CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. PLACE OF LANGUAGE IN THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD.

The Child is an eternal interest. The great science of psychology has its roots in the child; the happiness of the home is bound up with the understanding of the child; social service reaches out primarily to the child, and, the life and soul of a nation depend on the development spiritually, morally and physically of the child.

The human mind after all is a mystery, and in large part, will probably always remain so. It takes even the most thoughtful, honest and introspective person many years to learn even a small part of what goes on in his mind. How, then, can we be sure about what goes on in the mind of another?

Yet, many people talk as though another person's mind can be measured and the contents listed as easily, accurately and fully as the contents of a suitcase. This is not to say that one ought not to try to understand more about other people's minds and thoughts, but only that one must be very modest and tentative about what one thinks he has found out.

From the moment of his birth, the human infant hears language all around him. It is not in the form of monologues. It can be said with very little qualification that the
language a child attends to and learns from is the speech of significant persons in his world, addressed to each other and to him, in spontaneous but highly patterned social interaction. This interaction is both verbal and non-verbal. As the child attends to this social interaction and gradually participates in it he learns what Hymes (1971) calls "Communication Competence." ¹

When children are well rested and happy they are usually fascinated by adult talk. They usually look intently at the speaker as they speak, watch and listen. They usually seem to be learning not just as people talk, but they talk to each other, and respond to each others’ talk with smiles and laughter and more talk; in short that talk is not just a kind of noise, but messages and communication. If one looks closely, it can easily be observed that babies and young children like to hear adult conversation, and will very often sit quietly for reasonably long spells just to hear it. If the thoughtful adult wants to help children as they learn to talk, one way to do it is by talking to them - provided it is done naturally and unaffectedly. When circumstances are favourable it is sometimes a wise thing to let them be around when we talk to other people. A mother who talks to her baby in a lively and natural way, as though talking to someone of her own age often ends up by accomplishing-

ing more in the way of teaching and encouraging the child to talk than a mother who speaks very little to the child assuming that the child is not "ready".

Children often start their talk by nonsense - words spoken to themselves. A child saying "Beng-goo" perhaps means "thank you". More probably he hits on this sound by accident and says it over and over perhaps because he liked the way it sounded and felt in his mouth.

As John Holt\(^2\) says in his book "How Children Learn", a one-year old likes to say "Leedle-leedle-leedle-leedle", it may be the child's favourite sound, and may be said all the time. In fact it may be about all the child said. We often wonder if the child was imitating a sound that someone made to the child. Most often it is not so; the child learns to stick his tongue out and bring it back in quickly, and likes the feel of it. Babies are all fond of tongue waggling games like this. At times they are amazed and delighted to hear what the movement of the tongue did to that sound. After much practice the child finds that the sound can be made without having to put the tongue outside the mouth. It feels good, and it sounds good. So the child keeps it up for a month or so, before moving on to something else.

How a sound feels seems to be as important as the sound itself. Anyone who has watched a baby closely knows how pleased he is when he first discovers how to make an unusual sound.

Why does a baby begin to make sounds in the first place? It does not seem to be instinctive like crying. A puppy reared apart from other dogs will know how to bark when he gets old enough. But children who grow up without human contact are believed to grow up almost wholly mute. Babies in understaffed foundling hospitals who see very little of other people, are said, except for crying to be almost silent. Apparently, it is from hearing other people speak around them that babies get the idea of "speaking". One often wonders if when they make their first sounds, they are imitating what they hear around them or inventing from scratch. A tentative guess would be that they mostly invent and then start to imitate.

The whole thing is actually a remarkable business. Adults are so used to talking that they forget that it takes a very subtle and complicated coordination of lips, tongue, teeth, palate, jaws, cheeks, voice and breath. Simply as a muscular skill it is by far the most complicated and difficult that most of us ever learn. Most of us realize how difficult speech is, only when we first try to make the sounds of a language very different from our own. Suddenly
we find that our mouths and tongues won't do what we want. Yet every child learns to make the sounds of his own language. If he lives where more than one language is spoken he makes the sounds of them all. How he does it, in spite of the fact that his coordination is poor to start with, and how he manages to do what many adults find so difficult is something that one cannot readily declare.

The answer seems to be by patient and persistent experiment; by trying many thousands of times to make sounds, syllables and words; by comparing his own sounds to the sounds made by people around him; and by gradually bringing his own sounds closer to the others; above all, by being willing to do things wrong even while trying his best to do them right.

If we tried to teach children to speak they would never learn. If we tried to do this, we would go about analyzing speech and breaking it down into a number of "speech skills". In order not to "confuse" the child we would not let him hear much ordinary speech, but would only expose him to the sounds we were trying to teach. We would also establish along with our sound list, a syllable list and a word list.

When the child had learned to make all the sounds on the sound list, we would begin to teach him to combine the sounds into syllables. When he could say all the syllables
on the syllable list, we would begin to teach him the words on our word list. At the same time we would teach him the rules of grammar, by means of which he could combine these newly learned words into sentences. Everything would be planned, with nothing left to chance; there would be plenty of drill, review, and tests, to make sure that he had not forgotten anything.

With this kind of teaching the result would quite simply be that most children before they got very far would become baffled, discouraged, humiliated and fearful, and would quit trying to do what we asked them. They would perhaps take refuge in deliberate failure and silence.

It is a platitude that no one is born talking, and it seems self-evident that a period of learning is a pre-condition of fluency, whatever maturational process may also be involved. No child talks without having been exposed to the utterances of fluent speakers, and the language and dialect to which he is exposed.3

"The beginning of speech is the most momentous event in the history of the child. Its understanding is a key to the whole storehouse of knowledge, and upon its use all human fellowship depends. As the means of social intercourse, the repository of learning, and the general instrument of

intelligence, the invention of language constitutes the greatest single achievement of human evolution.” (Mc Dougall)

BIRTH CRY

The first utterance of the child, which is mentioned by nearly all writers is the BIRTH CRY, which receives all sorts of interpretations. When the infant is first born the first demonstrated behaviour is usually a loud wail or cry. It is the first sound made by the baby as an incidental accompaniment to the rapid expulsion of air from the lungs. According to Adler the birth cry is an expression of the newborn infant's feeling of inferiority when fated by reality. According to most psychologists and physiologists the birth cry is merely a reflex response to air entering the newborn's lungs, causing the vocal cords to vibrate. It is a mechanical procedure which enables the infant to secure his oxygen supply from a new source and is a concomitant to respiration.

BABBLING

The next step in the prelinguistic stages of the child is the BABBLING STAGE, which consists of a variety of sounds uttered at random in a sort of vocal play. O'Shea traces the prelinguistic stages which he says include the first eight months as follows: The early vocal expression is reflex, and for the first two weeks is an undifferentiated squall probably expressive of some sort of discomfort.

Between the second and fifth weeks, he reports, the primitive squall begins to be differentiated to denote special forms of discomfort, and from this point differentiation progresses rapidly so that soon all the child's vital experiences may be revealed in specialized ways. The infants' vocal register, he says, is at the outset limited to sounds indicated in a general way by "a" or "ua". He goes up and down the vowel register for some time before he can execute consonant sounds. The first of these to appear may be denoted generally by "m", "p" and "b". The labials are probably the first executed, then follow in order the guttarsals, dentals, and finally the nasals.

Major, as early as 1906, claimed that the "babbling process" or period has all the appearance of getting together a mass of raw material which is to be put into intelligible and significant forms later when the building proper begins.

Following this period of babbling and voice play most writers report a tendency to imitate the sounds made by other people. Creation without imitation in the development of child language is very rare. The child's first verbal imitations are concerned primarily with the motor processes to make words. In speaking of the 17th and 18th months


Pollock as early as 1878 says: "the vocabulary is now increasing fast, and almost any word proposed to the child is imitated with some real effort at correctness". 7

THE FIRST WORD

Simultaneously with, or following very closely upon this imitative stage we find reported the occurrence of the first word. This is the measure of the child's linguistic development that is probably most affected by the subjectivity of the parents' report. When the child first uses a sound with meaning is very difficult to determine. The first words reported are frequently what we would call baby words, that is, not real words of accepted language, but rather certain utterances which happened to occur simultaneously with certain situations or events, and which the fond parents interpreted as having meaning in the situation.

The first words are usually monosyllables, or if they are disyllables, they usually consist of reduplications, as "mamma", "dada", "papa", "babe" and the like.

THE SINGLE WORD SENTENCE

We can hardly say, however, that the young child does not express a complete thought until he first uses a sentence which is structurally complete. Certainly, he expresses his wishes, needs and attitudes in a most expressive gesture.

language long before any true language has appeared and this very affective gesture language persists throughout the period of the acquisition of speech and greatly facilitates the child's expression. Moreover, when we consider only the vocal expression, we must admit that the child expresses, by inflection at least, complete thoughts, long before the appearance of the first true sentences.

Wundt\(^8\) referring to the child's single-word sentence says, "Indeed, the sentence appears first as a single whole and is later broken up into its components." So we see that the same word "Mamma" may mean "mamma give me", "mamma come here", or "mamma look", according to the inflection with which it is uttered.

**SENTENCE FORMATION**

Following the acquisition of the first word and the rapid increase in the vocabulary, we find the child beginning to combine words. The first combination is usually the noun-verb combination and thereafter there is a rapid development of the sentence.

One of the earliest attempts to study sentence formation have been those by Nice and Smith.\(^9\) The various stages

---


of sentence formation as traced by Nice are as follows:

1. The Single-Word stage, from 4 to 9 months of eighteen English speaking Children.

2. The Early sentence stage: The first sentence appears between thirteen and twentyseven months for English speaking children, with an average at seventeen and one-half months.

3. The short sentence stage in which the child has not mastered inflections and is omitting many minor words.

4. The Complete sentence stage (sentences of six to eight words) which appears after four years. All normal children she says, show approximately the same length of sentence at this stage.

Sometime between eighteen and twenty-four months, most children begin to form simple two and three word sentences. Because our evidence is limited to what a child says, this is the earliest point at which we can study grammar. Before that time, roughly from the first birthday, children utter single words, but they produce none of the patterned speech from which a grammatical account is written.

Why do children regularly begin to speak between their eighteenth and twenty fourth month of life? Surely it is not because all mothers on earth initiate language training at that time. There is in fact no evidence whatever that any conscious and systematic teaching of language
takes place, just as there is no special training for stance or gait. Lennenberg finds it tempting to assume that a child begins to speak as soon as he has a "need" for it. However, there is no way of testing this assumption because of the subjectivity of the notion "need". We may ask the question, for instance, "Do the child's needs change at a year-and-a-half because his environment regularly changes at that time, or because he himself undergoes important and relevant changes? The needs that arise by eighteen months and cause language to develop are primarily due to maturational processes within the individual. Also, this is the time when the child's play-activities start; he begins to be socialized; it becomes necessary to give and take. He now is in serious need of a means of communication - and it is imperative that he makes use of speech.

The onset of speech consists of a gradual unfolding of capacities, it is a series of more or less well-circumscribed events that take place between the second and third year of life. Certain important speech milestones are reached in a fixed sequence and at a relatively constant chronological age. Just as impressive as the age constancy is the remarkable synchronization of speech milestones with motor development milestones, both of which are summarized in TABLE 1. (See Appendix) 11.

11. ibid.
The temporal interlocking of speech milestones and motor milestones is not a logical necessity. There are reasons to believe that the onset of language is not simply the consequence of motor control. The development of language is quite independent of articulatory skills, and the perfection of articulation cannot be predicted entirely on the basis of general motor development. There are certain indications for the existence of a peculiar, language-specific maturational schedule. Many children have a word or two before they toddle and thus must be assumed to possess a sufficient degree of motor skill to articulate, however primitively; yet the expansion of their vocabulary is still an extremely slow process. Similarly parents' inability to train their children at this stage to join the words DADDY and BYE BYE into a single utterance cannot be explained on the grounds of motor incompetence because at the same age children babble for periods as long as the duration of eight or ten syllables. The retarding factor for language acquisition here must be a psychological one or perhaps better a cognitive one, and not mechanical skill. Around age three manual skills show improved co-ordination over earlier periods, but dexterity is still very immature on an absolute scale. Speech, which requires infinitely precise and swift movements of tongue and lips, all well-coordinated with laryngeal and respiratory motor systems is all but fully developed when most other mechanical skills are far below.
their levels of future accomplishment.

The development of children with various abnormalities affords the most convincing demonstration that the onset of language is regulated by a maturational process, but that at the same time the language maturation process is independent of motor-skeletal maturation.

On the other hand there are some children with normal intelligence and normal skeletal and motor development whose speech development alone is markedly delayed. We are not referring here to children who never learn to speak adequately because of acquired or congenital abnormalities in the brain, but of those who are simply late speakers, who do not begin to speak in phrases until after age four, who have no neurological or psychiatric symptoms that can explain the delay, and whose environment appears to be adequate.

The evidence presented by Lennenberg rules out the possibility of a direct causal relationship between motor and speech development. Normally, growth and maturation proceed at characteristic rates for each developmental aspect. In the absence of specific retardations affecting skills or organs differentially, a picture of consistency evolves.

The use of the word "skill" brings out another interesting aspect of the emergence of speech. With proper train-

ing probably everybody could attain some proficiency in such
diverse skills as roller-skating, sketching or piano-playing.
However, there are also vast individual differences in
native endowment and considerable variation with respect to
the age at which training is most effective. Perfection can
rarely be expected before the teens. The establishment of
speech and language is quite different; a much larger number
of individuals shows equal aptitude, absence of the skill is
rare, and onset and fluency occur much earlier, with no par-
ticular training required.

Individual differences in time of onset and reaching
of various milestones exist, and need to be accounted for.
The rate of development is not constant during the formative
years, and there may be transient slowing in the rate of
maturation, with subsequent hastening. This is hardly sur-
prising in view of the complex interrelation of intrinsic
and extrinsic factors that affect development. Nevertheless
there is a remarkable degree of regularity in the emergence
of language.

It is obvious that a child cannot acquire language
unless he is exposed to it. Apart from this trivial point,
the role of the environment is not immediately clear. There
are two major problems: How are the infant's eventual capa-
bilities for language acquisition affected by environmental
variation during his prelanguage life, and what influence
does the environment have upon the age at which language capabilities appear? We are concerned here more with potentialities, not actually occurring behaviour. Subnormal speech habits may not be used as evidence for subnormal capacity. It is a reasonable assumption that in most instances in initially poor language, environment does not cripple the child's basic potentialities for ever. If the social environment is enriched early enough, he will at once improve his language habits. The important point here is that intuitively the motion can be accepted that language potentialities do develop regularly and in spite of certain environmental deprivations.

Language cannot begin to develop until a certain level of physical maturation and growth has been attained. Between the ages of two and three years, language emerges by an interaction of maturation and self programmed learning. Between the ages of three and the early teens, the possibility for primary language acquisition continues to be good; the individual appears to be most sensitive to stimuli at this time and to preserve some innate flexibility for the "organization of brain functions" to carry out the complex integration of sub-processes necessary to the smooth elaboration of speech and language. After puberty the ability for self-organization and adjustment to the physiological demands of verbal behaviour quickly declines. The brain behaves as if it had become set in its ways, and primary
basic language skills not acquired by that time, except for articulation, usually remain deficient for life. New words of course may be acquired throughout life because the basic skill of naming has been learned at the very beginning of language development.

Jerry A. Fodor\textsuperscript{13} considers the child to be a "black box" that converts some body of data about a language into whatever syntactic information is required to speak the language. By comparing what is known about the INPUT to this device with what is known about its OUTPUT something about its manner of operation and internal organization may perhaps be deduced.

What is known about these inputs and outputs? About certain features of the latter a good deal can be said as a result of recent work in linguistics. Let us consider what kinds of data the child's encounters with fluent speakers may be assumed to provide.

In the first place the child gets a CORPUS. That is, he gets a sample of the kinds of utterances fluent speakers of his language typically produce. It is conceivable that this sample is biased in certain respects in comparison to a purely random sample. Thus, it has been suggested that speakers addressing children often consciously simplify their utterances both in point of vocabulary choice and in point

\textsuperscript{13. ibid.}
of syntactic structure; and it is quite certain that adult speakers often complicate the induction of the morphology the child must learn by indulging in baby talk. The precise character of the verbal environment of the child has still not been determined. But it would be methodically sound to assume that the child's increasing linguistic proficiency is not to be attributed to any significant extent to the special character of the utterances he hears. For, if it is true that utterances specifically directed to children tend to be syntactically simple and that children now and then receive the benefit of language tuition in the form of correction of their incorrect utterances, it is equally true that much of what children hear is overheard and that all normal children learn to speak, though the differences in the amount of special attention and conscious tuition children receive must vary enormously with variables like special class and birth order.

One point about the corpus should, however, be noticed. If it is anything like a randomly selected corpus of adult utterances, it must contain a very substantial number of false starts, slips, grammatical mistakes and so forth. Most of these, the adult speaker is capable of recognizing as distortions of his dialect, hence the attainment of this capacity is part of what the child must master in learning to speak that dialect. Thus, the description of the child's task is that of extrapolating from the
utterances in his corpus to the sentences of his language making the task seem simpler than it is. The child's problem is rather to determine which proper subset of the utterances he hears constitute utterances of sentences and to extrapolate that subset.

The similarities between the child's problems and normal problems of scientific induction are thus very striking. Like the scientist, the child finds himself with a finite body of observations, some of which are almost certain to be unsystematic. His problem is to discover regularities in these data that, at very least, can be relied upon to hold however much additional data is added. Characteristically the extrapolation takes the form of the construction of a theory that simultaneously marks the systematic similarities among the data at various levels of abstraction, permits the rejection of some of the observational data as unsystematic, and automatically provides a general characterization of the possible future observations. In the case of the learning of language this theory is precisely the linguistic information at which the child arrives by applying his intrinsic information to the analysis of the corpus.

It must be noted that the child's linguistic environment provides him with more than a corpus of utterances. It also provides him with correlations that obtain among members of the corpus and between members of the corpus and various nonlinguistic events. On the one hand, most dis-
discourses clearly possess structure beyond the sentence level 'GOOD MORNING, ISN'T IT A BEAUTIFUL DAY?' but probably not 'GOOD MORNING, ISN'T IT A BEAUTIFUL EVENING?'. On the one hand, many of the assertions the child hears must be true, many of the things he hears referred to must exist, many of the questions he hears asked must be answerable and many of the commands he receives must be performable. Clearly the child could not learn to talk if adults talked at random.

At about 18 months children learn to divide their class of animals into sub-groups and put the proper label on each one. To start with it might be a class of things as "animal toys" which are all classed as "horse", "large animals in the field" are all cows. But before long by listening to other people talk the child realizes that the former class of toys too was made up of sub-classes each with its own label - dogs, cats, teddy bears and so on, just as "large animals in the field" also had sub-groups such as cows, horses, sheep etc. Soon the child has these names well in hand. Similarly to a child growing up in a project area a tractor which he calls "TRACKER" is a name applied to an entire class of objects that might be labelled "large moving machinery". Cars, buses, trucks, dumpers, bull dozers and

cranes, are all "trackers" to him. But before long, just listening to other peoples' talk he sees that this class had sub-groups - each with its own name. In time, like most small boys he knows, the name of every kind of machine in the neighbourhood.

When babies first look at the world they see just a mass of shifting shapes and colours, a single, ever-changing picture in front of them. The picture he sees before him in not made up, as it is for us, of many separate elements, each of which we can imagine and name, by itself, and all of which we can combine in our minds in other ways. When we see a chair in a room, we can easily imagine that chair in another part of the room, or in another room. But for the baby the chair is an integral part of the room he sees.

This may be the reason, or one of the reasons, why, when we hide something from a very young baby, it ceases to exist for him. But as a baby gets older, he begins to see the room as a collection of things that are separate. Each object in the room - chair, lamp, table - has its own existence. It can be thought about by itself. When a baby makes this step, he is said to make an idea or mental model of the world that is differentiated. Dr. Herman Witkin in his book 'Psychological Differentiation' aptly describes the world of the young baby prior to this stage as
"undifferentiated".

Before he can start naming things, say, a chair, the baby must take one more mental step. Not only must he see, first that the chair exists by and of itself, independent of the room, or in another room, he must also see that this chair is like certain other objects in the room and in other rooms. He must see that this chair is more like that chair than either of them are like a lamp, or a table, or a rug. So, the baby must see that inspite of a difference between one chair and another, they are in essential respect the same. In short he sees that the chair is one of a family or class of like things. Only then, he is ready to call such things a "chair", or to understand what other people mean when they call it that. He must create the class in his mind before he can name it. Thus, naming things is not just blind imitation; it is a creative act of the mind. Sometimes a baby just decides that a particular word(sound) that he invents was a good name for a class of things. For instance 'Zee' can mean for him 'Biscuits'. For a little boy the word "down" may mean "put me down" when he was being carried. But if he was not carried the same word would mean "PICK ME UP". Children, especially young children - like adults - know and understand much more than they can put into words. If we point to a lamp and say to a young child "what is that", we may not always get an answer. If we get none, it does not necessarily mean that the
child does not know the name for lamp, or does not know what the word "lamp" refers to. In other contexts he might know the word perfectly well. His reason for not answering the question "what is that" may be only that the question itself confuses him, that he doesn't know what we want him to say or do.

One good way to help children learn the names of things is by talking about anything we do together. Many mothers keep talking to their children right through the process of getting them ready for an outing or getting them to eat their food. This kind of talk apart from being companionable and fun, enables the child to learn from it - not just words, but the kinds of phrases and sentences they fit into. It is wise to talk to a child in this way, first, just to make some conversation, and secondly to show a child our ways of saying what he was trying to say, and to assure him that we do have words for talking about such things. Sometimes a child uses the same word to mean many different things. But children can, do, and will learn to speak the language that most people speak around them. Children's senses are keen, they notice everything, and they want to do things like the grown ups. For this reason, it is very easy to teach a child his mistakes in speech subtly instead of outright. A child will begin by saying "my brother taught me this".  

15. A typical case of MISS ALICIA INGTY: One of the bilingual cases taken up by the investigator in the present study.
This can easily be set right by the adult constantly making use of the word "taught" in relevant contexts that the child is acquainted with and while talking to the child about the same subject that the child is dwelling in at the moment. It certainly does take time and the child is at first less confident to use the word "taught" which to her seems incorrect. But the correction is soon made.

It is a common folk-linguistic belief that children learn language by imitating the speech they hear. This is presumably based on the observation that children do, in fact, often repeat utterances they have heard—sometimes causing embarrassment in the process. Respectability has been given to this notion by behaviourists who seek to explain language acquisition in terms of modelling, imitation and reinforcement. (Skinner, 1957). However, although language learning involving these processes can be seen to take place in laboratory and therapeutic conditions (Whitehurst and Vasta, 1975) these processes do not correspond to the process of normal language acquisition. On the other side of the fence, mentalists claim that imitation cannot account for the novel and idiosyncratic utterances that children produce, i.e. that language acquisition is essentially a creative process (McNeill, 1970). Ervin (1964) has provided observational data showing that children's spontaneous imitations are not grammatically progressive as they are governed by the same
grammatical rules as their freely generated sentences. Slobin (1973) is more guarded in hypothesizing that imitations may represent a child's attempts to cope with difficult grammatical material, particularly those elements which are to appear in his speech at the next level of development.  

The problem with imitation is that it is a difficult term to define. Psychologists are chary of using it for this very reason. As a general guideline, we can state that in imitation a subject observes a model and this experience shapes the subject's own subsequent behaviour in the direction of greater similarity to the model. Definitions of imitation is immediate or deferred, whether the situation (stimulus field) is the same for model and imitator etc. The common factor is that there is a match between the behaviour of the model and the imitator.

In studies of imitation in the literature of child language, imitations are usually treated as synonymous with repetitions, (eg. Bloom 1973; Ervin, 1964). It is assumed that the child's repetitions are attempts to match a model, i.e. to imitate. The child is cast in the role of learner, and the object of his imitations is believed to be mastery of the adult code. Adults are cast in the role of teacher,

17. ibid.
modelling the language (consciously or unconsciously) for the child. Certainly this might be true of some adult-child exchanges, particularly where children are acquiring new vocabulary:

1. Nigel: What's that?
   Adult: That's butter.
   Nigel: Butter. (Halliday, 1975: 49)

Although we cannot be certain, it seems that here the child is requesting a label and then repeating it as a means of self-information. Adults also use this strategy when learning new terminology. In this sense, repetition might be an aid to language learning, although there is no evidence from naturalistic observations that children apply such a strategy consistently to new words they hear.

Michael F. Mc Tear in his paper entitled "Repetition in Child language: Imitation or creation?" concludes that repetitions are not necessarily imitations. Repetitions have three main functions:

(i) they enable the child (and adult!) to perform different speech acts. As the production and interpretation of these speech acts depend on features of context and shared knowledge between participants, any formalization of repetitions as speech acts would have to take these features into account.

(ii) they enable the child to take part in dialogue by providing him with the means of indicating attention, making rele-
vant contributions, etc.

(iii) they function in the structure of discourse as a means of establishing a discourse topic.

Repetition indicates a child's level of development of conversational skills. They are replaced by more complex operations. This behaviour may well be idiosyncratic. But the fact that children arrive at an adult model of language and discourse along superficially different paths should not obscure the universality of the strategies when these are conceived at a more abstract level.18

Concern for the nature of human language is characteristic of twentieth-century thought. Our century has seen the emergence of descriptive linguistics as one of the most rigorous and best defined of the social sciences, and the general concern for language has also shaped the thinking of modern logicians, philosophers and psychologists. Anyone, who in the spirit of the century, tries to cope with the intricacies of human thought, finds it necessary first to cope with the intricacies of the symbolic systems through which human thought makes itself manifest. Moreover, in parallel with this broad concern for language has run an amazing revolution in our technology of communication; the telegraph, the telephone, phonograph, radio, television, and satellite have accustomed us to instantaneous communication.

18. ibid: pp 309.
from the most distant corners of the world.

Nor can the twentieth century claim to have been the first to notice that all men everywhere have language and that successive generations seem to acquire it without special training from parents or siblings. This too, has been a familiar fact for many years - so familiar, indeed, that we have often forgotten how wonderful it is. Language would be a rare achievement if parents had to give special lessons in phonology, morphology, or syntax, for few parents have the slightest notion what these skills consist of. That children can acquire language so readily can mean only that they have some innate predisposition for this kind of learning, and this in turn can mean only that evolution has prepared mankind in some very special way for this unique human accomplishment. Thus consideration of the child's ontogenic accomplishment leads us directly back to a consideration of man's phylogenetic accomplishment. Both topics - the signalling behaviour of animals, and the development of human speech by children - stand to profit from the conceptual advances that have been taking place in the field of descriptive linguistics.19

If one is willing to grant that any resolution of the evolutionary mysteries that have long surrounded man's

The modern science of linguistics has moved steadily forward towards accurate descriptions of existing languages and toward a deeper conception of what languages are in general. In this broad advance, however, a particular approach has been noteworthy, both for its power and rigour and for its attractiveness to workers in neighbouring disciplines. This has been the approach of Chomsky (1957, 1965) and his collaborators, an approach that centres on the characterizations of grammar. Earlier linguists tended to concentrate their descriptive efforts on phonology and morphology, and psychologists usually tried to begin their studies on language on semantic or pragmatic grounds. Chomsky, by providing a new, generative conception of grammar, showed how syntax could provide a common ground for fruitful collaboration between linguists and psychologists.

Fry discusses the joint role of auditory and kinaesthetic feedback in the development of the child's phonological system and the relative importance of imitation and social reinforcement. He describes the critical effects of

impoverished auditory feedback and restricted exposure to speech on the speech development of children. He holds that the normal development of a child's phonological system from the earliest reactions to sound to the establishment of a phonemic repertory is complete by the age of five to seven years.

1.2. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDHOOD UNDER CONDITIONS OF MONOLINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM.

In any community each child joins with other children for play. The children of each small neighbourhood are more like each other in many ways than different from them. Especially in homogenous families of monolingual parentage, they are alike in that they share a common language, and common sub-culture, different in that they come from separate homes and from somewhat different economic and social positions. The families from which the children come hold different values and beliefs. They share different positions in the social structure and their economic conditions differ. The kind of little play group they create will depend on what they bring with them to the play group from the society into which they were born, and how they build personal relationships among themselves in the peer group. The quality of learning in this context will depend on what the children
are like as human beings and how they work and play together and the attitude of each child's parents to the group. Teaching and learning are social acts, always carried on within a social setting. Can one possibly imagine teaching and learning taking place in isolation, separated from all human contact? Learning is made possible by human interaction: it flourishes only among people. The child of monolingual parentage also comes across speech patterns of other monolingual children, as well as bilingual children. As such, hardly any child is exposed to an environment as sterile as to produce no exposure to other languages. When we speak of "monolingual parentage" we refer to the child who comes from an environment where his parents speak the same language. We refer to such a child who is exposed to only one language, as a monolingual child. But there is, in fact, rarely a purely monolingual environment. The pre-school child, at least in our country is brought up in a home where perhaps his nurse speaks a different language from his parent's, and the vendors that come round to the home speak a different language too. The forces that bring about the acquisition of language skills in a child are many - the child's peer group, his family, and his place in the social class structure. The child spends many hours of his play time with them. In a typical rural set up, a child might be a purely monolingual child. But in an urban set up, all told, all children are basically bilingual or multilingual.
As Emile Durkheim\textsuperscript{21} rightly comments, "education consists of a methodical socialization of the young generation." By methodical socialization, he makes a distinction between the socialization that takes place in and out of school. Human interaction outside the school tends to be unmethodical as a learning experience, informal and spontaneous. The family for instance teaches the child in an informal way through the daily give and take of family living. The family does not organize its teaching, or schedule its learning in the sense that the school does. Much that we learn outside the school takes place in this informal manner.

With regard to a normal Khasi child reared in a monolingual environment, (which is the investigators main field of study) his growing up is the responsibility of a large joint family and extended peer group. If the child's deficiencies in language skills are not fulfilled by one member of his large family, he simply turns to another. An uncle, aunt, grandfather, or grandmother will do quite as well as his own parents.

Bilingualism is the proficiency in two languages acquired by study or resulting from the interaction of different, linguistic groups. In the political sense the term refers to the co-existence of such groups in a particular country. Among bilingual countries are Canada (English +

French) and Belgium (French and Flemish). India has more of a multilingual set up than a bilingual one.

The problem of how children learn to speak has always engaged the marginal attention of linguists. Too often, their references to it have been casual and, on closer inspection, erroneous. The obvious requirement that reliable data must be collected before conclusions are drawn has too often been neglected. But well known names of linguists appear among the contributors of special studies. But on the whole, psychologists and educators have devoted more serious attention to child language than linguists have generally done.

The crushing bulk of data amassed in thousands of studies from many lands and many fields of scholarship threatened to overwhelm the student who tried to discover great lines of development in child language. It looked as if every child went its own way in mastering the language of its environment.

We find that the speed and time of sound acquisition varies enormously between different children; but the sequence in categories and the relative chronology are always and everywhere the same, at least in great outlines.

The very small Monolingual and Bilingual child of the pre-school age gets along quite well without any grammar. Most monolingual and bilingual children begin with sentences of one word. The word may be a noun, an adjective, a verb of the adult sentence, but it serves for the child as a vehicle of a complete statement. This is where a number of non-linguists have erred. They like to count the number and percentages of parts of speech in children's early vocabularies. But the child does not yet recognize the syntax of the standard language and makes its own statement in an unorganized one-word form. The one-word period lasts a long time. In the famous study conducted by Leopold on his daughter Hildegard he observed nearly a year, from the 9th to 20th month. Parts of speech mean nothing during this stage as far as the child's syntax is concerned. The only syntactic device used early in Leopold's case was the integrative intonation; it was employed to ask for information, or much more commonly to request a permission, rarely to ask for the name of thing.

In both monolingual and bilingual children there is often a transition from the one-word phase to the two-word phase in the form of two one-word sentences following each other. The approach to the syntactic pattern subject - verb
for instance was made by Leopold's daughter Hildegard in the form of Mama Sh! (1 Yr. 6 months) which should be interpreted as "what is mama doing? She is sleeping". All that was needed to turn this question and answer into one complete sentence was to omit the interrogative intonation; this was done two months later. Thus the subject-verb pattern was learned at 1 yr. 8 months. Other two-word sentences consisted of verb plus object, one month later. Drinks milk meant "the cat is drinking milk"; the subject being understood from the situation. There were even sentences containing both subject and object, but then, the two-word span did not allow a verb to be expressed.

The interval between two-word sentences and three-to-four-word sentences was only three months. Many of these longer sentences were still grammatically incomplete; the extra word or words being used up for other purposes: two-word verbs of the type "wake up", adjectives or possessives, or adverbs. During the last month of the second year, the complete pattern, subject-verb-object was learned.

Leopold's child Hildegard was syntactically well equipped by the end of the second year. The length of sentences increased soon. All that remained to be learned was the addition of minor items like articles, prepositions, and of course the syntactic patterns of subordination, which belong to a much later stage.
Child bilingualism, the learning of two languages by children, is a special facet of child language. "Multilingualism" by Vildomec (1963) is the only large study of the mastery of several languages, written by a polyglot and a language teacher. It includes much discussion of bilingualism because there is very little early literature on multilingualism.

Three Authors have written important works about their own children who acquired two languages simultaneously from the very beginning of their speech. The books of these authors deal mainly or entirely with pre-school years. One of the most interesting of these studies is that by J. Ronjat (1913) which covers up to the age of 4 years 10 months and deals with a case of complete bilingualism. Ronjat's method is: One person - one language. Ronjat's son Louis learned German from his mother and French from his father. The family resided in France. The results summarized from his work (Jules Ronjat: Le Development du language observe chez un enfant bilingue. Paris 1913) are: The pronunciation was from the very beginning that of a unilingual child in both languages; bilingualism did not lead to backwardness in speech; loans from one language into the other remained isolated.


25. Ibid.
parallel development of phonetics, morphology, and syntax took place in both languages; the child soon became aware of his bilingualism and translated messages from one language into the other; he also acquired the abstract idea of language. These good results cannot be attributed, in the opinion of Ronjat, exclusively to his method although it is the safest and the least tiring way. Later in life the language became somewhat specialized. The usefulness of the specialization of the second language has been stressed recently by Michael West\(^{26}\)(1958,97). Michael West (1926, 59-60) quotes a letter of Ronjat dated 27th Oct,1923 reporting that Louis Ronjat uses either language with equal facility in ordinary conversation; in technical matters, however, he prefers French— the school language, and for literary self-expression he uses German— the "mother-tongue".

M.Pavlovitch (1920) traces the speech development of his son Douchan acquiring simultaneously Servian and French. His study would have been more interesting for our present purpose if he had not stopped when the child was 2 years of age, it would have been interesting for instance, to compare the learning of declensions in the synthetic Servian with that of the analytic French. In their results Pavlovitch and Ronjat are largely in agreement. Pavlovitch does not believe in heredity and says that if there is any, it is a

predisposition of a more general than of a national character. His study contains many generalizations on bilingualism, although his child does not seem to have been really bilingual.

The most thorough study of the speech of an individual bilingual child, and no doubt any individual child, is that of W.F. Leopold (1939-1949; cf. 1956-1957). The incontestable advantage of the work is that it was written by a thorough linguist using systematically a phonetic transcription (the system of the International Phonetic Association or IPA). Another great advantage is that in his statistics he also takes into account the fact that many words were forgotten by the child. The diary for Hildegard goes to the age of 15 years 7 months, but the first two years are treated more thoroughly than the rest. Samples of the speech of Hildegard's younger sister Karla are also included. The two languages learnt by the girls are English (the family lives in America) and German (the father's language). English is the language of the environment except for stays in Germany. On the whole bilingualism is not so complete as in the case of Louis Ronjat, because the position of Hildegard's German is much weaker than that of her English. In the first two years of Hildegard's life bilingualism was important in vocabulary in which German and English words were mixed. Otherwise there were only a few traces of the influence of bilingualism. Soon after her second birthday, Hildegard started
to separate the languages from each other according to the person of the interlocutor. Later on, there was much influence of one language on the other in vocabulary, idiomatic phrases and syntax; very little in sounds, morphology and word formation. Her German was especially handicapped.

All three authors think that bilingualism did not harm the speech development or the general mental development of their children. W.F. Leopold (1939-49, Vol. III. 181, 182 and 187-188) seems even to have found some advantages for bilingualism in Hildegard's case: "The disregard for form in favour of content was probably furthered by bilingualism... Bilingualism...........helps to break down the intimate association between form and content. A bilingual child will pay more attention to things referred to, situations and actions described, and ideas expressed than to phonetic forms pronounced...............Hildegard never clung to words, as MONOLINGUAL children are often reported to do. She did not insist on the exact wording.................. I attribute this attitude of detachment from words confidently to bilingualism."

This opinion, Leopold is shared by P. Christophersen (1948, 12) but opposed recently by R. Burling (1959, 67). The circumstances for this will be evident from his works to be next described.
Robbins Burling's work 'Language development of a Garo and English speaking child' is one of the few studies on child language and infant bilingualism that involves a Non-Western language - in this case Garo, in India. It studies the development of speech and linguistic interference in a young American child Stephen (the author's son), who was brought to the Garo environment at the age of 1 year 4 months (in 1956). Burling raises several theoretical problems, especially while comparing his findings with those of Leopold, and contests some of Leopold's conclusions, such as the problem whether or not syntax precedes morphology in the grammatical development, or the connection between sound and meaning.

When Burling arrived in Garo Hills, Stephen (born May 31st 1953) was one year and four months old and was just beginning to attach meanings consistently to some of the vocal activity that he had been emitting in profusion for many months. His first few words were English, but as he had almost immediate contact with Garo speakers - especially through his Garo Ayah, he soon added Garo words to his vocabulary. For the greater part of the parent's stay in Garo Hills Stephen's Garo was significantly more fluent than his English.

As Burling says "the study of a child's speech is a delightful one, not the least satisfying aspect being the frequent enjoyment that one's informant shows in having so much attention paid to him by his father. Nevertheless, it is beset with difficulties that never arise in the study of adult language. Children won't repeat themselves the way good adult informants can be persuaded to do."

Stephen began to use Garo words within a few weeks after their arrival in Garo Hills, but his English vocabulary grew steadily. After several months, however, Garo became clearly predominant. Between the ages of 1 year 9 months and 1 year 10 months his mother was hospitalized and thus, he was removed from contact with his most important English model. His father kept on speaking to him in Garo, however, which diluted the effectiveness of the second major English source. He soon came in contact with many more Garo people as a result of which there was a steady progress in his Garo speech which he perhaps learned in much the same way as any Garo child.

As early as 1 year 6 months what Robbin's recorded seemed to him like translations. When asked if he wanted milk Stephen would indicate the affirmative with the Garo equivalent BUT 'MILK'. Six months later too, there was no

28. ibid. pp 171.
evidence as to whether Stephen was really aware of the existence of two different languages in his environment. He did recognize that there were two words for certain things and sometimes he would say them together, one after the other (as in the case of milk and dut) clearly recognizing that they were equivalents. But at this time all his constructions were completely Garo.

Between the ages 2 years 1 month to 2 years 3 months Stephen spent two months in Gauhati, Assam, where he came in contact with several English speakers, as well as numerous Assamese speakers. But at this time too he continued to be cared for to a great extent by his Garo "ayah", who sought out the companionship of other Garos. So his contact with the language was never broken. But during this particular juncture Stephen showed definite signs of being aware of the existence of the separate languages. He quickly learned who did not speak Garo, and rarely attempted to speak to them. By the age of 2 years 3 months, Stephen could understand a considerable amount of English, but spoke little. He had a great knack of translating exactly what was said in English into idiomatic Garo. When asked a question in English Stephen would promptly reply in Garo.

After returning to the Garo Hills and a somewhat more normal life he started having more contact with his mother. When he was two-and-a-half years old there was an "explosive
expansion", of his ability in English. Though Stephen's English never caught up with his Garo as long as he stayed in the Garo Hills, he gradually developed a taste for speaking English with the native English speakers. Occasionally when his father failed to understand his very foreign English he would condescendingly translate into Garo, which was easier to understand. He translated with no apparent difficulty in switching from one language to the other. He frequently spoke to his father in idiomatic English and immediately repeated it in just as idiomatic Garo for someone else's benefit.

Stephen's detailed speech recording were discontinued when he was 2 years 10 months. At this stage his increasing tendency to speak English with his father and the increasing skill with which he spoke in both languages made it both more difficult and less rewarding to do so. By the time Stephen left the district with his parents there was no doubt that Garo was his first language (when he spoke in his sleep it was Garo) but English had become a flexible means of expression as well.

At the age of five-and-a-half Stephen was attending a kindergarten in the United States. He was speaking English a bit more fluently and certainly more continuously than most of his contemporaries. The only Garo words he was using at that time are the few that had become family property.29

29. ibid. pp 183.
Son Frew the speech recordings of his Robbins concludes that Stephen developed phonemic contrasts more rapidly than some children in comparison with the speed of expansion of his vocabulary. One of the striking features of Stephen's speech was the rarity with which he reversed the order of morphemes or words. This was true of his earliest Garo sentences and also was true of his English when it finally began. This was in marked contrast to Robbins's daughter who learned English as her first language. Robbins's daughter regularly produced garbled masterpieces as "reading a Mommy a book Nono", "Mommy is reading a book to Nono" (Nono: her nick name) or Nono falling Nono Jammies pant "Nono's pajama pants are falling down". Stephen never distorted normal order in this way. Whether this was due to the peculiarities of the Garo language or to Stephen cannot be known. Robbins holds that word order is freer in Garo than in English but nevertheless Stephen was consistent in phrases where word order is not optional; and he was entirely consistent from the very beginning in the order of morphemes with words, which is as rigid in Garo, as word order in English. The gradual acquisition of new grammatical constructions could readily be observed, and repeatedly the same pattern was followed. He would first learn a number of examples of the construction by rote and at this juncture it was difficult to say whether he

30. ibid. pp 184.
understood the meaning of the construction or not, and it seemed unlikely. He would then generalize the construction and learn to substitute other appropriate forms in the same construction. Whether he grasped the meaning, or was simply mechanically generating sentences was not known. Whatever the case, these constructions were rarely grammatically incorrect, and very soon Stephen was using them under semantically appropriate conditions.

As soon as Stephen began to form construction of his own, he incorporated English words into Garo sentences. He appended Garo suffixes to English words without the least hesitation, but there was never any doubt that his early sentences were Garo. Robbins reports to have once heard the sentence "MAMI LAIKO TUNO AHA", "Mommy turned on the light", where the roots of every word were English, but the suffixes ( Ko "direct object marker and - AHA "past tense"), word order, and phonology were Garo and there was no doubt that the sentence should be considered a Garo one. When he finally began to form English sentences, he just as readily adopted Garo words into English. This mutual borrowing was made easy partly because his models did the same. All the English speaking adults around him constantly used Garo words in their speech and Garos borrow readily from English. However morphemes might be borrowed, there was seldom any question as to which language he was using since affix morphology and syntax were either all Garo or all English. After his vowel
systems became differentiated at 2 years 8 months, the phonology was also appropriate to the choice of grammatical system. It was only shortly before the systematic separation of the vowels that he used in many English sentences. Before that, he spoke with a single linguistic instrument, forged largely from Gare, but with the addition of English vocabulary and a few extra English phones. Later, when he did have two linguistic systems, the two never appeared to interfere with each other. He spoke one language or the other, never a mixture of the two.

While Leopold insists that a striking effect of bilingualism was the looseness of the link between the phonetic word and its meaning (his daughter never insisted on stereotyped wording of stories) Robbins emphatically states that this is not so. "There can never have been a child more obsessional in this respect than Stephen" he says, "When we read to him, he instantly protested the slightest alteration in any familiar text. This was true, we read to him in his second language, English, where one would suppose the form and meaning to be least rigidly identified."

Robbins feels that it must have been an idiosyncratic trait rather than bilingualism that freed Leopold's daughter

from insistence upon stereotyped wording.*

Leopold P. Werner's volumes on child language aim at a systematic examination of the language learning of the first two years from every aspect of linguistic vocabulary, sounds, morphology, syntax, meaning etc. The speech of his two daughters is analysed with a degree of completeness and detail not attempted before and coordinated in footnotes with the results of other investigators, both linguists and non-linguists.

According to Leopold, the Chief reason why linguistic scholars have not often carried out exact studies of child language is the enormous difficulty of such projects and the patience and sustained effort necessary for seeing them through. As far as infant bilingualism is concerned the situation is even less satisfactory. Surprisingly little has been written about any phase of bilingualism.

There are a number of studies from countries and districts in which a bilingual condition exists as a practical problem; Alsace Lorraine, Luxemburg, Belgium, Switzerland, Wales, South Africa, the South West and the big cities of the U.S. and India. They were written by educators, school

* The above study by Robbins has captivated the mind of the investigator of the present study as it is as close a study to PARENTAL BILINGUALISM as her own which has been found so far. Also the study was made in the vicinity of the place where the present study is conducted. The present investigator has among her cases two children of bilingual parentage whose fathers speak Garo and the mothers Khasi.
teachers who had to struggle with language difficulties in schools in which instruction was given in the dominant language to children who had grown up in another language. Usually they believe that bilingualism influences the development of a child unfavourably; but many of them have a pedagogical ax to grind, often they plead for more consideration for the mother tongue in the school. The judicious studies of Seth Arsenian, an American psychologist, favour bilingualism. (Bilingualism and Mental Development - New York, 1937).

Bilingualism of school children who learn one language after another is however a matter quite different from the simultaneous learning of two languages by smaller children. Leopold, who is an authority on this aspect of child language professes to know of only three books on this topic. The classical study is that of Jules Ronjat, the book of Pavlovitch (both described earlier in this chapter) and the work of Geissler. The study of Ronjat was guided by Grammont and inspired by other leading linguists. Leopold calls it linguistically sound and phonetically careful. He finds the work of Pavlovitch less satisfactory. Geissler, who lived among the Germans in Belgrade, published in 1938 a thorough study of bilingualism of German children in foreign surround-


ings. Upto the present Leopold feels this work must be considered THE book on child bilingualism in general. Geissler analyses the bilingualism of small children, of school children, and of adolescents in separate chapters, taking differences of individual character and types of bilingual situations into account with excellent method. Geissler is not a linguist, and his pronouncements on language in general and child language in particular contain too many vague generalities. But apart from Ronjat's case study, his is the only book which treats the entire linguistic development of children from the point of view of bilingualism.

This is about all the literature that may be found on the bilingualism of small children. Some articles on child language include a limited amount of foreign vocabulary. William Stern(1928) rightly expresses surprise that bilingualism of small children has not been studied more, and so also Mc Carthy deplores the paucity of records dealing with child bilingualism. On this score Dorothea Mc Carthy may be considered among the pioneers of the study of child language.

Yet, many linguistic scholars have recognized the importance of the study of bilingualism for their science and deplored the neglect for it. Nothing useful can really come from speculative thinking until the effect of bilingualism has been studied in tangible case histories.

In monolingual children the most widely quoted study on preschool vocabulary estimates is that of M.E. Smith, who measured understood vocabularies of 273 children ranging in age from 8 months to 6 years by means of a sampling of the Thorndike 10,000 - Word list. Her results may be summarized in terms of the following estimates for the several age levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>Vocabularies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>272 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>896 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1540 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2072 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2562 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his study "Semantic Learning in Infant Language" Leopold describes the consideration of meanings behind the words used by his daughter Hildegard, whose language learning he had studied in great detail. Hildegard was from birth exposed to two languages, English and German, simultaneously.

and built her own early speech from selected vocabulary items from both languages. This situation enables us to see that in her case meanings and their phonetic means of expression did not form an indissoluble unit. There were numerous instances in which she used words from both languages, simultaneously or successively, for the same purpose. In view of the crudeness of the linguistic system which she built up in the first two years, it would be quibbling to claim that such pairs of words did not cover exactly the same ground. She used English HOT and German HEISS exchangeably at 1 year 8 months. She answered the challenge "Say, 'No more!'," instantly with "NO MEHR" at 1 year 9 months, keeping the familiar English "No", but substituting her active German word for the merely understood English "MORE". She heard the remark "LOOK AT THE CAR3" and reacted with the word "AUTO", German by the test of her pronunciation at 1 year 10 months, to show us that she had understood. She used German "NASS" and English "ALL WET" as synonymous at 1 year 10 months and once uttered the hybrid "ALL NASS". Although such amalgamations proved that her bilingualism had not reached the stage in which she disposed of two separate language instruments, they showed that something had developed behind her words which was not simply identical with their phonetic complex or indissolubly tied to it. In fact, it is one of the advantages of bilingualism that the child was at no time the slave of words: she always focussed her attention on the sense behind the phonetic
configurations. A strict behaviourist would have to assume that the use of two different linguistic signs discloses a difference in the purpose of functional value of the utterances. Such a confusion would be manifestly absurd when applied to the bilingual synonyma in Hildegard's language.

Thus Hildegard disposed of meanings which could be detached from the phonetic words used to express them in one language and attached to different words of the other language.

In examining Hildegard's vocabulary under the aspect of meaning, it is necessary to keep in mind that meanings are necessarily hazy and vague at first, that the dearth of vocabulary compels the child to use words for purposes to which they are not adopted from the adult point of view; and that meanings become progressively sharper and closer to the standard.

The names of colours are interesting because Hildegard distinguished colours without really learning to name them during the first two years. At 1 year 8 months Leopold called the last empty pages of her picture book "WEISS". Her reaction was: "SCHNEE? NO!" She associated the word for "White" with SNOW and apparently only with snow; she was puzzled that the word was used for something that was obviously not snow. During 1 year 9 months her father often presented the names
of colours to her, usually when they looked at pictures toge-
ther, sometimes she assorted her building blocks by shape
and colour. Once when she assembled green blocks Leopold
told her to add the remaining green ones. She did so and
stated correctly, with the German word "ALLE !" that there
were no more of this colour. Then she showed her father a
white one and he named the colour for her. At once she
brought another one of the same colour and echoed excitedly,
"WEISSER !" This word, premature also in the reproduction
of the adjective ending, was the only name of a colour which
she said to the end of the second year, and it remained a
nonce word (Her sister at 1 year 10 months learned to name
several colours). She did use light and dark at 1 year 10
months and DUNKEL, the German equivalent of dark two months
earlier; but they would hardly be called colour names, and
were not used as such. Thus a conception of colours had
begun to develop, but they were not expressed linguistically.

Complete failures are rare (and therefore striking),
particularly in the case of a child like Hildegard, who was
cautious in the use of new words and did not attempt to incor-
porate them into her vocabulary until she felt some confi-
dence that she could cope with them phonetically and semanti-
cally. There is nearly always some agreement between the
standard meaning and the child's meaning; but the outlines
of the latter are often less sharp than those of the former,
even considering the fact that standard meanings themselves are less stable than the naive observer is inclined to think.

Leopold's daughter Hildegard extends the application of the use of the standard words PAPA and MAMA for a while to all men and women regardless of their relationship to any other person. She did this with "PAPA" for one month between 1 year 2 months to 1 year 3 months. For 4 months between the ages of 1 year 5 months to 1 year 9 months she called an older girl, who visited her occasionally, by her name, Rita, but used the same name for Rita's friend Helen. The latter never came without Rita, and since the two girls' position in her life was of merely incidental importance, she felt no need for separately identifying names until a later time, when the progressing refinement of linguistic thinking granted Helen her own distinctive name, although her importance remained peripheral. Leopold holds that the contrast between two languages English and German was an added complication for the learning of his daughter Hildegard. On the basis of the evidence it is to be counted among the finer distinctions which were learned late. In the initial stages the bilingual presentation merely meant a larger vocabulary to choose from. The child choose either the German or the English item at her own discretion, leaning at first more on German, later more and more decidedly on English, and welded one language instrument out of the two presentations. She did not mind
hybrid phrases. Very often the crude phonetic form of the child's words could equally well stand for the English or the German model, because the vocabulary of the two languages is closely related on the elementary level. English Book and German BUCH resulted in the same form as long as the terminal consonants remained unrepresented.38

The single item phase with respect to bilingualism lasted for years. The split into two contrasting languages, distinguished by the person addressed, first showed rudimentarily and vacillatingly toward the end of the second year. Consciousness of dealing with two languages began early in the third year. The active separation of the two languages did not start in earnest until the very end of the third year. Increasingly from then on, the learning of English and German proceeded separately. The case that Leopold studied was not of near-perfect bilingualism like that studied by Ranjat.

The most striking effect of bilingualism was a noticeable looseness of the link between the phonetic word and its meaning. The child never insisted on stereotype wording of stories, as monolingual children often do, and even made vocabulary substitutions freely in memorized rhymes and songs. The unity of phonetic word and meaning, which is postulated by some scholars, was definitely not a fact for

this child, who heard the same thing constantly designated by two different phonetic forms. This separation of word and meaning may be considered beneficial, because it favours content over form, thinking over verbiage. It may also be appraised as a handicap because it results in a less unified, less forceful view of the world. That is a matter of conviction.

At any rate, bilingualism is such a widespread phenomenon in the world of language that it deserves to be studied exactly by linguists. In children's language-learning it can be observed in a nascent state, with the detail of a slow motion picture. The same advantage holds for all other linguistic phenomena, which show in child language as under a magnifying glass.

Much that happens in children's language learning can only be surmised. The processes of the acquisition of the speaking faculty, interesting as their study is for general linguistics, are anything but simple and obvious. Casual references to child language, often delivered with naive confidence even by linguistic scholars, cannot be trusted.

The child learns a word as applied to a certain situation, but not, as a rule, from a single application. The word occurs again and again in situations which are similar, but not completely identical. When the child is able to
grasp the similarity of a situation with one previously experienced, the word connected with it will eventually emerge from memory, first passively, later actively. In learning to group different situations under the same phonetic complex, the child tries to follow the same procedure as the standard speakers, but does not always succeed at once. A child is often faced by some linguistic usage which obliges him again and again to change his motions, widen them, narrow them, till he succeeds in giving words the same range of meaning that his elders give them. This process must be groping and the way beset with failures, caused not only by the lack of experience on the part of the child, but also, it cannot be said too often, by the arbitrary and accidental practices of the standard language.

Let us present a few examples. If a child hears the word BRUSH applied to a hair brush, many repeated occurrences in the same connection will bring about a firm association between the word and the object. The word is however also used for a clothes brush, for a shoe brush and even for a toothbrush; the distinguishing prefix is omitted at least in the corresponding verb, which, in English, has the same form. The child must at first be puzzled by the use of the same word for so many objects or uses, when these objects differ greatly in shape, size, even material. Shoe brushes often are made of lambs wool. Since each of the uses occurs
many times, always linked with the same word, the child will learn to associate the word with all of them and will perhaps eventually understand subconsciously that the similarity lies in the function. Let us assume then that the child sees a painter's brush for the first time, knows no word for it and call it BRUSH, because the function is again similar and the shape immaterial. He has performed an extension of meaning, which will evoke no comment from the English speaking observer, because his language does the same. Let a German-speaking child perform the same extension of meaning, and the adult will laugh, or think the utterance odd, because standard German calls the first-named objects BURSTE, but the painter's brush PINSEL. As a further step, the disapproval of the adults will of course induce eventual correction of the misapplication, but the fault of the intermediate mistake is not the child's.

On the other hand, when the child uses one and the same word for a handkerchief, a towel, and a napkin as Leonold's daughter Hildegard did, the adults do not approve, although the function of wiping the body links these objects more closely than brushes are linked by their functions. In fact, in this case German can use one word, TUCH "Cloth" for all three of them: TASCHENTUCH, HANDTUCH, sometimes MUNDTUCH. (As in Khasi JAINJOT, JAINKYRSHAH, JAINKUP, JAINSEM : for Rag, apron, Shawl and outer garment). Shape and material offer
no sufficient inducement for distinction. How is the child to know at once that in this case the slight differences in function call for entirely different words.

The bilingual child's spoken language consists of two language systems, and the control over either of these two languages may be only partial. Although two languages can be acquired it appears that this can be most successfully done in cases in which the two language systems are distinguished from one another, resulting in what is known as bilingualism.

Children growing up in bilingual communities in the United States do not typically acquire two or more independent language systems. The languages spoken are often used concurrently, fitting into a complex life pattern. The young children in a bilingual community grow up experiencing a mixture of two languages within their everyday experiences. By the time they enter school, bilingual children have attained partial knowledge of the grammar of two languages, although they may not be separate competencies.

Two language codes are converged in a bilingual community (family), each language being used with varying degrees of emphasis. Although one can find systematic and regular rules that govern the choice of which language is

spoken in given situations, such rules do not appear to be totally predictable. The assumption that the natural or first language (in this study, Khasi) is used in affective and intimate context is more than likely true, as is the assumption that the second or dominant culture language is reserved for formal and public interactions with monolinguals. The bilingual speaker, however, who has at least partially merged the two language codes, does not act in accordance with these fixed rules. He calls forth both languages often, within the same sentence, to express himself. Each language contributes to the ideas he wishes to convey. Gumperz and Hernadez-Chavez (1972) points to the breakdown in correlations among bilinguals between language choice on the one hand, and situations or context of individual speech events on the other hand. While one language may be associated with a particular set of activities and the second language with another group, language mixing occurs frequently.

Undoubtedly, cultural patterns of relative stability exert constraints on language choice and determine settings that are appropriate for the use of first and second languages. Within these fixed patterns, however, bilingual individuals seems to vary in the extent to which they use the languages at their disposal. It appears that certain topics are somehow handled better or more appropriately in one language than in another.
Cognitive strategies may be an underlying basis for individual variation in language choice. The language that best describes the thought may be selected because the individual has made a cognitive relationship to certain vocabulary words in that language. Although there are many studies on language and thought, little research is available on bilingual language development and cognition. Such research is needed to explain the acquisition process in which the bilingual child is engaged when he or she is learning to read.

The work of Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt (1972, 1974, 1976 a, b) is a promising attempt to explain cognitive strategies in the learning of a second language. These authors posit two hypotheses: (1) that errors in the speaking of a second language are related to interference from the first language, or (2) that errors are the result of developmental learning that occurs in the acquisition of both a first and a second language. The first hypothesis suggests that children make use of the first language structures in second language speech. When two languages are learned separately, learning strategies may be very different from those that occur when two languages are learned concurrently. The second hypothesis is based on the notion that in the acquisition of any language, errors are made as part of the natural acquisition process as the child develops his
rule system, which is constantly being revised to accommodate the more and more complex language that he is producing and receiving. Dulay and Burt suggest that the second hypothesis seems to be a more frequent explanation for children's errors in second language use.

Carroll (1964) suggests that the codability of a concept in a language is highly related to the speaker's ability to perceive and describe the concept. Whether the presence of a code, or more broadly, whether the structure of a language, can help or restrain cognitive processes is not yet known. It does appear, however, that some bilingual speakers may "think" differently in one language than in another. The effect this difference may have on problem solving activity, or on perception of what we call "world view", is not altogether satisfied by contrasting language structures and semantics, but must include an understanding of the child's culture. In fact, similarities among languages in their codification of concepts outweigh their differences.

Affective meanings that become attached to the child's first language, however, may have a great deal to do with the young child's acquisition of competence in a second language. The young child's view of his world, his attachment to those who take care of him and his self-image are connected to the language that is introduced earliest. For most bilingual children in this country, the native language of the mother
is the first language. (This is more especially so in the Khasi Hills). While it may be intermixed with expressions from the dominant culture, it is the native language that provides the basic foundations for meaningful communication.

As in all communities, the bilingual community affords its members a primary language system that communicates shared understandings. The primary system is a language that binds members together and promotes cohesive interaction within the community. For the young child, it is a language that communicates the expectations others hold for him; that is, it is a language that defines the child's present and future roles within the community. While all children are socialized to the mores of their community, bilingual children are frequently socialized to cultural expectations that are markedly different from the dominant culture.\textsuperscript{41}

We need more data on how different degrees of bilingualism contribute to strengths and weaknesses of language learning. On the one hand, some bilinguals may have greater perceptual skills, perhaps caused by more practice in reorganizing their processing system and in finding similarities and differences. A study by Cohen, Tucker and Lambert(1967) indicates that bilinguals perceived unknown consonant clusters with fewer errors than did monolinguals. On the other

\textsuperscript{41}. ibid.
hand, the presence of more overlapping categories allows meaning and structures to be confused. Some of these confusions can lead to over simplifications in both languages being learned. In addition, the exposure to speakers who are still mastering two languages could lead to other kinds of difficulties as well as strengths. Studies by Lance(1969) and others indicate that for both bilingual adults and children, many different kinds of errors are found. Much more research is needed on the interactions between degree of bilingualism, types of exposure to other learners, and the age and level of mastery of bilingual students. A longitudinal perspective is needed in order to identify learner strategies and the effect of different learning environments on these strategies. Hopefully, studies of bilingual education will increase our understanding of language learning.

According to Aaron Bar-Adon (1969) "it is an established fact that children from one speech community and language family who are raised from infancy by foster parents from different speech community and language family, acquire the language of their new parents and environment without any outlandish residue whatsoever."

The child hears sentences of a certain language.

Equipped with an abstraction capacity necessary for acquiring

42. pp 244  ibid.

complex knowledge, he formulates for himself hypotheses about the rules of that language and makes predictions about subsequent sentences involving other experiences with the use of the language. He chooses and examines his predictions, eliminates the wrong hypotheses and evaluates, the others, the correct ones, by means of a simplicity principle. And so on.

Some data indicate that bilingualism can create advantages in cognitive performance. In a study by Peal and Lambert (1962) it was found that bilingual children performed as well as monolingual children on tests of verbal performance, and performed better than monolingual children on nonverbal tests of symbol manipulation. The experimenters conclude that "training" in two languages makes bilingual children more adept at concept formation and abstract thinking, since they learn to conceptualize the environment in terms of general properties without reliance on linguistic symbols. A similar type of advantage has not, as yet, been found with children who are exposed to and presumably acquire a new dialect at school age. Of course, this may be due to the age at which the different dialect is acquired as well as to factors of confusion. There would obviously be many similarities between the case of a child exposed to a second language at school age and the case of a child exposed to a different dialect at school age. There would, however, be differences as well. For example, when two languages are
considered to be totally dissimilar, less confusion seems to be created for both the teacher and the student than when they are considered to be only partially dissimilar. The specific effect of geographical displacement alone, with all other factors held constant, has not been examined.

Verbooj Vildomec is of opinion that any European and probably any non-European Child learns any European language perfectly well if he starts at a perfectly early stage. But if a child hears only Yiddish instead of high German, Pidgin English instead of King's English, he cannot, of course, learn literary German or Standard English. (cf. G. Schmidt - Rohr 1933, 227). O. Jespersen (1922, 141) mentions that the children of immigrants acquire the language of their foster country just as surely and quickly as children of the same age whose forefathers have been in the country for ages. In his opinion, environment clearly has greater influence than descent. Little children learn the foreign language (the "father language" too in parental bilingualism) very early indeed, if appropriate methods are used (or, perhaps, we should say, if no method at all is used). They forget, however, even faster than they learn.

At the age of five Hildegard Leopold spent four weeks with her German relatives in Hamburg. At the end of this stay

---


she could not speak English any more (W. F. Leopold, 1956-1957, 249).

In Europe there are two basic forms of bilingualism and multilingualism sometimes called LOCAL and CULTURAL. A form of the local or regional bilingualism has been given the name DIGLOSSIA by C. A. Ferguson (1959, 336-338).

In the towns, regions or countries where local bilingualism is prevalent one language is the language of the ruling class and of the central government or administration, and the other one, a local language or dialect, whether related to the former or not. The two languages really have an equal footing and equal cultural and practical value. The bilingualism is the product of long historical development and, particularly since the end of the 13th century, many a central government and its officials, teachers and professors have endeavoured to assimilate those regions whereas the local patriots have been opposed to such assimilation.

Local or regional bilingualism takes its rise in the family, at games or at an early stage in school. In the last case it is often due to the policy of the parents or the government who send the children to a school in which there is a medium of instruction other than the mother tongue. In certain places and regions it may lead to multilingualism.
In the above case bilingualism and multilingualism is "NATURAL" - a result of long historical development. Also each individual in those regions and places as a rule learns the foreign languages in natural circumstances. There is, however, an "ARTIFICIAL" variety of bilingualism due to our modern culture and civilization. In many countries, one, two or even three foreign languages are taught at schools (mainly secondary), sometimes in addition to the classics. The result is the bilingualism or multilingualism of the educated classes of the population, particularly in smaller countries situated centrally and thus exposed to the cultural influence of several great neighbours, e.g. in Holland, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia.

The incidence of multilingualism being vastly different in different European countries, it is often heard that some European nations are more gifted for the study of foreign languages than others. The validity of this statement cannot be tested easily, but it is certain that some nations learn foreign tongues relatively easily.\textsuperscript{46} This feature may be mainly due to environmental influences and not due to heredity.

In the U.S.A. the problem of bilingualism is very important indeed. According to S. Arsenian\textsuperscript{47} "25 percent of

\textsuperscript{46} ibid.

\textsuperscript{47} pp. 66 S. Arsenian: Bilingualism and Mental Development. New York, 1945.
the inhabitants are — or recently were — bilingual to some degree". He reports that in the U.S.A. bilingualism disappears as a rule at college level, i.e. the development is the opposite of what usually happens in Europe. S. Arsenian holds that "..............The acquisition of two language systems by a bilingual does not seem to affect adversely his mental ability and development. Bilingualism may be advantageous in allowing an extension in one's experiences, it may on the other hand involve certain difficulties in the mastery of language, in facility and accuracy of expression, in rapidity and comprehension of reading, in pronunciation, and may even have certain temporary or even permanent emotional consequences not altogether desirable " (S. Arsenian, 1937; 139).

There is no definite answer to the question when to start a second language and what method to use. Perhaps it would be best to start at the very beginning of speech.

An important study of M.E. Smith (1929) is devoted to the effect of bilingualism on language development. She studied 1,000 children of varying racial backgrounds and varying degrees of bilingualism, in Hawaii. She found great handicaps in the speech of her subjects. Her investigation was, however, complicated by the presence of a multilated form of English. The socio-economic status of many of her subjects was lower than average; this also obscures the
results. We must admit, however, that Ronjat's and Leœold's subjects are also anything but persons of average socio-economic status. M.E. Smith's early research (1933) had also resulted in her belief in the harmfulness of bilingualism; she had attributed to it for instance, stuttering, inferior results in mental tests, verbalization of a smaller number of ideas.

In milieus in which people of various mother tongues are blended some peculiarities of speech spread and become collective, not only when most individuals in these milieus are multilingual, but also when they are essentially monoglot, or, being bilingual or multilingual have a mastery of languages other than those from which words or other features are borrowed.

The influence which operates most easily in a group the members of which have different mother tongues is the borrowing of words, such a group is a real hotbed of MULTILINGUAL SLANG. This borrowing of words is referred to as VOCABULARY LOANS.

Foreign influences on vocabulary are usually called BORROWINGS, though some authors refer by this term to other linguistic features also. L. Bloomfield (1935, 444) distinguishes cultural and intimate borrowing, the latter taking place when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically one unit. This would mean that
intimate. borrowing pre-supposes bilingualism, although it is not quite clear how large a proportion of the population must be bilingual. Some words spread to a considerable distance all over the world.

The meanings of loans are not always the same as in the original language. There results either confusion in usage, or the old word disappears or both the old and the new word survive with a specialisation in content.

It seems that phonetically and morphologically the loans are usually also adjusted to the patterns, of the receiving languages, although there are differences between words borrowed from the spoken and those borrowed from the written language. Learned people tend to preserve the original pronunciation whereas popular words tend to become adjusted to the patterns of the receiving language.

Surveying the three sets of phenomena, i.e. bilingualism or multilingualism in an individual, in a group or bilingual, or multilingual individuals and its influence on standard languages and fixed dialects, we shall find the following general and very obvious rule: If the mastery of a language is good (i.e. usually the mother language)

49. pp 121 ibid.
multilingualism is likely to enrich it, mainly in vocabulary (by both names and concept).

If on the contrary, a language is spoken badly (i.e. usually the foreign languages) multilingualism is likely to lead to its impoverishment. The impoverishment effects not only vocabulary, but also the highly organized spheres of language. There is, of course, a more or less successful form of reconstruction of the missing features - simultaneous with the stage of impoverishment. An individual, a group, or a nation speaking a foreign language, is likely not to master some rare, difficult, or superfluous words, and grammatical, phonetic and syntactic features. These features are either dropped, features of the mother language substituted, or some sort of blends result, or development which can be attributed to neither language take place. In the case of an individual, and in that of a large group as well, a stage may be reached at which the foreign language is mastered completely or almost completely. In that case it seems that the final result is also the enrichment of the foreign idiom - if we disregard, perhaps, some failings of an esthetic nature.

Cases of mutual interference among foreign languages are also quite commonly mentioned. Cases in which foreign languages interfere with the mother language or language learned as first are also quite common. There are also
cases in which the subjects do not know to which language in particular they should attribute the origin of a difficulty or whether and to what extent a difficulty in speech is due to a multilingualism.

The number of observations is so small and the cases are so different from one another that it would certainly be premature to attempt to formulate general psychological laws governing interference phenomena in this type of multilingual subject.

A study on the language development of Gujarati children had been conducted by K.R.Mehta of the University of Bombay in 1964 in which he has intended to measure the language development of Gujarati children upto the age of twelve. This was a cross-sectional study in which he had analyzed oral responses of children.

Another study conducted by M.P.Vaidya of the Bombay University in 1954 on Bilingualism in Education has brought out interesting results. His is also a cross-sectional study. One of the objectives which is pertinent to the present study was to determine whether bilingualism is a hurdle in education. He finds that bilingualism does not prove to be a handicap.50

On the basis of the readings of over 360 articles and books bearing on the subject, on the analysis of texts written by multilingual learners and users of foreign languages and on mistakes which they make in lessons, on an inquiry among 61 multilingual persons in various occasional observations, Vildomec has made the following important observations which will be found pertinent to the present study.

Multilingualism influences the linguistic performance of the individual both in his mother tongue and in his foreign languages.

1. As far as the mother tongue is concerned, the most striking feature seems to be the borrowing of foreign words. The number of words borrowed from various foreign languages does not necessarily depend on the degree of proficiency in the foreign language involved. Borrowing also occurs with people who are essentially monoglot and is at the start more or less intentional.

2. A multilingual group is a hot bed of multilingual slang.

3. In standard languages and in fixed dialects also, vocabulary loans are mainly attributed to foreign influences.

on the mother tongue of an ethnic group. Not all such loans, however, occurred under conditions of bilingualism and multilingualism. The presence of many loan translations in a language is typical of a long period of bilingualism or multilingualism of the educated class.

(4) A multilingual individual, even if his degree of knowledge of foreign languages is very high indeed, tends to transfer some speech habits from his mother tongue to a foreign language.

(5) In many children the interference of a language the material of which is similar in sound tends to be more apparent. If the material of the mother tongue resembles that of a foreign language both in sound and in function, its interference will be particularly strong, although in this case there may result a system of conversion formulas, both conscious and unconscious, which may reduce difficulties. There are probably cases in which the total amount of interference due to a language spoken with much effort (i.e. usually a foreign language) genuinely exceeds the interference caused by a language spoken relatively automatically (i.e. usually the mother tongue) such cases arise when a multilingual has to switch suddenly from one foreign language to another one.

(6) Little children tend to mix words of various tongues rather indiscriminately, but their "accent" tends to be
better than that of adults. The total amount of interference particularly that due to the influence of the mother tongue seems to grow with age.

(7) The mutual interference of languages grows with age.

(8) Among uneducated bilinguals childhood experience is often the most important factor determining bilingualism; childhood is the only time in which many people are really bilingual.

(9) Apart from the practical advantages of multilingualism, which are of primary importance to members of small nations, there are also some purely psychic advantages among those listed by Vildomec's 61 subjects. New concepts are learned, and may be transferred into the mother tongue, foreign words are used with better judgement in the mother tongue, the learning of further languages is easier, especially if these tongues are similar; conversion formulas help the learner, but unfortunately exceptions to these formulas may lead to errors.

(10) It is relatively rare for a multilingual person to speak two or more languages equally well.

Multilingualism has many other aspects: psychological, educational, literary etc. The importance of the multilingualism of the cultured classes is on the increase. In general, therefore, multilingualism is a problem whose
importance will be growing with a speed not much different from that of such problems as over-population and over-armament.

1.3. PREVAILING INDIAN CONDITION OF MULTILINGUALISM AND ITS EFFECT ON THE ACQUISITION OF LANGUAGES:

Inaugurating the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial lecture series (1975) delivered by Dr. M. Satyanarayana, Dr. A.M.I. Dalvi, Director, M.G.M. Research Centre and Library while referring to multilingualism in his foreword said "multilingualism is the most striking feature of India's linguistic scene. In this linguistic diversity, Indian nation has shown remarkable cohesion and oneness during the past several centuries."

Inspite of its ethnic and religious diversity India has emerged as a nation fully integrated territorially and culturally. The languages which have reigned supreme in India were Sanskrit, Persian and English - the languages of literature, administration, higher education and polity. In the context of these languages the Indian dialects have been constantly changing to the social patterns; India had to

52. Dr. M. Satyanarayana, D. Litt : "The Place and Position of a Link Language in the Multilingual set up of India. Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Research Centre and Library, Hindusthani Prechar Sabha, Bombay-400 002. 1977."
switch over during their evolution. They are closely knit with the changing Indian society and therefore the relationship between language and society remains eternal.

Academically, English, the language of scientific, philosophical and literary pursuits for the past several centuries has influenced all the Indian languages and changed their phonological habits, morphological patterns, vocabulary and semantics. Simultaneously with the growth of these languages social changes have taken place evolving sociolinguistics of its own. This sociolinguistics, the sociolinguistics of communication through which expression and comprehension among the different linguistic states have become possible. Inter-state communication among linguistically diverse communities could become possible only through Hindusthani carried throughout India by Sufies and saints professing different faiths. This language has been a cementing factor between different States, which has ultimately been evolved in two literary styles, namely Hindi and Urdu. Hindusthani initially freely borrowed from local dialects and later from English giving rise to a pidginised form which to a majority of its people has become creole. Thus, the sooken Hindustani which is a link language and lingua franca of India has developed two styles of its own, i.e. a Standard Hindustani and the Pidgin Hindustani used as a creole by some of its speakers. Standard Hindustani is the colloquial tongue of both Hindus
and Muslims of North India and in certain areas outside the Hindustani belt. The pidgin and creolised variety is an expression and idiom of those who do not initially use it as their first language. The free intermixing between the Standard variety of Hindustani with the Pidgin Hindustani with judicious mixture of local dialects and English has become the language of mass communication.

The emerging life style of people under political, economic and social pressures is forging ahead a new linguistics development with a fast growing change and expansion in diction as well as modes of expression. The expansion in its varied and well spread gamut, assimilating the inflow from the others is taking place despite the limitations, physical as well as mental of the individual members of the society. A dynamic society cannot keep its language static as the language is an inseparable limb of the society through which society functions. Nobody can stop its onward march, nor will it stop moving forward.

The Indian society has to meet a challenge from English which is deeply rooted on the Indian soil performing as medium for all the purposes in which the Indian languages have to be developed. In the Indian context English enjoys a strong position of super-ordination not subordination. Our multilingualism is largely responsible for this.
One of the arguments hurled against the Indian unity, time and again has been about its multiplicity of languages. The people in India have a peculiar capacity to acquire the knowledge of languages other than their own according to necessity. No trader or pilgrim did ever suffer for want of knowledge of the local language whenever he moved from place to place; either for selling his goods or for visiting pilgrim centres. Many congregations of a multilingual nature take place in India, but nobody feels handicapped for want of knowledge of the local language. Whenever such congregations take place, people devise a communication medium of their own to identify their social and cultural affinities with one another. The problem of medium as a communication medium seldom arose.

The distinction between one language and another, between any language and its dialects, foreign or indigenous, has been introduced by scholars who are engaged in the study of linguistics and also by the administrators, businessmen, professionals whose pursuits in life demands the acquisition of literacy for preciseness of expression in communication, oral and written. Societies all over the world built languages and standardized them from the limited vocabulary at their command only when education became necessary for different functions and the knowledge received through education

53. pp - 20 ibid.
was to be socialized for co-operative living and co-existence. Thus the speech growth has been making tremendous progress from generation to generation.

There are altogether eight strong well-developed major regional languages in India. Curiously enough, they are all situated in the sea-coasts of the country, accounting for 50 per cent of the total population. Four of them are in the West Coast, namely Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, and Malayalam. The other four are in the East Coast, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Oriya and Bengali. These eight languages with a long history have been largely responsible in moulding the life of the people in their respective regions through the wealth of their literature rich enough to stand comparison with any language in the world.

The speech communities of the southern languages are fully conscious of their own heritage. They wish to contribute more and more to Indian Culture by using their own language medium for their contribution without losing their identity.

We have to-day uni-lingual States in the country, in which the majority language of each State occupies the position of official language and is being developed for all purposes for which a language has to be developed. Besides the eight languages enumerated above the three languages situated
in the outskirts of the Himalayas, namely Assamese, Punjabi and Kashmiri are all having their own States. Hindi, the central language claims the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi. The States account for approximately 40% of the country's population, and a little over 40% of the country's area. Besides these languages and there are many other languages with written and oral literature with contiguous pockets of areas in the States. Many of these languages have begun to demand recognition for purposes of being used in the public affairs as independent languages.

The Indian language problem has been brought within sight of solution after the introduction of school education. Sir George Grierson in his linguistic survey of India, discovered hundreds of languages and dialects their numerality having been now reduced to 727 according to the latest census. In fact, most of these recorded languages are prevalent as variants of different language regions. A bilingual solution in a multilingual country is an unavoidable phenomenon. The existence of linguistic minorities in each unilingual state presents another facet of the language problem.

The position of Mother tongue is indicated in the following table according to the Census of 1971 and this table
is limited to such Mother tongues whose speakers are 1½ million and above.\(^54\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>153,729,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegu</td>
<td>44,707,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>44,521,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>41,723,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>37,592,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>26,600,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrati</td>
<td>25,656,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>21,917,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>21,575,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>19,726,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>14,340,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>13,900,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>8,958,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
<td>6,693,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magahi/Magadhi</td>
<td>6,638,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maithili</td>
<td>6,121,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>4,714,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sntali</td>
<td>3,693,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>2,421,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>2,093,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondi</td>
<td>1,548,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konkani</td>
<td>1,522,684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ishwaran in his chapter on Multilingualism in India states that if a people feel their language is threatened they are not likely to react rationally. They are more likely to resist and fight back, and India has at least fifteen languages each spoken by a million or more persons. Also there are the tribal languages - Khasi being one of them - and the many dialects that have almost the status of languages. Each of the major languages we are told has a rich literature. This means having its own scholars, its own history written down, also in writing its stories and songs.

When a language is called MAJOR or MINOR, that is not a judgement of quality but refers usually to the number of people speaking it, whether thousands or millions. A major language, because it embraces large numbers and is used in many spheres of interest, has also been more vigorously exposed to demands for change. Its vocabulary is enriched and refinements in use multiply. Whoever is of a major language must continue learning it to keep pace with social, economic and technological change. As experts recognize, a minor language has all the basic elements found in a major language. With time and exposure to change and demands, any minor language may in time attain major status.

As societies become more complex, more urbanized and more industrialized, it becomes socially dysfunctional for 55. ibid.
individuals to retain familial identities that may interfere with geographic, occupational, or even ideological mobility.

Children who are expected by teachers and other officials representatives of the state within or outside the school to consider language only as an oral means of communication, not to be read or written as is the language of the school and that of the government, may also be expected to consider their language and that of their parents "inferior". The home language for them becomes a MINORITY LANGUAGE. Children with a bilingual parentage often consider the dominant language (usually the mother language) to be superior to the minority language (spoken by the father). For children of monolingual parents the language spoken at home constitute the minority language when the school language is English or Hindi. In a few of the cases (Khasi-Garo in the present study) the children are of bilingual parentage but English is spoken by both parents in presence of the child. In these instances Khasi is the minority language and English the dominant one. The attitude in the community towards the minority language and those who speak it also plays an important part in the child's picking up that language. Sometimes the attitude of people around is that those who speak the

57. ALICIA INGTY and DESMOND RYNJAH in the present study.
mother or the father language are second rate people. In some Indian homes, English being considered the dominant language is encouraged to be spoken to the exclusion of the minority language/languages. The child who speaks a minority language at home, then, may find it more difficult than others do to play the expected role at play with other children who use the dominant language.

In view of this situation, it is not surprising that parents who speak minority languages at times demand the suppression of their own language by their children in exchange, as they conceive it, for maximum education and socio-economic mobility. Some parents who are bilingual speak a minority language to each other, but only English to their children.

Those persons who have learned more than one language in childhood and who have continued to develop each through reading and writing as well as speaking, seem to have been prepared in the best possible way for dealing with situations where personal and social flexibility is required.

Language conflict is related to proximity. As long as language groups are territorially separated they may be served by their own monolingual institutions. But urbanization and industrialization induce diverse people to work and live together. Tensions are bound to arise if they cannot
speak to another. These tensions will be compounded if the diverse language groups advance conflicting claims for official recognition. Conversely, these tensions will be attenuated in the absence of conflicting claims for official recognition. This explains why the United States and other monolingual countries were able to absorb multilingual immigrant groups in large numbers. In the absence of competing claims for official recognition of alternate languages, voluntary assimilation proceeded smoothly.

Whenever official recognition was granted to languages other than German, the predominantly monolingual German-speaking found themselves at a distinct disadvantage vis-a-vis the predominantly bilingual non-Germans. The question of official recognition of different languages became therefore a bread-and-butter question of career contingencies. Beyond this, it soon became an issue of national prestige with strong emotional undertones that rendered equitable accommodation next to impossible.58.

Conflict over multilingualism does not, of course, appear in isolation. Differences in religion, social tensions, class-conflict and foreign relations are apt to be involved in varying degrees and they have to be taken into account in the study of individual cases.

Walter B. Simon's comparative analysis of instances of multilingualism in Europe and North-America suggests, nevertheless, certain general propositions regarding this problem area. He puts up the following propositions regarding Multilingualism:

I. Multilingualism is not an issue -
   A) in agrarian societies that are predominantly illiterate under elites that share a lingua franca;
   B) in societies about to absorb multilingual immigrant groups as long as no claim for official recognition of alternate languages appear;
   C) when contending language groups are territorially separated so that they may be served by their own monolingual institutions;
   D) when at least the educated of all language groups know the languages of their fellow citizens; this is likely when the languages in question are world languages of comparable rank.
   OR
   E) when the language of higher rank within the political system is of lesser rank abroad, provided that no irredentist pressures are exerted from across the border.

II. Multilingualism is a source of conflict within political systems -
   A) only in industrial urban societies where official recog-
nition of languages affects careers in and services provided by public institutions;
B) when members of different language groups are under unequal pressures to learn one language or the other;
C) when the most important language within the political system is also the most important abroad;
D) when the direction and/or intensity of pressures to learn the language of the other group or groups is changing.

III. Tensions over official recognition of languages are compounded by class conflict; religious disputes, racial strife and by foreign relation.

To those who are not very familiar with the Indian situation, it must be emphasized that multilingualism is an all-prevailing element in the Indian atmosphere, affecting every aspect of the country's life. India is a land of complexities and contrasts. It has a fascinating history with a rich, cultural heritage that has spread over thousands of years. It is a country with a multiplicity of languages, castes, religions, ethnic groups and artistic styles. This complexity and diverse multiplicity is reflected in the country's demography and in it, India's Geography is reflected.

The linguistic map of India has as many diversities as her religious ethnic map. According to the 1951 census,
there are as many as 845 languages including the dialects. Of these, 720 are spoken by not less than 100,000 persons each, and 63 are non-Indian languages. This bewildering variety of languages may be misleading if it is noted that 91% of the population speak one or the other of the 14 languages specified in the Indian Constitution. The following are the figures in percentage for these languages, and also for the sanskrit language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrati</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>less than 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>less than 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these groups 46.3% have virtually a common language, since Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi have a great deal in common. These dominate India's linguistic map, and they belong to the Indo-Aryan group. The Dravidian languages (Telegu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam) are together spoken by 26%.

The two major language groups of India the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian are geographically spread over the North and the South respectively. The former has the Devnagari script and the latter has the Brahmi script. Marathi is concentrated in the North-Eastern part. (pp 125. Ishwaran). Hindi is spoken in the North from the Rajasthan boundary in the West to the West Bengal boundary in the East; Punjabi is spoken in the Punjab. Gujrati is spoken in the Western part, Tamil is spoken in the South and South-Eastern part of the peninsular India. Telegu is spoken in the North-Eastern part of peninsular India, and Oriya is spoken further North-East. Kannada is spoken in the middle West portion of the southern peninsular and Malayalam is concentrated in a narrow strip on the Western Coast. All of these languages are rich in vocabulary, have a great structural complexity and an elaborate grammar.

If one examines the literatures of these languages historically, one finds that in all of the regional language-literatures, religious themes and motifs as against the secular, dominated till the advent of the British. Each of these
languages has developed a distinct literary tradition of its own. In their development, the Sanskrit language played a role that is similar to the role played by Greek and Latin in the development of European literatures. Each of these literary traditions can boast of an impressive heritage of poetry, drama and religio-philosophical writing. The most popular themes in all of these languages betray the impact of Sanskrit and Brahmanical writings.

After the attainment of freedom language has become a baffling administrative problem. As we have seen, free India ultimately accepted the principle of the linguistic states. As Mr. K. Santhanam\(^6\) says, "The formation of linguistic states has brought about a strong emotional attachment of the people to the states and has become the real federal force................. The linguistic feeling, or linguistic patriotism or linguistic emotion as one may call it.......... is only on the basis of autonomy of the linguistic States that there can be any peace or harmony in the India of the future. It is an inevitable development but unfortunately this linguistic patriotism has a perpetual tendency to cross reasonable limits............."

In all Indian language controversies, one very unfortunate fact is that the interests of the tribal population are

neglected because they are not adequately articulated. The scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes Amendment Act was passed in 1965. There are some 592 tribes with an over-all population of 22,511,854 which is about 6.24% of the country's total population. Of the tribal population, the Gonds, the Santhals, and the Bhils form about one third of the total. Some of these tribal people are bilingual. The Oraons, Konds, Gonds and Korkus belong to the Dravidian language group and their language differs from the Indo-Aryan languages of the plains. The national government has the special responsibility to educate them but the question is, in what language? Should it be Hindi, or a regional-language or what? 62

The languages of the tribal people have no script, but they possess rich oral traditions. The Christian missionaries, who have worked among them, wrote the Gospels in the tribal languages using the Roman script. In 1866, Richard Temple thought that they should have used the Devnagari script because this would have been more helpful. Some have argued that there must be two scripts for them - the Devnagari and the Roman. But would this be practical? 63 J.H. Hutton upheld such a view because it would be helpful to assimilation. There are others like Verrier Elwin, who oppose it because they do not subscribe to the theory of assimilation.

62. pp 147 ibid.
They wanted the tribal institutions to be preserved as museum or laboratory exhibits. Ghurye emphasizes the difficulties of such preservation and pleads for assimilation. Elwin's view is that they can't do any more but read and write in alien scripts or languages and therefore, will be unable to achieve any deeper creative or intellectual efforts than before. In any case, the fact remains that the tribal people are without any means through script to fight for their cause.

On the basis of these diverse linguistic conflicts a distinguished Indian linguistic scholar, S.K. Chatterjee, suggests that India stands the risk of being split up into a number of small totalitarian nationalities.

Michael P. West has been one of the pioneers in the study of bilingualism in India—specifically in Bengal. As early as in 1926, he conducted studies and collected statistics in the field of secondary education, where a foreign language (English) had to be learnt in school by boys whose mother tongue was Bengali. This is paralleled to parental bilingualism in a way; the foreign language English could be thought of as the language different to the Mother language spoken to the child in a bilingual home. According to him "if a child stops using the second language, just when he has learnt to use the language with great difficulty and with no pleasure, he will soon cease to use it; and what he ceases to use he will soon forget. So all his learning will really
go to waste. No child who begins a second language will ever, in the future, be able to regret it afterwards as a waste of time. 64

The need of access to the literature of a foreign people is especially marked in the case of bilingual peoples—namely of the peoples of the smaller languages of the world. The mother tongue of such peoples is the most apt and natural expression of the "dear and intimate things" of the home and the mother-country; but it is inadequate both as a means of expression and in the contents of its literature, in respect of the world of modern thought and knowledge. Hence these peoples if they aspire to any educational standard beyond mere local literacy, are compelled to become bilingual.

It is not an uncommon phenomenon to find that the educated classes among such people, in order to supply their deficiency in respect of access to knowledge, neglect their mother-tongue and acquire in its place a full and active use of a foreign language—as regards speech, writing and reading. By so doing they neglect the language which embodies in its words the foundations of their emotional life, and replace it by one which, however fruitful in respect of knowledge and thought, can never express for them the intimate emotional significance of the language of the home. They grow up, therefore, intellectually educated but emotionally sterile.

The sacrifice is uncalled for. The need is a need of the power to read foreign languages, the need of a PASSIVE knowledge. It is only the very few, of greater intelligence, linguistic aptitude and opportunity, in any country who have occasion to converse with foreign peoples in their own languages such persons possess the aptitude and the opportunities for acquiring a full active knowledge of a foreign language without detriment to their study of the mother-tongue. But the AVERAGE boy has neither the ability nor the opportunity to learn a foreign language in this way - nor yet has he the need. If he succeeds he succeeds at the cost of his mother-tongue, and his success is useful to him only in so far as it enables him to read the foreign language- a power which he might have achieved in far less time and without any sacrifice whatever.

"The essential need of the average bilingual child of a minor language is simply that of reading ability in one of the major languages to supply the informational and scientific deficiency of his national literature. 65

With regard to India's North-Eastern state of Meghalaya the Khasi people's most apt and natural expression is also through their own mother-tongue; but with respect to the educated class, at least, it is inadequate both as a means of expression and in the content of its literature, in respect of

65. pp 3. ibid.
the world of modern thought and knowledge. Hence this educated section of the community who aspire beyond "mere local literacy" are invariably found to be bilingual if not multilingual.

Michael West thinks that it is a fallacy to assume that early childhood is the most favourable time for language learning. In his opinion there is little or no decline in language learning ability up to the age of twenty or even beyond. Under normal class-room conditions the child has little motivation and is not superior to the adult in language learning. Study should therefore be started as late as possible and the courses should be concentrated. We should start teaching foreign languages after the elimination of the less gifted and use as well as possible the very few competent teachers available. Some of West's reasons certainly sound very realistic and may be fully valid for many milieus. 

66. Voloboj Vildomec cannot help thinking of his experience as a modern language master in a London Secondary School (pupils eleven to fourteen years of age) in which the teaching of a foreign language was certainly premature and almost useless by any continental European standard known to him.

Michael West's book (1926,13) contains many interesting observations, e.g. "In a typical case the first language is the vehicle of thoughts about the home life, and perhaps of a literature expressive of emotions and ideas connected with the home; while the second language is a vehicle of communication for matters of government, commerce, industry, scientific thought and higher culture generally. There may be a third language which is a medium of communication for international relations and higher education, and a fourth necessary for the religion and ancient culture of the people". Concerning the emotional values of language he says: "The words of another language may mean the same but they cannot FEEL the same". (M. West., 1926, 38)

The use of a foreign language may be an advantage in the expression of correct and scientific thought, as it has no personal and emotional tinge. West's assessment of difference among languages differs from that of Epstein. In West's opinion the differences are due to:

(1) different forms of expression,
(2) different analysis of experience,
(3) actual differences of experience, and
(4) the emotional value of words.

---

Language spoken by multilinguals tend to be specialized. It is possible for two persons - a litterateur and a scientist - to learn a foreign language perfectly, each according to his needs, add to be almost unintelligible to each other. Backward pupils should therefore be taught only what is absolutely necessary for them to know in a foreign language. West thinks that bilingualism is, in the main, a disadvantage. He opposes, the radical direct method, but by raising the speed he wishes to prevent the formation of the indirect bond.

On the whole, West's diagnosis is very good, but his therapy will hardly be fully acceptable to the majority of European teachers of modern languages. West also tries to show that the reading of English is the most important of the four language bonds (reading, understanding of speech, speaking and writing) for a Bengalee. This statement of course, is not justified with regard to many other nations, and perhaps, in the year 1962 Vildomec feels not even with regard to Bengal. In the end M. West (1958, 97) also admits that a brief oral beginning should precede a reading course if the learners are very young, but, of course, he would like to start teaching foreign languages as late as possible so that only very few learners would probably participate. In many European schools West's almost exclusive concentra-

68. pp 49, Veroboj Vildomec: "Multilingualism".
tion on reading would also make the learning process tedious and the pupils would simply refuse to co-operate. Vildomec feels that the outlook and behaviour of Indian pupils may perhaps be different.

From the above mentioned investigations the major fairly general valid findings seem to be:

(1) The road to a thorough mastery of a foreign language is not an easy one. The learning and use of a foreign language means a certain advantage for the pupil, but it also means a loss of time and energy which might be used more profitably. Even the learning in early childhood is no exception, because—although in the commencing stages learning appears to be a sort of play, — systematic learning will be required later. Moreover, in the opinion of several authors which, however, we do not fully endorse, bilingualism and multilingualism may have undesirable effects not only on speech, but also on thought, emotions and ethics. Even if these pessimists (also F. Sander, 1934, 66-67) tend to exaggerate, languages should not be studied merely as a means of "mental gymnastics", or because they are fashionable, or because it is the chauvinist policy of the government of the day, or of those who oppose it. In a language only that part of the Vocabulary, grammar etc., should be learnt which is of importance to the learner. If it were possible to persuade mankind to use an international language, the
difficulties would be substantially reduced, these languages being very much easier to learn than national languages.

(2) Some languages are said to be easier than others. As far as we know, to an infant all languages appear to be approximately equally difficult, but not so to a person who learns languages later in life. The mutual interference of two closely similar foreign languages is particularly strong and therefore of such languages one only should be studied with the intention of speaking it. Such languages should never be learnt simultaneously.

(3) The learner, particularly a child, imitates eagerly the speech which he hears. He should, therefore, never hear mixed or mutilated forms of the language which he learns.

(4) As the mutual interference of languages is one of the greatest difficulties faced by a multilingual person, all factors reducing it should be made use of. If a mere reading knowledge of the foreign language is the aim of the adult learner he should not learn how to speak the language, because languages known actively lead to much stronger inhibitions than those known passively. Ronjat's method mentioned earlier in Section(b) of this Chapter - "One person - one language" is particularly useful with little children. The milieu and subject matter should also encourage a correct use of the foreign language and discourage the
interference of the mother tongue. There is a type of learner exposed to this interference more than other people are. These pupils need special undertaking. There are schools in which some pupils are exempt from singing. Why could not some pupils be exempt from speaking the foreign language? The mutual interference of languages increasing with the age of the learner, the expressive bonds of new languages should not be taught to old people. There are, of course, individual differences, some people becoming linguistically stabilized in their teens, and others remaining linguistically "Virginal" much longer.

(5) Ganesh Sundaram, P.C.\textsuperscript{69} identifies, illustrates, and discusses differences in phonetic patternment which can result in interference between two languages when a person attempts to speak or listen to a second or third language. Phonetic barriers between a person's native language and other languages build up within a system of habitual responses from early childhood and become quite strong with age. Breaking the phonetic barrier in adults requires phonetic drills designed to train students to recognize and identify various sound quality differences in the languages.

---

\textsuperscript{69} Ganesh Sundaram, P.C. (Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore): "Breaking the Phonetic Barrier. Journal of the All India Institute of Speech and Hearing, 1973(Jan) Vol.4, 14-25.
Recently several investigators have "discovered" that a very young child easily learns languages in play. They would like to introduce foreign languages even to nursery schools and the very first classes of elementary schools. Some of these investigators have no doubt had very little first-hand experience as school teachers. They tend to disregard the fact that even these languages learnt in play require systematic work later, and that any interruption in the teaching of a foreign language in childhood usually leads to complete forgetting of this foreign language in a very short time.

There are relatively few important works on the linguistic aspects of multilingualism which have been published by linguists. This is due, no doubt, to the belief prevalent until recently that the non-historical study of languages, except, perhaps for the study of phonetics, has no scientific value whatever.

Psychologists have often been criticized by linguists for not using phonetic transcription and other devices of linguistics, this being a drawback even of many books. There is a considerable lack of linguistic studies of bilingual and multilingual phenomena in individual modern subjects, but there is no lack of generalization on the influence of foreign substrata hundreds of thousands of years ago.

Linguists interested in the study of multilingual pheno-
mena will need to investigate systematically: (1) The speech of a multilingual individual including the various stages of learning and forgetting of languages. Here there is the greatest gap inspite of the enormous importance of this study for the grasp of some phenomena arising in groups and even in standard languages.

(2) The speech of groups of monoglot individuals who have different mother tongues or who are in close contact with people of different nationalities.

In the Indian scene Michael West feels that "the problem of bilingualism or multilingualism, arises when two or more languages are used in the same political or educational unit. In all cases of multilingualism the various languages tend to fulfill different functions, but these different functions are a part of the life of all or a large part of the population. In the more acute cases the language division is such that all classes require more than one language; in less acute cases a second language is necessary only to the upper classes whose political professional, or industrial duties are more specialized than those of the common population. In the typical case the first language is the vehicle of thoughts about the home life, and perhaps of a literature expressive of emotions and ideas connected with the home; while the second language is a vehicle of communi-
ocation for matters of government, commerce, industry, scientific thought and higher culture generally. There may be a third language which is a medium of communication for international relations and higher education, and a fourth necessary for the religion and ancient culture of the people. 70

Summary.

The Child needs human contact for his language development. Language development depends on maturation; but a child cannot acquire knowledge unless he is exposed to it. For the child, the emergence of concepts is a gradual process. The child uses repetition as a means of self-information, and makes use of auditory feedback for reinforcement.

In a modern society, every child in truth is bilingual. But technically when we speak of "monolingual parentage" we refer to the child who comes from a home where both his parents speak the same language. In case of a child with "bilingual parentage" each parent speaks a different language.

Authors who have contributed much to the field of this study think that bilingualism does not harm the speech development of children. Borrowing from one language to another is made with great ease and rapid speed. In India studies made in this field have been limited. Nevertheless,

Michael West (1926) and M.P. Vaidya (1954) have also been of the opinion that bilingualism does not prove to be a handicap.

There are untold advantages of multilingualism, the most striking being that new concepts are learned by the child and are transferred to the mother tongue.

India is a country of many languages. In some instances where two people from different States marry, language often constitutes a problem. For the husband or the wife it often becomes difficult to converse in a different language with the newly acquired relatives. So, to make matters simple English is used as a vehicle for communication. For children born of such marriages English becomes the "dominant" language. It also happens to be the "common-to-both" language. So, the parents speak English to the child and the child picks it up, usually at the expense of the mother tongue.