Chapter II
Review of Related Literature

2.0 Introduction
This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature on issues related to sociolinguistics and second language learning. It begins with a brief historical perspective of sociolinguists, then discusses the issues like language policy and planning in India, and ends with a discussion on language teaching at primary level with special focus on the teaching of English in India and Gujarat.

2.1 Sociolinguistics: A Historical Perspective
Sociolinguistics is generally defined as the study of language in relation to society. The goal of sociolinguistics is to investigate language with respect to social structure and at the same time to investigate social structure with respect to language. With the growing interest in sociolinguistics, it is well accepted now that the social context of language learning is likely to exercise a powerful influence on language learning (Stewart, 1968; Burstall, 1974; Spolsky, 1974; Mackey, 1970).
In Hudson’s (1996) words, in sociolinguistics the social questions are in focus. In general, sociolinguists have been involved to examine intersection of individual and social variation of language (Spolsky, 2010), to study the effect of Regional variation of language, to examine the relationship between language use and the social basis for such use (Hudson, 1996), to formulate theories about language change (Bell, 1976), to study how the factors like social class, social context, geographical origins, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or age affect the way people use language (Trudgill, 2000; Spolsky, 2010; Bell, 1976; Hudson, 1996).

Stern (2001) traces the development of sociolinguistics in terms of three major directions: a) the study of language in its social context, b) ‘ethnography of speaking’, which refers to study the language in terms of language use; c) the sociology of language, which refers to the study of speech communities. These three areas provide convenient headings for characterizing various directions in sociolinguistics.

The ‘study of language in social context’, the term used by William Labov (1971, 1972) as cited in Stern (2001) studies the aspects of language use often neglected by linguists in general. Unlike linguists, sociolinguists emphasize more the variability of parole and performance than langue and competence. An important assumption underlying this approach is that speech varies in different social circumstances and that there are speech varieties within a
speech community. While discussing the aspects of ‘social context’, Stern also evolves a model combining the models of Mackey and Spolsky to arrive at a graphic presentation of the contextual factors in language teaching (figure 2.1.)

![Diagram showing contextual factors in language teaching](image)

**Figure 2.1** An adaptation of Mackey’s and Spolsky’s diagrams combined as an inventory of contextual factors in Language teaching. *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* by H.H. Stern, 2001, p.274.

The second direction in sociolinguistics, ‘Ethnography of speaking’, refers to the study of the individual’s communicative activity in social setting. Here, the interpersonal functions of the speech acts and the relationships between linguistic form and social meaning is paid more attention rather than studying formal properties of utterances in isolation. “The act of communication is therefore seen not as basically an exchange of linguistic messages, but rather as
a socially meaningful episode in which the use of language plays a part only in as much as the social rules and functions are already previously agreed upon or are known by the participants in the verbal exchange” (Stern, 2001, p.220). There have been conceptual schemes for the analysis of speech events in their social settings, for example models developed by Jakobson (1960), Robinson (1972), and Hymes (1972). All of these models share certain common features like addresser-addressee, message, contact, channel, code, functions and so on. Moreover, there have been functional categories of speech acts (Jakobson 1960; Robinson 1972; Halliday 1973; Wilkins 1976). These categories recognise that the different elements set norms of interaction appropriate to speakers in a particular situation. Furthermore, sociolinguists favoured studying language use in its social and cultural context which contributed to the concept of ‘communicative competence’ evolved by Hymes (1972).

The third direction to sociolinguistics is the sociology of language. This perspective as said by Stern (2001) looks at countries, regions, cities and so on, and relates social structures and social groups to the languages and varieties of language used in the society. It examines how our view of language and languages in society has been influenced by the social structures and groups around. For example, for a long period of time issues like language standardization and unilingualism prevailed due to predominance of one particular language throughout the western world. Similarly, the concept of unilingualism was also reflected in schools through education in one language.
which was suitable to the countries like France, Germany, and England; but not to multilingual set up like India. Phenomena like bilingualism or multilingualism were often regarded as ‘a problem’ to normal state of affairs. However, it is now accepted that the unilingual model of the West cannot be applied to countries of Africa and Asia where there is great diversity of language and dialect. As a matter of fact, the sociology of language has assigned a new interpretation of the role of languages in society. As a result of this shift, the issues related to dialects and language groups are considered normal social phenomena and not linguistically interesting deviations from the single, idealized language norm.

Speech community was redefined as a group of people (face-to-face group, gang, region, nation) who regularly communicate with each other Gumperz (1968, as cited in Stern, 2001). It is possible to have two or several languages in use within a speech community. Stewart’s (1962, 1968) typology as given in Stern (2001) distinguished by four sociohistorical attributes a) historicity (whether the language is the result of a process of development or not); b) standardization (whether there exists codified set of grammatical and lexical norms); c) vaiality (does the language have an existing community of its speakers); d) homogenicity (whether the language’s basic lexicon and basic grammatical structure derive from the same pre-stages of the language). Hence, it provides a useful classification of language types. In addition to this Stewart recognizes seven different societal functions (official, group, wider
communication, educational, literary, religious, and technical) by which language can be distinguished. These concepts are likely to be useful to indicate language position in a multilingual country like India. In a way these social functions assigned to language would provide better ground to investigate language patterns in multilingual societies.

Apart from the social functions assigned to a language as discussed above, feelings and attitude of the members of the society towards that language are strongly associated. There have been studies regarding language perceptions of members of speech communities and social attitudes towards languages and speech communities. According to Schumann’s ‘acculturation’ model (1978), learning a second language depends a lot on how the groups view each other and their languages. Hence, lower status groups will tend to learn the languages of higher status groups. In other words, “the pattern of social dominance is likely to influence the willingness to learn a second language” (Stern, 2001 p. 238). Similar view is expressed by Lambert (1974, as cited in Ellis, 1994) distinguishing additive and subtractive bilingualism.

Table 2.1 *Attitudes and L2 learning*

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitude towards Native culture</th>
<th>Attitude towards Target culture</th>
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<tr>
<td>Additive bilingualism</td>
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<td>Subtractive bilingualism</td>
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<td>Monolingualism</td>
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Key:  
+ = positive attitudes  
− = negative attitudes
Learners are likely to possess additive bilingualism (where learners maintain their L1 in addition to L2) when they have a positive view of their own ethnic identity and of the target-language culture. In subtractive bilingualism (learners replace their L1 with L2), learners have a low estimation of their own ethnic identity and wish to assimilate into the target-language culture. Semilingualism occurs when the learners have negative attitudes towards both their own culture and that of the target language. Monolingualism (failure to acquire L2) takes place due to strong ethnic identity and negative attitudes towards the target-language culture. In general, we can assume that learning English for Indian speakers is mostly the feature of ‘additive bilingualism’. Learners, in general, over a period of time accomplishing their higher education are able to use English as well as their mother tongue without much discomfort.

2.1.1 Language Variation

The study of language variation is an important part of sociolinguistics, to the extent that it requires reference to social factors. Languages vary from one place to another, from one social group to another, and from one situation to another. All languages that we can observe today show variation; what is more, they vary in identical ways, namely geographically and socially. If we take an example of Indian English (IE) both regional and social variation can be observed, even when it is largely used in the urban settings of India. If one travels across the country, it is possible to notice fairly distinct varieties of IE
spoken in different parts of India. For example, the South Indian IE speech is markedly different from the North Indian. Similarly, one may talk of Bengali English, Punjabi English and so on. Nevertheless, these differences exist largely at the phonological level, as they would in any other variety of English. Regional differences, generally, pertaining to pronunciation and lexicons are usually associated with different mother tongues and cultural differences. These differences are likely to level out in the case of IE speakers who share a common ‘prestigious’ English-medium education at the school and college levels. Annamalai, E. (2001) on the same line says “Indian languages are noted for their diglossic variation where the spoken variety and the written variety differ substantially in lexicon, morphology, phonology and pronunciation but they come closer in the formal spoken contexts (p.65).” Apart from this, variation at the syntax level appears minimally and requires serious enquiry.

a. Regional/Dialectal Variation

Slight differences in pronunciation between speakers indicate the geographical region they come from (Trudgill, 2000). Sociolinguistics investigates the way in which language changes, depending on the region it is used in. To describe a variety of language that differs in grammar, lexis and pronunciation from others, the term ‘dialect’ is used (Hudson, 1996). In contrast to ‘dialect’ which
is defined as a variety according to user, the term ‘register’ is widely used in sociolinguistics to refer to ‘varieties according to use’. Hence, ‘register’ refers to some cause different from variation in dialect. There is another possibility of variety in society which refers to the term ‘diglossia’. The term is referred to a society wherein two distinct varieties of a language, sufficiently distinct for lay people to call them separate languages, of which one is used only on formal and public occasions while the other is used by everybody under normal, everyday circumstances (Hudson, 1996). The two varieties are normally called ‘High’ and ‘Low’, or ‘standard’ and ‘vernacular’. Moreover, each member of community has a unique way of speaking due to the life experience, education, age and aspiration (Trudgill, 2000). Such individual personal variation of language use is called an idiolect.

In a multilingual society like India, people constantly keep enlarging their verbal repertoire, often using different languages in different domains of activity. This ensures a high degree of language maintenance. English too over a period of time has become an almost integral part of at least the educated speakers’ verbal behaviour. Furthermore, as English came in contact with the regional languages, local-regional varieties of English have become a part of general Indian English.
b. Social Variation

Social variables like education, exposure to urban environment, social mobility, change in government policies may often cut across the generally recognized stratification in terms of religion, caste and mother tongues. The other aspects of sociolinguistic variation, besides the correlation with social stratification, which is dependent on region, is the pattern of group interaction and its relation to variation. The social interaction of different castes appears to strengthen variation rather than weaken it because the caste distinctions are maintained through linguistic differences besides other symbols (Bright and Ramanujan 1964; Pandit 1969). The work of sociolinguists like Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) showed that social status could be an important variable in determining which variant of a given variable one would use. In Labov's study for example, the use of post-vocalic 'r' increased consistently with the increase in social status, that is higher the socio-economic status, higher the use of the post-vocalic 'r'. It was shown in Labov's (1966) New York study that in words like 'car, guard, park' and so on., the r-full pronunciation, as distinguished from the British r-less RP, was gaining in prestige. Thus the speaker manipulates the marked features for a particular social purpose in a given interactive situation.
2.1.2 Social functions of language

Language is said to be a self-contained system of words, sounds and meanings linked to each other in various complex ways (Hudson 2001). However, it is impossible to exclude the social phenomenon in which the language survives. In fact language has been the subject matter for sociolinguists because language ultimately is an outcome of the evolution of human culture, civilization and society. In a way it is the expression of the complexities of a society. Bates (1976), also has suggested that communication essentially is a complex social process which consists a series of pragmatic structures or speech acts.

Hudson (1996) has rightly emphasized the role of individual in order to understand theories of social functions of language. Noam Chomsky too holds the view of language as a form of individual knowledge, or ‘competence’. An individualist approach to sociolinguistics focuses on the knowledge that people use in producing and understanding utterances in society, that is, sociolinguistic competence.

The social functions of language are the ways in which we use language to give our view of our relationships to other people (Hudson 1996). In that sense, the way we use language displays our image as a person as well as the kind of relationship that we may or may not want to portray. In other words speech may reflect the social relationship between the speaker and addressee. Speech or spoken word is the foremost observable source of a speaker’s face. The way
one speaks tells the rest of people about one’s face, that is about the kind of person one wants people to think one is. Apart from displaying ‘face’, speech or a piece of social information also displays the solidarity relationship between the speaker and addressee. Solidarity is expressed through choice of language, subtle accommodation and use of purpose-built solidarity markers such as names and pronouns. It is believed that people who have spent all their life together, sharing the same experiences of language, are bound to be very similar in their language; and conversely, similarity of language is a useful tool to make a hunch about similar experiences. Nevertheless, the link between language and solidarity is not only the result of similar experience. For example, children acquire the language following the model (people they are surrounded with) down to the finest detail. In a way, sounding similar to the peers reduces differences and maintains, if not enhances, solidarity. Hudson (1996) asserts that the higher the intended solidarity, the more closely the current speaker’s speech matches that of the person addressed, as predicted by accommodation theory. Hence, one of the important functions of language is to communicate social information like solidarity.

Moreover, Hudson (1996) writes that speaking can be seen as an ‘act of identity’ which locates the speaker in a ‘multi-dimensional’ social space. This multi-dimensional social space includes variables like age, sex, social class and regional identity. The dimension of social class is quite significant in linguistic consequences because it does influence language in most urban societies.
Hudson (1996) goes further saying social class is responsible for the difference between ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ prestige. It is likelihood that some linguistic forms have overt prestige because of the high social status of their speakers in the social-class hierarchy. In addition to it, the use of language by professionals like doctors, lawyers, judges, managers and so on may give extra prestige to certain linguistic forms.

2.1.3 Language Change

It is quite possible for anyone not to comprehend even the simplest and most colloquial English written several hundred years ago. For example, the kind of English used by Chaucer is very different from the English employed by the contemporary writers. Language like everything else, gradually transforms itself over the centuries (Aitchison, 1991).

There have been several studies that deal with language change (Aitchison 2001, McMahon 1994, Bauer 1994, Bynon 1977, Milroy 1992, Trask 1996, Campbell 1998, Fennell 2001). While it is generally acknowledged that all languages do change, it is also well-attested that the speed and extent of change can vary from one language to the other, as well as from one variety or dialect to the other of a given language.
Crystal (1991) in his speech on ‘The changing English Language’ talks about two types of language change, one is real and the other is imaginary. He traces an example of “comment clauses” in English (such as “you know”, “you see”, “I mean”, “mind you”, “frankly speaking”, and so on.), systematically reviewed in the Quirk grammar of 1972 and 1985. Though the element of “comment clauses” was reviewed systematically, it got more space and attention in the later version. However, assuming that comment clauses was a modern phenomenon in the language, developing in the 1970s and more common in 1980s, is an example of imaginary change. In opposition to this, as observed by Crystal, the ‘real’ type of changes are changes in phonology and lexis. Amongst these, changes are most noticeable in vocabulary, for example ‘-friendly’ in audience-friendly, labour-friendly, customer-friendly, environment-friendly, nature-friendly, newspaper-friendly, eco-friendly, and so on.

Hickey (2001) while discussing issues related to language change discusses semantic change which refers to change at meaning level. Semantic change is largely dominated by two processes, metaphor and metonymy. The first, metaphor, has to do with non-literal uses of words. For example foot in at the foot of the mountain is different from the primary meaning of foot as part of the body at the base. The second, metonymic change can be seen where associated or partial elements of a meaning become the main bearers of meaning, for example, Cologne as the word for perfume or aftershave from Eau de Cologne. Research into language change, as stated by Hickey (2001) is becoming
increasingly diversified attaining more interest form linguists considering several approaches.

2.1.4 Language and Culture

The interdependence of language and culture is often observed and noted by many linguists. Moreover, Byram (1989), Brown (1990), Morgan (1993) and Kramsch (1993a) have stated that language and culture are unalterably knitted together that it is often difficult to fully comprehend language without knowing the cultural context in which it has been used. It would not be wrong to state that linguistic competence as acquisition of language remains incomplete without a vast amount of cultural information which is referred as cultural competence. In spite of apparent simplicity both the concept, language and culture are proving challenging to define due to its complex nature. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines language as a system of conventional spoken or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture communicate. Lyons defines language as a system of communication used by particular groups of human beings within a particular society (linguistic community) of which they are members (Lyons 1970). According to Sapir (1921), language is a purely human and noninstinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols. Here in all definitions for language, communication remains a common property giving less privilege to
other properties of language. Therefore, it is true that it is impossible to have a single definition of language that can define all the properties of language.

Similar is the case of culture. It is very difficult to define a word like culture in comprehensive manner. Philosophers, linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, and scholars from different fields have tried to define culture in different ways in accordance with the discipline they are attached with. According to Yamuna Kachru (in Hinkel ed., 1999, p.77) culture means “the pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms including actions, utterances and meaningful objects of various kinds, by virtue of which individuals communicate with one another and share their experiences, conceptions and beliefs.” For Ward Goodenough, ‘culture’ is socially acquired knowledge:

"As I see it, a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members ... Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end-product of learning: knowledge, in a most general ...sense of the term. (Goodenough, 1957)"

Hence, it was only in the late nineteenth century that ‘culture’ is understood and taken in the sense in which it is used by cultural anthropologists, for whom
“culture is something that everybody has, in contrast with the ‘culture’ which is found only in ‘cultured’ circles …” (Hudson, 2001, p.70). In Sapir’s (1934/1970) view, the culture is carried by individuals as members of the society. In a way, Sapir’s approach to study anthropology represents a view in which language, the individual, society, and culture are studied in close association with each other. The concept of ‘linguistic relativity’ with which Sapir’s name is associated posits that language determines thought and worldview, and that, therefore, culture and thought are dependent upon language. Hence, in a way, culture is an ever evolving factor emerging out of knowledge, beliefs, customs, values, practices, rituals, manners and so on. eventually expressed by language which in turn shapes that culture. As Stern (2001) rightly points out, “culture is only transmissible through coding, classifying and concentrating experience through some form of language”.

Stern (2001) goes on to add that “we cannot teach a language for long without coming face to face with social context factors which have bearing on language and language learning.” (p.200).

### 2.2 Language Policy and Planning in India

Multilingualism provides abundant linguistic resources, and it can be used as powerful instrument for the socio-economic development of a country like India, if exploited properly. However, this diversity and multitude of languages
also presented a distinct and special problem to the Constitution makers, in general, and language planners, in particular. Articles 343-351 of the constitution of India reflect the issues of language planning in India. The VIII schedule of the Constitution listed 18 languages in total, four of which added later, that is Sindhi, Nepali, Manipuri and Konkani. These languages were chosen as the major languages of the country. Nevertheless, no specific criteria were indicated by the Constituent Assembly for including a particular language under the Eighth Schedule. However, certain criteria like literary tradition, existence of scripts, prior use in newspapers and radio bulletins became the major parameters for inclusion of a language in the VIII Schedule. Hence, Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Assamese became the accepted and undisputed members. Sanskrit and Urdu which were not included in the draft proposal were added later. Likewise, Sindhi too was introduced at a later stage in 1967. Similarly, Manipuri, Nepali and Konkani were included in December 1992 vide Constitution Amendment Act 71. As Gupta (1995, p.4) points out, “perhaps the ideology of assimilation is at the back of the Eighth Schedule. Our constitution makers, perhaps, felt that the only way to contain the multilingual giant was to create a short, select list of ‘major’, ‘dominant’ languages which will take over, one after the other, all public domains of education, administration and so on, and that in due course of time, the 1600 other odd languages will be submerged under these mainstream languages.”
However, the Eighth Schedule could not achieve its actual objective because “at the level of implementation, various political pressure groups and the bureaucratic machinery have regarded this provision as an instrument of ‘corporate’ accreditation to single out the scheduled languages for special treatment in the development programmes” (Khubchandani, 1995, p.30).

![Figure 2.2 Official languages of Indian States and Union Territories](image)

**Figure 2.2** Official languages of Indian States and Union Territories. *English Next India* by D. Graddol, 2000, p.09. Copyright British Council. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 2.2 (Graddol, 2010) clearly portrays the way the Indian government created states based on linguistic boundaries. For the most part, each state has a majority language which takes precedence over the many others which also exist in the region.
Language planning in India has a significant component which was prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in 1956 i.e. ‘Three Language Formula. The advisory board tried to examine the complex problem of teaching of different languages in relation to the needs of the country and the requirements of the Constitution. The Education Commission recommended the ‘Three Language Formula’ with some modifications, which includes:

(1) The mother tongue or the regional language;

(2) The official language of the Union or the associate language of the Union so long as it exists; and

(3) A modern Indian or a foreign language not covered under (1) and (2) and other than that used as the medium of instruction.

One of the purposes with which the ‘Three Language Formula’ was evolved was that of promoting national integration. “National Integration,” reads the Conference Resolution, “cannot be built by brick and mortar, by chisel and hammer. It has to grow silently and in the minds and hearts of men. The only access is the process of education. This may be a slow process, but it is a steady and a permanent one” (Kumar, 2009). As Meganathan (2011) points out, “the Board (CABE) devised the ‘three-language formula’ in its 23rd meeting held in 1956 with a view to removing inequalities among the languages of India.”

The Education Commission (1964-66), prepared a blueprint for the provision of the ‘Three Language Formula’ in the curriculum with the insistence of a review
and new policy on language study. The following principles determined the basis for the modified ‘Three Language Formula’:

1. Hindi is the official language of the Union and is expected in due course of time to become the lingua franca of the country. Its ultimate importance in the language curriculum will be second only to that of the mother-tongue.

2. English will continue to enjoy a high status so long as it remains the principal medium of education at the university stage, and the language of administration at the Centre and in many of the States. Even after the regional languages become the media in higher education in the universities, a working knowledge of English will be a valuable asset for all students and a reasonable proficiency in the language will be necessary for those who proceed to the university.

3. The degree of proficiency that can be acquired in learning a language at school depends not only on the number of years during which it is learnt but also on the motivation of the students, the stage at which it is studied, the types of teachers and equipment provided and the methods of teaching adopted. A short period under favourable conditions might achieve better results than a longer period without proper facilities. While arguments can be advanced for introducing a child to a second language at a very early age, the provision of qualified and competent teachers for teaching the language to millions of children in our primary schools would be a very formidable task.
4. The most suitable stage for making the learning of three languages compulsory appears to be the lower secondary stage (Classes VIII-X), where smaller numbers of pupils are involved and better facilities and teaching personnel can be provided. It is also desirable to stagger the introduction of two additional languages so that one is started at the higher primary stage and other at the lower secondary stage, after the first additional language has been mastered to some extent. In a good school, three years of compulsory study would probably be adequate for gaining a working knowledge of the third language but arrangements should be made for its study for a longer period on an optional basis.

5. The stage at which Hindi or English should be introduced on a compulsory basis as a second language and the period for which it should be taught will depend on local motivation and need, and should be left to the discretion of each state.

6. At no stage should the learning of four languages be made compulsory but provision should be available for the study of four or even more languages on a voluntary basis.

In effect, the ‘Three Language Formula’ proposed that the learners should study only one language which is his/her mother tongue at the lower primary stage. At the upper primary stage he will learn two languages—the mother tongue/regional language and the official language of the Union (or the associate official language). At the lower secondary stage, he will study three languages—the mother tongue/regional language, the official or the associate
official language and either the associate official language or the official language whichever he had not studied at the upper primary stage. At the higher secondary stage, only two languages should be compulsory.

The popular Wood’s Despatch (1854) was the first of its kind on the part of the British Parliament to declare the educational policy to be followed in India in which they took upon themselves the responsibility of educating the people of the country. The despatch had a very broad and secular view in its approach to education. Given below are some of the aims and objectives of the document for better understanding:

1. To confer upon the natives of India those vast and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of Western knowledge;

2. Not only to produce a high degree of intellectual fitness but also to raise the moral character of those who partake of the above advantages;

3. To supply the East India Company with reliable and capable public servants; and

4. To secure for England a large and more certain supply of many articles, necessary for her manufactures and extensively consumed by her population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour (Bhatt and Aggarwal, 1969, p. 7).

National Policy Resolution, 1986 and National Policy on Education, 1992 are an important document. Following are the chief features of the same:
a) Mother tongue instruction at the primary stage.

b) Learning of three languages at the secondary stage.

c) Gradual switch over to modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the university level.

d) Use of English as the library language in higher education.

e) Evolution of scientific and technical terminology in all modern Indian languages, preparation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, glossaries and encyclopaedias, and so on.

f) Use of technology for language development.

g) Modern techniques of translation.

h) Safeguards for linguistic minorities.

i) Use of tribal languages and bilingual education for tribal areas.

j) To bring out the integrative character of language for promotion of national integration.

As a matter of fact, English continues to be the medium of instruction at the university level barring a few states. It is clear from the above discussion that in India, there is a great number of sociolinguistic pressures influencing the development of language education. Spolsky (1978, pp. 55-56) observed that the language policy of the school system is both a result of the pressures and a source of pressure itself. He, too, claims education to be the strongest weapon for enforcing language policy, listing the following pressures to have an effect on language planning in a society: family (attitudes at home), religion (if the
maintenance of a language is based on a belief in a “holy tongue”), ethnicity, political pressures (aiming at establishing national unity; for a language tradition is acknowledged as a powerful force within a nationalist movement), cultural pressures, economic pressures (which include commerce, advanced science and technology: the idea is that not all languages have modern technological vocabulary and it is more rational to adopt a language such as English for this purpose), the mass media (for example, if there is no media in a particular language, there will be strong pressure to learn another language which is better provided), legal pressures (lack of the official language can often become the basis for discrimination), military pressure (desirability to use one common language) (Spolsky, 1978, pp. 53-63).

### 2.3 SLA in multilingual context

Second Language Acquisition has been an interest of study for a long time now (Ellis, 1994). It is reported to have emerged as a distinct field of research in the late 1950s and 1960s. Researchers interested in SLA try to answer questions as following: Is it possible to acquire an additional language in the same sense as one acquires a first language? If yes, are the two processes similar; if not, what is the difference between acquisition and learning? What is the role of instruction (language teaching) in the acquisition of an additional language? What socio-cultural factors are relevant in studying the learning/acquisition of additional languages? There are neither straight answer to these questions nor
all second language researchers agree on them completely. Saville-Troike (2006) provides an important theoretical framework for the SLA approaches by the discipline with which they are primarily associated, for example linguistic, psychological, and social. Moreover, he also gives a comprehensive overview of different researches. The corresponding differences in what is emphasized by researchers are (Saville-Troike, 2006, p.3):

- Linguists emphasize the characteristics of the differences and similarities in the languages that are being learned, and the linguistic competence (underlying knowledge) and linguistic performance (actual production) of learners at various stages of acquisition.
- Psychologists and psycholinguists emphasize the mental or cognitive processes involved in acquisition, and the representation of language(s) in the brain.
- Sociolinguists emphasize variability in learner linguistic performance, and extend the scope of study to communicative competence (underlying knowledge that additionally accounts for language use, or pragmatic competence).
- Social psychologists emphasize group-related phenomena, such as identity and social motivation, and the interactional and larger social contexts of learning.

Ellis (1994) also tries to characterize the different social contexts in which L2 acquisition takes place, and discusses the effects the type of context have on
learning outcomes. Different social contexts of L2 learning are discussed in
good detail, like natural vs. educational settings, second language learning in
majority language contexts, in official language contexts, and in international
contexts. The most relevant for the present study are the contexts of natural vs.
educational settings and L2 in official language contexts. Learners of L2 are
likely to be part of two settings; natural or educational, or both. It is assumed
that the learners exposed to natural settings are likely to gain more competence
than the learners who learn second language as a formal training in educational
setting. However, there is no necessary connection between setting and type of
learning as d’ Anglejan (1978) as cited in Ellis (1994) has noted, the correlation
between educational settings and formal language learning depends on the
pedagogic approach. In the case of the ‘traditional’ approach (characterized by
the explicit teaching of the language), there may be few opportunities for
informal learning. But in the case of ‘innovative’ approaches, informal learning
is not only possible but is actively encouraged. What plays significant role in
L2 learning is the social conditions that prevail in natural and educational
contexts. Hence, comparing the earning outcomes associated with each setting
are of less value than examining factors within each setting that are important
for successful L2 learning.

L2 learning in official language context is different from SLA in majority or
international contexts. Ellis (1994) states that majority of the decolonized
countries adopted the language of the excolonial power and maintained it in
most of its previous social and official functions, for example English in India performs the role of an associate official language. As a result of it, social and economic advancement depended to a large extent on successful mastery of L2. However, there is possibility that some social groups may resist learning the L2 and seek to support their mother tongue as an expression of their ethnic vitality, for example anti-English movement in India. What is important to notice in this background is the spread of L2 into the nation. Kachru (1989) notices that official language contexts can also give rise to new local standard varieties. However, variations in linguistic behaviour often act as facilitators rather than as barriers in communication (Agnihotri and Khanna, 1997). The emergence of local standards are justified by Ellis (1994) saying that, in many language settings where the L2 serves as an official language (for example India), the reference group for many learners is not a native speaker but rather educated users of the L2 in the learners’ own country.

The multilingual context in India neither discourages the value of local languages nor does it promote anti-English beliefs. In fact, it is common to find a fairly educated individual frequently splatter his conversation with numerous Indian languages along with English. This ‘code switching’ is quite automatic to the Indian psyche and needs to be viewed positively. The speakers have more than one language at their disposal in Indian context and they do use it at a time, almost automatically. In the context of India, numerous languages are heard within the family, in the neighbourhood and other socio-cultural milieu
where the individual moves about. More or less, infant hears more than one language within the family. In such cases, almost all these languages develop equally well in the language acquisition process of the child and occupy the place of the first language (Natraj 2005). It would not be wrong to state that learners in Indian context easily possess BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) in more than one language by the end of primary education. However, their CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) also needs to be equally developed as their BICS. As a matter of fact, language is fundamentally a cognitive system and communication is a secondary skill built on this system (Kapoor, 1998). While emphasizing the aspect of language performance there is a need to develop competence of thinking in the use of language. This goal possibly can be attained through providing effective education right from the start at primary level.

2.3.1 SLA : The Cognitive view

The field of second language learning has been influenced by the cognitive view of learning for a fairly long time (Johnson, 2004). The cognitive view of language learning on the whole stresses the importance of mental processes. It was Noam Chomsky who in the early 1950’s revolutionized thinking about language development when he suggested that children are born with an innate capacity to develop language (Larsen-Freeman, 1991; Wells, 1985). In Chomsky’s view, language is seen as a set of abstract concepts or rules which
enable a speaker to construct an infinite variety of meaning bearing sentences in a language without having to accomplish the impossible tasks of memorizing all the possible sentences that the speaker hears. Chomsky views language as a set of formal properties in any language grammar.

Chomsky (1972) argued that the process of language learning is essentially one of rule formation wherein children unconsciously internalize a set of grammatical rules that enable them to produce an unlimited number of sentences in a given language. Unlike behaviourist principles of repetition and reinforcement children acquire this ability without much of a practice. This cognitive view, owing to its heavy reliance on Chomsky’s linguistic theory of first language acquisition, has been adopted by the mainstream second language acquisition community (Long & Doughty, 2003).

The cognitive view of language learning explains second language learning using the supposition that there is an internal device which enables the learner to develop a concept or rule for the grammar or the meaning of a word. The grammar of a language is viewed as a generative device for producing all the possible sentences of a language (Seliger, 1983). The information-processing version of the cognitive view of language learning is what Johnson (2004) calls the “newer version” of the cognitive approach in the second language acquisition field. In this case, language acquisition has been generalized as an information processing activity where what gets negotiated is not contextual
meaning, but input and output (Donato, 2000; Larsen-Freeman, 2001; Johnson, 2004; Kramsch, 2002). The language learner is an information processor who receives input from caretakers, teachers, and peers; processes this input, and ultimately produces output of a measurable kind. In short, from a cognitive perspective, the brain is seen as the container of both learning processes and learning products. Language learning is viewed as an outcome of various mental processes. This view favours the notion that individual learners internalize bodies of knowledge which exist independently of the situations or the persons interacting with them (Seliger, 1983). Therefore, context or environment is viewed as less important than individual mental processes in children’s development of knowledge construction.

2.3.2 SLA: The Sociocultural view

The basis of sociocultural theory is the belief that human beings are social beings and develop cognition first through social interaction (Richard-Amato, 1988). From a sociocultural perspective, language is of interest in its functional sense, not only for communication, but for thought itself. Sociocultural theory provides a functional view of language that focuses on language as a means for engaging in social and cognitive activity. In other words, sociocultural theory views language as socially constructed rather than psychologically intrinsic, and as both referential and constructive of social reality. (Lantolf, 2000;
Unlike the cognitive perspective, a sociocultural perspective suggest that social and cultural factors are considered to be of more significance in supporting second language acquisition (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003). The sociocultural perspective takes into consideration the dynamic roles of social contexts, individuality, intentionality, and the sociocultural, historical, and institutional backgrounds of the individual involved in cognitive growth (Johnson, 2004).

Sociocultural (S-C) Theory (1962, 1978) in SLA is based on Vygotsky’s view on speech as an ongoing human activity, believing it to be the crucial mediational tool in the development of higher mental processes in learners. Vygotsky defines the ZPD as, ‘the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers’ (Vygotsky, 1978, p.86). In the context of learner-teacher or NS-NSSs interaction much of the mediation occurs through the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). This is, in Vygotsky’s words, an area of potential development, where the learner can achieve that potential only with assistance. Within a sociocultural framework, learning a second language is a result of co-construction between language users and the social environment. Moreover, in social interaction, the child uses speech and gesture to regulate attention, to identify and label objects, to classify, to elaborate experiences, and to offer explanations. The opportunity to use speech
as a means of making sense of experiences with other participants is a crucial step in learning to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively.

Lantolf (2000) contended that a comprehensive theory of second language acquisition should incorporate principles derived from sociocultural theory. Moreover, he advocates Vygotskian approach to SLA (Second Language Acquisition), stating that language acquisition occurs as a social semiotic construction, so as to say learning occurs as a result of mentorship and sociocultural activity. Language learning is about the understanding of learners themselves as agents whose conditions of learning affect the learning outcome, as human individuals have intentions, agency, and affect (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). In other words, the learners gradually construct their understandings and perceptions as they act and interact within the environment.

To conclude, sociocultural research demonstrates that interaction is a major variable in second language learning processes which assists language learners in their need to obtain linguistic input and to modify and to adjust their output in ways that expand current language capacities. Sociocultural studies underscore the need to explore the role played by the social context in second language development and explain social interaction beyond a simple description of the input received by individual learners.
2.4 Language Teaching at Primary Level

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT 2006) and the National Curriculum Framework 2005 (NCERT 2005) has recognised the fact that there are many factors which have caused the demand for English in India.

*English is in India today a symbol of people’s aspirations for quality in education and fuller participation in national and international life ... The level of introduction of English has now become a matter of political response to people’s aspirations, rendering almost irrelevant an academic debate on the merits of a very early introduction. (NCERT 2006, p.1)*

There have been assumptions in favour of introducing second or foreign language at primary level saying that the years before puberty are the best or critical years for acquiring a second language. Moreover, there have been many argued and researched topics in applied linguistics and psycholinguistics on the relationship between age and language learning (Penfield, 1953; Thorndike, 1928). Unfortunately, the issue has not been resolved completely and is considered highly complex. However, there is a growing consensus that younger children are not any better at learning foreign languages in a school context than older children or adults are (Smythe, Slennet & Gardner, 1975; Stern Weinrib, 1977; McLaughlin, 1985; Genesee, 1987; Singleton, 1989; and
Long, 1990). Unfortunately, there is very little Indian research available in these areas. One of the arguments to take into account is that starting second language learning in primary school simply increases the number of hours of exposure to the language and is likely in the long run, therefore, to produce a higher level of proficiency. As National Curriculum Framework 2005 (NCERT 2005) rightly points out, “the issue is not so much the age at which English is begun but the exposure and facilities made available for learning this language; two to three years of good opportunities are preferable to a prolonged (up to 10 years, starting at Class I) failure”.

However, the fact of the matter is English is being demanded by everyone at the very early stage of schooling. The mushrooming of private English-medium schools and promising spoken English coaching classes are an evidence for the ongoing demand. Meganathan (2009) goes to the extent saying, though there is an increasing demand for the language, English has become a bone of contention for reasons of social and political, and also academic reasons. The present condition of English language teaching in the varied contexts of India can be summed up in the following manner:

\[
\begin{align*}
TP &= \text{Teachers’ English language proficiency;} \\
EE &= \text{English language environment}
\end{align*}
\]

1. ↑↑TP ↑↑EE (English medium private/government aided elite schools):
   Proficient teachers; varying degrees of English in the environment, including as a home or first language.
2. ↑TP ↑EE (New English medium; private schools, many of which use both English and other Indian languages): Teachers with limited proficiency; children with little or no background in English; parents aspire to upward mobility through English.

3. ↓TP ↓EE (Government-aided regional medium schools): Schools with a tradition of English education along with regional languages, established by educational societies, with children from a variety of backgrounds.

4. ↓↓TP ↓↓EE (Government regional medium schools run by district and municipal education authorities): They enrol the largest number of elementary school children in rural India. They are also the only choice for the urban poor (who, however, have some options of access to English in the environment). Their teacher may be the least proficient in English in these four types of school (Kurrien 2005 quoted in NCERT 2006, p.9).

English is introduced in class I or class III by 26 states or union territories out of 35 and seven states or union territories introduce it in class IV or V (Khan 2005 Position paper Teaching of English – 2005 NCERT). The position paper also makes an attempt to find the place and role of English in today’s context in India. Stating that ‘English does not stand alone’, the position paper argues that it (English) needs to find its place (i) along with other Indian Languages (a) in regional medium schools: how can children’s other languages strengthen English learning? (b) in English medium schools: how can other Indian languages be valorized, reducing the perceived hegemony of English. (ii) In
relation to other subjects: A language across the curriculum perspective is perhaps of particular relevance to primary education. Language is best acquired through different meaning-making contexts and hence all teaching in a sense is language teaching. This perspective also captures the centrality of language in abstract thought in secondary education (p. 4). English today is a compulsory second language in the vernacular medium schools and in English medium schools it is competing to the status of first language which is the mother tongue.

Sixth All-India Educational Survey conducted in 1993 explored the aspects like (i) languages taught at different stages of school education; (ii) schools following the three-language formula at the upper primary and secondary stages of school education, (iii) medium or media of instruction in schools; and (iv) schools teaching in the mother tongue at the primary and upper primary stages of school education (NCERT 2003). Consecutively, similar sort of research was replicated in 2002 known as the Seventh All-India Survey (NCERT 2007). According to the 2002 Survey (as cited in Meganathan, 2011), the number of schools in the country having primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary stages are 850,421, 337,980, 130,675 and 43,869 respectively (NCERT 2007).

Meganathan (2011 p.6) compares the findings of two surveys and sums up the school language policies in India:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Three language formula’</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>82.16</td>
<td>90.61</td>
<td>79.54</td>
<td>84.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more languages offered</td>
<td>34.85</td>
<td>91.95</td>
<td>95.56</td>
<td>90.61</td>
<td>96.65</td>
<td>84.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi taught as first language</td>
<td>40.49</td>
<td>59.70</td>
<td>38.25</td>
<td>39.92</td>
<td>30.85</td>
<td>33.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi taught as second language</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.81</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31.99</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English taught as first language**</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>13.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English taught as second language</td>
<td>60.33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55.05</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54.12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Three-language Formula comes into effect from Class 6.

**Although it is very difficult to define English as a first language in India, some schools and school systems mentioned it as a first language.

The table shows the growth in percentage of schools following the three language formula, from nearly 83% at upper primary stage in 1993 to 91% in
2002. Similarly at secondary stage too it has increased from nearly 80% to 85%. The table also reveals that in 2002 almost 40% of schools at the upper primary stage and 33% at the secondary stage were teaching Hindi as a first language. These figures show a slight increase compared to 1993 when the comparable figures were 38% and 31% respectively. The point to be noted here in terms of English language learners in Gujarat is that, a large proportion (86.1%) of learners at the primary level between the age of 6-14 years pursue their primary education in Government school (ASER, Annual Status of Educational Report, 2011). The survey reports that there are only three districts out of 25 where in more than 20% (less than 25%) of the primary learners are getting education in private schools. It reveals the fact that the primary learners in 14 districts who study in private schools are below 10%. The ratio is very low in comparison to neighbouring states of Gujarat like Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

India today has 92.07% schools at the primary stage teaching through mother tongue, and the rural and urban comparison shows 92.39% of schools in rural areas as well as 90.39% of schools in urban areas teach through mother tongue. At the Upper Primary stage 91.34% teach through mother tongue which consists of 92.71% in rural areas and 87.37% in urban areas. 12.14% at the primary stage, 14.47% schools at upper primary and 18.53% at the secondary stage have two or more media of instruction. It is also interesting
to note that 91.95% of schools in the country at the primary stage teach two or more languages (7th AISSES - NCERT 2007).

Meganathan (2011) summarises, and gives comprehensive picture of the subject of languages taught as first, second and third language in each state/ UT respectively (Appendix I). In line with the requirement that the ‘first language’ provided at the primary-level school should be the child’s mother tongue or home language, most of the states offer the language of the region or the language of neighbouring states as the first language at the primary stage. However, English is also available as a first language in some states, for example Andhra Pradesh, Nagaland, and Sikkim.

Various patterns emerge in different regions of the country. In the primarily Hindi-speaking states the languages offered are generally Hindi, Urdu, English, Sanskrit and the language of the neighbouring state. For example, Bengali is available in the state of Bihar (which borders West Bengal) and Marathi is available in the state of Madhya Pradesh (which borders Maharashtra, the home of Marathi).

States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Orissa and West Bengal emerge as a different category. They tend to offer the state’s majority language, Hindi, Urdu or some modern Indian language as first language and then English as second language. The scene is quite different in Maharashtra, where at upper primary stage, Marathi and English become first languages and Hindi becomes
the second language. Hence, it appears that Hindi, English and other modern Indian languages are studied as first, second and third languages, depending on the prevailing sociolinguistic situations.

2.5 Teaching English in India and Gujarat

English today has become the most ‘available’ language on the earth. English in India is found essential for its utility value and not merely necessary for the purposes for which the British had introduced it. As Gupta D. (2005) points out “from the despised instrument of oppression to the reluctantly adopted lingua franca to the status symbol of the upper classes to its position today as a second language, English has come a long way (p.2).”

Perhaps the much needed importance of English recognised today was foresighted way back by Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), who made efforts to persuade the officials of the East India Company to impart instruction in English, rather than Sanskrit (or Arabic), so that young Indians would be exposed to the scientific knowledge of the West (Kachru, 1983). Raja Rammohan Roy’s letter addressed to Lord Amherst is an important evidence, not much in favour of the Indian vernaculars, insisting education in English. As Mukherjee M. (2001, p.3) expressed, R. Roy felt, “fully justified in stating that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning”. As a matter of fact, Raja
Rammohan Roy’s letter is also claimed responsible for starting the well-known Oriental-Anglicist controversy (Kachru, 1983). The Anglicists (Charles Grant, T.B. Macaulay, Lord Moira) recommended diffusion of education and knowledge through English as against the Orientalists’ viewpoint. Finally, Macaulay’s resolution was passed with the approval from Lord William Bentick on 7 March 1835. Much later, “as the raj established a firm hold on India, the Anglicization of Indian education became greater, and slowly the English language gained deeper roots in an alien linguistic, cultural, administrative and educational setting (p.69)” The colonial rulers of India extended the provision of education beyond the elite class. English medium schools were established and in 1857 the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras came into existence. In spite of the Anglicist-Orientalist debate, English gradually became the language of government and education, “a symbol of imperial rule and of self improvement” (McCrum, et al 1988, p. 325). English continued to dominate the educational domain as a colonial pedagogic enterprise, with its attendant advantage of getting jobs with English education in the colonial administration.

It was towards the early 20th century, many movements began to advocate for the growth of vernaculars as the medium of education, like Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in 1905; the Calcutta University Commission advocating for stronger education in native languages (Shah, 2012):
…there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must be henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary school, intermediate colleges and the university (as cited in Pattanayak, 1990).

Even Gandhiji had the same views about mother tongue:

I have no doubt whatsoever that, if those who have the education of the youth in their hands will but make up their minds, they will discover that the mother tongue is as natural for the development of man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body. How can it be otherwise? The babe takes its first lesson from its mother. I, therefore, regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their mental development. (p. 8)

English’s colonial legacy is no more a point of debate at this juncture, but what needs to be debated is how to strengthen its teaching and learning, for English has become the language of economic empowerment. Today, at present, English has become the associate official language with constitutional support
to resolve the conflict between the Hindi and non-Hindi speakers in the country. Further, it has also proved to be the link-language cutting across different linguistic and cultural groups at the same time it served as a window to the outside world.

2.5.1 The system of Education

According to Education Policy of 1968 endorsed by the New Education Policy of 1986 (Shukla, 1988, p.4), the National System of Education envisaged a common 10+2+3 structure that has now been accepted by all the states. Gujarat had earlier adopted the pattern of 11 + 4, wherein the learners were required to undergo eleven years of schooling before they entered the university, and were to undergo four more years of university education for graduation including the preparatory year. In 1976, when education was put on the list of concurrent subjects, the authority to take policy decisions was vested with the Central Government, and Gujarat like some other states, switched over to the national pattern of 10+2+3 (Jadeja, 1986).
As shown in the figure 2.3, the primary stage comprises Classes I to V in almost all the States and Union Territories except few states including Gujarat where this stage comprises Classes I to IV while Class V to VIII is a part of upper primary followed by Class IX and X as secondary, and Class XI and XII as higher secondary.

Since 1952 when the first Indian structural syllabus was designed and adopted in the State of Madras through Madras English Language Teaching (MELT)
project, there has been significant change towards the teaching methodology of English at different levels. The methods of learning English has changed and keep on changing in India as well as Gujarat. Of course, the unprecedented global explosion in the demand for English which is driven by economic and technological factors has also affected the change in language teaching methodology in India. Moreover, in spite of a number of diverse methods available, what is true is that there are socio-political reasons or demands on teachers which may make one method more acceptable than another in a given context (Larsen-Freeman 2000). Often the choice of method used in the classroom is beyond the control of the teacher because of constraints such as class size, teacher training or lack of it, economic resources, educational philosophy, and so on. This is what has happened with the majority of the teachers teaching English as a second language in Gujarat at least, if not throughout the nation.

2.5.2 Sociocultural Profile of Gujarat

As the present study deals with sociolinguistic aspects of English language learner at primary level, it is necessary to look at the issue in the light of demographic pattern and sociocultural milieu of Gujarat.

The erstwhile Bombay State was bifurcated into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960. The State at present comprises 25 administrative districts with 223
talukas, with 18028 villages and 264 urban areas (GCERT, 2001). According to the Census (2011), Gujarat has a population of 6.03 Crore, and stands 10th most populated state in India. The state makes up about 5% of the country’s population. Out of the total population of Gujarat, 42.58% people live in urban regions and around 57.42% live in the villages or rural areas. Literacy rate in Gujarat has seen upward trend and is 79.31% as per 2011 population census. Of that, male literacy stands at 87.23% while female literacy is at 70.73%.

The GCERT report (2001) “A Study in School Education” presents the growth of school education since 1961, by providing information on the number of schools at primary and secondary levels. The table 2.3 (GCERT, 2001, p.10) given below displays a significant increase (78.32 per cent) in total number of schools at different levels of education during 1961-99.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pre-primary</th>
<th>Primary – Upper primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Higher Secondary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>18512</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>21355</td>
<td>2263</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>25076</td>
<td>2186</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>28229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2354</td>
<td>31279</td>
<td>3639</td>
<td>1483</td>
<td>38755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2663</td>
<td>35975</td>
<td>4188</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>44649</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover, the state also shows development in elementary education since 1960. As reported in “Elementary Education in India – Analytical Tables” (Mehta 2010), Gujarat stands fifth in the states of India on EDI (Education Development Index) along with states like Kerala (EDI, 0.791), Delhi (EDI, 0.780), Tamil Nadu (EDI, 0.771), Haryana (EDI, 0.753) and Gujarat (EDI, 0.748).

2.5.3 Curriculum Reforms in Gujarat

Prior to independence of the nation, this part of India consisted of British Gujarat, Baroda State and the princely states of Saurashtra and Kuchchha (GCERT, 2001). The curriculum scenario of primary education has changed progressively since the establishment of the first primary school in Gujarat in 1817 in Surat by Christian missionaries, which was later discouraged by EIC (East India Company) (Shah, 1979, as cited in Chand S. and Choudhury, G., 2004).

Since then, education in Gujarat has experienced many changes, especially in curricula after becoming a separate state in 1961. The L.R.Desai Commission which was appointed to go into the issue of teaching of English, recommended that in Gujarat, English should be taught from standard VIII on wards in an intensive manner. Among the five major curriculum reforms, the first three (1973, 1980, and 1987) were limited primarily to the development of new textbooks. The fourth major reform based on ‘mastery learning’ and ‘minimum
levels of learning’ was introduced in 1994. And lastly, the reform made in 1997 was specially significant in that it tried to reorient the pedagogy followed in the state’s schools, at the initial levels of the primary schooling, towards a more ‘child-centred’ and activity-based approach (Chand S. and Choudhury, G., 2004). It significantly marked a change from the previous initiatives as it aimed at making the initial stages of primary education “child-centered and burdenless”.

The last decade, in particular, has witnessed progressive changes in the textbooks. For example, since 2006, new textbooks in double Demi size have been introduced. From June 2008, new textbooks have been introduced in 7th standard according to the new syllabus in Gujarati, English, Hindi and other mediums of instruction. From June 2008, Self-learning books for 3rd and 4th standards are made available to children in Panchayat and Municipal schools. A revised edition of bilingual (English-Gujarati) dictionary based on text books of English (as a second language) for 5th to 7th standard students has been published in the year 2010. From June 2009 onwards, self-learning books for 5th to 7th standard of English (as a second language), Social science, have been prepared. From the year 1999, a children’s Magazine, “Balsrushti”, published by the board, has been performing a pivotal role in improving reading habits of students and in disseminating new knowledge and information to the students (Jadeja, R.P. 2012).
Like textbook reforms at primary level, the state government has also made some promising changes in the development of textbooks at secondary and higher secondary level in Gujarat. The government of Gujarat has upgraded its policy by making English (as a second language) compulsory in the Board exams of 10th, 11th and 12th during the last five years in all streams. Furthermore, the government has prepared Supplementary Readers like Flamingo, Dolphin, and Butterfly containing interesting content for the students of secondary schools in order to provide good exposure for learning English and to make English language learning interesting and joyful.

2.5.4 English in Gujarat

The state of Gujarat was formed on 1st May, 1960 amidst numerous controversies. The patriotic fervour of a newly born state was also seen in its feelings of a prejudice against English. To talk about usefulness of the English language in that context was considered unpatriotic. Soon after the formation of the state, the Government of Gujarat deliberated on its own Education policy and appointed the L.R. Desai Committee to study the various aspects of ELT requirements. The Committee presented its report in 1961. As Jadeja (1986) observes,

*It was recommended that the teaching of English at the primary school level be discontinued. The loss was to be made up by an increased and intensive teaching of English (eleven class-
periods a week) at the secondary school level. These recommendations were accepted and English was taught as a compulsory subject in classes VIII through X. It was made an optional subject at class XI which is the school-ending year at that time (p.8).

As a result, while in many states of India English was taught even in primary schools, in Gujarat it was introduced as late as at 13 years of age (class VIII) not considered to be a very congenial neurological state for learning a new language. Hence, English was taught as one of the subjects in classes VIII, IX and X. It was made an optional subject at class XI which was the school-ending year and the year of Public Examination. Further, during graduation, it was an optional subject. However, if a student desired to opt for English at the college level, s/he was allowed to do so after going through a short ‘Bridge Course’. This Bridge course also enabled students to specialize in English as a major, thus placing these students at par with those who had been studying English since class VIII.

The decision to teach English from class VIII onwards gave rise to a public debate and there as a strong demand to teach English at the primary school level. With a view to giving impetus to vocational courses, when Gujarat opted for the 10+2+3 pattern of education in 1976, English was introduced as an optional subject in classes V, VI and VII (Jadeja, 1986). This meant that if
some primary schools wanted to teach English, they could teach it on a ‘voluntary’ basis, outside the school hours, for which no Government support was made available. As Vaidya (2002) states, “schools were allowed to teach English on the boundary basis from standards V to VII outside the school hours and the expenditure on this were expected to be borne by the schools from their reserve funds (p.10).”

So in class VIII there used to be two categories of students a) those who had studied English for three years, and b) those who were beginners. During this time, once again the subject was compulsory in classes VIII and IX but optional in X, XI and XII as well as at the university level, leaving little motivation for schools to take the teaching of the language seriously. Finally, in late 90s the government made English compulsory from 5th standard. At present, the policy continues and it’s upon the school to decide whether to introduce or not. But most of the private schools introduce it from the 1st standard itself.

Following the changes in policy, the approach to the teaching of English in Gujarat has also taken many shifts. In the 60’s the approach to the teaching of English was bookish and rule-governed. Ability to translate from and into English and Gujarati was considered the hallmark of learning English (Jadeja and Natraj, 2004). Even in the 70’s and 80’s textbooks and teaching of English primarily followed the structural-situational model wherein the emphasis was
on drilling and habit-formation. Although most schools offered English in classes V, VI, and VII, the approach to the teaching of English was mainly structural (Sharma, 2006). This was probably the result of anti-English bias in the state policy that has created a situation in which ELT resources have successively got depleted in terms of the availability of good teachers, teacher training facilities at the PTC level and even in terms of teaching / learning materials (Jadeja, 2001).

However, towards the end of the 80’s some changes were noticed in the textbooks and teacher-training programmes. Gradually, a large number of English medium schools grew to cater to the demand of the society. At the threshold of the 21st century in the year 2004, the Gujarat government introduced Functional syllabus and new textbooks of English at Secondary and Higher Secondary level (at 8th & 11th - 2004, 9th & 12th - 2005, 10th -2006). This was followed by large scale in-service Teachers’ Training programs throughout the state. Subsequently, the primary English textbooks underwent a change and the same approach is followed in preparing the new textbooks which focus more on oral practice and activities. In the year 2007, the government made English a compulsory subject to pass the standard X (Board Exam) if the student wishes to pursue studies in Higher Secondary. Hence, the governmental policy initiatives seem to reinforce aspirations of Gujarati parents who perceive that competence in English will give their children a comparative advantage when it comes to further education and employment.
To provide a brief review in Gujarat English as a subject was introduced in class V during the last decade. However most of the self financed schools introduce it from First against almost all Government Schools that follow the Government policy.

### 2.6 Conclusion

The issues related to SLA with respect to multilingual context of India and Gujarat, sociolinguistics and teaching English have been considered in this chapter. The chapter has outlined the contributions of other researchers. These ideas have assisted this research in its attempt to find a solution to its research problem.