

ENGLISH FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDENTS AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY:

SECOND DIALECT OR SECOND LANGUAGE?

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RITA MAXINE DEYOE

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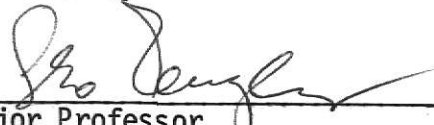
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Approved by:


Major Professor

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044 SECOND DIALECT OR SECOND LANGUAGE?

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Statement of Purpose.....	1
1.2 Definition of Terms.....	1
1.3 Justification of the Study.....	4
1.4 Procedure.....	5
2. Background of the Problem.....	6
2.1 The Special Status of English in India.....	6
2.2 English in Contrast with Other Languages Spoken in South Asia: The Linguistic Aspects of the Problem.....	9
3. General Data, 1965-1971.....	16
3.1 Examination Form Data, 1965-1971.....	16
3.2 Language Background, Random Sample, 1971.....	19
4. Specific Data, Spring, 1971.....	24
4.1 Language Background, Selected Students, Spring, 1971.....	24
4.2 Eleven-Point English Dialect Questionnaire.....	25
4.3 Eleven-Point Indian Language Questionnaire.....	26
4.4 Culture/Family/Profession/Education Attitudes Questionnaire..	26
4.5 Majors of South Asian Students at Kansas State University, Spring, 1971.....	28
4.6 Examination Form Data, Spring, 1971.....	30
5. Methodology and Materials: Experiments, Results, Conclusions.....	33
5.1 Class Composition and Allocation of Class Time.....	33
5.2 Orientation and Acculturation.....	33
5.3 Drills: Structured, Minimally-Structured, Guided Conversations	34
5.4 Re-inforcement Techniques: Written Drills, Newspaper Reading.	35
5.5 Explanations: Grammar, Phonology, Prosody.....	36
5.6 Justifications: Course Content, Structure, Methodology.....	37
6. Afterword: Persistent Problems for GAE-SAS Learners.....	37
6.1 Phonology.....	37
6.2 Prosody.....	37
6.3 Grammar.....	38
6.4 Society, Culture, and the Individual Student.....	38
APPENDIX A. Oral-Aural Test Cut Sheet (sample).....	40
APPENDIX B. Language Background Questionnaire (sample).....	42
APPENDIX C. English Dialect Questionnaire (sample).....	45
APPENDIX D. Indian Language Questionnaire (sample).....	46
APPENDIX E. Culture/Family/Profession/Education Attitudes Questionnaire (sample).....	47
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES.....	48

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1. Introduction

1.1 Statement of Purpose.

This study supports the contention that English for South Asian students at Kansas State University should be treated as second dialect learning. The four arguments in favor of this are 1) The linguistic problems encountered by South Asians in adapting to American English are closely related and are substantially different in nature and degree from those of other international students. 2) The special status of English in South Asia creates certain linguistic problems and attitudes which require special treatment. 3) Attitudes of South Asians with regard to learning English as a Second Language preclude their learning effectively. 4) Treatment of General American English for South Asian students as second-dialect learning has been tried and found effective.

1.2 Definition of Terms.

What is commonly referred to as "Indian English" is actually the result of interference from various languages spoken in South Asia. However, to study the effects of each of those languages on English would require an extensive study of each student's idiolect since it is by no means uncommon for a South Asian to speak three to five Indian languages. Thus, the aggregate of interferences from Indian languages is treated as one multi-faceted linguistic problem.

The largest land area and population in South Asia is claimed by India, and the majority of the students who come to Kansas State University from South Asia are from India. The performance of the Pakistanis and Ceylonese who have come here supports the generalization of conclusions reached regarding

Indians to include Pakistanis and Ceylonese. Therefore, both the terms "Indian English" and "South Asian English" have been used. "Indian English" is used to refer to statistics gathered from Indian sources and work with Indian students. "South Asian English" indicates the generalized applications of the study.

The number of people in India who claim English as their first language is quite small---222,781 or 0.05% of the population according to the 1961 census figures. One may assume that a large number of those represent foreign-born residents. Rough figuring from other data in the same census indicates that as many as 7.7% of the population consider themselves bilingual (Das Gupta, 1970, Ch.2). It may be argued that any clear distinction between "native speakers" of Indian English will be negligible for the following reasons:

- 1) The "native speakers" probably will be bilingual in English and at least one Indian language which they will use constantly in everyday life. That language will modify their English in a manner very similar to the effects of that language on those learning English outside the home.

- 2) English serves as a trade language and is used for governmental communication. It is a means of flexible, active communication between various language groups rather than a "purified" object of academic study by one homogeneous group.

- 3) "Native speakers" are bound to encounter most of their peers and superiors speaking English with a strong "Indian accent." This provides powerful social incentives for conforming to the majority's way of speaking English (Das Gupta, 1970, p.44). (This has also been verified by Indian and Pakistani friends of the author.)

Is South Asian English a dialect of English or simple the effect of massive inadequate second-language learning? Careful observation indicates

that South Asian English has developed as the result of inadequate and incomplete learning of British English as a Foreign Language. However, the writer believes this nomenclature is no longer fully appropriate. Speakers of English who are native to South Asia are "native speakers of South Asian English" in which they demonstrate varying levels of performance. The surface structure of South Asian English is different from that of British and American dialects of English. The primary differences between South Asian English and other varieties of English are in the areas of phonology and prosody. This would allow us to consider this merely another dialect of English. However, certain other differences must be considered which still represent inadequate learning of a foreign language. These differences are reflected primarily in the surface structure of question syntax.

South Asian English is a dialect on the basis of the following criteria:

1) South Asian English is both spoken and written. (See the Bibliography for Baboo English as 'tis Writ by Arnold Wright, or read the material quoted in Ch. 2 of this study.)

2) South Asian English serves as a medium of instruction in subject areas other than English Language and Literature.

3) South Asian English is the main language of instruction at the university level. Hence the level of competence and performance demanded is usually greater than that required in other languages spoken by South Asians.

Therefore, even though South Asian English participates, to some degree, in almost every category used in discussions of language learning (first language, native language, second language, foreign language), the author will treat South Asian English as a dialect of English which exhibits certain foreign language errors in syntax and which is spoken as a dominant second

language by many South Asians. For the purposes of this study, the author has chosen to defend the consideration of South Asian English as a full-fledged dialect of English and to support the position that most of the adjustment from South Asian English toward General American English for South Asians studying in U.S. universities should be approached as second-dialect learning rather than as remedial second-language learning. This is supported as a pedagogical approach below.

1.3 Justification of the Study.

Currently, South Asian students whose English does not permit oral communication at the level of effectiveness required for graduate-level academic work in this University must enroll in a remedial course in Spoken English. There are psycho-socio-cultural aspects of the linguistic problem under discussion which appeal for a reconsideration of this practice.

These aspects include the following:

The South Asian student usually feels his individual intelligence and personality are being insulted and attacked when he is sent to a class comprised largely of students for whom English is clearly a foreign or second language, learned and used only in English Language and Literature classes in their home countries. Most South Asian students who come to the U.S. to study have carried out a great deal of their previous schooling in English. To inform them that they cannot communicate adequately in that language, by putting them in a class with students who may never have spoken English before coming to the U.S. to study, is a brutal blow to the South Asian student's self-evaluation gestalt.

The strong probability that the above is an accurate description of the actual situation argues for a careful study of the linguistic factors involved in allowing the South Asian student to "put on the mask" (cf. Engler, 1969) that would help him to communicate with Americans without destroying

his esteem for himself and his own culture or his esteem for Americans and their culture. This need not produce any lasting change in the values, attitudes, or verbal reactions of the individual, although that effect often accrues. All he really has to do is learn to play a special role in the office and with "uninitiated" Americans. It is probably to his advantage to learn these cultural/linguistic attitudes as a role that can be switched off and on to accommodate the situation. If the student has any intention of returning to South Asia, acceptance of the American way as a total replacement will limit his effectiveness both in applying the knowledge he gains here and in communicating and cooperating with friends, relatives, and business or academic associates when he returns. If he intends to stay in the U.S. for any appreciable period of time after finishing his studies, he will encounter considerable discrimination and prejudice if he insists on continuing to play a "totally South Asian" role culturally and linguistically.

To set forth a complete syllabus for teaching General American English as a Second Dialect for South Asians (hereafter, GAE-SAS) is not the goal of this study, although information about the methodology and content used in the current semester are included. This study is mainly limited to providing the information necessary for deciding whether a change from the present way of handling the situation would be appropriate and helpful.

1.4 Procedure.

Several areas of original investigation were undertaken in this study. The files of the Oral-Aural Tests given to all entering international students were examined in order to determine what sort of student was most likely to be required to enroll in a remedial English course for South Asians. Questionnaires about their language backgrounds were distributed to a randomly-selected

group of South Asian students at Kansas State University. Part of the Language Background Questionnaire was used in conjunction with attitudinal questionnaires about languages and cultures with a group of South Asians enrolled in a remedial Spoken English course during the current semester.

Additional information was provided by consulting the Foreign Students Advisor's list of Kansas State University's International Students. This list gives the native countries of students, their major fields of study, and their classification as graduate or undergraduate.

Finally, the results of the examinations of new students from South Asia in the current semester were studied and the scores of those who were not required to enroll in the remedial course were compared with initial, mid-term and final scores for those who were required to enroll in the course. This provided some evaluation of the effectiveness of the class population, drill materials, and methodology which were used during the current semester.

2. Background of the Problem

2.1 The Special Status of English in India.

Prof. William Coates has made the succinct comment that "Indians have tried very hard not to make English the official language." (Class discussion, Kansas State University, December 11, 1970). For several years they have been trying to accord Hindi this status with a notable lack of success and various attendant problems.

Since Hindi is not in universal use throughout India, people in areas where it is not the local language fear eventual domination in politics and government by those from the North Indian areas. The scholars wage war on Hindi as a national language protesting that while it commands a high number of native speakers, these speakers do not, in general, represent the intellectual, city-based elite. Rather they represent inhabitants of rural

areas and generally have a lower level of education and inappropriate preparation for the duties of government and administration. The scholars go on to point out that there are numerous other Indian languages with both a greater quantity and higher quality of literature. There is also an argument that the various dialects of Hindi are different to a point of being no more mutually intelligible than some of the other Indian languages.

Nevertheless, numbers prevailed and Hindi was selected as the compromise between English or a plethora of regional languages and dialects. That it has been an unhappy compromise is attested by the fact that former proponents of Hindi as the national language now favor giving in to English for the sake of national unity. Chatterji indicates the extent of this linguistic-political controversy when he says:

"Out of this attempt to make Hindi take the place of English throughout the whole of India, has started another movement in the non-Hindi States, which is getting stronger and stronger, and which may, in the long run jeopardize the Unity of India. It is--emulating the Hindi-using States--to make the local regional or state languages, like Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Assamese, exclusively used for all state purposes, up to the highest grades both in education and administration. Behind this there is a fear and dislike of Hindi; and local patriotism demands that English must give way, not to Hindi, but to the local languages. No one seems seriously to think how Indian cultural and political unity will be preserved without the two great basic links like Sanskrit and English; and this widely prevalent movement for the local languages is a defensive movement against the dangers of the imposition of Hindi, as non-Hindi people feel it; and their defensive takes frequently the form of an intolerant offensive and aggression, against all and sundry." (Chatterji, 1963, p. 63).

Beyond the facts of the political situation, it seems appropriate to discuss briefly the past and present social attitudes regarding English. For many years, partly as an effect of British colonial rule, English has been regarded as the language of social, academic, and governmental favor and privilege. Numerous posts tacitly or explicitly required a good command of English and a close approximation to British pronunciation. Failing the latter, an ability to write well in erudite British English was the

minimum. Logically enough, these prerequisites developed into the mark of an educated man in India. Since the independence of India these requirements have loosened somewhat and as a result, the knowledge is still claimed even though the learning may not have taken place. One of the effects of making Hindi the national language has been increased linguistic polarity among the regions. The drive to increase the literary and scientific literature and to improve the literacy rate in the regional languages has had a predictable effect on the quantity and quality of English teaching.

Nevertheless, Indians still consider that English belongs to them and they have some bases for those claims:

"For one hundred and fifty years, it has been a language of India, some of the best in this land have spoken and written it, or practiced in law courts in it. It has been the vehicle of our scholarship, law and science, and wider beauty..."
(Majumdar, 1965, p. 109).

However, in later years, the sort of English that belongs to India has taken on more and more of an Indian flavor. Or as J. J. Gumperz so delicately put it:

"'An Indian may speak English with near-native control; he may read it, write it, and lecture in it with great success. But when he uses English in India his speech will share many of the features of the other Indian codes, with which English alternates in the daily round of activities. Indian English will thus deviate considerably from the norms current among native speakers of English in the American Midwest. This kind of deviation represents not a failure to control English but a natural consequence of the social conditions in the immediate environment in which Indian English is spoken.'³⁹"
(The number above refers to the footnote in Das Gupta, 1970, p. 44 giving credit to J.J. Gumperz for the paragraph quoted above).

It has been suggested and encouraged, particularly by a British official, that the language be officially "nationalized" and the phonological substitutions and prosodic variations common to India be taught as a standard in Indian schools. This does not represent a change from the status quo so much as a recognition of the existing situation for what it is. The proposed nationalization of English is mainly based on the theory that since

English is used more by Indians to communicate with other Indians than to communicate with other English speakers, the easiest mutually intelligible form of "Indian English" is what ought to be taught. (Pandit, 1965a). This shows an appreciation of the fact that "...the Indian literati have been traditionally more concerned with their ingroup communication than with intergroup communication." (Das Gupta, 1970, p. 31.)

2.2 English in Contrast with Other Languages Spoken in South Asia: The Linguistic Aspects of the Problem.

One of the most obvious characteristics of Indian English, even to untrained observers, is its bookishness and the lack of difference in style and complexity of constructions between the spoken and written forms. It could safely be called one of the most literary dialects of English currently in use. For various reasons adduced in the preceding pages, Indians have been enamored of the erudite exempla of the English language from colonial times to the present.

Other factors that have contributed to this situation are the lack of native-speaker models of non-Indian English and a tremendous reverence for the printed word. Since the model for imitation, (conscious or unconscious), for the Indian student of English will probably be either another speaker of Indian English or formal written English, the following effects may be expected to accrue: On all levels, spoken or written, literary diction may be expected. The phonology will be assimilated to mediate the contrast between British English and the educated high-class dialect of the local or regional language. English will be spoken quite rapidly, especially with inferiors or strangers in order to impress them with prowess in a language spoken fluently only by an academic and social elite. (This has been confirmed by both Pakistani and Indian acquaintances of the writer.) Intonation, stress, clipping, and other prosodic details will be a compromise between "reading intonation" and the habits of the local or regional language or dialect. This is because the

overtones usually expressed by these elements are of relatively marginal importance for reading or in a *lingua franca* whereas those overtones are bound to be essential to the appropriate and effective use of the local vernacular code.

Professor Abercrombie has suggested that "spoken prose" as distinguished from "conversation" cannot be maintained in a conversation situation nor can it be avoided when the communication is not spontaneous (Abercrombie, 1965, Ch. 1). He is, of course, referring to the usual case of the native speaker of English in areas that are not predominantly bilingual or multilingual. This writer would suggest, however, that in the exceptional case of Indian English, the term "spoken prose" is an extremely appropriate and descriptive statement of what is happening. Further substantiation of this is a refusal to use contractions. South Asian speakers, when presented with "don't," still read "do not." (It should be noted, with reference to the use of Professor Abercrombie's term "spoken prose," that his attitudes and prejudices about the teaching of a standard dialect oppose the goals of the present study, at least in principle.)

A major impediment to the U.S. midwesterner's understanding of Indian English is the use of stress patterns copied from Indian languages. Professor Daniel Jones was quoted as having written in a letter that

"As to stress in languages of India, I have always had the impression that Indian languages (with the possible exception of Bengali) were stressless, i.e., that no syllables are pronounced with greater force or greater muscular tension than others." (Varma, 1964, p. 61).

The point has been further discussed with reference to Hindi:

"In most of the cases, what does a stress [sic] in Hindi is that an ordinary meaning is converted into some special meaning of the same lexical unit by the use of it... Stress in Hindi is used mainly for 'emphasis' and for 'contrast'. It is found on the word-level. A word may contain only one stress at some syllable of it at the most (and the rest of the syllables have no stresses) and it is not at all necessary that each word, or even any word in the whole sentence, should carry a stress...." (Mehrotra, 1965, p. 96).

The application of the above system of stress to a stress-timed language such as English could account for a number of difficulties in intelligibility, particularly in a rapid flow of "spoken prose".

The other reference to stress listed in the Bibliography, (Ray, 1966), does not seem particularly helpful since it is a collection of idiolect studies of five radio announcers who, by virtue of their profession, are likely to have atypical stress patterns. An indirect source of information on this matter is the Appendix of a small book of Indian tales which contains a guide to the pronunciation of certain names used in the book. With respect to stress, the following comments are made:

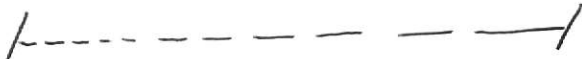
"The stress in words with long syllables is placed on the last prosodically long syllable of a word (i.e., a syllable containing either a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two consonants) other than the final syllable, which never has the accent. In a word with no long syllables the accent is on the first syllable." (italics added) (Ghosh, 1965.).

Needless to say, the best analysis of this problem could be gained by recording and analyzing some samples of Indian English. However, such data would be difficult to elicit and to analyze due to the effects of phonology and grammar patterns which differ from both British and American dialects.

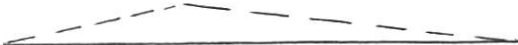
The generalized overlying intonation patterns of Indian English deserved a complete and scientific treatment, but there was no opportunity to record "naive" informants. One attempt to do so resulted in proof that the Indian speaker conscientiously reproduced the American intonation patterns he had been practicing in class. The only alternative this writer has to offer are some tentative observations and contrasts of the intonation patterns of V. K. Krishna Menon in an address (without written notes) at this university (Fall, 1970). These notes seem to support the information given in the preceding paragraphs. The notes are reproduced in Fig. 1 in the graphic form in which they were recorded.

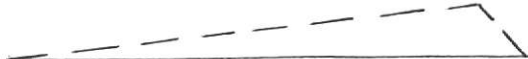
Rhythm

V.K. Krishna Menon 

US midwestern speaker 

Volume

V.K. Krishna Menon 

US midwestern speaker 

Continuation

V.K. Krishna Menon 

US midwestern speaker 

Overlying Intonation Contours

V.K. Krishna Menon 

US midwestern speaker 

(The US midwestern speaker represents the rendition of these features the writer would have given.)

Figure 1. General contrasts between Indian and General American dialects of English.

With respect to segmentals in Indian English, Harris (1966) may be of marginal interest. Information on vowel contraction and gradation, clipping and cadence would no doubt be helpful but has proved difficult to locate.

The consonant problem has been examined and described by Professor Pandit (1964) and what follows is a discussion of the information in his article. He points out that major trouble spots have been a failure to use

the allophones of /p,t,k/ appropriately and a failure to make a phonemic distinction between /v,w/. Professor Pandit provides adequate substantiation that since English script does not reflect the allophonic occurrence of aspiration, the Indian speaker tends to use the unaspirated allo in all situations. Conversely, (Pandit overlooked this) /f/ which in words such as "phonology" is spelled 'ph' will be pronounced [ph̄], and /g/ of "ghost, ghetto, aghast" (Pandit caught this) becomes [gh̄]. English /t,d/ are usually pronounced [t̄,d̄] leaving [th̄,dh̄] as substitutions for the unfamiliar /θ,ð/ of English. The most pertinent summary seems to be the reproduction (Fig. 1.1, below) of the Standard English phonemes with parenthetical indications of probable Indian substitutions:

		(t)	(d)				
p	b	t̄	d̄	c	j	k	g
f	θ ð				z		
(ph)	(th) (dh)				(jh)		(gh)

Figure 1.1 Indian substitutions for Standard English Phonemes.
(From Pandit, 1964).

Pandit credits these substitutions to an attempt to fit the phonemes of English onto the frame of the phonologies of the Indian languages. This seems irrefutable. Pandit goes on to cite the varying substitutions for /θ,ð/ according to the particular Indian language. His conclusions are summarized in graphic form in Fig. 1.2, below:

Marathi, Panjabi, Hindi: /ð/ > /d/ ~ /dh/ in stressed environments

Gujarati, Sindhi: /ð/ > /dh/

Tamil: /ð/ > /d/ ~ /d̄/ medially; /θ/ > /t/

Most Indian Languages: [v̄] initially; [w̄] medially and finally.

Figure 1.2 Common Indian substitutions, by language.

The vowels most often confused are /ε/ and /æ/. Usually a sound which mediates the difference is used for both. A spelling pronunciation of /a/ for all written 'a's' is also common.

The substitutions discussed result in the following misuses:

- [p] for [ph] "I paid for the pills." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "I bayed for de bills."
- [t] for [th] "I trained the troops." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "I drained de droops."
- [k] for [kh] "I caught the cat." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "I got de gat."
- [d] for [dh] "We do not dare do that." Misunderstood by an American when pronounced* /vi+du^W + nɔt + deh^r + du^W + dhat/.
- [ph] for /f/ "He phrased it well." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "He praised it vell."
- [th] for /θ/ "I thought about that." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "I taught about dat."
- [dh] for /ð/ "I loathe Fords." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "I load Fords."
- [jh] for /z/ "We measured the importance of pleasure." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "Ve majored de importance of bledger."
- /v/ for /w/ initial "It went through the vent on the West." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "It vent true de vent on de Vest."
- /w/ for /v/ medial "He has never loved anybody." When spoken by a South Asian, is heard by an American as* "He has newer lowed anybody."
- /ɛ/ for /æ/ "I met Mat's roommate."
Spoken by an American /ay + met + mats + ruwmeyt/
Spoken by a South Asian /ay + met + mets + ru^WmeYt/
Read aloud by a South Asian /ay + met + mats + ru^Wmet/

The major differences in grammar are in question syntax. South Asians do not usually invert the order of the subject and the auxiliary verb. In other words, all their questions are "echo questions" with intonation as the only feature which distinguishes a question from the corresponding statement. For instance, where an American would ask "Is it near me?", a South Asian would ask "It is near me?" Likewise with Do and the modal auxiliaries, the South Asian questions are "It belongs to him?" for "Does it belong to him?" and "Why I must study English?" for "Why must I study English?"

The genitive is usually expressed with "of" by South Asians, producing "the earrings of Rita" for "Rita's earrings." This may be the result of prescriptive instruction. Most South Asians refuse to use contractions, even in spoken English. It seems probable that non-use of apostrophes has been generalized to the genitive form. It is also likely that the tendency to use "of" genitives is a pattern copied from Indian languages.

It is not uncommon for South Asians to express comparisons with "to" rather than "than" as in "He is elder to me." for "He is older than me." Another typical South Asian phrase is "I am putting on a brown pant." for "I am wearing brown pants."

One of the most notable differences in syntax is in the use of the progressive. It is used by many South Asians to express a habitual action or continuing state which would be expressed in the "simple" tenses by Americans. Examples are "I am speaking English in India also." for "I speak English in India also.", or "He was owning a car, but he had to sell it." for "He used to own a car (or "He owned a car...") but he had to sell it.", and "I am having an apartment in which I am cooking." for "I live in (have) an apartment and I do my own cooking."

Reflexive pronouns are used by South Asians in places where Americans consider them unnecessary. Instead of responding to a request to repeat something individually with "Who? Me?" the South Asian will invariably reply with "Myself?". In a written comment (cited in Appendix I.), a student said he was better able to "communicate himself with Americans." The reflexive pronoun would not usually be expressed by an American.

3. General Data, 1965-1971

3.1 Examination Form Data, 1965-1971.

Statistical information about Kansas State University's Indian, Pakistani, and Ceylonese students was compiled from the University's files of Spoken English Proficiency-Placement Tests. The following information about the examinees was available: name, nationality, native language, and major. The dates of the tests and the initials of the graders of the examinations were also listed. The names of the examinees and graders have been kept confidential to avoid invasion of academic privacy. This information was compiled to determine whether there was a substantial difference in the test results obtained under different categories of nationality, native language, major, date of test, and grader. (This provided valuable information about the sort of students most likely to come here to study and, of those coming here, which groups were most likely to be required to enroll in a remedial course in Spoken American English.)

The scores available for compilation included separate scores for promptness, appropriateness, fluency, pronunciation, and grammar. Each of these categories was evaluated on a five-point scale for the answers to each of ten pre-recorded questions. A total of 250 points will be amassed by a native speaker of General American English while 200 points has normally been considered sufficient to exempt a student from requirements for remedial work in Spoken American English.

The whole set of test forms for 1965 through 1971 (Spring) were used only for relative numbers listing a given language as their native language, and numbers and percentages from the nationalities and native languages listed who passed the initial Spoken Proficiency screening. Certain conclusions have been drawn, based on the results of this tabulation.

One conclusion is that Americans understand speakers of less common languages, who have learned a second Indian language well, more easily than Americans understand other South Asians.

Of the Indians tested, the students who failed the exam were all native speakers of languages which had ten or more (total) speakers at Kansas State University during the period over which these data were gathered. It would be tempting to conclude that the above occurs because students with the more common native languages can always find someone with whom to speak their native language, but that would be invalid since the tests are administered when the student arrives on campus.

The overall percentages of persons passing and failing the exam over the five-year period are interesting when contrasted with the percentages passing and failing the examination during the testing for the current semester. Over a five-year period (as indicated in Fig. 1 on the preceding page), 75% of the Indian students tested passed the initial screening exam whereas for the current semester only 54% of the Indian students tested passed the initial screening.

It might be argued that the tests scored by speakers of British English were responsible for the variance of the overall percentages with the figures for the current semester. This would lend credibility to the South Asian student's frequent claim that he speaks British English. (See Masica, 1970 for proof to the contrary.) While the percentages of South Asians passing the examination when graded by British English speakers are slightly above the overall percentages, the percentage passing when graded by an American English speaker who graded exams throughout the six-year period was even higher than the number passed by the Britisher. (Britisher No. 1, who graded fourteen exams, passed 86%. Britisher No. 2, who graded forty exams, passed 77.5%. American No. 1, who graded one hundred and thirty-two exams, waived 10% of that number and of the remaining one hundred and nineteen examinees,

passed 83% and failed 17%. In the current semester, American No. 1 passed four of four graded; American No. 2 passed five of ten graded; American No. 3 passed five of twelve graded.) The author believes that the above figures represent more than a surface glance would indicate. In the opinion of the investigator, the above represents (a) a tendency to have difficult or borderline cases decided by American No. 1, thus producing an unusually high number of "passes" in those totals, (b) a tendency prior to 1969 to pass South Asians unless they had grave difficulties in categories other than pronunciation, and (c) a lower level of student performance, and/or the possibility that the students arriving in January represented a special group, either by virtue of the fact that they arrived in the middle of the academic year or because of linguistic changes occurring in India over the past few years. The latter is further discussed below.

The years when the students arriving in the last two years must have been studying English or studying in a South Asian English medium coincide with the period in which English has been "giving way to the local languages" (See the quotation from Chatterji, Section 2.1) and some recognition has been given to South Asian English as the appropriate dialect for South Asian purposes. Thus, it seems reasonable to expect that the students who are products of this era of linguistic turmoil in India will speak a brand of English which American Midwesterners find difficult to interpret and that these students will not be particularly willing to change their way of using English in the direction of a British or American standard. The experience of the author in teaching during the current semester has given copious proof of the latter, which is reflected in such in-class asides as "She thinks all what we do is wrong..." or "Why I must take this course if I do not wish to speak with Americans..." and written comments to the effect "...I have improved sufficiently, Because I have learned some

words as they are spoken by Americans. But I have learned nothing in grammar and other fields. Because I already know much better English. I have read English as an (sic) subject for 9 years and medium of instruction for more than 7 years. The hindrance is only when American speaks rapidly other wise I can easily understand."

3.2 Language Background, Random Sample, 1971.

A language background questionnaire was given to a randomly selected group of thirty-five Indian and Pakistani students currently enrolled at Kansas State University. The India and Pakistani Associations cooperated with the investigator in distributing and collecting the questionnaires. Most of them were handed out during the showing of an Indian movie to Indians and Pakistanis and returned to the investigator sometime following the movie. Of the twenty-nine questionnaires returned, only fourteen were complete enough to permit tabulation. All parts of those questionnaires were tabulated. The intention of the questionnaire was to provide only an indication of the way South Asians feel about the languages they use, and appeared to be successful in accomplishing that goal.

First, in Part One of the questionnaire, when asked to list languages in the order of fluency, five listed Hindi first (probably because it is the national language or because it is their native language), six listed other Indian languages first (presumably their native languages), and three listed English first. Seven persons listed English second, three listed it third, and one listed it fourth. This indicates that about half considered English to be their "second language" whereas the others were about evenly divided between considering English to be the language in which they could best express themselves and considering it to be a "third" or "foreign" language.

These figures appear to correlate with the age at which these persons began to study English. That information, requested in Part Five of the questionnaire indicates that the three who considered English to be the language in which they were most fluent, began a formal study of English at the respective ages of six, "five or six," and eight years. The first two of those listing English first had had all of their education in English medium schools (This information was requested in Part Six of the questionnaire.) and the third had had his matriculation and university education in English medium institutions. Of those listing English second, four had had only their university education in English medium schools, and three had all their education in English medium schools although one noted on the questionnaire that the teacher had used Hindi when he could not get the point across in English. Of those listing English third or fourth, three had had only their university education in an English medium and one had had all his education in an English medium.

It may also be noted that of the three listing English first, one is apparently a "native speaker" of English whose parents are also English speakers but who also speaks two Indian languages with reasonable adequacy and whose schooling was all in India. A second person listing English first went to school in all English medium institutions and was forced to use English with friends and classmates since his education after primary school was in an area using a language different from his native language. The third person who listed English first went to a larger city and an English medium school after middle school.

Those listing English second, third, or fourth tended to use English only in the classroom, not with friends and classmates, and to have remained in the same city and often the same institution for almost all their education.

The language(s) spoken by the parents and with them (Parts Two and Three of the questionnaire) did not appear to be particularly significant. In almost all cases they were the same or very similar to those listed for the student and his school friends. The only significant item in these areas appeared to be the fact that the father was more likely to know English well and to use that language occasionally with his son or daughter.

The following generalizations may be made about the use of English in the educational systems in India as it affected those who completed the questionnaire. Of those surveyed, 43% carried out all of their education in an English medium; 7% attended Primary and Middle school in a local language medium, and had their matriculation and university education in an English medium; 50% had only the university part of their education in English.

Additional generalizations that may be made about the use of English by those surveyed are that only one regularly spoke English with his parents and this appeared to be their "native language." Two-thirds spoke their native language with school friends unless it was necessary to use English or another language, which was usually preferred over English, in order to communicate. Four-fifths used English to talk to at least some of their university friends. This was probably because they lacked another common language, since they indicated that they still preferred to speak an Indian language whenever it was possible. About half had primary, middle, and matriculation instruction in their native language or another Indian language; the others had it in English, except when the teacher had to translate in order to get the point across. All had their university instruction in English although other sources have indicated that the teacher still may have reverted to using a local language to explain certain difficult points.

Data gathered in Part Five of the questionnaire indicated that about two-thirds of those surveyed began a formal study of English sometime during their primary school and the remainder began it during middle school. (The usual ages for various levels in the Indian school system are primary, 6-10; middle, 11-13; matriculation, 13-15; university 16-22. However, higher secondary, 11-16; and university, 17-22 may be substituted for the latter two levels.

The second major point which is of particular interest is the self-evaluation of competence in various areas of language use. This is particularly interesting when compared to the language the individuals surveyed considered themselves most fluent in. Although six to nine of the fourteen consider their knowledge of English to be "excellent" rather than "very good, but not native," only three list it as the language in which they are most fluent.

Only those whose native language is Hindi consider themselves as much at home with the National Language of India as with English.

It is also worth noting that all consider themselves very adequate bi-linguals in English. In understanding and reading, about two-thirds feel they have fully native competence; they are evenly-divided on speaking; and a slight majority concede that their writing is not quite up to the level of a good native speaker.

The preceding is particularly good substantiation for the assertion that even though English is a "second language" in the usual sense of the term for most Indians, these Indians consider themselves at least bi-linguals if not native speakers in competence. Coupled with this is the fact that only four Indian languages (Gujarati, Telugu, Urdu, Konkani) appeared to be anywhere near so "well-known" to those who listed them.

Although the information gathered in this survey would tend to support the treatment of English as a "second" language, a predominance of "A" (excellent)

ratings in English as compared to "B" (very good, but not native) ratings bears further consideration. One would assume that in a normal bi-lingual situation one language would dominate the other uniformly either in all categories or at least in each particular category. The reason that this does not occur in these data may be that those surveyed are presently living and studying here and consider themselves "semi-natives" or they may simply have subconsciously equated the letter used for evaluation with grades received in English courses and have recorded the fact that they made good grades in English courses in India. However, the investigator is inclined to believe that the failure of the self-evaluations in English to polarize toward "B" rather than "A" is indicative of the way the South Asian feels about his English, regardless of the way he may actually use the language.

Due to the possibilities that either the data or the interpretation of that data might have been invalid or unreliable, it was decided that further information should be sought. First, to counteract the possibility that the person surveyed might equate the letters used to designate various levels of competence with the "letter-grade" use of those same letters, a second set of questionnaires using an eleven-point evaluation scale was devised. It was decided to use the South Asian students enrolled in the remedial Spoken English course as a survey group, partly because that would give more information about the attitudes of those most likely to be in a GAE-SAS class and partly because they provided a fairly uniform and readily accessible source of information. In order to allow an appropriate consideration of the validity of the Language Background Questionnaire, it was administered to the selected group of students before the eleven-point questionnaires were used. The results of this procedure are explained in Ch. 4.

4. Specific Data, Spring, 1971

4.1 Language Background, Selected Students, Spring, 1971.

When the Language Background Questionnaire was filled out by ten students who came to Kansas State University in January of 1971 and were in the remedial Spoken English course during the current semester, the results were fairly similar to those listed for the Random Sample discussed in Ch. 3. However, certain differences were noted.

Since Part One of the questionnaire had proved to be the most informative part and the other parts had served mainly to augment and explain the information requested in Part One, only Part One was used with the Selected Students who were surveyed. As with the Random Sample, English appeared to take precedence over Hindi, the National Language of India, for those who were not native speakers of Hindi. Even more frequently than in the Random Sample, English was listed as the language in which they considered themselves to be most fluent. Four listed English first, five listed it second, and one listed it third. Hindi was most often listed third, five times; was listed second by two, and first by one (One did not list Hindi at all).

A more interesting contrast with the Random Sample is in the order of fluency as opposed to the self-evaluation of competence. There is a much greater polarization of self-evaluation into clearly recognizable dominant/secondary language roles. From five to two still considered their competence in English to be "A" (excellent) rather than "B" (very good, but not native). However, there was clear tendency to indicate higher competence in an Indian language. The author believes that was a reaction to required enrollment in a remedial course. That would tend to make them feel they ought not to give themselves credit for "A" competence in English. The fact that several students still claimed complete competence in English appears to be far more significant than the limited number of "A's". Apparently, the South Asian

tends to believe, regardless of evidence to the contrary, that he already speaks better English than Americans do.

Even though fewer of the Selected Students gave themselves credit for complete native competence in English than the Random Sample did, more of the Selected Sample listed it as the language in which they were most fluent. This probably represents the student's concurrent realization that his competence in English is considerably different from that of most Americans and his desire to believe that his competence is at least equal to, if not better (i.e. more literate), than the American's native speaker competence.

4.2 Eleven-Point English Dialect Questionnaire.

Due to the tendency of South Asians to claim that they speak British English, it seemed appropriate to measure whether they considered South Asian English a separate and valid dialect of English or equated it with British English. For this purpose an eleven-point English Dialect Questionnaire was devised (A sample copy is included in Appendix C). The students were to rank themselves in various areas for several dialects of English on a scale from 1 (minimum competence) to 11 (maximum competence) with NA (not applicable) to be used if they felt themselves unqualified to comment on a particular dialect. The results indicated that they feel they understand British and American equally well. However, they feel they do somewhat better with British in speaking, reading, and especially, writing. They indicated that in all areas they do best in South Asian English and they are more or less "tops" as regards competence in their own brand of English. There is an obvious difference between the competence listed for British, American, and South Asian English. This indicates that they consider British and South Asian English to be different, although more closely related than South Asian English and American. Therefore, it seems appropriate to assume that the claim that South Asian English and British are the same, is strictly for naive consumption.

4.3 Eleven-Point Indian Language Questionnaire.

An eleven-point Indian Language Questionnaire (See the sample questionnaire in Appendix D) was used to complement the English Dialect Questionnaire. The results of that survey, supported the contention that the South Asian feels the language in which he is most fully competent is South Asian English. Only the native speakers of Telugu were as confident of their abilities in that language as they were of their abilities in South Asian, British, and American English. It should be noted that those individuals who were required to enroll in the remedial Spoken English course were all from major language groups.

It seems reasonable to expect that, having been forced to use English for his university studies and having read most of the technical "content" material in his field in English, the student will feel that his competence is highest in that language. That is, it seems probable that the students surveyed will have equated intellectual competence with linguistic competence in their evaluations.

4.4 Culture/Family/Profession/Education Attitudes Questionnaire.

Recent studies indicate that language learning is less successful when the student does not want to learn the language being taught or is unwilling to emulate the people who use that language (c.f. Spolsky, 1971). Language and personality are closely related. The student who has fixed attitudes about his personality will also have difficulty changing his language habits since emulating the linguistic habits of others tends to indicate willingness to emulate their culture and society.

This made it important to know the students' motives for learning English. In order to ascertain the attitudes of the students toward both the English language and those who speak it as a full-time native language, a questionnaire

was devised asking for subjective evaluations of the General Culture, Family Life, Professional Opportunities, and Education (System) in various countries. As with the other eleven-point questionnaires the scale went from 1 (impossible conditions) to 11 (best of all possible) with NA (not applicable) for cases they did not wish or feel equipped to discuss. (A sample questionnaire is included in Appendix E.) The students tended to feel that the best things about the English speaking countries were the Professional Opportunities and the Education System. They felt these were the least desirable aspects of South Asia. Conversely, they found something lacking in the General Culture and Family Life of the English speaking countries and tended to consider India as ideal in those respects. Loosely translated, the foregoing means that most South Asians would like to have an American job and an American education, but they have no particular desire to emulate American cultural and social ways. This is relevant to language learning in that the linguistic competence necessary to conduct business is considerably less demanding than that required of someone who expects to participate fully in the social and cultural life of a community which speaks that language. Most linguists would probably agree that no clear separation of a living language from the culture of its users is feasible. However, this would appear to be the ideal situation from the South Asian point of view. This may explain some of the difficulties encountered in trying to teach American English to speakers of South Asian English. They already consider themselves to be very well equipped with the brand of English most appropriate to the culture and society in which they have grown up and which they find more desirable than the cultures and societies of the fully English-speaking nations. Hence, to be required to change the pronunciation, prosody, and syntax common to South Asian English to that used by Americans would constitute a threat to the linguistic personality of the South Asian.

Because the above information indicates that the South Asian student might not be fully willing to become a part of American society and culture, it seemed reasonable to investigate two contingent possibilities: 1. If the South Asian refuses to participate in American culture and society will he find himself alone and friendless and be compelled to conform for the sake of companionship? 2. Are there essential aspects of his field of study which require a full appreciation of American English or areas of his work in which he will be hampered to any great degree by refusing to change to American English and/or participate in American culture and society?

To answer the first of the questions above, the investigator looked to the listing for Foreign Student Enrollment at Kansas State University for the Spring Semester of 1971 and discovered that of a total of 404 foreign students for the current semester, 107 are South Asians, of which 100 are Indians and 7 are Pakistanis. This seems to indicate rather clearly that the South Asian student who finds American culture and society unattractive will have no difficulty in finding other South Asians to socialize with. The actual case is that most of the South Asians at Kansas State University make friends with those Americans and people of other nationalities that they meet on campus, but they almost invariably share apartments with other South Asians. There they do their own cooking and entertain their close friends, who are usually other South Asians. South Asian movies are made available through the efforts of the India and Pakistani Associations, as are occasional cultural and religious programs.

4.5 Majors of South Asian Students at Kansas State University, Spring 1971.

With regard to the second question as to the need for the South Asian to use American English in his studies and/or work, about half of the Indian students currently enrolled at Kansas State University are majoring in some

sort of engineering. Certainly they will need to be familiar with the American English used in technical engineering texts. For seminar classes and the presentation of oral examinations, they will need to be able to use spoken English. However, they may find that some of their classmates and professors are not native speakers of English either and that a certain modicum of tolerance of non-native phonology and prosody has already been established. American English may still be an important factor in interpersonal communication with American professors and classmates, but it is probably not of central importance to the student's learning of engineering. Most of the other majors listed by South Asian students are also technical fields where an appreciation of this particular culture may be secondary to an understanding of the workings of machines, plants, animals, chemicals, and numbers. While an understanding of this culture is probably of considerable value in knowing what things that are done in a particular field in the U.S.A. cannot be done the same way in South Asia, its relevance to the actual content areas of any of the students except the one majoring in History is probably somewhat limited. There are other important considerations, however, which argue in favor of GAE-SAS. American students are beginning to make known their unhappiness at being expected to attend lectures in their content courses given by teaching assistants or professors whose command of American English impairs the student's understanding. If there were some easy way of knowing precisely who may someday become a teaching assistant or stay in the U.S.A. and end up being a professor here, special help could be provided to such individuals before they begin teaching and discover that the students "don't like" them. However, in the meantime, help must continue to be offered to anyone who would need it if he were to use American English to teach Americans. Perhaps this seems an artificially high standard, but unless the U.S.A. should cease to accept any immigrants, it is the only standard which

is fair to both the graduate foreign student and the Americans who might eventually be his students. To settle for a lower standard will result in unhappiness for all concerned. In a tightening job-market an inadequate command of American English may make the graduate foreign student even more unemployable as American students become more and more demanding. The preceding arguments apply with equal validity in any field or academic major. The requirements for adequate teaching in any discipline include the ability to communicate unambiguously in a language understood by the students; in Kansas that means General American English.

Furthermore, the tightening job-market is not particularly convenient for the South Asian who already looks different and is probably unwilling to relinquish his cultural habits. It will be very much to his advantage to be able to sound like an American. It will be more to his advantage to be able to think like an American, in order to figure out what Americans expect of him. Some "survival tactics" could be imparted along with the training in GAE-SAS.

4.6 Examination Form Data, Spring, 1971.

South Asians who were enrolled in the Remedial Spoken English course during the current semester were graduate students, Indians, native speakers of major Indian languages, and most were students of some sort of engineering, plant or animal science, or biological or chemical science. They were likely to have scored well in Promptness and Appropriateness on the Proficiency/Placement Examination. They probably scored below the norm in Fluency and Grammar, and most of them did very poorly in pronunciation. Their counterparts who passed the exam and were not required to take the course did well or poorly in the same respective areas, but did better in the "good" areas and not so poorly in the "bad" ones. (See Fig. 2) After two months, those

taking the course improved measurably in all areas especially in appropriateness and grammar. They still had not reached the initial level demonstrated by those who were not required to enroll in the course, but they were very close to reaching the passing norm on the examination.

This improvement continued and all reached and passed norms by the end of the course. Records on individuals who evaded the course after being required to enroll indicate that they usually did not pass a subsequent examination. Therefore, it appears that the sort of help which has been offered by the course offered in the current semester is adequate.

**THIS BOOK
CONTAINS
NUMEROUS PAGES
WITH DIAGRAMS
THAT ARE CROOKED
COMPARED TO THE
REST OF THE
INFORMATION ON
THE PAGE.**

**THIS IS AS
RECEIVED FROM
CUSTOMER.**

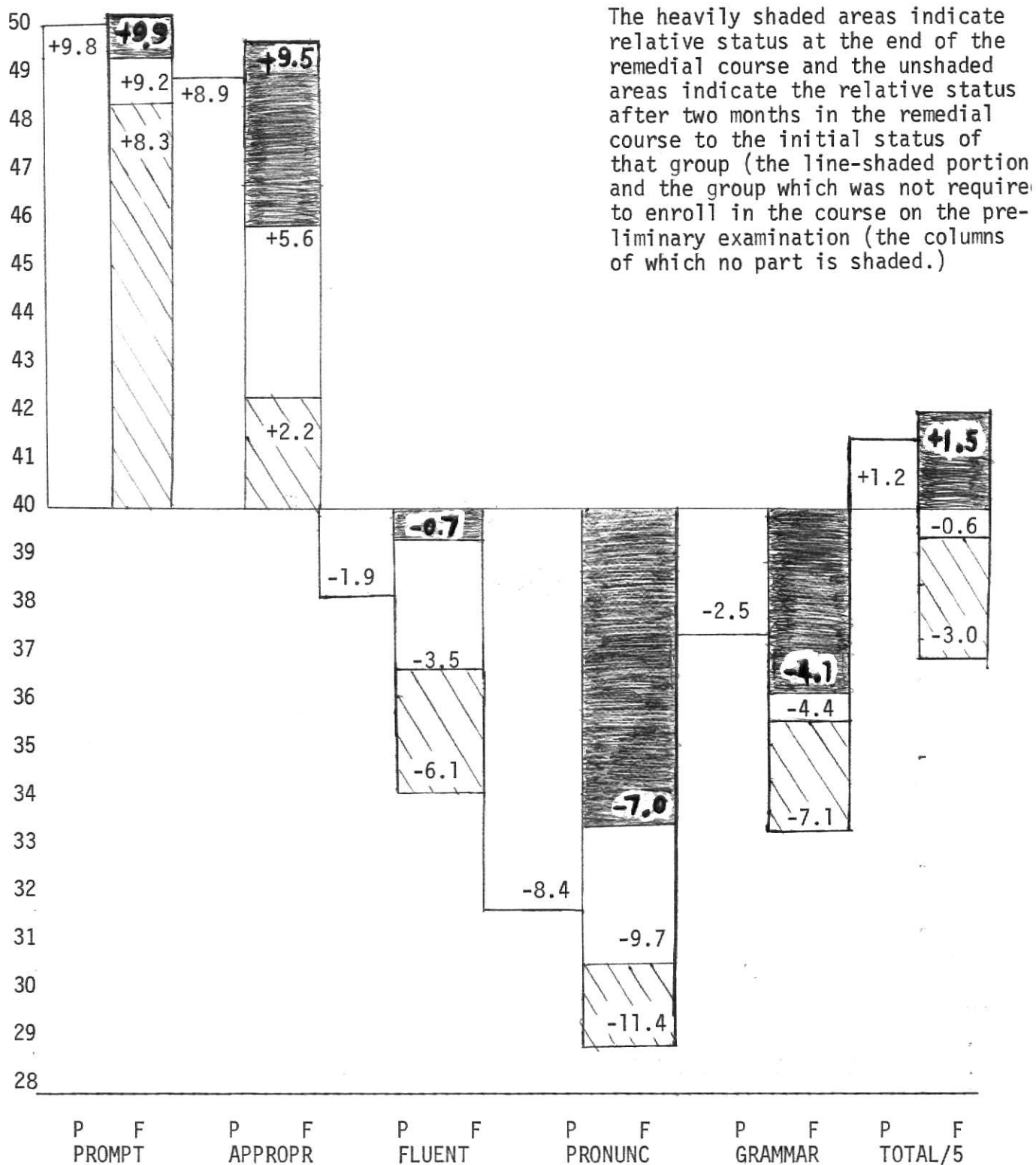


Figure 2 Examination scores, Initial Test, Midterm, and Final. Spring, 1971.

5. Methodology and Materials: Experiments, Results, Conclusions

5.1 Class Composition and Allocation of Class Time.

Through an extension of unwritten precedents, a slightly different approach to the problems experienced by South Asians in adapting themselves to American English as spoken in the Midwest was attempted during the current semester. The major difference was in the composition of the laboratory sections.

First, Indian students were excused en masse from a three-hour a week lecture/recitation dealing primarily with grammar and acculturation topics. However, they were required to attend the usual five hours per week of laboratory classes. This practice had been a "special cases" concession in the past. It was made general to determine whether such generalized special treatment might not alleviate the effects listed in Section 1.3 and thereby increase willingness to learn. It was hoped this would speed up what was overtly treated as "second-dialect" learning and increase the effectiveness of that learning.

Second, an attempt was made to divide the classes into three major groups, putting most of the speakers of Chinese (Mandarin and Formosan), Thai, Korean, and Japanese in one laboratory; most speakers of Farsi, Arabic, German, Spanish, Russian, and Portuguese in a second laboratory; and most speakers of Indian languages in a third laboratory. The rationale for this was that since scheduling an all-Indian laboratory was not possible a division based on similar phological problems was the best compromise.

5.2 Orientation and Acculturation.

Since the information on orientation and acculturation had normally been dealt with in the lecture/recitation from which all the Indian students been excused, this posed something of a problem. For the most part this

information was used to provide breaks in the drilling in the laboratory or as opening remarks when the point had to do with the holiday at hand, Kansas weather, or current events. Certain brief comments pointing out the political, social and professional advantages of learning to use American English and American customs with Americans were also interspersed between the drills. This was judged to be a satisfactory arrangement so long as the non-Indian students who attended the lecture/recitation did not hear the same acculturation information repeated in the laboratory.

5.3 Drills: Structured, Minimally-Structured, Guided Conversations.

The basis of the course was a set of multi-purpose pattern practice drills. Although these drills are very effective, they can be stultifying if improperly used. There have been cases in the past in which the students developed considerable skill with the drills which they were incapable of transferring to their conversation in English. To provide inexperienced teachers with more options and to provide specific treatment of phonology and prosody, two sets of drills were added to the teaching materials. (The authors of the drill books for phonology and prosody were Harlee and Croft, respectively.)

Specialized drills, demonstrations, and audio-visual aids relating to the the proper production of the $[p^h, t^h, k^h]$ allophones and of /θ, ð, b, d, g, f, v, w, s, z/ in appropriately contrasting situations were used extensively during the first three weeks of the semester in conjunction with presentation, demonstration, and practice of the phoneme inventory of English as a whole.

In addition to these structured drills, as the semester progressed a number of minimally-structured drills were employed. Most of these drills took the form of linguistic "games". In the "Once Upon A Time" storytelling game, each person in the class adds one sentence to the story that is being "told" as it goes from one class member to another. This drill is used primarily to practice the use of past tense, sequential and cause-and-effect

ordering, and general fluency and ability to think in English. A second game deals with an interview situation in which the teacher plays the role of an unidentified creature from another land whom the students are required to interview using Wh- questions. This is helpful in dealing with the South Asian tendency to fail to invert the order of the auxiliary verb and the subject in such questions, resulting in such utterances as "What I must do to pass this course?" A third game requires the student to guess the object intended by the winner of a previous round in "I See Something (Yellow)" by using Yes-No. questions. This serves to practice the use of "Is it near me?" rather than the usual South Asian response of "It is near me?" (The credit for some of these ideas should go to Isobel Rainey de Días who introduced the author to various forms of the first and third games mentioned above.) These games were intended as the intermediate step between the structured drills and guided ~~of~~ free conversations. Little class time was spent on the latter step, as it was judged to be an inefficient use of class time where free conversation practice in American English was readily available to any student who sought it. All the forms of practice used appear to have been valuable in their own right and a rather fluid and flexible use of them during the class appears to have been effective in maintaining a high level of attention and interest.

5.4 Reinforcement Techniques: Written Drills, Newspaper Reading.

Occasionally, to drive home certain points of syntax, such as the syntax of Wh- and Yes-No questions, oral-aural drills were used as written drills after having been used orally first. Also, in an attempt to reinforce the work initiated by the use of the intonation and stress drills, selections from the university newspaper were used for modified choral reading in which the teacher read a sentence, providing a model for the students to repeat while looking at the printed version in their own copies of the newspaper. This also had as its goal a better appreciation of the correspondences of the written letter,

word, clause, sentence, and paragraph to the spoken phonological sequence and prosodic melody. These appear to be useful supplementary techniques and in a program that considers all aspects of language learning to be interrelated, they are a beginning toward integrating all four language skills (understanding, speaking, reading, and writing) so that the learning of each reinforces the learning of all the others.

5.5 Explanations: Grammar, Phonology, Prosody.

Former students had suggested that more explanations be given to the students as to why they were repeating the drills and how the prescribed laboratory work would be helpful. Therefore, one laboratory period was spent explaining the linguistic reasons for the difficulty encountered by most Americans in understanding South Asian English, with illustrations taken from the phonologies of Indian languages spoken by the students present. The contrastive situations involved in going from those languages to South Asian English to American English were highlighted. The importance of proper intonation patterns to promote the listener's ability to distinguish utterance-final from internal-pause-and-continuation was explained and illustrated. The confusion introduced by the substitution of unaspirated stops for aspirated stops and the substitution of aspirated stops for interdental fricatives was explained. This was done in an attempt to convince the students of the importance of drill on these points and to increase course and teacher-credibility. This straight-forward semi-technical demonstration of the importance of proper intonation and phonology appeared to increase the faith of the students in both the course and the teacher. They seemed to appreciate the compliment of being given a reasonably sophisticated rationale for their being in the course. Unfortunately, no really successful means was discovered of getting the students to realize that their overuse

of the progressive in inappropriate situations and their refusal to use the appropriate syntax for questions are not figments of the American imagination. They apparently remained convinced that they knew "more and better" grammar than any American could ever hope to know.

5.6 Justifications: Course Content, Structure, Methodology.

This flexible blend of cultural and social information with grammar, phonology, and prosody drill seemed appropriate to the needs of the students and fairly appropriate to the abilities of probable teachers of such a class. The same basic materials were appropriate to all the students enrolled in the course. However, the teachers found the language-grouped division of the laboratory sections used in the current semester to be a considerable advantage. The teachers also found that a variety of methodologies was more productive than an inflexible programming of the materials.

6. Afterword: Persistent Problems

6.1 Phonology.

The most common problems encountered in GAE-SAS which have to do with phonology involve the substitution of [p,t,k] for [ph,th,kh] ; of [t̥h, d̥h] or [t̥h, dh] for /θ, ð/; of /t̥,d̥/ for /t,d/; of /v/ for /w,hw/ initially and the converse medially.

6.2 Prosody.

South Asian English tends to slow up where American English would speed up; get louder where American is softer; use clipping where American would use jamming; use stress only as a contrastive lexicon signal; rise in pitch when American would fall; and be generally spoken in a "higher" voice.

6.3 Grammar.

South Asian English permits the following items which would not be permissible in American English:

It is near you? for Is it near you?

It belongs to John? for Does it belong to John?

Why I must do that? for Why must I do that?

When I should come? for When should I come?

The earrings of Rita...for Rita's earrings...

I am putting on...for I'm wearing...

He is elder to me. for He is older than me.

I am speaking English in my country. for I speak English in my country.

6.4 Society, Culture, and the Individual Student.

Most South Asians are not eager to emulate Americans nor to be a full part of American society. They consider their own culture to be superior and look up to Americans for their technical and educational achievements and material wealth. This situation causes them to defend their dialect of English and to be unwilling to change their way of speaking. Although they appreciate the material benefits of American society and would like to have such benefits, they do not particularly respect the "spiritual" aspects of the American culture. All these factors combine to make second-dialect role-playing difficult for them.

The change in status that English appears to be undergoing in India indicates a strong possibility that the linguistic problems for Indian students coming to this University in the future may tend more toward second-language learning than dialect-switching. Even so, it seems unlikely that the Indian student's attitude toward whatever brand of English he speaks will change. For administrative and pedagogical purposes, much happier results may be obtained if it is feasible to accord Indian and Pakistani students a special status as second-dialect role-players.

A P P E N D I X A:

Oral-Aural Test Cut Sheet (Sample)

A P P E N D I X B:

Language Background Questionnaire

(sample)

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the teachers and administrators of the English for International Students Program with more information about the language background of Kansas State University's Indian and Pakistani students, so that we may have a better understanding of their difficulties in adapting themselves to the type of English spoken by most other students and faculty members on this campus.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated, on a personal basis by this investigator and may help us to help future newcomers from India and Pakistan in more appropriate ways.

- I. What languages do you speak? (Please list in order of fluency and indicate to what extent and in what areas you know these languages. Indicate:
Areas: 1. Understand 2. Speak 3. Read 4. Write. Extent of Fluency:
a. Excellent B. Very good, but not native C. Sufficient for most everyday needs D. Limited to certain subjects or situations.

Example: Hindi 1.A. 2.A. 3.A 4.B
English 1.B. 2.B. 3.A. 4.A.
etc.

- II. What language(s) do your mother and father (or whoever you lived with as a child) speak? (Please provide the information in the manner indicated above to the extent you can remember.)

A. Mother or female guardian

B. Father or male guardian

- III. What language(s) did you speak with your

A. Mother

B. Father

C. Friends from

1. Primary school

2. Junior school

3. Matriculation

4. University or Professional school
(please indicate which)

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE (cont.)

5. Friends from outside your
own school

D. Other relatives

E. People in shops and markets

IV. What is the first language you heard and learned as a child?

V. At what age did you begin a formal study of English?

VI. What language served as the medium of instruction in all but foreign language courses in your

A. Primary school

B. Junior school

C. Matriculation

D. University or
Professional school

VIII. Please give the following information about the schools you listed above in Part VI.

NAME	LOCATION	NATURE (government/ non-government/religious/national/foreign)
A.		
B.		
C.		
D.		

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

A P P E N D I X C :

English Dialect Questionnaire

(sample)

and

A P P E N D I X D :

Indian Language Questionnaire

(sample)

and

A P P E N D I X E :

Culture/Family/Profession/Education
Attitudes Questionnaire

(sample)

F. English Dialect Questionnaire (Eleven-Point)

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

UNDERSTAND

American
Australian
British
Canadian
South Asian

SPEAK

American
Australian
British
Canadian
South Asian

READ

American
Australian
British
Canadian
South Asian

WRITE

American
Australian
British
Canadian
South Asian

G: Indian Language Questionnaire (Eleven-Point)

UNDERSTAND

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 NA

SPEAK

READ

WRITE

1 = minimum of ability; 11 = maximum of ability; na = not applicable.

H: Culture/Family/Profession/Education Attitudes Questionnaire

[illegible]

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ENGLISH FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDENTS AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY:
SECOND DIALECT OR SECOND LANGUAGE?

by

RITA MAXINE DEYOE

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ENGLISH FOR SOUTH ASIANS AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY:
SECOND DIALECT OR SECOND LANGUAGE?

There are differences between General American English and South Asian English* which limit mutual intelligibility. The most common phonological problems are the substitution of [p,t,k] for [ph,th,kh], of [t,d] for /t,d/, of [th,dh] for [θ,ð], and of /v/ for /w,hw/ initially and the converse medially. South Asian English tends to slow up where General American would speed up, get louder where American is softer, rise in pitch when American would fall, use stress only as a contrastive lexicon signal, practice clipping rather than jamming, and be spoken in a "higher" voice. South Asian English permits certain grammatical constructions not permissible in American English. It does not require inversion of the subject and the auxiliary verb in questions. The genitive is expressed with "of X" rather than "X's" and "to" replaces "than" in South Asian English comparatives. The reflexive pronoun is used where American English considers it unnecessary (e.g. "to communicate myself with Americans"). The progressive is used to express habitual actions in situations where Americans use the "simple" tenses (e.g. "I was owning a car." "I am speaking English in India also.")

English has traditionally been one of the binding forces of India but recent developments have given more attention to regional Indian languages. The quality and quantity of English teaching has declined accordingly. Since Indians use English more to communicate with each other than to communicate with other English-speakers, English is being "nationalized" and the

*The research was conducted with information from Indian sources but may be generalized appropriately to South Asian speakers of English.

variations common to South Asian English are being taught as standard. After a minimum of four to five years of university classes in an English medium, these patterns become a habit. Because fluency in English has been a traditional mark of an educated man in South Asia, a South Asian student cannot be expected to concede that he "does not know English."

The South Asian student at Kansas State University needs to speak General American English with his American professors and classmates if he wants to be understood. However, requiring him to take a remedial course with other international students who may never have spoken English outside of English class before coming to the United States is not the most effective means for accomplishing that goal. Recent studies by various linguists indicate that language learning requires willingness to learn the language being taught. Attitudinal studies at this university show that the South Asian is not interested in learning English; he contends he already knows English. He is more receptive to learning General American English as a Second Dialect.

During the current semester materials and methodology appropriate to the problems cited were used in a special laboratory class for South Asians at Kansas State University. The materials did not differ greatly from those used in other laboratories in spoken English for international students. However, particular emphasis was placed on the linguistic differences between American English and South Asian English, and the students were told that they were learning General American English as a Second Dialect. A midterm examination indicated that all the students had improved measurably and most had almost reached the level of performance required for passing the course. By the end of the semester all were able to achieve norms and were cleared.