ‘small’ form an antonymous pair and *niiNTa* ‘long’ and *kuTTaiyana* ‘short’ form another antonymous pairs. These pairs demonstrate that antonymy is a semantic relation between words rather than concepts.

3.5.3.4. Gradation in Adjectives

Gradation (Miller, 1998: 52-53) is one of the important properties found among adjectives. Most discussions on antonymy distinguish between contradictory and contrary terms. This terminology is originated in logic, where two propositions are said to be contradictory if the truth of one implies the falsity of the other and are said to be contrary if only one proposition can be true but both can be false.

uyiruLLa ‘alive’ – *cetta* ‘dead’ (Contradictory terms)

kuNTaana ‘fat’ – *melindta* ‘thin’ (Contrary terms)

Contraries are gradable adjectives, contradictories are not. Gradation therefore must also be considered as a semantic relation organizing lexical memory for adjectives.

<i>cuuTu</i> ‘warmth’	<i>vayatu</i> ‘age’
<i>kotikkiRa</i> ‘very hot’	<i>vayataana</i> ‘old’
<i>cuuTaana</i> ‘hot’	<i>ndaTuttara vayataana</i> ‘middle aged’
<i>vetuvetuppaana</i> ‘warm’	<i>iLamaiyaana</i> ‘young’
<i>iLanjcuuTaana</i> ‘warm’	
<i>kuLirndta</i> ‘cold’	

For some attributes gradation can be expressed by ordered strings of adjectives, all of which point to the same attribute noun in onto-thesaurus.

3.5.3.5. Markedness in Adjectives

Markedness (Miller, 1998:53-54) is an important property found among adjective. Binary oppositions frequently have a marked term and an unmarked term. That is, the terms are not entirely of equivalent weights, but one (the unmarked one) is neutral or positive in contrast to the other. Marked/unmarked distinction is found in polar oppositions such as the following:

uyarndta ‘high’/*taazndta* ‘low’

vayataana ‘old’/*iLamaiyaana* ‘young’

niiLamaana ‘long’/*kuTTaiyaana* ‘short’

akalamaana ‘wide’/*kuRukalaana* ‘narrow’

We measure things by *uyaram* ‘height’ rather than *kuTTai* ‘shortness’. While asking questions about *uyaram* ‘height’, we say *atu evvaLavu uyaramaana tuuN* ‘How high that pillar is?’ rather than *atu evvaLavu kuTTaiyaana tuuN* ‘How short that pillar is?’. A question *X evvaLavu kuTTaiyaanatu* ‘How

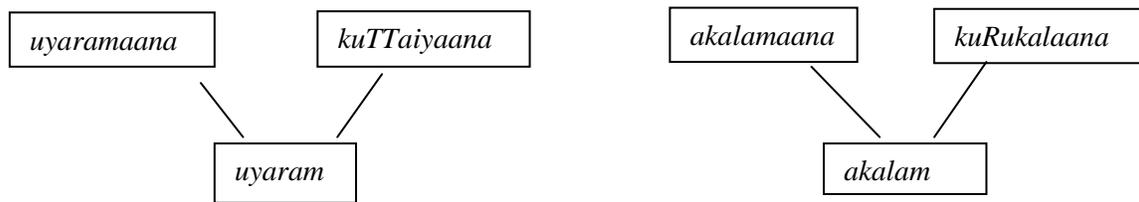
Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Visual Onto-thesaurus for Tamil

short is X?’ is felt to contain the assumption that X is short, while no equivalent assumption is present in *X evvaLav u yaramaanatu* ‘How high is X?’ That is, if the two antonyms contrast with reference to a scale of measurement, the unmarked one is capable of referring to a point on that scale, thereby neutralizing the contrast. Thus the primary member, *uyaramaana* ‘high’ is the unmarked term; the secondary member, *kuTTaiyaana* ‘short’ is the marked one. They are related to the attribute noun *uyaram* ‘height’. VOT captures the relation between marked and unmarked terms and their cross reference to their variable property.

Figure 33



3.5.3.6. Polysemy in Adjectives

Polysemy is found among adjectives (Miller, 1998: 54-56) as a limited number of adjectives are used to attribute a considerable number of nouns. For example, the use of *nalla* in the following phrases illustrates the polysemous nature of it. The semantic interpretation of adjectives depends on the head noun they modify. Many adjectives take on different meanings when they modify different nouns. The following example will exemplify this statement.

- nalla kaalam* ‘good time’
- nalla naaNayam* ‘good coin’
- nalla naNpan* ‘good friend’
- nalla ceruppu* ‘good sandal’

Adjectives are choosy about the nouns they modify. The general rule is that if the referent denoted a noun does not have attribute whose value is expressed by the adjective, then the adjective-noun combination requires a figurative or idiomatic interpretation. For example, *caalai* ‘road’ can be long because roads have LENGTH as an attribute, but stories do not have LENGTH, so *niiNTa* ‘long’ does not admit literal readings, but admits idiomatic interpretation (Miller, 1998). The selectional preferences of the adjectives are captured in VOT by suitably organizing them.

3.5.3.7. Reference-modifying and Referent-modifying Adjectives

Distinction has to be drawn between reference modifying and referent-modifying adjectives (Bolinger, 1967). For example *pazaiya* ‘old’ in the phrase *en pazaiya ndaNpan* ‘my old friend’ does not refer the referent who is a person as old, but attributes the friendship as old, whereas *pazaiya* in *pazaiya paattiram* ‘old vessel’, *pazaiya* attributes directly the vessel itself. Similarly, in the following phrase, both the adjectives attribute the quality of being criminals and the quality of being ministers respectively, rather than the persons.

neRRaiya kurravaaLikaL inRaiya mandtirikaL

‘yesterday’s criminals are today’s ministers’

Some reference modifying adjectives may have direct antonyms as in the case of descriptive adjectives.

neRRaiya ‘past’ vs. *innaaLaiya* ‘present’

mundtaiya ‘past’ vs. *inRaiya* ‘present’.

3.5.3.8. Colour Adjectives

Colour terms have to be given different treatment (Miller, 1998: 54-57). They need to be organized differently than other adjectives in VOT. They can be both nominal as well as adjectival. As adjectives, they can be graded and conjoined with other descriptive adjectives. But they differ from the descriptive adjectives as the pattern of direct and indirect anotomy does not hold good for colour adjectives. Only one colour attribute is clearly described by direct antonyms: LIGHTNESS, whose polar values are expressed by light/drark. In VOT, however, the opposition ‘*niRamuLLa/niRamaRRa*’ ‘colored/colorless’ is used to introduce the names of colours.

3.5.3.9. Relational Adjectives

Relational adjectives (Miller, 1998: 59-60) include of a large and open class of adjectives. Relational adjectives can be defined by using the phrase ‘of, relating/pertaining to or associated with some noun’, and they play a role similar to that of a modifying noun. For example, *cakootara* ‘fraternal’, as in *cakootra paacam* ‘fraternal love’ relates to *cakootaran/cakootari* ‘brother/sister’, and *poruLaataara* ‘economical’, as in *poruLaataara eRRa taazvu* ‘economical difference’, is related to *poruLaataaram* ‘economics’. As far as Tamil is concerned noun form is used mostly in the place of relational adjective in English. For example,

icaik karuvi ‘musical instrument’

paR cuttam ‘dental hygiene’

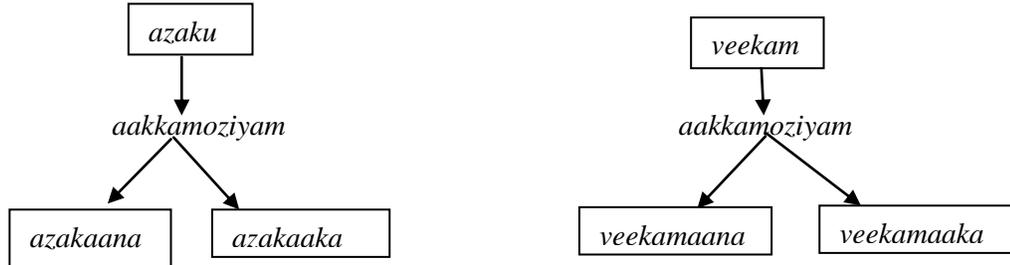
Since relational adjectives do not have antonyms, they cannot be incorporated into the clusters that characterize descriptive adjectives. And because their syntactic and semantic properties are a mixture of those of adjectives and those of nouns used as noun modifiers, rather than attempting to integrate them

into either structure VOT treats relational adjectives separately with cross references to the corresponding nouns.

3.5.3.10. Adverbs

Most of the adverbs are derived from nouns by adding suffix in the similar way adjectives are derived from nouns. The derived adjectives and adverbs need to be linked with the nouns form which they are derived. For example *aazak-aana* ‘beautiful’ and *azak-aaka* are derived from the noun *azaku* ‘beauty’; similarly *veekam-aana* ‘fast (adj.)’ and *veekam-aaka* ‘fast (adv.)’ are derived from the noun *veekam* ‘speed’. This is captured in VOT by linking the derived forms with the noun by the relation *aakkamoziyam* ‘derivative relation’

Figure 34



The derived adjectives and adverbs inherit the semantic property of the noun form which they are derived. The semantic organization of adverbs is simple and straight forward. There is no tree structure (Miller, 1998:61).

3.3.5.11. Summing up of Relations in Abstracts

Relations	Subtypes	Example
Synonymy		<i>tukkam</i> ‘sorrow’ to <i>tunpam</i> ‘sorrow’, <i>cangkaTam</i> ‘sorrow’, <i>tuyaram</i> ‘sorrow’
Hypernymy- Hyponymy		<i>uNarcci</i> ‘feeling’ to <i>makizcci</i> ‘happiness’
Hyponymy- Hypernymy		<i>paccai</i> ‘green’ to <i>niRam</i> ‘colour’
Holonymy- Meronymy	Wholes to parts	<i>vaaram</i> ‘week’ to <i>naaL</i> ‘day’

Meronymy- Holonymy	Parts to wholes	<i>injcu</i> ‘inch’ to <i>aTi</i> ‘feed’
Binary Opposites	Antonymic (gradable)	<i>nalla</i> ‘good’ to <i>keTTa</i> ‘bad’
„	Temporal Relations	<i>munnar</i> ‘before’ to <i>pinnar</i> ‘after’
„	Orthogonal or perpendicular opposition	<i>vaTakku</i> ‘north’ to <i>kizakku</i> ‘east’ and <i>meeRku</i> ‘west’
„	Antipodal Opposition	<i>vaTakku</i> ‘north’ to <i>teRku</i> ‘south’
Multiple opposites	Serial	<i>onRu</i> ‘one’, <i>iraNTu</i> ‘two’, <i>muunRu</i> ‘three’, <i>ndaanku</i> ‘four’
„	Cycle	<i>njaayiRu</i> ‘Sunday’ to <i>tingkaL</i> ‘Monday’ .. to <i>cani</i> ‘Saturday’

Relations	POS linked	Example
Antonymy (gradable i.e. contrary)	Adjective-adjective	<i>azakaana</i> ‘beautiful’: <i>kuruurmaana</i> ‘ugly’
Antonymy (non-gradable i.e. contradictory)	Adjective-adjective	<i>uyiruLLa</i> ‘alive’: <i>cetta</i> ‘dead’
Derivational	Adjective-noun	<i>azakaana</i> ‘beautiful’: <i>azaku</i> ‘beauty’
Attributive	Noun-adjective	<i>vaTivam</i> ‘size’: <i>cinna</i> ‘small’
Relational	Adjective-noun	<i>poruLaataara</i> ‘economical’: <i>poruLaataaram</i> ‘economy’
Similarity	Adjective-adjective	<i>paaramaana</i> ‘heavy’: <i>kanamaana</i> ‘heavy’
Derivational	Noun-adjective/adverb	<i>azaku</i> ‘beauty’: <i>azakaana</i> ‘beautifull’, <i>azakaaka</i> ‘beautifully’
Similarity	Adverb-adverb	<i>veekamaaka</i> ‘fast’ : <i>viraivaaka</i> ‘fast’

3.5.4. Organization of Relational in VOT

Nida listed relational concepts under the headings spatial, temporal, deictic, logical, etc. VOT has also followed his approach.

3.6. User-friendly Interface for Accessing VOT

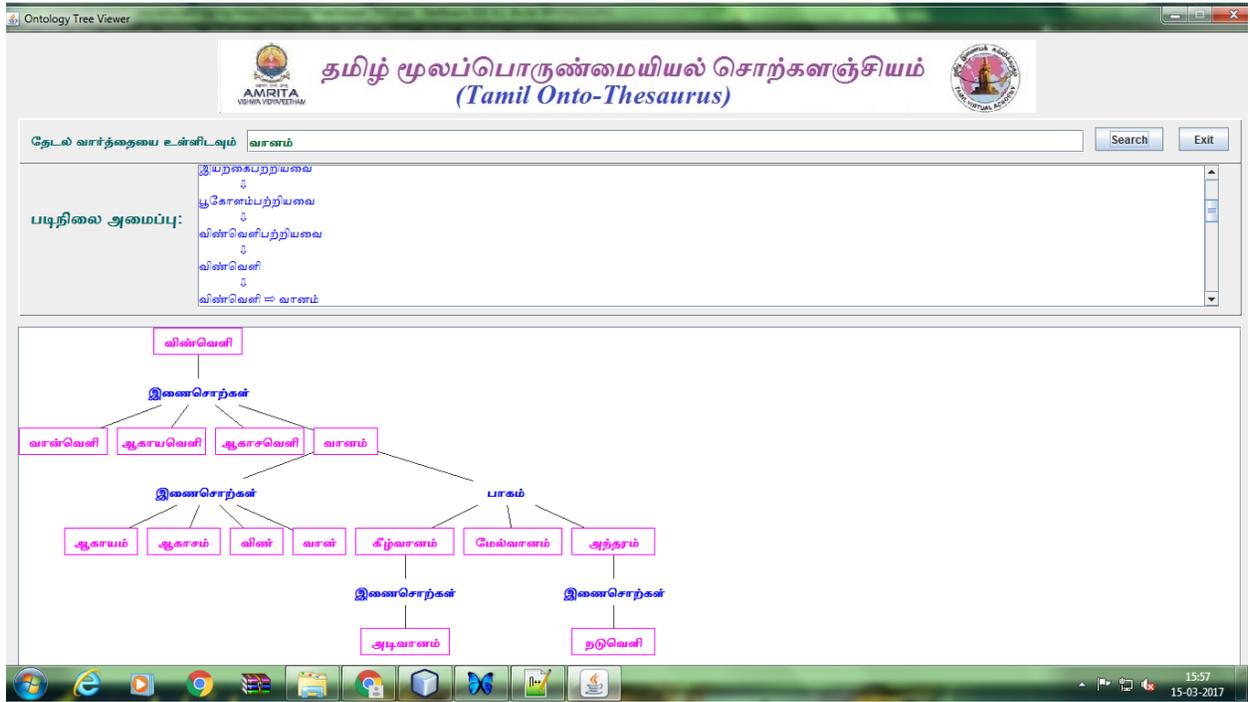
A few user friendly interfacs have been prepared from which one access the infomration needed form the onto-thesaurus of Tamil.

3.6.1. Tree Viewer for VOT

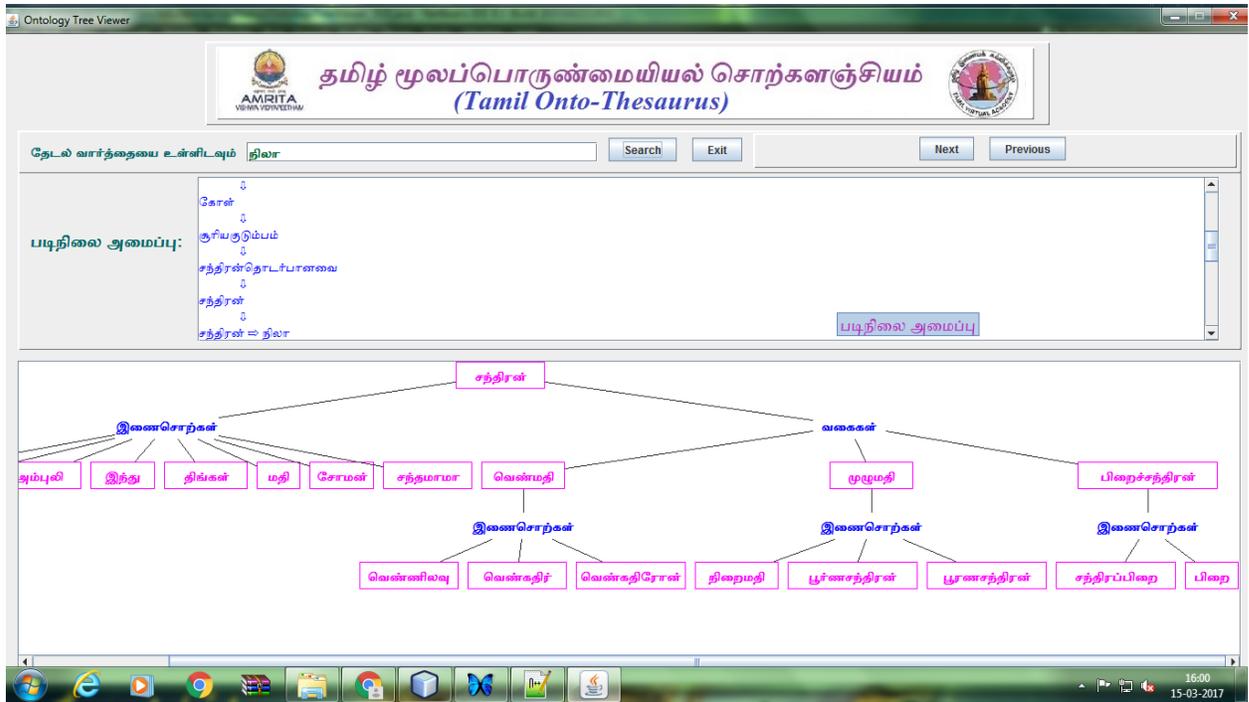
NLP or Linguistic researchers who work in syntax often want to visualize parse trees or create linguistic trees for analyzing the structure of a language. TreeViewer software provides an easy to use interface to visualize or create simple linguistic trees. This software is written entirely in Java. This tree viewer has been converted to depict the ontological structure of Tamil vocabulary. The semantic relations such as synonymy, hyponymy-hypernymy, meronymy-holonymy, oppositions, entailments, etc are captured by the tree viewer. The tree viewer gives the meaning of a given word in a hierarchical fashion as given below. The tree representation is converted into an ontology based visual thesaurus.

3.6.2 Sample Tree Structure of VOT

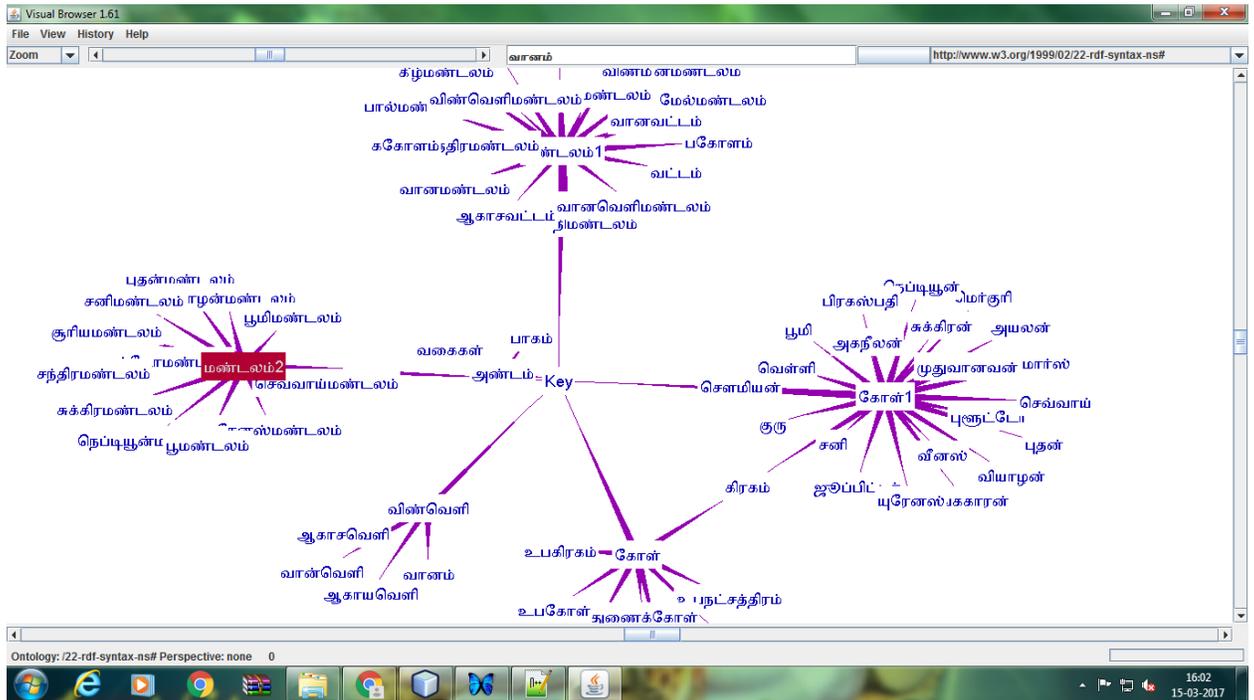
The samples of snap shots given below exemplify the working nature of VOT.



The GUI gives the hierarchical details of a lexical item for which the query is made as shown in the following screen shot.



The tree structure is converted into visual thesaurus as exemplified below:



4. Conclusion

The coverage of the vocabulary at present is only 50000 lexical items. We hope to improve on it in the near future. We like to accommodate all kinds of lexical and meaning relations or linkages a user expects from VOT. All the information available to a word and a set of words will be incorporated in VOT. The present onto-thesaurus system will be converted into a generic system so as to accommodate all the other Dravidian languages. Such a sort of onto-thesaurus will have wide range of uses which include information retrieval across Dravidian languages, machine translation across Dravidian languages and building knowledge based systems for Dravidian languages.

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Position of English in India: Three-way Categorization

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Abstract

The status of English in countries where it is spoken has been commonly described in a three-way categorization (i.e. English as a native language, English as a second language, and English as a foreign language). Although drawing a strong distinctive line between these settings has become increasingly difficult as a result of changes in the spread of language use and users, strength of the language, identification of the position of English in a given setting is deemed necessary as it affects language acquisition methods suggested by TESOL professionals. The answer to such inquiry is not usually straightforward. A number of models describing the spread of language use and users assign varied positions to English in India. The present study is to examine this position in light of the literature with sociolinguistic perspective. The authors also draw on the language models, the definitions provided for each category in the three-way categorization as well as the catch-all real-time function it plays in the given setting.

Key words: Three-way categorization, English as a second language, English as a foreign language, Three-circle model, non-native variety, language acculturation, language use models, language proficiency, language standardization

Introduction

The categorization of English varieties, which are spoken for internal, external, and international purposes (Kuo, 2006), gains significance when it comes to deciding about English instructional methods and our expectations from the learners in terms of pace and root of their systematic mistakes(i.e. frequently repeated even after receiving instructions). However, categorizing these non-native varieties usually tend to be complicated considering the reasons vary from one setting to another. This requires evaluating the language from sociolinguistic perspective and reasoning as spread of language-use domains in that society.

That is, considerations regarding both the past and present status of the language in society should be made. This could lead to making decisions that matches with the context and our learners. Hence, making a decision about the status of English whose ownership has differently been claimed by the speakers in the global context deems necessary.

Historical Basis of English in India

Broadly speaking, general (e.g. internal, external, and international) purpose of English as a non-native variety in a given setting is the result of factors as emigration, colonization, and globalization (Kuo, 2006). In other words, the way English has emerged in a country partly determines the strength of and number of functions it plays. To this end, the way English was introduced to India obviously differs from that in China. Part of the functions that English plays in these settings can be influenced by these early driving forces, or the way English has emerged. For instance, English was introduced to India by the British Colonists while it gradually acculturated into multilingual, multicultural and pluralistic Indian context. The language started being used to meet the social, administrative, and educational needs in that context. While in China, English has sprung up mainly as the result of globalization and development of information technology in the past few decades.

Although the background of English in India language extends to the times before the arrival of British traders to the East Indies (The English project and the English language in India), it is widely known that English in India *de facto* started around 1600. The language has had an exponential growth in different ways ever since British traders set their feet on India; it soon began to compete with local languages. English became ‘the language of the Supreme Court in Calcutta’ in 1977 (Gupta, 1996: 189). Never did it take too long for English to be determined to be the language of higher education, law and administration. The development in the function of English in India has been associated to phases of institutionalization of English Bilingualism.

As such, Kachru (1983: 19) interpreted all these developments to three stages of ‘missionary’ ‘government policy’, and ‘diffusion’. The missionary phase is marked by the primary exploitation of English for education by Indian East Company. Government policies stage was associated with success of ‘Anglicist Group’ in getting the Minute (1835) approved. Kachru has also touted the expansion of English to higher education as: ‘diffusion’

stage, associating it with enforcement of a government policy which endorsed English the official and academic language of India in 1854. Likewise, Krishnaswamy and Krishnaswamy (2006) in another prominent interpretation divided such institutionalization process into five stages. First, ‘exploration’ began with the establishment of the British East India Company and the arrival of missionaries in India to educate Indians. Second, ‘consolidation’: In this stage, the English-competent Indians were assigned to offices and English was made the official language of education in 1873. Third, ‘dissemination’: English domains in India were expanded by opening a number of schools, colleges and universities pursuing the establishment of British government. Forth, ‘Identity’: English was linked with power, wealth, and social status. Krishnaswamy and Krishnaswamy also associated the more recent changes in the use of Indian English to development in Information Technology and called it ‘globalization’. The stages supposedly have resulted in developing variations in of English in India.

Non-native Varieties

Generally spoken, non-native varieties of English (e.g. Indian English) have been developed and termed differently (e.g. as *lingua franca*, Non-native institutionalized varieties of English, and so on). These are broadly categorized in a three-way categorization (i.e. English as first language, English as second language and English as foreign language). For instance, some authors posit that English in India is the *lingua franca* used for official and commercial purposes (Ramanathan, 2008) by people from different ‘intercultural background’ (Jenkins, 2009, p.9), or different ‘first language backgrounds’ (Seidlhofer, 2005, p.339) or ‘mother tongues’ (Meierkord, 2004, p. 111). Not only is English, hence, the most widely spoken language and *lingua franca*, it is but an acculturated language resulting from the contact of native English speakers with Indians who spoke their aboriginal languages, which later helped it spread and ever gain popularity. To that end, the language formed a distinct variety, which is ‘different from that spoken in other regions of the world’ (Baldrige, 2002), without blending with elements of other languages and creating a different language (e.g. creoles) not being understood by native English speakers in the inner circle; a distinct variety which differs in phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax (Jason Baldrige).

A standard non-native variety of English, spoken by educated Indian bilinguals, gradually developed in India. The variety is now intelligible both to other non-native English

speakers in India and to native speakers of English. The standardization by no means rules out sub-varieties of English spoken across the vast land; there are varieties of the language that is in some way tilted with existing local languages in a given geographical region. However, what is known as a standard version of Indian English is a variety of English accepted and intelligible by both native and non-native English speakers. Source book as “Indian- Oxford Advanced learner's Dictionary for Learners” is an indication of such standardization which is suggested for pedagogical purposes. Such varieties of English are in conformity with what is acceptable in the English of native speakers in terms of vocabulary and morphosyntax. The most important difference may be the manner that Indians express the meaning in their native languages. In other words, the same expression is expressed with varied forms. However, admitting the fact that English has undergone many changes under the linguistic influence of aboriginal Indian languages spoken, Krishnaswamy and Krishnaswamy (2006) stated that “the status of English in India is unique”. They asserted that “English of Indians is neither a foreign language nor a second language nor a dialect of English- it is a module, a ‘lect’ that words as a module.” As such, they maintained that the widespread use of English and the enormous number of Indians using it, roughly estimated as many as 350 million Indians, has resulted in a distinct variety that may be called ‘Indian English. (2006, p. 143).

Indian English and Definitions of EFL and ESL

The position of Indian English in the three-way categorization could also be studied with reference to definitions presented by authors for each category. According to the mainstream perceptions of the notions of a second language and a foreign language presented by some linguistics, the second language is known as a language taught to immigrants to a country where it is the first language of its natives. In other words L2 learners acquire the language to meet their communicative needs in interaction with L2 native speakers; second language learning (ESL) is known as learning a language where it is in use. However, English as a second language has not necessarily been limited to situations where it is commonly used in the environment of the learners. India is a flagrant example in which English plays multiple roles for the speakers of that country and the overall proficiency and familiarity of the people is far more than those in countries where English is a foreign language by no doubt (e.g., Iran, China, etc.). Nonetheless, owing to the prevalence of numerous aboriginal languages and vernaculars, which have been spoken in India for centuries, and their influence on English, many may be reluctant to categorize English in

India as a second language, defined differently by some other authors. The online Free Dictionary defines the second language as ‘a non-native language officially recognized and adopted in a multilingual country as a means of public communication’. Similarly, Yardi (1977) defines English as a ‘second language’ with reference to a situation where English is widely used for purposes of administration, education, and a common link-language. He further defines English as a ‘foreign language’ where the language is taught for certain specific purposes, such as reading scientific works, translation, communication at certain levels and for certain purposes only. Likewise, Crystal (2012) defined English in India as a second language in his terminology.

Indian English and Language Spread Models

The other part of the literature, which could be consulted to ascertain the position of Indian English in such categorization, is the models describing the spread and use of English (e.g. Strevens, 1992; Kachru, 1992; Gollach, 1987; McArthur, 1987). The authors described the spread of non-native varieties of English in a various ways. Strevens described them in an upside-down tree diagram while they gain other positions in circle models presented by McArthur (1987), Gollach (1988) and Kachru (1992). According to McArthur (1998) Circle Model, Indian English is just a sub-variety of English, distinguished from regional varieties as American Standard English, British and Irish Standard English and South Asian Standard English. The sub- varieties and regional or standard varieties form a Circle of World English. One prominent model is Kachru’s (1992) “three concentric model” which ascertains the spread and functional domains of English in these circles. The model takes geographical and genetic view to describe the varieties. Accordingly Kachru (1992; 356), for instance, categorized countries using the English language into three groups, namely as “Inner Circle”, “Outer Circle” and “Expanding Circle”. Accordingly, countries where English is the mother tongue or dominant language (i.e. native or first language) of the country belongs in Inner Circle (e.g. Australia, New Zealand, United States, Britain), while the Outer Circle comprises former British colonies where the language gained the position of the countries’ chief institutions, and plays an important "second language" role in a multilingual setting (e.g. India, Singapore, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Philippines, and Sri Lanka). For these countries English is an International language, a variety developed in diverse socio-cultural contexts referred to as: “World Englishes” by Kachru.

Two-Dimensional Growth of English in India

Identifying the position of Indian English as a non-native variety could also be explained from other facets as the two-dimensional growth of English in the multilingual and multicultural context of India. Observing the trend, it can be found out that English has increasingly become popular in Indian, and the widespread use of the language has turned its status from what was traditionally regarded as “library language”, the language used only for scientific fields and mostly, if not always, in written form. The growth is regarded to be two-folds. The first dimension of this change is related to “depth” of such expansion showing an increase in the language use domains in India. The language which was initially started as a means of instruction at higher education in a very limited scope, is now used not only as a medium of instruction but also for communication and correspondence in parliament, the law courts, broadcasting, the press, and the education system, for unifying people all across the country, and people’s daily life. This functional expansion has moved its position from a “library language” to a language widely spoken in the Indian sociocultural context. Nonetheless, the better quality of English instruction and ever increasing use of English as a medium of instruction in schools have augmented English knowledge of current generations. For instance, Rao (2008) stated that the number of languages used as media of instruction has dropped from 60 to 47 languages. Second, “breadth” of Indian English use concerns with the increase in the number of speakers. The last survey of India Today in 1997 suggested that one third of the population could manage a conversation in English. On the other hand, India has a projected population of 1.3 billion (United Nations World Population Prospect, 2015) at present; the number of Indians who know English has hitherto skyrocketed to at least 350 million, which fairly equals the population of native English speakers in the US and the UK, combined. Considering above premises, the status of English language has increasingly empowered in the land of religion, dance and cricket. As such, it is now being learned and spoken as a second language by Indians, and is regarded as ‘a bridge between the major first-language dialects of the world, such as British and American English, and the major foreign-language varieties, such as those emerging in China and Japan’(Crystal, 2004). The functional expansion of the language along with the functions named in the definitions of second language (e.g. Yardi, 1977, Crystal, 2012) could also lead us to determining its actual status. As such, the aforementioned functions and terms (e.g. a linking language, a medium of instruction) do not contradict with the position of English as a second language in the three-way categorization.

English Proficiency

The other significant factor that can be evidenced for distinguishing English as a second language from English as a foreign language in the three-way categorization is the language proficiency. Although some authors assert that the line between a foreign and second language has blurred in terms of proficiency, there are some marked differences between the language knowledge of people speaking English as a second language and that of those exploiting it as a foreign language. Chances are speakers of a language as a foreign language may also be highly proficient in English, yet the language proficiency of general public in that setting is markedly low. Many of the people at large may not be able to speak a word in English, whereas most regular people at all levels of education possess degrees of the language abilities indicating bilingualism in a country where it is spoken as a second language. It is also noteworthy that the difference between English knowledge of the people in these two settings depends, to a great extent, upon the language policies implemented and the quality of English education offered. For instance, India adopted 'three language formula' policy in which the instruction of English has not been limited to being as just a subject; it rather plays the great role medium of instruction in many schools. As such, Hindi and English, the official and associate official languages, must be studied as two of the three languages (Saini, 2000; cited in Ramanathan, 2008). English in private schools is often instructed both as a subject and a first language or a medium of instruction from Standard 1, whereas English in aided and public schools is usually taught from Standard 5 as a second or a third language. According to Ramanathan (2008) English is the first language for 85% of secondary school students who go to private schools. Furthermore, instruction of English in public and aided schools begins at a young age when the students are still in their childhood and can benefit from neural plasticity of the brain and attain relatively high English proficiency. All above factors have results in an all-in increase in language proficiency.

In this regard, some authors evaluated Indians' English proficiency and classified it as 'inadequate' (Daswani, 1974), which corresponds to Kachru's minimal point. However, Kachru (1983) have evaluated this proficiency as midpoint with reference to the 'cline of bilingualism' consisting of three arbitrary points: ambilingual, the central point, and the zero point. The 'zero' point, or the lowest level, demonstrates the language ability of people who are almost monolingual and have negligible language competency, whereas the highest point shows the near-native language abilities (Kachru, 1986). Moreover, more current

observations of the Indian English speakers, from all walks of life and social classes, in terms of English proficiency and spread of language use domains in India could suggest a more solid position in every aspect. As such, English language ability of general public in India is thus in conformity with the second language position assigned to Indian English in Kachru's language model, and definitions of second language and foreign language.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the functions that English plays in Indian context including academia, government administration, linking people and the states in governmental affairs, heralding unity in the whole country and a means of communication between people. Increasing roles that English language plays in India has helped deeply integrate it to their daily life communication. Moreover, English knowledge of people resulted from historical background, language policy and growing interest of people in English has made it different from that in many other countries in the "Outer Circle". The status can be more disentangled once one comes to realize the estimated number of speakers of English as a second language outnumbered its speakers as the first language.

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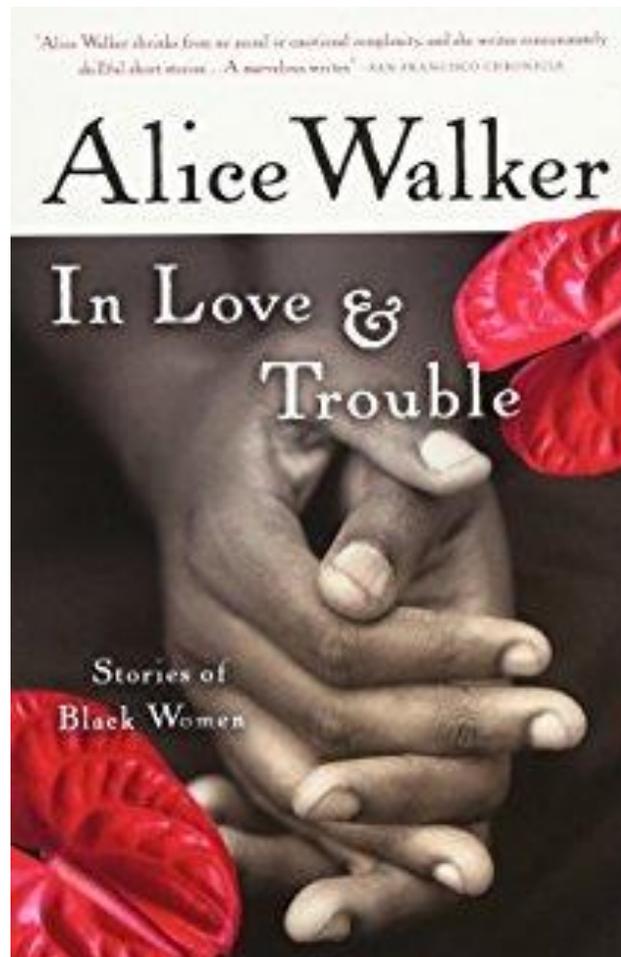
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**The Defence Mechanisms and the Core Issues of Dee in
Alice Walker's *Everyday Use***

Sadia Munir, M.A. English, M.Phil. English Candidate



Introduction

Alice Walker has written over 30 novels, non-fiction books, and collections of short stories and poetry. *Everyday Use* is one of her most celebrated and quoted short stories. In early days of writing career of Walker her famous short *Everyday Use* was published. It appeared in her collection *In Love and Trouble: Stories of Black Women* in 1973. The work was excitedly audited upon distribution, and *Everyday Use* has since been called by a few critics the best of

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Walker's short stories. Similarly as with numerous different stories by Walker, *Everyday Use* is described by the raw and natural voice of a rustic black lady, in the author's endeavor to give a voice to a generally disappointed section of the populace.

Literature and Psychoanalysis

Literature is the expression of human beings and reflection of reality through verbal language. It basically represents the human life. Since, it is a representative of human life it can be studied through psychoanalytic lens that is the study of human mind and behaviour (Endraswara, 2011).

However, there are some critics that disagree with the use of psychoanalytic lens to understand and evaluate literary characters along with their behaviour and cognitive activities. They say that since these characters are fictitious therefore they do not have actually psyches and since they do not have psyches that can be analyzed so this way of examining a character should be discarded. Some critics have actually successfully defended this idea through two reasons (Tyson, 2006).

Those two essential causes are (1) by using psychoanalysis literary theory when someone analyzes literary characters or fictitious characters it does not mean that they are suggesting that those characters are real people but that they only represent the psychological experience of human beings in general; and (2) psychoanalysis only aims to analyze the literary characters through any critical literacy theory to represent those experiences by characters as explanations of real life issues (Tyson, 2006). Therefore, literary work can be analyzed through psychological approach because the literary work depicts the human life and human is the main focus of psychoanalysis.

The Term of Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis was developed by the great psychologist Sigmund Freud. He was born on 6th May, 1856 in Freiberg, a small town in Moravia, Hungary. He believed that the conscious psychic activities are determined by the unconscious mental activities. The word 'psychoanalysis' has three distinct meanings. First, it is a school of thought in psychology which

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gives importance to childhood experiences in forming one's adult personality and behaviour. Secondly, psychoanalysis has been described as a method of investigating unconscious cognitive activities within the human mind. Thirdly, it is a therapeutic method for investigating mental disorders including neurotic disorders in particular (Kim, 2011).

Focus of This Paper

For ongoing research from these three meanings the second meaning which defines psychoanalysis as method for investigating the cognitive unconscious mental activities is suitable. The researcher has described and deeply analyzed the character of Dee through psychoanalysis in terms of defence mechanisms and the core issues. Besides that, the first meaning is also important for this research. In this case, the writer will try to relate the main character's background, childhood experiences and her mental activities after she grows up. Moreover, her cultural and historic roots are also in the back of her mind which plays a vital role in making up the personality and behaviour of the character Dee.

Defence Mechanisms

According to Tyson (2006), defences are the processes by which the contents of human unconscious are kept in the unconscious position. It means that defences are the processes when human keeps his or her anxiety unconsciously in order to avoid knowing what she or he feels about the things that cannot be controlled.

Introduction to Dee's Character

Dee is a young well-educated and self-confident African-American woman. She is Mama's daughter and Maggie's sister. The story revolves around Dee's visit to her family at her childhood home in the Deep South. As a child, Dee was angry, bitter, and resentful towards her family and their poverty. She never liked her living conditions and the treatment she was given because of her roots and skin colour. When Dee returns to the family's house she behaves oddly. Her attitude towards the family's lifestyle has completely flipped. She actually craves for the family's heritage, but fails to appreciate them as part of her family's daily life. She does want some of the things but she is lost in the charm of fake life and keeping up images that she becomes rude and cold towards her own family and roots. Ultimately, her mother refuses to give

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Dee grandmother's quilts. Mama instead considers Maggie to be the better candidate for having those quilts.

Denial and Avoidance

According to Berger (2004), denial occurs when someone believes or wants to believe that the problem does not exist or the unpleasant incident never happened. It is like they have erased the memory of it from the mind. Denial is an individual's refusal to accept certain situations or circumstances. It is the denial to confront aspects of a given reality in order to avoid potential feelings of discomfort and unpleasantness. It exists on a continuum as it can be viewed as only a typical response to an upsetting occasion or to extreme psychosis. While generally characterized as a sort of protection instrument or tool, denial has a part in all defence mechanisms which is essential. It is also referred to it as disavowal (Freud, 1937). Dee is in constant state of denial throughout the story. She pretends and behaves like she does not belong to a poor family. By keeping her upper-class lifestyle and image she makes herself a fit character that is all together confused and lost in the mist of class and status. Moreover, she never visiting her home is also an indication denial of her actually being. She completely puts her thoughts and feelings regarding her actual roots and culture in the back of her head which directly leads to feeling of avoidance which is another major defence mechanism.

“Avoidance is the eluding of retrieval cues (people/circumstances) that bring about anxiety about feelings and experiences” (Freud, 1937). It is a self-defence mechanism that occurs when someone tries to stay away from people or situations that are liable to make him or her anxious (Berger, 2004). By avoiding her home Dee thinks she can make a new image for herself and leave behind her poor family and past. In order to do this Dee becomes obsessed with her image and social status. She actually changes her name or perhaps calling it a suitable up-gradation will be better. By avoiding her family and denying her past Dee forms a kind of a “psychological wound” which actually becomes a driving hand behind the construction of her personality. Such mechanisms have an impact on the personality and in Dee's case she does develop an annoying and greedy personality.

Core Issues

“Core issues can be seen when someone’s defence mechanisms momentarily break down, and he or she experiences anxiety” (Tyson, 2006).

Unstable Sense of Self, Fear of Abandonment and Intimacy

Insecure or unstable sense of self, fear of abandonment, and fear of intimacy are three core issues that Dee has hidden deep in her id. Her personality is complex and these core issues are stirred up after her defence mechanisms fail to comfort her ego. Dee is insecure and has an unstable sense of self. She loses her sense of belonging to anyone or anything. She is confused and conflicted about who she really is. She belongs to a poor, low-class, uneducated African-American family but she manages to pull herself up out of the slum. She gets a college degree from a reputable college. After getting the degree she is conflicted about herself. She is not sure whether she is a poor girl from lower class or now she has moved towards the middle class? She is never sure about it. All these changes bring a sense of fear in her. The achievements, her light skin colour and her differences push her to dangle between her old and new life. Dee is afraid that she will be abandoned by her family. She is even scared for future relations. She thinks that whoever she gets close to will leave her.

According to Tyson (2006), ‘fear of abandonment’ is the staunch belief by someone facing this core issue that his or her friends and family are going to abandon him or her. It is going to happen because they do not care at all. Dee was facing this issue. Perhaps, she feels this way because she abandoned her family and roots. It is her guilty conscious which makes her scared of being deserted.

‘Fear of intimacy’ is the chronic and overpowering feeling. It is that emotional closeness will seriously hurt or destroy oneself. The only way to be safe from this issue is to never getting close to someone emotionally (Tyson, 2006). People that suffer from such fear always keep themselves away from people. They stay distant as an act of self-preservation. In the story, Dee has done the same. She is scared of intimacy or being close to anyone for that matter and that is why she builds up a wall around her. She is so different from her family therefore she is not close to them. Dee does not have the same relationship with her mother which Maggie and her mother

share. They share a close bond. They understand each other. Dee has always been different and distant. This leads to an important question and that is if Dee did not have a lighter skin and if she would have been saved from the fire instead of Maggie then would she be in the same situation as Maggie? Possibly in a reversed situation that is Maggie be outgoing and intelligent and Dee burned and the favorite of their mother? This query cannot be answered but could be left open for a number of interpretations.

Conclusion

All the discussed defence mechanisms and core issues in Dee' character show her quest for being accepted in a superficial society. A human is a product of society so is Dee. She wants to fit in so badly therefore she tried so hard that it affected her blood relations. She completely transforms herself to hide her true roots. She does what she thinks would earn her that respectable position in the society but not everything is rainbows and butterflies. It is always compromises that move us along. But Dee failed to understand this completely. She could not comprehend the idea that she has to let go of some feelings in order to make room for the new ones. She, perhaps, shut down everything and chases a ghostly figure in a boundless realm.

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Sanskrit *taddhita* and English Suffixes: A Primary Investigation

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Abstract

Sanskrit is one of the oldest languages in the world. A huge list of words is borrowed from the Sanskrit in other Indian languages and there are lots of similarities between Sanskrit and foreign languages. This paper presents a primary and comparative investigation and analysis between Sanskrit secondary derivative or *taddhita* suffixes (TS) and English suffix. It describes few major points of similarities and dissimilates between Sanskrit *taddhita* forms and English adjectives. Grammatical tradition of the Sanskrit is very old and most powerful. Pāṇinian grammar called Aṣṭādhyāyī (AD) is considered as Sanskrit grammar. A primary comparison and brief relations between Sanskrit *taddhitanta* and English adjectives are investigated in this paper.

Keywords: Sanskrit grammar, Sanskrit *taddhita* suffix, English adjective, word processing, Sanskrit morphology, POS. etc.

1. Introduction

Sanskrit is linguistically very rich language. It includes morphology, history, *dharma-āshtra*, *purāṇa*, *vedas* etc. Sanskrit has a very rich and scientific grammar called Pāṇinian Grammar or AD. There are about 4000 rules are described in the eight chapters of AD. These rules are six types e.g. *saṃjā*, *paribhāṣā vidhi*, *niyama*, *atideśa*, and *adhikāra* (Chandra, 2006). Panini has described TS in the 4th and 5th chapters of AD. TS are those affixes conjoined with the noun, pronoun and adjectives and change the meaning of the particular words e.g. *वासुदेव+अण्= वासुदेव* (Vidyavaridhi, 1997; Chandra, 2006 and Chandra & Jha, 2011). Pāṇini has listed approximately 300 TS in the AD e.g.- *अण्, ठक्, त्व, तमप्, तरप्, मतुप्, इनि, अ, यत्, क* etc. TS those are very similar to English adjectives are included in this study. Brief descriptions of a few TS are given below:

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Matup (मत्तुप्)- The *matup* affixes are added with the noun or name. It is added in the sense of 'it has that or that is in it'. To express the meanings the *matup* affixes are added with noun pronoun, adjective etc. As e.g. मधु+मत्तुप्=मधुमान् (Choudhary, 1997). Same linguistics patterns may also be seen in English language e.g. sweet+y = sweety now we can see that Sanskrit have many affixes who added with noun becomes an adjective same in English.

Tarap (तरप्)- TS is use to compare to express the superlative degree with other e.g. श्रेष्ठ+तरप् = श्रेष्ठतर in English we say better when compare between two person or things.

Taval (त्वल्)- TS is express about feelings and remains त्व only e.g. प्रभु+त्वल्=प्रभुत्व in English sovereignty this word derived from sovereign.

Thak (ठक्) - TS is added with the nouns and generate the new adjectives. Here in this affix only ठ remains and it also changes as इक् by the Panini rule ठस्येकः (Vasu, 1962) e.g. धर्म+इक्= धार्मिक in the same way in English we say religious who derived from religion.

Cha (छ) - TS added with the Sanskrit nouns and change the meaning. Again छ TS replaces with ईय् for devrivation process e.g. भारत+ईय्= भारतीय. In English language we may compare with from India to Indian.

Tal (तल्) – Ts added with the Sanskrit noun and change the meaning e.g. सुन्दर+तल्= सुन्दरता in English beautifully derived by beauty.

Based on above mentioned few examples, it is clear that there are lots of similarities may be seen between English adjective and Sanskrit *taddhita* words.

2. Literature Review

Derivational process of Sanskrit is very rich. To develop a general strategies and methods for two language pair is very challenging and essential. There are various important studies that focus on translational divergence in English-Sanskrit-Hindi Language Pairs are describe the similarities and dissimilarities between these languages (Goyal & Sinha, 2008; Mishra & Mishra, 2009 and Goyal & Sinha, 2009). Classification of divergence between languages has been studied by the Dorr (1994). A study on divergence between Malayalam and Tamil languages is also initiated by the IITM-K, Trivandrum to make easy the process of analysis of source language process. In this study is reported that the divergence is effective

in lexical and structural level (Jayan & Elizabeth, 2015 and Jayan et al, 2012). A research claims that lexical semantic divergence and six different types of divergence are identified and generalizations are made on the basis of examples for Urdu to English translation (Abdus & Khan, 2010). Translation pattern between English-Sanskrit and Hindi-Sanskrit of various constructions to identify the divergence in English-Sanskrit-Hindi language pairs based on the classification of translation divergence presented by Dorr (1994) is also discussed (Goyal, & Sinha, 2008). Comparison of Sanskrit and English languages to identifying the potential topics of translation divergences is also done (Mishra & Mishra, 2009). Few other studies are also done to compare the Sanskrit and English in different prospective (Kachru, 2006; Soothill, William & Lewis, 1937; Furman, David & Natalia 2010 and Kachru, 1992).

Based on above observation and evidence, lots of the studies have been done to compare two or more language. Divergences patterns are very helpful in translation and also in understanding the relationship between two different languages.

3. Materials and Methods

In linguistics the comparative method is a technique for studying the development of languages by performing a feature by feature comparison of two or more languages. A dictionary based checking method has been applied to know word formation similarities between Sanskrit and English. We have collected above mentioned TS and its derived form and compare to the English Adjective as shown in the table 1.

Sr. n.	Sanskrit			English		
	Pratipadi ka	Suffix	Complete Words	Noun/ Pronoun	Suffi x	Complete Words
1	भारत	छ (ईय)/Ca	भारतीय	India	n	Indian
2	द्वीप	छ (ईय)/Ca	द्वीपीय	Continent	al	Continental
3	साहित्य	ठक् /□hak	साहित्यिक	literature	ary	Literary
4	विज्ञान	ठ/□ha	वैज्ञानिक	Science	tist	Scientist
5	भूगोल	ठ/□ha	भौगोलिक	Geography	ical	Geographical
6	श्रेष्ठ	तरप्/ taRaP	श्रेष्ठतर	Good	er	Batter
7	श्रेष्ठ	तमप्/tamaP	श्रेष्ठतम	Good	st	Best
8	अराजक	तल्/taL	अराजकता	Anarch	chy	Anarchy

9	व्यवहार	ठ/cha	व्यावहारिक	Apply	ied	Applied
10	सम्प्रदाय	ठ/cha	साम्प्रदायिक	Community	nal	Communal
11	मातृ	त्व/tva	मातृत्व	Mother	hood	Motherhood
12	भ्रातृ	त्व/tva	भ्रातृत्व	Brother	hood	Brotherhood
13	सेना	ठ/cha	सैनिक	Civil	civil	Civil
14	केन्द्र	छ/Ca	केन्द्रीय	Center	al	Central
15	आनन्द	मयट्/maya	आनन्दमय	Cheer	ful	Cheerful
16	प्रदर्श	क/ka	प्रदर्शक	Perform	er	Performer
17	राष्ट्र	छ/Ca	राष्ट्रीय	Nation	nal	National
18	यूरोप	छ/Ca	यूरोपीय	Europe	ean	European
19	आशावाद	इनि/InI	आशावादी	Optimism	ist	Optimist
20	बुद्धि	मतुप्/mauP	बुद्धिमान्	Sense	ble	Sensible
21	दूरदर्श	इतच्/Itac	दूरदर्शिता	Sag	acity	Sagacity
22	मूल	ठ/cha	मौलिक	Origin	nal	Original
23	उत्पाद	क/ka	उत्पादक	produce	cer	Producer
24	नैतिक	तल्/taL	नैतिकता	Moral	ity	Morality
25	राजनीति	ठक्/chaK	राजनैतिक	Polity	cal	Political
26	प्रभु	त्वल्/tvaL	प्रभुत्व	sovereign	ty	Sovereignty
27	प्रदेश	ठक्/chaK	प्रादेशिक	territory	ial	Territorial
28	योग्य	तल्/taL	योग्यता	Qualify	ation	Qualification
29	प्रकृति	ठक्/chaK	प्राकृतिक	Nature	ral	Natural

4. Result and Discussions

Sanskrit is considered to be a key element in the Indo-Aryan language super family and holds the rank of a classical language, together with other language such as classical Greek, Latin, Persian, Arabic Hebrew, Chinese and Tamil. There is no doubt that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages not because of its strength and deep meaning in its each word but it was the origin and basis for other language to be created and then got the identity of their own by drafting away the path of Sanskrit based follow up. Sanskrit has many similarities not only with English but another languages e.g. Sanskrit and German, Sanskrit and Hindi, Sanskrit and Bangla, Sanskrit and Bhojpuri etc. In near future we can study about other parts of Sanskrit and other language like what is the similarity Sanskrit noun and English noun,

part of speech in Sanskrit and English, tense in Sanskrit and English, what is the similarity German and Sanskrit e.g.- नासिका this word use for Nose in Sanskrit in German *Nase* word is also use for Nose and *Naka* in Bangla and नाक in Hindi.

Sr. no.	Sanskrit	Hindi	English	German	Bangla
1	मातृ	माता	Mother	Mutter	मा
2	पितृ	पिता	Father	Pater	बाबा
3	नासिका	नाक	Nose	Nasa	नाका
4	हस्त	हाथ	Hand	Hand	हाथ
5	त्वम्	तुम	You	Du	तुमाके
6	भ्रातृ	भाई	Brother	Bruder	दादा

5. Conclusions

This study demonstrated that it is a establish truth that Sanskrit and English are similar in word formation process. Sanskrit is a very rich and scientific language who had a very interesting and easy grammar. Based on above observations we can say Sanskrit is morphologically very rich language and it has effected most of the languages.

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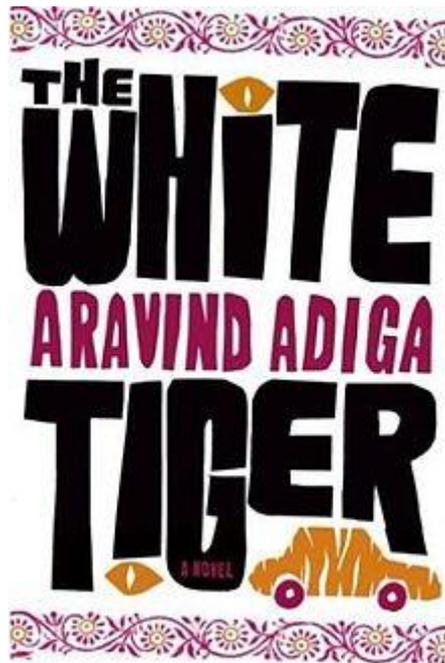
Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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Sanskrit *taddhita* and English Suffixes: A Primary Investigation

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Portrayal of Poverty and Corruption Ridden Postcolonial India in
Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*

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Abstract

Most of the Third World countries in Asia and Africa have been going through extreme poverty in their postcolonial age. The political freedom, which they achieved from the European invaders after their prolonged struggle, could not free them from the ultimate servitude. Though the caste discrimination in India almost got slightly diminished after the Independence, the struggle among social classes has become prominent to a great extent and the upper class society has been subjugating the middle and lower classes to suit their own needs. Aravind Adiga's Booker Prize winning novel *The White Tiger* (2008) explores the controversial issues of Indian poverty and corruption vividly in a setting of 1990s economically booming modern India. Adiga has shown how poverty has usurped the whole society where the poor people are deprived of the basic rights of free citizens, like education and health. They are exploited for the financial and political benefits of the upper class as well as by the government. Such exploitation leads the characters like Balram Halwai to

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indulge in betrayal, murder and adultery. This epistolary novel shows the hidden truth behind India's entrepreneurship through the protagonist who becomes a "self-made entrepreneur" after committing murder of his master and usurping his wealth. This paper will investigate the poverty and corruption in postcolonial India as shown by Adiga along with the social injustice upon the downtrodden people.

Keywords: postcolonial, poverty, corruption, globalization, *The White Tiger*, class struggle



Arvind Adiga

Courtesy: <https://alchetron.com/Aravind-Adiga-120426-W>

India as a Poor Country – Adiga's *The White Tiger*

Few days ago, India erupted over the Snapchat¹ CEO's remark on India as a poor country and the same hatred was faced by Arvind Adiga when he published *The White Tiger* (2008) focusing the poor Indians and the corrupted Indian politicians and entrepreneurs. The prestigious Booker Prize winner novelist Arvind Adiga is a Chennai-born Oxford educated fellow and his concern over the poor and the downtrodden of India is truly very insightful in the novel. Despite leading a luxurious life, Adiga has felt from his heart that India needs global attention to focus on the extreme suffering of the masses living under the poverty level without the benefits of health, sanitary system, food and education. Henry F. Carey, in his scholarly article "The Postcolonial State and the Protection of Human Rights" focuses on how the nations in Asia and Africa possess very poor records of protecting the human rights

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of their citizens in their postcolonial age. The writer broadly discusses that the existence of neo-imperialismⁱⁱ and the economical domination which were created under the colonial rule, still control the postcolonial nations like India, by their own elite groups. Only the authority has been changed from the colonial masters to the upper class landlords and industrial magnates. Carey suggests that India and other developing countries should follow the way of liberal economic structure, not only theoretically, but also practically and they should get rid of their hatred against the western capital and investment. While discussing the postcolonial economical systems of India and Philippines, H. F. Carey remarks:

Repression is more or less as common as in India; both countries are marked by more than one third of the population remaining in poverty in part because of the continuous oligarchic economy, which independence has been unable to reform. It is not true, however, as postcolonial theory suggests, that former colonies are always marked by the continuous hatred of the outsiders or their local clients. Indeed, both the Philippines and India, the 'jewels' in the US and British empires, are today marked by their friendliness toward foreigners and foreign capital. (62)

Economic Systems in Postcolonial India

Adiga's *The White Tiger* shows both the economic systems in postcolonial India: the oligarchic economy in 1960s to 1980s and the open economical market in the 1990s. At the beginning of the novel, the darker side of Indian society and the exploitation of human skill are shown through the protagonist's journey. The plot of *The White Tiger* revolves around Balram Halwai, the "self-made entrepreneur", who had once been a rickshaw puller's son. Rural India is shown to be dominated by oligarchic economy.

Balram Halwai, the Protagonist

Balram Halwai, the protagonist and his family spend a deplorable life under the mercy of four landlords, ironically named after: The Raven, The Stork, The Buffalo, and The Wild Boar. When the novel starts, Balram is already an established entrepreneur who writes the account of his life sitting in his Bangalore office to send it to Premier Wen Jiabao, a Chinese official who wants to visit India to learn Indian entrepreneurship. The epistolary novelⁱⁱⁱ tells

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Balram's journey from the son of a rickshaw puller to an entrepreneur through several flashbacks. He was bright in school and was named as "The White Tiger" by the school inspector, but poverty forced him to leave his school. He was engaged in a tea shop near to Dhanbad by his grandmother Kusum and later he learns driving upon listening to the people that the job may secure his future. He gets recruited by the Stork to drive as the second driver of his family.

Perceiving the real world surrounding him and following the way of betrayal and corruption, Balram Halwai becomes a noted entrepreneur in Bangalore opening his own night taxi service named the "White Tiger Drivers" who are engaged to bring the nocturnal workers in the call centers safely home. Balram Halwai compares him with the noted entrepreneurs who are according to him, "made of half-baked clay". (11) The journey of Balram Halwai towards the entrepreneurship shows the uneven way of freedom from economic servitude to others. The life histories of the noted entrepreneur in the world tell the truth that entrepreneurs are self-made men, rather than academically educated. Life teaches better than any human teacher and someone like Balram Halwai who has an extraordinary sense to perceive life, can find their way out:

Me, and thousands of others in this country like me, are half-baked, because we were never allowed to complete our schooling. Open our skulls, look in with a penlight, and you will find an old museum of ideas: sentences of history or mathematics remembered from school textbooks...sentences about politics read in a newspaper while waiting for someone to come to an office, triangle and pyramids seen on the torn pages of the old geometry textbooks which every teashop in this country uses to wrap its snacks in, ...all these ideas, half-formed and half-digested and half correct...Entrepreneurs are made of half-baked clay. (Adiga 10-11)

Against the Western Notion of the Orient

Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* is a breakthrough against the western notion of the Orient which had always been portrayed as exotic, mysterious and an abode of spiritualism.

The postcolonial India appears in Adiga's novel neither exotic nor spiritual; it is an extremely

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materialistic world where people are devoid of morality, family affection and spiritual bonding. People are inspired only with the mantra of progression and they can cross any limit for their materialistic prosperity. After the pressure upon caste system in postcolonial India, people could hardly utilize their newly gained freedom; rather they followed the same path of their upper caste masters used to exploit others and use them as ladders for their own benefits.

In Adiga's novel, Balram Halwai is exploited in many ways by the Stork's family and he exploits the family and its reputation more than that he receives. Even Ashok, who is a modern educated liberal man, becomes victimised in Balram's hand. Unlike the portrayal of other Oriental writers, Adiga's India is not a place where the westerners come for spiritual wisdom. The impact of globalization has turned exotic India into a prospective country for investment for the westerners, who are coming to India to set up their own enterprises for the availability of cheap skilled labour in India. Even the very title does not suggest any exoticism; rather it is the symbol of rare strength and power. Indians possess a prolonged tradition of strong family bonding.

No Nostalgia for the Homeland

The writings of diasporic authors like Bharati Mukherjee, Jhumpa Lahiri, and Nitasha Kaul have shown how Indian people are nostalgic for their homeland and the people living in it. People migrated to other cities or abroad, whether it is politically enforced migration or voluntary migration, are still emotionally attached to their home and their relatives. But Adiga's protagonist Balram Halwai is a completely different man who is not seen to possess any affection for his root and his past. Even when his grandmother continuously urges him to send money to family, he ignores it completely. Balram only believes in sacrificing everything for the sake of progression. According to him, one should be free of the general conception regarding good vs. evil, justice vs. injustice for a better life. Balram does not believe in eternal justice, rather he thinks that one should prioritize personal freedom and happiness than morality. Only one's awareness and strong desire to free him from the all types of servitude can lead him towards a free world. He criticizes those who despite knowing tragedy do not move from the position:

The greatest thing to come out of this country... is the Rooster

Coop. The roosters in the coop smell the blood from above.

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They see the organs of their brothers...They know they're next.
Yet they do not rebel. They do not try to get out of the coop.
The very same thing is done with human beings in this country.
(Adiga 34)

Two Different Sides of India

Arbind Adiga's *The White Tiger* represents two different sides of India: one is the dark side where people have been suffering from extreme poverty, diseases, class struggle and illiteracy; and the other side is the glorious city life after the economical liberalisation in 1991. Balram's father dies of tuberculosis because of the poor treatment in the hospital and the corruption among the workers in the public fields. Despite being a bright student and having the rarest talent like the rare creature "the white tiger" Balram turns up to be the driver of the sons of the Stork. When Balram is engaged by the Stork as the second driver of the Stork's family, he observes the allied corruption between the village authority like the Stork and the government, the latter one is continuously bribed by the former one to run every type of illegal activities. The Stork family is involved in illegal coal mining and they bribe the local socialist leaders to run their business. When there is a change in the centre and the Stork's family is endangered, Ashok and his brother (the Mongoose) go to Delhi to bribe the central leaders along with Balram who drives them. Once Pinky Madam, Ashok's American wife accidentally kills a cycle rider, Balram is forced to confess that it is he, not Pinky madam who committed the crime. Though Balram is rescued by the Stork family from being legally harassed, Balram's intense hatred over the upper class rises to great heights. After the Mongoose leaves Delhi, Balram is trusted by Ashok in every family affair. Balram observes that honesty only brings servitude to others, whereas one can follow his success through betrayal and corruption. Balram murders Ashok once on the way, robs his money and escapes to Bangalore which is turning into the most glamorous economic zone in the economically liberal India.

The other side of India, as portrayed by Adiga is booming for getting linked with the global open market. Cities like Bangalore, Delhi and Gurgaon are representing a country which is truly shining. Under the then prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then Union Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh announced the Economic Liberalization of India in the Union Budget in 1991. The process of liberalization was aimed at bringing Indian

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economy on to the doorstep of world economy through decreasing the government's intervention in the mode of license. Despite having several oppositions from and outside of the party, the then Prime Minister managed to convince all that the new reformatory act would solve the economic crisis in India. People like Balram Halwai are the mediators of India's transitional economy. Ana Cristina Mendes in "Exciting Tales of Exotic Dark India: Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*" writes:

The India of Light is that of wealth, technology and knowledge, while the India of Darkness (where the majority of Indians live) is that of misery, destitution and illiteracy. The novel describes how its protagonist/narrator Balram Halwai manages to claw his way into the Light of Delhi and Bangalore, out of the Darkness of Laxmangarh, a small remote village in the poor state of Bihar, in eastern India. (277)

The Impact of Globalization

The impact of globalization resulted in vast economic growth of the country and India received the best ever foreign investments during this time. Being a house of skilled cheap labour, India became the target of the global outsourcing companies which employed thousands of Indian BPO workers in the outsourcing centers that mushroomed in the areas of Bangalore, Gurgaon and Noida. On the 25th anniversary of India's economic liberalization, *the Firstpost* through an article of Rao and Kishore Kadam has brought out statistics to show the sudden rise of economy of India in 1991 due to vast foreign investment has been shown in the following lines:

Before 1991, foreign investment was negligible. The first year of reform saw a total foreign investment of only \$74 million. However, investments have steadily risen since then, except for occasional blips between 1997 and 2000. (*The Firstpost*, July 16, 2016)

Under the influence of globalization, Indian society turns out to be a fluid one the basis of economic, social and cultural exchange. In Adiga's novel the fluidity of transforming India can be explained through the "five scapes"^{iv} as suggested by Arjuna Appadurai, noted **Language in India** www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017 Sanjib Kr Biswas and Dr. Smriti Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Portrayal of Poverty and Corruption Ridden Postcolonial India in Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* 309

Indian diasporic anthropologist and economist and discussed by Ashley Hogan in his course blog. After the near demolishing of India's caste based social system, people from lower and lower middle class appeared in the position of entrepreneurs like Balram Halwai. Through "ethnoscapes," people of several communities migrate across cities and even borders to establish their own enterprises. The traditional job of Halwai community is making sweets, but Adiga's protagonist is seen to follow "ethnoscape" for a better future. Through the "technoscapes", the employees in Bangalore are sharing information and ideas through technology which is enabling people to cross the geographical boundary virtually for the sake of profession. "Finanscapes" is the way the open economy started to deal with the world economy after the economic liberalization. The benefits of "finanscapes" in an open economical system produced lots of entrepreneurs like Balram Halwai, who got established exploring the gaps in the system. "Mediascapes" works for Balram Halwai to perceive the happenings in the world through the newspaper cutting in the tea shop or the short bulletin in the FM radio. Balram gets to know from the newspaper that many people in Bangalore are nocturnal and they work night shifts in different outsourcing offices. This helps him to ideate his next move to run a taxi service for transporting the people working in the call centres safely at night. The role of media to form an imaginary world in a postcolonial society works for Balram Halwai to follow his own enterprise following the trends. "Ideascapes" enabled Balram to look at the world from a different perspective finding the way out from the ultimate servitude in a postcolonial society.

The White Tiger has subverted Hegel's master-slave dialectic and the novel has deconstructed the power-structure. According to Hegel, there is a mutual relationship between the master and the slave; both form a mutual relationship upon the consciousness of both the people. Benjamin Graves explains Hegel's theory in "The Master-Slave Dialectic: Hegel and Fanon"

According to Hegel, both master and slave "recognize" their own existence only in relation or "reconciliation" of the other. Among the many implications of the master-slave dialectic, then, is the idea of there being reciprocity or mutual dependence between master and slave rather than a blanket opposition of dominance to subordination. The slave ironically *shares* in the master's power because the master defines himself only in opposition to the slave; that is, the

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master *needs* the slave in order to legitimate his comparative privilege. (postcolonialweb.org)

Master and the Slave

But Adiga's novel has subverted the structure where the consciousness of the master is perceived by the slave whereas the consciousness of the slave is never presumed by the master. Ashok, despite being the son of a corrupt landlord, trusts Balram wholeheartedly, but Balram sees it as the ladder of his progression. Balram knows how the upper caste/class Indians once exploited the lower class people like his forefathers under the colonial rule. Despite being born in a poor family, Balram has a strong sense of perception and he uses it to listen to others capturing the best to develop his status. According to him, people are still living their lives in misery as they have less or no desire to change their status. Only seeing the rotten things would not make any change, one has to accumulate the best from the rotten ones. "They remain slaves because they can't see what is beautiful in this world". (Adiga 34)

Centre and Marginality

The relativity of the centre and marginality is also a concern in this novel. The post-structural analysis of the novel shows how the binary oppositions created on the basis of power structure are completely relative. Master/slave, occident/orient, good/evil, day/night are just easily breakable and reversible structures in Adiga's novel. The slave takes the position of master exploiting him and vice versa, occident comes to the orient for a mutual economic growth, good becomes obsolete in the abundance of corruption and India sets a new norm to work at night and sleep in the day with the White Tiger drivers and the call centre workers.

The Goal of the Portrayal

Adiga's portrayal of poverty and corruption-ridden Indian society is not to mock the country's misery, but to pinpoint the situation of how the postcolonial India is still depriving the common people from their basic rights. India is "no longer at ease" even after the seven decades of Independence because a large portion of Indian population still lives below the poverty level without the basic facilities like healthcare, food and employment. On the other hand people like the Stork are abundant in the society, still dominating the economy through bribing government officials and depriving the common people. The prolonged injustice and

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exploitation provoke the common people like Balram Halwai to follow the way of crime to escape the servitude and live a better life. Balram Halwai is not born corrupt, but the society makes him evil. Balram is not ashamed of his conduct but is content, thinking that at least he could enjoy the life of a master. He expresses his pride to the Chinese official for being a contributor to India's economic growth. He forgets his family and his roots, but shows his nobility towards those children who are still being deprived of their rights. He plans to open a school for the poor children. Adiga thinks that it is the social responsibility of every author to pinpoint the evil sides of the society for the sake of reformation. While being interviewed by *the Guardian*, he mentions the name of Charles Dickens, Flaubert, and Balzac who worked for the betterment of the social and economic condition of England and France in the nineteenth century. Adiga thinks that the educated and sensible people's indifference towards the poverty and the corruption in Indian society are turning the condition of the nation into a more deplorable state. When Stuart Jeffries, the correspondent of the Guardian, UK, asked him how he had become interested in the poor and downtrodden people in India even after having lived a life physically detached from them, Adiga replies:

I don't think a novelist should just write about his own experiences. Yes, I am the son of a doctor, yes, I had a rigorous formal education, but for me the challenge of a novelist is to write about people who aren't anything like me...In somewhere like Bihar there will be no doctors in the hospital. In northern India politics is so corrupt that it makes a mockery of democracy. This is a country where the poor fear tuberculosis, which kills 1,000 Indians a day, but people like me - middle-class people with access to health services that are probably better than England's - don't fear it at all. (The Guardian, UK, 16 October 2008)

Notes

ⁱ An America based social networking application.

ii. “The policy or practice of a wealthy or powerful nation in extending its influence into a less developed one, especially in exploiting that nation's resources.” (Source: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Neo-imperialism>, retrieved on 23 April, 2017)

iii A novel in the form of letters written by the protagonist or few more characters. (Source: <https://www.britannica.com/art/epistolary-novel>, retrieved on 22 April, 2017)

iv Arjuna Appadurai is a globally acclaimed Indian diasporic American living anthropologist and economist who is famous for his theory of globalization. He suggests that five factors or “scapes” contribute to the global exchange of ideas and information in the era of globalization. The five scapes are: ethnoscape, technoscape, finanscape, mediascapes and ideoscapes. (Source: <https://www.amherst.edu/academiclife/departments/courses/1011F/MUSI/MUSI-04-1011F/blog/node/229354>, retrieved on 24th April, 2017)

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Economic Hardship and French Colonialism in Laos

Selvi Bunce

Abstract

French Colonialism of Laos is the main cause of Laos's low economic status as one of the poorest states in East Asia because colonialism did not allow for the development of any Laotian bureaucracy or government structure, created a power vacuum when Laos gained independence, and allowed for a communist government to take control of a state with no infrastructure. Therefore, if the French had invested in the independence and infrastructure of Laos it would be a higher functioning state today with greater economic independence. I will demonstrate this by giving an overview of French colonialism in Laos, how it allowed for ineffective governments to be propped up by foreign aid, and how foreign aid made Laos susceptible to an authoritarian government and prevented effective bureaucracy and economic infrastructure that would allow its people to flourish.

Key words: Laos, French colonialism, foreign aid, consequences, low economic status

The Current Economic Situation of Laos

Laos has the greatest percentage of its population living under the poverty line in all East Asia. This means that in comparison to the other states of East Asia, Laos has the highest ratio of citizens living in poverty (as defined by Purchasing Power Parity, or PPP) (World Bank 2017). However, while the percentage of Laotians living under the international poverty line has been steadily decreasing (from a peak of 30.7% in 1997 to 16.7% in 2012), it is not decreasing fast enough to keep up with its East Asian counterparts. Nevertheless, per the Gini coefficient, inequality has been rising, from 34.9 in 1997, to 37.9 in 2012 (World Bank 2017). So, while less are now living in poverty, uneven income distribution has increased.

This paradox is due to Laos's high reliance on foreign aid. For example, much of the growth in the economy over the past decade (averaging 8 per cent) has been spurred by mining and hydropower exports that have also attracted significant levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Roberts 2012, 154). FDI leads to increased economic inequality because it does not allow the poorest of Laos to thrive, instead it only provides more opportunities for those that already hold wealth and influence in Laos.

The Human Development Index (HDI) number of Laos is 0.586, making it ranked at 138 internationally. This means that on a scale from 0 to 1, Laos is about halfway to full development as measured in the life expectancy, education level, and per capita income indicators of its population. Although it is not the lowest in East Asia (Myanmar is 145 and Cambodia is 143) (UNDP 2016) the ranking is still quite poor. It is more important to note HDI than PPP in Laos because about 10 percent of the population of Laos left after 1975 and there is now a steady stream of remittances from the United States, France, and Australia that would skew the PPP (Lintner 2003, 144).

Over the last decade, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth has averaged an impressive 7 per cent due to the increased use of the state's natural resources of water, minerals, and forests. Laos is also moving more towards economic integration, specifically with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (World Bank 2017). However, Laos's main problems remain the same as in previous years: too much dependence on foreign aid, lack of openness and transparency, no political debate on how to solve the country's problems, and little or no investment outside the power sector (Lintner 2003, 144). Many of these central problems can be traced to French colonialism.

The Character of French Colonialism in Laos

The French began to establish themselves as a protectorate over Laos in 1893 (Christie 1979, 147). At this point in time, Laos was already in disintegration. The kingdom of Vientiane had been annexed by Siam and Luang Prabang and Champassak were close to annexation. Siamese dependencies and political decline were matched by a decline in the vitality of religion and culture of the Lao people (Christie 1979, 147). Therefore, the Lao elite were accepting, if not

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welcoming, of the French presence in Laos in the hopes it would help unite the Lao people and fend off aggressive neighbors (Christie 1979, 148).

However, France made no attempt to encourage a sense of Laotian national identity or create the basis for a viable independent nation. Furthermore, France deliberately encouraged Vietnamese settlement in Laos, striking at the very roots of Laotian national identity. France also made no serious attempt to resolve the traditional hostilities that divided the ethnic Lao and the minorities in Laos (Christie 1979, 148). These ethnic fractures, deepened by France, would have grave implications for independent Laos.

Not only did France neglect the importance of ethnic divides in Laos, but it also treated Laotians as inferiors. For example, Ivens quotes French colonials:

“The Laos are happy children; it is the sweetest country in the world. What they need is a good king, good princes, reasonable taxes, peace to cultivate their rice just enough to eat sufficiently and time to play the khene (a musical instrument resembling a flute, peculiar to Laos) and to sing songs to their lovers. It is a country where nothing has been spoiled by civilization. These are the most amiable people in the world; not warlike, not ambitious; caring little for work and a great deal for singing; tasteful and endowed with an innate sense of the beautiful” (1947, 122)

Apart from this type of rhetoric, France’s view of Laos is also shown in what it did not do. For more than half a century France ruled Laos as a “colonial backwater”, administered with minimal staffs and expenses (Kittikhoun 2009, 33). Furthermore, France put no effort into advancing infrastructure, education, industrialization, or development. Even in the urban centers, the communications infrastructure was extremely poor and no railroad was ever constructed. Some roads were built, but with limited colonial and commercial interests and the French did not construct them beyond bare necessities (Kittikhoun 2009, 33). In addition, the roads that were built only served to benefit those that possessed cars, which was not the average Laos citizen (Ivens 1947, 122). Therefore, even before Laos was left to fend for itself, economic inequality was taking root.

Transition: Japanese Invasion and French Reaction

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France maintained its pattern of political, economic, and legal domination over a subordinate Laotian population through the weakening of the colonies and the discouragement of elite development until 1945. Ivens states that “the real drama of Laos, like that of all Indochina, began in March 1945 when, on March 9, the Japanese effectively seized power in Indochina” (Ivens 1947, 123).

Interestingly, it was not France that first acted when the Japanese ousted it and encouraged states of Indochina to form independent governments. The French troops stationed in Laos did not fight against the Japanese. They were simply interned like the civilians while a few took flight. At this time Laos felt that France, which had promised them protection against all aggressors, was abandoning them (Ivens 1947, 123). Almost immediately the Vietnamese population in Laos organized and acted as though Laos was “no more than a political adjunct of Vietnam” (Christie 1979, 149). This encouraged most of the Lao elite to cooperate with the Japanese as an independent government under Princely leadership since Japanese-inspired independence and collaboration was the only possible policy response to the immediate Vietnamese threat to Laos (Christie 1979, 149).

However, the declaration of Laotian independence was not enough to deter France from attempting to reassert its position in Laos. France engaged in guerilla warfare in Laos through specially trained officers up until the summer of 1945 when French guerilla troops were effectively challenged by young Lao nationalists that had partnered with an underground Thai movement (Christie 1979, 150). The ethnic divides France used in its “divide and rule” strategy (Ivens 1947, 123) backfired by encouraging different groups to clamor for independence when the time came, making it impossible for France to regain control, or even allow a peaceful and constructive transfer of power.

Although France could not fully retrieve the exploitative position it once held in Laos, Laos was not yet ready to be fully independent due to these same ethnic conflicts paired with a weak economy because of poor, when existent, infrastructure. In addition, independence was difficult for Laos because it was obliged to train its own, inexperienced people to replace those that had been placed in administration by the French while the Japanese offered no assistance

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(Ivens 1947, 123). When the French Protectorate was officially denounced, the Lao elite formed a new nationalist front to form the independent government, the Lao Issara (Issara meaning 'free') (Christie 1979, 150). The post Geneva Conference Lao Issara was dominated by a conservative nationalist elite that leaned heavily on French support (Christie 1979, 150). This is in part, because the Lao elite benefitted the most from French support as French colonialism paid little attention to the general welfare of the population and focused only on the utility of Laos through its most powerful elites, whom now depended on France for both economic and political influence.

At this point, the Lao Issara was a government by elites for elites, propped up by the French, therefore not requiring the development of any real infrastructure (such as taxation) or rule of law.

The Rise of Communism

The stability of the conservative Lao Issara was shaken in 1954 when Laos became a battleground for influence between North Vietnam and the United States. The determination of the United States to be involved and draw the Lao Issara, or Royal Lao Government into an active role against communism effectively undermined France's role as guarantor of Laotian security. This allowed the Pathet Lao (a communist political movement backed by the Viet-Minh) to begin a sustained campaign to "politicize the minorities and the poor of Laos to decrease loyalty to the Royal Lao Government" (Christie 1979, 151). Not only did the involvement of the United States encourage more aid to the Pathet Lao from the North Vietnamese, but it also increased division and weakened the Lao nationalist elite. As these divides developed and time allowed them to ferment, smaller groups were eventually absorbed into either the Royal Lao or Pathet Lao armies and by 1964, Laos became a powerless and divided adjunct in the Indochina war, overrun by competing foreign powers (Christie 1979, 152).

The rise of the Pathet Lao was facilitated by the involvement of current powers that expounded on ethnic boundaries exploited in colonialism. For example, the conflict at the Plain of Jars was a key defining moment for the Pathet Lao. Simmonds states that "For its part, the Pathet Lao had exploited rivalries within the neutralist armed forces and was thus more or less

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directly responsible for the fighting that broke out on the Plain of Jars on 31 March [1963]” (1964, 287). This fighting inevitably led to the resignation of King Souvannaphouma that left Laos vulnerable to the strongly Vietnamese backed Pathet Lao who could effectively mobilize the citizenry under claims of nationalism and equality in comparison to the divided and elitist Royal Lao Government.

From then on, it was only a matter of formalities until the communist, Pathet Lao born, Lao People’s Democratic Republic came to rule in 1975. This is the current government in place, though numerous anti-communist insurgencies have occurred between 1975 and now, it faces little to no opposition due to its authoritarian tradition and high centralization. For example, “elections to the National Assembly were held on 24 February (2002), and the government claimed, ‘all 2.5 million eligible voters nationwide used their right to vote’. There were few surprises when a total of 166 candidates competed for 109 seats in the Assembly, which in effect is little more than a rubber-stamp body controlled by the ruling Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP)” (Lintner 2003, 135). Clearly, an election where the government is claiming that the entire eligible population voted while only about 70 per cent of adults are literate (UNICEF 2013) cannot be accurate.

Now and Then

This lack of accurate representation in the current socialist government makes it impossible for the government to focus on the real needs of its people to effectively develop the state. For example, “the lack of political debate and initiative was seen by most foreign observers as the main reason why Laos' troubled economy showed few signs of real improvement during the year (2002)” (Lintner 2003, 135).

Beyond oppressing public opinion, the LPRP also instituted communist inspired ideas that have negatively affected the Lao economy. For example, in December 1975, the LPRP instituted disastrous agricultural collectives that damaged its market economy both domestically and internationally. But, inspired and threatened by its more progressive neighbors, Laos began to nationalize in the late 1980s. In August 1991, a new constitution was adopted which formalized the introduction of a market-oriented economy, guaranteed the right of every Lao

citizen to own property, and provided protection for foreign and domestic investment (Lintner 2003, 139).

As Laos began to intentionally liberalize main sectors of the economy the initial results were striking. Laos one of the world's poorest countries, where subsistence agriculture accounted for half of gross domestic product (GDP) and provided a livelihood for 80 per cent of the population may have started from an extremely low base, but even so, annual growth averaged 7 per cent in 1988-97 (Lintner 2003, 139). Much of the growth that has occurred in the 2000's has been spurred by mining and hydropower exports. These two industries have attracted significant increases in the level of foreign direct investment (FDI) from countries such as China, Thailand, Australia, and Vietnam. Furthermore, the level of average gross national income has increased and in July 2011, led the World Bank to reclassify Laos from a "low income" to a "lower-middle income" country. Such progress also lends credence to the possibility that the LPRP may be able to realize its Millennium Development Goal to no longer be in the United Nations list of "least developed countries" by 2020. However, it is also important to recognize that neither the pace of development nor the equality in its distribution has been problem free (Roberts 2012, 154).

Despite liberalization in some areas, no structural change has taken place. The government is still dictating economic policy and subsidizing state commercial enterprises, which are losing money (Lintner 2003, 140). The agricultural sector, from which most Laotians depend on, is hampered by weak infrastructure and outdated production methods due to the early communist agricultural collectives (Lintner 2003, 140). The sole reason for the prolonged survival of Laos is foreign aid that the government uses to finance public investment projects and to cover chronic current-account deficit (Lintner 2003, 141). Thus, while Laos has managed to show growth in the past decade, life expectancy in Laos is still below its Southeast Asian counterparts, including Myanmar and Cambodia. Further, in 2011 the United Nations estimated that 33.9 per cent of the population continued to live in poverty. Under these conditions, approximately 40 per cent of the population lacks food security for three to four months of the year and there is a strong nexus between childhood malnutrition and the stunting of growth - with the latter affecting an estimated 48 per cent of the population (Roberts 2012, 154).

While it is important to acknowledge the growth Laos has experienced in recent years, it is also important to acknowledge why that growth is only coming now, and why Laos still has far to go. It may be easy for some to conclude that Laos is struggling economically simply because it is under the oppressive rule of a Marxist inspired party. However, this assumption does not factor Laos's problematic history. While it is fair to say that the authoritarian government has exacerbated problems by relying too heavily on foreign aid and not developing infrastructure, it is imperative to note that this has been the pattern of Laotian economics for decades. French colonialism put Laos in a position of dependence, even its elites were dependent on outside actors. The neglectful nature of the French also left Laos with weak, when present, institutions that paid little heed to the good of the people and exacerbated ethnic tensions that aided the eventual success of the Vietnamese backed communist revolution. Overall, it is colonialism that has had the greatest lasting impact on the economic development of Laos.

Acknowledgement

My grateful thanks are due to Professor Becca McBride, Calvin College for her insightful guidance in writing this article.

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Puranic Search: An Instant Search System for Puranas

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Abstract

Purana is a huge genre of Indian literature about a wide range of topics, particularly myths, legends and other traditional wisdom. It is also source of the science and technology of ancient India. *Puranas* are primarily written in Sanskrit language. The *Puranas* genre of literature is found in both Hinduism and Jainism. *Puranas* includes diverse topics such as cosmogony, cosmology, genealogies of gods, goddesses, kings, heroes, sages, and demigods, folk tales, pilgrimages, temples, medicine, astronomy, grammar, mineralogy, humor, love stories, as well as theology and philosophy. This paper describe a web based information extraction tools from the Puranic texts. Data of the 18 *Puranas* has been collected and digitalized in Devanagari script. Major goal of the paper is to introduce a search engine called *Pauraic Search*.

Keywords: Information Retrieval, Sanskrit Search, Purana, Online Indexing

1. Introduction

The word *Puranas* literally means ancient or old (Webster, 1955 and Oliver, 2006). *Puranas* like Vedic *Samhitas* and Epics form the compendium of fourfold vision of human existence. It was primarily composed in Sanskrit and later translated in various regional languages (Doniger, 1993). *Purana* is define as '*Puranam Pancalakshanam*' it is the correct pre-requisite superimpose on them (Sharma, 2003).

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वंतराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पंचलक्षणम् ॥

Every *Purana* fundamentally deals with topics normally coming within the fold of these five *lakshanas*, viz. creation, dissolution and re-creation, genealogy of gods, sages etc., periods called *Manvantaras* and description of Royal dynasties. But this treatment is quite

unique in unraveling the social, political, historical, ethical, linguistic, etymological and allied subjects. This fundamentally forms the basis of Ancient Indian legendary lore and chronicles though anachronism and affords opportunity to make a probe by a comparative study to expose the factual happenings (Webster, 1955, Doniger, 1993 and Oliver, 2006).

S.No.	Purana name	Verses number
1	Agni	15,400 verses
2	Bhagavata	18,000 verses
3	Brahma	10,000 verses
4	Brahmanda	12,000 verses
5	Brahmavaivarta	17,000 verses
6	Garuda	19,000 verses
7	Kurma	17,000 verses
8	Linga	11,000 verses
9	Markandeya	9,000 verses
10	Matsya	14,000 verses
11	Narada	25,000 verses
12	Padma	55,000 verses
13	Shiva	24,000 verses
14	Skanda	81,100 verses
15	Vamana	10,000 verses
16	Varaha	24,000 verses
17	Vayu	24,000 verses
18	Vishnu	23,000 verses

Table 1: Puranas Verses Data

Indeed, the *Purana* is a distinct branch of learning. It is treated as one of the *Vidyas* like the Samkhya and the Vedanta, it has its distinct theory of cosmology. Moreover and besides the Five times (*Sarga-Pratisarga* etc.) mythology is also the special feature of *Puranas*. Cosmology and Mythology are the two main subjects of *Purana-vidya*. Just as the Puranic cosmology can be best understood in the light of the knowledge of cosmology of

various philosophical systems of India, in the same way that Puranic mythology can best be understood in the light of the knowledge of the comparative mythology.

2. Importance of Puranas

Puranas have contributed significantly in the all-round development of human life. They are the symbols of national, social and cultural awareness. They are true inspirational force behind human spirit. They are equally beneficial for both our life in this world and the other worlds (after the death), like *Vedas*, *shrutis*, *Smrtis*, the importance of Puranas has been maintained till date. Since Puranas are shadow of Vedas, the deep knowledge of Vedas is very simply and smartly illustrated in the Puranas. The conclusion is that without the study of Puranas, knowledge of ancient Indian wisdom is incomplete.

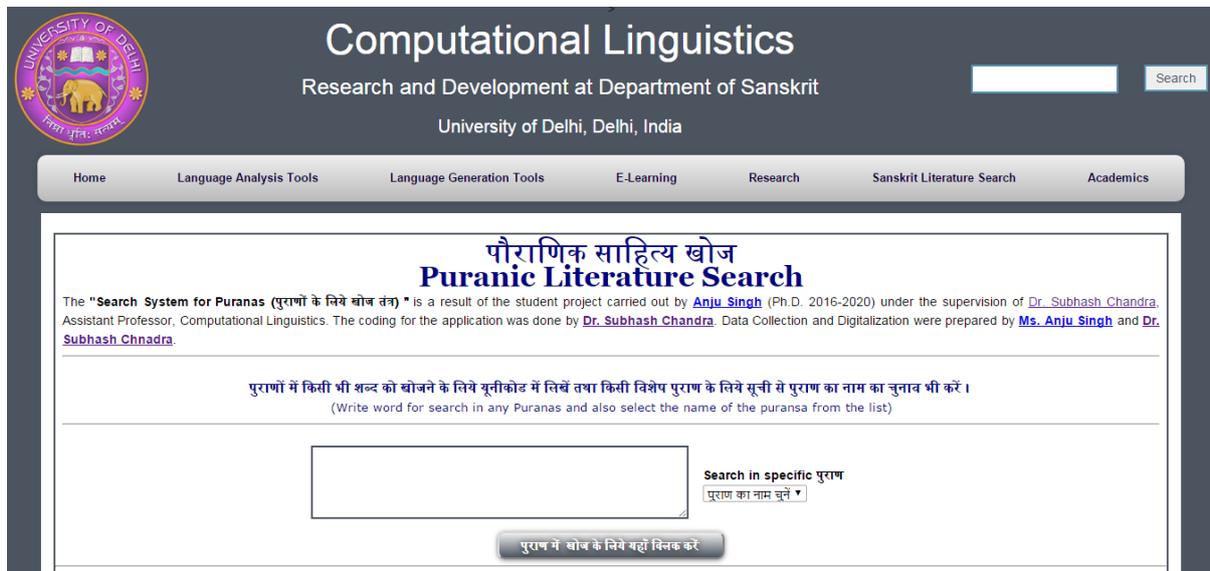


Figure 1: User Interface

There are 18 Mahapuranas (Great Puranas) and 18 Upapuranas (Minor Puranas) (Dimmitt, 2012 and Hazra, 1958), with over 400,000 verses (Leaman, 2006). The first versions of the various Puranas were likely composed between the 3rd and 10th century (Collins, 1988).

The most important Mahapuranas or the major Puranas are said to be eighteen in number, divided into three groups of six, though they are not always counted in the same way (Mani, 1975 Ali, 1966 and Parmeshwaranand, 2001).

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3. Features of Puranic Search System

Puranic Literature Search is an online search system for Puranas is developed by the Computational linguistics, department of Sanskrit University of Delhi. User can search any word available in any *Puranas* and get complete reference of that word. Data of the Puranas are stored in a database with complete detail in UTF-8 format in Devanagari script.

The screenshot shows the web interface for 'Puranic Literature Search'. At the top, the title is 'पौराणिक साहित्य खोज' (Puranic Literature Search). Below the title, there is a paragraph in Hindi explaining that the system is a student project supervised by Dr. Subhash Chandra. The main search area contains a text input field and a button labeled 'पुराण में खोज के लिये यहाँ क्लिक करें' (Click here to search in Puranas). To the right of the input field is a dropdown menu titled 'Search in specific पुराण' (Search in specific Purana). The dropdown menu is open, showing a list of Puranas: 'अग्निपुराण' (Agni Purana), 'गरुडपुराण' (Garuda Purana), 'भागवतपुराण' (Bhagavata Purana), and 'ब्रह्माण्डपुराण' (Brahmanda Purana). Below the search area, there is a 'Result:' label.

Figure 2: Drop Down List

3.1 Components of the Pauranic Search and their Role in Searching

Pauranic Search system takes help of few components. The components are User Interface, Preprocessor, Purana Indexer and Output Generator. User shown in figure 1 gives input through User Interface and then interface send input to Preprocessor module for validation of the string after validation input goes to the Purana Indexer for searching in the Purana database. This component searches input word in the Purana database one by one. If user doesn't select any specific Purana name from the list shown on the User Interface as shown in figure 2 then input searches in all Puranas otherwise searches in only specific Purana. After searching complete information related to the input word goes to the Output Generator and output generator format the result and display the result on the User Interface page.

3.2 Searching Methodology

Currently system accepts input through text area in UTF-8 format in Devanagari script. User can type searching string/word in the text area then click on the button below.

After clicking on the button system send the request to the search engine for searching in the Purana database. Searching methods can be understood through Figure 3:

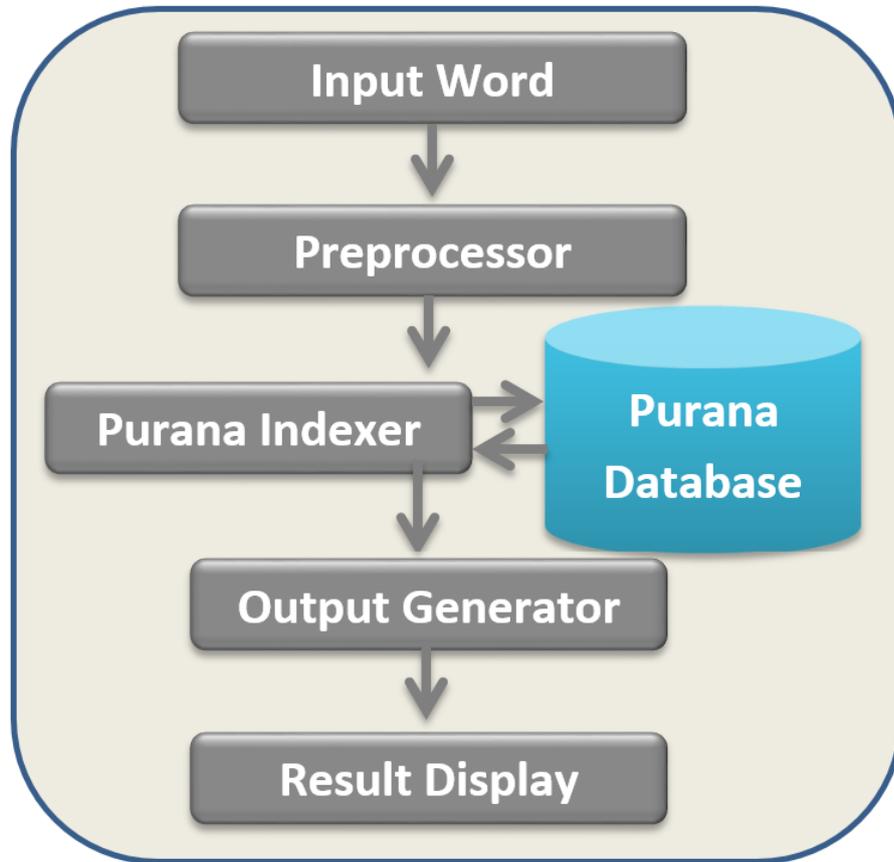


Figure 3: Flow Chart of the System

4. Conclusion and Future Direction

Puranic search system is very useful system for researcher for immediate reference search. Currently this system is under development and contains only Agni, Garuna (Bhattacharya, 1964), Bhagavat Purana. The data is stored in UFT-8 Devanagari format. In future, it is planned to digitalize all 18 Puranas. The input input/output methods of system will be made multilingual (Punjabi, Sanskrit, English, Bangla, Telugu, Tamil etc.) in near future because Sanskrit teach in various language medium in India.

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English in Bangladesh: Resistance versus Utility

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Abstract

This paper tries to investigate the causes of the resistance to speak in English by a group of people in Bangladesh. To accomplish the task, I have explored the complex linguistic background through which Bangladesh has evolved. Apart from this, this article expands upon earlier research on the historical perspective of linguistic background of Bangladesh. Finally, it suggests that the localization and contextualization of English in accordance with the Bangladeshi cultural values.

Keywords: resistance, English, Bangladesh, Banglalization, cultural values

Introduction

After completing MA in ELT (English Language Teaching) from the University of Dhaka, I joined Notre Dame College, Dhaka, Bangladesh on July 2009 as a Lecturer in English. It is a prestigious Christian Missionary College established in 1949. I was assigned to teach the English language class. I was also appointed as the Co-moderator of Notre Dame English Language Club which used to organize extra-curricular activities for students to enhance their fluency in English. While teaching at Notre Dame College, Dhaka, I came across several problems associated with the teaching of English. Since I had to teach English Language class, I used to speak in English and tried to motivate my students to speak in English as well. My motivation worked well as I saw; however, I discovered that a few students were unwilling to speak in English. As an English Lecturer, according to my personal observation, in Bangladesh nowadays most of the students want to learn English due to several socio-economic factors. However, somehow those students developed that notion of resistance from either their parents or from their surroundings. This paper makes an attempt to investigate the cause of this sort of

resistance to speak in English by a particular group of people in Bangladesh by exploring the complex linguistic background from the historical perspective through which Bangladesh has evolved.

English in British Period

“Bangla” is the state language of Bangladesh. But there is long history through which Bangladesh has come to this. In order to understand the linguistic history of Bangladesh, it is important to know the political history of Bangladesh as they are inter-mingled. Bangladesh was the part of the greater India and was colonized by the British rulers for about two hundred years from 1857 to 1947 and its name was East-Bengal. During the British period, English was used as the official language. The East India Company played the central role in spreading English in the greater India. So, the colonial rule was the key player for spreading English in Bangladesh. By 1800, the College of Fort William was established in Calcutta to teach local language to East India Company. But, recognizing the value of English, the educated middle class established a college to teach English language and literature (Hossain and Tollefson, 2006). Therefore, it was not only the British but also the local elites who wanted English education, due to social and economic value (Pennycook, 1994). The purpose of British education was to create a small group for dominating the colonial people. For this reason, English got popularity only among a small group of people who got the chance to access the limited numbers of jobs (Islam, 2011). When the British left India in 1947 dividing India and Pakistan, Bangladesh became a part of Pakistan and was named as East Pakistan.

Civil Unrest in Pakistan Period

The British Government divided greater India into two parts on the basis of religion. However, the religious ideology failed to unite Pakistan. Finally, approaching the issue of what should be the state language of Pakistan, on February 23, 1948, a Bengali opposition member of Pakistan National Assembly, Dharendra Nath Dutta, claimed Bangla would be the state of Pakistan (Islam, 2011). Dutta’s claim was rejected by Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan and other non-Bengali members in the Assembly. Khan strongly argued: “Pakistan has been created because of the demand of 100 million Muslims in this subcontinent and the language of a hundred million Muslims is Urdu. Pakistan is a Muslim state and it must have as

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 17:5 May 2017

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its lingua franca the language of the Muslim nations” (Government of Pakistan, Constitutional Assembly of Pakistan Proceedings, Second Session, February 25, 1948, Karachi, p. 15-16). On the other hand, Bengalis showed their emotional responses against Khan’s stance. Thomson (2007) illustrates, “the Bengali response to this was equally emotive. Even though the vast majority of Bengali Muslims had strongly welcomed the idea of a Muslim state, disillusionment now quickly set in with Khan’s dictatorial response” (p. 53). As a result, civil unrest broke out.

Language Movement of 1952

In the height of the civic unrest, the then Governor-General of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah arrived in Dhaka on March 19, 1948. On March 21, at a civic reception at Racecourse Ground, he claimed that the language issue was designed by a "fifth column" to divide Pakistani Muslims. Jinnah further declared that "Urdu, and only Urdu" embodied the spirit of Muslim nations and would remain as the state language, labelling those who disagreed with his views as "Enemies of Pakistan". Jinnah delivered a similar speech at Curzon Hall of the University of Dhaka on March 24, 1948. At both meetings, Jinnah was interrupted by large segments of the audience. Before Jinnah left Dhaka on March 28, he delivered a speech on radio reasserting his "Urdu-only" policy. The unrest continued and the students of the University of Dhaka and other political activists defied the law and organized a protest on February 21, 1952. The movement reached its climax when police killed student demonstrators on that day. The deaths provoked widespread civil unrest. After years of conflict, the central government relented and granted official status to the Bengali language in 1956. In 1999, UNESCO declared 21 February as International Mother Language Day, in tribute to the Language Movement and the ethnolinguistic rights of people around the world. In Bangladesh, February 21 is observed as *Language Movement Day*, a national holiday (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengali_Language_Movement).

Language Policies after Independence in Bangladesh

In 1971, Bangladesh became independent through a bloody battle of nine months with Pakistan and emerged as a sovereign nation in the world. Being an independent nation, the spirit of nationalism, as well as a sense of decolonization, became stronger than ever which ultimately functioned in favor of Bangla as a language. Like many other post-colonial nations, Bangladesh

also attempted to exclude English as it was comprehended to be a potential threat to the enrichment and domination of Bangla. According to Begum (2015), after becoming a free nation, language policies in favor of Bangla emerged with two prime objectives: to place Bangla at the peak of linguistic esteem, and to eliminate other languages, mainly Urdu and English. These policies successfully eliminated Urdu from Bangladesh but, in the case of English, things remained conflicting and contradictory.

Declaration of Bangla as National Language of Bangladesh

The 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh gave Bangla the status of sole national language to be used in administration and the judiciary, and as the medium of instruction in education (Chowdhuray & Kabir, 2014). The first Education Commission was formed in 1972, headed by the leading educationalist and scientist Dr. Quadrat-e-Khuda. The Commission submitted its report to the Government in May 1974 (Bangladesh educational statistics, 2003). The report was formulated and was based on the socio-economic and political state and cultural heritage of the country. The report claimed that Bangla has many advantages as the medium of instruction, particularly its value in developing students' natural intelligence, original thinking, and imagination. However, despite its support for Bangla, the Commission also argued that English should remain the language of higher education until the colonial educational system could be reformed. The Commission also recommended that English should be taught from Grade 6 to 12 only (Hossain and Tollefson, 2006).

Effects of Banglalization

After independence, several domains were affected due to government's language policy. Banu & Sussex (2001a) points out that after Bangladesh became independent in 1971; one of the first domains to be affected by the government's Banglalization effort was the domain of education, particularly at the primary and secondary levels. All English-medium schools were abolished in 1972. The abolition of English-medium schools was accompanied by a corresponding removal of English from all public service and departmental examinations in pursuance of the policy of Banglalization of the administration. A Bangla-medium educational system supported well the effort of Bangalizing the administrative and legal structures. At the tertiary level, however, the banning of English overnight was not possible; English was allowed

to continue parallel with Bangla as the language both of instruction and examination. In tertiary education, English had an optional and non-statutory status. As a result, university education began to suffer because it had been traditionally English-medium in the sense that not only were the lectures delivered mainly in English, but books and journals were also available mostly in English. While it was simply not practicable for the universities to switch completely to Bangla, the presence of Bangla-medium students with inadequate proficiency in English affected several aspects of university education. Bilingual lectures and switching back and forth between Bangla and English became a common form of classroom communication.

The Bangla Language Introduction Act

In 1987, “The Bangla Language Introduction Act” was passed by the government of Bangladesh. The aim of the Act was to ensure the use of Bangla in all spheres and at all levels for government purposes. Repeated orders and directives, verbal and written, were issued by the government to enact the law. It was the most effective Act that proclaimed Bangla as the national and official language of Bangladesh and strictly prohibited the use of English anywhere. As a consequence of this Act, Bangla immediately replaced English in all spheres of national life and created a “vacuum” in English Language proficiency and deprived the nation of numerous global opportunities for so many years (Banu & Sussex, 2001a; Rahman, 2005). Imam (2005) says that the sentimental rhetoric in favor of Bangla saw English as a great challenge to the national language and national identity. Sen (2008) regrets such post-independence policy decision to exile English from the country, a preference in favor of Bangla that would have long-term repercussions (as cited in Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014). Hamid et al. (2013) report how gradually over the next decade or so policy makers started realizing the damage done to English teaching and learning as a consequence of such nationalist policies.

Reintroduction of English in Bangladesh

Within the five years after the declaration of “Bangla Language Introduction Act,” the importance of English was realized by the government of Bangladesh. In 1992, through the introduction of competency-based primary curriculum, English was made a compulsory subject from Grade one by the National Curriculum Committee of Bangladesh (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014). According to Banu & Sussex (2001a), the government’s rethinking of the role of English

within the education system was evident in its decision to reintroduce English at the tertiary level by passing legislation in 1992. The objective was to better equip graduates for the job market and generally raise academic standards to higher levels. In 1997, the University of Dhaka reintroduced compulsory remedial English language courses for all first-year students of all departments. English-medium schools which were banned in 1972 started to regrow. The entrance of Bangladesh into the garment industry and free trade world has created an increasing awareness of the need for English communication skills. The phenomenal growth of the IT industry in Bangladesh has also made people aware of the importance of English as a language of communication. English has become essential for economic purposes. The importance of English in Bangladesh may be measured by the formal recognition of English as a second language in 2001 (Islam, 2011).

Emphasis on English in the Global Era

For many practical reasons, an emphasis was put on the teaching of English in Bangladesh. Begum (2015) stated that in the era of globalization, the lights of English began to shine again in Bangladesh as she aspired to benefit from the global culture, economy, education and technology. Rahman, et al. (2006) provided their insightful explanation concerning the regeneration of English in Bangladesh: “English went underground but kept up a furtive existence. However, a realization of pragmatic and global needs has caused English to resurface.” In recent times, the Bangladesh Government has become more concerned with promoting English Language education. The President of Bangladesh declared that with a view to promoting employment abroad and encouraging the transfer of technology, emphasis will be laid on teaching the English language along with the mother tongue.

Assistance of NGOs in Promoting English Teaching in Bangladesh

Many NGOs (nongovernment organizations) also have come forward with a view to helping the Government of Bangladesh. “English Language Teaching Improvement Project” (ELTIP) has been established in 1997 with the funding of the UK Government to train the English teachers of secondary level (Hamid, 2010). Another two projects named “English in Action” (EiA) and “English for Teaching, Teaching for English” (ETTE) have also been established in 2008 to promote the English language in Bangladesh (Hamid, 2010). The U. S.

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Embassy, Dhaka, Bangladesh is also playing an important role in the improvement of English language teaching and learning in Bangladesh by conducting several English Language Programs e.g. “English Language Fellow Program,” “English Language Specialist Program,” “E-Teacher Scholarship Program,” “English Access Microscholarship Program” etc. (http://dhaka.usembassy.gov/english_language_programs.html).

The Present Condition of English in Bangladesh

At present, in Bangladesh English is widely used in every sector of education, entertainment, commerce, trade, official correspondence, personal communication and so on. Banu & Sussex (2001b) states that the use of English in business and shop names in Bangladesh, which goes back to the era of British imperial rule, has survived the strongly nationalist movements of the 60s and 70s, and is now showing a resurgence under the more global and internationalizing forces of the 90s. Begum (2015) depicts the conspicuous presence of English in the socio-cultural context in Bangladesh with convincing evidence from the domains of media, press, and education. The most striking manifestation of the development of English is evident in the Bangladeshi media, principally in radio, advertising, television and motion pictures. The press in Bangladesh is abundantly decorated by English. English dailies and periodicals have daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly circulation and sales all over Bangladesh. The linguistic situation of education in Bangladesh reveals a thriving state of English. The emphasis of English in education has noticeably grown since studies and reports repeatedly showed that one of the prime reasons behind the failure in the public examinations was the poor language skills in English language subjects. Literacy in English now commences from 3-4 aged children and English is learned and taught as a compulsory subject till the tertiary level of education. English medium schools and private universities have emerged as great facilitators of English in education: books of all subjects are in English, and the medium of classroom instruction is English. This has resulted in the promotion of fluent English speakers. Students of all disciplines go through basic English language skills courses both public and private universities. All the universities of Bangladesh run the Bachelor’s and Master’s program in English language, literature, linguistics and TESOL (Rahman, 2005).

Anti-English Feeling in Bangladesh

Now, some people in Bangladesh consider this wide use of English in every sphere of life to be a threat to the national language, identity, culture and development from the perspective of linguistic imperialism and hegemony around the world. Hasan et al. (2012) clearly state that it is pitiful that in Bangladesh the scope for using Bangla is becoming narrower. In job sectors, multinational companies want their employees to be well-versed in English. People are indirectly being discouraged to learn Bangla, for it does not bring any material benefit. It just reminds us the colonial education when British rulers patronized one group of Bengal community who mimicked English and excluded the other group who refused to be trained in English (Muhith, 1992). Siddiqui (2009) asserts that the imposition of English at an early age has become catastrophic for the students' language learning experience (as cited in Hasan et al. 2012). Siraji (2008) argues, "Without developing and enriching our mother tongue Bangla, it is folly to expect national developments though most Bangladeshi tends to ignore it." (as cited in Hasan et al. 2012) Hasan et. al (2012) regrets that the rich class of Bangladesh seems to be interested in learning and enriching the English language whereas Bangla remains deprived of the vast wealth of new developments in the domain of literature, philosophy, psychology and so on. Ibrahim (2008) criticizes that in Bangladesh there are some so-called wealthy people who live in posh areas and use luxurious cars do not speak in Bangla and this privileged elite class in Bangladesh has been formed through education in English medium (as cited in Hasan et al. 2012).

Recent Attack on the Use of English

The recent attack on the use of English has been made on February 16, 2014. "A writ petition was filed with the High Court on Sunday seeking commencement of the Bengali language in all spheres of life. Supreme Court lawyer Yunus Ali Akand filed the petition. He said the writ petition was filed for implementing the Bangla Language Introduction Act, 1987" ("Writ Petition filed" 2014). On February 17, 2014, "A High Court order has been issued, asking all sign boards, nameplates and number plates of vehicles to be written in Bengali language, except for foreign embassies and entities, in Bangladesh" ("Bangla for all boards" 2014). However, in spite of the order of the Bangladesh High Court, the use of English is still going on a large scale in Bangladesh. Begum (2015) states, "The random and frequent use of

English proves that English is inevitable in the sociocultural domain of Bangladesh. It is now merged into the language, identity, and cultures of Bangladeshis.”

Criticism on Mixing English with Bangla

On February 21, 2015, an article is published in a newspaper in Bangladesh called “New Age” vehemently criticizing the horrendous mixing of English with Bangla particularly by the young generation. According to Alamgir & Moneruzzaman (2015), use of Bangla language in all spheres of life is yet to be ensured when distortion of the language, pronunciation of Bengali words in a foreign accent, still go on unabated 63 years after the people of the country shed blood for their mother language. They say that the situation remains pretty sad although the Article 3 of the constitution stipulates, “The state language of the republic is Bangla” and the government has failed to comply with the two directives of the apex court in 2014 and 2012, that had asked authorities concerned to ensure use of Bangla in all spheres of life and take steps to stop distortion of the language. Bangla is still widely ignored at government and non-government offices, courts, business houses although there is a legal binding to use Bangla. Privately-run radios, television dramas, advertisements and many people, mostly youths, are still using incorrect and distorted Bangla words and sentences, pronouncing Bangla words in foreign accent and mixing it up with incorrect English prompting some to term it “Banglish,” as no effective steps have been taken to enforce Bengali Language Introduction Act 1987 to use the Bangla language in all offices and courts. Dhaka University professor emeritus Serajul Islam Choudhury said, “It is unfortunate that Bangla is still ignored in offices and other places, being distorted every now and then and it is a manifestation of declining patriotism.” This shows that a group of scholars in Bangladesh, at present, are concerned about the random mixing of English with Bangla. According to their opinions, such mixture is the deviation from patriotic feelings and they urge the restoration of the national spirit by protecting Bangla from the influence of English.

Division among Policymakers’ Attitude towards English in Bangladesh

Policymakers are divided in their opinions regarding English education in Bangladesh. Islam (2011) states that the proper role of English in Bangladesh is one of the debatable issues among all policymakers who have shaped the role of language in the academic arena since independence. One group of policymakers favors English as the language of education and other

group favors the use of Bangla in Education. The first group argues that the role of English opens doors to large possibilities for economic development. The second group argues that the continued use of English is not only unfair to rural populations who have no access to high-quality English language teaching but also is pedagogically unsound. A third group tries to reach a compromise between the previous two positions and agrees that English is necessary for development but the inequalities created by its use must be addressed. So, the result of these disagreements makes of three types of schools in Bangladesh based on the medium of instruction and the role of religion. In Bangla-medium schools, Bangla is the medium of instruction and in English-medium schools; English is the medium of instruction. In Madrasahs, the medium of instruction is Bangla but the main target is to teach Islamic religion and Arabic language (Islam, 2011).

Short Discussion

In the light of above discussion, it can be said that Bangladesh has passed through a complex linguistic history. In British period, English was the official language and in Pakistan period, Urdu was imposed. The right to speak in Bangla is achieved by means of the sacrifice of blood. Therefore, there is an emotional attachment to the people of Bangladesh for their mother tongue. This anti-English feeling which is prevalent in Bangladesh is not same as it was when Bangladesh was colonized by the British rulers. The present anti-English feeling among some people in Bangladesh can be considered to be based on ideological stance in favor of preserving the national linguistic status of Bangladesh. It might be difficult to find out the exact reason (s) behind the resistance to speak in English by a particular group of people in Bangladesh. However, it can be inferred that the widespread of English is seen as a cultural assault by some people in Bangladesh. My personal standpoint is that we should accept English positively in Bangladesh to keep pace with the globalized world and at the same time, we should keep intact our own cultural values. For that reason, we can localize and contextualize the English language in accordance with the Bangladeshi cultural values. After all, we cannot deny that we are global citizens and so assimilating what is good in other cultures will enrich us.

Conclusion

Finally, it can be concluded that Bangladesh has evolved through a complex linguistic background and still today there prevails a somewhat chaotic linguistic state which necessitates realistic measures. The anti-English sensibility in Bangladesh is rooted in the efforts of colonization in the Indian subcontinent during the British colonial era (Begum, 2015). Resistance to English in Bangladesh now operates on an ideological level where a nationalist recovery of lost ground and recuperation of splintered Bangla identity demand a distance from English which was a colonial tool of consolidation and domination (Islam, 2011).

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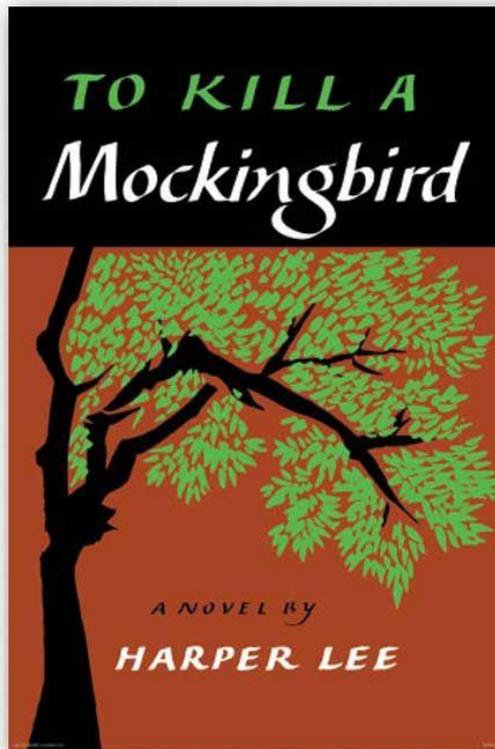
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An Analysis of Social Institutions in Shaping the Worldview of Characters in Harper Lee's *TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD*

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Abstract

The book *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee is Pulitzer Prize-winning novel. It is set in the 1930s, a period when racism was very prominent. Harper Lee emphasises the subjects of racism and resistance in her novel using characters and their collaborations inside the Maycomb Community. This paper explores the role of social institutions in shaping the worldview of

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characters and also examines how the society influences the children in this novel. Atticus Finch, although a solid figure in Maycomb, is criticised by his kin for being a respectable individual and sticking to his morals in safeguarding an innocent coloured man. The narrator of the story Scout, runs over many individuals and circumstances with prejudice and tolerance, as her father defends a black man. Scout's character grows broadly all through the novel *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and she is enormously impacted by Maycomb's society. She observes behaviour that regularly puzzles her, yet as she experiences a progression of developing encounters, she starts to understand that not all individuals act or believe as she has been raised to, and tolerance and respect for these differences are important. All the characters are linked together in a different way, but all were ignorant and all were afraid of perceived evil. All were casualties of prejudice and all were not thoughtful and that is the reason it's a sin to kill a mockingbird.

Keywords: Racism, Social Institutions, Prejudice, Ethics, Injustice, Ignorance, Fear

To Kill a Mockingbird

To Kill a Mockingbird is set in a small town in Alabama in the 1930s, a town much like the one in which author Harper Lee came of age. Jean Louise Finch also is known as Scout is the narrator and protagonist of the story and a good part of this story's brilliance lies in the fact that it's told from a child's point of view. Through Scout's eyes, Lee is able to present the story objectively. By having an innocent little girl making racial remarks and regarding people of colour in a way consistent with the community, author provides an objective view of the situation. As a child, Scout can mention objective facts that a grown-up would keep away from or sugarcoat. Readers too are likely to be forgiving of a child's perspective, whereas they would find an adult who makes these remarks offensive. Scout Finch lives with her brother, Jem and their widowed father, Atticus, in the sleepy Alabama town of Maycomb. One summer, Jem and Scout befriended a boy named Dill, who has come to live in their neighbourhood for the summer and the trio acts out stories together. Scout is intelligent and by the standards of her time and place, a tomboy. As the novel progresses this faith is tested by the hatred and prejudice that emerge during Tom Robinson's trial. Scout, in the long run, builds up a more adult viewpoint that empowers her to acknowledge human goodness without overlooking human evil. Jeremy

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Atticus Finch is something of a regular American boy, refusing to back down from dares and fantasizing about playing football. Four years older than Scout, he progressively isolates himself from her games, but he remains her close companion and protector throughout the novel. Jem moves into adolescence in the midst of the story and his convictions are shaken extremely by the evil and injustice that he sees in the midst of the trial of Tom Robinson. Atticus is a lawyer in Maycomb descended from an old local family. A widower with a dry sense of humour, Atticus has instilled in his children his strong sense of morality and justice.

Scout

Scout is an incredibly remarkable young girl, in her own specific qualities and in her social position. She is curiously intelligent (she learns to read before starting school), shockingly beyond any doubt (she fights with young fellows without fear), commonly thoughtful (she worries over the central goodness and devilishness of mankind) and extraordinarily awesome (she, for the most part, acts with the best intentions). In terms of her social identity, she is peculiar for being a boyish young lady in the clean and genuine southern universe of Maycomb. One quickly realises when reading *To Kill a Mockingbird* Scout is the kind of person, she is the result of how Atticus has raised her. He has sustained her brain, conscience, little voice and uniqueness without frustrating her by demanding social hypocrisies and notions of propriety. While most girls in Scout's position would wear dresses and learning conduct, Scout, on account of Atticus' hands-off child rearing style, wears overalls and figures out how to climb trees with Jem and Dill.

Facing and Countering Racial Prejudice

Toward the start of the novel, Scout is an innocent, good-hearted five-year-old child who has no involvement with the indecencies of the world. As the novel advances, Scout has her first contact with evil in the form of racial prejudice. The basic change of her character is regulated by the request of whether she will emerge from that contact with her internal voice and positive thinking set up, or whether she will be bruised, hurt or destroyed like Boo Radley and Tom Robinson. Scout finds that humankind has an inconceivable cutoff as to evil; it also has a great capacity for God and that the evil can often be mitigated if one approaches others with an

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outlook of sympathy and understanding. Scout's change into a person prepared for tolerating that outlook demonstrates that, whatever evil she encounters she will retain her conscience without becoming cynical. Though she is as yet a youngster toward the end of the book, Scout's point of view on life develops from that of an innocent child into that of a nearly grown-up.

Scout is a genuine young woman who is exposed to despicable context at an early age and constrained to make an adult-like great perspective. Jem winds up in a considerably more turbulent situation. His shattering knowledge at Tom Robinson's trial happens similarly as he is entering adolescence, a period when life is entangled and traumatic enough. His disillusionment upon seeing that equality does not generally win, abandons him, leaves him helpless and confounded at a basic developmental point in his life. Nevertheless, he admirably upholds the commitment to justice that Atticus instilled in him; he keeps up it with significant conviction all through the novel. Unlike the exhausted Mr. Raymond, Jem is not without desire; Atticus uncovers to Scout that Jem basically needs to process what he has learned. The strong presence of Atticus in life appears to guarantee that he will recover his equilibrium. Later in his life, Jem is able to see that Boo Radley's unexpected aid indicates it is incredible good he can find in people. Even before the end of the novel, Jem shows signs of having learned a positive lesson from the trial; for instance, around the beginning of chapter 25, he declined to allow Scout to squash a roly-poly bug since it hasn't done any harm to her. After seeing the unfair destruction of Tom Robinson, Jem now wants to protect the fragile and harmless.

Atticus

Atticus is a wise man, committed to justice and equality, and his parenting style is based on fostering these virtues in his children. He even encourages Jem and Scout to call him Atticus, so that they can interact in terms as equals. Throughout the novel, Atticus works to develop Scout's and Jem's respective consciences by teaching them to put themselves in a person's shoes before either of them judges the person. As one of the most prominent citizens in Maycomb during the great depression, Atticus is relatively well off in a time of widespread poverty. Because of his penetrating intelligence, calm wisdom and exemplary behaviour, Atticus is respected by everyone, including the very poor. He works as the ethical spine of Maycomb, a

man to whom others hand over circumstances of uncertainty and trouble. But the inner voice that makes him stand strong is praiseworthy; at last it causes his dropping out with the general population of Maycomb. Not able to endure the town's persisting instilled racial prejudice, he agrees to shield Tom Robinson, a black man. Atticus' movement makes him the topic of hate in Maycomb, notwithstanding he is essentially and necessarily an astonishing figure, making it difficult to be despised for long. After the trial, he appears to be bound to be held in an indistinguishable high respect than before. Atticus sharpens the ethic of sympathy and understanding that he preaches to Scout and Jem and never holds a grudge against the people of Maycomb, despite their coldblooded separation through racial inequality. Atticus sees much to appreciate in them. He perceives that individuals have both good and bad qualities and he is determined to admire the good while understanding and forgiving the bad. Atticus passes this great moral lesson on to Scout; this perspective protects the innocent from being demolished by contact with evil. However, ironically Atticus is a brave figure in the novel and a respected central figure in Maycomb, neither Jem nor Scout intentionally adores him at the start of the novel. Both are humiliated that he is more seasoned than other fathers and that he doesn't hunt for fish. But Atticus's insightful parenting, which he sums up in Chapter 30 saying "Before Jem looks at anyone else he looks at me, and I've tried to live so I can look squarely back at him" (Lee 301), ultimately wins their respect. He stands inflexibly dedicated to equity and keenly ready to view matters from the viewpoints of others. He does not create in the novel, but rather holds these qualities in equivalent measures, making him the novel's ethical guide and voice of the soul.

The Finch Family

With regard to the Finch family, there is one member that deviates from the rest, close relative Alexandra. Atticus' sister comes to live with him and his young children in the blink of an eye before the trial against Atticus' customer Tom Robinson begins. Tom is an African-American man accused of the assault of a white woman. Aunt Alexandra comes to Maycomb to help her sibling through this troublesome time, however she acts reservedly and appears to show little empathy and understanding. Aunt Alexandra has an alternate comprehension of bringing up children. Whereas Atticus is a more laid-back, liberal parent and gives his kids chances to

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experience themselves, Alexandra is strict and does not allow Scout to make her own particular experience herself, for example, when she needs to visit their dark servant Calpurnia at her home. Scout severely dislikes everything ladylike, as exhibited by her stressed association with her legitimate Auntie Alexandra. But for a young lady to do these things (even today, yet particularly in the American south amid the period of the Incomparable Gloom), she is viewed as deviant. Because Scout is extremely youthful and has been raised by a father, she is frequently excused by relatives and group individuals for her boyishness and dismissal of the feminine. However, people around her trust that it is the ideal opportunity for her to start learning how to be more of a lady. She battles with her resistance against the societal standard and her yearning to keep the boyish way of life instead of ladyhood. Yet she is starting to understand that individuals around there are anticipating that she would remonstrate in a way she shouldn't act. Scout learned how to look at other people from her father Atticus, who likewise considers individuals to be people and does not pass judgment on them just by their name or background. For him, great individuals are the individuals who do great things. Scout offers hatred towards being known as a "girl", always taking the word as an insult. Since close relative Alexandra is remaining for a given measure of time, Scout to her dismay realizes she must follow the aunt's rules. "I felt the starched walls of a pink cotton penitentiary closing in on me, and for the second time in my life, I thought of running away immediately". (Lee 150) The preceding quote expresses Scout's inclination and state of mind towards femininity. By depicting femininity as a prison suggests that girlhood is like a prison that keeps her hostage, suffocating her.

Moral Questions

The exploration of the novel's larger moral questions takes place from the point of view of young people; the instruction of kids is fundamentally required for the advancement of the greater part of the novel's subjects. This subject is investigated most intensely through the connection amongst Atticus and his kids, as he commits himself to ingraining a social inner voice in Jem and Scout. The scenes at school give an immediate counterpoint to Atticus' successful training of his youngsters. Scout is as often as possible stood up by educators who are either frustratingly unsympathetic to children's needs or morally hypocritical.

The Role of Education

As is true of *To Kill a Mockingbird's* other major themes, the novel's conclusion about education is that the most imperative lessons are those of sensitivity and understanding and that a thoughtful, understanding procedure is the best way to instruct these lessons. In this way, Atticus' capacity to place himself in his children's shoes makes him a magnificent educator, while Miss Caroline's inflexible responsibility to the educational methods that she learned in college makes her ineffective. The education framework in Maycomb is exceptionally opposing and in reverse at times, and this makes a noteworthy point in the thoughts of the novel. The theme of education runs throughout the novel, although not always based in the school. It initially shows Scout realising that school is not what she was anticipating, as the teacher is patronising and insensitive, whereas the children are intelligent and used to a harsher environment. The information that Jem and Scout get all through the novel is as lessons learnt from Atticus, and these lessons are the ethical life lessons setting up the kids for grown-up life when issues, for example, bigotry, segregation and cruelty are part of a daily routine. This instruction gets Jem and Scout ready to be great individuals; wise as well as intelligent, and this is the thing that matters when they have the force of learning.

The Prankster

Charles Baker Harris, also known as Dill is the prankster of the group, the late spring companion that finishes Jem and Scout's dynamic. He makes a large portion of their naughtiness, recounting unlimited stories from his distinctive creative energy and does not always tell the truth. Dill is unhappy in his home, feeling dismissed by his mother and step-father. One of the most critical things we find out about Dill is his sensitivity to injustice and cruelty. During the trial, he needs to leave when he starts to cry at the way the prosecutor treated Tom. Dill is not subject to the scholarly prejudice of Maycomb like such a large number of other young people, he firmly trusts that everybody is equal, and he is sickened by what he sees uncovered in the trial. It is now that the kids take in the mystery of Dolphus Raymond, who praises Dill for his compassion.

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Mr. Raymond

Mr. Raymond is another grown-up like Miss Maudie and Atticus, who educates the young kids a lesson in correspondence and stretching out empathy to all people. He demonstrates that there are others in Maycomb who remain behind Atticus choice to speak to Tom whether they can talk in broad daylight or not. Mr. Raymond has kept a little mystery, keeping in mind the end goal to keep up his position in life and he imparts this to the youngsters since he sees that they, unlike adults, will understand.

Miss Maudie

Jem and Scout consider Miss Maudie a companion in light of the fact that, not at all like most grown-ups, she treats them with respect. Just like Atticus, who she says is "the same in his house as he is on the public streets" (Lee 61), Miss Maudie acts the same to children as she does to adults Miss Maudie acts the same to young kids as she does to grown-ups. Miss Maudie sees the children as somewhat less-experienced grown-ups and treats them like that. Along with her, Calpurnia is a solid, positive female impact in Jem and Scout's lives. She is a strong character who learned many lessons through hardship. Calpurnia reverberated Atticus' child-rearing style and urged them to comprehend and be aware of others' sentiments and circumstances. She was a good example for the Finch children. At the novel advances, the young people's changing attitude towards Boo is simply a wellspring of adolescent superstition, yet toward the end, he turns out to be completely human to Scout, indicating that she has developed into a thoughtful and understanding individual. Boo Radley is a wise kid destroyed by his cruel father. Despite the agony, he has endured the purity of his heart that rules his interaction with the children. By saving Jem and Scout from Bob Ewell, Boo demonstrates a definitive image of good.

Investigates the Ethical Way of Individuals

To Kill a Mockingbird investigates the ethical way of individuals, regardless of whether individuals are basically good or evil. The novel analyses this question by defining Scout and Jem's move from a point of view of childhood innocence in which they assume that people are good because they have never seen evil, to a more grown-up viewpoint in which they have stood

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up to malicious characters and must consolidate it into their comprehension of the world. As a consequence of this depiction of the move from honesty to experience, one of the book's vital subthemes includes the danger that contempt, bias and numbness take on an antagonistic stance to the pure individuals; for example, Tom Robinson and Boo Radley are not prepared for the evil that they experience and, therefore, they are destroyed. Even Jem is misled to an extent by his discovery of the evil of racism during and after the trial. Whereas Scout can keep up her fundamental confidence in human instinct in spite of Tom's conviction, Jem's confidence in equality and in the humankind is gravely harmed, and he withdraws into a condition of disillusionment.

The moral voice of *To Kill a Mockingbird* is embodied by Atticus Finch, who is for all intents and purposes special in the novel in that he has encountered and comprehended fiendishness without losing his confidence in the human limit of goodness. Atticus comprehends that instead of being essentially animals of both evil and detestable, the vast majority have both great and terrible qualities. The critical thing is to welcome the great qualities and understand the bad qualities by treating others with sensitivity and attempting to see life from their perspective. He tries to show this extreme good lesson to Jem and Scout, to demonstrate to them that it is conceivable to live with the still, small voice without losing hope.

To Conclude

At the start of the book, they are honest with an uncomplicated feeling of what's great and what's evil. By the finish of the book, the kids have lost their innocence and gained a more complex understanding of the world in which terrible and great are available and obvious to nearly everyone. As the children develop into the grown-up world, however, they don't just acknowledge what they see. They question what doesn't make sense to them -prejudice, hatred and violence. Like each child growing up, Scout goes to class for the primary time. But as opposed to adding to her instruction, Scout's school is portrayed as inflexible to the point of foolishness with teachers who criticise students who got an early start on reading and hate the Nazis yet can't see the prejudice exhibited in their own particular town. *To Kill a Mockingbird* does less to investigate institutionalised school education as condemning it, demonstrating how it

underlines part truths and arrangements intended to make conventionalist kids instead of advance imaginative basic consideration, sensitivity and mutual understanding across racial and socio-economic boundaries.

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**The Most Efficient Unit of Translation in Works of Spirituality:
A Case Study of the Works of Indian Intellectual,
Dr. Jernail Singh Anand**

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Dr. Jernail Singh Anand

Abstract

The present article aimed to propose the most efficient unit of translation to be considered by the translators in the translation task of mystic works for the reconstruction of the equal effect on the target reader. Since Koller's "framework of equivalence" (as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p.50) defines the concept of "equivalence" in regards with the structure, denotation, connotation, textual norms and pragmatics which are in fact the units of thought,

obsessing the translator's mind in the course of translation, the researcher chose Koller's "equivalence reference" as the framework of the study. The materials of study consist of two mystic books of the Indian writer, poet and intellectual, Dr. Jernail Singh Anand. In accordance with the dichotomy of literal versus free translation, and recommendation of many scholars on the priority of literal translation for the maximum level of style and spirit resemblance to source text and on the other hand, the prominence of textual and extra-textual norms which highlight the necessity of similar impact and effect on readers to be reconstructed through pragmatic equivalence, the researcher seeks to find a solution to the raised issue of the most efficient unit of translation pertinent to works of spirituality. The researcher concludes that every text is unique due to its cultural, social and religious setting and not a particular formula even for a text-type could be prescribed as the translation mission, writer's intention, and the audience level of acceptability varies in every translation task. In conclusion, word and surface structure were the primary translation unit for the translator of "Bliss" and "I Belong to You" to reconstruct the author's tone of speech and style; although paragraph, and even the whole text were the overall unit of translation for provoking the same response in target audience. In other words, the translator shifts to lower and higher levels of Koller "hierarchy of equivalence" to deal with the linguistic and extra linguistic problems of translation. As Newmark (1988) asserts: "all length of language can, at different moments and also simultaneously, be used as units of translation in the course of the translation activity". (pp. 66-7)

Keywords: Unit of translation, Literal translation, Translation of works of spirituality, Text-type, Reconstruction of similar effect in translation

Introduction

What distinguishes a translation is the similarity of the effect on target reader, besides the amount of communicativeness, and eloquence. According to Nida (1969): "any message which does not communicate is simply useless. It is only when a translation produces in the audience a response which is essentially the same as that of the original audience that the translation can be said to be dynamically equivalent to its source text"(pp.494-5).

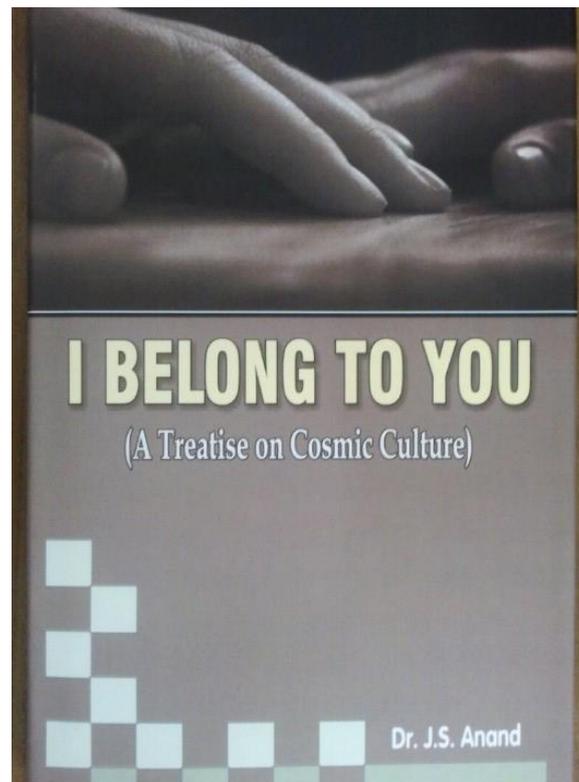
Reconstruction of the same effect and impact is absolutely in line with the text-type distinction and proper determination of the unit of translation via which the translator could

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efficiently transfers the message into the target language. The concern of this article is to study the unit of translation required to be regarded by the translator in translation of works of spirituality as Dr. Jernail Singh Anand's. Dr. Anand's works including poems, stories and multiple books revolve around the main questions of mankind. He raises the forgotten questions which nowadays rarely nests in modern man's mind; the lost values of the age of technology, the humanity's blood which has evaporated from his veins and has left him a trivial corpse to get him indulge in illusion of happiness. The message of all Dr. Anand's works is to recommend the inhabitants of the world of war, politics and power to realize the concept of "knowing themselves, their being, and their soul", a concept which is often thought to be too cliché to even think of. However, the translation mission is to revive the perished values of the humanity in minds of millions through interpretation of the words and thoughts of another narrator of light. The researcher seeks to define "equivalence" for spiritual and mystic works of art in regards with the thorough transfer of connotation, content and the spirit of the source language.



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The conflict between free and literal translation has been a controversial issue among translation theorists for many years ago and from the time man attempted to transfer the holy scriptures from original language into target language, the dilemma of whether to focus on individual word and surface structure or to regard any single deep structure of the portion of language as the base of transfer has been the concern of dexterous translators. As a result of such polarity, a new concept known as "translation unit" got the attention of translation theorists and as well, translators.

Translation unit could be best defined as: "the linguistic level at which ST is recodified in TL" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997, p. 192). The translation unit is a scale, whether a word, collocation, clause, sentence or the whole text via which the translator chooses to transfer the sense of the source text into other language. Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) rejection of the word as a unit of translation revolutionized the previous concentrations of translators and theorists on mere surface structure such as word, clause and sentence and highlighted the semantic field to be regarded as the bases of message transfer in molds of formal properties of text. "Lexicological unit" or "unit of thought" is what they refer to, in defining the "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually"(as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p.18).

While translating the source into target language, the translator faces a number of choices to opt from and numerous decisions to make for providing an efficient translation. As Hatim and Munday (2004) assert, factors such as translator' aesthetics, his/her cognition and knowledge, commission and textual pragmatics obsess the translator' mind and each turn to be influential in decision-making. Arise of text-linguistics brought the role of textual norms into attention of theorists such as Koller (1989) as he emphasizes textual norms to be determinative of translation unit. Defining his "frameworks of equivalence"(as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p. 50-1)), Koller numerates factors such as text-type, author's mood of writing, his certain attitude, the communicative purpose of the ST and the use for which the TT is intended as elements which should be considered vital in providing the most pertinent equivalent.

According to Koller's (1989) hierarchy of reference, based on various text-types, context of language use, original text purpose and target readers' system of social, religious and cultural values, the translator's option of translation unit varies from formal structure, denotation and connotation to textual and extra-textual conventions which ultimately results in formal equivalence, denotative equivalence, connotative equivalence, text-normative equivalence and pragmatic or dynamic equivalence.

Other translation theorists as well, have allocated different portions of language to translation unit. Mona Baker in his book *in other words* (as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p. 22) refers to various levels of equivalence such as word, collocation, idiom, grammar, thematic and information structure, cohesion and pragmatics. Peter Newmark (1988); however, stresses on the sentence as the "natural" translation unit, while highlighting the function of the whole text and priority of extratextual features in translator's decision-making since he regards translation, a mental activity in which a translator moves away from one unit to higher or lower translation unit, on the basis of text and translation task requirements.

Methodology

Vinay and Darbelnet described the *unit of translation* as follows: "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually" (as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p. 18). As far as the researcher of the current study is the translator of the pertinent materials and as well the only participant, and due to the fact that her experience in translation of works of spirituality is what draws her to study the "the most efficient unit of translation in works of spirituality", she observes translation unit not simply in terms of lexical elements of language as word, collocation, idiom, sentence and text, but she accounts for unit of thought. Deep structure which molds the linguistic elements is what will be considered as the different units of translation in this research. Thus, Koller's (1988) "equivalence framework" which consist of a hierarchy of equivalences such as: formal equivalence, denotative equivalence, connotative equivalence, text-normative equivalence, and pragmatic or dynamic equivalence is regarded as the reference to justify any lexicological unit the translator considers transferring the message through in mental process of transferring the kernels. Two works of spirituality "Bliss" and "I belong to You" written by Indian author, poet, and literary criticizer, Dr. Jernail Singh

Anand, are considered as the framework of study. Man and challenges of the modern world, self-reflection, conscience, Peace and harmony are the message of the Indian maestro who has been the inspiration of other literary works following him. Thirty sentences are chosen non-probabilistically of the two spiritual works of Dr. Anand to be compared and contrasted with the published translations in Farsi and the scale of translation to be recognized in works of spirituality. Since the translation of the cultural, social and religious specific words in an Indian mystic work proves to be challenging, and efficiency of translation unit to be considered leading to a communicative translation depends much to the thorough transfer of specific words and expressions of a specific setting, thirty sentences of material are chosen non-probabilistically to include such elements of language. Units limited to lexical and grammatical structure, such as words, collocation, idiom and sentence are extended beyond merely the surface structure to cover mainly the unit of thought and deep structure which molds the surface and structure.

Discussion



Bliss –Translation in Persian

As a translator, I have to stress on the necessity of the inspiration and influence which a literary work and the creator of that bestows on the soul of text mediator, to get him/her make

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the commitment of transferring the content, spirit and more significantly the style of writer to target language audience, seekers of the cryptic message.

As asserted by Newmark (1988):" translation is a science, skill, an art and as well, a matter of taste and no art could exist without the amount of intuition, impact and inspiration laid in the heart of creator of it"(p. 3). Translation of a work of spirituality is no less than an art since the reproduction of the content which is absolutely unique in regards with the original author's perspective of the man's world and his less unnoticed internal needs, seems quite challenging. Besides the thematic transfer of the source text, the translator's much effort is directed towards reconstruction of the aesthetics of the original since success of the literary translation rests in the coincident reproduction of both. The rhythm and the melody of the words arrangements, cryptic style of the author and the harmony of the words is such vital an issue in sacred and mystic translations which requires the translator to translate word for word and provide a formal equivalence which is justified for being contextually motivated.

"The human being" itself, has been the concern of ancient and as well contemporary philosophers, intelligentsia and writers since the time man found an instrument to record what he thinks of, contemplated on the complicated system of the world around him and observed the ambitions, ignorance and egotism of his fellow-creatures. There are two perspectives on mankind: one dealing with the nature of human being as he actually is, in regards with all his shortcomings, his achievements, his brute force and passions; the other perspective studies man as he "out to be", the perfect human being and the ideal treatments, and morals which is expected of him. Psychologists study man in accordance with first perspective and the mystics' attention is directed towards the second view. Dr. Anand addresses the distressed and restless people of modern world and points out to the obstacles which hinder them to get indulge in sheer happiness, in "bliss" ...the obstacles which rest within them.

Dr. Anand attempts to awaken the negligent conscience of man and beckons mankind to live consciously, not get lost in illusion of happiness, for amassing wealth, riding luxury cars and owning factories is not the real joy. "Joy comes not from acquiring things. The only source of joy is giving" (Anand, 2007, p.53). The writer of "bliss" flips the dust of ego from the soul of man and points out to the peace and equilibrium which can be achieved if one dares to "give

away", instead of "accumulating"; and that sets a paradox in reader's minds of what he has long years thought of and believed in.

"Bliss" is replete with the amount of deep philosophical content; however popularized by the eloquence and tenderness of the author's style. Rich and yet simple words tantalize the reader to go on reading and the cryptic, as well mysterious sentences and structures make the reader contemplate on every word to realize the covert secret beyond each utterance. The amount of Indian words and expressions and as well spiritual concepts of Hindu religion mesmerizes the reader to get along with the author to be taken to the simple glory of India and get indulge in Indian mysticism.

"I belong to you", in line with bliss, highlights the empty place of "love to cosmos and whatever within it" in man's ego-evacuated being after "bliss" purification. As "bliss", it focuses on man's enmity with the earth on which he steps and progresses; moreover, it complains mankind of their aggressive behavior with the other creatures of God, as mankind is deceived to dream he rules the world and the entire beings are his captives to serve him. Dr. Anand blames human beings for whatever so-called "natural disasters". He believes that man's ego has kept him at a long distance with his salvation which is known as "Mukti" or "Muksha" in Hindu religion.

The efficient message transfer of "bliss" and "I belong to you" has been challenging for the translator for she ought to cater for the "readership", and direct the readers' attention to an unknown narrator who guides them through spirituality through a different loophole, and a great number of Indian culture-specific words and expressions, traditions and beliefs which are totally new to the target audience are to be introduced.

Adjustments technique may come in handy, which is defined as "gradual move away from form-by-form renderings and towards more dynamic kinds of equivalence"(Hatim and Munday, 2004, p. 43). As a result of such adjustment, the medium considered by the translator to work with in translation task, would be pragmatics and textual factors which appear in a clause, sentence or a paragraph. On the other hand, the mysticism and cryptic writing style of the author needs to be reconstructed in target language to transfer the

linguistic effect of the original. Thus, Formal equivalence seems the best choice for the translator to make use of, and employing that could be justified in terms of being contextually-motivated. Then, morpheme, word and in general the formal structure of the source language utterance would be best option as the translation unit for the translator. The dilemma between formal or dynamic equivalence is what might obsess the translator's mind in translation of works of spirituality.

The researcher seeks to recommend the best lexicological unit of thought which can be regarded as the scale of transferring the message through, in regards with reconstruction of the same effect and response in target audience in translation task of works of spirituality from the source to target language on the basis of analysis and evaluation of her former translation of the two works of mysticism, written by Dr. Jernail Singh Anand. Thus, thirty sentences of the two materials "bliss" and "I belong to you" are chosen non-probabilistically in analysis of source and target language portions of text to include unique features of the material of study such as cultural, religious specific words and expressions. The sentence lexical unit is used for the analysis of source and target language to be able to distinguish whether less or more lexical elements might cover the lexicological unit leading to similar effect reconstruction.

Fifteen sentences out of twenty considered as the material of study are chosen from "bliss" and the next fifteen sentences from "I belong to you". The sentences are compared and contrasted with the target equivalents provided in published translations. The aim of the article is to distinguish and identify the unit of thought conceptualized in translator's mind in proper translation of mystic text ornamented with Indian cultural setting. It takes adequate linguistic, semantics and pragmatics knowledge of both source and target language for the translator to be able to find the best equivalent for the "poor" and "scant" in the sentence: "it is a poor estimate of human living, although such thoughts are not scant" (Anand, 2004, p. 3). Of course, the denotative meaning of the English word which is "the opposite of rich", cannot be regarded the scale of translation because the style of the author requires something more than referential option. The connotation unit for the word "poor" would be "weaker or worse than expected". Taking a look at previous sentences and the overall genre of the text, the translator finds out the relation between "such estimate of human living" and a sentence

before which stresses on modern man's extreme attention on worldly passions and lusts; therefore, the translator chose "belittling" equals to

"حقیرانه"

, an equivalent beyond the connotation of an awkward language, which is well in line with textual context that demands a more literary concept. The best provided translation, reflecting the same impression in target audience is as follows:

این برداشت حقیرانه ایست از زندگی انسان، هر چند کم نیستند افرادی که اینگونه می اندیشیند.

Similarly, the word "amalgam" in the sentence "society is an amalgam of checks and balances on human psyche so that there is a semblance of order in the chaotic world of the mind"(Anand, 2004, p. 63) refers to a concept more than the dictionary entry "mixture" and even the connotation "combination" and "contraction" but the intra-textuality of the sentences and paragraphs before and after is what matters and urges the translator to choose an equivalent equals to "electuary" and

"معجون"

In Farsi. Amalgam in the sentence is defined as: "the society is an electuary of balances and imbalances [prescribed for mankind] to bring order and peace [as a medicine] to his mind... [a paradox: society didn't succeed in such task]. It's merely a definition of the discussed word to clarify the textual norms governing the translation of a text. Preserving the same cryptic style and rigid style of the author, the translator provided the following translation for the source language sentence as follows:

"جامعه همچون معجونی است از مواضع و توازن ها برداشته ذهن آدمی تابتواند قالبی از نظم در دنیای پرهیایوی ذهن آدمی به وجود آورد."

Notice the word "enact" in the sentence: "the whole life span is there in which we have to enact our destiny" (Anand, 2004, p. 85). The Oxford dictionary entry for this word is: "to make a law" or to "authorize a rule". The referential option does not match the main idea of the text. The connotation "make the destiny" serves the main purpose of the source text however doesn't account for the literary genre of the source text-type and doesn't match with the literary rhythmic collocation in source language. Thus, the translator is willing to opt for an equivalent which communicates with the target reader as source language utterance does, besides transferring the source text essence, spirit and style. Connotation of an actual utterance does not alone suffice for inter and intra-textuality requirements of a literary,

mystic translation. 'enact our destiny' is therefore translated as 'write our destiny' which in Farsi equals to:

"سرنوشت را از سر بنویسیم"

The translation of cultural-specific words, expressions and words referring to source language religious, local and cultural traditions in target language requires a translator to be equipped with adequate knowledge of source language system of social, cultural and religious values, besides taking his own socio-cognitive system into consideration. The target language audience admittance of new, different and occasionally antithetical perspectives on religion and culture of source language falls under the category of socio-cognitive system of the translator which turns as an influential factor while decision-making and opting for a communicative and yet justified equivalent in target language. "Bliss" and "I belong to You", as well consist of many local and cultural traditions of India and specific names pertaining to Hindu or Sikh religion.

The translation of the word "Samskara" in the following sentence make the translator notice to the correlation among the sentences and paragraphs before and after the main sentence:

"We act in a certain way in a hundred circumstances, never told to act that way by anybody. Our "Samskara" guides us always" (Anand, 2004, p.12). As it's totally a new concept for Persian audience, the translator finds it crucial to be defined for the target reader; however, the phonological and orthographic features of the source language utterance need to be transferred to target language to guaranty the impression and rhetoric effect of Hinduism thoughts and beliefs. Therefore, the most efficient option would be to define the new concept in footnote and choose formal equivalence as defined in Koller's equivalence hierarchy (as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, p.50), or borrowing according to Vinay and Darblenet (1958/1995).

"Saucha Sauda" is referred to, in a paragraph of "I belong to you": "We now call that episode 'saucha Sauda'[the bargain true]"(Anand, 2013, p. 57). As it's clear the translator would not be able to make a decision for translation of such term merely in accordance with word or sentence unit, and ought to check the previous and next sentences to get the gist of the matter:

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"In worldly terms, a man who wastes his capital is considered mad. Guru Nanak was pulled up by his father for wasting twenty rupees on saints and 'sadhus'[mendicants]. We now call that episode 'sacha sauda'[the bargain true]. If that is the real bargain, if helping the saints was the right thing, and if money is best used when it is spent on the needy, where the wisdom of the world stands?"(Anand, 2013, p. 57).

Textual norms require the translator to notice to units larger than denotation and connotation in a text for the vital role of provoking the similar response in target reader, based on source text purpose, text-type and target reader's system of values. The terms "saucha sauda" and as well, "Guru" is borrowed from the source text in provided translation as it's contextually-motivated to foreignize the text somehow. This translation technique is eligible in translation as long as target audience socio-cognitive permits. Governmental-policy of target nation and the audience admittance level in accordance with foreign culture and religion via the mediation of translation, as well as the purpose of translation task are the main factors determinative of the decision-making process. However, the translator decides to ellipsis some cultural and religious specific words in translation to impede the succeeding outcomes.

The conflict between literal and free translation arises when the translator of two works of spirituality manages to preserve the spirit and mystic style of the author and at the same time ellipses or mitigates some red-lines in provided translation. Nevertheless, it is of excessive importance to impede any ellipsis and omission which leads to a threat to overall theme of the source text. The following sentence which encompass the word "incarnation" and its co-text refer to a concept "unaccepted" and "rejected" to target audience. Therefore, the translator ellipses the sentences due to the readership orientation of the translation which demands some kind of adjustment to be employed on behalf of the translator:

"We too don't go for ever. We return in different 'incarnations'. On different assignments; although the mission remains the same" (Anand, 2007, p.10)

Conclusion

Comparing and contrasting the source language sentences with provided translations in target language for the identification of the most efficient translation unit in works of spirituality in

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case study of two works of the Indian poet and writer "Dr. Jernail Singh Anand", the researcher took notice of the uniqueness of every text even within a specific text-type. Even works of spirituality differ from each other in their setting, background and author's tone of speech. Theoretically, it is suggested to translate the works of spirituality word by word to reflect the rhetoric and aesthetic aspects of the original in translation. However, readership is what proves to be fundamental in analyzing the success of a translation. The amount of Indian religious, social and cultural specific items and expressions needs to be transferred authentically in target language to account for the art of translation. Nevertheless, the art of translation manifests when the translator presents the author's style and structure in addition to content, as some poems in last chapter of "Bliss" are translated rhythmically, representing original melody, content and spirit.

In conclusion, the evaluated translation unit for the specific Indian work of spirituality was units larger than sentence as paragraph, due to the intra-textuality feature of the text. Intertextuality of "I belong to You" with previous published book "Bliss" as well, requires the translator to extend every single word to larger deep structures. As specified in materials of study, scarcely the semantic and sense of a sentence can be realized without reference to previous and succeeding sentences in a paragraph. In the succeeding sentence; however, the previous chapters needs to be studied to get the covert spirit, implicated by the author. In accordance with Koller's "hierarchy of equivalence"(as cited in Hatim and Munday, 2004, pp. 50-1), text-normative equivalence could best account for such occasions because author's purpose, audience preferences, source language setting, and peculiarity of the text-type requires the translator to go beyond the conventions of denotation and connotation.

*" Some consciousness which flows even when I have exit the stage"(Anand, 2007, p. 13)

On the other hand, The translator is faced with a number of extremely specific words and expressions pertaining to Indian culture and mysticism which could be best transferred by providing the formal equivalence as suggested in koller "framework of equivalence" or borrowing as mentioned by Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) methods of translation. In the following example, "kitty parties" is borrowed into target language with the same phonological and orthographic features of the source item.

*"They are rejects, navies in the crangle of kitty parties"(Anand, 2007, p. 61).

Similarly, "Guru Granth Sahib" and "Muksha" and "Ganga Jal" in below examples are borrowed into target language to reflect the Hindu and Sikh setting of the text; Any elaboration and explication in translation is rejected to safeguard the original sense and spirit. Definition of ambiguous words and expressions are given in footnote. In presenting the most impressive equivalent for the below examples, the translator ought to opt for word unit of translation:

*That is why people are seen rubbing their horrible nose in front of guru Granth Sahib.

*It is possible. If you call it 'Moksha', yes, it is 'Moksha'. It is 'Mukti'. It is absolute freedom.

*"Ganga Jal" was poured into their mouth forcibly.

The following example challenges the translator's knowledge of both languages, her art of translation, to provide equivalent rhymes in the target language for the words: "un-mindly", "kindly", "mindly" and "spiritual":

*"There are four estates of god: The vegetation [un-mindly] empire; The animals [kindly] empire; the humans [mindly] empire; the birds [spiritual] empire"(Anand, 2004, p. 69). There are three rhymes in source text which are substituted by three rhythmic equivalent rhymes in target language plus "spiritual" translation. Thus, the translator provided four rhymes in Farsi to cater for the harmony, rhetoric, parallel structures as well as content resemblance:

*خدا در چهار قلمرو نمود پیدا میکند: قلمرو گیاهی (معصومیت)؛ قلمرو حیوانی (مرحمت)؛ قلمرو انسانی (عقلانیت)؛
قلمرو پرندگان (معنویت) "

However, idiomatic expressions and collocations such as "rubbing their nose in front of somebody", "catch the thread at the wrong end", "keep track of" and etc., are translated dynamically with the equivalent expression in target language, presenting similar image. To sum up, the translator confronts various problems in translation task and opt for the best solution and makes the most appropriate decision with respect to the target language socio-cognitive system, the audience level of acceptability of unknown religious and cultural perspectives, the author's intention, the purpose of translation task, his own sense of aesthetic and most importantly, the eloquence and genuineness of translation that is what obsess a

skillful translator's mind. Adjustment technique as stated by Hatim and Munday (2004, p. 43), refers to the gradual move away from word-by-word translation toward a more dynamic translation to deal with the challenge of existed polarity. The researcher identifies adjustment technique employed by translator in most circumstances when she moves from formal equivalence (translation of cultural, social and religious specific words) and denotative equivalence (literal translation of words, collocations, expressions and sentences peculiar of the source language setting to reflect the original style and rhythm) to the higher level of text-normative and dynamic equivalence (translation of idiomatic expressions, idiomatic collocations, and all portions of language, generally) to guaranty the eloquence and coherence of the translation and present a communicative translation. In other words, to be able to communicate and reconstruct the original impact, mysticism and impression, the translator restricts herself to words and surface structure to convey the original rigidity and style and sometimes shifts to larger units of paragraph and text to be able to communicate with the audience.

According to Newmark (1988, pp. 66-7): "all length of language can, at different moments and also simultaneously, be used as units of translation in the course of the translation activity". Hatim and Munday (2004, p. 17) assert: "while it may be that the translator most often works at the sentence level, paying specific attention to problems raised by individual words or groups in that context, it is also important to take into account the function of the whole text and references to extratextual features.

Materials of Study

Fifteen sentences of "Bliss", and the provided translations in Farsi.

1. It is a poor estimate of human living, although such thoughts are not scant.

1. این برداشت حقیرانه ایست از زندگی انسان، هرچند کم نیستند افرادی که این گونه میاندیشند.

2. They are rejects, navies in the crangle of kitty parties

2. همان ها که در جمع مهمانی های کیتی، مطرود و ساده لوح خوانده می شوند.

3. People for whom the world exists in the self and outside it, too.

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3. آن هایی که دنیای شان هم نفسانیت است و هم ورای آن.

4. To lead it with a passion, a positive vision is the hall-mark of a live well-lived.

4. وپیش بردن ان از روی میل و بینشی مثبت، برجسته ترین خصوصیت زندگی انسانیت است که شایسته زیسته است.

5. We return in different incarnations.

No translation provided (omission)

6. There are four estates of god: The vegetation [un-mindly] empire; The animals [kindly] empire; the humans [mindly] empire; the birds[spiritual] empire.

6. خدا در چهار قلمرو نمود پیدا میکند: قلمرو گیاهی (معصومیت)؛ قلمرو حیوانی (مرحمت)؛ قلمرو انسانی (عقلانیت)؛ قلمرو پرندگان (معنویت)

7. Human only in shape, but dumb and driven like the cattle, by clever human fingers which pull their strings and make them dance as the puller desires.

7. انسان هایی در ظاهر انسان، اما کر و لال و افسار برگردن هم چون دام، بازچه دست انسان های حيله گری که افساران هارا به هر طرف که بخواهند، می کشند و آن هارا به هر سازی که خود بخواهند، میرقصانند.

8. For an awakened individual, there is no arrival but has a departure, too.

8. از دید فردی آگاه، هیچ ورودی نیست که در پی اش خروجی نباشد.

9. We can't lay blame on anybody else for our doings and their PUNYA or PAAP must come to us.

9. نمیتوان کسی دیگر را مقصر کرده های خود بدانیم و گمان کنیم که ثواب و یا گناه آن ها متعلق به ماست.

10. It is possible. If you call it 'Moksha', yes, it is 'Moksha'. It is 'Mukti'. it is absolute freedom.

10. و این امکان پذیر است. این همان آزادی مطلق است. همان که در زبان هندی "مکشا" و یا "مکتی" خوانده می شود.

11. Some consciousness which flows even when I have exit the stage.

11. من آن آگاهی ام که حتی با خروج از صحنه، هم چنان جاریست.

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12. Both these worlds have a highly developed sensibility.

12. این هردو عالم از شعوری بسیار پیشرفته برخوردار می باشند.

13. that is why, people are seen rubbing their horrible nose in front of guru Granth Sahib.

13. از همین رو، شاهد مردمانی هستیم که در پیش گاه گورو گرانت، آنچنان بادی به غیغ می اندازند.

14. These are the gods who are suffering a destiny, performing a super-dictated role, unaware though, but suffering in deed.

14. این هاخدایانی اند که رنج تقدیر میکشند؛ هرچند آگاه نیستند، اما به واقع رنج می برند.

15. Birth and death are the two brackets which enclose a small period of time which is repeated endlessly

15. زندگی پدیده ای محصور بین دوکروشه زندگی و مرگ است که در طلب یافتن شکلی خاص، تولا میکند.

Fifteen sentences of "I belong to You" and the translation provided in Farsi:

1. We are the helpless lot, choiceless. But not worthless.

1. ناگزیریم و بی انتخاب، امانه بی ارزش.

2. Relations are measured in the size of the ego.

2. امروزه عمق روابط باکوچکی و بزرگی نفس افراد اندازه گیری میشود.

3. Logic of everything that happens to us is lying embedded in our past existences and incarnations.

3. منطق هر آنچه برای ما به وقوع می پیوندد، به اعمال گذشته مان مربوط است.

4. IN FACT, it is HERE that the ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS come in.

4. در حقیقت اینجاست که اهمیت تاملات اخلاقی پدیدار می شوند.

5. Soul and God are related in the same sense as 'khud' [self] and 'khuda'.

5. خویشتن و خدا برگرفته از کلمه " خود " می باشند.

6. Should We not think that too much water in a reservoir will lead to burst and cause a flood in our lives?

6. آیا فکر نمیکنیم که ذخیره سازی آب بسیار زیاد در مخازن آب مان، منجر به انفجار و برآه افتادن سیلاب در زندگی مان خواهد شد؟

7. Conjugal joy, a thing of the past. Past, when the marriage meant melting of two personalities into one.

7. لذت ازدواج، توهم امروز، یادگار دیروز؛ دیروزی که ازدواج به معنای درهم نوب گشتن دوهویت بود.

8. Lust for dowry cannot be ruled out.

8. لذت رسیدن به جهیزیه از این قاعده مستثنی نیست.

9. We now call the episode 'Sacha sauda' [the bargain true].

9. که ما امروزه این حرکت او را ساچاسودا یا معامله حقیقی می نامیم.

10. It takes a lot of time, long years really, to realize what brings us to this earth and what it means to be here and what death stands for.

10. زمان و سالیان درازی می طلبد که درک کنیم چه چیز ما را به این زمین خاکی کشانده است و معنای اینجاماندن چیست و مرگ چیست.

11. It always surprises us, shocks us, sends us into delirium, and moves us away from the living scene.

11. معمولا به هنگام مواجهه با آن بهت زده می شویم، شوکه شده، پریشان گشته و صحنه زندگی جلوی چشمان مان تیره و تار می گردد.

12. The concept of an EGALITARIAN SOCIETY has taken wings. We have left the marginalized sectors of society to the care of God.

12. مفهوم مساوات در جامعه به کلی رخت بر بسته است. ماطبقات حاشیه نشین جامعه را به امان خدارها کرده ایم.

13. 'ganga jal' was poured into their mouth forcibly.

13. اما فرزندان به اجبار به دهانشان " گنگ جال" ریختند و دیگر از میان مان رفتند.

14. Even at the age of 80, when we have grown old, if we do not learn the basics of life, that love for the worldly possessions are wrong, that love for children was wrong, that all what man did was wrong, we have not grown up.

14. حتی در سن 80 سالگی که پایه سن می گذاریم، اگر اصول زندگی را فراموش کرده باشیم، که میل و رغبت به تعلقات دنیوی اشتباه است، که عشق به مقام و عنوان اشتباه است، که هر آنچه آدمی انجام داده است اشتباه است، باید گفت که رشد نکرده ایم.

15. The whole clan of Adam is proud, self-seeking, self-centered, conceited, unlistening and unrelenting.

15. همه تبار آدم، انسان های مغرور، خودشیفته، خودپسند، خودبین و نافرمان اند و این همان چیزی است که میوه دانش برای آن هابه ارمغان آورده است.

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