CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
1.1 **English Education in India**

The roots of English education in India are very old and can be traced as early as 1765, when the East India Company became a political power. The spread of English was accelerated by the declaration of Macaulay's famous Minutes in 1835 and the establishment of the first three universities on the model of University of London. But there is enough evidence which proves that the enlightened Indians in the early nineteenth century had evinced considerable enthusiasm to study English. Dutta (1950: 17-23) asserts this point of view, quoting extensively from many contemporary Bengali papers in support of his view.

In his Minutes Macaulay tried to show that need for English Education in India was even greater than that for Sanskrit or Arabic. Replying to the argument of the supporters of Oriental Learning that Indians could not attain sufficient knowledge of English, Macaulay (cf. Verghese, 1971: 3) observed:

*This is not merely an assumption, but the assumption contrary to all reason and experience. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by the native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligent member of the committee of public instruction.*
Macaulay's recommendations were approved by Lord Bentinck and in 1835 it was decided to promote European literature and science among Indians and to spend all funds appropriated to education on English education alone.

Macaulay's role has been variously interpreted. He has been condemned as an enemy of India by some and praised as a great benefactor of India by others. There were also different attitudes towards the learning of English in India — of enthusiasm, apathy and hostility. English in the past was the 'official language' in India. It had an important place in the school and college curricula as well as in daily life. Besides, it was an easy means to get a good job and to enter the sophisticated society.

After independence in August 1947, however, the need was felt for a common linguistic medium for India. On 25 January 1950, the Constituent Assembly of India resolved under Article 343 of the Indian Constitution that the 'official language' of India shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. But as Hindi was incapable of serving as a national medium for communication as a link language, it was decided that English would continue as the 'associate language' for 15 years and that this period could be extended by the President of India.

In a speech delivered in the Lok Sabha on 7 August 1957, replying to the resolution of Frank Anthony, asking for the inclusion of English in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution,
the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

As I just said, there must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period — I do not know how long — I should have English as an associate, additional language which can be used, not because of facilities — all that, but because I do not wish the people of non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advancement are closed to them, because they are forced to correspond — the Government, I mean — in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English as long as people require and the decision for that, I would leave not to the Hindi knowing people, but to non-Hindi knowing people. (cf. The First Study Group Report, 1967:262).

The Official Language Bill 1963 reads as follows:

Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the constitution, the English language may as from the appointed day continue to be used, in addition to Hindi — (a) for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and (b) for the transaction of business in parliament. (cf. The First Study Group Report, 1967:262).

Once English was adopted as the language of administration, there was no alternative left but to impart teaching of English. The government was obliged to ensure the progress of English in India. The spread of English has enabled educated people to exchange their ideas freely at various conferences. It has also helped a lot to unite different linguistic regions of India. The knowledge of English has made the educated Indians aware of the strong currents of world culture and has enabled them to develop a comprehensive outlook. It has enabled educated Indians to have an access to latest advancements in science and technology as well as modern world literature produced in English. As a result, all
this brought about a great awakening in Indian people. Verghese (1971 : 14) comments: "The English education was not merely a catalyst but mainly instrumental in bringing about this renaissance".

Indians' learning of English has had a great impact in the field of literature also. A new generation of authors who were Indian by origin and who picked up Indian themes for their writing but chose the English medium, emerged on the scene. The continued use of English in India can be attributed to its occupational speciality and functional superiority. Raja Rao, a well known Indian novelist in English, writes in the preface to his Kanthapura: "We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English"; "English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up-like Sanskrit or Persian was before—but not of our emotional make-up".

Despite close associations of Indians with English for the past 150 years, the state of English in India is, on the whole, rather deplorable. During the last two decades the standards of English in India have deteriorated precipitously. The English Review Committee (1965 : 10) observed in its report:

For weeks, even months, the student does not understand what his teachers say; he is unable to take notes; he cannot even take down correctly what is dictated; he cannot express himself correctly; in fact, what he writes makes no sense... (His) self-confidence is shattered and he develops an inferiority complex.
The First Study Group Report (1967 : 8) states that "the standards of English in India are deteriorating very fast in our schools and colleges" and that "there are hardly any pupils in our regional medium schools who can write a correct sentence in English". The findings of the Education Commission (1966) and the Second Study Group (1970) are also the same. V.K. Gokak shows deep concern about this situation and opines that even students specializing in English language and literature are unable to express the simplest ideas in correct, idiomatic English. He writes: The new phase of English is slipping fast between our fingers. Unless we act promptly, realise the need for and the significance of English and revise our aims in teaching it in the new setting, our national growth itself may be retarded by a strange effort which seeks to feel a mild appetite by killing it with surfeit. (Gokak, 1964:9).

One may ask: if Hindi is likely to take paramount position in India, why we should, despite so many odds, teach English at all. The following reasons will explain our keenness to learn English:

(i) English will continue to be the language of all important trade and industry in India for many years to come.

(ii) A knowledge of English is imperative for getting an adequate access to modern scientific and technological knowledge.

(iii) So long as creative thought in every department of knowledge is not as easily accessible in this country in Indian languages as in the Western world, it would be rash to cut ourselves off from a language which keeps us in continuous contact with the latest thoughts in every field of knowledge and culture.
(iv) A knowledge of English is necessary today—if only for discarding English at a later stage.

(v) There is the need to interpret India's thought and culture abroad, and it can only be done through English. (Gokak, 1964:57-58).

Now to the question: Why have the standards of English gone down in India? Prator (1968: 463) is of the opinion that English in India is 'mastered by a small minority of the population', most of whom have an 'imperfect command of only a limited portion of the language'. Their English, according to him, is characterized by 'bookish associations and connotations' and operates in a 'narrowly restricted range of situations', fulfilling only limited needs of communication. "The more intimate and meaningful parts of life", he says, "are lived in a different and congenial tongue". English is our second language, and one's mother-tongue habits are likely to stand in one's way. The paucity of resources, the scarcity of efficient and trained teachers in our schools, and students' own lack of interest are responsible for this decline. Verma (1962: 275) rightly points that in the past "the pupils in an English class were a different material both academically and psychologically from what they are today". He further explains that the 'handicap' which the teacher of English has to face today is that English in practically all the secondary schools in India is now being given less time and attention. This is largely true of our colleges and universities also.

The situation has worsened today from what it was twenty years ago. The state of affairs in Hindi speaking states like
Madhya Pradesh is all the more pathetic. In Madhya Pradesh, English is taught up to the middle schools at two levels:

In the English medium schools, which are few and far between it is introduced in K.G. or class I and is also the medium of instruction.

In Hindi-medium schools, which constitute the majority, it is introduced in class VI and is now taught as a compulsory subject.

At the higher secondary level it is taught at two levels:

Special English (first language) and General English (second language), but it is treated as an optional subject.

English as a second language in Madhya Pradesh is given only 6.25% of the total marks. English as a first language is given 18.75% marks. (cf. ELT Quarterly Letter, July-October 1983 : 11-12).

Of the chief reasons for the rapid decline in the standard of English in Madhya Pradesh, the ones that are most crucial but have not been paid adequate attention are: the lack of positive attitudes towards English and the absence of adequate motivation, and language shocks. As Nida (1971 : 65) points out, one of the important factors responsible for the decline in language ability is the "fear of not being really successful in language mastery".
1.2 The Social Psychology of L₂ Learning

Halliday (1970) mentions three functions of language — ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The social or interpersonal nature of language guarantees that it is permeated by personal and socio-cultural attitudes, values and emotions. These different affects will undoubtedly determine what we chose to learn and how we learn it. Roberts (1982: 105) is essentially correct when he maintains that "the affective aspects of language are as important as the cognitive aspects and that "the answers to language-learning problems are more likely to come from psychology than from linguistics".

Carroll (1962) has given a learning model, according to which success in a task like language learning depends on five factors:

(i) instructional factors —
  presentation of material (text, teacher, etc.)
  time allowed for learning.

(ii) student factors —
  general intelligence (ability to follow instructions)
  motivation (degree of perseverance)

Jakobovits (1970: 104) also gives a three-way interaction model of second language learning, which is diagrammatically represented in Fig. 1.
FIG. 1 LANGUAGE LEARNING INTERACTION MODEL

LEARNER FACTORS

--

INSTRUCTIONAL FACTORS

1. QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION
2. OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN
3. TRANSFER EFFECTS
4. CRITERION EVALUATION

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

1. LANGUAGE LOYALTY
2. LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION
3. BICULTURALISM
4. CONSEQUENCES

(1) ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND INSTRUCTIONS
(2) APTITUDE
(3) PERSEVERANCE / MOTIVATION
(4) LEARNING STRATEGIES
(5) CONSEQUENCES
The learner's attitudes and motivation are of prime importance in second language learning. Carroll (cf. Jakobovits, 1970: 231) defines motivation in terms of degree of perseverance — as the time the learner is willing to spend in learning. It must be noted, however, that at times the learner may be 'willing' but he may be 'unable' to learn due to 'distraction, frustration, etc.' Jakobovits (1970: 105) would consider the following factors under motivation or perseverance:

1. Need achievement
2. Attitude toward teacher
3. Interest in L₂ study
4. Attitudes toward foreign culture
5. Ethnocentrism
6. Anomie and its resolution.

Modern approach to language learning is learner-centred. But not much work has been done in the field of adult second language learning. Carroll (1956; 1958) emphasizes the importance of aptitude in language learning (cf. Gardner and Lambert, 1972:2). Aptitude refers to the learning time under best conditions; the shorter the learning time, the higher the aptitude. The superiority of the high aptitude individuals over persons with average aptitude according to Carroll, is considerable in the sphere of second language learning. People with low aptitude, he holds, are unable to attain any significant level of proficiency under the time requirements of a language programme.
In second language learning, however, attitudes and motivation are in no way less important than aptitude. This fact has been variously emphasized by the social psychology of bilingualism. It were Gardner and Lambert, who, after twelve years of research at the McGill University and the University of Western Ontario, advanced a socio-psychological theory of second language learning. According to this approach,

The successful learner of a second language must be psychologically prepared to adopt various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. The learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the member of the other group are believed to determine how successful he will be, relatively, in learning the new language. His motivation to learn is thought to be determined by his attitudes toward the other group in particular and by his orientation toward the learning task itself. (Gardner and Lambert, 1972: 3).

Gardner and Lambert (1959) and Gardner (1960) have variously drawn our attention towards the crucial role played by attitudes and motivation in second language learning. Spolsky (1969) has also affirmed the significance of attitudes in the degree of proficiency one achieves in second language learning. A positive relationship seems to exist between the learner's favourable attitudes towards the target language and its speakers and success in learning it. Gardner and Lambert (1972), and Jackobovits (1970) have pointed out direct correlations between the learner's attitudes, motivation and achievement. Valette (1971: 72-73) remarks:
There is nothing quite heady as success: Once entire classes realize they are actually mastering a second language rather than being slowly engulfed by the rising tide of incomprenhension, motivation will increase, attitudes will improve, and students will finally be learning a new language rather than just 'studying it'.

Jackobovits (1970 : 89) shows how an individual's attitudes towards the native and target cultures influence his bilingual proficiency. The interrelationship between the two is represented in Fig. 2. Lambert and his colleagues have clearly demonstrated that as a learner becomes proficient in a second language, his attitudes change towards his own culture as well as towards the culture of the target language, and that these psychological changes may influence his own progress. Politzer's (1953; 1954) researches have revealed that a student's negative attitudes are strengthened if he is forced to learn a language.

The learner's orientation can be instrumental or integrative. It is instrumental when the study of a language reflects the 'utilitarian value of linguistic achievement' and it is integrative when the purpose of the study is to know 'more about the other cultural community' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972 : 3). Jackobovits (1970 : 98) has given the variance contribution of various factors involved in second language learning in terms of percentage. Table 1 gives the scores for student variables.
FIG. 2 ATTITUDES AND BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY
TABLE 1
Variance Contribution in L₂ Learning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Variance %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aptitude</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation (or Perseverance)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the variance contributions in respect of student variables indicate, motivation or perseverance carries the maximum weight in second language learning. Pimsleur, Sundland, and McIntyre (1964) have also shown how multiple correlations between grade-point average and aptitude can account for up to 52% of variance. Besides, these learner factors i.e. aptitude, intelligence and perseverance are 'sufficiently adaptable' (Jackobovits, 1970 : 98). Carroll reports that the student's likes or dislikes for foreign language study are not related to achievement. As long as he is cooperative and actively engaged in learning a language, he says, motivational differences will not make much of a difference in his achievement; motivation is related to achievement "only when it affects how well students will persevere in active learning efforts in a situation in which they are relatively free to lag in
Lambert and his associates would not endorse Carroll's views.
They maintain that there are two independent factors which deter-
mine the development of skill in second language learning:
"an intellectual capacity and an appropriate attitudinal orientation
toward the other language group coupled with a determined motivation
to learn the language". (Jackobovits, 1970 : 244).

Very little work has been done to evaluate the attitudes
and motivation of Indian learners of English as a second language.
So far as known to the present researcher, only Kanungo and Dutta
(1966) and Lukmani (1972; 1973) have treated these affective
variables in their papers. As English is going to be retained in
India for very valid and justified reasons, it is essential to
investigate in depth these factors and their role in learning of
English as a second language. The task is not an easy one as
Anisfeld and Lambert (1961) point out, "the attitude measures are
less stable and vary in their relationship to achievement...the
sociopsychological characteristics of the learner (cf. Gardner and
Lambert, 1972; 217).

Gardner and Lambert (1972 : 18), while highlighting the
significance of research studies on affective variables like
attitudes and motivation for second language learning have remarked
that researchers "may be tempted to replicate our findings in
different contexts or take the next research steps that are called
for". They have further maintained: "Not only should other
settings be studied in their own right, but these same settings should be revisited and reexamined with improved versions of the same instruments and measures, and with newer, more searching instruments". (Gardner and Lambert, 1972: 142). Our study is a humble attempt in this direction. The plan of the present study may be briefly outlined. The First Chapter gives the necessary background for such a study and underscores the need for such a research. The methodology of research has been given in Chapter Two. The Third and the Fourth Chapters contain in depth studies of attitudinal and motivational variables and their role in the Indian setting. The interrelations between them have been considered in the Fifth Chapter. The Sixth Chapter sums up the findings of this research and discusses in brief their application to the teaching of English as a second language in India.