

CHILD BILINGUALISM :
A STUDY IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

(with Special Reference to the Hindi-Bengali Speech Community)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled

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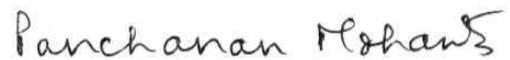
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submitted to the University of Hyderabad for consideration of the award of 'Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics' is a record of original research work done by Mr. Shailendra Kumar Singh during the period of his stay as a full-time Ph. D. student at the Centre for ALTS under our supervision and that it fulfils the conditions laid down by this University. It is also certified that the present thesis has not been submitted for any degree or diploma of any other University.



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CHAPTER - 0

INTRODUCTION

0.1. GENERAL REMARKS : *HOW TO APPROACH BILINGUALISM*

0.1.1. Building Models of Bilingualism: *Opening Pandora's Box*

Bilingualism is a complex phenomenon and as a theoretical concept it has not yet found a completely satisfactory description. The most obvious reasons for its complexity are its association with numerous facts, instances and issues. In other words, bilingualism is a knotty phenomenon with many tangles because it is directly related to a number of perspectives at the same time: social, psychological, linguistic, social psychological, political, cultural, and so on and so forth.

That characterizing bilingualism is not just doing a mere hair-splitting but is an important challenge often based on crude facts has by now been universally accepted by all the researchers in this field. Consider Hoffmann's (1991:14) description as an example of the above assumption:

"The most salient feature of bilingualism is that it is a multi-faceted phenomenon. Whether one is considering it at a societal, or an individual level, one has to accept that there can be no clear cut-off points. As bilingualism defies delimitation, it is open to a variety of descriptions, interpretations and definitions".

Baetens Beardsmore (1982:1) had suggested quite some time back that "bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics". It is not an easy task to posit a generally accepted definition of bilingualism that will not meet with some sort of criticism. Such an image of bilingualism has been embraced unquestionably by most researchers in the field because bilingualism is not an absolute phenomenon. It is not, therefore, surprising that Mackey (1970:555) had admitted much earlier that:

"It seems obvious that if we are to study the phenomena of bilingualism we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative".

One might expect that this visage of bilingualism would cause despair or anxiety to researchers. What has happened is exactly the opposite. All these controversies have rather accelerated the interest so much that the challenge has now been accepted by the active workers in the field. As a result, the literature on bilingualism got further loaded with still newer issues and definitions. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984:81) had the following comments to make on the basis of these differing perceptions:

"there are almost as many definitions of bilingualism as there are scholars investigating it. Every researcher uses the kind of definition which best suits her own field of inquiry and her research aims. In this sense all definitions are arbitrary".

There is no scarcity of research in bilingualism, focusing on its different aspects. There are a number of definitions and theories of bilingualism, although almost all are in 'individualistic fashion' and many of them are

contradictory to one another. This state of bilingualism research can be summarized here by reviewing a few major definitions which researchers have suggested from time to time:

1) Bloomfield (1933): Bilingualism [is] native-like control of two languages ... of course, one can't define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative.

2) Haugen (1953): Bilingualism is understood ... to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language.

3) Mackey (1962): The phenomenon of bilingualism [is] something entirely relative... We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.

4) Encyclopaedia Britannica (1965): The mastery of two or more languages - bilingualism or multilingualism - is a special skill. Bilingualism and multilingualism are relative terms since individuals vary greatly in types and degrees of language proficiency.

5) Weinreich (1953/1966): The practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism, and the person involved bilingual.

6) Van Overbeke (1972): Bilingualism is an optional or obligatory means for efficient two-way communication between two or more different 'worlds' using two different linguistic systems.

7) Titone (1972): The individual's capacity to speak a second language while following the concepts and structures of that language rather than paraphrasing his or her mother tongue.

8) Skutnabb-Kangas (1980b) A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made of an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures), or parts of them.

All definitions, listed above, suggest quite different opinions, contradictory to one another, and are based upon different extremes. These definitions refer to a single dimension of bilingualism, viz. level of proficiency in both languages, and keeping in mind a particular group which becomes bilingual in a certain situation. Baetens Beardsmore (1982) had listed some thirty-five definitions and typologies of bilingualism and bilinguality, very few of which are multidimensional. This is why it was stated in the beginning that bilingualism as a concept has not yet found a satisfying description. A careful observation of these definitions would lead us to conclude that there cannot be one definition of bilingualism, because of its essentially multifarious nature. Therefore, any new researcher in this field faces this challenge as to whose definition should be recalled to describe a given situation. The challenge is naturally more intense if one wishes to offer a new definition.

So far we do not have established principles of or guidelines for calling a person Bilingual on the basis of knowledge of language that a bilingual possesses in two or more languages. A number of attempts to institutionalize such requirements have been theoretically and empirically ungrounded, as they leave many things unanswered. Frankly speaking, if the guidelines falsely determine the defining principles which do not square with empirical findings, we have every reason to believe that such attempts may not only be premature but may also be harmful. For instance, if one insists on 'the native-like competence' as a criterion, and many may even take it as an inevitable and unquestionable criterion, there is a very real danger that people who are unable to meet the specified requirement may be prevented from being

called 'bilinguals' even if they are good enough to prove their working (or even reasonably adequate) capability in the second or third language(s). Skutnabb-Kangas (1984:83), therefore, rightly points out that:

"Definitions by competence tend either to be too narrow, so that hardly anybody falls within the criteria, or too broad, so that practically everybody becomes bilingual. And if a definition either includes or excludes everybody, it is in practice useless, since it does not discriminate adequately".

At the very least, there is a distinct possibility that a significant number of individuals who fail to measure up to a certain standard in FL or SL may well interpret their failure to mean that they have no qualification to be a bilingual which may adversely affect them socio-psychologically, leading to a possible change in their otherwise plural behavior pattern. We know that the guidelines, if at all there are any, are far from perfect. On the contrary, some guidelines are dangerous and immature, if these are viewed and assessed from the point of view of a socially and culturally stratified plural country like India. One can cite a very crude parallel which will fit in this context perfectly: if linguists are placed in a chemistry laboratory or if chemists juggle with their basic units like the language researchers do, their laboratories are bound to blow up.

0.2. DEFINING BILINGUALISM AND THE WH-QUESTIONS

It is evident that defining bilingualism is not an easy task and that no conceivable definition - does not matter how compact it is - can be thought to be absolutely free from criticism. This is because as a rule falsifiability

must be built into any theoretical stand one takes in pursuit of scientific knowledge. Therefore, to define bilingualism, one must look for such descriptions that are general enough to include the commonest types of people with more than one speech variety, so that the definition can also explain the multidimensionality of this phenomenon and help one in setting up of a viable typology of bilingualism and bilinguals. To begin with, this kind of description may be based on the definitions already given in literature, except that we take here the only common denominator - knowledge of two languages and their use.

For the sake of completeness all definitions and analyses of such social phenomena require a multidisciplinary approach. A definition which is typologically justifiable will generate a number of basic possibilities with respect to the following questions : whom to call bilingual and whom not to, or what should be the qualifying knowledge in two languages for anyone to be designated as a bilingual person, etc. The benefit of a typological approach is that its assumptions will be open to further observation and quantification. The definition which is assumed here, viz., "Bilingualism is a use of [knowledge...] of two languages" - is thus a fairly simple description of both individual and societal bilingualism. The experience derived from field work in dealing with 'bilinguals' among Bengali and Bihari minority children in Bihar and Bengal, respectively, is of great help in elaborating such definitions further.

The working definition given here could be of course argued to be both simple (for common people) and complex (for researchers). What we are arguing for here is that we need to draw the picture of a 'bilingual' as 'a language user', i.e. define a bilingual in terms of one's 'use of knowledge of [more than one] languages'. The use or possession of knowledge of language referred to here derives solely from the actual situation of learning by use. This includes both conscious and explicit knowledge. It is more composite in the sense that it includes both knowledge of language that one possesses and how one makes use of it.

This leads us to another question as to how to explain bilingualism more exhaustively. For a more comprehensive description, one has to answer the following set of classic questions:

'who USES what speech varieties, how, why and where?'

Any meaningful answer to these questions will predict the type of bilingualism referred to. The very first question to be raised here is: who is a bilingual, or let's say, what is a bilingual? The term 'bilingual' may refer to an individual or a community of which an individual is a part. This distinction is based upon the 'level' of language use (societal vs. individual). But when we look at the route of development of individual bilingualism, yet another typology of bilinguals will emerge, viz. childhood bilingual, adolescent bilingual and adult bilingual. At the societal level too, a similar three-way distinction could be proposed on the same analogy : transient, partial and optimally bilingual.

In comparison to the above, Skutnabb-Kangas's (1984) analysis of bilingualism recognizes four dimensions for typologizing bilinguals. For instance, under the heading of 'origin' one gets a stage which can be taken to correspond with age. Various types of bilingualism could thus be classified in this way: national, minority, immigrant, and another.

In answer to the second question as to what speech variety or varieties is/are used, one could say that an individual uses his knowledge of two languages along with social, cultural and ethnic features, habits or values acquired in the processes of learning. One's knowledge of language could be thus judged or predicted depending on what one uses and how one puts his knowledge of language as well as on all other aspects of behavior to use. For calling someone a bilingual one has to mainly depend on one's linguistic competence, socio-cultural knowledge and behavioral ability. These have been the major thrust for researchers and most of the definitions which are so far available in the literature of bilingualism have mainly concentrated on these issues.

As stated earlier, one of the most trivial but controversial tasks for researchers of bilingualism is to demarcate and fix the qualifying knowledge for a bilingual. Once again confusion arises from the fact that different scholars set out qualifying knowledge for bilinguals using different parameters. The difference has arisen apparently because of two opposite views. On the one hand, we have those who can be called the ultimate purists or the 'extremists'- like Bloomfield (1933) asking for native-like control in two

languages, and on the other hand we have scholars who could be placed under the 'minimalist' position - especially scholars like Diebold (1964) who would say that the ability to understand sentences (in another language) might also qualify one to be a bilingual.

Both opinions have their own supporters. Consider the rigorous definition put forth by Maximilian Braun which is on the extremist line: "active, completely equal mastery of two or more languages" (cf. Braun 1937:115). Oestreicher's (1974:9) definition can be considered to support the same viewpoint even more strongly: "complete mastery of two different languages without interference between the two linguistic processes". The most important definition in support of this opinion can be quoted from the works of the 'grand old man' in bilingualism research - Einar Haugen - who has the following to say : Bilingualism begins "at the point where a speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (Haugen 1953:7).

The minimalist opinion has also got supporters to the same extent as those who take an extreme position. For instance, Hall's (1952:14) definition can be recalled in this context, whereby he expects "at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language". Macnamara (1969:82) at first lists the four areas of linguistic ability (understanding, speaking, reading and writing), and then claims that a person can be called bilingual if he/she possesses at least one of these language skills in the second language "even to a minimal degree". Sociolinguists like Gumperz

(1969:243) do not hesitate to call a person bilingual (he uses the name 'socially bilingual') - if he/she has a "command of different varieties of the same language". Rivers (1969:35-36) suggests the possibility for child to be called bilingual by explicitly stating that:

"....consider the child bilingual as soon as he is able to understand and make himself understood within his limited linguistic and social environment (that is, as consistent with his age and the situation in which he is expressing himself)".

The modern era in the study of child language began with Chomsky's published theoretical formulations (1957, 1959, 1964, 1965). Two issues raised by him have had a special impact on research in language structure and language acquisition. The first is that fluent speech stems from a set of rules that underlies sentence construction. According to this, during language acquisition, a child is exposed to a limited sample of speech but he must still arrive at a set of rules that will enable him to produce and comprehend an infinite number of possible sentences. It is noticeable that during the 1960s Chomsky's formulation influenced most investigators to concentrate their study primarily on the linguistically relevant knowledge - knowledge of the linguistic code.

However, by the late 1960s, a small number of investigators, led by Hymes (1971, 1972); Slobin (1967); Campbell and Wales (1970) - had begun to voice objections against linguists' preoccupation with 'linguistic competence'. What they objected to was the idea of 'competence' as in Chomsky's works, because he was disregarding those aspects of knowledge that a speaker must possess know to produce utterances appropriate to the particular cultural

contexts in which they occur. For this group the assumption was that there should also be formalized rules for language use. Campbell and Wales (1970:247), talking about Chomsky's notion of 'competence', had the following comments to offer:

"... by far the most important linguistic ability has been omitted - the ability to produce or understand utterances which are not so much grammatical but more important, appropriate to the context in which they are made".

This assumption leads Slobin (1967) as well as Gumperz and Hymes (1964) to characterize the notion of 'Communicative competence' as the totality of knowledge that enables a speaker to function using different linguistic skills. The definition of communicative competence includes a much more comprehensive range of knowledge while preserving the construct of 'competence' as advanced by Chomsky. The shift emphasized on the belief that the language acquired by a child does not merely involve learning of only linguistic structure, but also the social values and rules underlying language in social interaction. Apparently, the communicative competence includes both knowledge of rules and knowledge of performance - the understanding and the production of utterances appropriate to the contexts in which they occur. As such, it includes: linguistic competence - competence in producing and understanding phonetically, grammatically and semantically correct utterances and in separating them out from non-utterances; and social and interactional competence in the social and cultural rules for the appropriate use of language in different social situations. Specifically, the term communicative competence will

then refer to the child's knowledge and skills of both formal and functional aspects of the language. What Hymes had done, was to "extend the notion of competence as tacit knowledge from grammar to speaking as a whole" (Hymes 1971:16).

Here, the thrust of inquiry is to find out: i) whether or not the notion of 'communicative competence' should be included under the general concept of 'grammatical competence' as one of its components, and ii) whether or not communicative competence should be distinguished from communicative performance? If use of the term 'communicative competence' refers to the relationship and interaction between grammatical competence, or knowledge of the rules of grammar, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of language use (Canale and Swain 1980), then, one does not see much difference between Hymesian concept of communicative competence from Chomsky's modified theory of different kinds of competence - when he talks of 'grammatical competence' and 'pragmatic competence'. Chomsky (1980:224) in his later work distinguishes between the grammatical and the pragmatic in the following way:

"For the purposes of inquiry and exposition, we may proceed to distinguish 'grammatical competence' from 'pragmatic competence', restricting the first to the knowledge of form and meaning and the second to knowledge of conditions and manner of appropriate use, in conformity with various purposes. Thus we may think of language as an instrument that can be put to use. The grammar of the language characterizes the instrument, determining intrinsic physical and semantic properties of every sentence. The grammar thus expresses grammatical competence. A system of rules and principles constituting pragmatic competence determines how the tool can effectively be put to use".

If it is so, Hymes's objection to Chomsky's view of performance (which he had labeled the dustbin view of performance) should be questioned. On the contrary, it was Hymes who had held a dustbin view of competence according to some later scholars (cf. Taylor 1988). Hymes also manages to give the impression that all aspects of language use fall within the domain of his communicative competence, thereby implying that they can be accounted for systematically in terms of rules whereas Chomsky had assumed a categoric approach on this point.

If Hymes's view of communicative competence is explained in the above manner then aspects of what Chomsky called performance can also be understood systematically and can be characterized as a kind of competence (cf. Chomsky's later idea of 'pragmatic competence' as in Munby 1978). Munby (1978), however, reiterates some of the misconceptions found in Hymesian view of communicative competence, notably the incorporation of 'ability for use' (15-16) into widened conception of competence. Taylor (1988:166-7) while attacking on Hymes's notion of competence says the following:

"Much could be clarified by doing away with the overall term 'communicative competence' which has been so abused that it has lost all precise meaning. The vague meaning that it does seem to have ('ability to perform') has no recognizable connection at all with competence as originally defined. We might do better to replace it instead with 'communicative proficiency', which would have a number of components, such as 'grammatical competence' together with the associated 'grammatical proficiency', and 'pragmatic competence' together with 'pragmatic proficiency'".

Hymes seems to be quite practical while introducing yet another term in this series called 'differential competence' (cf. Hymes 1971:7; 1972:274), referring to differences among individuals, and introducing a comparative and relative dimension, thus correcting a major aberration that had crept in in the characterization of 'competence' by Chomsky as an absolute conception (Taylor 1988). Again, one must say that Hymes (1972:277-8) seems to be wise enough in his theoretical approach when he says at one point: "He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" but fails in optimizing and demarcating whether such knowledge is possible without knowing grammar because he confidently says that "a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical but also as appropriate" (Hymes 1972: 277-8). One can assume that by this he means that the child acquires both knowledge of grammar and knowledge of language use. He doesn't foresee that strictly speaking the child first acquires knowledge of language use rather than knowledge of grammar. An illiterate person can be put under category of people possessing a knowledge of language use without an explicit knowledge of grammar. Here, one could recall Skutnabb-Kangas's (1984:84) comment on competence which could help in removing some misconceptions about this issue. Consider here assessment of the opinion expressed earlier. "Those definitions, for example, which talk about a native competence still tell us nothing about them, because both a child who can't read and an illiterate adult (in a culture where there is no homogeneous written language or where illiteracy is common) can of course have a native competence in their mother tongue". In this context, the question raised by her fits in rightly: We must ask whether monolinguals in

general can be used as the norm against which the competence of bilinguals can be measured? Or, only bilinguals should be compared with other bilinguals.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) mentions another difficulty that arises out of the problem in defining bilingualism by using the notion of competence. Here she raises the basic question as to who is to be the basis for comparison? She stresses that a norm should be stated which can be viewed as a requirement for a person to be identified as a bilingual? This is because a native speaker's competence in his own language may vary to a great extent. While one may be competent in writing and, another may not be able to read and write at all. Or, he may be able to do so but may be unable to identify simple grammatical categories of his language. Should we call a bilingual person who has pragmatic competence without having grammatical competence a 'native-like' bilingual? If so, we have to assume that pragmatic competence is possible without grammatical competence. Therefore, the position that we has been taken here is that the concept of 'native-like competence' must be defined based on the study of those who are most likely candidate for such competence. One must also determine what are the most essential qualifications to have a native-like competence or what is required in four area of linguistic ability (listening, speaking, reading and writing). Are receptive skills enough, or should an individual be also able to produce - i.e., to speak and/or to write professional or academic work of some standard? Definition of bilingualism is needed to compare bilingual individuals or situations in which bilinguals can work and find themselves communicating fluently in more than one speech. It would be desirable to correlate the degree of bilingualism with its opera-

tional (which is measurable) use. Thus although it is evident that the classical Chomskyan notion of competence has only a small part to play in all this, it is equally obvious from the discussion that the term 'competence' is used so widely and so diversely in so many different domains, that there is a need for further and finer conceptual distinctions as the one between competence and performance.

At this point, it is also worth considering the views of Halliday (1978), who has been very much in favour of rejecting the notions of competence and performance and the distinction between them. Halliday (1978) prefers to distinguish between what a speaker does and what he can do. In other words, he is interested in the idea of 'potential' - which could be divided into either 'meaning potential' (that is, what the speaker could mean) or 'behavioral potential' (that is, what the speaker could do).

0.3. A TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUALS WITH VARYING COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

If the twin notions of 'competence' and 'communicative competence' are restored in their usual sense or are interpreted without any conceptual modifications, one may not be able to define various types of bilinguals in a very fine manner. All the same, for the purpose of better understanding and exposition of the phenomenon it is mandatory to differentiate between 'competence' 'communicative competence', restricting the first to be a term which has to do with the knowledge of grammar, in strict linguistic sense, with mastery of

rule, form and meaning of language, and the second notion to knowledge of language use minus the knowledge of grammar. The idea is that a person has 'communicative competence' when he can communicate verbally with others with some measure of effectiveness. On the basis of this description, it is now easy to characterize various types of bilinguals who have different types of knowledge in the first and second languages:

- 1) One who is able to speak the second language very well but is unable to read and write,
- 2) One who is able to understand, read and write second language but cannot speak,
- 3) One who is able to speak first language but unable to read and write,
- 4) One who can speak in one's mothertongue but can read and write in the second language, too.

In this manner, a typology of bilinguals could emerge as follows: 1) competence with communicative competence [C + CC], 2) competence without communicative competence [C - CC], 3) communicative competence without competence [CC - C] and 4) neither competence nor communicative competence [-C, -CC]. As it stands, this typology gives us a broader distinction now. But to be more specific, we may have to look at some other possibilities regarding one's possession of knowledge in the first and second languages. A more generalized and clearer typology may emerge if we consider the following feature matrix:

- 1) $L1 [C + CC] + L2 [C + CC]$ = Perfect, Balanced & Additive bilingualism
- 2) $L1 - [C + CC] + L2 [C + CC]$ = Language loss, Subtractive & Partial bilingualism
- 3) $L1 + [CC - C] + L2 [CC - C]$ = Language loss, Subtractive & Partial bilingualism
- 4) $L1 + [C + CC] + L2 [C - CC]$ = Partial & Subtractive bilingualism
- 5) $L1 + [C + CC] + L2 [CC - C]$ = Partial & Subtractive bilingualism
- 6) $L1 + [C + CC] + L2 - [CC + C]$ = Incipient bilingualism
- 7) $L1 + [CC - C] + L2 - [CC + C]$ = Incipient bilingualism

The above description is difficult to arrive at only by naming types of bilingual, as both 6 & 7 may have the same traditional name of 'incipient bilinguals' but their characterizations differ significantly which get reflected only in their corresponding feature matrix. It has provided a basis under which any bilingual person can be classified. The consequence of this kind of typology is the assumption that language knowledge can be structurally broken down into possession of different types of linguistic knowledge - the knowledge of grammar and knowledge of language use. Further, the underlying assumption is that it is not just essential to have a control of grammar in order to use language for communicative purposes, one can develop communicative skills by knowing where to use what or to whom.

The above approach can be called functional approach as it is able to classify the various types of bilinguals beginning from a more holistic level, with a promise to set out a model which will provide a heuristic device for enlisting types of knowledge potential that a bilingual may need to fulfill

the prerequisite for 'being' a bilingual and functioning as one in a given context. Besides, the categorization also helps us in predicting as to what 'type' of bilingual he or she is. This approach allows for a kind of formally valued eclecticism and has many characteristics. First, the model assumes that a complete mastery or native-like competence is neither a necessary nor an absolutely condition to be a bilingual. Secondly, it has a graded approach where it is first assessed as to how much a person is in possession of knowledge of language structure and language use. Thirdly, this model has been directly and indirectly conceived of in a process framework.

One would notice, to begin with, that Chomsky is inconsistent in his use of terms. By grammatical competence he means a kind of 'knowledge', but it is evident that by pragmatic competence he means a kind of 'ability'. This kind of duality creates a lot of confusion and is inconsistent with his general approach, mainly because one does not foresee that use of language is also a kind of knowledge. Is competence then a knowledge of grammar or an ability of language use or both?

It is also appropriate that we raise the other related questions here: Is it possible, both in principle and practice, to have grammatical ability without pragmatic ability? The answer would seem to be "yes". What about the reverse situation then? Can we or can't we have pragmatic ability, an ability to use language appropriately, without adequate to substantial grammatical knowledge or ability to compose or decompose sentences? The may be a 'yes' in this case, too. Consider the following comment of Widdowson (1989:131): "Learners can acquire a repertoire of phrases for deployment in a range of

correlating contexts but fail to analyze them fully into constituents as linguistic structures". He further adds: "Grammatical competence is not necessarily inferred from use, and so use is itself constricted" (Widdowson 1989:131). Nevertheless, there seems to be a paradox here, which will become clearer soon.

To summarize the story so far, and to get the terms straight, there are the following positions: For Chomsky, competence is knowledge, for Hymes, competence is knowledge plus ability, and Widdowson (1989:132) has yet another position when he says the following: "There is a great deal that the native speaker knows of his language which takes the form less of analyzed grammatical rules than adaptable lexical chunks". Again, Pawley and Syder (1983:192) refer to these as 'lexicalized sentence stems' and suggest that "the stock [of them] known to the ordinary mature speaker of English amounts to hundreds of thousands". They discuss this issue in some detail, and point out that the "native speakers don't exercise the creative potential of syntactic rules to anything like their full extent, and ... indeed if they did so they would not be accepted as exhibiting native-like control of the language" (ibid, 193).

In terms of language proficiency, all these discussions point to the fact that the proficiency of a given speaker can never be characterized in any absolute sense, with everyone having the same fit between form and function. It is clear that the concept of proficiency is construed here only as a guideline here and that its operationalization is based upon a homogenizing view of learning and human activity.

What was described here was meant to be an overview of knowledge of language with a clear cut assumption of this special kind of knowledge with or without tacit knowledge of grammar. What was left unanswered was the other important types of knowledge - social, cultural and ethnographic - where such knowledge about the second language speech community may or may not be acquired by a migrant community in course of acquisition of its language. Of course, it will depend upon how they have acquired the L2. In an attempt to answer the query, whether in all possible courses of learning, the learner becomes culturally, socially and ethnically knowledgeable in second language as soon he linguistically becomes knowledgeable, one will have to take into consideration several factors: how the learner has acquired the said language, whether through the course of socialization, culturization and ethnicization or only through lingualization (institutional) without going through the above processes.

Culture as a system of implicit and explicit ideas (Keesing 1974) which underlies and gives meaning to all behaviors in society and which, in turn, shapes our order, thought and feeling (Tindall 1976). To acquire about socio-cultural knowledge of another socio-cultural group one will have to activate himself in a series of socio-cultural processes of learning. Piaget's (1952) notions of 'assimilation' and 'accommodation' are very important in this sense, as he indicates that children construct their own development through their actions in the world they experience. According to him it is essentially this activity that structures knowledge. Socio-historical approaches to development promote the idea that higher intellectual skills of individuals develop in parts through participation in socially and culturally organized activi-

ties. If we recall this notion and others' stand on that, it is axiomatic to say that a mere learning of SL without going through the processes of socialization, culturization, etc. may not necessarily supply the cultural, social and ethnical competence to a language learner.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) analyzes cultural competence, in details, in terms of four components or constituents: cognitive, affective, behavioral and metacultural. She argues that to acquire competence in a new culture (particularly for immigrants), one has to pass through succession of phases beginning with exclusion or segregation, moving through functional adaptation and acculturation to a 'final', dynamic phase. She describes the processes involved roughly in the following manner:

1) The first phase is that of cultural segregation: This is the situation in which the immigrants are fully competent (+) in the original culture but not at all in the new culture. The situation is like this: the original culture is familiar, but the new culture is unknown.

2) Functional adaptation: When the immigrants start a functional adaptation, learn a part of it of the new language, become familiar with some of the more important norms, the second stage begins. When it proceeds further, the immigrants slowly acquire the instruments needed to be able to function in the new country and also be able to behave adequately, at least superficially. At this stage cognitive and behavioral competence as a part of cultural competence of new culture are acquired while the cultural competence in one's own culture remains intact.

3) Acculturation: At this stage the learners acquire at least some of the norms and value judgment of the new society. The immigrant who is to some extent bilingual/bicultural by now, will invariably possess some degree of meta-communicative and metacultural awareness at this stage.

4) **Integration:** This process accounts for the acceptance of the norms and values of new culture which are in addition to the norms and values of the original language and culture. A person would be called bilingual/bicultural, when he had two coexisting sets of norms and values. At this stage, she said the immigrants would have the affective component of cultural competence and called it, in Lambertian terminology, Additive bilingualism and additive biculturalism.

Children develop a concept of socio-culturally structured universe through their participation in language activity (cf. Ochs 1988). To be very sure, it is only through the process of socialization and cultururation in the second language group that an individual internalizes the values of society, culture and ethnicity of the second language, including the aspects related to personality and role behavior. In this sense, an individual constructs the socio-cultural values of another group through socio-cultural interactions with them. The selective, active role of the individual in constructing social order has been a theme of phenomenologists such as Schutz (1967) and Berger and Luckman (1967). From this perspective, an individual acquires through socialization certain 'stock knowledge' which is inherent in that society and culture (rules of performances and preferences, laws to act appropriately, etc.). To know about this specific 'stock knowledge' of second language society and culture, the learners will have to be an active socializer and culturator. Here the process of socialization and cultururation should be considered bipolar, that is to say, socialization through language and socialization to use language. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a, b), a supporter of this ideology, believe that children and other novices in any society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions. The question that immediately

comes to one's mind is as follows: Is the acquisition of socio-cultural knowledge of SL group possible through learning second language (through institution) without being socialized and acculturated with the second language society and culture. One answer to this query can be that it is still possible to acquire language without socialization and acculturation when language is learnt only in schools and where the native speakers of that particular speech community are not available for day to day interaction (for example, take the case of Indians learning English). But in such cases, the second type of knowledge is not possible for obvious reasons, particularly where one has to enter into the socio-cultural processes of learning. This conclusion brings us to a second kind of typology:

1) Linguistic knowledge without social, cultural and ethnical knowledge. The process = Secondary lingualization without secondary socialization, culturation, ethnicization [SL - SS, SC, SE].

2) Linguistic knowledge with social, cultural and ethnical knowledge. The process = Secondary lingualization with secondary socialization, culturation, ethnicization [SL + SS, SC, SE].

We need an understanding of how different types of knowledge are acquired through different processes - 'lingualization', 'socialization', 'culturation', or 'ethnicization', etc. While going through a number of processes children perceive and conceptualize events, states and objects in the world, and try to fit this information into lexical, grammatical, and discourse structure. Much less is understood about children's concept of effect, social acts, social activities, social events, social relationships and other areas of socio-cultural knowledge, particularly - how these concepts are learned on the one hand, and language learning per se, on the other hand.

0.4. ON THE PRESENT STUDY

The emphasis in this work is then on the nature of plural behavior in society and its collective effect on the competence in second language by the speakers who may come in contact with another speech community. Similarly there is also an emphasis on the mental structure of such bilinguals and their sociolinguistic organization when they have been in course of socialization and cultururation with this 'other' speech community/ If the role of the socio-cultural environment in developing this particular frame of mind is investigated into, then we would have to differentiate between two types of personal knowledge: (i) one when has learnt SL in the socio-cultural environment of SL speech community, and (ii) the other when he has learnt the SL concerned without such an experience. It should also be noticed that learners who learn languages in different socio-cultural environments will naturally have different mental structures. It is not to say that there is no comparability among these structures.

We are concerned here with that particular set of borderland problems in knowledge generation and knowledge application that can be classified into cultural knowledge, social knowledge and ethnical knowledge. To introduce a basis of comparability among different types of bilinguals who have appeared in the present analysis, a definite scheme of analysis has to be adopted. One must, undoubtedly, strike a balance, and through it, hopefully, a stable classification as it gives way to an improved and a better understood model of typical plurilingual situations such as the present one. This does provide a

basis for creating an inventory of extant findings in field. For indicating the varieties in the inventory, and for consistent results, one has to set forth a conceptual apparatus which might be of imminent use. One has to determine the nature of problems in the field, assess the character of the evidence which have been brought to bear upon those problems, and ferret out the characteristic lacunas and weaknesses in the different types of interpretation. In finality, such classification of knowledge will also show the possible ways to answer the following questions:

- a) What or where is the existential basis of mental production located in the social and cultural base?
- b) What mental productions are being sociologically analyzed in the sphere of ideas, beliefs, norms etc.?
- c) How does the sociolinguistic organization of these specific communicative events interface with a more general system of social order and cultural knowledge?
- d) How do the communicative practices generate socio-cultural novices in course of their becoming members of a social group?

It is assumed here that linguistic competence is but one aspect of inter-ethnic communication which may not necessarily include the other types of competence. Social competence pertains to focus on that type of knowledge which is tractable in terms of socially situated characteristics of a particular speech community. It is, in fact, one's knowledge of one's social norms, i.e. a stable, shared conception of behavior appropriate or inappropriate in a given context. The structure of a social norm represents the content or prototype of one's target behavior. One must also know about the social roles of an individual permissible within that society in different contexts. Social competence thus, involves the cognitive organization of social environment.

More specifically this will also include one's knowledge about the social function of language, something which was expressed by Malinowski in 1923 and by Firth in 1950.

A reasonable unit of analysis that corresponds to other studies of norms - is the 'social situation' (Similar to Fishman's 1965, 1972 "domain") with which widely shared social and behavioral meaning is attached. One's speech norms will provide a logical unit of analysis for understanding one's cognitive organization of the social environment. A crucial component of social competence is the knowledge of normative behavior which is situation-specific (Moos 1973) and which operates within a specific social context. To call someone 'socially competent' one should find out whether the person is able to make distinction between contexts of behavior of upper, middle, and lower classes, and whether the behavior in question concerns language (See Labov 1966) or perception of psychological deviance. Similarly, one dimension of social context that affects virtually all normatively regulated behavior is its degree of formality or explicit constraint (cf. Labov 1966; Shuy 1969; Ervin-Tripp 1972; McKirnan 1977; McKirnan and Hamayan 1980). Therefore, to put a bilingual in this category it is essential to ask or observe whether one can regulate his behavior in different constraints.

Bilinguals cannot be automatically called bicultural because bilingualism and biculturalism do not stand in any simple one-to-one relation, either. It is quite possible to learn a foreign language without acquiring any of the cultural attributes inherent in that language (Beatens Beardsmore 1982). Haugen (1956) had similar opinion when he argued that bilingualism and biculturalism were not necessarily coextensive. One could take a position that

there are monocultural countries where people use two languages on a regular basis. In countries like Tanzania, Kenya, and some other African nations, where there is a lingua franca, people (bilinguals) are still monocultural in their own ethnic groups and culture. On the other hand, a French-speaking Breton or an English-speaking Scot are often cited as an example of bicultural but monolingual because he/she shares the beliefs, attitudes and habits of two cultures.

As an exercise in this endeavor, our effort is to classify bilinguals on the basis of different types of knowledge. We have recognized at least two possible bilinguals: (1) a person who is bilingual but not bicultural; and (2) a person who is bilingual and is also bicultural. A person could be called culturally competent in second language when one has cognitively patterned the world view (norms, beliefs, values) like any other natural member of the second language group. A bilingual person who is capable in distinguishing and demarcating oneself from others or one who recognizes cultural and social distinctiveness of one's own group and the second group should be called meta-cognitively competent in Skutnabb-Kangas's terminology.

As it has been said earlier, it could be more relevant to define bilingualism significantly and diversely by posing many questions to be answered so that they provide an exhaustive explanation of the problems raised in each survey-based study. In course of analyzing the present survey results, one must consider some more important questions: Why do people use or need two languages? Or, why do people prefer to use two languages or a second language which eventually turns them into bilinguals? The most probable reasons are:

(i) There is a need to learn SL - caused by the different values of the said language. Or, (ii) it may be that the second language is an absolute necessity in intrapersonal communication. (iii) It may also be that language force generated by language value has been in position to cause motivation to learn. (iv) Need of learning L2 may be caused due to intrapersonal and interpersonal demands and pressure, too. (v) Different linguistic environments may create different 'values' of language and as a result it may cause different types of need for learning a second language.

To make it more clear it is better to recall the frame of reference devised by Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) stating reasons for becoming bilingual:

- a) The pressure to become bilingual;
- b) The prerequisites for bilingualism;
- c) The routes by which a individual has become bilingual; and
- d) The consequences of having the feeling that one has become bilingual.

Each of these could be elaborated as follows:

1) Children whose parents have different mothertongue will, definitely, experience considerable societal pressure to become fluent in both languages. In that case bilingualism will be desirable because the internal family pressure requires the child to communicate in the language of parents.

2) Children from the linguistic minority are under intense external pressure to learn the language of the majority - particularly if the language of the minority group is officially not acknowledge.

3) Close contact with other linguistic groups is a very common occurrence. In a multinational state, such as a in country like India - with rich linguistic diversity, actual and potential contacts between members of different language groups are a common possibility.

4) The education system may be deliberately geared towards fostering bilingualism, as is the case, for instance, in India, where the implementation of what is known as the 'three language formula' can be seen as a deliberate effort to make students bilingual through teaching in the nation's interest. Three important linguistic changes have been brought about since the implementation of this formula: first, the development of 'national bilingualism'; second, the government has demonstrated that it has no bias towards imposition of one language over another; and finally the citizens' opportunity to learn their mothertongue formally.

India experiences large-scale migration as people move across provincial frontiers in search of work and better living conditions. There are many interesting accounts of bilinguals in India highlighting on the people on the move from one state to another. Depending on the pattern of settlement children of such migrants may be confronted with two types of experiences: firstly, the children may grow up hearing the language of their parents only, if they live in a community composed of migrants of homogeneous speech group or if they are staying in an islandic community; and, in the other case, they may mix to a large extent with the children of the host community and most of

the time they may have to speak SL when they are outside their home because the host community may not use or may not even be favorably disposed towards the migrant's language, or that matter to any language other than their own.

0.5. MORE ABOUT TYPOLOGY: UNDERSTANDING 'BILINGUALISM' FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Returning to the question of typology of bilinguals, we can easily observe that different causes or different conditions in which bilingualism may grow generate or produce different types of bilinguals. For instance, the kind of bilingualism which grows in India through educational system is a kind of 'planned bilingualism' as it has resulted because of Indian government's educational policy to get children trained in at least three languages (by implementing the 'three language formula') at the school-level. Skutnabb-Kangas's second type of reason produces 'seized or forced' bilingualism because here a minority group is at the disposal of a majority group. Another type of bilingualism which grows in India because of her linguistic diversity and uncontrolled contact among people at the intra-national level is 'coexistent' bilingualism because of demography, political pluralism and linguistic structure of the locus. It is different from the western countries because although such types of bilingualism may be seen there because of contact among the original inhabitants of the country and its immigrants from other countries arriving in stable numbers, because in India they all belong to the same country (where the languages would also have a lot of structural similarities). In this context a sharp boundary can be drawn between the

Western countries and India by naming two different types of bilingualism: 'Nationally non-coexistent bilingualism' or 'inter-national bilinguals', for the situation in the western countries and 'Nationally coexistent bilingualism' or 'intra-national bilinguals' for the Indian case.

The questions such as 'how' and 'where' will tell us the following: a bilingual's own conception of how well he/she commands the languages he knows, how well he/she feels he/she can use them naturally and effortlessly; in other words, bilinguals' own conception of his/her competence, how he/she identifies himself/herself with his/her own and other linguistic group, how his/her social, cultural and ethnical knowledge is compatible with the use of his/her linguistic knowledge, how he/she acts in both groups in different educational and socio-cultural settings, etc. The present analysis which attempts to answer some of these difficult questions - is multidimensional which not only says what bilingualism is, but also answers the how-, why-, and when- questions. It thus enables us to formulate a wide range of problems and solutions about bilingualism.

This explanation suggests that a complete understanding of these problems must come through a multilayered analysis. The issue of bilingualism has thus many dimensions: psychological, neurological, linguistic, sociological, educational, political, etc. which create many faces of bilingualism. Therefore, a better understanding of the notion of bilingualism must come through a multilayered and multidisciplinary analysis. The approach should be multidisciplinary in so far as we study the various phenomena at different levels of analysis from different disciplines: (1) individual behavior at psychologi-

cal level, (2) brain and its relation to bilingualism at neurological level, (3) language in contact and its effect and interaction at linguistic level, (4) interpersonal aspect at socio-psychological level, (5) intergroup relation at sociological level, (6) pedagogical analysis at educational level, and (7) policy and national aspect of bilingualism at political level.

Talking about the multidisciplinary character of bilingualism Hoffmann (1991:17) says:

"Research into bilingualism is, consequently, interdisciplinary in character, as scholars from different academic fields, such as sociology, psychology, linguistics, anthropology and education (and others) bring different methods, criteria and assumptions to bear upon studies of bilingual situations".

A multidisciplinary research design of bilingualism will not only include what 'bilingualism' is, but will also answers some important 'WH' questions. This will also enable us to formulate a wide range of solutions for the problems associated with bilingualism. Consider the following aspects of bilingualism research:

0.5.1. PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT

A study of the psychological aspect of bilingualism, if conscientiously and intelligibly pursued, will provide a rich background of information about the individual's cognitive organization, process and function, individual behavior, psychological growth under a variety of environmental conditions, information about psychological scale appraising a bilingual's developmental status, and certain 'norms' of behavior and growth which are useful for com-

parative purposes. Certain understanding of basic psychological processes like learning, motivation, maturation, identification, personality formation, and socialization provide us with the requisite knowledge of the general principles of development of bilingualism in the individual with which to one has to evaluate critically new trends. It will also offer practical suggestions for psychological growth of bilinguals who experience difficulties in adjusting to another culture or society. It is essential to consider psychological aspects of bilingualism at first before going over to any other disciplinary angles because it deals with individuals who carry two or more languages. At the individual level, psychological explanation of bilingualism should be dealt with cognitive and behavioral psychology.

In the effort to understand the cognitive aspect of bilingualism, a researcher should emphasize on four aspects in general: 1) organization -- the elements and components of human intellect and their inter-relationships which allow to store the data of two languages, differentiate one bilingual from another in the frequency and speed of acquiring the second language, and in use of two languages alternatively as well as in retention of two languages separately; 2) process, which includes activities or operations involved in acquiring, interpreting and organizing two languages; 3) function, the purpose or goal of person in dealing with available potential knowledge of two or more languages; and 4) resistance, control of positive and negative effect of keeping two languages in cognition. These four explanations will provide the answer to the following questions:

- 1) What enables a bilingual to function alternatively while at the same time having an extended control on the possible interference?
- 2) How will the bilingual encode in one language while simultaneously decoding in another language?
- 3) What are the psychological mechanisms that are accessible to the bilingual to organize and store the two languages at his disposal?
- 4) What kind of memory the bilingual uses and how does he/she differ in processing from the monolinguals in terms of word recognition and parsing?

Behavioral aspect of bilingualism must also be taken into consideration while explaining the psychological aspect of bilingualism. The major concern here should be the formulation and change in the behavior of bilingual. Researchers should begin by asking questions such as follows:

1. How does a bilingual make decisions?
2. Is the change in the behavior of an individual optimal after becoming bilingual?
3. What motivates an individual to become a bilingual?
4. What is the goal a bilingual strives to reach?

Emphasis should also be given on the bilingual's decision-making device. This pursuit will help us in understanding the individual differences. Yet another pivotal area of psychological research on bilingualism is the study of acquisition of languages whose goal leads to bilingualism. In this connection, the question should be how a language is learned and questions related to this should be on all aspects from psychology, philosophy and linguistics.

0.5.2. NEUROLOGICAL ASPECT

Indeed, the relationship between bilingualism and brain can be seen as an extension of or as a part of the more general study of the relationship between language and brain which has occupied an important place in the western philosophy since its beginning. However, despite their distant and recent histories, these fields have recently seen new directions and vigor, and new approaches with increasing degree of popularity. The primary study of bilingualism and neurology is the study of the following questions: How two languages are represented and processed in the brain, and how it breaks down after a brain injury? This means that the neurological study of bilingualism needs three explanations: 1) phylogenetic, what is it that enables man to master one more system for the representation of concepts and the communication of ideas, which is so useful for survival in today's world; 2) developmental, in what way do the development of nervous system and development of our [first or second] language ability relate to each other; 3) relational, i.e. whether language breakdown is related in natural ways to the structure of normal language.

One must, therefore, answer the following questions while explaining bilingualism from neurological aspect:

- 1) Do the bilinguals develop different neurological strategies of information storing, processing in comparison to the monolinguals or are they the same?
- 2) Do the loss of one language and its subsequent recovery occur in the same or different ways compared to the loss and recovery of the other languages?

A neurological study of bilingualism should be the study of functioning of a bilingual's brain in contrast to a monolingual's. But it would be dangerous to generalize from clinical evidence about normal behavior. Therefore, one must turn to the recent neurological literature on a bilingual brain organization to understand bilingual's cerebral function. Another pivotal area of interrogation from this angle is to perceive the corollary of age in the development of laterality, which will confirm the role of two hemispheres in the verbal information processing. The final set of questions that are central to neurology of bilingualism are those which constitute the subject of acquired disorder of multiple languages. This constitutes the central body of fact and theory upon which neurological study of bilingualism is based. The question which should be raised regarding the disorder and bilingualism is whether they parallel languages in a reverse manner. This will relate to another aspect of language aphasiology in bilinguals, that is, the regularity of breakdown among the bilinguals vis-a-vis the breakdown among aphasic monolinguals.

0.5.3. LINGUISTIC ASPECT

The linguistic explanation of bilingualism should be tried at two levels: firstly, categorization level and; secondly, predominance level. At the level of categorization we should formulate the scale for bilingual's linguistic knowledge. The area has been a focal area of research from the early stages of studies on bilingualism. In different formulations, the debate has been ranging from 'native-like competence' to only 'passive knowledge' among the researchers in this field.

At the level of predominance, inquiry should be made to find out the answer to the following questions: 1) Do the two linguistic systems in an individual affect each other? 2) If the answer is yes, then how are the two linguistic systems affected and what could be the possible rate of affectation? There is no scarcity of research on these aspects and different theories have been suggested by different researchers but all have had to face serious criticism. Here there is still a possibility for researchers to work on issues like interference, code-switching, borrowing, etc. to avoid the collapse of different theories and, more necessarily, to formulate the universally accepted theories for lay men who can be told, for instance, whether learning two languages is good or bad. The major concerns of linguistic analysis of bilingualism should be structural relationship between the two languages in contact with particularly reference to the ways the mind of a single speaker works.

0.5.4. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT

As at the psychological level we deal with individual's language development and behavior, at the social psychological level we deal with a bilingual's interpersonal relation and behavior, that is, the relationships between an individual and the socio-cultural group or groups when two or more languages are in contact. In other words, it will concentrate on the interplay of social-psychological mechanisms of bilinguals in their linguistic behavior in interpersonal interaction situations, the negotiation of meaning in the situa-

tion when the interlocutors are members of different ethnolinguistic groups. It will also study language interaction with social-cognition mediating process in order to understand interpersonal communication in an inter-cultural context.

A social-psychological inquiry will divulge to us how a bilingual child becomes member of a given social group through the process of lingualization, socialization, cultururation and ethnicization. This approach contemplates an important role played by the psychological mechanisms which result from the processes of socio-cultururation. There are many questions which would arise here, highlighting the rudimentary areas, i.e. the relationship between language and culture of a bilingual, ethnic identity, perception, attitude, stereotype and prejudices. Here are some of them:

1. How does a bilingual child develop the concept of cultural group membership?
2. How does he/she identify two different groups?
3. If bilingual children are capable of developing cultural perceptions at an early age, do the children who have an early bicultural experience develop specific cultural perceptions?
4. Is it necessary for bilingual children to perceive the other group in a positive way in order to identify themselves positively with the members of this ethnic group?
5. Do bilingual's two languages interfere with their perception of ethnic identity?
6. Is speaking the second language a part of a particular group's socio-cultural reality?
7. Does the inclusion of two languages in one's ethnic identity facilitate process such as reciprocity?

8. Does an early bilingual experience influence the development of second language learners' socio-cultural identity?
9. Is the relationship between bilinguality and cultural identity reciprocal or co-extensive?
10. If a child has already been 'culturalized' to particular ways and general styles of life that constitute its culture in order to become bilingual, how does he get 'reacculturated' in order to adjust to a new culture?
11. Does a bilingual adaptation of a new culture at the expense of one's primary culture lead one to the loss of one's first language?
12. How far the cultural differences between monolinguals and bilinguals can be attributed to child's own exposure to languages and how far the differences in parental cultural perceptions are transmitted?
13. What are the cultural identification characteristics which favor or impede the same?
14. Under what conditions a minority member will approximate to a balanced bilingual?
15. How far the cultural perceptions between monolinguals and bilinguals differs?
16. If it is true that some characteristics, i.e. ingroup identification, inter-ethnic comparison, perceived ingroup vitality, perceived ingroup boundary and cultural identity, etc. influence the degree of proficiency attained in L2 in a bilingual setting? In other words, what are the cultural-identity characteristics of a balanced bicultural-bilingual?
17. Is the lack of identification with the L1 culture correlate with a lack of identification with L2 culture?
18. What are the processes involved in learning a second language socio-culturally?
19. Is the level of bilingual's linguistic, social and cultural competence also relevant in ethnic interrelation?
20. How do the social-psychological processes influence inter-ethnic relation which is shaped by social factors?

21. Should the dominant bilingual who is fluent in his L2 be perceived either as a member of one's own ethnolinguistic group or as a part of another?

22. Does a bilingual focus less on language stereotype than a monolingual?

These are the numerous questions that outline this particular approach. Another considerable aspect in the social-psychological research is the study of social-psychological mechanism of linguistic behavior in interpersonal situations. Questions remain to be dealt with in this connection many include the following:

- 1) How does a person socially, culturally, linguistically and ethnically categorize and differentiate himself when two members from different cultural and ethnolinguistic groups communicate with each other?
- 2) How does a bilingual adopt strategies for positive linguistic distinctiveness for two members in a communication dyad?
- 3) What are the factors which determine the choice of language behavior in an intercultural communication?
- 4) How is a bilingual's code selection determined?

Similarly, another area of interest is to look at the bilingual's linguistic convergence and divergence in different social strata. In order to understand communication strategy in the inter-cultural interaction we should attempt to understand the principles governing code selection and speech modification or alternation.

0.5.5. SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT

Bilingualism emerges, if two languages are in contact, as a consequence of a social process. Therefore, a sociological explanation of bilingualism should go hand in hand together with other disciplines. Only in the last few decades, however, there was a concerted effort to bring the techniques of sociological research into the arena of bilingualism but it is still in the initial stages. The study of bilingualism from the sociological angle can be done at two levels, that is, micro and macro-levels. The study of communication of a bilingual speaker as an individual contrasted with his inter-group communication behavior and interpersonal relations or the study of bilingual's communication strategy in one's own community and in another community - all these should deal at the micro level. At the macro level one should examine the relations between ethnolinguistic groups and how bilingualism takes birth through various processes. To put it in another way, micro-analysis should be done synchronically where as macro-analysis should be dealt with diachronically.

Linguistic relativism or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has deep relevance to the study of bilingualism, since the bilingual by definition will partake to distinct modes of interpreting experience. Linguistic relativity explanation for bilingualism will deal with purely cognitive aspects of the problem, because the claim has been that the world in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels.

The following are the major questions that are taken into consideration while explaining bilingualism from this angle:

- 1) Does a bilingual move from one world to another when switching from one language to another?
- 2) Are languages quite distinct or are they closely related in two conditions?
- 3) Does the gross cultural differences impede what is easily or accurately possible to express in another language?
- 4) Can this relation be extended from language structure to language use?
- 5) Does the gross cultural differences cause a changed behavior of differential coding?
- 6) Does the possible knowledge of grammars of two different languages shape the formulation of ideas? This is because Whorf (1940) goes well beyond the lexicon and mentions that formulation of ideas is not an independent process, but is a part of particular grammar and differs from slightly to greatly between one grammar and another.
- 7) Is linguistic relativity a powerful factor in the cognitive functioning?
- 8) Does language create socio-cultural regularities?
- 9) Does the rate of maturation and development of bilingual children bring change in the world view or does the rate of maturation and development relativity decrease?
- 10) Even if linguistic and societal worlds of children are different do they overlap upto some extent?

While describing bilingualism from sociological aspect one must take into consideration the functional aspect of bilingualism. This means taking into consideration many other things: participants' language proficiency,

language preference, socio-economic status, age, occupation, education, ethnic background, intimacy, power relation, attitude toward languages and outside pressure situation, presence of monolinguals, content of discourse and the function of interaction, etc. It is also advisable to take into consideration another very interesting area of research in sociological research of bilingualism by examining the role of inter-group relation at the societal level when different languages are in contact.

There are important questions at the macro-level, too, which should also be considered here: 1) How socio-cultural setting and socio-structural factors promote and impede the growth and maintenance of mothertongue and shift to the other tongue? 2) How and why should a bilingual community maintain different languages by reserving, for each one of them, certain domains and role functions with a possibility of little encroachment of the domains, roles and functions of one language over another? 3) Does culturally and linguistically diverse and heterogeneous structures cause political, social and economic disadvantage for a nation? 4) Does the behavior of one group become similar to that of another when they are in close contact for a definite period of time?

0.5.6. EDUCATIONAL ASPECT

Although there has been both unacknowledged and acknowledged relationship between bilingualism and education from the very beginning, bilingualism is seen in this field mostly at the mercy of education or posing problem for

education. This is because in bilingual education, teaching two languages is important through a particular kind of curriculum. Bilingual educational programs may aim primarily at optimizing the cognitive, emotional and social development of individuals or at achieving some desired social goals, such as social justice, enrichment of the resources available to the society, maintenance of an ethnically compartmentalized society or even maintenance of a social hegemony. Therefore, all these things should be taken into consideration if one attempts to consider bilingualism through the educational angle and come up with conclusions that finally fit into the research of bilingualism. However, there is an extensive literature that exists on bilingualism in relation to education.

Bilingualism in the educational field should also be defined at two broad levels, i.e. 'micro' level and 'macro' level. The first will explain the individual's access, behavioral norm and process of becoming bilingual, whereas the second approach will explain the political, social, ethnic and contextual aspect of bilingualism through education. In other words, micro-analysis deals with individual variables whereas the macro-analysis deals with social, contextual, social-psychological, and political variables which can be systematized as follows:

NICRO

MACRO

Individual variables	Social, Contextual, Social-psychological, Political
Ability in first language	Community structure
Intelligence	Community attitude
Aptitude	Social and cultural integration
Cultural background of First & second language	Nature of community
	Pressure on community by government or from another community
	Pressure on bilingual from one's own community or from another
Motivation	
Attitude	Planning strategy
Anxiety	Government approach
Ethnocentrism	Nature of curriculum
Teacher characteristics	
Teacher qualification	Nature of classroom
Teacher cultural knowledge	Nature of school
Teacher attitude	
Teacher competence	
Parent qualification	Context of learning and teaching
Parent attitude	a) Place of teaching and interaction
	b) Class room, play ground, corridor
	c) Pupil teacher interaction
	d) Pupil interaction

Bilingualism in education is expected to play a vital role because it determines how well or how quickly individuals understand the nature of any learning task. Aptitude will determine the specific talent for language learning. Similarly, consideration of motivation and attitude is necessary because it concerns effort, desire, affect, belief, etc. Anxiety is viewed as important because it would have an inhibiting effect on the individual's performance while learning second language in different situation differently.

Nature of community, its structure, and attitude as well as outward pressure on community and community pressure on individuals become important here to the extent that a community has positive, negative or ambivalent attitudes towards bilingual education and bilingualism. Similarly, the nature of classroom (i.e. immersion, submersion, etc.), the nature of school (i.e. immersion, transitional bilingual, a bilingual unit within a mainstream school, a school inside a minority language heartland area), and the nature of the curriculum and teaching material (i.e. the kind of curriculum resources used to achieve progress in bilingualism, the use of techniques and aids, etc.) - all these factors together should be necessarily looked into while explaining bilingualism from educational viewpoint. A distinction should also be made between formal and informal context of language learning which will optimize the learner skills and command on languages.

0.5.7. POLITICAL ASPECTS

The study of bilingualism and politics is of potential interest to the students of bilingualism for many reasons. The following are the important considerations here: 1) Such studies explain the origin of bilingualism as a consequence of international and national internal policies. 2) They aim at observing how bilingual and multilingual infra-structure of a society determine the political decisions and policies of nation, and finally studies, 3) how people, either monolingual, bilingual or multilingual, are intertwined with the political decisions. Questions which are of importance in relation to bilingualism and politics lie in two extremes but are still inter-related:

first, how does a political system give birth to bilingualism and, secondly, how do bilingualism and multilingualism complicate the politico-administrative processes of a nation.

Not many specialists have paid required attention to the relationship between politics and bilingualism. The major fault has been lack of concern for bilinguals. Such studies have generally been subsumed under sociolinguistics, sociology of language, and anthropology. So far no theory has been developed about how the study of, what one would like to call, politico-bilingualism will differ from, say, social-bilingualism, or about how bilingualism intervenes in and thus affects the outcome of political processes. A research program on politico-bilingualism becomes quintessential because today bilingualism, in most cases, is seen as a product of political process. There are situations in which bilingualism becomes a part of political process, whether in the hands of individuals or of the governments, and in such cases it is used to control, manipulate, and achieve political game. There is much evidence that extant bilingual systems, either in whole or in parts, play a variety of political games.

The study of politico-bilingualism becomes more important where the political goals and interests can be shown to have shifted from mass mobilization to achieve nationhood and national cultural development through the (bilingual or multilingual) language policies. Multilingual countries have brought linguistic concerns into the foreground. Similarly, linguistic complexity of these countries appears to shape and influence -- upto some extent -- the political process itself.

There are some other questions which shed considerable insight into the nature of politics itself. These, then, are some of the reasons which motivate researches on politico-bilingualism. For instance, attention is now paid to the study of bilingualism and politics in terms of power relation. Thus, when considering its relation to bilingualism and communication system, one could now argue that true understanding cannot be achieved without inclusion of all categories of power relation, whether or not they are found associated with the formal institutions of government. One the most basic ways in which bilingualism and politics are related in a bilingual or multilingual country has to do with the medium of official communication at both national and state levels. In this connection the birth of bilingualism seems to be because of governmental decision to use one language (or restricted number of languages) as lingua-franca and giving opportunity to all others to maintain their respective mothertongue status.

0.5.8. BILINGUALISM AS A 'GAME'

As a consequence of the above categorization of ways and means of studying bilingualism, it becomes apparent that a bilingual in action is like a natural game in progress. Unless a complete scenario of this game is depicted and all its aspects are taken into consideration the task of theorizing would not be complete and, similarly, definition of it also would not be conclusive and exhaustive. But it should be borne in mind that the task of theorizing and defining bilingualism is an open-ended task. The point is that regardless

of the type of languages involved, any theorizing of this language game should always include relevant interpretation of the background information, processes, and finally the products as well as the byproducts. It should not be the case that just as some part of the game is more interesting and satisfying than others, so are some theories more interesting than others. Some theories lack in being interesting and may have limited utility because they merely integrate the obvious facts while other theories stimulate interest but lack utility because they omit too many parameters of the definitions and rules that are necessary to play the game.

0.6. THE PRESENT RESEARCH PROGRAM

The notion of child bilingualism should be understood in common parlance in terms of the use of knowledge of two languages by children. But as soon as one tries to define the concept precisely things get complicated as we have seen from the discussion on so many different dimensions of bilingualism research. In the commonly available literature, attempts toward defining the notion of child bilingualism have been made by correlating it with age, but these definitions seem unclear and vague because the notion of child bilingualism should be related to a number of phenomena, as mentioned above, both theoretical and practical, and not in isolation. It is hoped that present work will be a concrete step towards describing the notion of bilingualism in terms of a greater precision.

0.6.1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The research survey reported here studies the conditions of children belonging to two different minorities, namely, 'Islandic' (those who are demographically settled and assembled at one place) and 'Dissipate' (those who are demographically not assembled at one place and are scattered) and investigates into how one or the other value of language has higher potency in determining their choice of language. It is also intended to find out whether this choice of language could serve as a subtle behavioral index for direction of acculturation or educational need or chance of survival, etc. In particular, this raises the following questions and tries to provide at least partial answers to it: how and why a minority community preserves its mother-tongue based on its perceived subjective value even in what is known as 'complete risk situations' (where there is no opportunity for learning).

This research fragment also wishes to tackle a plethora of issues arising out of the majority-minority configuration in a speech community and identifies important cognitive and social considerations that play an important role in the preservation or shift of mothertongue. The idea of 'language value' in this research derives from the fact that language is an object which mitigates our interest and necessity and often acts as a driving force to initiate or block changes. The aim here is to present a model to account for the meshing (i.e. the matching and interlocking of these factors) and the mutual enrichment of the psychological factors with sociological factors to provide a coherent agenda for assessing, comparing and contrasting a wide

variety of minority language preservation processes at the individual and societal levels. It emphasizes on the importance of research that is able to describe in detail the development of bilinguality and bilingualism, in terms of various aspects of first and second language learning.

The approach is, in its nature, interactive. It takes the view that full understanding of child bilingualism, under a social-psychological umbrella, requires a judicious use of an interdisciplinary perspective. Secondly, the integration of psychological and sociological approaches requires clear understanding of the relation between different levels of social complexity in which bilingual children happen to interact. Furthermore, this approach will tell how children behave differently in different contexts, how they are influenced by the social norms current in their ingroup and outgroup, and by the rights and duties appropriate to the role they are currently playing.

What is proposed here is that some properties of the above kinds of relationship, although influenced by aspects of their socio-cultural structure, can be correlated to the behavioral properties of functioning of the children concerned. As bilingualism starts with the acquisition of second language, children are confronted with previously more or less defined practices and beliefs, acceptance of some of which is imposed by the societal forces. Sometimes, of course, the minority children may be able to choose from those available, and to modify or distort these beliefs and practices to varying degree depending on how they assimilate the 'other'. The manner in

which children make these social choices shows their biases. It is presumed here that in 'choosing' speech varieties children are affected by the perceived fit between the belief and practices available, and their own perceived needs.

0.6.2. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Besides this 'introduction', the dissertation has seven chapters including the 'conclusions'. The first chapter outlines the social-psychological model of child bilingualism. The first part of this chapter presents arguments justifying the social-psychological approach adopted here. It is also argued here that social-psychological aspect of bilingualism should not be viewed either 'only sociologically' or 'only psychologically'. Rather it should be viewed from an angle where both interact equally. It discusses the social and psychological structure and the possible outcome of bilinguality and bilingualism in various social-psychological processes.

The second chapter deals, in detail, with the methods and techniques of collection of data. The cases studied are presented here with proper headings. Different patterns of language use in different domains (family, society and other institutions) are described here in detail with coherent diagrams, including the description about the place and samples. The questions which were included in the questionnaire and asked during the interviews are discussed in this section. It provides answers to some of those questions raised earlier and what should be the method for such a research program.

The third chapter discusses the Bengali children's attitude to learning and preserving their mothertongue when they live as a displaced minority in Bihar. The first section of this chapter reviews the work done on attitude, in general, and on language attitudes, in particular. The second part describes how Bengali children feel about preservation of their mothertongue. Reiterating the importance of study of attitude in social psychology of bilingualism it contends that one can't construe research on the social psychology of child bilingualism without taking into consideration the linguistic attitudes. This chapter also answers particular questions that were very vital in the last two and half decades in sociolinguists and related disciplines, viz., why do people make an effort to preserve their mothertongue, even though their language ranks very low on utility scale (i.e, even when they may not be important for getting job, or for higher education, etc.)? Or, why try to preserve a language whose speakers are either no longer using it, or are using it only in extremely rare or limited domains?

The fourth chapter discusses in detail the Bengali children's attitude and motivation toward learning, using and studying Hindi as a second language. The first part of this chapter reiterates that research on second language learning is still not very matured because it has not so far been able to come up with a compact theory of second language acquisition with a social-psychological approach. It is also true that whatever efforts have been made in this area are very narrow and restricted with a singular ideology. Developmental psychologists have long been interested in how and when children come to understand the physical world and concepts like time, mass and shape,

and yet, they too have ignored how children begin to understand the economic world. This section also answers the following questions: 1) What makes children learn a second language? 2) Why children prefer learning particular languages when they are confronted with many choices? 3) Does language play an important role in arousing positive attitude toward its being learnt as a second language? This chapter makes the point that individuals, in most cases, strive to learn another language only when there is a need for it and they select only certain kinds of language(s) when they are confronted with many choices, depending upon how they perceive a particular value of language, and how the languages concerned will satisfy the need in life and also on how value of language pools or attracts a person's attitude for a particular reason. The main intention of this chapter is to propose a 'value theory of second language acquisition' with an example of our subjects' attitudes to and motivations for learning first and second languages. Moreover, this chapter emphasizes that the concept of value has a special place in the cognitive theory because it influences a person's attitude toward language and regulates his or her behavior. Keeping the above ideas in view, this chapter further demonstrates that a young learner's language learning behavior must be considered as a result of interaction between the learner's personal force (PF) and language value (LV) and that one can develop a method to predict as to why a person would prefer to learn a particular language even when many choices are open. What could be the possible outcome of the interaction of one's 'personal force' (PF) and 'language force' (LF) (assigned by language value), can be summarized here. In this chapter two hypotheses are proposed:

A. Children's attitude toward learning SL can be conceived as a 'filtered psychological' construct on the basis of perceived objective value of second language. 'Language value' maintains and enhances the psychology of self - by helping to adjust in a society, defending his/her ego and satisfying other utilitarian purposes and needs. Therefore, one's language attitude is a product of one's perceived language value, and at the same time, LV also functions as a construct of attitude.

B. Children have selective and preferential relations with regard to the surrounding languages or situations. Among the languages spoken in the space where one is dwelling, some are desired or preferred; others are, on the contrary, avoided. When some languages are absent, they are demanded and sought for while some others are feared and despised. This selective orientation towards the 'preferred' and 'sought' in the field of language gives to behavior its intrinsic direction and organization. The language demanded by an individual is projected from these perceptions and this learned value leads to produce changes in their language learning behavior.

The fifth chapter discusses the problem of a bilingual person's identity in terms of language. The first section of this chapter argues why social-psychological approach is better in revealing the concept of identity in relation to the languages than any other approach. The second section describes the Bengali children's identity in relation to the languages in their repertoire. Parents' attitudes towards children's identity in relation to

language has also been described in the third section. The final section of this chapter proposes a continuum of bilingual children's identity. This chapter tries to answer the following questions: a) whether living with two languages for a long period diffuses the identity of bilinguals, b) whether in case of loss of the first language the child necessarily loses its essential identity, c) whether, in case of incompetence in both languages, the child suffers from anomie, d) does a child with two languages always have a conflict about his/her identity, and e) at what level or under which conditions, children start identifying themselves with the second language group. The claim made here is that these issues are not complete or closed, and therefore, further research is needed. Questions regarding language and identity, in general, and bilinguality and identity, in particular, which lie in the realm of Social psychology are still unanswered to a large extent. It depends on how one comes up with suitable solutions for these unresolved problems. Some possible questions could be identified here: 1) Is the lack of identification with L1 society and culture to be correlated with a lack of identification with L2 culture and vice versa? 2) What are the processes involved in the personal, social, cultural and ethnic identification? 3) Does a bilingual develop two parallel identities or does he simply integrate the two cultures he/she is exposed to under a unique identity? 4) Does a bilingual focus less on stereotypes than a monolingual does? 5) How a bilingual is perceived by the members of his/her own and other communities in a function of the existing relations between different communities? 6) Does the level of competence of a bilingual in L1 or L2 play an important role in the identification of an

individual with particular linguistic group? 7) Should the dominant bilingual, who is fluent in his/her L2, be perceived as a member of his/her own ethno-linguistic group or of another? 8) Is it necessary for children to perceive other groups in a positive way in order to identify with the members of another ethnic group? 9) Does language interfere with the perception of ethnic identity? 10) Does high perceived subjective value of language help in the preservation of languages?

The sixth chapter represents a move towards the interpretation of attitudes and identity of Bihari children who are staying in Bengal. This chapter is divided in three sections; firstly, attitude toward first language; secondly, attitude toward second language and; thirdly, children's identity in relation to first and second languages.

This chapter shows that by comparing different multilingual speech communities, a typological relevant description of such communities is made possible. It is shown that only a model of variables which can compromise the analogous traits of the situations as well as the differences between them enables an adequate comparison to be made. The comparison in this case implicit between the different regions takes into account not only the similarities between them but also significant differences. This description is given in such a way that only a few factors are represented which, in at least one of the multilingual societies and among members of these societies, either children or young, finds correlation with languages, choice, etc. In such a model, the term 'multilingual society' is defined by a social network consisting of interconnected variables.

In this chapter, a comparative assessment of learning of first and second language by Bihari children will be presented vis-a-vis the Bengali children in Bihar. This chapter also discusses in detail as to how different values of language which are attached with two language communities and power relationships held by them as minority groups (with their linkages with respective majority groups) determine and control the choice of learning of first and second languages by the children of these two groups differently.

In one of the sections under this chapter the following question is raised and discussed: Can language preservation be planned for minority children? In a response to this question, the answer that is considered is this: To an ethnic minority the question of a dependent or independent educational system, which take into consideration the language and cultural needs of a minority group, is closely linked to the question of survival of the group as an independent linguistic entity. Therefore, the educational problem of the minority, both at the individual and at the group levels, can be overcome or minimized either through providing political independence to minority groups or by granting them some independence or by adopting adequate educational programs and policies. Apart from the investigation of various factors which influence language shift or language preservation, this chapter discusses functions and domains in which the Hindi and Bengali languages in Bengal are used, such as the home, the work place, neighborhood, school and the temples. The chapter also discusses in detail how language choice is determined by different role relationships with one's interlocutors.

The last chapter presents the 'conclusions' which provide a summary of this work and discuss some of the residual issues needing further elaboration.

CHAPTER - 1

BILINGUALISM: A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1. WHY SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY?

As it has already been stated in the introduction, bilingualism can be studied from various perspectives. A mere sociolinguistic perspective cannot systematically capture the idea that language behavior is a product of the psyche of the individuals who are actively engaged in the construction of social reality mediated through their patterned behavior or are passive reflection of an underlying social reality where social psychology plays an important role. Although some sociolinguists have acknowledged the importance of these problems (eg: Labov 1969; Sankoff 1972) and have alluded to the mediating influence of social psychological constructs such as attitudes, motivations, identities and intentions in determining language behavior, unfortunately this does not seem to have resulted in a widespread change in the way sociolinguists look at language behavior. Therefore, sociolinguistics cannot be a satisfactory enterprise to explain bilingualism. The position is also supported by Giles, Smith and Robinson (1980:1) who voiced two main reservations and expressed their dissatisfaction in the following words:

"First, sociolinguistics had been relatively taxonomic and descriptive rather than explanatory in its emphasis. Second, sociolinguistic accounts of language variation had been couched primarily in terms of associations between the use of specific speech features and membership of psychological social entities (large-scale, socio-demographic groupings, for example)".

A bilingual individual not only comes in contact with another language, in most cases he comes closer to another group or culture, too. A bilingual person thus engages himself in shaping-reshaping, creating-recreating and perceiving as well as comparing the values of another language, group and culture. In course of learning the other tongue, the individual not only develops metalinguistic knowledge, that is, knowledge about this 'other' language and its universe, but at the same time he uses cognitive organization to analyze the value of that language, too.

As soon as children learn the functional and formal rules of a second language, or even before that, they begin to acquire the values of language which operate in that language. In this sense, a child who is learning second language not only knows the structure and meaning but also the function that this particular language can fulfill. In the process of learning, the child also internalizes the system of sociolinguistic values pertaining to the language community. In certain types of SL learning, a learner can be described in terms of his base language network. One can similarly capture the loosening of kinship and peer group ties. One can also document the establishment of new links outside the original network whereby norms and values change and an individual develops new group loyalties and adopts new language norms and behavior either additively or with some modifications. In this process, a child may become a part and parcel of the second language social network. This social network around the child is a part of the larger social structure

and it mediates between him and the new host culture, and transmits to the child not only knowledge the social structure but also of the value system of this community.

Thus the development of bilingualism cannot be envisaged outside the social and psychological settings in which it takes place and within which it is operative. Theory of bilingualism in contact situation should be integrated into a framework leading to a set of predictive propositions which will elaborate the social-psychological climate under which different levels of SL learning may take place. Theorist of SL learning must strive to elaborate the 'learning ecology', which consists of the learner and his/her environment, where particular languages may be loaded with certain values, which, put together, may be viewed as a constellation of interdependent factors. We need to describe or provide a description of the total network in which bilingualism grows as a cluster of several factors. Here 'learning ecology' is viewed as an attempt to find interactionist principles applicable to the description of total network or situation of learning. This is an attempt to construct a model of total network of learning for the purpose of elaborating a very compact or interactionist theory of bilingualism. With such an approach, learning ecology could serve as an integrating research perspective.

The term 'ecology' in linguistics was used by Haugen in 1972 in the field of sociolinguistics. Scholars in the field of sociology of language had already investigated into environmental conditions affecting language earlier, although not necessarily by using the term 'ecology'. However, what is empha-

sized here is that all learning events should be conceived as functions of the 'learning ecology' which consists of the learners, languages and total social network. In a social network political and educational factors and their functional range should also be included. From this point of view the string of concepts leading from the most specific (individual) with respect to a language to the most general (state) should be interpreted in an interactive framework with different levels of complexity. Political situations must also be included because societal organization is considered to be subordinate to the political relations of a given state. So far as language learning is concerned, it is a product of the relation a group of individuals will have with a set of concrete situations. While describing bilingualism from this angle one has to consider the behavioral transactions of learners with one's internal and external environment (where learning is taking place) in relation to one's language. Bilingualism is a phenomenon of transition from monolingualism. In course of this, there may also be social, cultural and ethnic transitions depending upon the individual's social, cultural and ethnic identifications with two language groups. Such a transition is traceable when a bilingual is in a contact situation. Adaptation of target speech community culture, social membership and ethnicity is a necessary condition for cultural, social and ethnic transition. However, the adaptation is dependent upon both quantity and quality of contact of individuals or its group with the second language community. It is quintessential to explain the social nature of bilingual psychology when he/she faces a contact situation. Therefore, the

phenomenon of language conflict, and culture-specific mode of behavior, ways of thinking, attitudes, and stereotypes - all these must be taken into consideration while explaining the development and forms of bilingualism in a contact situation.

Till 1960, linguists of different varieties - sociolinguists, anthropolinguists and psycholinguists included, were engrossed in seeing the phenomenon of language contact mainly in intra-linguistic aspects. Weinreich (1953) viewed bilingualism and multilingualism and the accompanying interference phenomenon as the most important form of language contact without including the tolerance and conflicts between different language communities on the basis of ethnic, religious or cultural incompatibilities. The history of language contact study starts with Weinreich's research. But inter-linguistic contact is mentioned as a marginal phenomenon among bilinguals. Thus, in traditional language contact research the emphasis was very narrow. Looking back at the entire approach today, one can say with guarantee that the notion of language contact should not only be restricted to an intralinguistic viewpoint, it should rather be considered with reference to the personality of speakers, their identity, including processes external to individuals. The qualitative (e.g. power distribution) and the quantitative (e.g. size of two groups) aspects of contact must be considered. It is possible that an individual may be bi-socialized (socialization also with the second group), bi-culturalized (acculturated also in the second culture) and bi-ethnized (ethnization with second ethnic group) in the processes of bi-lingualization (lingualization with second language) when two speech communities are in contact. In that

process an individual becomes a member of another target social group, culture and ethnicity and such behavioral transaction is brought through a set of socio-psychological mechanisms.

Now, to describe bilingualism from this point of view, we need a hybrid discipline which should not only be useful in interpreting the front line of contact between psychology and society as a bridge-building discipline but will be also useful in spelling out this new theoretical endeavour to understand the basic fields in refreshingly new ways. Social psychology fits this slot very well. It claims to take not only a social consideration, but also factors relating to the psychological forces which influence the individual's actions, for instance, the individual's desire to identify with, or dissociate from, a particular group which can determine one's language choice. To know the development of bilingualism, one has to rely upon the various aspects of social psychological processes. Therefore, it must be concluded here that a social psychological approach of explaining bilingualism must be considered as a way to provide better interpretation of bilingualism than any other interpretation. Social psychology is an interdisciplinary discipline which builds and expands its scope by integrating the subject matter of psychology and sociology in which cultural explanation also comes in the way. This is because no sharp boundary demarcates social psychology from other social sciences. It overlaps political and cultural anthropology, and in many respects it is indistinguishable from general psychology, and likewise its ties with sociology is close, too. Thus social psychology wishes to study a bilingual as a member of given society affected by all social stimuli that surround him.

1.2. EXISTING MODELS

It is very challenging to set out a unified social psychological model of bilingualism because it is mostly contingent upon researchers working in the area of bilingualism, to say, whether one is viewing the phenomenon from one angle or the other. Although social psychology is, now, in its own right a matured discipline and although the social psychologists have been paying increasing attention in recent years to the subject of language, this sub-field is still relatively unexplored by them. One of the areas which so far has not received systematic attention relates to bilingualism. This is not to say that there have been no attempts to define bilingualism from social psychological aspects. Attempts that had been made were restricted to certain aspects but there had not been not many worthwhile description of a bilingual situation which could be profitably received here. Gardner (1979, 1982, 1983, 1985a); Clément (1980) and Giles and his colleagues (1977) are the main figures whose models are social psychological. However, the intention is not to review all possible social psychological theories in the following sections, although attention to the various lacunas in this model to the extent that important social-psychological processes and products that had been omitted in the previous work could be pointed out here. Thus, before arguing for the relevance of the approach explicitly taken in the present study in this area, let us examine some of the most recent and important social psychological models of second language learning.

1.2.1 GARDNER'S MODEL

Gardner's framework has four categories: i) social milieu; ii) individual differences; iii) learning context; and iv) outcome. His model examines in detail how these variables can operate together developmentally in the acquisition process. It is proposed there that cultural beliefs relevant within the social milieu influence the extent to which achievements in L2 is mediated by different variables. A number of other models also highlight the importance of a positively affective motivational component underlying the acquisition process (eg. Dulay and Burt 1974; Schumann 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1986). However, the major failure of this model is that although it includes the social milieu to emphasize the need to take into account the larger context in which both the learner and the language learning program exist, this model does not consider learning of another group's language in an intergroup situation.

1.2.2. CLÉMENT'S MODEL

Clément (1980) explains how aspects of the social milieu influence individual's linguistic outcomes in the L2 acquisition. The importance of this model lies in claim that particular shared individual outcomes can give rise to collective consequences. Clément integrates the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality as an important structural feature of social milieu. In his approach an individual's primary motivational processes are a function of the ratio of the perceived vitality of the L2 over the L1 counterpart, which could be determined in the following manner:

Perceived vitality of L2

Perceived vitality of L1

1.2.3. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY MODEL

There is yet another model known as the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality which will be discussed in somewhat detail. This model had been proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) which was based upon the 'social identity' theory of Tajfel (1978) and Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Giles' theory of 'speech accommodation'. Later on Giles and Byrne (1982) had proposed an 'intergroup theory' of second language acquisition that was designed to account for the development of proficiency in the dominant language by members of ethnolinguistic minorities, using social psychological concepts derived from ethnolinguistic identity theory and from social identity theory (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979) as explanatory constructs. This theoretical perspective is useful for understanding the intergroup factors that may affect individual's language behavior and outcomes.

As it has already been stated, the basis for the intergroup model of second language acquisition is ethnolinguistic identity theory. This theory makes predictions about the conditions under which an individual will perceive language as an important aspect of his/her social identity and will attempt to attain positive psycholinguistic differentiation from outgroup (Ball et al 1984). The approach here is based on structural analysis. It focuses on three

variables which may combine to permit an ethnolinguistic community to survive as a viable group. The vitality of a linguistic minority seems to be related to the degree to which its language is used in various institutions of government, churches, business and so forth. The three structural variables which influence this vitality are: the status, demography and the institutional support. From here it is argued that an ethnolinguistic minority that has little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as a distinct group. In this context, Giles and his collaborators (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Giles and Byrne 1982) had also suggested that the concept of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' could account for the maintenance of minority languages. Here is the list of structural variables which elaborate on the notion of 'vitality' (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977):

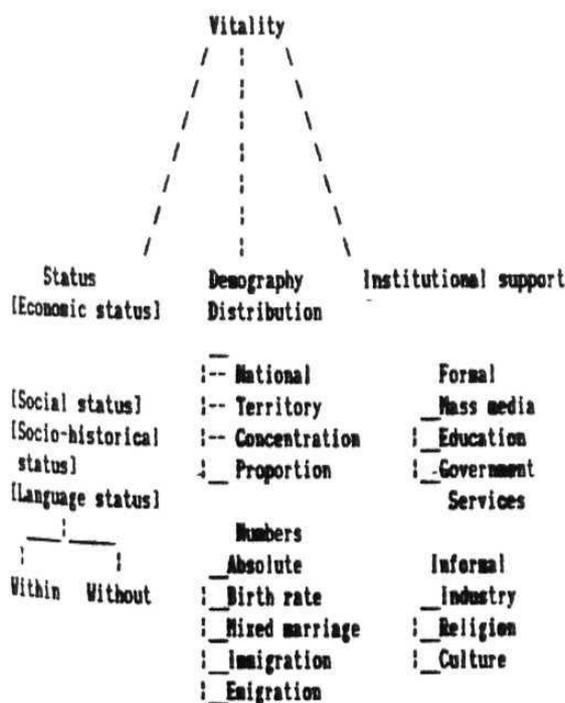


Figure 1 : Giles et al Model of 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality' : Structural Variables

This model is regarded as valuable as a theoretical framework. However, it does not mention specific language relations and recalls only one special factor, i.e. 'language status'. When Giles and his colleagues use the terms 'ethnolinguistic group' and 'ethnolinguistic vitality', they apply them to general language-ethnicity relations as well as to features of language status. This use is, however, misleading, because the structural factors of group vitality (which are listed in their theory) have first to be shown related to socio-political phenomena before lumping them together with the component of ethnicity. The extension in the meaning of 'ethnolinguistic' to a general cover word for language in ethnicity makes the term imprecise and unusual. Learning behavior is guided through the perception of vitality of both languages. In this regard ethnolinguistic vitality cannot be a cover term for the vitality of both languages.

Another major limitation of the model is that it disregards the role of perception of the major contact group and the perception of second language values when two languages are in contact in a learning ecology which directly or indirectly shape the learning behavior. Learning behavior is not simply guided by the perception of ethnolinguistic vitality. Mutual perception of 'relative vitality' may be more important than simple one-sided conceptualization of 'perceived vitality'. It is true that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would essentially cease to exist as a distinct group. But then the question is: what is inherent vitality in a language which attracts minorities whose language does not have ethnolinguistic vitality in terms of structural variable as described by this group? This theory

cannot be a predictive device to analyze why an individual strives for learning second language even though ethnolinguistic vitality of his or her own group is higher in many respects compared to the structural vitality associated with the second language. This theory is limited to explore only intergroup relation in second language learning and cannot be a heuristic approach to define the complications bounded in second language learning when two languages are in contact. The problem with this theory is that it cannot be regarded as a theory for second language learning. Moreover, no effort was made to describe the individual's mediational processes linking structural characteristics and linguistic outcome. Very little attention is paid to the individual processes linking structural characteristics to individual outcome. Further, this model always views individuals as primarily group members. While analyzing bilingualism in this framework one must take into consideration the second language vitality in the same way as the first language vitality. In its widened perspective, the term 'language value' is used here to denote not only the structural vitality (objective value of language) but also subjective vitality (subjective value of language) to intensify all realities of language including its inherent property. We have to take into consideration values of both languages which are functional and which could directly or indirectly affect language choice and language behavior in a group.

Language mitigates our interest and satisfies our necessity through its various potentials. Language is viewed here as an object of constitutive values which satisfies all desires, wants, needs, etc. Language is assumed to bear the weight of utility which assigns its value and it is organized into

hierarchies of importance, that is, into a value system that vary from individual to individual and situation to situation at any given time and also according to the degree to which they are stable and unstable across when individuals are called to respond. These values, in general, are not intrinsic properties of language. This is so because in certain situations its utility may increase and in certain other situations it may get reduced. However, the so called 'subjective value' of language which carries the ethnic identity of individuals is likely to be static until it is not abolished through biological diffusion. Value of language may be thus conceived as relatively 'stable' and unstable: stable enough to reflect the fact that importance of language as a symbol of ethnicity remains a permanent feature, and 'unstable' in that in some situations some languages bear more weight of utility whereas in some other situations they do not do so.

Tauli (1974) refers to language as a 'tool'. He contends that as tools some languages can be more useful than others, and its usefulness is measurable. He goes on to propose the development of super-language, which he calls 'interlanguage' which would serve the communication needs of many different language communities. Broadly, two distinctive values of language have been identified: subjective, i.e. affiliative which signifies the inherent property of language and objective, i.e. institutional, social, economic, communicative, political, aesthetic and status-based. Arguments such as the following: language is an important aspect of self expression and self identification and 'language as a sentimental attachment' (Kelman 1972), or that the 'mother tongue has great symbolic value' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984), etc. all reflect the subjective value of language. This could be listed as follows:



Figure 2: A Model of 'Value of Language'

A group's status, political power, size, etc. are determinant factors in assigning the value of language. The ecological variables (Haarmann 1980, 1986) determine, in most cases, objective values of language. Major ecological variables are the following: Demographic, the size of an ethnic group and size of a group with which the concerned ethnic group is in contact, Community's population distribution at the national level, and type of settlement (the polarity between static settlement and migration move, etc.). The sociological variables include the following: structure of family whether bilingual or monolingual, cultural/political and social organization for the promotion of a community's interest, decent, possibility of interaction with another language group, functional distribution of speech varieties in a society (whether H variety or L variety), representation of ethnic group by all social groups or classes in a country's society, use of language in all domains of public and private life, etc.. The political variables are: recognition of language as a medium of instruction or as a school subject, institutional status of language given by government, allocation of function of language like state, official, language for administrative usage by government, qualitative speaker-language relation, etc. and like wise many other variables. The total number of language value is limited by language utility make-up. Thus the 'value of language' is a relative term. Take English in India as an example. Because of many reasons, English carries more (utilitarian) value than any other indigenous language of India. Even in the world context, English has become the dominant language of scientific discourse, international politics and business, and on the media, because it serves a multiplicity of purposes.

1.3. PROBLEMS IN BUILDING A NEW MODEL

Three points must be explained when one tries to explain bilingualism from social-psychological angle: first, identification of all possible social and psychological modes and elements which are interactive in any language learning ecology and are functional in determining one another; secondly, determination of possible social psychological processes operative in learning; thirdly, decision on the outcome of learning or the type of learning which will result in a language learning ecology.

One of the main benefits of this approach is in describing the processes of cognitive organization that mediates between a person's perception of the social environment and his/her behavioral actions upon it. Since social-psychology is concerned with the nature of the social group and its relationship among the individual human beings who compose it (Allport 1924; Allport 1954; McDougall 1920), it is axiomatic to consider psychological make up of an individual who is interacting with the social group to which he belongs. Many theories of personality and motivation assume more generally (Erikson 1968; Festinger 1954) the knowledge of self as well as one's external functioning. In his 'social comparison theory', Festinger (1954) hypothesizes that people evaluate their own opinion and ability. Together these help us to know both oneself and the world. In his closely related 'identity hypothesis', Erikson (1968) claims that there is a need to know oneself and to form an ego identity - a sense of who one is and the role one can play in one's society. Social

identity theorists (Tajfel and Turner 1979) explicitly discuss the individual's desire for a positive self and parallel need for groups to establish a positive self identity. Bilinguals have self appraisal evolution before and after adopting the second language identity.

The first part of this model wishes to identify the psychological and social variables which influence one another in different ways: (i) vertically (where languages are hierarchically arranged and where the social situation forces speakers of one language to learn another language against their wishes and individuals can't resist the pressure), (ii) horizontally (where no one is in controlling position, i.e, a situation where an individual is free to take any decision and there is no pressure from any social group) and (iii) supportive (when one is supporting the other, i.e. when the socio-political situation is in favour of one's own decisions whatever that may be). One can, of course, ask a question as to why it is so important to identify the psychological and social mechanisms? This is important to identify the type of bilingualism that results when an individual with particular psychological make up interact in a particular social setting.

Psychologists and biologists focus, mainly, on the behavior of individuals without relating this to the size and composition of the group, the habits they preferred and so on. In comparison, the anthropologists, sociologist and political scientists tend to focus first on the group as a whole ignoring the importance of human psychology. This distinction between two

approaches does scant justice to approach of an individual in society which marks the core area of social-psychology. The starting point of this approach is concerned with individuals with its dispositions who are in the processes of interaction. The nature of interaction or relationship depends on both mechanism. The behavior of child will show in each interaction depending upon the nature of the relationship: what a child does on a given occasion and how the situation depends on his ability, assessment of and expectations about the interaction in which he is involved, or on the relation of which it forms a part. Indeed, in the long run, the behavior of an individual can show how affected by the relationship he has been in the past.

It is becoming apparent that a 'relational' approach is crucial for many issues in social-psychology to understand how children affect and are affected by the societies in which they live. This approach is even more important to build a bridge between psychology and sociology. What is more important to note here is that an attempt to apply psychological principle of social behavior to bilingualism must respect the dialectical relationship between successive layers of social complexity. This brings us to the second step. To discover the new territory the linguists in this field must begin from a known home base to other related issues. For this reason, social psychologists must take into consideration psychological factors as well as social factors which affect bilinguals' behavior. Since this view is not a biased towards any of the disciplines involved - Psychology, Sociology and Linguistics, it can be called a secular approach. Consider this model of bilingualism:

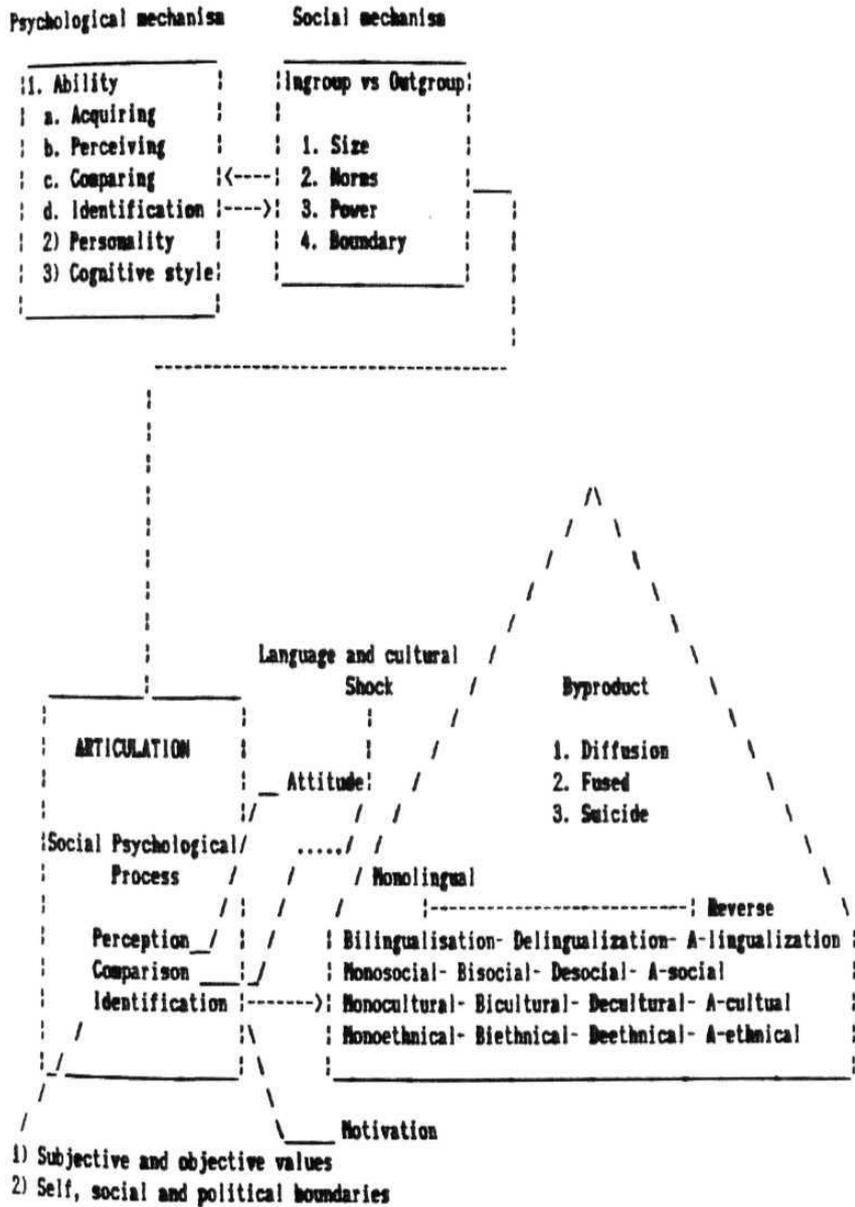


Figure 3 : A Social-Psychological Model of Bilingualism

This approach by nature is interactive as it takes the view that understanding of bilingualism within this approach requires a typological viewpoint. Secondly, the integration of different approaches here requires clear understanding of the relation between different levels of social complexity. Since we know bilingualism starts with the acquisition of second language, children are confronted with more or less defined practices and beliefs, acceptance of some of which is constrained by societal forces. In some other cases children demonstrate capacity to choose from the available options, and to modify or distort them to varying degree that they integrate, accommodate or assimilate. From the manner in which children 'choose' the practices and belief of the society, we see the biases of children, and presume that in 'choosing' children are affected by the perceived fit between the belief and practices available. This model is thus concerned with the relations between aspects of socio-structural structure, norm etc, ecological conditions. The model also take in considerations such as how an individual with a number of role identities come into play in different relationship, and how the exchange and interdependence of theories emphasize that interactions within a relationship depend on the participants' perception of the past and their expectation about the future.

1.4. SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS UNDER CONSIDERATIONS

There is considerable literature indicating various individual variables (i.e. intelligence, personality traits, cognitive styles, etc.) that act as determining factors in learning first and second languages. Children's poten-

tial to act in certain conditions and all underlying capabilities to master and use different skills account for individual differences. It is now accepted that there is such a thing as a specific 'talent' for language learning, which some learners possess to a greater extent than others and which is largely responsible for individual differences in L2 learning. It is thus possible to characterize a good language learner on the basis of this. It is suggested here that intelligent children's attitude toward learning minority and majority languages is balanced; they are not in a mood to learn either this or that unlike children with lesser IQ who are in favour of a complete shift to second language or neglect second language altogether. Children's way of perceiving, categorizing and identifying values of FL and SL and of the self also depend upon their personal ability. Individual ability and strategies that one uses to acquire language(s) are thus significant factors that must be recognized in any theoretical or empirical study of language learning.

A number of personality characteristics have been considered possible determinants of social psychology. Witkin, Goodenough and Oltman (1979) characterize field-dependent individuals as sensitive and interested in others, while some field-independent ones are self-sufficient while some others are analytic. Krashen (1981) views someone with an analytical orientation as being a potentially better language learner. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that field-independence would relate to achievement. Clément (1980) has proposed that a major dimension underlying second language acquisition is self-confidence in learning languages. This self-confidence is viewed as a combination of two levels of language-specific anxiety, confidence in one's language skills, and self-perception. It is believed here that child's personality at-

tributes could be possible determinants of bilinguality. Different types of personality of children, i.e. extrovert and introvert, field dependence and independence, cool and warm submissive or dominant, etc. will definitely determine a child's attitude, integration, disintegration and motivation toward ingroup and outgroup language and culture. Sociable people would be more outgoing and would communicate more in second language. An outgoing or sociable person may learn L2 better than a reserved and shy person. It is a commonly accepted hypothesis that the extrovert learners learn more rapidly and more successfully than the introvert ones. It has also been observed that extrovert learners will find it easier to make contact with other users of L2 and therefore, will achieve high development in their bilinguality. Therefore, there is a possibility that an outgoing personality may contribute to acquisition. Chaistain (1975) found positive correlation between sociability and unsociability and grades one obtains in the additional languages.

However, at this juncture it is not proposed to draw a clear line between the positive and negative role of personality attributes and development of bilingualism because reverse findings have also been observed. For instance, Naiman et al. (1978) found no significant relationship between being extrovert or introvert and proficiency. However, one can also find negative relationship between sociability and proficiency. For instance, Ely (1986) failed to find any relationship between sociability and being proficient. Likewise Swain and Burnaby (1976) too did not find the expected relationship between their measures of sociability and talkativeness on the one hand and proficiency on the other.

These controversies notwithstanding, one must emphasize that sociable children, in general, have much less love for their ingroup or outgroup language and culture. But it can be concluded that sociable children's attitude toward the second language group and culture will, definitely, be more favourable than the attitude of unsociable children but this doesn't necessarily mean that the former are higher on the scale of proficiency. Sociable children will have better social skill though.

Ausubel (1968) had defined self-consistent and enduring individual differences in relation to cognitive organization and functioning. Cognitive style is strictly not a matter of only cognition. It extends beyond the cognitive domain into other domain usually subsumed under personality. Certain personality traits appear to covary with cognitive styles. Although in the literature many cognitive styles have been talked about, but we would like to consider here only two sets, i.e. i) field independent vs. field dependent and ii) reflective vs. impulsive. Field independent children tend to perceive analytically, that is, they tend to perceive particular relevant items in a 'field' as discrete from the surrounding field. A field independent person also tends to perceive things globally. His perception tends to be dominated by the total field such that the parts embedded in the field are not easily perceived (Witkin et al 1979). Again, it has been found that field dependent persons show a strong social orientation (Witkin et al 1979). They are usually more empathetic and more perceptive of feeling of others. Field independence persons, on the other hand, tend to show an 'impersonal orientation'. Naiman et al (1978) found that the latter had significant correlation with L2 learn-

ing success in the classroom. In other studies, too, (Tucker et al 1976, Hansen and Stansfield 1981), field independence was found to correlate positively with second language learning. Here, it seems safer to conclude that field dependent children, on the virtue of their social orientation and greater empathy, will be better L2 learners and better bilinguals. Reflexive children, in the intergroup situation, will observe the values minutely and then take decisions. They will have greater affinity toward their ethnic identity. Therefore, the percentage of complete transition from their own language to second language will be fewer among them than among the children who are impulsive. Impulsive children are highly undecided. When confronted with a problem solving task with response, impulsive children usually jump to quick and wild guesses rather than to reasoned decisions.

Likewise many other variables showing individual differences can be recalled. It is important to note how individual variables mediate in particular social contexts. It may be the case even if social conditions are favourable for SL learning, the actual act of learning may not be facilitated if an individual militates against it or if it is in unfavorable social circumstances. Psychological factors will determine how learners will perceive themselves and how much effort they are likely to put in to acquire the second language and how the same learner will expand his or her simplified system into a complex one, eventually in conformity with target languages. Likewise there are many social variables which determine the learning conditions and language values.

Notice that the size of first and second language group in many cases act as a controlling factor in motivating the children to learn first and second languages. If the potential second language group is large, tending to look at its own member for survival needs and is able to satisfy these needs within the ethnic community concerned, there will be less contact and thus less second language acquisition (Schumann 1978b). If the small group children are more dependent upon the dominant group children and if they show greater affinities with the latter, it may often lead to mothertongue shift. Children do commit such MT suicides at times when their institutional and communicative demands are satisfied by the second language.

Social boundary creates certain conditions in which children have to work. Conditions for learning second language arises because of three kinds of impositions: firstly, parental, that is, parents' plan for their education in particular languages for either instrumental or integrative purposes; secondly, social, that is, where majority group language is different from the minority languages, and where there is no common code for communication between two groups; thirdly, political, that is, government policy to educate children in majority language and create an institutional vacuum for the minority children.

If the social and cultural norms, i.e. life, values, beliefs of two groups are similar, there will be high degree of integration and cultural shock or anxiety of the minority children will be low. Whereas in the other situation where there are a lot of socio-cultural differences, integration with second language group may not be high. If the cultures of the two groups

are congruent, similar or identical on important dimensions of behavior and values, this too will facilitate contact as well as second language learning. Research on language contact must, therefore, take into consideration the quantitative and qualitative aspects of contact. Quantitative contact refers to the contact between groups of equal or different population, size, political control and economic status etc. whereas qualitative contact refers to the groups' differences in the complexity of their material or non-material culture, or, both or where their culture has an equal degree of complexity.

In all these discussions as above, 'power' refers to the degree of control, i.e. power exercised by both majority or minority groups. Power decides action and strategies and participation of individual or group toward ingroup and outgroup language and culture. Thus we must try to explain 'what dominant groups prefer the subordinate to attain' (Schermerhorn 1970:76). Schermerhorn extends his hypothesis on the Wirth's four-fold typology of the different policies which various minority groups adopt in response to their subordinate position. Wirth had categorized different policies as 1) assimilationist, where a minority group loses its cultural distinctiveness and adopts the life style of superordinate; 2) pluralist, where a minority group is allowed to maintain its cultural distinctiveness, 3) secessionist, where a minority group aims at pursuing an independent existence, and 4) militant, where a minority group strives to gain control over the superordinate. Here, Schermerhorn identified two forces: centripetal (Cp) and centrifugal (Cf). Cp tends to make the groups accept common values, styles of life, etc, and to motivate

group members to increased participation. On the other hand, Cf trends tend to foster separation from the other group by retaining or preserving cultural identity through language, religion etc

Let us reproduce the majority-minority configurations following Schermerhorn (1970) and Paulston (1978) here:

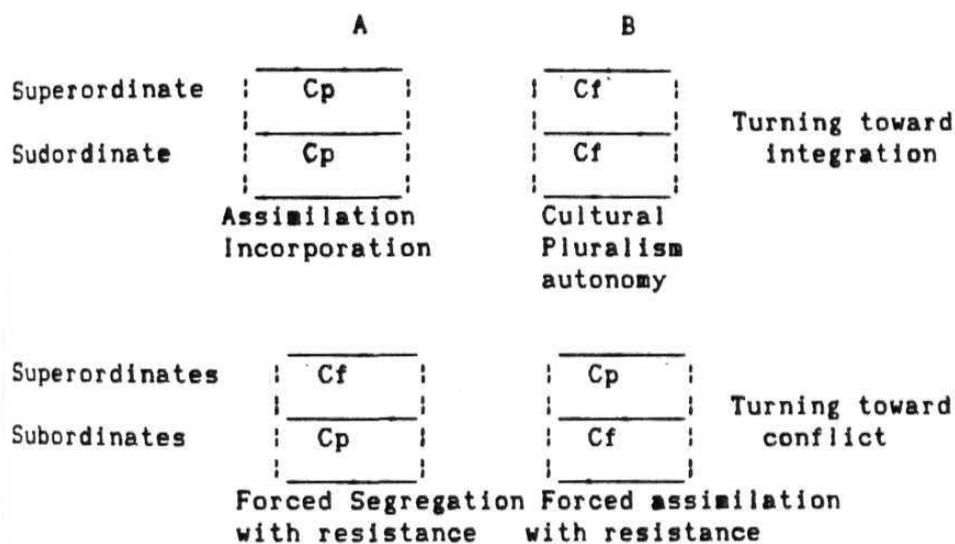


Figure 4: Majority-Mnority Configurations as in Schermerhorn (1970) and Paulston (1978)

According to Schermerhorn, the integration of people of diverse cultures into enviroing society is a composite function of three independent and intervening variables. These cells can exemplify different types of bilingualism of the world. For example, cell A (which denotes assimilation and incorporation) exemplifies the situation of immigrants to the USA whereas cell B exemplifies the Indian scene of societal bilingualism and cultural pluralism type situation.

Children as a part of a particular group will be affected by power relation of the two concerned groups when they are in contact. The possibilities are the following:

1) If the power relation between the minority groups (as there could be more than one) and the dominating majority group is vertical, that is, one dominating the others, children will, in most cases, live in a sunflower syndrome (cf. Singh 1992) and there will be a possibility of the first language loss if not necessarily loss of their cultural, social and ethnic identity.

2) If the power relation between two groups are supportive, i.e. supporting one another, the question of children learning a second language will not arise because of imposition and it is likely that the rate of shift toward second language will be low. Supportive power relation could exist in two situations, firstly, horizontal, that is, both groups to yield similar power and; secondly, dome shaped, that is power is not in hand of minority children group but all facilities are granted to them to learn their own language. Vertical power relation creates the atmosphere for language shift whereas supportive power relation create the atmosphere of language development.

Schumann (1978, 1986) in his model of 'Acculturation' identifies social dominance as a social variable. For him the social factors that affect second language acquisition has to do with social dominance patterns: the degree to which one of groups is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior. If two groups are appropriately equal in political and social status and power, there will no pressure from another language to learn their language. However, language is also learnt due to certain social pressures.

All the factors, listed here, certainly play important role, but it is also important that the relative weight of each one has to be considered in particular interactional contexts. This model is comprehensive because an exhaustive list of important social and psychological factors have been discussed. It is believed that bilingualism results in different social and psychological conditions. Social factors provide a base and condition in which an individual will work whereas psychological factors will exhibit how an individual will behave in that social condition. Therefore, such an explanation will set out a predictive parameter to let us know: How a person will behave in a given social context and why does he do so?

1.5. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

To know the social-psychological processes in which bilingualism grows, it is essential to explore the nature of second language learning in this particular society, and in addition, to look into the acceptance of social membership, cultural and ethnic identity in terms of intergroup situation in which exploration of contact becomes necessary. When children come in contact with another language group in the intergroup situation, they may pass through three social psychological processes in the adaptation of second language and this group's, culture and ethnicity. These three processes are: perception, comparison and identification. Let us consider these processes here.

1.5.1. PERCEPTION

When a child learns a language he also builds up the picture of reality that is around him and inside him, and decides on the value of this language. At the level of perception, the individual is at the centre of the picture and individual potential is interpreted as the means where by various realities are known within which he happens to interact. Through this process a learner comes to know about the reality of his own language and of other languages, too. Perception of value of language, as is currently used, has two imports: first, it is used in the sense of ability to acquire knowledge about things from any sources and also person's knowledge about the value of language and; secondly, it is used as constituting a certain content which is attached to experience of individuals. The process of categorizing and identifying the value of language and correcting and motivating our attitudes for learning results in the possibility of successful conduct through an inner conversation with oneself after one perceives the value of language. Kraemer and Dlshtain (1989) investigated into the relationship between perceived vitality and language attitude in Israeli setting and found that perception of ethno-linguistic vitality did predict language attitude. Their finding is that construction of attitude is primarily based upon perception of overall vitality. Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) claim the same thing. Individual's perception of different values is often influenced by private dispositions as well as by accesses to public information via education, media, and such other sources (Labrie and Clément 1986).

The extent to which a child forms his/her attitude towards learning SL, identifies with the second SL group and is motivation towards maintaining and shift to FL will depend upon the way ingroup and outgroup language, society, culture and ethnicity have been perceived. Perceived values may cause discrimination and favoritism towards ingroup and outgroup. The dynamics of process of identification is adequately described by the 'law of perception' according to which one would first distinguish only the general and diffuses ideas about an object. It elucidates regularities inherent in the 'completion' of the image of another person on the basis of available, (often limited) information. In the process of bi-lingualization, bi-socialization, bi-culturation and bi-ethnization, a child is confronted with a complex dialectics of perceiving the values of two languages.

1.5.2. COMPARISON

Tajfel (1974, 1978) in his theory of social identity and intergroup relations suggests that in a situation of intergroup contact and interaction when members of one group A interact with members of another group B, they compare themselves with group B on a number of value dimensions which are likely to increase the ingroup distinctiveness. The stage of comparison is the stage of high awareness for children. It is proposed that two independent factors contribute to this awareness: the perceived stability vs. instability and the legitimacy of the existing intergroup situation. The factor of perceived stability-instability refers to the extent to which the individuals

believe that their group's position in the status hierarchy can be changed or even reserved. Perceived legitimacy vs. illegitimacy refers to the extent to which individuals construe their group position in the status hierarchy to be fair and just.

At this stage children acquire distinctiveness between ingroup and outgroup in terms of instrumental and emotional values. In terms of instrumental values, they observe the benefit from ingroup and outgroup whereas in terms of emotional values children think about their cultural inheritance. At this stage there may arise some confusion, uncertainty and indecision but at a later stage children show impulse of identification on the perceived values that is acquired during compression. Children differentiate between ingroup and outgroup in terms of values which increase the dichotomous distinctiveness of social categories and at a later stage contribute to their function as a guide for lingual, social and cultural action.

At the level of comparison cultural shock arises because of linguistic, cultural and socio-political load, subjective and objective evolution of self, and differences between two languages and cultures. For Schumann (1978a) culture shock is anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture. In a situation where children have high anxiety because of linguistic and cultural shock, there is a maximum possibility to avoid second language learning and integration with the out-group, resulting in low development of bilinguality. On the other hand, there could be a reverse situation when learning second language is unavoidable. This may compel the children to have a greater identification with second language group and

lower identification with their own language and group which may sometimes cause great shift to second language. An individual may become exhausted and feel discouraged to continue routine activities, and as a result, they may fall back on the original language and culture to whatever extent possible and isolate themselves from the new culture.

1.5.3. IDENTIFICATION

As a social-psychological process identification is the stage of stabilization for children to make their position clear, and behave accordingly. Perception is the stage of knowing about the values and comparison is the stage of evolution for identification and actualizing attitude and motivation. In comparison, identification is the stage of actualizing behavior on the basis of both. This is the stage of decision-making to be either part of one's own language, culture, and society that will lead to preservation of these, or there will be close association with second language, group and culture with complete avoidance of his own language, culture and society. The latter will lead to the erosion of one's first language and social cultural identity. Close identification (integration with second) with both language and groups will lead to balanced situation. Children's identification in the contact situation, is determined on the basis of subjective and objective values and boundary. Their subjective identification will be based upon ego, boundary, prestige of their language group and culture, emotional attachment with own language, group and culture and affiliation toward their home land. Children's objective identification will also show the need for learning and adapting to second language group and culture. Atkinson (1958) has defined,

need affiliation, as a concern over establishing, maintaining, and restoring relationship with others. Findling (1972) says 'need affiliation' is said to be a function of social deprivation in much the same way as hunger is the function of social deprivation. The degree of one's need affiliation is positively related to the frequency of reflecting attitudes aimed at frustrating one's desire to be accepted by others (Atkinson et al 1954). Taking a rather strong stand it can be said that children's shift to second language shows that there are underlying motives or latent inclination. Institutional needs of second language motivates children to learn another language and in some cases where minority children live in the vacuum of their own language institution, they may feel compelled to learn the second language. If children don't get informal or formal support from their own language group, learning second language will be considered as a need affiliation for literacy and rush for getting job. Institutional supports refer to the degree of formal and informal support a language receives from the various institutions of a nation, region or community. Informal supports refer to the extent to which a minority community has organized itself and on whether it forms a pressure group. Example can be cited from the Greek community in Montreal, which held more vitality than linguistic minorities who have not organized themselves in this fashion. In determining the vitality of language it is important to gauge the group's degree of control over its own economic destiny. In general, in the western world if a person's first language group is economically controlled by another language group, the person naturally has more inclination to learn this second language, as he would do it for the sheer reason of survival. Similarly, persons have less inclination to learn their own language

which has less or no job opportunity. That is why in the western countries immigrant linguistic minorities usually assimilate more quickly into dominant culture by losing their language even though the indigenous minority group who still occupy their traditional homeland. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) hypothesis, in this context, presents a typical norm of western bilingualism which reports that the more positive a minority group's status, the more likely it is to survive and develop as a distinct group and the more negative its status, the more likely it is to disappear as a collective entity. However, in India the educational and economic values of English language which satisfy the various needs of people and act as a driving force by providing better opportunities at various levels. But unlike a western country, Indians' rational behavior toward learning second language, especially English, does not exhibit tendency of less identification with mother tongue. In India, people exhibit a esteem toward one's own linguistic group even if it has low social status. This amount of self-esteem closely resembles members attitude to achieve native-like proficiency in their group's language. To conclude this discussion, it can be hypothesized that children' low self-esteem of their own language group and high valuation of the second language group will foster assimilation into second language group. The reaction would have been reverse if the children had a higher self-evaluation.

It is suggested here that children's positive and negative identification with ingroup language and culture will determine the preservation and shift. Though the perception and comparison of self and ingroup and outgroup languages, children create a social psychological climate in their mind and

in the further scrutiny they identify themselves toward outgroup and ingroup. Tajfel's (1974) point was that people's knowledge of their membership in various categories or groups of people, and the values attached to that membership by them in positive and negative terms defines their social identity. Consider the following model of language learning where all these steps have been shown:

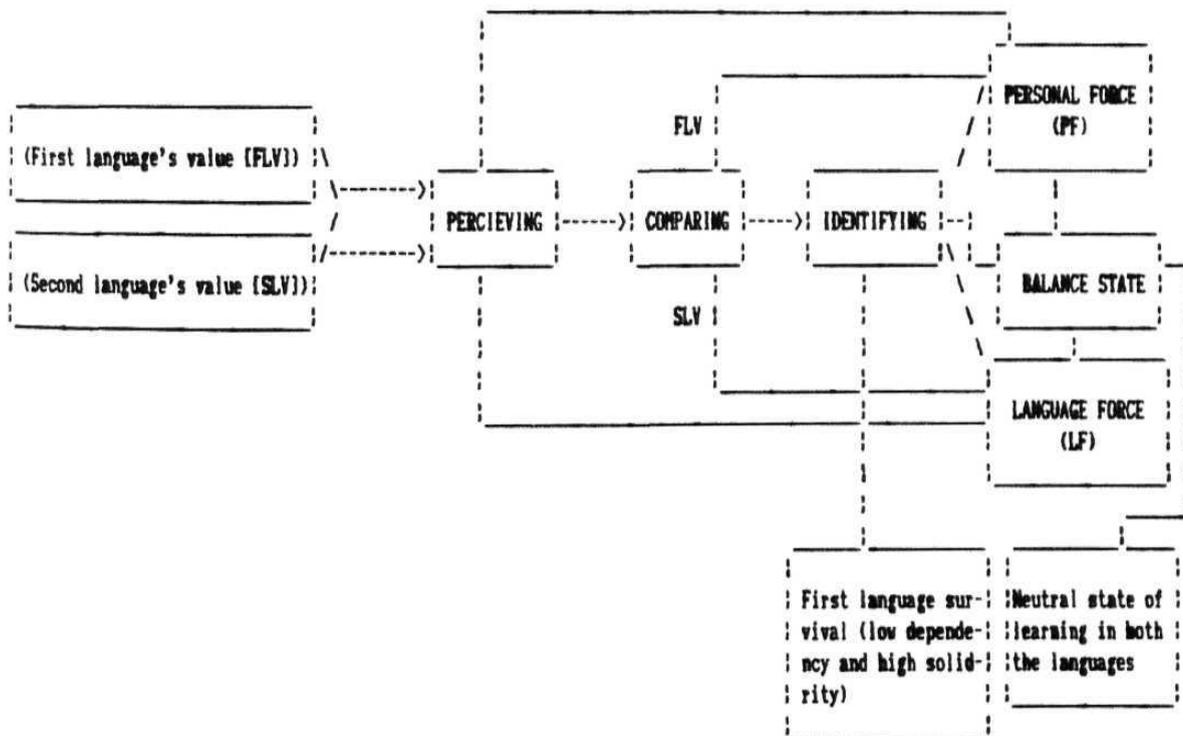


Figure 5: A Model of Language Learning in a Bilingual Environment: Social-Psychological Processes

Notice that the present study suggests that children's identification with outgroup and ingroup language should be viewed in terms of two questions: First, under which conditions will the children attempt to change the intergroup situations, and secondly, if change is desired, what are the means by which it has to be brought in?

1.5.4. SKUTNABB-KANGAS ON SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Here, we will have to take into consideration whether identification with SL is for instrumental purposes or is it a part of subjective, self-defined intra-individual identity (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987). Let us elaborate on her ideas here to see how much of it is useful for our work.

Looking at the various complications that arise in the self-identification of Finns in terms of Bromley's (1984) categories of 'ethonym', 'politonym', 'toponym', she shed light on these particular processes in terms of two concepts: 'double identification', and 'variable identification'. Double identification would mean that the person doesn't merely choose one identity (either X or Y), but describes himself as both X and Y at the same time. Variable characterization is when somebody describes himself differently to different people or in different situations. She recalls that such an ideology is more important in a plural society (in many Asian and African countries) where people are allowed to belong to two (or more) ethnoses without any of these ethnoses accusing them of tampering with loyalty because of their other allegiances. Therefore, she believes that mono-views have to be altered. There

is also multiple identification (both-and, X but also Y). According to her an understanding of distinctiveness and therefore categorization is a part of metacultural awareness, which is the precondition to become clearer for comparison and contrast.

1.6. LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE VALUE

A person's behavior is observable while making choice of language for learning or for defining self. It so happens that this choice is determined by the consideration of personal feel for the need of language that is created by different values of language. These considerations are generally related with learner's perception of language value in the wider milieu. An exploration of determinants of language choice might conceivably also glisten light on the phenomenon of attitude and motivation associated with the learning of first and second languages. One situation may correspond to a person's own interest in learning a second language; the other may correspond to the pressure of an outgroup when they are in contact. There may arise conflict between personal needs and needs created by an outgroup.

The need of second group can be viewed from many sides: one side corresponds to a person's own needs and goal; the other to the force exerted by the outgroup community. "Adaptation of an individual to the groups depend upon the avoidance of too great a conflict between the two set of forces" (Lewin 1951:271-2). Herman (1968) also concludes that it is useful to look at the speaker who is in the position of having to choose between two languages (or more) as a person in an overlapping situations, i.e, he is located in the common part of two psychological situations that exit simultaneously for him.

While determining which language will choose when he is given choices, the option of language may not only arise from his immediate needs but also from the situation at large and to satisfy the other values. Sometime background situation, may also influence the behavior in an immediate situation as it had been stressed by Barker, Dembo, and Lewin (1941). In seeking to explain background and immediate situation in learning it is possible to say that the space of learning which constitutes the background becomes a part of the learning activity in which the individual is involved at time and on the other hand the background also influences the behavior in some way. It can't be omitted from the learning space, if one is to be able to derive the actual behavior. The individual behaves as if he were in an overlapping situation consisting of both immediate and background situation, the background usually having less relativity and less potency. In their experiment the background was a mood or psychological state which impinged upon the ongoing activity. The relative potency of the situations and language were supposed to have a tremendous effect on the principle of language behavior.

Social psychologists then must have particular interest to explore: how relative potency of situations and language increases and decreases influencing language choice. Indeed, the study of language choice provides a strategic vantage point for the exploration of the of language value on behavior. We begin our discussion with an analysis of the conditions under which one or another value of language has higher potency in determining the choice of language. The choice of language may in its turn serve as a subtle behavioral index which is driven or satisfied by the different values of language.

The concept of value has a special place in the cognitive theory because it influences a person's attitude toward language, and similarly regulates his behavior. Different kinds of values and their different effect will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. Recall that the objective value, however, should be regarded as more centrally located for specific benefits. Evidence for a greater centrality of the language value in determining the attitude and motivation could be seen to have widespread ramification when the question of choice comes in. It is interesting to note that in the Meadian theory value is like good which satisfies the interest of people. And, value is the future character of the object in so far as it determines one's action to it. The role of language is also important particularly in explaining why a person may wish to learn a second language or an othertongue. It is suggested here that when an individual makes an effort to learn a second language one is guided by two competing forces: language force and personal force. Although the theory which results out of this data doesn't devalue the sociolinguist's and psychologist's explanations of this phenomenon but it sets out the guideline for looking for the phenomenon of second language learning in a more interdisciplinary framework.

1.7. PERSONAL FORCE AND LANGUAGE FORCE

Learning behavior of children will be affected by the consensus they arrive at in the environment where this language is used. Individual differences emerge where different skills, interests, experiences, etc. may foster the development of different schema in perceiving, categorizing and further turning the behavior. Learner skills, interests, experiences, etc. are his

acquired 'possessive' force whereas perceiving, categorizing and regulating the behavior is his natural acting force. Acting force is always in control of possessive force. Language force is also two types: first, seductive force which attracts a learner toward learning by promising to dispense maximum benefit and; second, obligatory force which propel one to learn by creating different needs - institutional, social or political. Economic and status value could be kept under seductive force and institutional, social and political in the second category. These two forces create a need for language learning at different time of life and similarly create the tension in an individual's psyche.

The personal force both specifies and limits the ways in which learners understand the value of language and turn towards this activity. This concept applies to personal force which facilitates understanding of value information through such means as perceiving and comparing, and accelerates one's behavior in certain direction. Personal force of learners always intervenes in perceiving and categorizing languages around him/her. The moral is that language force (henceforth, LF) is as much a function of the learner as much as the personal force (henceforth, PF) is the function of language value. Both the LF and PF continually transform one another through the interactive processes of an equilibration. Stability in learning behavior exists when an equilibrium between these two forces is reached. Determining the possible interaction between these two values in a dialectical spiral is possible. Neither of the two exists alone. Our assumption is that language learning behavior must be considered as a result of the interaction between the learner (abbreviated, L)

and the language value (henceforth, L_v) meant to represent both how a person perceives value and how much value he assigns, and whether one is willing to direct one's 'personal force' (PF) and whether there are influences which may function such as 'language force' (LF) as a drive to attitude which could be called. This could be schematically represented as follows:

$$LL = f(L, L_v)$$

An appreciation of the importance of consistently recognizing that a person's learning behavior is determined by a consistent interaction between PF and LF in the space of learning. The only determinants of this behavior at a given time are the properties of these two forces. Here, our argument is not biased to argue for supremacy of any of the two forces because as it has already been stated that an equal application of forces in equilibrium creates a particular learning ecology. In this discussion the emphasis is on the fact that the term 'value of language' is not strictly an 'independent variable'; it both influences the learner and is influenced by him. In this equation the learner (L) and language value (L_v) have to be viewed as variables that are mutually dependent upon each other. In other words, to understand or to predict the leaning behavior, the learner and language value have to be considered as constellation of two interdependent factors.

1.8. BILINGUALISM AS A PRODUCT OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Now it is becoming increasingly clearer that bilingualism is a product of social psychological processes which operate in certain language learning ecology. A product is definable in two ways: (1) How it will grow? (2) What

type of this product (= here bilingualism) will grow in certain ecologies through application and interplay social psychological processes? (3) How does an individual define himself when he becomes a bilingual?

Social psychological processes which operate in any language learning ecology are not only predictive in defining learner's attitude and motivation toward learning first and second languages but also in predicting identification of oneself with first or second language culture, group and ethnicity. Interpretation of bilingualism do not end simply with the explanation of learning context and about one's knowledge of two languages. This becomes a very important task for social psychologist to explore: what happens to the identity of an individual when he becomes bilingual? Does a child's adaptation of second language and consequent adaptation of its social membership and culture get exhibited in the identity of child ?

A child can become bilingual without being bicultural, bisocial and biethnic depending upon how and where he has learned second language. This assumption shows that to be a bilingual adaptation of second language community culture, social practices and ethnicity is not a necessary condition. Haugen (1956) argues that bilingualism and biculturalism don't stand in any simple one-to-one relationship. Where there is a close integration between a child's first and second language group, bilingualism go in side by side with biculturalism. An individual's spread of identity can be shown by this figure:

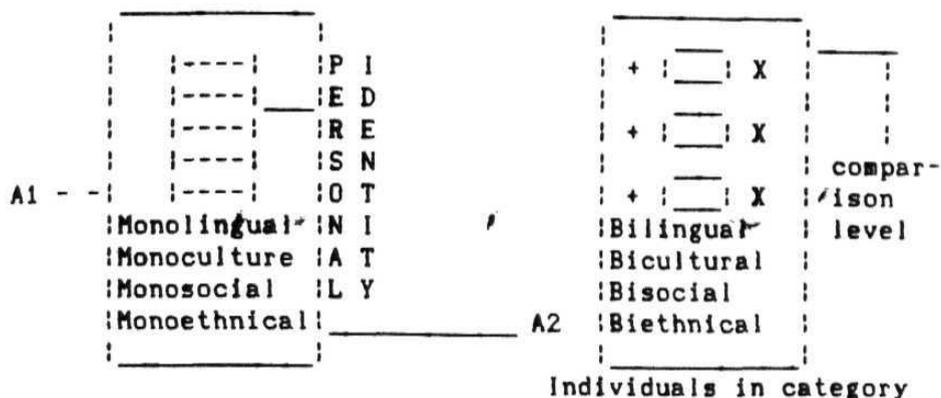


Figure 6: Individual's Spread of Identity

However, in general, the bilinguals of western countries expand their identities in the structural sense, as it is shown through the '+' sign whereas the bilinguals of India and the third world, expand their identities in multiple sense, as the sign 'X' stands for the same in this figure. The second stage of bilingualization, in the present typology, could be delingualization and consequently deculturation, desocialization and de-ethnization. This is the stage of undulance and ambiguity for a child in which he is competent neither in his/her first language nor or own group in the second language or outgroup. This is the stage of no dominance by any language culture, and society. The fourth stage could also be A-lingual, A-social, A-cultural and A-ethnical in which children leave their language, group, and culture and merge completely second language group. This is again the stage of monolingualization, monoculturation and monoethnical. This could be called the stage of linguistic suicide.

Notice that this model does not create any fixed rule of transition but considers the possible product of bilingualization as a social psychological process. 'Spread' of identity (in terms of stratificational and multipicational spread) through adaptation of another language and its social membership, cultural practices and ethnicity through the process of genetic amalgamation and the 'destruction' of one's own identity by erosion of these agents are the central issues in the social psychological approach to understanding language.

With the adaptation of second language an individual can see himself/herself in terms of two competing and contradictory 'selves'. Identity conflict arises for a person who has two are more closely appropriate identities that demand competing or contradictory course of action. Conflict is felt as an 'existential dilemma'. For bilingual identity conflict is normal. Identity ambiguity is experienced by a person who is unclear about his/her ambiguity. Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) uses the term 'marginal' in this context, for a person with less competence in both language and culture, especially in relation to the affective and awareness components at third possible final stage for the first generation immigrant. This is a typical instance of the fourth possible outcome of Berry's (1974, 1980, 1984, 1990) model of acculturation as a process of marginalization where he calls it as 'deculturation' or 'ethnocide'. At the level of 'identity anomie' a bilingual lacks any guiding or governing identities which, i.e. translated literally, meaning 'with-

out rule or law'. What it suggests is that if a bilingual has no convincing answer to the question "Who am I?" it means that his self does not interact significantly. The loss of core or merged identity may bring this kind of identity anomie. It is self-destructive and sometimes it goes beyond an individual.

Suicide of language and identity take place more frequently and easily where divorce from one's own language, society, and culture, etc. is permitted in a country, society and family. Divorce here indicates that institutions have weakened an important regulatory principles. The fact of divorce tends to isolate the bilingual from his/her own society because of three factors: Firstly, **political, social, and demographic factors** (small number of speakers, highly scattered in the dominant group, low frequency of visit to native place, occupational shift, high level of education which leads to social and economic mobility, nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination as they force individuals to deny in order to make way in society, low family pressure, etc.); secondly, **cultural factors** (lack of mothertongue institutions, cultural practices are performed in another languages, ethnic identity is defined by factors other than languages, sense of self derived from factors such as religion, custom, race rather than from shared speech, low emphasis on family or community ties, etc.) and; thirdly, **linguistic factors** (minor and non-standard and unwritten variety as mothertongue, no literacy in mothertongue, etc.). Suicide of language is thus more strictly based upon the individual's

agreement with family, society and country. This agreement could be of two types, i.e. 1) **Free agreement** and 2) **Bound agreement**. Free agreement is individualistic in which family, society and country more precisely give the freedom of choice to an individual in defining his/her ideology. Bound agreement could be again of two types: 1) **additive bound agreement** which facilitate and force children to learn their mothertongue which causes minimum divorce from mothertongue and 2) **subtractive bound agreement** which is decided by parents and nation and outgroups and which causes maximum divorce. This arises where parents plan children to educate them in different languages other than one's mothertongue for instrumental purposes, or for assimilation with the outgroup. Suicide of an individual's language identity leads to assimilation which is a slow process of melting of individual language identity with another language. This suicide of language identity may also lead to the divorce of 'core value of identity' of an individual when he/she acquires the memories, sentiments, attitudes of other persons or of the whole group, sharing their experience and history, incorporating them in his own cultural life. Finally, the 'biological fusion' can only occur when the freedom of inter-lingual-marriage comes about.

Based on the above discussion, the typology of bilingual's identity that emerges could be summarized graphically as follow:

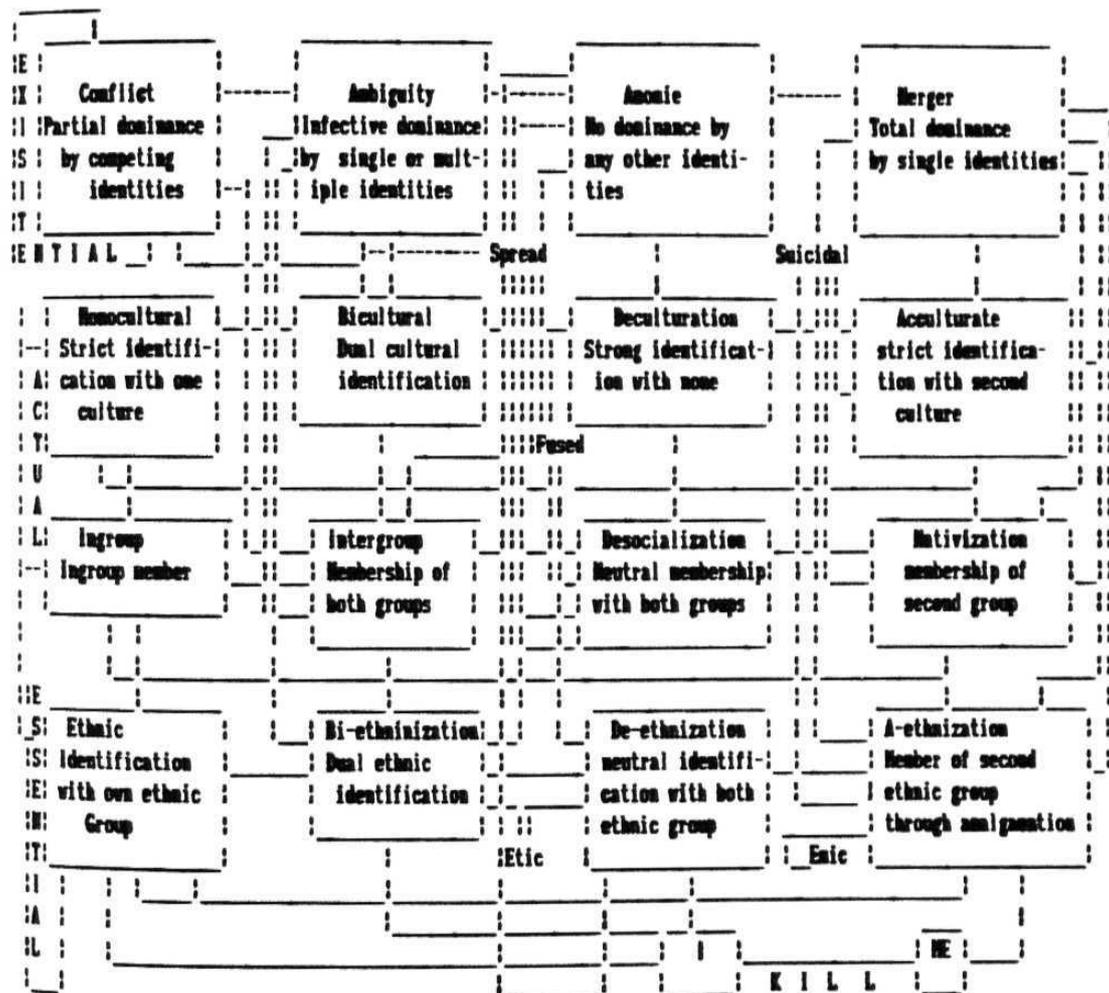


Figure 7: A Typology of Bilingual's Identity

1.8. LANGUAGE SUICIDE AND EROSION OF OTHER IDENTITIES

Finally, another important question that arises here is: Does the bilingual's language suicide lead to the erosion of his other identities? Notice that an individual's self is bound by an identity which is constituted through a set of complex social processes, and accordingly has many facets: language, group membership, culture and ethnicity. Now, bilingual ethnic identity would not die only because of mothertongue loss. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977) have shown that it is not essential for the Albanian Arvanities in Greece to speak Arvanitika in order to be considered a 'good' Albanian. An individual or a group can abandon their language for another without necessarily losing the original sense of identity. A bilingual can maintain ethnic boundary across generalization in spite of language, social and cultural change. One cannot assume a one to one correspondence between ethnic group and social, linguistic and cultural characteristics because in the some groups language may be regarded as significant symbol while in others it may not be so. On top of that, ethnic identity has several subjective definitions. Bilinguals may have both subjective and objective criteria of self-defining. Subjective criteria is conscious whereas objective level analysis of ethnicity is structural which may refer to instrumental concerns with society, culture, personality, etc. Defining and allocating identity will depend upon the core value of identity which an individual and a group allocate for the self. When language is the core value of individual, it may be an important factor in

determining the members' cultural identity. In extreme cases it might even appear as the sole cultural core value as is evidenced by the Flemings in Belgium or the Quebecois in Canada, who built their national identity almost exclusively on the defense of their linguistic right.

In the same vein, Smolicz (1979, 1981, 1984) puts forward the idea that certain cultural rules will be particularly salient in the community's cultural identity of its members. Once again, the same values may be relatively irrelevant for the elaboration of cultural identity in another group. His model of core values suggests that each culture possesses a number of basic characteristics which are essential for the transmission and maintenance of identity. For example, in the Italian community in Australia, family, religion and language appear to be three relevant core values, whereas for the Jewish community religion, culture, patrimony, and historicity are more important. The cultural characteristics will obviously depend on the number of factors in operation. Further support for our position comes from the analysis of ethnic values of several groups (cf. Driedger 1975). He concluded that although ethnic identity is determined by a multiple of factors such as language, religion and education, the relative importance of these factors varies from groups to groups. For example, in the pluralistic Canadian society in Manitoba Jewish people stress on endogamy and relations of friendship, whereas Franco-Manitobans insist on language and parish education, whereas Scandinavian don't attach much importance to any of these characteristics.

To conclude, cultural identity is a part of social identity but is not the same as the latter. Social identity exists within the same society and helps an individual to define himself in relation to the rules of that particular social group. One's cultural identity becomes contingent of the existence in outside society or in society. What is more important to note here is that erosion of one's original language - at least in its ordinary, communicative aspects - does not inevitably mean the erosion of identity of self. However, it is undoubtedly true that suicide of language identity definitely entails a change in social and culture content of a group identity whereas ethnic identity remains static till genetic amalgamation, such as intermarriage, etc. takes place. In a 'melting pot' country where assimilation is forced upon individuals and the process of assimilation functions as a 'pressure cooker' (Berry, 1990). Identity anomie, merger and suicide may also emerge as possible outcomes whereas in a country where the integrative tendency is a part and parcel of the natural force of the contact groups, spread of identity may become the norm. The case studies reported in the present work will then be considered in the light of above discussion on bilingualism as a process, product and a crisis of identity.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. PRELIMINARIES

In this research fragment, a heuristic approach to the study of basic issues in language learning, language preservation and language and identity link has been adopted, and the concept of value has been viewed in this light. Value of language, as it has already been elaborated in our discussion earlier, is synonymous with utility and function that any language happens to have in a given context. Here utility or function (which is either inherent or which occupies an important position in a social network by dint of its ecological relationship) of language is viewed from two angles: firstly, a largely subjective angle which causes sentimental attachment to one's language or has categorizing and identificational function, and; secondly, objective, that is, the utilitarian aspect of language. Yet, it is from the arguments used here that it will evolve as to what values a particular language will have for children that would motivate them towards preserving mothertongue. Through this study it is hoped that it will be possible to develop a theory of language learning in the Indian context which will exhibit the cause of learning different languages for different reasons at personal, societal and national levels. It is also intended to assign language value an important place to develop the meta theory of first and second language learning as well as to show how value is basic to language learning behavior.

As it has already been pointed out in the introduction, the subjects of the survey were Bengali and Bihari children living as displaced minorities in these neighboring states. A very important reason for selecting Bengali children living in Bihar was to check whether or not the non-Hindi speakers have sentimental and integrative attachment to Hindi as a national language in the pan-Indian context.

After all, language is an important aspect of self-expression and self-identification. The value of these considerations must be measured by children's attitude toward particular languages. Our stance is to propose a 'value theory' in the social psychological aspect of bilingualism. This is intended to find out how one's perceived value motivates one to decide on the status of different languages in one's repertoire as well as how it influences their first or second language(s) learning. To know about children's attitude towards language learning, questions were asked directly without applying other methods which would take us in a round about manner. It is assumed that this method will be more authentic to know the role of value of language in learning languages and in defining himself/herself.

It must be emphasized here that India as a nation is not only a political entity. Its integration is not based upon the notion of state affiliation, political integration, and economics alone, nor on a geographically defined sense of identity which is called 'nationalism' in Fishman's (1968) ideology. Rather it exhibits nation as having an ethos where integration is based upon the notion of ethnocentrism and the concept of sociocultural authenticity

which Fishman would like to call 'nationalism'. Like nation as a polity which may be composed of two or more states or provincial-level administrative units, nation as an ethno-element can also consist of lower level ethnic or sociocultural institutions termed as nationalities (Srivastava 1984:111). It is believed now that there is a continuum of identities in plural countries on which Srivastava (1984) has the following to say:

"What is important to observe is that in multilingual countries of Third world, national language, nationality languages, and minorities languages form a linguistic continuum: national language at the one end and intersecting middle zone of major, mediate and minor types of nationality languages".

Keeping this ideology in mind, he came up with the following language types in the Indian context:

- 1) **National/Official language**, i.e., "interlanguage for languages of "great tradition"; for example, Hindi in the pan-Indian context;
- 2) **Major Nationality languages**, i.e., "interlanguage for language of little tradition"; for example, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, etc;
- 3) **Mediate Nationality languages**, i.e., "linguistic minorities in search of their own 'great tradition'; for example, Santali, Konkani;
- 4) **'Out-group' Minority languages**, i.e, linguistic minorities with "little tradition" serving also as language of wider communication; for example, Halbi, Sadri, etc, and
- 5) **'In-group' minority languages**, i.e, linguistic minorities with "little tradition" serving exclusively the function of intra-group communication; for example, Mishing in Assam, Malto in Bihar, or Juang in Orissa.

2.2. THE SAMPLE

Our sample consists of two groups of minority children who are native speakers of two major languages of India - one forming 'Type 1' and the other belonging to 'Type 2'. They are minorities in each other's regions or states - Bengal and Bihar, but are majority language speakers in their respective states. Our sample has children in the age-group of ten to fifteen years and the majority of them are above twelve years. The respective linguistic groups from types 1 and 2, as mentioned above, are Hindi and Bengali speakers. The children included in the survey are multilingual with proficiency in more than these two languages. Both Bengali children living in Bihar and Hindi speaking-children living in Bengal, live in a multilingual set-up where average children know at least four languages, namely, Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit and English, with varying language skills. In case of some Bihari children it extends upto five, especially for those who are fluent in their home language, too (i.e., in Magahi, Bhojpuri or Maithili). Though it would have been interesting to include the children of below ten years age group also but since we intended to depend on a direct question method, it was thought unwise to subject very young children to so many questions and test their level of tolerance. Those included are all school going children and are continuing their schooling in different types of schools which are available in their locality.

In course of this survey, an effort was made to look at the development of bilingualism more specifically in Hindi and Bengali languages which are the

principal languages of the community where these children lived, mainly to observe how minority children living with a prominent host community form their attitude toward in and out group languages and cultures and what motivates them toward learning their own language and/or to integrate with others - possibly, to fulfill certain regional and national demands. On the other hand, it was also thought desirable to know how different situations in terms of power are responsible for language maintenance and shift. Such linguistic situations as have been studied here help us in knowing more about bilingual children in general. In particular, it tries to provide possible answers to the following questions:

- 1) How migrant children define their identify themselves?
- 2) How migrant children in a multiethnic relations relate themselves to and interact with other linguistic groups?
- 3) How different situations are responsible for upgrading and degrading the values of language?, etc.

Forty-two Bengali children were selected as subject of our survey. They all live in 'Sounda 'D', a coal field area located in the Hazaribagh district in South Bihar. These children came from three types of families according to the socio-economic ranking of their parents: mine laborers, clerks and officers like engineers, managers, etc. But, the majority of children belong to second class and their parents were found to be more decisive towards preservation of their own language. The parents who could be put in the higher class were found more inclined towards English whereas the lower class people were found with greater readiness to adjust with the majority group language. None of them would have had an opportunity to learn their mother-tongue in the formal school setting because none of the schools provided the

constitutionally guaranteed facility for teaching them through the medium of their mothertongue, even though the number of such linguistic minorities was sizable there. They do not offer Bengali as a subject (called a 'third language' in the school jargon) either.

2.3. THE OBJECTIVES

The reason as to why these subjects were selected was that we wanted to see how and why, in spite of Bengali not being available in their school domain or in the formal setting, excepting in close familial domains, these subjects react positively towards preservation of their mothertongue. Alternatively, how do they perceive the language of their community or language of their surrounding where they have to live. In other words, we wanted to consider their formation of attitude toward 'in-' (=Bengali) and 'out-'group language (=Hindi) and culture, which in turn motivate them for or against integrating with the second language group. In general, we were also interested in finding out how different equations in terms of power and group attitude shape the development of bilinguality with the dominance of either shift or preservation of mothertongue. In particular, we wanted to find out that if these children still feel concerned about preservation of their mothertongue (in which they may not be formally proficient), what could be its reason. However, no effort is made to show how children from different families with different socio-economic status exhibit different pattern of attitude toward language learning. It must also be mentioned here that different causative variables like sex, socio-economic status, duration of stay, etc. play very vital roles in these concerns.

The analysis of these bilingual children and their mental make-up was done at three levels: First, we considered the case of the migrant children who arrived in this particular community and in course of time started on their own integrating themselves with the host community; secondly, we also looked at multiethnic relations and the ways in which the migrant groups relate themselves and interact with other speech groups; and thirdly, we investigated how different values of languages played important role in the formation of attitudes toward the preservation of their mothertongue and second language learning.

2.4. SELECTION OF SPEECH COMMUNITIES

In choosing these two states - Bihar and West Bengal, one has been guided by mainly the factor of convenience. There have been extensive migration of population of one state to the other for a very long time. Secondly, at one point of time the entire region consisting of these two states was considered as one geo-cultural entity. Thirdly, migrants from both states - may be for the reason of proximity or for purely socio-cultural reasons - have shown strong resistance to mothertongue attrition. Fourthly, wherever the migrants have settled down in these two states, those places exhibit distinct patterns of living, in comparison to their dominant neighbors. Fifthly, both groups show some amount of compromising attitudes by 'picking up', if not being very proficient in, the other language(s). Finally, in spite of these

basic similarities, there is a perceptible difference in their self-evaluation and in their understanding of which languages in their repertoire should receive what kind of priority.

The social structure of our subjects in both dominant and non-dominant configurations were chosen for many other reasons also, which include the following:

- 1) to observe to what extent the size of children that would fall within in- and out-group will affect the development of bilinguality in a heterogeneous speech community;
- 2) how children behave differently in different speech communities where the roles allotted to their respective mother tongues differ in the sociolinguistic matrix of the region as well as at the national level;
- 3) to inquire into the nature of power-play and the role of pressure that groups of children belonging to in and out language groups exert and how it affects the shift and maintenance of mother tongue;
- 4) how children behave differently in different power sharing groups or in communities with different majority-minority configurations; and,
- 5) to examine how children form attitude and define their identity in these two different language ecologies.

2.5. MIGRATION PATTERN

Internal migration, to an extent, is not a new phenomenon in India but the rapid changes in the social and political scenario of the country have made migration a common trend. The first systematic attempt to explain population mobility in the subcontinent through census statistics was made by Davis

In 1951. He observed that although the people were free to move from province to province, from one princely state to another, the vast majority of Indian population was immobile. Diversity of language can be also sought as the main reason for this immobility. Using Census data, Zachariah (1964) had also made a detailed investigation of internal migration in the Indian subcontinent during 1901-31 in order to measure and describe its magnitude, assess its contributions to the process of population redistribution, and to indicate areas of population gain and loss. He concluded that "the extent of population redistribution in India during 1901-31 caused by internal migration was small compared to western countries" (Zachariah 1964:261).

"Migration is said to be selective of occupation as well" (Singh 1986:9). Economists could well call it a selective process of occupation. As the areas covered under the present research vary markedly in terms of occupational selectivity, it is generally said about the third world countries that most migrations from one region to another is more likely to be instances of being 'pulled' into the other community because of attractive economic opportunities. One of the most important aspects of occupation and migration is the study of shift in the occupational characteristics of migrants. This study, as said before, aims at examining and comparing the attitude of first and second language use by different groups. Perhaps it is important to admit here that this study will not examine migration as the principal subject matter.

In terms of occupational opportunities and educational developments, Bengal should be considered as one of the most developed state of this country. Since West Bengal happens to be on the border of Bihar, shift of population is likely to be more frequent than to any other state. Similarly, since West Bengal is one of the neighboring states of Bihar, about 4% of the total population of Bihar is composed of Bengalis (Cf. Census of India, 1971, Social and cultural tables, Series, India, Part II-c-1)). In West Bengal, persons of Bengali mothertongue constituted 85% of the total population. The Hindi-speaking people constitute about 6% and they are mostly migrants or their descendants. According to Census 1961, the major streams of out-migrants from Bihar were identified as going to West Bengal (66%). The out-migrants from West Bengal went mostly to Bihar. If the total volume of in- and out-migrants to Bihar and West Bengal are taken into consideration, it could be suggested that West Bengal is a predominantly in-migration state and Bihar is an out-migration state. The current pattern of heavy out-migration from Bihar to West Bengal appears to be an old trend persisting from the beginning of this century (Zachariah 1964). Relatively greater opportunity, resulting from increasing economic concentration since the line of establishment of the East India company,⁷ worked as centripetal force for population concentration in West Bengal both from adjoining and distant. "The large volume of migration from Bihar into Bengal in the decade 1891-1901 -- larger than that of the previous decades are indicative of Bihar's tremendous economic push and the struggle for existence among the Biharis" (Chattopadhyaya 1887:253). The retarded development of Bihar progressively pushed out a large body of the

labour force to join the growing industry, trade and commerce of the core region to pursue low-paying jobs that the indigenous Bengali population did not want to do (Lubell 1974; Mukherjee 1981).

In studies on population mobility at the all India level, it has been found that migration tends to flow from the areas of fewer economic opportunity (Vaidyanathan 1967; Giridhar 1978). Most of them have come alone and had no intention of settling in Bengal permanently. Most of them lived without families to save some money for remittance towards meeting the wants of their families left behind at home. But those who started earning enough money brought their family - particularly those who have got jobs and have established business.

A certain percentage of migrants, however, chose in course of time to make Bengal their second home under such favorable circumstances as created by the prospects of secured monthly earning and facilities in business, transport and railways. Those who have families belong to two sections of people: jute mill security men and workers and few others holding other positions who are working for long time and businessmen who earn good amount of money. Those who are staying for long time have their own houses. Businessmen specializing in particular areas belonged to specialized castes, for example, 'Sona:r' as jewelers, 'Bania:' managing grocery shops or the 'kira:na: duka:n', 'thathera:' as utensil-sellers, etc. Those who migrated from Bihar belonged to different social formations. Most respondents of our survey belonged to backward or lower classes. The migrants generally live in the areas surrounding the jute mills where they live as 'islandic' minorities but having full-

pledged facility of schooling, business, religious places, etc. Since they have government schools with their own language as medium, children have full opportunity for education in their language unlike the Bengali children.

Bengali-speaking children living in Bihar differ from the Bihari children in terms of their learning situation and in the size of in- and out-groups, duration of stay and occupation of people. The majority of Bihari children' parents are the members of working class, not the middle class. Migration of Bihari working class people in the hinterland area of Calcutta city starts during the British government in the research of employment. In different linguistic groups had entered the city at different points in time, they settled in ethnic enclaves whatever land was available, and moved into occupations that were open to them at that time. Biharis, for example, have supported migrants from their own region in finding jobs as labours, thus reinforcing caste and regional ties, and inhibiting open competition for jobs and greater awareness.

Since these children do not have the opportunity to learn their mother-tongue through a formal system of education, most of them are handicapped in their mothertongue and some of them have lost it, too. Excepting a few (who might have migrated after a few years of schooling in Bengal, or whose parents must have taken special care in teaching how to read and write in their mothertongue) most children either do not have or have lost reading and writing skills in their mothertongue. It may be mentioned here that these children are not staying in a separate community or locality, and have a very high level of social and linguistic interaction with the host community.

It is obvious from the above description that these Bengali children face a great risk of losing their language because of the structural factors in the society in which they have to live. These factors place limits on the opportunity for the development of their own language. The lack of social utility, political power, and economic opportunity for Bengali language in their speech community results in an unhappy situation for these children where they run the risk of being labeled as deviant by the majority group. As these Bengali children have to be a part of the larger society, they have had this feeling that something should be done to teach their language in school. However, it should be kept in mind that exclusion of their language in school is not a part of biased political decision and planned intention to assimilate these children into the host community but precisely because of economic constraints, low population, etc. To ensure that the government is committed to safeguard the linguistic human right of migrant minority who are in large population, Bihari children have been selected.

On the other hand, the area which was chosen for the observation of Bihari children living in Bengal is, Gouripur, situated in the out-skirts of Calcutta where majority of Bihari labourers are staying as an 'Islandic' minority. Their parents are workers in the jute mills, daily wage labourers or engaged in petty business in the locality. The reason for calling this group as an 'Islandic' minority lies in the fact that they are surrounded by Bengali speech community and live in a consolidated area and they have opportunity to learn their own language and have place for religious practice. Thirty children of this community of the same age-group were studied to observe the contrast in attitude toward learning different languages because they avail of

a different opportunity of learning first and second languages. Although they were in the minority, they were not suffering from the nativist and/or biased movements for or against the out-group because Calcutta has never witnessed growth of such nativist movements. Moreover, the Bengalees themselves have been a very mobile people. Because of institutional facilities in their mothertongue the Bihari children have not witnessed the shift towards second language with the loss of Hindi as they thought the shift toward second language will result in the loss of certain skills in their mothertongue.

As diagrams given below show, the situation is totally opposite for the Bengali children living in Bihar, in comparison with the Hindi-speaking children in Bengal. In terms of population the Bengali group is a 'dissipate' minority in the sense that they are not confined to any one area. In terms of power allocation this group is dependent upon the majority group decision. Children are not staying in a separate community because there is nothing that can be called their 'own' linguistic community. This happens because they are all staying in government flats.

2.6. PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT OF TWO GROUPS

Consider the following settlement patterns:

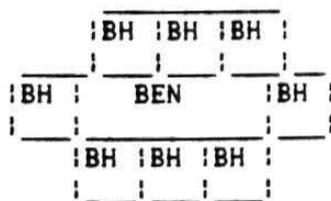


Fig 8A

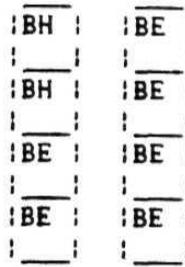


Fig 8B

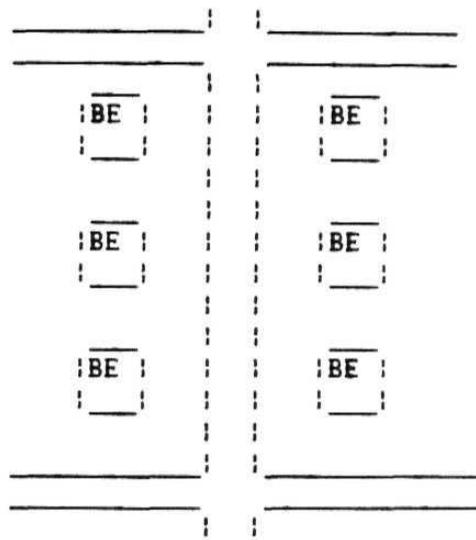


Fig 8C

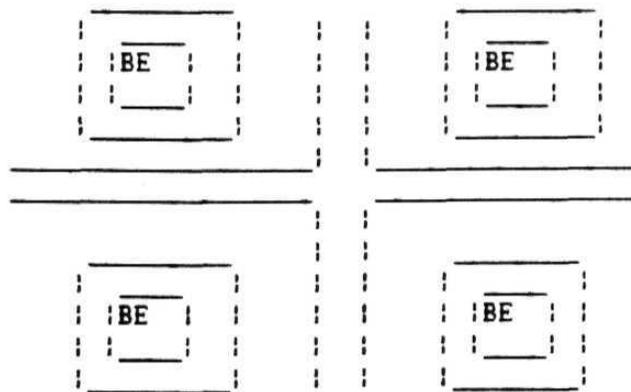


Fig 8D

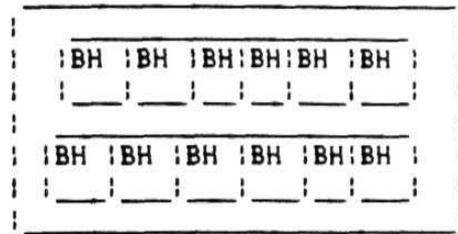


Fig 8E

Figure 8: Models of settlement of two groups under investigation: Pattern A-E

Type 'A' to type 'D' exhibit the patterns of Bengali group settlement in Bihar whereas type 'E' exhibits the Bihari group settlement in West Bengal which is fairly simple. As diagram 'E' shows, although the Bihari group lives within the Bengali-speaking people, they are consolidated in one area whereas the Bengali speakers are scattered and thus live integratedly among the Hindi-speaking people which the other four diagrams show. These patterns of settlement determine the choice of language use within the family and outside - in the ingroup and outgroup contexts. Bengali children's greater use of Hindi language has to do with their survival within the majority group. Children who have lost their mothertongue belong to 'type A'. It is not the pattern of settlement which could be the only reason for their mothertongue loss. But it could surely be their main reason for so much deviation in the pattern of language choice and language use or with respect to their mothertongue maintenance. There are, however, many other agents for 'language denudation'. In type 'A' and 'B', children do not get much time to use their language whereas in type 'E' use of Bengali is coincidental - only when they happen to meet

with Bengali people or visit a Bengali market. Bengali children of Bihar have the choice of not using Bengali because they know Hindi well but for the Bihari children in Bengal, there is no other way because Hindi speakers are not likely to know Bengali. The extent to which both languages are used by children in two different localities would thus definitely vary. The use of mother tongue and second language by children is likely to be affected by socio-cultural, political, and geographical situation obtaining in a particular place. This also highlights that language learnt for communication across cultures is likely to be different from learning for intra-cultural communication.

2.7. PATTERN OF BILINGUAL FAMILIES

The case studies included here represent the pattern of language use and choice by children in bilingual families. Seven case studies are taken up here. To clarify these patterns of language selection, we have drawn seven diagrams which are given here. These show:

- On the left the language (S) used by the parents among themselves;
- Horizontally, the (languages) used by father and mother when addressing their children;
- On the right the language (S) used between the children.

Pattern 1: Monolingual in Bengali at home but bilingual outside:

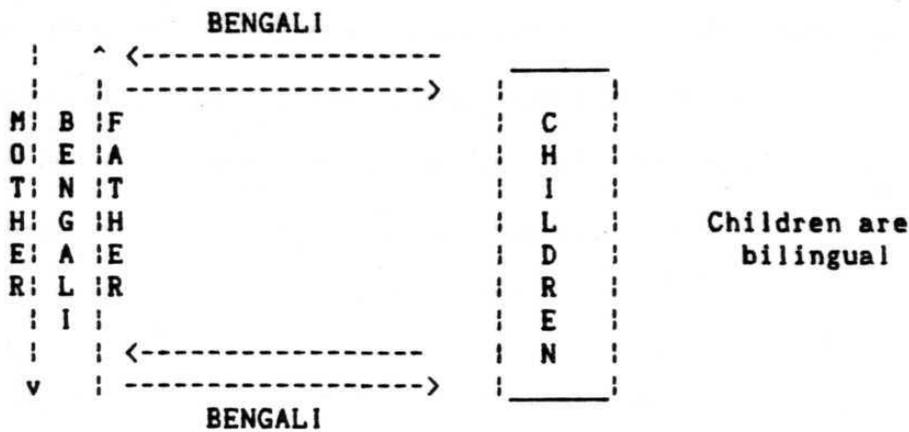


Figure 9.1: Inter and Intra-Familial Communication

For children to become bilingual, the practice of two languages at home or with family members is not a necessary factor. This is because children can become bilingual by learning second language through schooling which may not be practised at all. However, it should be kept in mind that practice of two languages at home definitely benefits children in the development of bilingualism. Many monolingual families, in both situations, are taken into consideration in our research where the children are balanced bilinguals as they had learnt the second languages in their school, or in talking to friends and neighbours. There are Bengali children who always practise Bengali at home because of two reasons: Firstly, parents instruct them to speak in Bengali at home so that mothertongue proficiency will be high. They train their children in mothertongue as much as possible and encourage them so that their ethnocentrism is high in their mothertongue. Decision to train children in their mothertongue or impart them with high instructions to practise mothertongue is seen more among the well-qualified or rich families whereas among the working

It is often possible to practise or switch back and forth between two languages in the formal domain or in the informal talk. However, parents' talk in second language depends upon the varieties and topic of talk, children's intention and proficiency in the first and second languages. In our survey there were families in which children talked to father in mothertongue only in certain circumstances and on certain topics such as follows: in the market, while attending the target group functions, or while talking about school and study matter. But such an interaction in the second language in some families is limited to father and does not get reciprocated with mother although in some families children interact in second language with both father and mother. With mother children talk in second language during lunch, just after their return from school. Consider this pattern here:

Pattern 3: Bilingualism in the daily life:

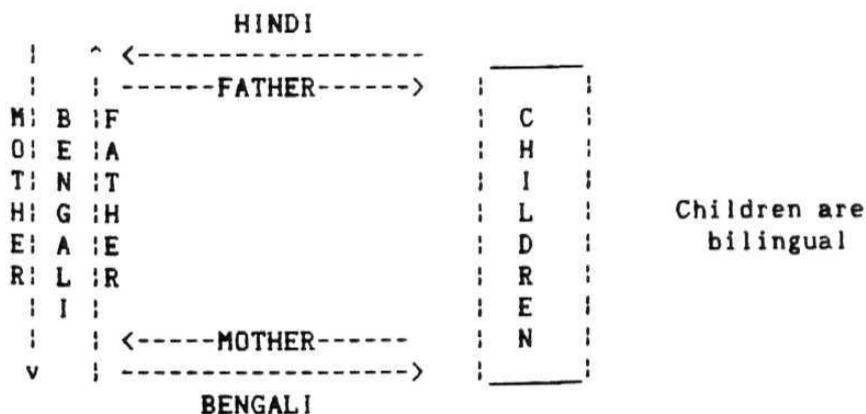


Figure 9.3. Pattern of Alternating Bilingualism

This situation prevails where two languages are practised alternatively both inside and outside the door and the use of two languages becomes a normal habit. Such a situation can be more typically found where children are likely to be proficient in both languages and they have no pressure from parents to use their mothertongue only at home. Children alternatively use Hindi and Bengali in certain situations and on certain topics, as mentioned in the second typology, with parents mostly talking in Hindi with brother and sister. Outside the door even with Bengali friends they use only Hindi. In this situation the use of mother-tongue is limited to only home domain.

Pattern 4: Bilingualism with or without frequent code-switching in their daily life:

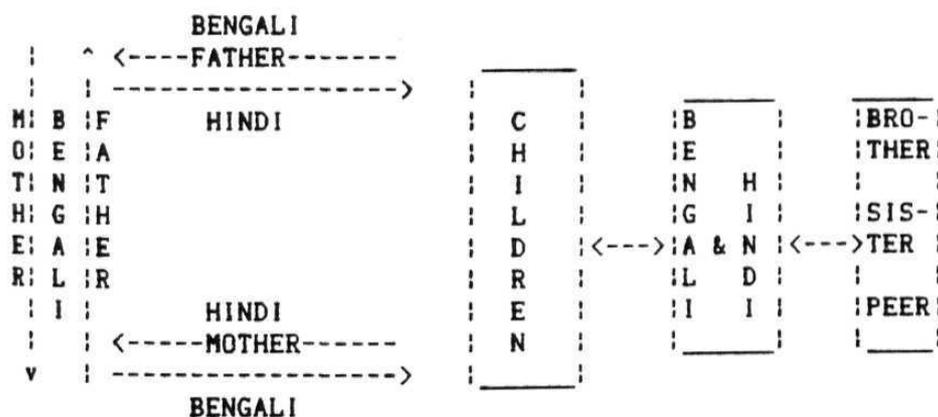


Figure 9.4. Bilingualism and Code-Switching

This situation occurs when children are proficient in using first and second languages. Those children who have mostly Hindi speaking friends and whose house is surrounded by Hindi-speaking people, attachment with one's own speech community is very low. They speak in Hindi whenever they come out of

in the beginning but now they have completely lost it. Since, all Bengali children except these three maintain their mothertongue, either partly or fully, along with Hindi as the second-most proficient language, these three children's loss of mothertongue, is comparable to killing one's own self linguistically. And hence, the use of term 'suicide' would be best suited for this phenomenon. Perhaps, it is surprising to note that family is bilingual in the sense that father and mother use Bengali while talking to each other whereas with children they almost always use Hindi.

What is noticeable in this case is that, although both parents were bilingual, they never tried to impose Bengali on children. Rather, in parents words, "they did what seems to be reasonably best for children given the situation in which they operate". Similarly they at times complained that the children did not listen to their plea, and therefore, they now stopped reminding them about learning of Bengali. However, they did support bilingualism and felt sorry that their children had missed the opportunity of being bilinguals unlike other children of the same community. Both parents were extremely positive in their attitude towards bilingualism, though they never took a conscious decision to bring up their children as bilinguals. The father and mother conversed in Bengali, but they always spoke to their children in Hindi. Father of these children's parents had come here long back with his family as a mine worker. After his retirement the father of these children, i.e. son of the grand old man, got job against the same position. Before the birth of these children their home was monolingual with Bengali.

Pattern 6. Bilingualism far outside the door:

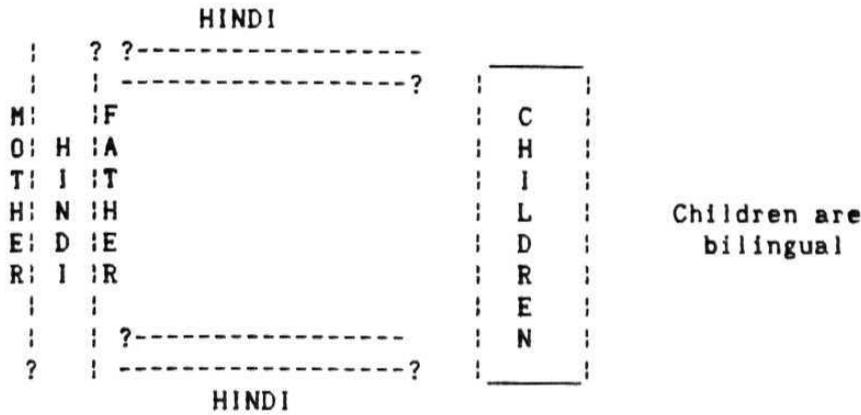


Figure 9.6. Pattern of Non-contiguous Bilingualism

In certain situations where the minority group is confined to one place and the other speech community reside far away, the use of two languages does not take place in the immediate environment of an individual. In such conditions, bilingualism will prevail far outside one's door and practice of second language will be restricted only to school or only to the time when they happen to interact with the second language group. For Bihari children use of Bengali as a second language is occasional, more precisely when they visit a Bengali locality, Bengali-speaking household, fellow Bengali friends, and particularly if they study Bengali in the school. Their argument is that use of Bengali is not demanded by their community whereas they preferred using Hindi when they came across some second language speakers. The use of both Bengali and Hindi for these children is not a routine of daily life because the second speech community lives far away. Their 'islandic' community structure definitely restrain them from shifting to second language.

Pattern 7: **Mothertongue is mother's tongue even though not father's tongue:**

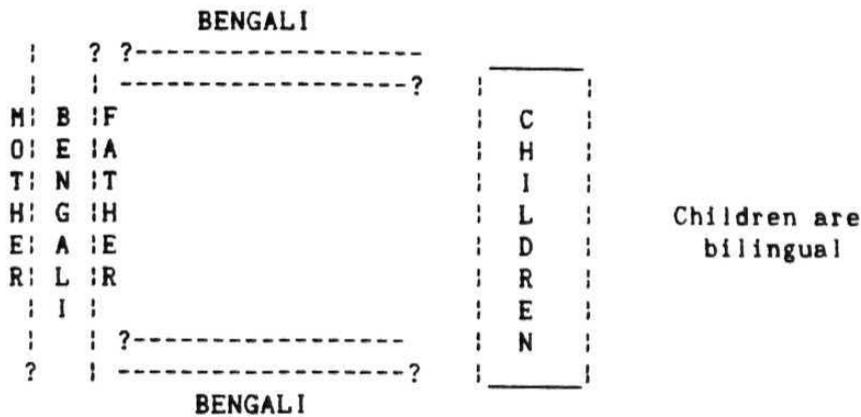


Figure 9.7. **Pattern showing Suppression of Bilingualism**

To elaborate on this pattern, we need to consider a concrete case. Matraj Sahu, a 45-year old native speaker of Magahi (Angika), came to Bengal from the Mungher district of Bihar almost 25 years back as an unskilled labourer. He eventually married a Bengali woman with very little Hindi or at the most a passive knowledge of Hindi. Now he runs his own small shop. They got three children, two sons one daughter, namely, Sanker (15), Gita (12) and Samhu (10). The couple was determined to bring up their children with their mother's tongue as their mothertongue, so that Bengali would be their home language. But the children have learnt Hindi on their own because they are staying in Hindi-speaking area. It was realized that their decision to establish and maintain Bengali as a home language was almost an insistence on rejection of Hindi. Parents here think that their children are mainly Bengali whatever be the reality. All three have been found continuing schooling in a

Bengali-medium school. Children had never visited their father's home and even father had not visited his village for more than ten years. His sentimental attachment to wife's language and home has made him reject his own language and homeland.

2.8 METHODOLOGY

This study aims to gather information about bilingual children through primary source of information, i.e, by observing their pattern of language use and proficiency and by asking children about their attitude, motivation, identity and rate of language preservation and shift. Many methods can be applied in the social psychological research of bilingualism, i.e, a) observational, b) developmental, c) interview, d) clinical, e) questionnaire, f) scaling and, g) experimental. In the present research on the social psychological approach of bilingualism, only two well known methods have been applied, viz. questionnaire and interview methods.

2.8.1. QUESTIONS

There were two sets of questionnaires: one for the children and another for their parents. Though the questionnaires were typed in English, they were executed by the present researcher in Hindi or Bengali depending upon the proficiency of the subjects in respective languages and on their readiness to answer in respective languages. The Bengali and Bihari children were asked the same or similar questions, including questions on religion, social caste and class.

The first set of questionnaire had questions to know the background of the children included as our principal subjects. Questions included in this set were aimed at finding the following information:

- 1) How often do they come in contact with the other community?
- 2) What is the nature of the contact?
- 3) How long ago have they migrated from their native place or from their own speech community? Or, in other words, what has been the duration of contact with the target speech community?
- 4) How well have they been acculturated with the host speech community?
- 5) Whether or not there have been tendencies that could be identified as deculturation with respect to their own speech community?
- 6) How often do they visit their ancestral place?
- 7) How do the children's living in the second language speech community facilitate the development of bilinguality?
- 8) How do their family's living with different groups in terms of occupation, religion and social class and caste have had effect on the development of their bilingualism?

Section II included questions on language use. Particularly, proficiency of these children in Hindi and Bengali either as mothertongue or as second language (whatever the case may be) was tested. The details of these questions could be found in the relevant chapters (esp. in chapters 3, 5 and 6).

Thirdly, in order to investigate into these subjects' attitude toward preservation of their own ethnic language and to find out if it has anything to do with their 'perceived subjective value', they were asked to answer a set

of 48 questions, placed under 8 parts from A through H. The subjects were given four choices to express their opinion, namely, [i] very much, [ii] somewhat, [iii] not at all, and [iv] no opinion. Since the present research was designed to explore the social-psychological state of 'bilinguality, the third section of the questionnaire thus incorporated the questions on language and identity of bilingual children in both Bihar and Bengal situations.

The fourth part of the questionnaire sought to enquire about the attitude and motivation of bilingual children towards first and second language learning, maintenance and shift. These questions were thought to be relevant because in the development and decay of bilingualism attitude and motivation played a vital role. Both functioned as regulatory systems which accelerated individual behavior to learn, maintain and shift these languages. To enquire as to how motivation and attitude functioned as regulatory systems in the present cases to promote and impede the development of bilingualism in Bengali and Hindi-speaking children, and more precisely in the pan-Indian context, this section included many questions on these two points.

The last section of this questionnaire included questions regarding language maintenance and shift. For instance, the first question inquires: Is the use of language other than your mothertongue on the increase at home? The second question is intended to know about children's facility in getting education through their mothertongue.

2.8.2. SCALING AND MEASUREMENT

On the basis of sample response to different questions which were included in the questionnaire, a scaling method was used to measure attitudes which played important role in the development of second language. Undoubtedly, it could be concluded from what was observed that attitude more or less determined the organization of perception, and influenced the motivational and emotional processes which indirectly controlled the development of bilingualism. In essence, the method of scaling inquired into children's verbal reaction with respect to expression of approval or disapproval, agreement or disagreement to a set of carefully standardized items. Three major scales were cited here. From the pattern of statements endorsed by children along a continuum indicating approval or disapproval, the nature of this scaling was determined.

It is not necessary to list all questions serially which were included in the questionnaire at this juncture because children's and parents' response to particular questions elaborated with complete data on the concerned topics figure in the relevant chapters anyway.

2.8.3. INTERVIEWS

The second method used with caution and considerable success was the interview method. This method was used to get information regarding the individuals who might be typical or extreme in their outlook regarding the

social issue of language. The interview technique was applied to find the high and low ethnocentrism of children about their own language. This was done to know about the nature of the face to face verbal interchange and was attempted to elicit information or expression of opinion or belief of the subjects. After the completion of the questionnaire children and parents were asked certain open questions to give their opinion on learning of first and second languages, on their own group as well as on the outgroups identity. Generally, children were interviewed one day after the execution of the questionnaire. Since questionnaire was long, it was felt that they might get tired if interviews followed immediately so, they were given chance to relax for a day. However, as it was informed that they would be asked some more questions later they were ready for the interviews. But in case of parents both were done simultaneously because they were given a small questionnaire. In all cases either father and mother was asked to fill the questionnaire depending upon who was available at home. In some cases when the male member was not available at home the researcher was asked to come later to operate the questionnaire. This of course generally happened in not so highly educated family.

CHAPTER 3

ON PRESERVATION OF MOTHERTONGUE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Social psychologists, sociolinguists and sociologists of language of today are still unable to come up with a viable answer to the following important questions: why speakers of some languages tenaciously cling to their ancestral languages (Brudner 1972) while others slowly (Dorian 1981) or rapidly (Fishman 1968b; Lieberman and Curry 1971; Veltman 1983) abandon them. It does not matter from which perspective of bilingualism one considers the first question, one could easily identify it as a typical feature of the Indian scene whereas the second one seems applicable mainly to the western type of bilingualism. This is because language preservation is normal for the Indian bilinguals whereas language shift is more common in the western society. This is why Pandit (1977:9) had pointed out that:

"A second generation speaker in Europe or America gives up his native language in favour of the dominant language of the region; language shift is the norm and language maintenance an exception. In India, language maintenance is the norm and shift an exception. American sociolinguists start their enquiry with the question, why are languages maintained? Indian sociolinguists should start their enquiry with the question, why should people give up their languages?".

What is needed is that we should have a composite theory based on more empirical evidences to explain why and how the Indians feel profitable to

preserve their mothertongue or why they have a positive attitude towards their mothertongue even when their languages lack ethnolinguistic vitality. This theory should also be able to correct the preconception of the western sociolinguists that learning and preservation of many languages is a load and that it causes conflict. We must emphasize that for us, "bilingualism is not a price for mothertongue maintenance; it is, in fact, the profit of mothertongue maintenance" (Mohanty 1994:163). Contrast this with the western point of view of Lambert and Tucker (1972) who generalized that learning dominant languages had often been a subtractive experience for minority language speakers whereas when the dominant language speakers learnt other language they did so in an additive way.

The issue of language maintenance is not new. It was Fishman who in the early 1960s had first advanced the notion of language maintenance and shift as a pivotal topic for the sociolinguistics enterprise. The late 1960s and early 1970s were the reference years for the progress of the entire area of language maintenance and shift (eg. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; Fishman 1964, 1969a, h; Lewis 1975). All these were good for our own clarity of thought, too. When we wish to make use of the progress in research in the area of language attitude issues and wanted to apply them to language maintenance and shift, use of the term 'language preservation' seems to be more fitting for certain reasons. The notion of language preservation exhibits inner feeling and motivation of an individual to keep his own language in use and identify himself through his own language and hence it is more real psychologically and social psychologically. As language maintenance exhibits social, governmental and language planners' efforts to provide facility or to create a

condition so that one's language would not die or one would not be lost, all planning is, therefore, politically and socially motivated. Therefore, one can't have freedom to use these terms interchangeably.

As it has already been mentioned in the earlier chapters, for the last two and a half decades, the central questions in Sociolinguistics were: Why do people make effort to preserve their mothertongue, even though their language ranks very low on the utility scale? Or, why try to preserve language whose speakers are either no longer using them, or are using them only in extremely rare or limited domains? Even when they do so, are they aware that others rate their deviant speech styles poorly? The question to which not much attention has been paid is the following: what 'role' is played by language in the formation of possible positive attitude toward their preservation even in complete risk situations?

Compendium of research in the wide spectrum, in the past and present, will however tell us that there has been no scarcity of research work in this area, but that almost all efforts were designed to explore -- how attitudes foster in preserving one's own language, or on its positive and negative consequences in the control over development of first and second language learning. Some have also been concerned with similarly positive or negative identification of the subjects with first and second language groups. But no attempt has been made to go further and explore how language attitudes are formed in the first place, and why and how they turn positive even in the most adverse cases.

In an effort to explain, why children construct positive attitudes and how attitudes are formed, so that one's mothertongue is preserved, we shall begin from the beginning, first starting with the internal and personal determinants, and then moving toward external influences which will strengthen the arguments for our integrative approach to understand and explain language attitudes. This approach, in brief, will examine the various processes of learning by which attitudes are formed and will also show how attitudes predispose our behavior.

3.2. DATA AND ANALYSIS

Because of the structural and hierarchical relationship between these two linguistic groups (majority and minority) in the society that we are concerned with - take for instance the case Bengalees in Bihar - because of lack of status, political power and economic opportunity for their community which is dominated by the Hindi-speaking majority group, the Bengali speaking children neither have any opportunity to study Bengali even as a subject in their schools nor could they learn other subjects through the medium of their mothertongue. In response to our inquiry, the children categorically answered the following questions on teaching of their mothertongue:

[Abbreviations: r = response; n =negative; Y= yes]

Table 3.2.1. Is your mothertongue taught/used in government schools?

	Primary	Middle	Higher Secondary
a) As a subject	r 100% (N)	r 100% (N)	r 100% (N)
b) As a medium of instruction	=	=	=

Table 3.2.2. Does your community run any school for educating you in your mothertongue?

a) Fully owned by the community	r 100% (N)
b) Managed by our own community but financed by government	r 100% (N)

Table 3.2.3. Do you have any organization/association/institution of your own community which work for your languages?

r= 100% (N)

If yes, are your parents member of them? N.A.

- 1) Cultural; 2) Religious; 3) Language-based;
- 4) Political; 5) Literary .

There is no doubt our subjects are facing a situation where preservation of mothertongue seems unlikely. They are neither demographically settled at place nor do they have political and social clout. That is why the group has been called a 'dissipate' minority. As data shows none of them has had an opportunity to learn his/her mothertongue in the formal school setting because none of the schools provide this constitutionally guaranteed facility. They do not offer Bengali as a subject (called a 'third language' in the

school education in India) either. The reason as to why these subjects were selected was that we wanted to see if, in spite of Bengali not being available in their formal setting, excepting in close familial domains, how do these subjects look at the question of preservation of their mothertongue.

The analysis of these bilingual children and their mental make-up was done at three levels: First, we considered the case of the migrant children who arrived in this particular community later but identified themselves as members of this ethnic group; secondly, we also looked at multiethnic relations and the ways in which the migrant group relates itself to and interacts with the other speech groups; and thirdly, we also investigated into the role played by language in the formation of attitudes toward preserving their mothertongue at any cost.

Since the children concerned did not have the opportunity to learn their mothertongue through a formal system of education, most of them are handicapped in their mothertongue and some of them have lost it, too. Excepting a few (who might have migrated after a few years of schooling in Bengal and lived there for a certain duration, or those whose parents must have taken special care in teaching how to read and write in their mothertongue) most children either do not have or have lost reading and writing skills in their mothertongue. Their patterns of living have been already discussed earlier which showed that they did not live in a separate community or locality. Further, they have had a very high level of social and linguistic interaction with the host community.

But while discussing the extent of mothertongue loss here, it should be kept in mind that this situation is not like the planned linguistic genocide which the UN Art. 3,1 defines as prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group. Skutnabb-Kangas in her several papers talked about killing of a language without killing the speakers. It is not a part of linguicism either which Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1986), Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1985b) and Phillipson (1988) described as a concept analogous to racism, sexism, classicism, etc., and define as ideologies, structures and practice which are used to legitimate, carry out, and generate an disparate division of power and resources, both material and immaterial.

It is obvious from the above description that these Bengali children face a great risk of loosing their language and identity because of the structural factors in the society in which they have to live. These factors place limits on their opportunity of developing their own language. The lack of social utility, political power, and economic opportunity for Bengali in Bihar is in an unhappy situation for these children where they run the risk of being labeled as 'deviant'. But it is noticeable that because these Bengali children have to be a part of the larger society, they don't feel as if they are divorced from their own language and tradition. This is shown by the fact that though they possess all the four linguistic skills they have strong commitment to learn their own language.

Table 3.2.4. Children's ability in their mothertongue and other languages: self-rating (in number)

HINDI	Good	Average	Little	Very little	Not at all
Understanding	42				
Speaking	42				
Reading	42				
Writing	42				
ENGLISH					
Understanding	7	25	5	5	
Speaking		8	14	11	9
Reading	9	21	7	5	
Writing	7	16	12	7	
BENGALI (MOTHER TONGUE)					
Understanding	33	6	1	2	
Speaking	28	11		1	2
Reading		3	6		39
Writing		3	6		39
SANSKRIT					
Understanding	7	11	13	11	
Speaking			12	20	10
Reading	6	17	7	12	
Writing		13	20	9	

As we see, except a few, all of them have communicative competence but not grammatical competence in their MT. They come under the defined category with feature matrix (cf. Introduction): L1 [-C] + [CC]. But they have cultural competence in all respects of what Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) has described in

terms of four constituents, eg. cognitive, affective, behavioral and awareness-related.

In fact these children have learnt their mothertongue at home. Three children belonging to a particular family have lost their mothertongue completely but at home both Hindi and Bengali are practised. These three children are, of course, not a part of general trend. All children grew up in their own family, including those who had left Bengal long ago. At some stage or the other, their parents had taken a bold decision to use Bengali at home and this decision, once implemented, had a natural effect. The children reported that they occasionally use Hindi at home, especially in specific situations such as talking about school matters, during examination time, and in confrontation situations. These were given as contexts for a greater use of Hindi from which one can see a pattern emerging. Let us consider their use languages in two types of contexts:

Table 3.2.5. Use of Bengali in Restricted Domains : Talking about Education/School/Admission/Studies, etc.

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	S	O	NA
Grand parents and elders	11	20	11	34	5	3			42			42
Father	24	12	6	9	30	3			42			42
Mother	8	9	25	31	8	3			42			42
Friends	42			30	9	33			42			42

Table 3.2.6. Talking about social events such as festivals/rituals/ceremonies, etc.

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	S	O	NA
Grand parents and elders	3	8	31	39		3			42			42
Father	9	24	9	28	11	3			42			42
Mother	3	10	29	34	5	3			42			42
Friends	38	4		4	35	3			42			42

Although there were a few examples of trained children in all the language skills (speaking, listening, writing and reading), partly because of their parents' efforts to make them proficient in Bengali keeping in mind its usefulness in future, they have learnt to communicate in it. One also came across an adverse situation in which a few children were seen as having lost all the language skills. These cases have already been discussed in Chapter 2.

In order to investigate into our subjects' attitude toward preservation of their own ethnic language and to find out if it has anything to do with their 'perceived subjective value', they were asked to answer a set of many questions, placed under eight parts. The questions listed under A through H

were concerned about ethnic self/description, language-identity relationship, attitude toward Bengali identity, parental attitude toward the children's preservation of mothertongue and identity, choice of language use, attitude toward participation in bicultural life, etc. The first section (language ability) required responses to evaluate their level of proficiency.

A

This set in the questionnaire included eight questions regarding usefulness of Bengali in terms of both subjective and objective values. The questions were:

How useful Bengali is ...

- (a) for getting jobs?
- (b) for higher education?
- (c) for communication with other communities?
- (d) for spreading one's cultural and social values (which basically means the Bengali way of life, including Bengali dress, food, films, festivities, music, etc.)?
- (e) for integration with other communities?
- (f) for intra-family link and conversation?
- (g) for writing letters to grand parents?
- (f) for any other (to be specified).

As it has already been mentioned, four choices were given to express their opinion, namely, [i] very much, [ii] somewhat, [iii] not at all, and [iv] no opinion. Table 1 as given below presents the reaction of the 42 children showing their attitude toward the usefulness of mothertongue as could be expressed in terms of these four choices:

Table 3.2.7. **Mothertongue will be useful for the following:**

	VM	SW	NA	NO
For getting job	X	6	36	X
For higher education	X	3	39	X
For communication with other communities	X	X	42	X
For spreading cultural/social values	37	5	X	X
For integration with other communities	X	1	41	X
Family link	42	X	X	X
Writing letters to grand parents	42	X	X	X
For any other (specify)	X	X	X	X

Notice that no subject attached any great significance for the usefulness of mothertongue in getting job. Only 14.28% felt that Bengali may have some value in the job-market, whereas most of the children numbering 36 (85.71%) responded that mothertongue was not at all useful in getting job. Regarding the usefulness of mothertongue for higher education, it is the same story repeated. For higher education, no child (0%) opted for it to be 'very much' useful, three children felt it was somewhat useful, whereas the rest of them, i.e. 39 (92.85%) felt it was not at all useful. For communication with other communities, all children were unanimous in their opinion that Bengali was not at all useful. 88.09% children said 'very much' and 11.90% opined

'somewhat' regarding usefulness of mothertongue for spread of their socio-cultural values. With regard to usefulness of mothertongue in the integration with other communities, all children expressed their view in the negative. But expectedly, all children attached great importance to it for intra-familial link. All children were optimistic regarding its usefulness in writing letters to grandparents and close relatives. For the last question of this section on purpose, which was left open, children provided with many reasons regarding the usefulness of mothertongue, but there were a few common points: it is very useful when we go to our native place or in talking to fellow Bengalees or relatives, and it is useful in getting married in a Bengali family.

B

The second question was to inquire about children's attitude towards mothertongue (Bengali) vis-a-vis Hindi in the following domains: social mobility, jobs, business and science and technology. All children (100%) said Hindi was useful for social mobility, jobs and science and technology. In the domain of business, however, as many as 71.42% children think only Hindi could be of use, whereas 28.57% think both were useful. The results could be presented in a tabular form:

Table 3.2.8. How do you consider your mothertongue will be useful in the following domains?

	Bengali			Hindi		
	VM	SW	NA	VM	SW	NA
Social mobility			42	42		
Job			42	42		
Science and technology			42	42		
Business			12	30		

It was also attempted to find out children's attitude towards different attributes, i.e. easy to learn, easy to pronounce, easy to form new words and easy to write, as mentioned below, and such questions were asked in the next section.

Table 3.2.9. How do you associate the following attributes with your mother-tongue and other languages such as Hindi?

	VM	SW	NA
Easy to learn	H (N-30) BT (N-7)	B (N-5)	
Easy to pronounce	H (N-28) BT (N-9)	B (N-5)	
Easy to form new words	H (N-28) BT (N-28)	B (N-5)	
Easy to write	H (N-40)	B (N-2)	

71.42% children responded claiming Hindi to be easy to learn while twelve children (28.57%) said both Hindi and Bengali were easy to learn. Regarding ease of pronunciation twenty-eight (66.66%) children showed a clear preference for Hindi, five children (11.90) favoring Bengali, and rest (21.42%) claiming both to be easy. On the ease or difficulty in the formation of new words, children's attitude was similar to that of pronunciation. Except two children (4.76%), all others claimed to be comfortable in writing Hindi (95.23%).

D

The next question was in the area of fluency of language:

Table 3.2. 10. In which language do you consider yourself proficient?

	H	B	BT
Formal talk	40	X	2
Abusing	34	1	7
Joking	34	1	7
Singing	28	5	9
Discussing	26	X	14
Praying	5	30	7
With Bengali friends	40	X	2

The third set of questions was asked to inquire in which language they considered themselves to be proficient in doing the following: abusing, joking, singing, discussing, praying and in formal speech. In abusing, 80.95% children considered themselves as proficient in Hindi, only one (2.38%) in Bengali, whereas the rest, numbering seven (16.66%) thought they could do these both in Hindi and Bengali. A similar response was found in joking. In singing, 66.66% children considered themselves proficient in Hindi, 11.90% in Bengali, whereas 22.42% in both. Twenty-six (61.90%) claimed proficiency in Hindi in informal talks and discussions, and the rest, numbering fourteen (33.33%) in both languages. In praying five children (11.90%) considered to be proficient in Hindi, thirty children (71.42%) favoured Bengali, whereas the seven (16.66%) favored both. Three children (7.74%) said they could manage in Hindi while talking with Bengali friends, whereas the rest, numbering about thirty nine (92.05%) favored both. In formal talk most of the children, numbering forty (95.23%), considered themselves proficient in Hindi and only two children (4.76) considered that they were equally proficient in both Bengali and Hindi.

E

In this section it was intended to inquire into the children' attitude toward the following:

Table 3.2.11. How do you think other group (Hindi) in your community is distinct in the following respects?

	VM	SW	NA
Language	42	x	x
Literature	42	x	x
Religion	x	42	x
Caste	x	42	x
Social custom	x	42	x
Festival	x	42	x
Dress	x	42	x
Food	x	42	x

Regarding the distinctiveness of one's own group (Bengali) and the other group (Hindi) the above respects, all children (n = 42) distinguished between the two very much in the areas of language and literature. In the remaining area such as religion, caste, social custom, festival, dress and food all children (n=42) expressed that they were not very much, but somewhat distinct. What this suggests this is that language is the main marker separating one's own group.

E

Table 3.2.12. If you are close to another community, what could be the reason?

	VM	SW	NA
Because it is a developed language	3	4	35
It has rich literature	3	4	35
It is closer to our language	x	39	3
It has social values structure	42	x	x

Children's feeling toward closeness with the Hindi speech community is because of the social values of this the language and because of the structure of their sociolinguistic matrix. Children felt that had they been in Bengal, the situation would have been different. They would have then got many more opportunities to learn and use their mothertongue, rather than their present dependence on Hindi, particularly in the field of education. Similarly, they did realize that since their language was not taught in the school and since they lived in a community where Hindi was the main tool of communication, there was no other way of spreading literacy than communicating in Hindi with the majority group people. Three children opted for 'very much', four for 'somewhat', and the rest, numbering thirty-five (83.33%) for closeness with the Hindi community - when they were asked "Which language community do you feel closer for the development of your language?" A similar response was noticed for literary creativity/literature reading. Diverse response was found when children were asked to make a more general assessment on the question of distinctiveness in term of closeness of two languages. No children expressed any opinion suggesting that two languages were very much close, whereas 39 (92.85%) opted for 'somewhat', and three noticed (7.14%) not at all.

G

Table 3.2.13. Do you associate the following attributes with the speakers of your own community or with the other language speakers?

	H	BT	B	NO
Miserly	28	X	4	10
Polite	8	10	17	6
Friendly	4	24	9	X
Cultured	X	12	30	X
Cunning	16	X	8	18
Reserved	14	X	8	20
Educated	X	8	34	X

In response to our question on identification of different attributes, the children showed more positive attitude toward their own group. In some cases there expressed mixed opinion. 66.66% children responded by saying that Hindi-speaking people are more miserly, 9.52% expressed positive opinion toward Bengali, whereas 23.80% expressed no opinion at all. Regarding friendliness, nine children favoured Hindi-speaking people, twenty-four had equal rating for both and nine supported only Bengali. Much more favorable response towards one's own group was noticed in the attribute -- 'who are more cultured', because (83.33%) children responded in favor of Bengalees, 16.66% were found responding in favor of both communities, whereas no one opted particularly for Hindi as against Bengali. About cunningness, 38.09% children opted for Hindi, 19.04% for Bengali, the remaining more or less stayed reserved on this issue (33.33% opted for Bengali, 19.04% opted for Hindi whereas 47.61% had no response). Most children, numbering thirty-four (80.95%), responded that Bengali were more educated, 19.04% responded in favor of Bengali where as none, particularly, favored Hindi.

Table 3.2.14. How far do you associate the following with your mother tongue and the other language (Hindi)?

	BT	B	H	NON
Rich	25	3	11	3
Precise	25	3	14	X
Sweet	25	10	7	X
Musical	15	3	24	X
Powerful	10	X	25	7
Prestigious	29	3	10	X

The subjects were then given some attributes and asked: How do you associate the following with your mothertongue and your second language? We found that in some cases they favoured Hindi, whereas in some other cases Bengali was favored. And, as usual, some favored both. To go into the details, in response to 'richness' of language most children, numbering twenty-five (59.52%), were found positive toward both, only 7.14% favored exclusively Bengali and 26.19% Hindi. 7.14% offered no opinion. Hindi secured more score in response to another question: Which language is more precise? 33.33% favored Hindi and 59.52% both, whereas only three favored Bengali particularly. Response was a little diverse in answer to their opinion on 'sweetness' in the sense that 59.52% children were positive toward both languages, 23.80% toward Bengali and the rest, i.e. 16.66% tilted towards none in particular. Children were found favoring Hindi more on another note, as 57.14% responded that Hindi was more musical than Bengali, 35.71% were found having liking for both and only three children were found opting exclusively for Bengali. In response to the question as to which language is more powerful, most children, i.e. 59.52% favored Hindi, 23.80% responded favored both, with seven express-

ing no opinion, and none (0%) responding in favor of Bengali. More children, 29 of them (i.e. 69.04%), agreed that both languages were prestigious, 7.14% of them articulating in favor of Bengali while the rest, numbering ten responded in favor of Hindi.

3.3. PARENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESERVATION OF MOTHERTONGUE

3.3.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to discover how parents support use and learning of Bengali in respect of their children and what their reasons are. Parents of all the children were asked about their attitude toward learning of these languages. This was done in order to identify factors associated with positive attitude towards their mothertongue Bengali as well as toward other languages.

3.3.2. PROCEDURE

After children's completion of the questionnaire and after their interviews were held, parents were asked to fill in another questionnaire, as discussed in chapter 2. Father and mother were not given the questionnaire separately. Only four mothers showed inclination to fill the questionnaire themselves, and showed special interest to talk about children's future in terms of their languages. Mostly the mothers sat beside their children and took a lot of interest in listening to the questions and answers even when they were found to be otherwise busy with household work. All of them also helped their children understand the questions by translating and explaining or

elaborating on them in their mothertongue. Only three parents didn't allow children to filling up the questionnaire and to attend the interviews because of fear that they might prevaricate. These children as well as their parents were left out. Others, of course, showed much interest. Total sample of parents consisted of twenty-two - one from each family (i.e., not both father and mother). They were parents of forty-two children. The survey method was similar to the one applied for children. They were also asked questions apart from executing the questionnaire. Parents were asked much less number of questions compared to the children. The questionnaire was divided into two sections: The first section consisted of question regarding their willingness to keep children as 'real Bengali', and the second section was intended to find out parents' attitude towards the preservation of children's mothertongue and about learning another language.

Table 3.3.2.1. Do you think if your children lose mothertongue they won't be Bengali anymore?

VM	SW	NA
X	X	22

Table 3.3.2.2. Extent of Second Language Learning:

- (i) How much Bengali do you want your children should learn?
- (ii) Do you force your children to learn Bengali?
- (iii) How much do you think Bengali would be important for your children?
- (iv) Do you think Bengali should be taught in school?
- (v) Do you think your children are not competent in their mothertongue?

	AMAP	VM	SW	NA
i)	3	19	X	X
ii)		19	3	X
iii)		19	3	X
iv) As a medium		X	X	X
As a subject		22	X	X
v)		1	21	X

Table 3.3.2.3. How far do you think learning Bengali would be useful for the following purposes?

	VM	SW	NA
For better job prospects	X	2	20
Bengali identity and heritage	22	X	X
To keep language alive	22	X	X
Talking with elder people	22		X
Irrelevant or unnecessary	X		22

Table 3.3.2.4. What do you think may have caused the following?

	VM	SW	NA
Not taught in school	22	X	X
Because of social structure	22	X	X
Don't force them	X	3	19
They think it is useless	X	X	22
They don't want to learn	X	3	19

3.4. DISCUSSION

None of these children seem to be in the transition stage vis-a-vis their identity because in response to the question, "Do you wish your children to remain Bengalee?", all of them responded overwhelmingly positively. Apart from that all of them also wished that they could be good Bengalee by possessing and practicing all the attributes which were typical of their language and culture. This could be noticed in their response to another question. Parents were also asked whether they wished to settle down in Bihar or Bengal to find out more about their future plan and whether that plan had any effect on their children's preservation of their language. 90.90% parents were found

to be hopeful about their return to native place after retirement. Only 9.09% wished to settle down in Bihar because they have a house in a near-by township 'VurkunDa'. For some children, their father was employed at some place in Bihar but they planned to live in Bengal after retirement. But it was surprising to see that children of these two families, numbering three, were found competent in their mothertongue and even had average knowledge of writing and reading skills in Bengali. These parents explained that they talked to them in Bengali at home and forced them to learn Bengali so that they should not forget their mothertongue. Some parents also reported while returning to their home from school that their children often brought Hindi words and phrases into their home and when interacting with brothers and sisters, they would use Hindi. But whenever they used or code-mixed Hindi, they immediately reprimanded their children by reminding them of the 'Bengali only' home language rule, provided their Bengali had equivalents for the particular Hindi usage. They also frequently visited their native place because their parents and all relatives were in Bengal. However, they also agreed that they were also partly Bihari because they are staying in Bihar for a long time and were going to stay there for a still longer time. They strongly claimed that they would never allow their children to lose their own language.

Parents were also asked how much Bengali they wanted their children should learn. 14% parents said they should learn Bengali as much as possible. These were the parents whose children either lost their mothertongue or were not good. The rest, about 86%, responded on a very large scale. A majority of them (86.36%) agreed that they put pressure on them to learn Bengali while 13.63% responded saying that they did that only sometimes. All parents agreed

that Bengali would be very much useful in future and that Bengali should be taught in schools at least as a medium of instruction. However, lack of knowledge of mothertongue does not seem to be an obstacle in their being a better Bengalee. On the whole, most respondents were optimistic about their future. All parents realized that children were actually not very competent in their mothertongue. In response to the question - "Do you think if they lost Bengali language they would not remain Bengalee?" - they all strongly responded that they would still be very much Bengalees. Parents were also asked to respond on three similar scale about their usefulness of learning mothertongue for integrative and instrumental purposes. All the parents' response was 100% in that. Parents generally wanted that their children should attach themselves with the Bengali way of life. Specially, they want their sons and daughters to marry within Bengali community. The strongest affirmation of their Bengaliness could be seen when 90% of them said that given a choice they would go back to Bengal.

In overall perspective, the majority of parents expect that the Bengali language will be used more in the future or that atleast it ill be used about the same amount in the future as it is used at present. Nobody hopes that it will be replaced by Hindi. A relatively large proportion of the replies also cites the ability to communicate and fit into one's own community as a reason for learning Bengali. Again children's lesser abilities in Bengali resulted more from their living outside Bengal, not as a result of any negative attitude toward their mothertongue. Parents' main reason for preservation of mothertongue seems to be inspired by predominantly by their tie with family.

Their basic reasons for learning Hindi and preserving their own language are as follows:

"Ba:ngla: to a:ma:der nijer bha:Sa:. eTa: na: shekha:le to ka:j colbe na:. eTa: shekha: to ucit. 'Bengali' hole to ba:ngla: shekha: ucit. cheleder na: shekha:le to bhabisyate ashubidha: hObe. a:ma:der nijeder lok to beshi 'Bengal'-ei tha:ke. oder shange to ba:ngla: bottle hObe. ei jonne a:mra: beshi kore cheler sange ba:ngla: bOla:r ceSTa: kori. Kintu ekha:ne to hindi: bha:lo kore na: shikhle ka:j colbe na:. iskule to hindi:-tei paRa: shona: hOy. paRa: shona:-te bha:lo korte gele to hindi: bha:lo shekha:te hObe. amra: to eder sange tha:ki se-jonne hindi: to bolte hObe. ta: hole to ca:kri pa:ba:r shubidha:. emnio hindi shekha: ucit ka:ron hindi: to a:ma:der ra:STri:ya bha:sha:".

[Bengali is our own language. It won't work without learning this language. Ideally, one must learn it. Being a Bengali, one is morally obliged to learn it. If children don't learn there will be problems in future. Most of our own people live in Bengal. With those people they will have to talk in Bengali. For that reason most of the time we try to speak with them in Bengali. But, here, without learning good Hindi there will be problems. Hindi is taught in school. To be good in study they will have to learn Hindi properly. We are staying with these Hindi-speaking people. Therefore, we will have to talk in Hindi. Apart from that learning Hindi is a must because it is our "ra:STri:ya Bha:Sa:" (national language)]

Apart from this realization of need for learning Bengali, there were a few other reasons given by a sizable number of parents in support of Hindi: First, it was an advantage to be a bilingual (no elaboration required). Secondly, it enhances future job prospects, and thirdly, it ensures better communication.

The present data tell us about how these Bengalee children are likely to relate themselves to the Bihari people, and about the strength of the displaced Bengalee commitment to their Bengali identity. For some of them, the

bond is going to be loosened, for others the commitment is going to be even stronger. Their commitments are marked by their familial link and their opting to marrying in a Bengali family and their occasional attendance at their cultural-ritualistic gatherings. If we count the general reasons then English is useful with enhanced employment prospect, etc. which will fall into the instrumental category. However, on the other hand, attitude towards learning Hindi and its usefulness are related with integrative and instrumental motivation. The majority of this sample believed that Bengali would be used about as much in future as at present. One could see that there was a tendency among these minorities to expect that things will go well when they get married and, particularly when they grow older. However, most reasons given were associated with a sense of cultural and social heritage indicating that many of the true attitudes were rooted in the feeling of their Bengalee identity. Their parents choose integrative reasons for wanting to keep the language alive. Although everybody gave reasons as to why they want their children to speak Bengali, the reasons given most often by all subjects had to do with a feeling of being a Bengali. Parents are quite aware that by the time they return to their native place, the children will be completing their study and there will be a need to motivate them further. Nobody dismissed learning of Bengali as irrelevant. Thus there is no evidence that a negative or indifferent attitude toward the language was contributing to its decline. The possible reason for the decline as follows: (i) the social structure does not allow or encourage this kind of learning, and (ii) it was not being taught in a school even as a subject.

As one could see, the questionnaire on the whole was framed to find out the evaluation of children toward their own language, as well as the dominant language of the region. It was surprising to see that apart from rating Hindi as useful for instrumental purposes, they also had a very high rating for Hindi because of its national status. Most of them also considered themselves more proficient in Hindi and felt that Hindi was easier than Bengali in speaking, reading, writing, and in forming new words, etc. The most important observation that one could make from all the tables was that there was a clear perception of the stark reality in the mind of our respondents. But at the same time, they also expressed a clear opinion in favor of preservation of their mothertongue.

The kind of situation that emerges from this analysis makes it dear that these children have a very high loyalty toward their mothertongue because of their perceived positive subjective value. Obviously, these children are not shifting from Bengali to Hindi. It is clear that Bengali children feel more strongly about preserving their mothertongue than their actual linguistic behavior or their proficiency shows. What it suggests is that preservation or shift may be found to be associated with both sentimental and instrumental orientation to language.

There are strong evidences both from responses to the open question and from the responses to statements about languages, that, in general, they 'feel' very positively about their language. In response to a more direct question as to why do they want to preserve (we used the expressions 'remem-

ber', 'keep in use', rather than the technical term such as 'language preservation') their mothertongue, almost 93% of our subjects expressed strong attitude by stating either of the following: "It is my language", "It is the language of my family", or "I am a Bengali and therefore, it should be maintained at any cost". To conclude then, preservation of Bengali for children seem to be serving an important socio-cultural function in that (i) it defines their ethnic group membership, (ii) acts as an ethnocultural symbol of group identity or distinctiveness, and (iii) marks their belief in a survivalist and relationalist ideology, that helps one in identifying with the contemporary Bengali society, which is so very necessary for various social activities, including marriage.

3.5. THEORETICAL POSTULATIONS

It may be mentioned that similar results were obtained for Welsh children who, for sentimental reasons, favored Welsh (Lewis 1975). Lewis found that Welsh-English bilinguals associated the former language with tradition (whether familial, local or ethnic) and nationalistic conditions. The same adults rated Welsh low when opining on practical considerations or belief about the viability of the language. In Gilhotra's study (1985) in Australia, the immigrants clearly expressed willingness to have their children study Li by giving the most frequently cited reason: "for ethnic group maintenance".

Thus, language plays an important role in their ethnic awareness, which in turn, motivate children to learn language, if necessary, outside the formal system. Attitude toward preservation of mothertongue is based upon the past,

present and future priority which altogether constitute the subjective value of language. Preservation of identity also motivates one to possess traits, as much as possible. To that extent, preservation of mother tongue is axiomatic. The consciousness of the first kind gives birth to a 'past'-oriented value of language / in children, creating 'a psychological' climate. "Ethnic identity is in essence a past-oriented form of identity embedded in the cultural heritage of the individual or group" (De Vos and Ross 1975).

The second conception provides the child with a kind of 'emblem' to show who he is and what group he belongs to. This is his 'present'-orientation. He knows "who I am" by knowing "who I am not". De Vos (1975) says that in modern pluralistic society, where contact is intense and unavoidable, certain minor symbolic 'emblematic' measures remain vitally necessary to maintain psychological distance from outside one's group.

The third kind of consciousness forces the child to think "what I must do" to preserve the language which is central to his/her identity. This perceived subjective value creates a psychological climate for his 'future'-orientation'. For identity preservation one has to assess the nature of possible threat which a close contact with an alien group implies. The origin myths establish who one is, and also one's progenitors - the group, with which one must identify oneself. This helps him to integrate and regulate his own behavior. It also defines the classes of persons toward whom he can express affection, or with whom he must enter into a relation of conflict.

The schemata which is given below presents the child's loyalty toward language in term of past, present and future orientations:

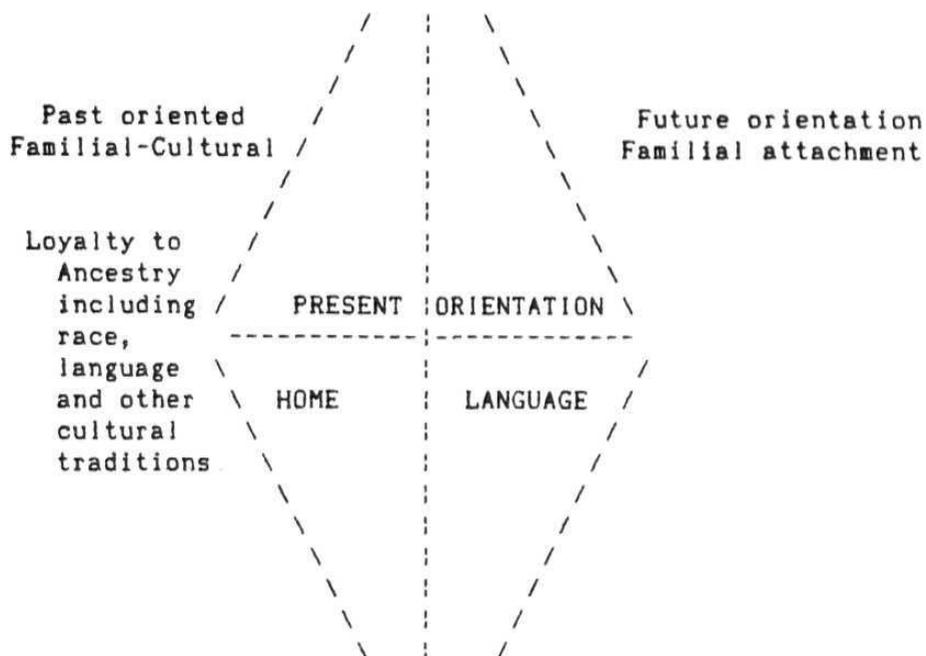


Figure 11 : Present, Past, Future-Oriented Values.

These orientations provide the necessary strength of emotions to children and bind them in a group. It also shows that children's primary sense of belonging is not related to their the geo-political unit alone.

Although language shift is normal in the western countries, in exceptional cases scholars have also found the tendency of language preservation at work here, too. Here are a few examples. Evaluating the case of Greeks in Australia, Tamis (1990) found that maintenance of language was indispensable for ethnicity. The stock response of these subjects was that this was the only way they would never forget their fatherland. In the Welsh situation,

Jones (1991) found that the prime motivation for learning Welsh for those with a Welsh origin was simply that they were Welsh. Their main motive for learning the language had to do with emotional awareness of the language and their feeling of social responsibility. Tamis makes a point that language not only provides distinguishing characteristics directly relevant to Greek ethnicity in Australia, the Greek orthodox faith and/or the Greek cultural core values are also considered to be contributing to the ethnic identity for many Greek Australian. Pütz (1991) found that German-Australian migrants in Canberra were maintaining their language largely because of the traditional factors of the family domain and for social activities. While reviewing the situation of Jewish-Canadian, Feuerverger (1989) concluded that there was a strong correlation between the sense of being Jewish and learning of Hebrew for integrative and communicative purposes. His findings suggest that learning Hebrew is definitely an important symbol of ethnic identity maintenance; that is an indicator of interest in identifying and reinforcing one's Jewishness -- a symbol of willingness to be a member of the Jewish group.

According to 'cultural core values' theory of Smolicz (1979, 1981), the minority group considers one's own language as possessing the most important cultural value which is fundamental to its identification and which does not reject the identificational value of their mothertongue. According to this theory, language is the most important thing in characterizing the core values in some culture. On the basis of surveys and autobiographies, Smolicz and Harris (1976) ascertained that language provided core value for most of their Polish-Australian informants. The theory of

ethnic core values naturally entails a idea of ethnicity and ethnic groups where language is pivotal.

Bengali children express, as a part of their cultural core value, the familial tie and cohesion which are intricately linked with their ethnic identity. Most modern definition of ethnicity presupposes the following features: the acquisition of history and origins of the group into which one is born, sense of belonging, language, religion and other value systems. As the data presented here show, Bengali children do not find many points of distinction with the Hindi speech community in terms of cultural traits, i.e. in dress or food, or in religion, but there is a lot of perceived difference in certain other areas, such as in language and literature. Notice that language here functions as a tool of self-categorization and self-identification in a mixed situation. It also follows from the above that whenever language provides a positive dimension of ingroup distinctiveness, it may be used to differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup and constitute a basis for a ethnic identity (cf. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Taylor, Bassili and Abound 1973).

Attitude toward any language is built through social psychological processes, and in course of such processes in operation, children form their attitudes which result from their perception of the value of language, or from any other stimuli and, also from how they interpret their own perceptions and concerns, or on how they assimilate, or even 'patternize' those values and stimuli. Therefore, the notion of attitude based upon the dialectics of inner and outer ecology forms only one part of attitude which is psychologically

real. This subjective phenomenon is located in the inner world of thought and experience, whereas another aspect of the value of language, the social and cultural aspects provide the bases for forming certain other kinds of attitude. It could be hypothesized that both values, which may be intrinsic and extrinsic to language and cognitive activity (cf. Wicklund and Brehm 1976) play important roles in the attitude formation and attitudinal change. Yet, the fact is that there is no theory which adequately integrates both internal and external aspects of attitude formation into a unified framework.

Let us take one of the most sophisticated interactive theory in psychology only as a test case. Piaget (1952) had emphasized on the significance of adaptation in cognition. He held a view that the function of cognition was to facilitate the process of adaptation to one's environment. There was an adaptation when the organism was transformed by the environment and when this variation resulted in an increase in the interchanges between the environment and itself which were all factors favorable to preservation (Piaget 1952). Adaptation and organization were two functional invariant here. Children absorb external information and transform both information and themselves in such a way as to promote adaptation. Children's adaptation come through the equilibration which is dependent upon both situation and the individual.

Attitude stems from perception. It depends on how children perceive and interpret ingroup and outgroup languages. Through perception children receive the real picture of ingroup and outgroup languages and group themselves in terms of objective and subjective values. After comparing these values, they identify themselves either with in and out 'language' and 'group'. These then

motivate them to learn second language either with close identification with their own language or by completely shifting to the second language. Since the value of language is so important, it influences our perception to accept it as the only truth of life. Value thus becomes the standard for a person to judge his own and others' actions. An individual is motivated toward learning a second language, only after he or she has perceived the value of this language in his functional network. Children acquire perception about subjective and objective values depending on their perception of need to use a language in a given context. Functional theories hold that attitude cannot be adequately understood without considering the needs they serve for a particular individual. Children with different realization of needs develop different attitudes. Such attitudinal differences may also arise in different situations and due to different types of influence. One of the most widely discussed aspects of attitudes stem from the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) which is primarily based upon the instrumental and integrated motivation in subjects standing for the utilitarian and sentimental values of language, respectively.

It is undisputed that language is not only a medium of communication but is also as an important tool used by all interlocutors for identifying the other person's cultural traits. Language also serves to unify a disparate group and often help in the survival of a group identity. Many studies have indicated that language is a salient feature in the dynamic continuity of an ethnic group (cf. Fishman 1977; Lieberson 1970) and hence it establishes positive perceptions of ethnic and ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977). It also functions to represent an ethnic marker and may be instrumental in providing revalidation against assimilation (cf. Royal Commis-

sion on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 1969). Reitz (1974), around the same time, claimed that language was a powerful symbol of group solidarity. Sapir (1933) had argued that language was a fundamental expression of collective and social identity. Thus, learning an ancestral and/or ethnic language -- particularly to high level of proficiency -- may promote the group cohesion necessary for ethnic identity maintenance and ethnic rediscovery (Cummins 1979, 1981, 1985; Isajiw 1981). To the extent that language is seen as an important symbol of ethnicity, learning of Bengali for our subjects may have significant implication in this context.

3.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Culture is a complex entity which comprises a set of symbolic system, including knowledge, norms, values, belief, art and custom, as well as membership of a given society, language being the most important among them. As the 'Linguistic Relativity' hypothesis had argued, language and culture are the two sides of same the coin none of which can survive without the other. Language is a product of culture, and at the same time, it also molds culture. Consequently, they can neither exist separately, nor can they be treated in isolation by the researchers. The integration of this complex configuration involving language and culture, and their effect on an individual's personality together constitute the cultural identity of a group. One can, thus, conclude that one's feeling toward language preservation is one's feeling toward one's culture, too. The evidence in favor of this position also comes from Smolicz and Secombe (1985) who claim that for some language-centered minority

groups, the preservation of their language is indispensable for the transmission of their culture to the next generation. It could now be not as to why for the Bengali group language preservation was necessary. It was needed mainly to facilitate communication within their own group, because language served as a link to their cultural heritage. Language thus always played an important role in shaping the socio-cultural identity of an individual or a group.

Child perceives these values of language in the early stages of life which, in essence, are a part and parcel of his primary socialization. Before shifting to any other language, at this point of time, the child builds an idea that mothertongue was his 'property', like his any other acquisition (or valuable thing) in life. Notice that a child is not born as a member of any society, but through the process of **lingualization**, he adopts or 'earns' the membership of a society. 'Primary lingualization' is the first language learning stage an individual undergoes in childhood, in course of which 'primary socialization' and 'culturation' comes automatically. Through these, the child 'qualifies' meeting the requirement for membership of a society and 'identifies' himself as its member. In the process of 'lingualization' the child internalizes the system of language values and norms which are 'intrinsic' to 'it' and perceives his language as his own heritage and property. This is when he constructs the social and cultural representation of language. Lingualization here does not simply mean the 'learning process' of a language but refers to a complex set of 'learning processes' by which the child acquires a group identity and forms a set of language attitudes. The social representation of language that gets almost permanently imprinted in his mind,

comprises shared meaning, social behavior pattern, a script, and the internalization of a number of cultural traits and values -- all of which play an essential role in the development of his identity.

In course of lingualization through different social-psychological mechanisms like language comparison, categorization and distinctiveness, a child is able to build his own linguistic and group identity. When the whole language, or its variety, or certain aspects of his language (such as socio-linguistic variables) are used as social markers, the child will recognize these markers as a part of his self-image and as a part of his own social, cultural or ethnic identity. He will perceive himself and his language as having greater or lesser value depending upon the agreeable social evaluation of these languages or varieties (Hamers and Blanc 1989). The development of the concept of the self in the early childhood was analyzed early in this century by Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934), both of whom emphasized the role of language in the social processes by means of which the child comes to conceive his own existence in terms of the existence of others. Cooley spoke of the looking-glass self in referring to the manner in which the child comes to view himself through the eyes of others. Mead used the terms "I" and "me" to differentiate between the individual and social aspects of the self. In each case language plays very important mediating role in the development of the concept of 'self'. The development of this concept and identity formation get completed in the early period of lingualization. The influence of the parent's language on the formation of personal identity may begin with birth or even earlier. Condon and Sander (1974), through films on infant movements,

have shown that the child's body rhythmically responds to the rhythm of specific speech structures of his parents even on the first few days of his life, and state that it may be possible that such responses occur even in the womb. Thus the 'mothertongue' seems to be internalized in a profound sense from the beginning, long before the meaning of specific words and concepts are conceived. At a later stage, the child develops a 'looking-glass self' belief based on the way others perceive him. Normally when the child is monolingual, he develops "I" but rapidly it changes to "ME" when he starts speaking another language even though this "I" remains preserved. In the process of lingualization, the child also bears his name and that is another important instrument for conceiving self and loyalty for language. Berger and Luckman (1967:132) emphasize the psychological and social significance of the name and say like this: "The child learns that he is what he is called....To be given an identity involves being assigned a specific place in the world".

It can, therefore, be argued that the way children become decisive about their own internal processes, including their attitudes, in the same way they perceive their own ingroup and outgroup values. The perception children possess and the relationship among them dictate what attitudes will be manifested. Children's willingness to make a personal commitment (to themselves) to ensure the survival of their mothertongue for their self identity, group identity and cultural preservation is something that needs to be investigated. It is not surprising, therefore, that even in completely adverse situations, as in the instances presented in this work children may opt for the preservation of their mothertongue, partially or fully, because of continuing values they possess for group solidarity and ethnic identity.

To summarize, the study shows that apart from other important reasons, language itself may play an important role in motivating someone to preserve the mothertongue, provided it is associated with a subjective value which may or may not have any relationship with actual language use or value of a language on an instrumental scale. In the preservation of any aspects of culture, and particularly language, the most crucial factor is that the individual must have access to understand the relevance and utility of one's own language. On the other hand, it could also be possible language carries values which may function as a gravitational force and create tension in human psyche to preserve their mothertongue (cf. Singh 1994). Any description of behavior requires this concept of direction.

CHAPTER 4

MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING OTHER TONGUES

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Within the general social psychological framework adopted here, it is obvious that there will have to be greater emphasis on development of attitude for language learning relationship among members of the same and different ethnic, political, or social groups, and characteristic of individuals - all of which influence interpersonal relationships. Now it is also possible to comprehend why social psychologists are concerned with a number of very specific questions, many of which deal with the central issue in ethnic relations, or personality traits that may facilitate or impede learning of second language. We are also aware that "empirical studies of the social-psychology of second language acquisition have recently led to the formulation of theoretical models integrating numerous social-psychological factors" (Labrie and Clément 1986:269).

Earlier, the main focus on second language learning research was on individual differences related to second language proficiency (eg. Clément 1978; Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner and Smythe 1975), paying very little attention to social and contextual factors (Labrie and Clément 1986), intergroup relation and social psychological processes in totality. There was a

major change initiated after 1978 but there was still some emphasis on language proficiency. For instance, Gardner (1979) emphasizes on incorporation of social milieu and learning context as determinants of second language proficiency, Giles and Byrne (1982) propose different aspects of intergroup relationships liable to affect second language proficiency and Clément (1980) includes various aspects of inter-group contact as individual factors affecting motivation of learners and the use of the second language. However, these frameworks were still based on the same old concerns, where the researchers had addressed the issues of individual factors in second language learning and had shown the importance of language aptitude and attitudinal based motivation, (cf. Clément 1978; Gardner and Lambert 1989; Gardner and Smythe 1975).

However, it cannot be said that this was a dark period in the history of research in second language acquisition. But what is important to understand is that many important issues remained untouched during this period. Developmental psycholinguistics has failed because most of the investigators have been occupied with presumption that children may not be able to develop stable attitude towards learning second language or because during this period in life, a child is too immature to profile attitudes toward learning SL. They have, however, been interested in how and when children come to understand the physical world and concepts like time, mass and shape. And yet they ignored in large part how children begin to understand different values of language and socio-political and economic world. The former studies have mostly been in the

Piagetian tradition and have been concerned primarily with the stages that children pass through in understanding physical concepts. Now a shift is expected, saying it in a more non-technical fashion and within a given theoretical framework, toward questions that have not been raised or noticed in the previous research - the questions that have already been stated in the beginning of the present work about children's preference for learning particular language(s), factors that help them exercise a choice from out of many, role of language(s) in arousing a positive attitude toward second language learning, etc. These are also areas which have been either generally ignored by linguists or on which their attention was never focussed. Today's social-psychologists would believe that attitude toward learning and their actual performance depend upon how much they perceive the value of language and what are the values particular languages possess.

The above discussion makes it clear that the issue of second language learning is complex. It is undisputable that one's first language, acquired in infancy, forms an integral part of one's sequence of development and at the same time it is automatic, untutored and not a conscious process. In comparison, second language learning is a more complex. Similarly, one's attitude toward learning second language may differ from one's first language learning motivations. "Language is very seldom learnt for its own sake. Formally acquired, it is gradually learnt for its instrumental value" (Sibayan and Segovia, 1980:57). The study of people's beliefs or validation of the role of language in such development is an important activity of the linguistic scien-

tists and other social scientists (Sibayan and Segovia, 1980). It is not possible, however, that with our present state of knowledge, it will be possible to assign an index or value to the share a language has in learning - learning of any kind. The reason for positive attitude and motivation could be easily understood, if someone asks why-questions to learners. Obviously, the answers provided by the learners may provide insight to outline a common-sense theory of attitude and motivation. Apart from articulating their concerns and reasons, they are also guided by their 'desire', 'demands', 'needs'. Language is perceived as an object of constitutive values which satisfies these desires, demands, or needs. People wish to learn language when they are convinced that it is useful for something (Sibayan and Segovia, 1980). Such positive attitudes and motivation towards learning may be derived from the values that particular language(s) may possess. The reasons and causes of attitude and motivation are, therefore, important issues in the theory of bilingualism. The importance of interplay of two competing forces - language force and personal force could also be tested out here. Although the theory which results from data does not devalue the sociolinguists' and psychologists' explanations, it sets out the guideline for considering second language within an interdisciplinary framework, and postulates that attitudes toward learning second language should be considered as a part of complex social-psychological processes.

4.2. LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE INDIAN SETTING:

DATA AND ANALYSIS

A number of questions were asked to the respondents regarding the reason for learning Hindi as a second language, English as a third language and Sanskrit as a fourth language. The questionnaire was framed particularly to know the respondents' self-evaluation as well as their perception of language value vis-a-vis these languages. Respondents were, therefore, required to answer how relevant they considered learning of these languages were for them. It was believed that in the analysis of factors responsible for learning more than one language, it would be a particularly useful method for discovering a range of possible value hierarchies of different languages. Although it was attempted to make this investigation as extensive as possible, the number of variables have been restricted to a manageable size. Obviously, certain attitude orientation measures which would have been useful, had to be dropped to curtail its spread. The questionnaire also attempted to investigate into the indices of motivational strength and desire to learn Hindi, English and Sanskrit on language value base. Since our main interest has been the student's attitude and motivation driven on the perception of language value, questions investigating comprehensive measures of their intellectual capacity and aptitude, or questions testing their intelligence were not included here.

Let us consider our subjects' response to the questions on attitude toward and motivation for learning languages other than their mothertongue:

Table 4.3.1. Questions related to institutional values of these languages:

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT				
	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA		
Learning because it is taught in the school	66.66	28.57	9.52				92.85	78.57	21.42				85.71	14.28
Without learning it is not possible to continue study	83.33	16.66					100	88.09	11.90				54.76	45.23
To pass the examination		42.85	57.14				100	6.66	63.33	36.66			19.4	80.95
Would not have learnt had it not been taught in the school			100				100	14.28	30.95	54.76			26.19	73.80

Table. 4.3.2. Questions that were set to inquire into the social values of these languages were as follows:

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT				
	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA		
Learning because staying with these language groups	40.76	59.52				100				100			100	
Without learning it will be difficult to stay with present speech community	100					100				100			100	

4.3.3. Questions regarding the affiliative or identificational (subjective) value of mother tongue:

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Learning to become like those people			7.14:92.85						100			
To leave our own culture and people												
To get married in this speech community			4.76:95.23	100					100			100
Learning because this is my own language			7.14	92.85	92.85	7.14			100	54.76	45.23	
Learning because this is language of my forefathers				100	100				100	100		
Because this the language of our own country	100			95.23	4.76				100			100
Because this is the language of our own state	2.38	4.76	92.85	100					100	50	50	
Because is the national language	100					100			100			100

Table. 4.3.4. To inquire as to which language has more political value these questions were asked to the respondent:

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Which language is more useful for political speech			69.04:30.95			42.85:57.14			19.04:80.95			100
Which language do you think is more important for the country			83.33:16.66			100			26.19:46.61	26.19	50	50

Table 4.3.5. Questions on Communicative Values:

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA
Which language will provide more chances to interact with country people	100				16.66	83.33	26.19	73.80			21.42	78.57
Which language will be more useful when you go to a foreign country			100			100			100	63.33	36.66	
Which language will be useful for talking to my own people			16.66	83.33	100				100			100
Which language is more useful for talking with the people other than your own language	90.47	9.52				100	21.42	78.57			26.19	73.80

Table 4.3.6. Why do you think learning these languages are essential?

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA
If you don't learn you will feel excluded in the school	100					100	100			80.95	19.04	
You will have nobody to talk to except your own people	100					100			100			100
It will be difficult to make friends	100			76.19	23.80				100			100

4.3.7 If You are given a chance to study among these four languages which one would you prefer?

HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA
11.90	88.09		19.04	73.80	7.14	57.14	23.80	19.04		7.14	92.85

Table 4.3.8. Which language will be useful at these places or for these purposes?

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA
(1) For speaking												
(a) at home	11.90	73.80	14.28	92.85	7.14				100			100
(a) at school	100					100			100			100
(c) on the playground	29.62	44.44	25.92	90	10		10	23.33	66.66			100
(d) at journey	22.22	48.14	29.62	100			40	43.33	16.66		23.33	76.66
2) For studying	29.62	44.44	25.92	90	10		10	23.33	66.66			100
3) For job	22.22	48.14	29.62	100			40	43.33	16.66		23.33	76.66

Table. 4.3.9. Which language do you think will cause more tension or to which would you pay more attention to for using, knowing and learning in the following domains?

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA	VH	SM	NA
At home	17.14	28.57	64.28	92.85	2.38	4.76			100			100
At school	64.28	35.71				100	76.57	21.42		19.52	190.47	
On the playground	100					100			100			100

All the above questions were asked to know the language value ranking by the responding children. Now, to know whether this ranking actually has had any effect on language choice, several other questions were asked. For instance, to know about their instrumental purposes they were asked to rank their preference for learning three languages, namely, Sanskrit, Hindi and English. Children did have opportunities to learn these through schooling. The kind of questions asked were: Which language do you prefer for higher education and which language do you prefer to learn for getting a job?

While talking to these subjects (in course of informal interviews), it became clear that in case of displaced Bengali children, close contact with Hindi speaking community also increased its social values and this was one of the main reasons for learning Hindi. However, children also felt that if they

had been in Bengal, the situation would have been different. They would not have got as much opportunity to learn Hindi. Similarly, they did realize that since their mothertongue was not taught in the school, and because they lived in a community where Hindi was the main mode of communication, there was no other way of receiving education other than through the medium of Hindi. This ecology has increased the social, educational and communicative value of Hindi for these children. Further, perception of Hindi as a national language or the realization that learning of Hindi was important to talk to people from other states. Bengali lacked in such institutional value because it was neither taught in the school, nor so widely understood. Since children were not well trained in their mothertongue, and since they probably took it for granted that they were to be within this region with a predominant use of Hindi as the language of business, commerce, information, law and administration, they did not consider their mothertongue as useful either in getting jobs or in higher education. In the hierarchy of importance then, Bengali carried lesser economic value than Hindi. Language which provided better facility of job and business could be called economically more valuable than those which provided less opportunity in this respect. It was also undeniable that the language of a minority group would have less communicative value when the majority group did not use the minority group's language. Therefore, it was natural that in such situations use of minority language would be restricted to the home domain or for talking among one's own group members whereas use of the language of the majority had to do with their survival. Further, children also realized that learning Hindi was important because they could not speak Bengali properly. In another respect also Bengali was considered to have less

communicative value as it was only a state language. Many children, of course, preferred studying through English medium for better educational prospects and for better career prospects, too. However, they did not consider English as a community language. Therefore, English did not necessarily carry more communicative value than either Hindi or Bengali. Since Hindi was spoken by a majority of people either as the first language or as a second mothertongue, it has, therefore, greater communicative value than any other Indian languages at the national level. Therefore, English ranked lower on the line of political value in comparison with Hindi. The value of English in this hierarchy of importance is limited only to institutional and economic spheres.

The questions which were asked were simple, general and straight forward. Through such questions it was wished to know as to why and for what reasons children showed preferences for learning different languages. Their willingness to learn Hindi seems to be a matter of social and personal concern such as for developing skills or for a bright future, or for work in the country, and for preparing to get along with the integrated Indian society. Children have more integrative motivation towards learning Hindi and lesser instrumental considerations.

Learning of Sanskrit was to satisfy the institutional demand. However, some showed willingness towards learning Sanskrit because they felt that it was the language of their heritage and tradition. After the imposition of the 'Three language formula', in the northern Indian states Sanskrit was being taught in schools as one of the traditional languages. In the southern and

other non-Hindi speaking states, barring a few exceptions (Tamilnadu, Bengal), Hindi was being taught as the third language. Although the West Bengal government decided not to include Hindi as one of the subjects in the school, it provided financial support to Hindi schools. In Bihar learning Sanskrit is obligatory from the higher middle classes to all secondary classes without any alternative in place of Sanskrit. Therefore, one has to say that choice of learning Sanskrit for these children was restricted to satisfy the institutional needs that had been provided by the governments and to some extent Sanskrit lagged behind because of that. Since Sanskrit was not a language of either children's ingroup and outgroup communication, it did not carry any communicative value. And hence the children's response that Sanskrit was not at all essential.

As the preferred language for study some children chose English first; Hindi was ranked second by most; Bengali ranked third where as Sanskrit was put in the lowest rank. It was logical to assume that children's ranking showing preference for learning languages in the hierarchy of importance was based upon the weight of particular language utility at a given time. It may also have to be related with rational, emotional and integrative motivation. Language with a higher potency may be in a position to attract greater attention for language learning. That could be called **gravitational force (gf)** of that **language value (lv)**. But it is not to assume that **(gf)** always precedes language learning. In many cases the **personal force (lf)** overshadows the **(gf)**.

Learning of English could not be related by our subjects with affiliative purposes. Among all the four languages, learning of Bengali and Hindi were for social affiliation but they differed in their relative importance. Learning of Hindi by Bengali children was to get affiliated with the Hindi group and to integrate themselves with the superordinate pan-Indian national ethos. But the need for learning Bengali was for maintaining one's kin relationships and to keep symbolic value of language alive. Value of other three languages except Bengali which was their mothertongue was situationally, socially, politically and institutionally determined with respect to the value Bengali was ascribed by them.

4.4. LANGUAGE LEARNING REALITIES IN INDIA

India's linguistic diversity and its long history of peaceful co-existence among different communities create a language learning ecology which has a formal-informal distinction. In the informal language learning ecology, a person becomes bilingual when he comes in contact with another speech community and gets integrated with it. Formal language learning ecology is created through schooling. India's multilingualism is not only confined to its demographic distribution, but is also functionally allocated. Srivastava (1977:68) had supported this idea. Consider his statement quoted below:

"The most relevant characteristic of Indian bilingualism has been its allocation of societal roles to different languages that form a complex whole of socio-cultural behavior. Different languages configure in a diglossic relationship that encouraged stable maintenance of their compartmentalized roles. Non-competing nature of these roles sustained the non-conflicting and socially stable

Since different languages assign different roles to different domains of language use like home, market place religious rights, intimate groups, inter-group communicative network at national, state and associate group levels, etc., the complementary nature of the roles of different languages in the lives of individuals and speech communities is quite evident. Children's strategies towards learning different languages depend on their realization which emerges as soon as they enter into different parts of lingualization, socialization and cultururation. The grassroots multilingualism children receive such experience at a very early stage. In the early '80s, Southworth (1980:79) had made similar observations which may be reproduced here:

"Multilingualism is an integral part of social segment of life to which many Indians adjust at a very early age. Different languages, dialects or sharply distinct styles of speech are complementarily distributed in the speech of individuals and groups in a way which minimizes their competition with each other".

This complementary relationship among languages make the individuals and communities to live with many of their type, and it becomes a part of growing child's experience (cf. Mohanty 1994). This must be viewed as a viable spectacle of Indian bilingualism because such plural cultural and multilingual systems facilitate children to realize and encounter the noncompeting and nonconflicting norms of multilingual ethos as a part of their early consciousness which is sporadic in the western countries. These once again reiterate the argument that bilingualism in India is a positive phenomenon rooted in a plural socio-political system, in which the individual gets socialized at an early stage and accepts pluralingual modes of communication as a part of his/her normal social life.

4.5. NATION, NATIONALITIES AND NATIONALISM

When we talk of learning of Hindi, it can be easily observed that behaviors, attitudes and perceptions associated with nationally integrated motivation provide sufficient condition for learning. Children's attitude towards learning Hindi to satisfy the linguistic demand at the national level is a response to the tendency towards socio-cultural integration. Srivastava (1977:79) had also observed that:

"In fact, as an official language of the union government of India, Hindi is being promoted for operational efficiency of a nation leading to political economical consolidation while as national language it provides a broad based tendency for socio-cultural integration".

His further observations support this view more strongly. Consider what he has to say further:

"The basis of grass root bilingualism in India has been functional in approach and operational in execution and that it is an outcome of a need internal to its own social structure. It is to be emphasized that Indian bilingualism is based neither on the principles of segregation, i.e. the demand for dominant majority for separate cultural exclusiveness based on ethnic background and special privileges to maintain their languages, schools and other institution, nor on the principles of assimilation, where minority is encouraged gradually to adopt the beliefs, values and lifestyles of the dominant majority. It in fact, aims at integration principle that encourages the maintenance of cultural identities of different groups on one level of social organization but promotes their merger into superordinate group in other respect. This integration principle thrives upon the view that recognizes and legitimizes the fundamental differences that exist between different cultures yet it is motivated intellectually and emotionally to the fundamental unity between them" (Srivastava 1977:70)

In a grassroot multilingual country like India different languages are learnt, practised and maintained in non-competitive environments but differentiated role relationships are presumed by languages in a hierarchical pattern of significance (Mohanty 1994). Mohanty also believes that under conditions of such diversity and heterogeneity, the social pattern of language use is characterized by the stratified hierarchical structure of language.

Our samples show that the four concerned languages are learnt and used for different purposes and are complementary to one another: Bengali for home purpose, English for educational purpose, Sanskrit as a library language, and Hindi for communication at inter-community and at national levels and also for educational and economic reasons. One can, therefore, come to the conclusion that well differentiated role allocation to languages is a major characteristics of Indian multilingualism creating various necessity for individual and community to learn different languages in a non-conflicting and a non-competing language learning ecology. Annamalai (1986a) observes that two different types of socialization of language use, one is primary (home) and the other secondary socialization (work place), which account for nearly a quarter of Indian multilingualism, complicates the pattern of language use and succeeds in creating 'bifocal' multilingualism at the mass and elitist levels.

This is also the reason why Indians in general never consider learning more than one language as a burden. This is why Srivastava, Shekhar and Jayaram (1978) in a survey of language load among the secondary school urban and rural students, parents, teachers found that these groups do not perceive learning several languages per se as a load. Therefore, Ward and Hewston's

(1985) observation seems quite convincing that the pattern of language use in multicultural and multilingual societies gives rise to functionally meaningful pluralism which need not be perceived as a burden since it does not detract the learners from national unity and identity.

4.6. RATIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES AND MARKET REALISM

If we consider the case of English it is clear that three centuries of British rule has left a substantial legacy of English in higher education, government, trade and technology. It is quite apparent from our data that for learning various languages children make strategic choices. Recall the point made earlier that the basic incentive for learning English for these children is economic and educational just as learning of Bengali is mainly for identificational purpose, Hindi for integrative and communicative purposes and Sanskrit for mainly educational purpose and for safeguarding tradition. The basic incentive for learning English by these children supports Brudner's (1972) ideology that job selects language learning strategies. Therefore, economic values of language are probably sufficient condition to serve as a basic incentive for language learning, although that may not be the only necessary condition.

In India, English is mainly maintained through the system of education and to a lesser degree through the mass media. English consolidated its position in the system of education and has played a major role in occupying more educational value than any other Indian language holds currently either at the state levels and at the national level, and therefore, it has been in position

to generate more bilingual person than other languages in India. These two channels are constantly on the rise to uplift the value of English. Indians do not seem to be opposed to this, a fact which indicates that the use of English is not merely a transitional phenomenon. Its link with education is a major force which also guarantees a future spread. English remains the sole medium of instruction in many schools and universities and the factors which promote success in English also promote the value of English.

In addition to the aforementioned percentage of students who choose English in order to have good job, most of them think that knowledge of English will not only enable them to have special advantages at the university level, it will also enable them to make many non-Hindi speaking friends if and when they have to move to non-Hindi speaking states. However, Pandit (1972) had given a different reason for the spread of English with which Srivastava (1973, 1977) did not agree. In Pandit's opinion English has extensive domain of function while Hindi has restricted domain of operation. Looking through our data it can be concluded that, notwithstanding its utility in the domain of higher education English, for these children and their parents, is not an obvious choice for the purposes of communication. Hindi attests a better choice. Hindi is considered to be functionally more potent as a language of wider communication (LWC). From our angle it is possible to partly agree with Srivastava's (1977:72) opinion: "All major Indian languages are lingua franca, but Hindi and English are more functionally potent languages of wider communication". Considering the trend in our electronic media, one must say that Hindi is a more functionally potent LWC than English. And in any multilingual country to sustain nonconflicting socio-political language ecology it is

necessary that few languages must occupy the role of lingua franca for its cross-regional interaction. Our data also indicate that Hindi is perceived as functionally more potent for this purpose than English. It also tells us that English in India is not a broad-based language to meet the day to day practical needs of informal interaction.

Children have expectations with respect to values of language and the role of market is undeniable here. Jasparet and Kroon (1991) recently tried testing their hypothesis that language shift and more specifically language choice are largely determined by three components: the structure of LM1 'linguistic market', the relative importance of LM2 (linguistic market) and the anticipation of and acceptability of linguistic products in LM1. Jasparet and Kroon (1991:79-80) adopted Bourdieu's (1982) theory of the 'economy of symbolic exchanges' (a central notion in his theory is the concept of 'linguistic market') as a starting point to study the social and socio-economic determinants of language shift by Italians in the Netherlands and Flanders and assumed that:

"(apart from the official linguistic market on which communication between indigenous speakers of Dutch takes place) the immigration of groups with a native language other than Dutch creates a linguistic market in which the verbal interaction between members of the immigrant group and members of the community in which they have settled is organized (LM1) and a linguistic market in which communication within the immigrant group is organized (LM2). The symbolic power relationships between the different groups which are at work on LM1 will be reproduced in price-determining laws on this basis of which it can be decided which linguistic products are legitimate and which are not. The individuals who are subjected to these price-determining laws develop strategies in order to maximize the price of their linguistic products".

Even though children's choice for English as we know is guided by the relative importance of English in socio-economic and institutional spheres importance than Hindi, it does not affect the language loyalty. Therefore, from our point of view Dorian's (1982:47) view is not convincing because according to him "language loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins". This is obviously a strong 'economic reductionist' view, and therefore, it needs to be argued against. However, our position is that this tendency may be suitable in the western context where the economic considerations are of central importance in the choice of second language but that in the Indian context it does not automatically lead to language shift. Edwards (1985:93) seems to be more convincing as he hopes that retention of an original language, in its communicative form at least, is often seen as detrimental, not so much because of external sanctions but because of internal desire. He illustrates with two positions. In one he says:

"there are cases in which the application of simple cost-benefit analysis doesn't explain language shift or retention. One of these relates to groups in which language is indissolubly tied to a central pillar of life - religion being the obvious example. Indeed, the retention of religious beliefs has been so vital for some groups that they have been willing to undergo privation, suffer persecution and even make the ultimate sacrifice".

Some recent studies have shown that Indians do consider the question of language choice with reference to market force. Take for example, Rajyashree's (1986) survey of Dharavi slum in Bombay, which gives a clear picture that migrants are wise enough to look at the market for language learning. She reports that the educated parents with white collar jobs and higher income

send their children to English medium schools which is a prestige symbol. One of the Hindi medium respondents stated that he sends his daughter to a Hindi medium school because he has to marry her to a boy from his native place and she will be leaving Bombay eventually, while his son has to look after the business in Bombay which is why he has to know the local language. In Laitin's (1993) view this is a kind of language change and his 'game theoretical analysis' accounts for this kind of change as a function of strategic rationality. The position that there is a rational strategy in language choice is quite convincing but his further explanation that this was a part of assimilation strategies would not necessarily be a point on which all would agree. What he saw as the process of assimilation was in fact a process of integration which is more prominent in the Indian contact situations. These choices of language are guided by need for different situations or purposes. Bayer's (1986) examination of Tamil-speaking migrant communities in Bangalore in the Kannada language zone shows that apart from the individuals there are families which have also developed proficiency in Kannada, Hindi and English. Yet in another study, Rangila (1986) claimed that "all the student [to be] multilinguals" and every student reported Punjabi to be useful in one domain or the other. Even with these best cases 64.13% subjects in the survey believed the English should be the sole medium of instruction of their children. Thus compared to most western countries, Indian multilingualism is characterized by different sets of values. The functional significance of bilingualism at individual, societal and national levels create a favorable atmosphere for learning and use of multiple languages. Mohanty (1994:114) rightly points out that:

"Such complementary relationship between languages and their allocation into non-competing domains of communication in the daily life of individuals, have made the western concept of dominant-non-dominant language relationship often seem meaningless or, at least, unclear".

The functional significance of bilingualism at different levels make stable bi- and multilingualism very common to people. Pandit's (1979) example of Bombay spice merchant using so many speech varieties is a case in point supporting the complementary nature of language use in India. If nothing else, people wish to learn and keep another language as "an additional garment or tool needed for different situation or purpose" (Annamalai 1990:1). It must be taken as an early warning in this context that such differentiated role relationship of languages while switching from one language to another or mixing languages within a given discourse should not be assumed as an indication of failure of a person to communicate but it must be assumed as a deliberate and selective strategy to secure specific communicative functions. In the Indian context, the 'Three Language Formula' has succeeded in creating a 'Planned bilingualism' and has made it sure that being a bilingual is almost necessary condition for a person in India. This creates a 'stable zone' for learning three languages. There is a 'transition zone' also, particularly, when Indian citizens make an inter-state movement and they are exposed to the pattern of 3+1 languages.

4.7. SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ATTITUDE AND MOTIVATION

Be that as it may, once one is certain about the multilingual ethos of the country, we return to the same question of the basis of sustenance of this

pluralistic system of language use. It is not deniable that the concept of value will have a special place in the life of a plural community because it influences a person's attitude toward language and regulates his/her language behavior. The values define our total system of attitude and motivation toward learning first and second languages.

The value of language is compounded in its intrinsic and extrinsic constitutive utility framework. Extrinsic utility of language may vary greatly. In the present context, Bengali language for these migrant children has intrinsic utility but has less extrinsic utility. Language as a marker of ethnicity possesses the subjective value that is intrinsic to it. Apart from this, all other values of language are extrinsic and transitional in the sense that a language may adopt particular values in particular situations and lose its value also. Social network and politics of power play important role in demarcating the objective value of language. Language of those minorities groups which are dominated by majority groups will lose its institutional, economical, status and political values but it may still not cause language suicidal tendency to minorities.

The subjective value of language is always intrinsic whereas in case of objective value in most of the cases it is adoptive and in very few cases it may be stable. Languages like English, which because of their international recognition, have stable objective value. A situation which 'allocates' the adoptive value creates need for learner to learn in certain direction and amount. What is more important concern is at the category or categories of utilities for which value is to be assigned are predictable.

It could be argued here that it is now important to draw from the significance of rational behavior of individuals, in general, and child behavior, in particular, in learning second language. The economists had long ago formulated the concept of 'rational behavior' in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What exactly such behavior meant to them in learning second language in its full sense is not easy to comprehend but a partial restoration of the original ideas in today's contexts is possible.

Though researchers on second language learning may find hard to grasp the full utility of the concept of rational behavior in language choice, they may find a number of similar useful references from these disciplines which may highly use to them. In particular, the following theories could be of much use: 'Game and utility theories' (Von Neumann and Morgenstern 1944; Arrow 1963); 'Decision theory' (Raiffa 1968); 'Preference theories' (Coombs 1975); 'Attribution theory' (Heider 1958; Kelley 1967); 'Information Integration theory' (Anderson 1981); 'Psychological Decision theory' (Tversky and Kahneman 1977); 'Behavioural Decision theory' (Edward 1954; Liechtenstein et al. 1977); and 'Social Judgment theory' (Brunswick 1955; Hammond 1976).

The academic literature on choice, judgment and decision-making is generally vast. Given our limited space and time, it seems difficult to summarize all these theories. The value approach sets out a theoretical analysis for language choice options based upon the concept of cause of rational behavior in only one sphere. Even though learners' demands for learning particular languages may be quantitatively high, children do not make choices

for learning second language in isolation. Their two competing forces - personal force and the force of language value cause a tension in the inner ecology and create need for learning. Although there are a number of theories in social psychology (e.g. social facilitation theory, balance theory, attribution etc), which may be applied to the study of economic behavior, very little work has been done in the field of language behavior. On the other side, very little work has been devoted to how people comprehend or behave in the economic world. Furnham and Lewis (1986) believe that concern for social behavior, beliefs and emotions, which together define a social psychological approach to economics, would include all three components, though they are, of course, not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, extensive literature on both cognitive and social development have generally ignored the child's understanding of economic relations. Now what is required in the developmental theory of economic belief and habits (Jahoda 1979) to see how these economic beliefs develop. Even in the social psychology of language such a theory construction would be of immense importance.

The factor of 'expectation' could also be more aptly applied in the economic approach to choices of languages. In the economic approach individuals are assumed to have certain notions about the future based on their expectations of utility of language. Rational expectation will be more high in the choice of learning of SL. No doubt value is an important variable in forming attitude and causing a reaction. But since SL is learnt in pursuit of satisfaction of some need or want, learning a second language may be comparable to other basic needs - social as well institutional. Consider the following statement of Black (1978:295):

"Utility is a term which has a long history in connection with the attempts of philosophers and political economists to explain the phenomenon of value. It has most frequently been given the connotation of 'desiredness', or the capacity of a good or a service to satisfy a want, of whatever kind. Its use with that meaning can be traced back at least to Gershom Carmichael's 1724 edition of Pufendorf's *De Officio Hominis et Civis Luxta Legem Naturalem*, and arguably came down to him through the medieval schoolmen from Aristotle's *politics*".

The Oxford English dictionary coins the meaning of utility in more normal everyday sense of the word as usefulness or fitness for a purposes and which is clearly distinct from the sense of desiredness in purely subjective sense. Smith (1976, Vol.1 Ch.IV), in his famous passage in 'The Wealth of Nations' wrote the following lines:

"The word VALUE, it is to be observed, has two different meanings, and sometimes expresses the utility of some particular object, and sometimes the power of purchasing other goods which the possession of that object conveys. The one may be called 'value in use'; the other, 'value in exchange'. The things which have the greatest value in use have frequently little or no value in exchange; and, on the contrary, those which have the greatest value in exchange have frequently little or no value in use".

Our concern and emphasis is on 'value in use' which is the utility of language. In a very simple argument this could be explained: If a language were in no way useful, or, in other words, if it could in no way contribute to our gratification, it would be destitute of value and by no means gravitate the attitude and motivation for learning. The utility of a language in the estimation of the learner is the extreme limit of forming attitude. It could be derived from economists' ideology that if language has utility the demand by learners are likely to raise. Menger (1871) developed a theory of economizing behavior showing how the individual would seek to satisfy his subjectively

felt needs in the most efficient manner. In the process he elaborated the essential proposition of a theory of maximizing behavior for the consumer, but he expressed them in terms of satisfaction of needs by the consumption of successive units of goods. This connotation was similar to that of Smith. Use-value could be defined as the importance that language bears for us because it directly and indirectly assure us the satisfaction of needs. If universal utility of language for satisfaction of needs are found, the linguists' business with economists' business could find a meeting ground. The conjunction application of utility theory and decision theory in the second language learning involves formulation of decision making in which the criteria for choice among the competing alternative languages are based on the interaction between a person and language value.

In many cases a choice between competing options for two languages is made through economic and institutional values of two languages. Individual decisions to learn a language are often motivated by economic consideration and can be seen as the results of rational economic calculations. Language, in this sense, can be considered a type of human capital (Breton 1978; Vaillancourt 1980; Grenier 1982). Hence it should be possible to apply the human capital model (Becker 1964; Mincer 1974) to language learning (Grenier and Vaillancourt 1983). The basic human capital model has a number of properties. Individuals may think of their life as having various types of investments. A person will choose between various investments so as to maximize the expected net result of these investments. Grenier and Vaillancourt (1983:472) examined in a non-technical fashion, the 'human capital theory' to examine the decision to become bilingual and explained as follows: "...individual decisions to

learn a language are often motivated by economic considerations and can be seen as the results of rational economic calculations". The main driving force that leads to this result is almost an invariable compulsion that individuals and groups have to maximize the perceived advantage vis-a-vis other individuals and groups. Most researchers seem to agree that economic factors have an important effect on language retention and language shift. Glazer (1978) notes that shift to English provides access to education and therefore escape from the unskilled, low-paying jobs.

The concept of **preference** also holds a pivotal position in the value theory of language. It should be argued that like in economics and behavioral sciences, the role of this concept in language learning theory must be emphasized. The concept of preference in second language learning can refer to both intrinsic and extrinsic value judgment - intrinsic in the sense that one may express one's own preference for a particular language over another language, and extrinsic in the sense that the decision may be made by others (parents, political organization, etc.).

Choices are connected to the attitudinal parameters by a **principle of optimization**. The theory of rational choice claims that only observed choices will have that internal consistency necessary to be rationalized by a theory of optimization. Preferences will be revealed by choices. Childrens' attitude toward learning English language implies that they do adopt rational behavior. The concept of rational behaviour is frequently used in economics (cf. Sen 1987). But in case of children's preference toward aesthetic value, there is no clear example of maximizing this function in literature. But here too their

behavior leads them to what we call 'satisfying' results. To some extent the case of achievement is also the same. There are various ways of 'satisfying', but it should be thought of in terms of a person having a certain target for achievement which he/she will try to reach. Rationalization of behavior could then be understood by finding out why the expected model as a branch of modern consumer theory, proceeds by specifying a set of objects of choice and assuming that an individual possesses a preferential ordering over the objects which may be represented by a real-valued maxim. When an object is preferred over all others, it can happen if and only if it is assigned a higher value by this preference function.

To find out how value of language satisfies the individual's different motivational functions, one must take into account the analysis of a person's attitude. In a broad sense, value of language may be assumed to express basic needs and, in the final analysis, they are the conceptual tools and weapons that individuals apply in order to maintain and enhance self-esteem. The value of language may guide and evaluate his thought and action and may thus serve societal and individual needs. In extreme cases, it may act as an active agent for creating tension and pressure for learning particular language(s) for specific reason. A major advantage of the economic approach is that choices about a language learning, instead of being studied in isolation, can be analyzed in relation to other choices made by children.

To develop means of assessing children's value judgment of language we may look to the research work of McClelland and his associates (1961) on the achievement and needs for an idea and correlating this with the social psy-

chological implication of the value system of language in projecting the subjects' expression of needs. A separate general structured theory of motivation which may have implication for research on bilingualism in this direction is of Atkinson and McClelland (1948). Their research, which used an adopted projective technique, had located the need for achievement and the affiliative motive as two central human motives. Learning a language may sometimes be partly or mainly caused by the need to maintain friendship. A desire to preserve minority language may also be based upon affiliation needs, at least at the unconscious level. Success in economic or interpersonal terms, creates a standard of excellence, and is related to need and achievement. In this context Maslow's (1954) theory of motivation in terms of different types of needs has an intuitive appeal. This theory of motivation could be a predictive device to magnify the reasons of attitude and motivation of learning second language. Learning of SL needs to be considered as a social and transitional phenomena and an individual act.

The concept of attitude and its further extension to motivation only studies why an individual moves to perform a certain activity. Needs of learning language create tensions in individual psychology. In seeking the personal achievement, an individual realizes the concrete need for a particular language and develops a sense of complete determination to turn his behaviour toward it. This need must be itself intrinsically determined in accordance with a particular language. Sometimes high competence in SL is demanded for from the children. Even though such a competence is highly useful to

him and such situations prevail only where mothertongue does not provide any opportunity for higher education and job, and similarly communicative purposes are not served by one's own language.

In a condition where mothertongue is not a language of community one has to learn the community language and has to assimilate or integrate with the majority condition. Complete dependency takes place where the minority group does not have any political, social and economic control and is too small to attract the attention of the political body governing the society or polity. In this situation people's needs can be satisfied in close interpersonal relations with majority group people. A dissipated minority cannot satisfy their needs without harmonious interpersonal relationship with majority group and for such relationship learning of the language of majority group is highly demanded. Language, in such situations, has both functions: creator of need as well as satisfier of need. **Need affiliation** could then be defined as one's concerns over establishing, maintaining, and restoring positive relationships with others. According to Atkinson et. al (1954) and Atkinson (1958), 'need affiliation' is said to be a function of social deprivation in much the same way as hunger is a function of food deprivation. Maslow's theory describes the basis on which human motivation is guided and valued on the basis of need.

Let us take a concrete case study of 'need affiliation'. Findling (1972) gives an example of the Spanish-English bilinguals of Puerto Rican descent who are largely confined to an urban, Spanish Ghetto-like existence, where English is commonly used in extragroup domains. But their learning of English

is likely to be associated with their social deprivation rather than being only mode of expression in intergroup domains. It was hypothesized by Findling that (1) Spanish-English bilinguals would exhibit progressively greater need affiliation in both languages as they shifted from typically intragroup domains such as familial relationships to more extragroup domains such as the space of work or education, and that (2) bilinguals with less responsible jobs would show greater need affiliation in either language and in all domains that people with more responsible jobs can operate. This kind of prediction was based on the belief that in the American minority group context, people with higher occupational status are less likely to be rejected by others, than the people with lower occupation status. Inquiry into this general phenomenon reveals strong socio-cultural forces dictating bilingual behavior of a community. It has been suggested, for example, that the New York city Spanish-English bilinguals of Puerto Rican decent identify English with social value whereas Spanish is identified as having friendship and intimacy value (Cooper 1967; Greenfield and Fishman 1968). The normally expected bilingual behavior dictated by these complementary sets of values applies to extragroup domains, such as home and school, as in case of English (cf. Edelman 1968).

Language values in many cases function as a **gravitational force** in attracting learners through a set of utility. Both Lewinian and Newtonian principles say that the force is positively related to the source of property (or condition) in some object in the environment which it attracts. Lewin (1951) in his field theory concluded that a 'need' in the state of hunger in the life space has a system in a state of tension, and the satisfaction of that "need" as realization of the tension within the system. More interesting-

ly, while describing behavior and motivation, Lewin (1951) says that one of the outstanding characteristics of motivation is the stage of tension (t). It was suggested that, though one may consider it to be an extreme point, there is always a personal difference from one man to another in one's strength of the tendency to reach the same goal. It is expected, in this sense, that (a) the strength of need or intention may be represented in the learning ecology as the amount of learning tension, and that (b) the amount of learning tension may affect the strength of learning force.

The cognitive appropriation of second language depends on the functional and formal language networks around him. These are transmitted through the social network centered around the person, which develops an awareness of their relative values in the society. Furthermore, after the cognitive appropriation of the second language, a person will develop a greater attitude toward the second group and decide on his personal make up vis-a-vis that group. This second stage will trigger motivational process of learning to become a part and parcel of SL's social, cultural and ethnic group. According to Vygotsky (1978) the process of internalization of higher psychological functions, including language, consists of a series of transformations: an operation which occurs initially externally in interaction with the outside world will become internalized; furthermore, those transformations from an interpersonal process to an intrapersonal are the result of an accumulation of development events and the internalization is linked with the changes in the rule government that is in operation. The consideration of language status of two languages has been taken because the cognitive appropriation of language

depends upon the functional and formal models in the person's mind. The child has to be made responsive to these models in order to develop the cognitive function that will enable him to analyze and control two languages.

Lambert (1974) makes a point here that the roots of bilingualism are to be found in several aspects of the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behavior, particularly in the relative social status of both languages and its perception by the individual. In this connection he distinguishes between an additive and a subtractive type of bilingualism. The additive form of bilinguality occurs when both languages and cultures with similar status ranking bring complementarily positive elements. In this condition the person, its community and the family attribute positive values to the both languages, and therefore learning of a second language would not at all be aimed at replacing the first language. In case of subtractive bilingualism, the more prestigious L2 will tend to replace L1 in the person's repertoire. More frequently there may be a case, for example, when a minority child is schooled through L2 which is socially more prestigious than the mothertongue, will deny any knowledge of L1. Socio-political status of language and group allocations and assignment of values of language in such situations tell us when the first language carries high socio-political values, or when complete shift to second language is unlikely. Such values cloud the individual psychology and the feeling of greatness towards one's own language. Consider Southworth's (1980:79) observation in this context.

"The fact that an individual uses English or Hindi in the office does not imply any pressure to use that language in their preference to the home language which might be, say as Bengali or Tamil for domestic purposes. Just as a man "takes off his caste" when he changes from dhoti to trousers, he changes his social identity when he changes from his home language to the language which is appropriate for the office. Thus for many individuals the question of "threatened identity" does not arise, and any additional competence attained in new languages will always be additive rather than subtractive".

To conclude this discussion on a possible theory of role of attitude and motivation in language learning, one must say that children's adaptation of SL need is to be considered as a social and transactional phenomenon as well as their own act. In certain circumstances, for examples, an immigrant staying with a large group, the learner's behavior of assimilation may be understood as an unavoidable social pressure. This is likely to happen with the immigrants who migrate into 'melting pot' type countries of the west. When a minority group in India and many other third world countries live with a dominant majority group, it is quite natural that their learning behavior toward second language get enlarged but they do not show the complete shift to the second language. In the similar case, growing children need to make adjustment with peer groups to assure the stability of their speech role and their relationship with the outgroup.

The need for taking into consideration of individual difference emerges where different skills, interests, experiences, etc. may foster development of different schemata in perceiving, categorizing and in further modifying the

behavior. Learner skill, interests, experiences, etc. are the force he possesses whereas perceiving, categorizing and regulating the behavior are his force of action or **acting force**. Acting force is always in control of possessive force. Language force is also of two types: first, **seductive force** which attracts learners toward learning by promising to dispense off maximum benefits. second, **obligatory force** which propel one to learn by creating different needs, e.g. institutional, social or political. Economic and status value could be kept under **seductive force** and institutional, social and political values under the second category. These two forces create the need of learning a language in different parts of life and similarly set the process of tension in an individual's psyche.

As has already been stated in the earlier chapters, our assumption is that language learning behavior must be considered as a result of interaction between the learner (L) and language value (Lv) which is meant to represent both how a person perceives the value and to what extent he is willing (=PF) to direct his behavior. The values influence in a manner so as to drive an attitude generated in the learner as 'language force (LF)'. Recall the mathematically representation of it:

$$LL = f (L, Lv)$$

An appreciation of the importance of consistently recognizing that a person's learning behavior is determined by a consistent interaction between personal force and language force which constantly move in the opposite direction to each other which could be presented here diagrammatically:

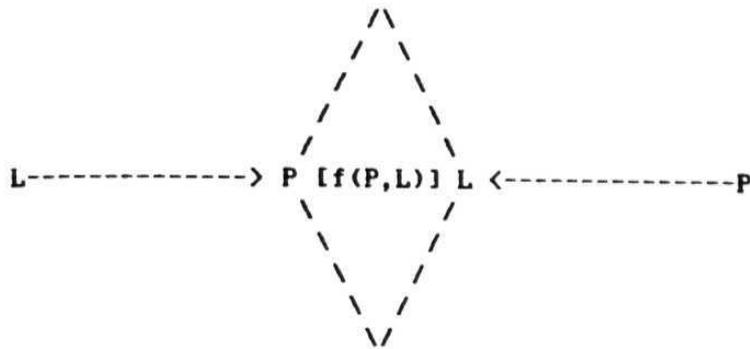


Figure 13. Interaction between Personal Force and Force

Here, our argument is not based to the supremacy of any of these forces although one believes in the equal application of forces resulting in an equilibrium. In the above discussion the emphasis has been on the argument that the term 'value of language' is strictly not an 'independent variable'; it both influences the learner and is also influenced by the learner. In this equation the personal force (PF) and language value (LV) have to be viewed as causative variables which are interactive in forming attitudes towards languages. In other words, to understand or predict the learning behavior, the learner and language value have to be considered as a constellation of interdependent factors.

Two prominent generalizations emerge from the above discussion which could be summarized as follows:

A. Children's attitude toward learning SL can be conceived as a 'filtered psychological' construct on the basis of perceived objective value of second language. [Language value] maintains and enhances the psychology of self - by helping to adjust in a society, defending his/her ego and satisfying other utilitarian purposes and needs. Therefore, it can be concluded that language attitude

is a product of an individual's perceived language value, and at the same time, LV also functions as a construct of attitude.

B. Children have selective and preferential relations with regard to the surrounding languages or situations. Among the languages spoken in the space where one is dwelling, some are desired or preferred; others are, on the contrary, avoided. In case of absence, some languages are demanded and sought, while others are feared. This selective orientation towards the 'preferred' and 'sought' in the field of language gives to behavior its intrinsic direction and organization. The language demanded by an individual is projected from perception and this learned value leads to produce changes in the behavior toward learning the languages.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

5.1. THEORETICAL POSITIONS

5.1.1. INTRODUCTION

There is no lack of theories in social and behavioral sciences dealing with identity and related phenomena but they are incompatible with one another (Lange and Westin 1981, 1985; Liebkind 1989). Of course, the reason for this incompatibility does not prove that explanatory power of social and behavioral sciences is weak. Perhaps, this is because of wide scope of the topic that would qualify to go under 'identity'. No single theory or heuristic device is likely to cover the whole problem (Sarbin and Scheibe 1983; Liebkind 1989). However, the relationship between language and identity has been touched upon within a number of disciplines like history, sociology, psychology, linguistics, education and others (Edwards 1985). This battle of touch and run through so many disciplines have created a busy traffic. Passing through a shorter route seems almost impossible. It is, however, believed here that social psychological approach to our language value theory may provide a bypass to come up with valuable characterization for the relationship between language and identity.

For a while we may take it for granted that identity presents a picture of an individual, describing and interpreting his/her relevant features, characteristics, and thereby providing us with the organizational structure

for pertinent information about him or her. All these could then be explained as an actual or imagined consensus and a validation of individual's characteristics. These provide us with a description of experiences providing a sense of autonomy, distinctiveness, and continuity. This definition suggests that identity not only organizes experiences, but also regulates them.

The link between language and identity is very strong and indispensable. The language-identity link is especially indispensable for those who consider language as an ultimate marker of ethnicity, nationality, etc. For example, the German Romanticism of the early nineteenth century assumed that language was the central pillar of nationalistic group feeling. As Herder had proclaimed :

"Even the smallest of nations ...cherishes in and through its language the history, poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers. The language is its collective treasure" (as quoted in Barnard 1969:165).

Wilhelm von Humboldt, too, insisted on the characterization that language is the 'spiritual exhalation' of nation (Cowan 1963:277). Notice how Fichte (1968 original 1807) extended this notion through a mistaken assumption in his famous address to the German nation that since German language was superior to other languages, German nation must be superior to others. These are, of course, peaks of linguistic romanticism and need to be corrected now. However, the link between language and nationalism cannot be taken so lightly as it plays an important role in assigning, demarcating and projecting individual, group and national identities. Nonetheless, value of language as a

factor in identity is always recognizable. It goes without saying that language not only serves the purpose of communication but also locates a person with reference to a particular group. This could be called the identification-al or affiliative value of language and the role of language here is symbolic. Fishman (1977:25) says this about the symbolic role of language : language is "more than a means of communication" and "also be a very powerful symbol". He goes on to further say that : "language is the phenomenology". This only suggests how valuable language is in shaping, demarcating and projecting identity. The relationship between language and identity must be viewed in the light of the role of language value in assigning one's identity and one's personal role in determination of the value of language. This value of language is internalized and determined. Fishman (1977:25) says further that :

"By its very nature language is the quintessential symbol, the symbol par excellence. Symbols stand in a part-whole relation to their referents. Their preliminary function is to evoke the whole. All language stands in this very relation to the rest of reality : it refers to, it expresses, it evokes "something" in addition to itself. However, in the process of symbolizing it tends also to become valued in itself".

The point is that symbol must be valued in its own right and only then it will be functional otherwise it will remain a mere symbol. Therefore, a complete explanation must theoretically integrate an explanation of individual psychological processes involved in producing one's self image, etc. and the social processes which assign symbol to an individual. This value of language is not linked with other values of language.

In the language-identity link it is futile to talk about those parts of identity experiences of the individual which arise because of other 'biological possession' - features such as bodily features, mentality, etc. Therefore, inclusion of the second part of experiences which derive from 'biologically inherent' attributes like - kinship, language, religion, etc. seems to be essential about which children become aware during their primary linguallization, cultururation, socialization and ethnicization. The issue becomes more complicated for bilingual children who happen to locate or define themselves through their 'unbiologically inheritant' attributes like second language, second culture and second society which they may have had to adopt during their early secondary linguallization. At this juncture an individual's role in defining 'self' becomes more important, that is, which language he perceives symbolically significant for himself which becomes a part of his metacultural awareness for self-categorization, to use Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) terminology.

5.1.1. ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY APPROACH: A CRITIQUE

Ethnolinguistic identity approach draws heavily on the influential theory of intergroup behaviour of Tajfel and Turner (1979) which has already been discussed under the title of 'social identity theory'. Ethnolinguistic identity theory believes that three variables are relevant, i.e. perceived vitality, perceived group boundaries, and multiple group membership that increases or decreases the level of person's sense of ethnic belonging. Ethnolinguistic vitality factors contribute to create and modify the status factors

(such as economic, political and linguistic prestige); demographic factors (such as absolute numbers, birth rate, geographic concentration); and institutional support (such as recognition of the group and its language in the media, education, or government). Their proposition is that a group with high vitality are the ones that are most likely to thrive and remain distinct. Giles and Johnson (1987) suggested that a high level of perceived vitality increases the salience of group identity for members and then intensifies their inclination to accentuate group speech markers in order to establish favorable psycholinguistic distinctiveness. There are five major propositions relating to ethnolinguistic identity theory based on an empirical survey conducted in the Wales. The theory claims that people will define and encounter in inter-ethnic terms and strive for positive ethnic identity by accentuating their ingroup speech style to the extent so that they:

1. identify themselves subjectively and strongly as members of a group which considers language an important symbol of their identity;
2. make insecure social comparisons with the outgroup;
3. perceive their own group's vitality to be high;
4. perceive their ingroup boundaries to be hard and closed; and
5. identify strongly with few other social categories.

Further this theory believes that ethnic groups experiencing such a psychological climate would not only try to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and diverge from outgroup speakers, but would also be less disposed towards acquiring native-like proficiency in the dominant groups' tongue

(Giles and Byrne 1982). They would be extremely keen to maintain the use of ethnic tongue in the family domain and beyond and expend their energy in that direction. Indeed, Giles et al (1977) and Giles and Johnson (1987) have cogently argued that these strategies and manifestations of identity may be conditioned by the degree of ethnolinguistic vitality of the individual members of the ethnic community.

On many points, works of Giles, Bourhis and other collaborators have been object of some criticism and debate (Husband and Khan 1982; Allard and Landry 1986; Clément 1980, 1984; Landry 1982; Landry and Allard 1984). The first criticism is that it fails to predict or it finds it is difficult to do so whether or not members will identify strongly with ingroup and will maintain group language if other four propositions, from 2 through 5 as given earlier turn as reversed. Giles and Johnson (1987:95) have been ambitious in saying that

"stable pluralism is likely to be maintained when ethnic group members identify relatively strongly with their ethnic group as well as with the society of which they are a part; perceive the norms and values of their ethnic group to overlap with those of the society in significant ways, perceive their ethnic boundaries to be hard and closed; perceive the vitality of their ethnic group to be relatively high".

Both argue further by saying that

"in these circumstances, contact with outgroup is likely to focus on values aspects of the ethnic outgroup and valued relationships with them and may be usually conceptualized in terms of communal as well as competitive social identities" (Giles and Johnson 1987:95).

Their argument is that harmonious intergroup relation may be only maintained in situations where subordinate groups have attained greater parity in status and power which is akin to the ideology of the 'equal but different' at the same time (cf. Taylor and Simard 1975). Apart from all its viability for predicting stable pluralism and intergroup contact, it goes without saying that this theory is more applicable where contact between two groups also ensures some kind of competition. Here people obviously structurally bind themselves together in a political unit, where the thrust is on power and status is considered to be legitimate.

However, the case of Indian pluralism may be puzzling for Giles and his collaborators. Here we have examples to think that for a stable pluralism, status, power, or hard and closed boundaries are not strong conditions. Language contact among the intra-national groups from the very beginning of Indian civilization has created fluidity of language boundary. Because of the fluidity in boundary between dialectical mothertongue and superordinate language in certain areas the declaration of mothertongue has shown much fluctuation from one to another. The question of language identity and mothertongue declaration become more crucial when speakers may not be aware of their identity or do not wish to have a boundary demarcated between their home language (Magahi, Bhojpuri, and Maithili languages in Bihar) and second mothertongue (Hindi). Also consider the persistence of several isolated migrant communities in India living in as a displaced manner for many generations like the speakers of Bengali in Benaras. Urdu in Mysore, Tamil in Mathura, Marathi in Gujarat, etc. Even after over fifteen century of migration, Saurashtri is still

the language of immigrant silk weavers in Madurai. These could be cited as examples of norms of preservation of their languages even though the groups do not have ethnolinguistic vitality in terms of Giles and collaborates' structural variables. And, numerically this greater degree of tolerance never impedes in their integration with the superordinate group, i.e. their host community. Because of the same level of tolerance the situation does not become violent in spite of social competitions. Bhuvaneshwari's (1986) observation of pattern of language use among Telugu-Malayalam community which migrated from Andhra Pradesh to Palghat in Kerala several generations ago shows that the internal variation in language use pattern notwithstanding, the community has been able to maintain their language. Finally, Gumperz and Wilson (1971) study of Kupwar village located in Sangli district of Maharashtra exhibits the climax. Both observed that Kananda-speaking Tamils, Urdu-speaking Muslims, and Marathi-speaking landless labourers have integrated themselves out of constant social and verbal interaction in such a way that in their speech behavior there exists a common model of linguistic competence. Different speakers in the village maintain their social identity non-competitively through different language, nevertheless, they have developed a competence in word-for-word or morph-to-morph translatability.

Notice that one could argue for the projection of language identity in relation to social and psychological construction of reality, that is, through the social-historical processes of language which provide base infrastructure for the individual. As soon as a person is born and brought up, he/she has a perception of the symbolic value of this language and is able to decide for himself/herself his/her self-categorization and self-identification. As long

as long as this tendency prevails in an individual's inner ecology, language suicidal condition would not prevail. As it has already been pointed out earlier, this is the answer for the question as to why a language is perceived even when it ranks very low in terms of utilitarian value.

The formation of language identity involves three stages. It proceeds in a circular fashion. Identification as a social-psychological process takes us to the stage of stabilization for children. Perception is the stage for forming attitude towards ingroup and outgroup language and culture. Finally, comparison is the stage of evaluation of their identification. These stages have also been discussed in detail in the previous chapters.

The reason for recalling these processes lies in the fact that if one wishes to know about one's language identity, as it is projected in different type of societies, one must set up a predictive parameters for different types of societies with an assumption that the typology should cover all ideologically important issues.

5.1.3. POSSIBLE QUESTIONS AND CHALLENGES

This interpretation may be useful in answering the following questions which ask as to under which conditions what is likely to happen:

- A) Whether experiences with two languages spread the identity of bilingual being of one type rather than of the other?
- B) When and how an individual's identities actually spread?
- C) Whether in case of loss of first language a child or a person will necessarily lose his group identity or his individual identity?

- D) Whether in case of incompetence in both languages a child will suffer from anomie of identity ?
- E) Does a child with two languages face a conflict of identity?
- F) At what level or in which conditions would a child start identifying himself/herself with the second language group?
- G) Under what conditions language suicidal tendency may prevail?
- H) Do we identify a bilingual through a typical characteristics, that he/she shares the same meaning as a monolingual has in terms of cultural sharing, social class, etc.?
- I) Under which conditions someone's language will remain the marker or tool for self-identification even when a person does not have full competence in his language?
- J) What is the basis of commitment that is required to preserve one's language even if this language does not rank high on the utilitarian grounds?
- K) Can linguistics alone with other subdisciplines like sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics ethno-linguistics be able to explain the real finding about language identity link?
- L) What motivation does a learner have for learning another language - integrative or instrumental?
- M) Whether or not perceived distinctiveness of different language values may create a sense of conflict or discrimination against one another?
- N) How or under which conditions a plural country may promote integration to reconcile culturally pluralistic demands by maintaining cultural traits of their own groups?
- O) Under which conditions multiple identities are premissable?
- P) Can people of those plural countries whose multilingualism has arisen because of inter-national immigration witness un-hyphenated identity?
- Q) How a person's identity in a homogeneous society may differ from a comparable person's living in a heterogeneous society?
- R) Do the people in plural countries have a hierarchy of identities?

To conclude this part of discussion on identity, it will be profitable to highlight the relevance of social psychological approach in identity analysis. For nearly three decades identity has been a very curious and burning topic of social psychological research and a central issue in the social psychological understanding of life. In an endeavor to answer these questions about language and identity we are bound to face an analytical paradox: who do we know about (identity) others or self? Whether identity of an individual remains the same across the situations or it changes? Is it possible for a person to have many identities?

The issue of language-identity of a perfect bilingual is dependent upon both first and second languages. It also becomes complex when a bilingual's experience of his first language symbol gets deemed, subdued and when it finally disappears. In that condition, a social psychological approach towards bilinguals' language identity must respect the dialectical relationship between social behaviors which emerge in the successive layers of discourse on social complexity and psychological behavior.

5.2. IDENTITY OF BENGALI CHILDREN IN BIHAR: DATA AND ANALYSIS

Though a plural country like India provides a good laboratory for studying and experimenting on issues such as language and identity, very few survey-based works have been done so far. No viable theory has come up to show how the issue of language and identity can be well interpreted in a grassroots multilingual country and how it is different from structurally multilingual country of the west. Indeed, the goal of this chapter is to explore the Indian

ethos of preservation and transformation of identity in relation to language and other traits. This also looks at what are the major differences between structural and grassroot multilingualism.

While interpreting, the following issues must be taken into consideration: 1) Does one see the loss of first language and shift to second language or evolution of new language through the twin processes of pidginization and creolization bring the counter change in an individual's identity either in self-perception or in the other's eye equally similar to both types of multilingualism?

The questionnaire administered to know more about identity consists of questions about ethnic self-description, language-identity relationship, attitude to Bengali identity, language and national identity, parent's attitude toward the children's preservation of mothertongue and the general question of identity, choice of language use, attitude toward participation in bicultural life, and other related questions. Consider the following questions and the responses presented in a tabular form:

Table 5.2.1. Mothertongue identity

What is your mothertongue? No. = 42 Bengali.

Table 5.2.2. Rate the strength of one's Bengaliness

Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
92.85	7.14	X

Table 5.2.3. How far do you think your mothertongue will be useful for the following purposes?

	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
1. talking to relatives	92.85	7.14	
2. talking to home land people	92.85	7.14	
3. for getting married	35.71	(others expressed no opinion)	
4. to be a real Bengali	100		

Table 5.2.4. Do you want to live in a separate locality?

Only 14.28% said it is good if we all (Bengali) stay together, whereas all others (85.71%) preferred to stay in a mixed locality. They were given a few options to elaborate their reasons for preference to live in a mixed community:

Table 5.2.5. If you don't want to live in an exclusive locality, how far do you consider the following reasons to be important?

	VM	SW	NA
Living with other communities help in social integration	85.71	X	X
This way, it is possible to live in a high group and culture	21.42	X	64.28
People of my language community are very selfish		16.66	69.04
Any other reasons (specify)	-	-	-

Table 5.2.6. The next two questions were as follows under (a) and (b) for which a combined table showing opinion follows:

	VM	SW	NO
How far do you think use of a language other than your mothertongue at home would disturb the distinctiveness of your community	7.14	73.80	19.04
Do you think you can maintain your separate identity while accepting and adopting elements from other communities	80.95	19.04	X

Table 5.2.7. How far do you think mixing of words from other languages will affect your own language?

	VM	SW	NA
It will enrich your language	X	14.28	85.71
It will spoil the beauty of your language	80.95	4.76	14.28
It will make your language more intelligible	X	26.19	73.80
It will become so similar with other languages that it will be replaced by others	X	X	100

Table 5.2.8. Questions on being a true Bengali and a true Bihari. This question was followed by a set of five more as in (a) through (e):

	VM	SW	NA
How important do you consider is the possession of Bengali to remain a true Bengali	100	X	X
Do you think if you loose your mother-tongue you won't be a Bengali anymore	11.90	47.61	40.47
How far do you think staying in Bihar is important to be a Bihari	90.47	9.52	X
Do you think it makes no difference whether you live in Bengal or Bihar to be a real Bengali	28.57	71.42	X
Do you think you have done or are doing something wrong as a member of your community by living in Bihar		11.90	88.09

Table 5.2.9. Who is an Indian?

	VM	SW	NA
One who is born in India	100		
One who lives in India	100		
One who lives in any part of India	100		
One who speaks only Hindi			100

Table 5.2.10. Who are you? Or, how do you identify yourself?

	VM	SW	NA
Only Bengali and not an Indian			100
Only Indian but not a Bengali			100
Both an Indian as well as a Bengali	100		
Only a Bihari and not a Bengali			100
Both Bengali and Bihari	11.90	40.47	47.61
First Indian and then Bengali	78.57	21.42	
First Bengali then Indian	30.95	69.04	
First Bengali than Bihari	92.85	7.14	
First Bihari and then Bengali		7.14	92.05

Table 5.2.11. How far do you think learning Hindi is important to be an Indian?

VM	SH	NA	NP
33.33	66.66		

Table 5.2.12. Among these figures which one do you think is more appropriate in your perception?:

A.	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">BENGAL</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">INDIA</td></tr> </table>	BENGAL	INDIA	N in % = 100 (Yes)
BENGAL				
INDIA				
B.	<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr><td style="padding: 5px;">BENGAL</td></tr> </table> <table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr><td style="padding: 5px;">INDIA</td></tr> </table>	BENGAL	INDIA	N in % = 100 (No)
BENGAL				
INDIA				
C.	<table border="1" style="margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">INDIA</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">BENGAL</td></tr> </table>	INDIA	BENGAL	N in % = 100 (No)
INDIA				
BENGAL				

Table 5.2.13. What is Bengali language for you?

	VM	SH	NA	No Opinion
Father's language	100			
Mother's language	100			
Mothertongue	92.85	7.14		
National language			100	
Home language	92.85	7.14		
My state language	100			
Language of my birth place	76.19	23.80		

Table 5.2.14. What is Bengal for you?

	VM	SH	NA	No Opinion
Own country			100	
Fatherland	100			
Home state	100			
Former state				100
State where I was born	76.19	23.80		
Like any other state	100			
Part of my country	100			

Table 5.2.15. What is Hindi language for you?

	VM	SH	NA	NP
Father's language			100	
Mother's language			100	
Mothertongue		16.66	83.33	
National language	100			
Home language		100		
State language			100	
Language of my birth place	23.80	76.19		

Table 5.2.16. What is Bihar for you?

	VM	SH	NA	NP
My country			100	
Fatherland			100	
Home state			100	
A state which provides with a working place	100			
Own state			100	
Part of your country	100			

Table 5.2.17. Whom you will consider very good (VG), good (G), very bad (VB) and bad (B)?:

	VG	G	VB	B
One who attaches himself with only Bengali but claims to be only Indian			100	
One who attaches himself with only India but not with fellow Bengalees			88.09	11.90
One who is equally well with both as an Indian and Bengali	83.33	16.66		
One who declares Bengal as a country outside India			100	
Bengal should have another national flag			100	
One who regards himself as always an Indian	100			

5.3. CHILDREN ON IDENTITY

It is clear from the above data that the children have no difficulty in placing their Bengali identity more with respect of language and only partly in terms of state. They all identify Bengali as their mothertongue and home language. Surprisingly, children have also reported that in school they write Hindi as their mothertongue, even though they orally point out that Bengali is

their mothertongue. It is also clear that for them, Bengaliness is mainly confined to Bengali language. According to our interpretation Bengali language has a symbolic value here used as a self-identification and self-categorization mechanism. However, no language has been perceived symbolically or identificationally ultimately so important as to be a completely Indian speech. But according to these samples Hindi is partly one of those traits to be a good Indian. It is also clear that a true Bengalee here means being a full-fledged speaker of the Bengali language with proficiency in all the skills.

There is no sense of rivalry between a majority and a minority group here. Most Bengalee children do not want separate space. But the sense of belonging to one's own group is completely open. National feeling and national commitment are also equally open. Commitment towards Bihari is closed for most children. People's attitude to the whole issue of identity and nationalism is clear when they say: "a:ge to a:mra: saba:i bha:ratiya, 'bengali' to or moddhe ekTa: bha:Sa:r lok" (First of all, we are Indians, Bengalees are only a set among them speaking Bengali language). In short, the fact is that in many respects the members of the Bengali-speaking group are indistinguishable from their Bihari neighbours. But that is not important. What is important is that they declare themselves to be members of the larger Bengali speech community, and that they have those features of Bengalees which are taken to be indicators of identity. Because of their sense of belonging, these features remain largely overt. However, they have shown no impatience or resistance in integrating with the majority group. It is apparent that their commitment and declaration of Bengaliness is a part of meta-cognitive awareness of ethnic separateness vis-a-vis majority group.

Language is frequently the most prominent feature for one's own ethnic description. Even where language is not the sole criterion, it is at least a linguistic marker. It is also evident that language has advantage of being observable to all concerned whereas children are not so much conscious of the other markers with which they could distinguish themselves from the majority. It has been evident from the preceding discussion that language is perceived by these children as a symbol of ethnicity and that belonging to a language is important for self-categorization, too. It is noticeable here that even children suffer from language loss. Their ethnic consciousness is accelerated through language.

If we happen to fix their mothertongue and native language on the basis of competence then Bengali as spoken by these children have a scant chance. This is because only 7.14% Bengali children have average knowledge of reading and writing in mothertongue, 14.28% have little knowledge in reading and writing, and the rest, i.e. 78.57% do not at all have any reading or writing skills. In case of other skills like understanding and speaking, the situation is different. 78.57% children have good understanding, 14.28% have average knowledge, 2.38% child have little knowledge and 4.76% children have extremely limited knowledge. The case is slightly different in case of speaking. 66.66% children speak Bengali quite well, 26.19% can be ranked as average, 2.38% children have very little capacity and the rest (two) do not speak this language at all. Children who were found with either average or little capacity in reading and writing skills have such capability because their parents make effort to train them in mothertongue as much as possible and because of their

own inclination and interest in learning. Three children who have lost their mothertongue neither got much pressure, from parents nor do they have keen interest. In the beginning they all had understanding and speaking skills because parents used to talk with them only or mainly in that language but slowly they lost when they started going to school and started mixing with peer groups and neighbours. There were three children neither have Bengali friends nor wish to mix with them. They have also learnt the Bihari Hindi with a mixed Bhojpuri accent which is the language of their neighbours and they frequently talked to them in their language. With parents they don't speak in Bengali but father and mother talk to each other in Bengali.

To know the use of mothertongue at home and the influence of different domains on the language choice children were asked about the preferential use of mothertongue in talking to their grand parents and other elderly relatives and their responses as detailed in the relevant tables speak for themselves. Those children who have lost their mothertongue talk only in Hindi. The choice of language while talking to father is quite diverse because only 21.42% responded that they often talk to their father in Bengali and 71.42% said that they talk to father in Bengali at least sometimes and 7.14% said that they never talk to parents in Bengali. A change in choice was again noticed when children responded to the question on talking to their mother. 73.80% children often talk to their mother in Bengali and 19.04% opt for sometimes. Finally, preference for their mothertongue while talking to their friends clearly go down. Only 21.42% children said they sometime talked to their Bengali friends in mothertongue but none them said that they "often" did so.

Choice of mothertongue in talking about social events such as festivals, rituals, ceremonies, etc. present a slightly different picture compared with the choice of mothertongue in talking about education as has been pointed out much earlier. 92.85% children often talk to their grandparents and elders in their mothertongue. 66.66% "often" talk to their father in Bengali whereas 26.19% talked for some time. With mother 80.95% often talk in Bengali whereas 11.90% use it for sometime. With friends 9.52% prefer to use their mothertongue most of the time and as much 83.33% talk to them in Bengali for certain amount of time every day. Within different settings there was evidence that the addressee had an important influence, not only on choice of language but more interestingly, on the amount of mothertongue used. Almost all informants, except those who have lost their mothertongue, reported that they use only Bengali to grand parents regardless of when and where they are talking to them. In all other settings talking to another person depended upon the preference for and competence in their mothertongue. But talking in mothertongue to mother was higher than talking to father. The language used by parents to children at home is also a crucial indicator of future of language preservation. Benton's (1979) study of the Maori community, as well as research on other New Zealand minority groups that have begun to shift to English, such as the Tokelau community (Jamieson, 1980), show that mothers in particular play a crucial role in minority group language preservation. Aipolo and Holmes (1990) study of the Tongan group has shown similar result that Tongan mothers report high use of Tongon to their children which suggest that at least at present the language is being maintained at home.

Children were also asked to read a passage in Hindi to check whether they did equally well as near-native speakers Hindi or not. Except very few children no difference was found. Though children are equally competent in both languages they show loyalty to both languages for different purposes or to satisfy different demands. Children's behavioral competence has been studied only by participants' observation. They have been seen behaving equally well in both Bengali and Hindi environments. Children themselves do not agree that they are completely Bihari. This only signals that they are not in favor of a complete assimilation whereby they have to leave their original language. Their attitude towards participation in conversation with Bihari people also suggest that they are not in favor of segregation. We have asked some teachers about their performance in school. Here are some impressions gathered from them: Teachers told that generally the Bengali girls perform better in school festivals, particularly in dancing and singing Hindi songs. About two boys they also told that these boys always stood first in the class and got maximum marks in Hindi. More interestingly few Bengali children even accused their Bihari friends for not being able to speak good Hindi. They also told that our Hindi is better than theirs particularly in accents. Most important thing to cite here is that they don't wish to bargain their Indianess from Bihari or Bengali point of view.

When seven attributes for differentiating themselves from Hindi group were given, all children, numbering 42 (100%), (iv) even those who have lost their mothertongue, responded with a lot of difference in terms of two attributes, i.e. language (speaking) and literature (writing), whereas in all

other attributes, i.e. religion, food, dress, festival, and social custom they all agree that there are some differences. Therefore, it could be indicated that children categorize and perceive themselves highly differently from one another on the basis of language. The last question in the same section intended to inquire whether children do recall any other attributes which could differentiate between them and the Bihari children who have not been specified in the questionnaire. Most children felt that their our name (i.e. Bengali names) was different from Hindi-speaking People's name. Children were not found biased, blind or dull in recognizing the attributes of their own group and perceiving, categorizing and identifying themselves differently from the other group even when they have to live in helpless situation. Major differences do not lie in the first names of both groups but in the last names, often called the titles are quite different from each other depending upon their caste. Some of them which they recalled are given below in terms of caste hierarchies:

Hindi group

Bengali group

A. Brahamins

Chaturvedi -----
Choudhary |
Jha |
Ojha |
Pandey |
Sastri |
Tripathi |
Trivedi |
Upodhaya

----- Banerjee
| Bhattacharya
| Chaterjee
Mukherjee

B. Others

Singh
Sinha
Srivastva

Adhikari
Basu
Choudhary
Ghose
Basu

Figure 14 : Typical Naming Words used by Two Groups.

Differences in dress cannot be recognized among these children but the way their father and mother use sari and dhoti or their food habits are better indicators. However, these children may actually be at ease with both kinds of food.

Nineteen percent children who are very good in their mothertongue either in only speaking or in all the three skills reported that use of language other than mothertongue (Hindi) at home would not at all disturb the distinctiveness of their own community. The children who are very good in second language and good to average in their mothertongue and those who have lost their mothertongue, numbering 31 (73.80%) responded to the above question by saying "somewhat" whereas seven percent of those who are neither competent in their mothertongue nor in second language responded with "very much". Eighty six percent children agreed that they can maintain separate identity very much by adopting the elements from other community whereas 14% responded that they can do so only to some extent.

Even children (7.14%) who lost their mothertongue in answer to the question, 'Are you a Bengalee?', said, "yes". But their response was different from others when they were asked to indicate the strength of their Bengali-

ness. These three children obviously ranked their strength of Bengaliness as the weakest. Their lower self-assessment resulted out of their feeling that "We have lost our language" These children talked about their identity in the following words: "aise to hum 'bengalee' haiye hai. ka:he ki bengali ghar me paيدا hue hai. hama:re ghar ke to sab log Bengali hai aur sab log Bengali bolte hai. lekin ham to pakka: Bengali nahiye hai kiyoki Bengali to bolte nahi hai". Their statement could be roughly translated as follows: " See, we are Bengali alright, because we were born in Bengali-speaking family. All members of our family are Bengalee and everybody speaks Bengali. But we are not true Bengalees as we do not speak the language". Close interpretation of these statements make us assume that these children' perception about their Bengaliness is more closely tied up with genetic relatedness than language. It also warns that language remains one of the most important attribute for identification of self in subjective reality. Children are very much optimistic about the vital role that language plays in the formation of Bengaliness. But at the same time language for these children is not the only essential attribute which assign them a Bengali identity. And yet they consider it to be one of the most important attributes.

Response was diverse when the respondents were asked -- "How far do you think that mixing words from other languages will affect your language?". In response to the question -- do you think it will enrich your language -- the majority of these children, about 86% responded it will not at all enrich their language whereas others responded saying it will enrich. Response was

almost similar when they were asked: Do you think it will spoil the beauty of your language, 81% agreed saying "very much", 5% said on "somewhat" and 14% were "oh, not at all" scale. But at one point all children (100%) agreed that it won't make Bengali similar to the other languages, nor will it be replaced by another.

Coming near to our thrust of inquiry about language and identity relationship the young respondent were asked, towards the end, to respond as to what was their mothertongue? All agreed that Bengali was their mothertongue. Those children who lost their mothertongue also identified Bengali as their mothertongue. But in school many children write Hindi as their mothertongue. Children identification of mothertongue was obviously based upon the perceived subjective value of mothertongue and on that basis they categorized themselves and their language vis-a-vis other languages. There was this question - how important in general do you consider possession of Bengali was to be a Bengalee. All agreed on the scale of very much. Two hypotheses could be drawn on the basis of these responses in relation to language and identity relationship: children perceive their mothertongue as subjectively real. They know it plays an indispensable role in the self-identification with their own group. Secondly, apart from language there are other important factors which determine their ethnic identity and these can not be separated or changed unless biological fusion takes place.

In terms of their attitude to Bengali language, for preservation of language for identity with their own people their choice of Bengali identity were much more positively oriented towards use of Bengali with fellow Bengalees. Identity choice was also related to views expressed on the importance of Bengali for social life. All respondents who believed it has still greater importance while talking about the use of this language for integrative purpose. Their emphasis was on the function of language for maintaining link with their "Bengali homeland" and "cultural heritage" and so generally provided "integrative" rather than "instrumental" reasons for knowing Bengali.

In response to question regarding the usefulness of mothertongue for familial tie and for Bengaliness most children agreed that Bengali language was very useful. 93% children agreed that mothertongue was very much useful while talking to relatives and only 7% responded that it was useful to some extent. These 7% children were those who have lost their language. Similar response was noticed to the question on usefulness of mothertongue while talking to their homeland people. All agreed that to be a real Bengalee possession of Bengali language was important. Only 36% children responded on very much scale in question to usefulness of mothertongue for getting married while rest of them, kept quite or felt shy to respond to this question.

Most of the respondents said that they would choose to speak Bengali when they go to their native land. Many of them gave the reasons could be summarized as follows: "If I don't speak Bengali they feel bad. They jokingly

call as Bihari and not as 'full Bengalees' and sometime even complain about our parents for not teaching Bengali at home". In contrast, only three respondent said they always preferred to speak Hindi at home land because they did not know.

Efforts for the preservation of mothertongue was thus found restricted to their personal commitment rather than group because this minority group doesn't have any organization/ association/ institution to trend their children Bengali. In such a situation children commitment to preserve their mothertongue for self identification as a Bengali displays children' perceiving of greater subjective value of their mothertongue for self-identification.

5.4. PARENTS' ON CHILDREN'S PRESERVATION OF IDENTITY :

In addition to parents' attitude towards learning languages by their children for, emotive, integrative and instrumental reasons (as discussed in chapter 2), they were also asked questions regarding their children's identity to find out how strongly they felt about the need to preserve mothertongue identity. Consider the following questions and their response, presented here in a tabular form :

5.4.1. Parent's opinion on their children's mothertongue identity:

	VM	SW	NA
Do you wish that your children remain Bengali?	100	X	X
Do you wish your children to be good Bengali	100	X	X
Do you wish to settle down in Bihar	9.09	4.54	86.36
Do you wish to get them married in your own community	95.45	4.54	X
Will you prefer interlingual marriage for your children?		5.26	94.73
Would you prefer inter-caste and inter-religious marriage for children?			100
How much Bengali do you think would be important for your children?	100		
Do you force your children to learn Bengali?	86.36	13.63	

Although there are few examples of actual training of children in all the language skills (speaking, listening, writing and reading) usually given by their parents, their positive attitude is partly because of their personal efforts to make them as much proficient as possible in Bengali keeping in mind usefulness of mothertongue in the future. Adverse situation was also seen in which children had lost all the language skills and now they were practically monolingual. In this case children's parents were found to be very

casual regarding children's decision to leave their language and achieve native-like proficiency in their second language. A profile of their language proficiency has already been given in the second chapter.

It is clear from children's responses to various questions that they prefer to have multiple identity which are functionally available to them. For them India as a nation is broader than Bengali nationalism. When they were given three choices to locate the position of Bengal, all children agreed on the point that Bengal occupied a position within this country which it owed to the bigger entity, i.e. India. More often than not, their being a Bengalee was found to have provided them with an ethnolinguistic identity. Those who agreed that now they were also 'Bihari' because they were going to continue to live in Bihar for a long time immediately exhibited their acceptance of a regional identity. As such, the label 'Bihari' represents only a demographic and political identity. In a nation's typical plural socio-cultural ethnos and partly within socio-political ecology an individual's expansion of identity is not seen as an exception or an aberration but it has become probably a regular phenomenon. In a real sense they are neither in tension and nor in counter-tension when they are in possession of multiple identities. Their own language does play a vital role in the projection of their primary identity - their home, community and ethnic-linguistic nationality. In course of integration this identity gets multiplied and then possible linguistic attitude gets subdued. Thus expansion of identities becomes an automatic process among the displaced linguistic communities in the pan-Indian context. Here destruction of one trait doesn't create anomie because many other identities remain intact

in different order of variability and multiplicity. One should not hesitate to say that in India language shift does not indicate any dislocation and breakdown from the superordinately established societal allocation of functional identity or alternation of one's previously recognized role relationship. Therefore, an individual's superordinate identity - that is, national identity remains unaffected even if someone has undergone a complete language shift.

5.5. LANGUAGE ECOLOGY AND HIERARCHY OF ELEMENTS:

What is emerging from the above explanation is that one's own language is perceived to play an important trait in the hierarchy of multiple self-identification. There are many other traits which play equally important roles. One's multiple identity at different levels is definable in terms of a number of factors - stratified role of languages at different levels, cross-cultural overlapping of regions, close and open cross-linguistic geographic boundaries (demarcation of ethno-linguistic state), stratified complex social structure (caste, class, etc.), and hierarchical political organization. These are also the factors which typically form a nation's plural ethos. The hierarchical structure of basic national ecological relations indicate, however, that no single trait should be taken as the only definable parameter or no single network is responsible for the projection of identity. One should not fail to consider describing, necessary, a complex of a network of ethnic, social, cultural, linguistic and geographical ecology of India in which projection or determination of identity is dependent on a cluster of factors where each one of them is assigned different psychological processes. A gener-

al framework of ecological factors can only be realized in a hierarchical order. Here, a hierarchical order of ecological variables is proposed:

- A. Demographic variables: home, community region, state, nation.
- B. Linguistic variables: mother language home language, community language, state language, national language, traditional language, institutional language, colonial language, caste language, class language
- C. Social political variables: state, nation.
- D. Socio-cultural variables: Ancestry, clan, caste, religion.
- E. Social-Psychological variables: commitments of preservation of own traits, tolerance, strong integrative tendency.

Notice that at the national level all traits get integrated into such a way that national identity remains of paramount importance. At ethnolinguistic levels there are many ethnolinguistic nationalities. These ethnolinguistic nationalities at subordinate level indicate politonym (political group), toponym (geographic region) and within the superordinate category, it shows ethnonym (ethnic group). Nation as a whole is an amalgam of unity whereas its various ethnolinguistic nationalities represent diversities which, taken together, justifies the off-quoted idiomatic expression of 'unity in diversity'. Various names like Bengali, Tamilian, Telugu, Marathi, etc. are various ethnolinguistic nationalities within this nation. In comparison, terms like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, etc, do not evoke the sense of ethnolinguistic nationalities but signify only political and geographical significant boundaries. This is because these states are not organized on ethnolinguistic basis.

When children were asked 'What is your nationality?', all of them said : 'Indian'. Therefore, a state may exhibit both configurations: 1) [+ethnonym, +toponym, +politonym]; 2) [-ethnonym, +toponym, +politonym]. In the second example the first rule is violated because the states in the Hindi regions had been organized only on geo-political grounds. But, this gives a clear-cut picture that because of this variation the superordinate level is not affected. Creation of states on the basis of consideration of majority ethnolinguistic group has given rise to misunderstanding on many counts. Creation of states is done with a view to facilitate administration. Creation of many states in the Hindi region is an example of the same. This gives ample evidence to argue against the view negate that India as a nation resembles the feature of nationalism as Fishman (1968) had suggested, viz. if a nation is integrated with a view to administrative convenience and for economic growth the resultant force is called nationalism. The idea implicit behind the creation of ethnolinguistic states that one maintains pluralist policy by encouraging linguistic groups to retain their cultural distinctiveness in subordinate political and demographic autonomy. When we come to the level of state we find behind its creation a political agenda and when we wish to consider the ethnolinguistic groups in it, we are confronted with some multiethnic features of India. Indian nationalism is an amalgam of multi-linguistic ethnicities. Srivastava (1977:110) says: "Nationalism serves a unique function - it unifies ideologies and nationalities in a multiethnic nation".

Two types of forces could be in circulation here : 1) One in which the primary push is from nation to state or linguistic state, region etc., and 2) the other in which the primary push is from the narrow space to a wide horizon, ie. from a region, linguistic group, or state to nation. This could be shown diagrammatically through the following figure:

If it is looked from the point of view of demographical variable there are two existing toponymical levels: 1) India as a whole at the superordinate level and 2) states at subordinate levels. This causes a lot of misunderstandings. Khubchandani (1991:5) rightly points out that "much of the confusion in interpreting India's cultural scene come from the tendency to deal with region as a whole or as a series of small linguistically isolated units". To set the objective criteria is very difficult, if not impossible. Khubchandani (1986:20) elaborates it in the following way:

".... in spite of the linguistic reorganization of Indian states in 1956 based on the language identity of the dominant pressure groups, language identity regions are not necessarily homogeneous communication regions... Every state, apart from the dominant state language, has from one to six outside or minority languages which are spoken by more than 20 persons per 1000 population".

Thus, it should be made clear that if any majority ethno-linguistic perspective is taken, the regions are far from fixed and enduring things. Within any given majority ethnic-linguistic state, many minority ethno-linguistic communities exist.

Boundary preservation by these children is not marked as Barth feels, with 'us' against 'them'. It is very much a conscious, cognitive ethnicity in

a power struggle which frequently leads to violence and social upheaval. Looking at our data from this point of view, the boundary preservation between region and nation is marked in terms of 'we' and 'ours'. It is quite apparent now that Indian's consciousness about the sense of belonging with a common history is transgenerational, that is, the children learn from their parents. Therefore, it is a mistake to state that Indian nationalism is a compromise and a choice forced upon various ethnolinguistic groups some of which were brought into it even after independence. It may be recalled that the British imperialist opinion has always been that it is the British that saved India, and for the first time, a sense of nationhood flourished. A typical imperialist viewpoint can be seen in the statements like the following:

"The nation that India is a nationality rests upon that vulgar error which political science principally aims at eradicating. India is not a political name, but only a geographic expression like Europe or Africa. It does not mark the territory of a nation and a language, but the territory of many nations and many languages." (Sir John Seeley and Sir John Stratchey: 1883, as quoted in Sankar Ghose's Socialism, Democracy and Nationalism in India (p:173).

In similar vein they say that India as a country never existed. Here is another statement with similar ideas:

"This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India, that there is not and never was an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious: no Indian notion, 'no people of India' of which we hear so much." (Sir John Seeley and Sir John Stratchey: 1883, as quoted in Sankar Ghose, Socialism, Democracy and Nationalism in India (p:113).

Khubchandani (1991:22) warned against such negative attitudes about India's plural ethos when he said that:

"India as a sociolinguistic area, is not a collection of fragments which the state holds together, but it presents a series of mosaics-religious, linguistic, regional and covering other socio-cultural dimensions- which fit together in a whole as a jigsaw puzzle, and no single constitute however small numerically, is marginalized.

It is also worth mentioning that in terms of demographical and social political boundary the fluidity of these boundaries operate across language boundary. Khubchandani (1991:46) reminds us that "Inter-language boundary in many regions have remained fuzzy and fluid". In many cases a linguistic region's boundaries may cross the state's political boundary. In this regard, we have the example of Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi (HUP) which is also known as Hundustani which comprises eight Hindi-speaking states and union territories, Punjab as well as the Kashmiri-speaking part of J & K. (cf. Khubchandani, 1978, 1991).

In the Indian context caste is also considered to be prominent feature of self-categorization and self-identification within and also cross the linguistic boundary. In certain cases, ethno-linguistic identity becomes passive marking and cross-linguistic caste identity becomes more important. Even in intra-linguistic group the factor of caste provides a major social boundary. This is the reason why intercaste marriage in intra-linguistic group is not preferred by these parents. In the heterogeneous pluri-linguistic ecology of India a person acquires different identities from variable traits and categories and at different situations and different levels. Stratifica-

tion characterization emerged from intense social contact, and it plays a significant role in explaining certain sociolinguistic choices. There are two possible ways to see these norms: 1) people's claim of their mothertongue and, 2) their toleration towards government policy in grouping the language. Khubchandani (1972a, 1983, 1991) tried to show through the Indian Census Reports how after independence, boundaries of languages have acquired new kind of fluidity. He says this in the following words:

"a phenomenal increase between 1951 and 1961 of 14, 611 percent (!!) in the mother tongue claims for the Bihari group of languages - mainly, Bhojpuri, Mithili and Magahi- in Bihar; a move away from the regional towards the religious identity among bilingual Muslims throughout the country, revealed through consolidation of Urdu mothertongue claims; a growth of 68.7 percent during 1951-1961," (Khubchandani, 1991:47).

An evidence of tolerance could be seen through this example. Dogri and Kangari in 1961 census were regarded as varieties of Punjabi. But since 1971, under the reclassification scheme, Dogri has been accorded an independent language status and Kangari is reclassified under the Hindi amalgam.

5.6. IDENTITY AND HYPHENATION: INDIAN AND WESTERN SITUATIONS:

What is important to note here is that multilingualism which grows in India because of migration of one linguistic state group to another does not create a hyphenated variety of identity. This is the benefit of nationally coexisting countries over non-coexisting multilingual countries. Migrants from the western multilingual countries face the crisis of hyphenation. As a sample it is interesting to mention at Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) empirical

investigation about self-identification of Finns in Sweden, for whom complete switch over to Swedish would signal assimilation and would be mainly interpreted as an **ethnonym** whereas complete retention of only Finnish would signal **segregation**. In comparison, the other combinations such as Swedish and also Finnish, Finnish and also Swedish or both Finnish and Swedish signal tendencies towards **integration**. In this connection, the basic difference between Swedish-Finn and Bengali-Bihari situations is that signaling of these processes in the first one raises certain inter-national issues whereas in the latter one it is restricted to the state level and the issue is intra-national. Signaling of assimilation and segregation of Swedish Finns raises the question of whether they belong to this country or that country. The reverse is true in Indian case. Although signaling of assimilation and segregation might uproot them from their host states but superordinate marker, that is their being 'Indian' allows them to remain intact.

Bromley (1984:9) says self-identification is usually denoted by the term '**ethnonym**' derived from the word 'ethnos'. Ethnonymic self-identification is what he calls is endoethnonyms and it may differ from excoethnonyms, that is, ethnonyms given by other people. He gives example of ethnos with the endoethnonym as "Deutsch" so named because of "nemtsy in Russian, "allemagne" in French, "German" in English, "tedesco" in Italian. Bromley further realizes that this condition of self-identification may prove insufficient for identifying ethnos. He opens two other possibilities: 1) **Politonyms** denoting "all people (citizens) living within the boundaries of one or another social organism ... or political formation" (p:10), and, 2) **Toponyms** denoting "the group's

self identification originating from the name of the territory it inhabits" (ibid, 10). In that case Belgians and French provide us with examples of one's politonyms. His theory becomes more complex when he says: when a group of people move outside the original settlement, both politonyms and toponyms are often not retained by the second and further generations. He gives an example "when the children of Russian settlers in Siberia resettle in the European part of the USSR they will call themselves Russians, and not Siberians; that is, they will lose their toponyms (Siberians) and will retain their ethnonym Russian" (p:10). In certain conditions all three or two coincide. As he says: "When the politonyms of a group of settlers is retained from several generations, this means that the given self-identification is also the ethnonyms. The coincidence of politonyms and ethnonyms is especially characteristics of relatively mono-ethnic states: for instance, the words "Frenchman" ("Francaise") or "Italian" ("Italiano") are both the politonym and ethnonym" (ibid, 10). Skutnabb-Kangas uses the term endoethnonymy for the Finns in Finland using for themselves Finnish ("Suomalaiset"). "The Finns" can thus denote both as the ethnonyms, a politonym or a toponym. According to her 'ethnonym' indicates the ethnic group of Finnish-speaking Finns in Finland in opposition to "Finland-Swedes", "suomenruotsalaiset" in Sweden and "finlandssvenskar" in Swedish. It declares all citizens of the state of Finland as 'politonym' regardless of their language or ethnic group whereas as 'toponyms' includes all those who live in Finland.

Now, it emerges from the above description that convergence of toponym, politonym and ethnonym is a major problem to find out the implication of self-identification in many cases (especially, for the Finnish-speaking Finns in

Sweden). It is a futile exercise to try to do it linguistically. Therefore, it is reasonable to leave the politonym part by asking people themselves about their group affiliation or citizenship. But one can find another problem if someone changes nationality, whereas many remain Finnish citizens. Then, how can we differentiate between the politonym and ethnonym. What will happen in this situation is that if, say a Finnish -speaking Finn in Sweden describes himself a "completely Swedish" person, as this could be interpreted an ethnonym, politonym and toponym.

But problems do not end here. Because this contrasting does not help to clarify the meaning for those who have not changed nationality. The main difficulty then remains as to how to differentiate politonym from ethnonym, particularly for those who have not changed nationality. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) variable identification is the best solution. That would vary depending on to whom or where the identity is presented. That is, for a person A or in country 1 one could define himself/herself or as X, or X than Y; or Y but also X.

If this whole problem of identification is viewed from the country of origin then only ethnonyms remain but not toponym and politonym. But if it is viewed from the point of new country then it may be toponym, politonym, or ethnonym or combination of all three. Whatever it may be, self-identification in hyphenated form cannot be avoided here. For her this hyphenation denotes some sort of a hierarchy. Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) gives the example of Greek-American in figure No. 9 which is as follows:

S-K Figure No.9.

E	P	T	Greek (ethnonym only if seen from Greece point of view)
E	P	T	American (ethnonym, politonym and toponym, seen from USAs point of view)

In the western countries minority ethnicity is something 'private' while majority ethnicity is a 'public' phenomenon. They suffer from some sort of hierarchy in terms of hyphenation. But their as well as Skutnabb-Kangas' interpretation of hyphenation and hierarchy cannot avoid discussing assimilation tendency. The western type of pluralism obviously suffers from this problem. At this juncture it is interesting to see how an account of this problem was given by Smolicz (1979: 95-96):

"The terms American, Canadian, and Australian have come to refer to the person's current allegiance to a nation state with its political institutions and economic structures, while labels such as Irish, Ukrainian and Italian indicate ethnic ancestry and cultural traditions in other areas of life such as family, friendship, religion, language and manners. Viewed in this way, the two types of identities are not mutually exclusive' it is quite possible for a person to identify himself (SIC!) as both Irish and American, Ukrainian and Canadian, Italian and Australian"

If viewed from the theoretical framework based on the typology of ethnonyms, politonym and toponym, what will emerge according to Skutnabb-Kangas's could be discussed here. the Americans in Irish-American who would have to be described as a politonym. They may be also toponym but are not an ethnonym, The Irish in Irish-American would be an ethnonym but not politonym or a toponym. The following figure will show this:

S-K Figure No.10.

E	P	T	Irish (ethnonym)
E	P	T	American (politonym and toponym)

She recalls various lacunas in this pluralistic model. There is no solution for 'hyphenation', e.g. whether identity preceding hyphenation will be less or whether it will follow the hyphenation. She strongly says that this framework operates also on monistic contexts and is not typical of only western societies. She suggests two changes are needed to prevail: firstly, majority ethnicity has to become conscious and; secondly, a purely monistic view has to be altered. If these two changes are made it is possible to conceive of a space where one could belong to two (or more) ethnoses without any of these ethnoses accusing them of lacking in loyalty because of their other allegiances. Skutnabb-Kangas, however, accepts that this ideal condition seems to generally prevail in many Asian and African countries but it seems to be not there in the European or Europeanized contexts. Therefore, her this suggestion to bring about changes to prevail real pluralism in western countries, etc. to be a conditional solution. In fact, one fails to understand as to why they can't be described in un-hyphenated ways. In a multilingual country like India when a group of people move outside the original settlement in the country all upper levels, viz. ethnonym, politonym and typonym, are preserved. In terms of ethnic self-identification inter-national migrants of western countries, too face the problem of hyphenation. While comparing her typology with the subjects of the present survey, especially the sample of

Bengali minorities in Bihar two quite different scenarios may emerge because of the basic difference of forms between these two minorities. This typology may also be useful in classifying what type of bilingual country Sweden is and how it is different from India. This may be presented diagrammatically as follows:

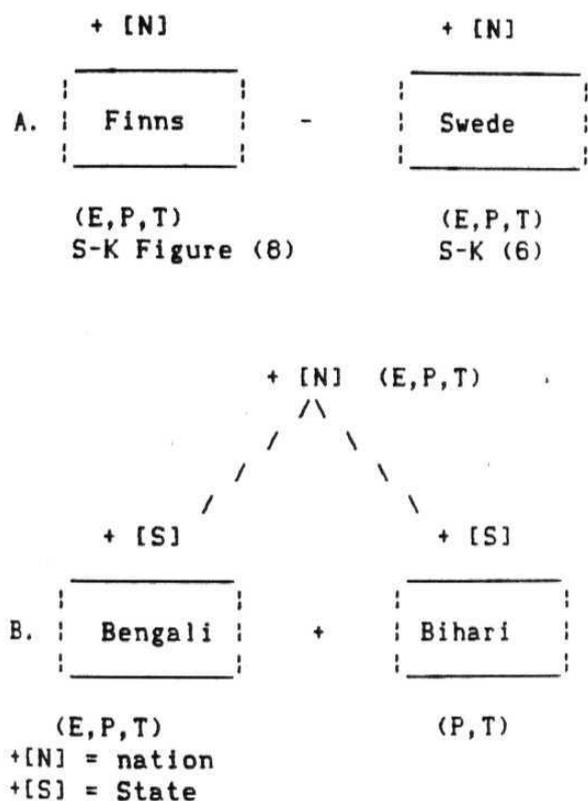


Figure 15: Finns, Swedes and the two Concerned Minorities

Immigration, change of permanent residence to another country, and migration, temporary residence away from country and place, are the two phenomena that have created multilingualism in many western countries. Many second generation migrants experience marginality, a feeling of not really belonging either to their native country of their parents or to their country

of birth or residence. It remains crucial to see how, and to what extent, they eventually establish their own identity in generating hyphenated existence. A few multilingual countries can be cited as an example here:

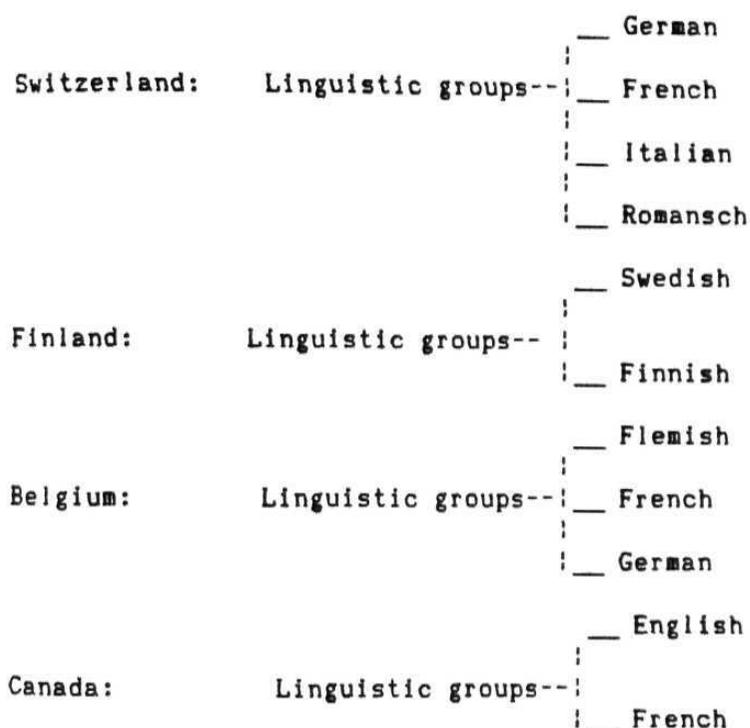


Figure 16: A few Multilingual Countries

However, in all the countries as above, the minorities have lived for a considerable length of time, usually for centuries, but still they are not known as 'internationally multilingual' countries. Multilingualism in many western countries is generally based upon the co-existence of different international primary groups structurally separated by ethnic and nationality boundary. Here is the turning point. In some of the bigger countries such as France, Britain, Spain, and Italy, there are several linguistic minorities,

and yet these countries are often thought of as monolingual nations. Indian multilingualism is a natural product of close contact of four language families from the earliest recorded history, and they had been Indianized in such a way that it has given rise to a linguistic area. People belonging to different racial stock and different language families in a gradual process of fusion generated a compact socio-cultural Pan-Indian civilization. From the early past of her history paradigmatic instance of fusion and diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries are noticeable. Srivastava's (1992:331) observation is very interesting in regard. He says: "the fusion and diffusion of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic traits among speakers of Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman families has led, on the one hand, to what Chatterji (1978) has called the birth of the Indian Man and, on the other hand, to what Emeneau (1956) has described as the genesis of India as a "linguistic area" (Srivastava 1988:225). Indian Man appeared on the scene during the close of the Vedic period as a result of language contact and convergence between Aryan and Dravidian". Close contact among these people cannot be attested as recent socio-economic and political phenomena. This process is attested even in the pre-Vedic period (Kuiper 1967; Southworth 1979; Hock 1975, 1984). This civilization has not only created 'India as linguistic area' but also created India as a 'socio-cultural area'.

To conclude, multilingualism which arises in the western countries because of immigration and migration generally creates a sense of identity crisis. Inter-national migration gives birth to structural pluralism. Therefore immigrants ethnonym is definable only in terms of hyphenation in which

one part is marked and another part is unmarked. Dealing with multilingualism in this manner causes a first concern for the western social scientists. In the Indian context, however, it causes much less concern. Therefore, in many homogenized nationality groups of the western world affiliations with other's mothertongue remains the ultimate option without leaving much room for manipulating the primary group identity tag with which they come. In such cases termination of the original identity is very natural.

In the sense of fluidity these regional ethno-linguistic nationalities exist in the integrated superordinate all-India nationalism. While the regional ethno-linguistic nationalities are more strongly rooted in shared languages and groups, India as a nation is a matter of integration and feeling of common history of these regional nationalities rather than being product of a forced compromise. Therefore, at each level, there are dialectics of at least two distinct levels of nationalities in India, that is superordinate and subordinate which show functional variability and which represents ethnolinguistic nationalities and others national identity. Therefore, India as a nation is not really a merger of regional nationalities, but an integration achieved by the regional nationalities. The essence of pluralism of India depends on the maintenance of the balance between these two levels where different ethnolinguistic groups live together in non-competitive and non-conflicting social norm. It is best to end this discussion on distinction between the Indian plural ethos with Western plural ethos with Khubchandani's (1991:16) words:

"Different identity groups, criss-crossing in more than one respect, are involved in a complex web of relationships with one another, presenting a kind of mosaic, and are averse to their being rigidly identified with a particular insulated group. Diverse groups, thus related to as an integral part of the whole under the level "we" can be characterized as $(1 \times 1 \times 1 = 1)$: multiplication (X) signifying an integral relation".

Such relationship does not exist in the western countries because pluralism is based on different primary groups who are marked by different national, territorial and ethnic boundaries. Khubchandani (ibid.,) had rightly commented on the relationship in the following way:

"In contrast, different identity groups, when combined under the umbrella of a common structure sharing the same and/or same interests, and are proportionately balanced in a structural whole, characterize the level "we" as $(1 + 1 + 1 = 3)$: addition (+) signifying a combined relation."

In general, in the western countries there are two possible types of nationalism. Hans Kohn (1968) outlines these as 'open' and 'closed' nationalism. Indian nationalism does not fit into any of the two. 'Close' is in the sense ethnic nationalism in which ethnic group is isomorphic with nation-state. The emphasis is on the nation's autochthonous characters, on the common origin and ancestral roots. In this type of nationalism, language can come to carry an important label beyond any proportion of its communicative function. A typical claim is that the deep thoughts and soul of the nation can only be adequately expressed in one's common mothertongue. Hitler's Germany was the most extreme form of ethnic nationalism, with its emphasis on racial exclusivism in the ancestral soil. For Kohn open nationalism is a geographic nationalism which represents modern form. It is territorially based and features a political society, constituting a nation of fellow citizens regardless of

ethnic descent. The so-called great immigration country of Canada, Australia, or the United States are good examples. In this type of nationalism "[they] owe their nationhood to the affirmation of the modern trends of emancipation, assimilation, mobility, and individuation" (Kohn 1968:68).

It is important to conclude here that [the Indian Nationalism] is a wider conception which is not comprehensively describable by the terms which are based on language-based statehood, open or geographic nationalism and close or ethnic nationalism. It is a much greater entity than being a mere aggregate of people, and is based on respect for all languages and shared aspiration, its own shared memories and own natural link.

CHAPTER 6

THE BIHARI CHILDREN IN BENGAL : *GLIMPSES OF A DISTINCT FACE*

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Having presented a detailed picture on the question of identity and preservation of mothertongue based on the analysis of Bengali minority children in Bihar, it is now proposed to unravel glimpse of a different face here - by way of describing another set of minorities - Bihari children in Bengal. A comparative picture is presented of two different linguistically displaced groups with a special emphasis on the former. It is suggested that only a model of variables can compromise the analogous traits of the situations and the differences between them to enable us to make an adequate comparison.

It is also suggested here some kind of comparison should be taken as a point of beginning for describing the sociolinguistic situation of linguistic minorities. Systematic comparison must explain how multilingual societies are in some ways analogous and how, in some other respects, they exhibit distinct traits. The comparison in this case is such that and it takes into account not only the similarities between them but also significant differences. This is possible in a systematic way only if differences in language use are explained as a function of variables valid for both regions under comparison. Although, forms of settlement which create different values for languages in these two regions are in question, interestingly, the perceived 'Bha:rti:ya national consciousness' has been found equally similar in both regions.

6.2. DATA AND ANALYSIS

In this section, the actual parameters for language use in the two speech communities under considerations will be discussed. The questions are listed first and the responses to them are tabulated below each question. Put together, a pattern will emerge from the reactions. The tables are followed by a detailed discussion on Bengali and Bihari speech communities in 6.3. based on the figures presented here. In what follows, for the remaining part of this section, about 33 tables are presented - one each for each question asked:

Table 6.2.1. Is your mothertongue taught/used in government school?

	Primary	Middle	Hr.Second.
a) as a subject	100	100	100
b) as a medium of instruction	100	100	100

Table 6.2.2. Does your community run any school giving you an opportunity to receive education in your mothertongue?

- a) fully owned by the community No. = 100 (Yes), 0 (No)
- b) managed by our own community No. = 90 (Yes), 10 (No)
but financed by government

Table 6.2.3. Do you have any organization/ association/institution of your own community?

If 'yes' are your parents member of these? Ans = (Yes) for all these:

- 1) cultural; 2) religious; 3) language based; 4) political; and
- 5) literary

Table 6.2.4. Proficiency in languages

	Good	Average	Little	Very little	Not at all
HINDI					
Understanding	100				
Speaking	100				
Reading	90	10			
Writing	90	10			
ENGLISH					
Understanding	23.33	33.33	26.66	16.66	
Speaking		16.66	20	26.66	36.66
Reading	30	23.33	26.66	20	
Writing	10	33.33	26.66	30	
MM LANGUAGES					
Understanding					
MG	46.66	10			
BH	26.66	10			
MI	20	6.66	3.33		
Speaking	46.66, 26.66, 20		6.66, 6.66	3.33, 3.33	
Read		16.66, 10	6.66, 3.33		33.33, 23.33
Writing			3.6.66	13.33, 13.33, 13.33	43.33, 33.33
BENGALI					
Understanding	100				
Speaking	66.66	13.33			
Reading	76.66	23.33			
Writing	66.66	33.33			
SANSKRIT					
Understanding				36.66	66.66
Speaking					100
Reading		30	43.33	26.66	
Writing		13.33	30	56.66	

6.2.5. Which language will be useful for the following purposes?

	HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SAANSKRIT					
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA			
For getting job			100	56.66	33.33	10	10	26.66	63.33	70	30			100	
Higher education			100	76.66	13.33	10	10		90	56.66	16.33	23.33		100	
Communication with other communities			100	100					100	30	50	20		100	
Spreading own culture and social values			100	100					100	60	20	10		33.33	66.66
For integration with other communities			100	100					100	23.33	76.66	16.66	16.66	46.66	36.66
Family link	37.03	14.81													
	25.92	3.10	10	90	10		10		90			100		100	
	16.66														
Writing letters to grand parents and family members			100	90	10		10		90		36.66	63.33		100	
Social mobility			100	100					100	26.66	36.66	36.66		23.33	76.66
Science and technology			100	86.66	13.33		10	30	60	76.66	23.33			100	
Business	23.33	56.66	20	100			56.66	36.66		16.66	43.33	40		100	
Any other (specify)															

Table 6.2.6. Topical Shift: While Talking about education. In which languages do you talk?

	BHM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	O	S	NA	S	O	NA	O	S	NA
Grand parents and elders	63.33	26.66	10	13.33	76.66	10	10		90			100			100
Father	23.33	66.66	10	66.66	3.33	10	10	13.33	76.66						
Mother	76.66	13.33	10	33.33	56.66	10	10		90			100			100
Friends	43.33	46.66	10	66.66	13.33		56.66	43.33				100			100

Table 6.2.7. Ease of language use

	BHM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT				
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA		
Easy to pronounce	90		10	100			100			30	50	20	36.66	63.33			
Easy to form new words	90			100			80	20		16.66	33.33	50	23.33	76.66			
Easy to write				16.66	86.33	90	10			46.66	33.33	23.33	16.66	10	73.33	33.33	66.66

Table 6.2.8. In which language do you consider yourself proficient in the following domains?

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Praying	90		10	90	10		10	23.33	66.66				100		100
Formal talk		33.33	66.66	90	16.66	3.33	43.33	56.66					100		100
Joking	90		10	93.33	3.33	3.33	23.33	76.66					100		100
Singing	73.33	16.66	10	100			16.66	33.33	50				100		100

Table 6.2.9. Where did you learn these languages?

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
In school			100	100		10	100			100			100		
At home	90		10	90	10		10	23.33	66.66				100		100
On the play ground		66.66	33.33	36.66	63.33		10	76.66	13.33				100		100
From radio - TV			100	100			46.66	53.33					100		100
From movies			100	100			36.66	63.33					100		100
In the market-place		66.66	23.33	100			36.66	33.33	23.33				100		100
From neighbours	66.66	10	13.33	86.66	13.33		33.33	46.66	20				100		100

Table 6.2.10. How far do you think these languages will be useful in the following purposes?

	HBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Talking to home-land people	66.66	23.33	10	90	10		10			90			100		100
For getting married	40	50	10	90		10	10			90			100		100
To be a real member of our own society	51.85	38.14	10	76.66	13.33	10	10			90			100		100
Talking to relatives	40.74	49.25	10	83.33	16.66		10	6.66	63.33				100		100

Table 6.2.11. How far do think you are different from other group (Bengali) people on the following attributes

	VH	SW	NA
Language	83.66	13.33	
Literature	100		
Religion		100	
Food		100	
Dress		100	
Festival		100	
Social custom		100	
Any other (specify)	None		

Table 6.2.12. How do you feel about the following?

	VH	SH	NA
How far do you think the use of language other than your mothertongue at home would disturb the distinctiveness of your community		13.33	86.66
Do you think you can maintain your separate identity while accepting and adopting elements from others	76.66	23.33	

Table.6.2.13. How far do you think that mixing words from other languages will affect your language?

	VH	SW	NA
It will enrich your language	20	23.33	56.66
It will spoil the beauty of your language	6.66	13.33	80
It will make your language more intelligible	33.33	46.66	20
It will become so similar with other languages that it will be replaced by others		13.33	86.66

Table.6.2.14. How important do you consider these in general?

	VH	SH	NA
Will possession of your own language be important for you to remain a Bihari	33.33	40.74	25.92
Do you think if you loose your mothertongue you won't be a Bihari		22.22	77.77
To be a Bihari how far do you think staying in Bihar is important	55.55	37.03	7.40
Do you think it makes no difference whether you live in Bengal or Bihar to be a real Bihari	33.33	40.74	25.92
Do you think you have done or are doing anything wrong for your community by living in Bengal		40.74	59.25

Table 6.2.15. Who is an Indian?

	VN	SV	NA
One who is born in India	100		
One who lives in India	100		
One who lives in any part of India	100		
One who speaks only Hindi			100

Table. 6.2.16. Who are you?

	VN	SV	NA
Only Bihari & not an Indian			100
First Indian & then Bihari	90		10
Both Indian & Bihari	90		10
Only Bihari & not a Bengali	66.66	23.33	10
Both Bengali & Bihari		26.66	73.33
First Indian & then Bengali	66.66	3.33	
Both Bengali & Indian	10	70	10
First Bengali & then Bihari			100
First Bihari & then Bengali	26.66	16.66	56.66

Table 6.2.17. Among these figures which one do you think is more appropriate to describe yourself?

A.

INDIA
BENGAL

 N in % = 100 (Yes)

B.

BENGAL
INDIA

 N in % = 100 (No)

C.

BENGAL
INDIA

 N in % = 100 (No)

Table 6.2.18. What is Bengal for you?

	VH	SH	NA	NP
Own country			100	
Father-land			100	
Home state	10		90	
Former state			100	
Birth place state	46.66	33.33	20	
State	100			
Part of your country	100			

Table 6.2.19. What is Hindi language for you?

	VN	SH	NA	MP
Father's language	100			
Mother's language	90			10
Mother tongue	90			10
National language	100			
Home language	40	50	10	
State language	90		10	
birth place language	43.33	46.66	10	

Table 6.2.20. What is Bihar for you?

	VN	SH	NA	MP
Own country			100	
Father-land	90		10	
Home state	90		10	
Working space	56.66	33.33	13.33	
Own state	90		10	
Part of your country	100			

Table 6.2.21. Whom you will consider very good (vg), good (g), very bad (vb) and bad (b)?:

	VG	G	VB	B
One who attaches himself with Bengali only but not as an Indian			100	
One who attaches himself with India only but not with Bengal	33.33	46.66	10	16.66
One who has equal attachment with India and Bengal	20	30	23.33	16.66
One who declares Bengal as a country and out of India			100	
One who thinks that Bengal should have another national flag			100	
One who regards himself to be always an Indian	100			

6.2.22. Questions related to institutional values of these languages were as follows:

	MBH			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA	VM	SM	NA
Learning because it is taught in the school			100	33.33	53.66	10	30	66.66	3.33	73.33	10	16.66	60	40	
Without learning it is not possible to continue studies			100	90		10	73.33	26.66		100			86.66	13.33	
To pass the examination			100	20	80	10	40	53.33	6.66	63.33	36.66		60	40	
Would not have learnt had it not been taught in the school			100			100		30	70	46.66	33.33	20	66.66	23.33	13.33

Table 6.2.23. How far do you think that learning Hindi is important to be an Indian

VH	SH	NA	NP
86.66	13.33		

6.2.24. Questions regarding the affiliative or identification (subjective) value of mother tongue were followings:

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Learning to become like those people						10			90			100			100
To leave own culture and people						10			90			100			100
To get married to members of this speech community						10			90			100			100
Because this is my own language	90			90		10	10		90			100	30	50	20
Because this is the language of my forefathers	90		10	90			3.33	6.66	90			100	73.66	23.33	
Because this the language of own country	90			100			100		100			100	100		
Because it is the language of our own state	90			90		10	10		90			100	53.33	33.33	13.33
Because is the national language			100	100					100			100		33.33	66.66

6.2.25. Questions which were categorized to enquire into the social values of these languages:

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Learning because staying with these language groups			100	100			76.66	13.33	10				100		100
Without learning it will be difficult to stay with present speech community			100	6.66	3.33	90	23.33	76.66					100		100

Table. 6.2.26. These questions were interrogated to find out about communicative values:

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Which language will provide more chances to interact with our country people			100	100					100	43.33	40	16.66		53.33	46.66
Which language will be more useful when you go to a foreign country			100			100			100	63.33	36.66				100
Which language will be useful to talk to one's own people			73.33	16.66	10	90	16.66	3.33	10			90			100
Which language is more useful to talk to the people other than your own language			100	100					100	30	50	20		30	70

Table 6.2.27. Questions on aesthetic values:

	HBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Which language is more sweet	90		10	90			33.33	50	16.66	13.33	40	46.66	20	50	30
To watch movie and TV			100	100			53.33	46.66			20	100			100
To listen to songs	30	40	30	100			20	23.33	56.66			100			100

Table 6.2.28. To find out which language has more political value the following questions were asked:

	HBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Which language is more useful for political speech		40	60	100			76.66	23.33			6.66	93.33			100
Which language do you think is more important for the country		73.33	26.66	100			10	36.66	53.33	56.66	30	13.33	43.33	56.66	

Table 6.2.29. The final set of questions asked to find out about status value of language:

	HBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Which language do you consider as inferior		10	90			100			100		20	80			100
Which language do you consider as more developed			100	100			100			100			100		

Table 6.2.30. How do you think learning these languages are essential for the following reasons?

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
If you don't learn you will feel excluded in the school			100	90		10	10	73.33	16.66	76.66	23.33		36.66	63.33	
You will have nobody to talk to except your own people			100	86.66	13.33			43.33	56.66			100			100
You will be unable to communicate with those around you		56.66	43.33	93.33	16.66		10	43.33	46.66			100			100
It will be difficult to make friends	37.03	48.14	14.81	76.66	23.33		36.66	50	13.33		16.66	83.33			100

6.2.31. If You are given a choice to study one of these four languages which one would you prefer?

MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
			56.66			16.66			36.66					

6.2.32. What are Bengali, Hindi, English and Sanskrit languages to you?

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
Home language	90		10	53.33	36.66	10	10		90			100			100
Mother tongue	90		10	70	20	10	10		90			100			100
State language	90		10	90		10	10		90			100			100
National language			100	100					100			100			100
Foreign language			100						100						100
School language			100	90		10	100		100			100			100

Table. 6.2.33. For speaking which language will be useful at these places:

	MBM			HINDI			BENGALI			ENGLISH			SANSKRIT		
	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA	VH	SH	NA
At home	85.18	14.81		60	30	10	10	23.33	66.66			100			100
At school			100	90		10	10	90			23.33	76.66	16.66	93.33	
On the playground	29.62	44.44	25.92	90	10		10	23.33	66.66			100			100
During journey	22.22	48.14	29.62	100			40	43.33	16.66			23.33	76.66		100

6.3.1. PARENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THEIR CHILDREN'S IDENTITY QUESTION

Having considered children's own opinion on various aspects of identity and preservation of mothertongue, we may now consider what their parents think about their children's choice. Consider their response to the six questions in the following table:

	VN	SH	NA	NS	ASMAP	ALAP
Do you wish your children should remain a good Bihari	63.63	27.27	9.09			
Do you prefer interlingual marriage for your children			81.81	18.18		
Do you wish that your children should get married only within your own community	81.81	27.77				
Will you prefer inter-caste and inter-religious marriages for children		9.09	90.90			
How much Bengali should your children learn					100	
If you don't go back to Bihar don't you think your children won't remain Bihari any more		36.66	63.33			
Do you wish to settle down in Bihar	45.45	9.09	27.27	18.18		
Do you think Bengali is very important for you children	72.72	27.27				

The first point to notice is that all of them overwhelmingly say 'Yes' in response to the question such as 'Do you think Bengali should be taught in schools?' But they add that it should be taught only as a subject, and not be introduced as the medium

of instruction. Secondly, although most of them are inclined to raise their children as 'good' Biharis - 63.63% opting for 'very much', and only 9.09% saying 'not at all', in the matter of marrying them off to Bengalees, they seem to be pretty conservative, with 81.81% of them not willing to consider it at all. They are not even ready to consider the option of inter-caste marriage seriously (with over 90% opting for the 'NA' column), although in reality, this is a common phenomenon now in Bengal - their second homeland. One could easily see the conservatism in their attitude, when it comes to deciding about the children's future link with Bihari identity. Notice, however, that these parents also - like their Bengali counterparts - did not consider second language learning as a load.

6.4. POINTS OF COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

The sociolinguistic structuring of these two regions - West Bengal and Bihar, differ in many ways. These two communities could be compared in terms of their size, power, social, and religious (institutional) organizations, etc. This could be summarized as follows:

BIHARI COMMUNITY

Large number of speakers in 'islandic' form (concentrated at one place)

Long, stable residence

Mothertongue institutions, incl. one's own school, place for religious practice.

Separate religious and cultural organization and are organized with the help of one's own state people

Separate playground for children

Contact and speaking in the majority language is not a part of their day to day life

BENGALI COMMUNITY

Small number of speakers living in 'dissipated form' (dispersed among speakers of majority group)

Recent arrival, mobile residence

Lack of mothertongue institution

No separate place for cultural and religious organization and are being organized with the help of majority group people

No separate playground for them

Contact and speaking in the majority language is a part of day to day life and unavoidable.

Because of different sociolinguistic configurations of these two speech communities, although languages used happen to be the same, they have been assigned different values in different domains. Bengali children reside with monolingual majority group where the dominating group speaks only language A (Hindi), and the minority group is also expected to speak (Hindi) very well as long as they want stay with them. Therefore, the use of majority language has become a part of their daily life, learning of which is unavoidable. Because of one of these reasons, for this minority group the language of the majority group had more communicative value. The case is different for Bihari children because the majority group can speak their language, in which case, bilingualism prevails as a societal phenomenon. For this minority group avoiding a dominant group language will not hinder in their day to day communication mainly because: (i) the majority group language speakers (Bengali) also speak the minority group language, and (ii) they do not stay in dissipated form. In sum, the fact of decreasing pressure for Hindi-speaking children to use majority group language means that the prospect for learning SL (Bengali which is naturally the dominant one) does not seem to be a compulsion here, as long as sociolinguistic ecology of the place remains the same. Nevertheless, language use in both communities differ in terms of the roles, domains and situations associated and extends the role of such factors in enforcing and reducing the different values of languages.

It is noticed here that the 'type of settlement' is seen as a variable by which differences in language use could be seen. This description also gives an impression that the people living in conflicting and nonconflicting

norms in multilingual societies have a greater degree of correlation with the pattern of language use. In this connection, it is quintessential to say that the norms and patterns of 'multilingual society' in India which is made of complex social, cultural, political and ethnic networks consisting of interconnected variable factors does not usually take care of the conflicting language issues. This minority group does not face any pressure towards assimilation which may lead to the increasing marginalization of their own language, culture and identity. On the contrary, here both groups show great tolerance towards each other. This is why each one of them has the necessary economic and political freedom to preserve their language and culture.

The importance of value of language for learning of first and second language by Bengali children in Bihar is undeniable. There has already been a detail discussion on it in the earlier chapters. The other concerns are the population ratio of both communities and the power relationships held by the two minorities with their respective majority groups. Obviously, these are widely anticipated to be the issue in this research program. Hindi is liable to possess more values at the national level to the extent that no other language can compete with it in value-marking, although, at the regional level language of a particular region may be carrying more value than Hindi. This is especially true in the non-Hindi speaking areas. To the extent that any other language is widely believed to have nation-wide role, it is only English. As expected, in some cases, it is more useful than Hindi but being a foreign language it doesn't have the association of language pride like that of national language. Indeed at this point of time, after more than five decades

of independence of India, and after three decades of implementation of the 'Three language formula', Hindi is fast expanding, with a few exceptions in some states which refuse to implement the formula. Hindi speaking minority children from Bihar being an 'Islandic minority' naturally profit from such step. Therefore, these children make the best use of this opportunity to receive education through their mothertongue unlike the Bengalees in Bihar.

For the Bihari children studied non-assimilation tendencies are not necessarily definable in terms of established linguistic practices but they rather occur also as consequences of relatively socially small group of immigrants living in more or less concentrated locality within the larger Bengali speech community and enjoying the facility of educational, social, economical, political, occupational and religious institutions which is why they cannot take a confrontationist posture. Thus, the values these languages occupy in their respective communities, could be arranged in this way:

Bengali speech community:

Perceived value of Bengali by Bengali children = [-INS]
[-ECO] [+COM] [+IDEN]

Perceived value of Hindi by Bengali children = [+INS]
[+ECO] [+COM] [-IDEN]

Bihari speech community:

Perceived value of Hindi by Bihari children = [+INS]
[+ECO] [+IDEN] [+COM]

Perceived value of Bengali by Bihari children = [+INS]
[+ECO] [-IDEN] [+COM]

Perceived value of MBM languages by Bihari children =
[-INS] [-ECO] [+IDEN] [+COM]

However, in terms hierarchy of values these languages could be arranged as follows (in an ascending order):

Communicative value: Hindi > English > Bengali > MBM > Sanskrit

Institutional value: English > Hindi > Bengali > Sanskrit > MBM

Economic value: Hindi > English > Bengali > Sanskrit > MBM

It must be recognized that use of Hindi in school or their opportunity to have education in their mothertongue involves a dramatic change in language use patterns in the community and the attitude of their members towards learning for different reasons. Given the opportunity to do so, Bengali speech community must choose and permit their children to study Bengali. Part of the reason for this has to do with differences between community expectations from the role of schooling. It could be noticed that particularly as more and more of these children get through the school system successfully, they come to recognize the relative value of their own language and other languages and redouble their effort to preserve their language and learn the other languages at the same time. However, the majority of Bengali children's commitment to preserve their mothertongue has not loosened but obviously they are on the way towards mothertongue loss. Finally, the choice of Bengali or its inclusion in the school may be the only realistically positive step for these children when they move either to their state or when they are offered to study Bengali at least as a subject at the primary school level. This would then become an important part of their primary reward systems from the majority group politi-

cal system even though their numerical strength is low. However, because of considering the problems in implementing these decisions, considering our the large network of multilingualism and economic resources this does not seem to be a political viable decision. Although the Indian constitution has provisions for safeguarding the linguistic minorities, it is difficult to implement this decision. Its failure to do so should not be ascribed to socio-political disparity but it should be seen in the light of our economic condition. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India, had pointed out that the cost of making separate arrangements for mothertongue education for different linguistic groups would be colossal and feasible only if the linguistic groups are of the appreciable size and form a compact region. Therefore, mothertongue education cannot be reasonably demanded by all those who very small in number or are scattered in different parts of other linguistic regions.

Bihari respondents also suffer from loss of their respective first mothertongues such as Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. Their claim of having two mothertongues cause lot of academic interests. They show double identification: one with their respective home or family language - MBM, and the other with Hindi. However, if we consider characterizing mothertongues on the basis of competence in all skills, then MBM languages are out of fray. In order to prove so - whether a person can have more than one mothertongue or not - we will have to take into consideration criteria of defining mothertongue. That will clear a number of unclarities and confusions. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) had set out four criteria of defining mothertongue: **origin, competence, function and attitude**. In terms of attitude, which is social psychological in nature, she defines mothertongue as "the language one identifies with" (p:15) and this

is the language "through which in the process of socialization one has acquired the norms and value systems of own group" (p:15). She distinguishes two types of identification: internal (the language one identifies with oneself) and external (the language one is identified with as a native speaker of by other people). In this respect, then, their respective MBM languages and Hindi can both be their mothertongue. If it is looked from the origin point of view, their mothertongues are both. Competence cannot be an absolute parameter for defining mothertongue. However, in many western countries, the criterion of competence is considered to be important. Now it goes without saying that origin and identificational criteria are also important factors for deciding someone's mothertongue in a grassroots plurilingual country. Some respondents pointed out that they had learnt their respective MBM mothertongues simultaneously with Hindi, whereas some others pointed out that they had learnt Hindi much later. Based on their self-evaluation, they rate their proficiency in Hindi high because they have learnt in the school. In our typology of bilinguals these children fall into following categories in terms of competence:

- 1) - competence in the first mothertongue but + communicatively, socially, culturally, ethnically competent
- 2) + competence in the second mothertongue and also + communicatively, socially, culturally and ethnically in the second mothertongue.

There are a number of occasions when Hindi is spoken at home. A few could be enumerated here: (i) while talking about educational matters to their parents and the same age group people or when they have to answer to their

parents as to what they have studied in the school on that particular day, or (ii) when any one visited their home who spoke other than their first mother-tongue. They are no longer completely proficient in their respective first mothertongues because they have not been trained in writing and reading in these languages, in spite of these being literary languages. However, given the chance they might be able to read and write (as some of them pointed out) because their writing system was the same (with differences only in spelling conventions) and because mutual intelligibility existed between Hindi and the MBM languages. In most cases these languages are used at home. However, 10% children claim to have never used their father's mothertongue. Two of them pointed out that since there was not much differences they could easily understand Magahi and Bhojpuri. Except three children they all agreed that in most cases Hindi and MBM languages were used alternatively. These three children's home language was Bengali, i.e. their mother's mothertongue.

Assuming that the repertoire range available includes both MBM and Hindi, they have learnt Hindi and their respective MBM mothertongues. With older people, grand parents or whenever they visit their native place they speak mostly in their respective first mothertongues. In all societal domains, (e.g. at school, playground, market, etc.), however, the second mothertongue - Hindi is the sole language in use. Hindi is the language of internal communication among themselves for MBM language speakers. In educational institutions and professional work spheres, where the role relationship is between students and teachers and between colleagues, respectively, Hindi is used by most of the MBM respondents. Hindi is also accepted as a symbolic language. As far the value of language was concerned in terms of identification, Hindi

occupied an important role in intergroup domains (that is, outside the Hindi group) whereas MBM occupied the role of categorization in intra-Hindi community domains. In the larger Hindi speech community, from their early part of life, people get bilingualized, bisocialized, biculturalized and biethnicized in their region languages and cultures. In fact, the larger Hindi speech community amalgams of all them in such a way that they do not perceive these two subordinate and superordinate varieties as different and competing to each other. But, it is also true that these subordinate features become a marker of ethnic separateness at inter-subordinate levels within intra-superordinate variety. Therefore, they face a hierarchical multiplication of identities. Each group lays primary stress on their subordinate identity and at the same time stresses, to different degrees of attachment, the superordinate identity. This results in symbiosis with the whole network of identity of the individual and the group. Srivastava (1977:70-71), while discussing this norm, had to say the following:

"Pan-Indian national cultures act as a superordinate languages while regionalized cultures behave like localized distinct dialects. Regionalized cultures like dialects usually do not detract from the wider loyalties to a nation; rather it provides the people with a sense of belonging instead of inbreeding feeling of hyphenated rootless life. It is the cultural pluralism within a multilingual framework with a sense of superordinate feeling of being one nation which is the Indian identity".

It is worth mentioning that language boundary in the Indian context does not necessarily activate conflict with another language group when they are in either intense contact or not in close contact. It's preservation is sought for ethnic home or group separateness - at least by practising one's own

language at home or its use is restricted at intragroup level - even when people exhibit high integrative tendency toward superordinate or majority group. It had been observed that in close contact situations - when two languages belong to two different language families - children often get bilingualized, bisocialized and biculturalized in such a way that it becomes difficult to find out in which language they had been primarily lingualized. That is what Hutton, in Census 1931 (Vol.1), had to say. Consider his observation: "So deep does bilingualism go in parts of Ganjam that from very infancy many grow up speaking both Oriya and Telugu, and are so at home in both that they cannot tell which to return as their mother tongue". For illiterate and semi-illiterate MBM language speakers, sometimes it is difficult to decide whether these languages are different from Hindi or not or whether both are the same. Jha (1994) found that for many Maithili speakers it was surprising to hear when they were asked: Are these two different languages? Some respondents' fathers also told the present researcher:

sa:hab dono to ek hi: hai. sirph thoRaa bahut kaa antar hai. tab ham log is bha:Sa: ko bacpan se bolte a: rahe hai or ba:pe-da:da: se cala: a: raha: hai isliye ghar per ham log sirph isi: bha:Sa: me ba:t karte hai . hamlogo ke ba:p-da:da: to utna: hindi: me Thi:k se ba:t bhi: nahi : kar pa:te the. lekin ye bhi: to hamlogo ka: apna: ma:tri-bha:Sa: hai. hindi: to a:jkal se suru hua: hai. pahiluka: bha:Sa: to yahi: hai.

("Sahab! Both are one. There is a little difference, though! We are speaking this language from our childhood and since this is a language of our fore-fathers, at home everybody uses only this language. Our fore-fathers were not so conversant in Hindi. But Hindi too is our mother-tongue. Hindi has practically started being popular recently. But our original language was the other one").

Children of this speech community get doubly lingualized in most

natural tendency of human nature - that is, as soon as they start communicating with other members of their group they start activating certain values of both linguistic systems. This process develops from the children's earliest attempt at speech. The individuals gradually construct their own personal language system from these linguistic values whose meaning they have learnt by their participation in the group life. Whenever they may hold a conversation with grandparents, parents, other family members, etc. in MBM languages, they start using a kind of Hindi, although the individuals reveal their tendency to use, maintain, and activate the linguistic stock in both languages. In such an ethnically pluri-lingual context, an individual gains access to more than one linguistic stock and hence constructs a multiple system of linguistic values in which two components co-exist and get activated in different but mutually intelligible cultural and social contexts. In course of this, people sentimentally get attached to both languages which they consider their own. Children with such attitudes could be perhaps best described as having conscious intention of activating the value of their own languages.

6.5. LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE CHOICE:

6.5.1. CAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE BE PLANNED FOR MINORITY CHILDREN?

Education through mothertongue for minority children, and teaching one's language as a school subject, if not as the medium of instruction, have always occupied the center stage of discussion in language planning and still it is an open question whether mothertongue preservation can be planned or not. While coming to conclusion one must utter a few words of caution. It is

widely agreed that mothertongue education creates positive attitude toward one's own culture and motivates all toward strong self-identification and positive self-evaluation. To an ethnic minority the question of dependent vs. independent educational systems, which take into consideration the linguistic and cultural needs of the minority, is closely linked to the question of survival of a group as an independent entity. But this should not be taken as an end-point because existence of a minority group and its self-identification processes that distinguish it from the majority group may remain very much alive, even if all members do not master their language. However, educational facility will surely prevent language loss to a great extent. Therefore, language maintenance can be planned, although survival of group language will depend upon their perceived subjective value of language. This is the reason many isolated linguistic minority groups in India are surviving as a distinct linguistic group for many generations (as has been discussed in the earlier chapters), even though most of them never had any formal training in their language. However, the reverse is true in the western bilingual countries because institutional completeness is supposed to lead to increased survivality of group languages there. Elementary teaching of and through their mothertongue has been thought to be one way of relieving and overcoming their problem of language loss. It is possible to compare the practical advantages and disadvantages of these two situations, especially with respect to the quality and effectiveness of elementary teaching usually given in mothertongue. Thus, a study of different minorities will obviously exhibit that one's commitment to preserve one's mothertongue will not necessarily be hampered because of lack of mothertongue education whereas language loss may happen automatically.

6.5.2. LANGUAGE CHOICE: RETURNING TO WH-QUESTIONS

Since heterogeneous and polyglossic society of India differs from the western societies in many ways, as have already been discussed in detail earlier, researchers who are engrossed in this field must grapple with the investigation of how best to organize the manifold differences that are readily recognizable between these two at various levels. Such investigation will contribute to an understanding of the classical WH-questions raised by Fishman who had proposed several analytical variables to characterize relatively stable bilingual situations in the western contexts. We have already mentioned that why is an important omission from his formulation.

One must seek to identify the social determinants of language choice across a variety of situations. Two analytic variables are of particular relevance here. These two are **domain analysis** and **topic**, developed by Fishman (1965, 1972). Domain is "a socio-cultural construct" abstracted from 'topics of communication'; it is the "relationships between communications, and locales of communication" (Fishman 1972:442), which structures both speakers' perception of the situation and their social behavior, including language use. These types of studies of language usage are highly typical of other such studies. The patterns of usage are complex and it is difficult to determine at first how a bilingual chooses appropriate language with particular person in a specific situations. Grosjean (1982) lists some of these factors that account for language choice in bilingual settings, although they cannot be as exhaus-

tive for determining the norms of language choice in the Indian context:..LS1

Participants

Language proficiency
Language preference
Socio economic-status
Age
Sex
Occupation
Education
Ethnic background
History of Speakers
Linguistic interaction
Kinship relation
Intimacy
Power relation
Attitude toward language
Outside pressure

Situation

Location/setting
Presence of monolinguality
Degree of formality
Degree of intimacy
Content of discourse

Topic
Type of vocabulary
Function of interaction
To raise status
To create social distance
To exclude someone
To request or command

Now it has become clear that most of our research on language choice which comes from western experience makes this point that the norm of language choice is determined by the aspects of the role relationships with the speech partner, the social venue of the interaction type and the medium. Fishman's primary concern of investigating this phenomenon is restricted to intra-group, that is, within group multilingualism, and, he, therefore, focuses upon those multilingual settings in which a single population makes use of two or more languages or varieties of the same languages for within group communication purposes.

The major limitation of Fishman's theory of language choice is that his domain analysis explores or focuses only on topical appropriateness in the face to face interaction situation. It indicates only role appropriateness in language interaction and locale constraints and locale appropriateness. No doubt, from the point of view of large societal pattern and sociolinguistic

settings, Fishman's analytical variables (like, topic, domain, etc.) are effective in determining choice of languages. But, however, effective these may be, these variables cannot be considered as the only factors, if one wishes to explore the pattern of language choice in a stratified plural country, especially, in a country like India. Strictly speaking, this theory fails to answer the most focal question "why" which could be taken as the beginning for answering "who speaks what language where and how". If the "why" question is taken as a focal point then such an inquiry will yield the language particular 'values'. Notice that this "what" would be helpful for larger societal investigations and for inter-societal comparison and in understanding as to "why" a person or a society, in general, becomes bilingual and multilingual. The fact is that domain of role relation may not be a convenient analytic variable when language choice is considered from point of view of a linguistically, socio-culturally, ethnically and politically hierarchical society. The most suitable parameters for investigating the norms of language choice in a plurilingual country like India would be based on the understanding of how hierarchically organized social, cultural, political, ethnical, linguistic and demographic variables create different values of language and what their successive layers are as well as how these regulate persons' behavior. The fora of language choice in Indian context should never be confused with the pattern of the western countries because of the following important reasons: (i) since immigrant population of second generation of west shift to dominant language or are forced to do so, choice of language exhibits the atypical concomitance, (ii) choice of languages is generally not much confined to intergroup behavior unlike in countries like India, and (iii)

society is not hierarchically organized in terms of caste or religion, etc.

The above review of western researches on language choice seems to provide an end-point for interaction with other immediate speech communities or when two language groups are in contact. In the Indian case the course of language choice is neither primarily restricted to the causal interaction with immediate speech community nor does it arise only in contact situation but is guided by the hierarchical layers of pan-Indian ecology and individual understanding of these hierarchical values of language in nonconflicting and noncompeting fashion. In course of this, individual's perceived value of languages cause different motives: emotive, integrative, and instrumental.

The following could be identified different successive social, political, ethnical and demographic layers:

	[Centre or Union]	raaj bhaashaa (union languages or official languages) (eg. Hindi and English)
Political	[State]	rajya bhaashaa (state language) (eg. Oriya, Punjabi, etc.)
	[Intra-state]	alpasankhyak bhaashaa (minority language (eg. Gujarati in Maharashtra)
	[desh (country)]	raashtra bhaashaa (national language) (eg. Hindi)
Ethnical	[rajya (state)]	praadeshik bhaashaa or kshetriya bhaashaa (regional language) (eg. Punjabi)
	[intra-state]	matri bhaasha (mother tongue (eg. Magahi, Munda, etc.

Socio-cultural--

- [jaati-muulak bhaashaa] caste language
- [Vargiye bhaashaa] class language
- [samudaaik bhaashaa] community language
- [pauraanik bhashaa] classical language

Institutional--

- [pratham bhassa] mothertongue
- [rajkiiya bhaashaa] official language
- [dvutiiya bhaashaa] second language
- [tritiya bhaashaa] third language
- [alpsankhayak bhashasaa] minority language

Educational programs in India are directly linked to the socio-cultural stratification of the Indian society. Therefore, education in India is a source of all these things at the same time - socio-cultural stability, national cohesiveness and developmental marketing necessity. Here, 'socio-cultural stability' refers to the function of formal education, promises to safeguarding mothertongues. Similarly, 'national cohesiveness' means creating a pan-Indian linguistic culture by implementing Hindi in official work and educational courses to flourish it as a lingua franca, and 'development marketing necessity' refers to the development of English languages in education courses to keep Indian intelligentsia in the world fora. Ghosh's (1980) argu-

ment seems very convincing in this respect and this runs as follows:

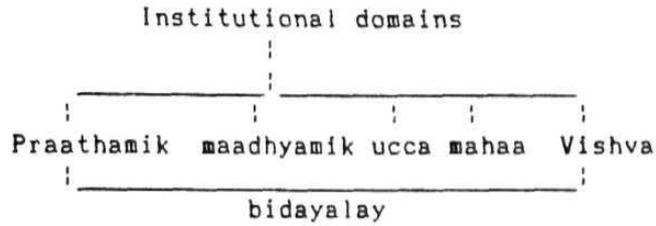
"This formula faithfully reflects the language situations in the country today. It takes note of, and safeguards, the psychological and cultural needs of the individual by giving the region due importance. It attempts to promote national integration and national identity through a national link language, and it makes us sure that country is not cut off from the mainstream of current international knowledge and all that it represents - modern science, technology, and the forces of modernization - through an international link language to serve as "a window on the world (Ghosh, 1980: 42)

Although, the rate of illiteracy is high in India, educational system has played a very vital role in sustaining Indian multilingualism and solving the problems arising out of it. Educational planning programming in India has succeeded in creating a reasonably planned bilingualism by introducing different languages in the school and at the university, i.e. at various levels to satisfy the needs of individual, society and nation, where the value of other languages are not.

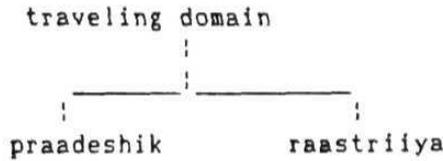
Nevertheless, our findings on language choice in Bengali by Bihari speech communities tell us that mere role relationship or participant proficiency, cannot be considered as end points in the matter of language choice unlike the western scholars' considerations of the same. This is because these later considerations may be considered as reducing factors rather than expanding factors, so that they are applicable in interpreting the issue of language choice in the pan-Indian scenario. The issue of language choice in the pan-Indian context requires the interpretation of various domains which are causal factors in determining the choice of languages. Here are the various domains categorized with indigenous labeling:

National Family or local
(eg. Sanskrit) (eg. Magahi)

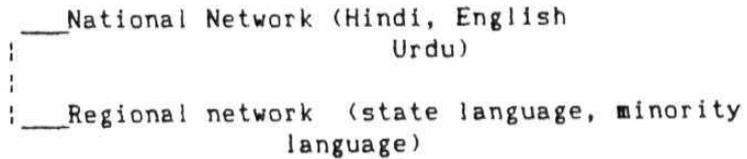
10. saikshhanik



11. yaataayaat-sambandhi



12. duur sancharii



Native domain: It includes all those domains pertaining to use of language in particular place to show the linguistic separateness from even closely associated groups. National domain: It excludes all those larger social situations resulting from the intrusion of the larger, national Indian society into the community territory. In this domain English and Hindi are used. This is the domain in which the community members function together. Here, of course, the word 'community' is used in the sense of larger Indian society. This domain is the most visible entity particularly because here politicians from various states come together in the two houses of parliament - Lok Sabha and Raj Sabha. In this domain Hindi and English are spoken. In educa-

tional domain people get opportunity to choose three languages whereas in case of migrants and tribal population, one is faced with four languages. At the official level persons have choice of three languages. In the central government offices Hindi and English are preferred choices whereas in the state government, official language of the state is a compulsory choice. In any ritualistic function, choice of two languages are generally open: either local language as folk songs or Sanskrit for mantras. But when it comes to national levels (after death of great leaders) Sanskrit becomes the only choice as the language of ritual. Even though Sanskrit belongs to the Indo-Aryan family, for the Dravidian people also Sanskrit is the most acceptable choice for performing rituals. In traveling, from one interlingual state to another it is possible to observe persons practising four languages, very often. Multilingualism at the railway stations or train is one of the most fascinating features Indian multilinguism. Highly educated persons from two states may be talking in English or Hindi, but Semi-educated people belonging to two non-Hindi states may use mainly Hindi, whereas with the vendors both groups will use only Hindi. With the people of their respective states they may be using the interlocutors' own languages. That is why the respondent considered Hindi to be very useful in journey.

Since the norms of language choice is guided by national, societal and individual levels, multilingualism is rooted at the grassroot levels. The moment we consider the national level, it is meant to promote second language as nationally operating under the considerations of political integration with or without authenticity of great traditions. At this level a country may be bilingual for administrative purposes but the individual citizens can remain

monolinguals in their day-to day life, as is the case in Switzerland.

People's integrative motivation towards another language may bind them with the upper successive social, political, cultural layers which helps in facilitating the network of communication from one layer to another. On the other hand, an integrative attitude towards another language groups have found very causal factors of language shift in the western countries. What was found in the course of interaction with the respondents in the present survey was that they were practising certain typical 'Hindi' styles which could be easily differentiated from the formal Hindi, or written mode of Hindi or from Hindi spoken by other native speakers of different states. This typical style or varieties could be called a 'Bihari Hindi' in terms of its grammatical errors and sentence structure which result because of influence of their respective first mothertongues. But this is used only in oral interaction not in written form. The norm of this variety indicates that people are not much conscious about grammatical and pronunciation stereotypes achieved by them at speech levels. It is also indicated that in verbal interaction as well as in the written mode of linguistic forms, the 'Bihari' Hindi users generally tend to be permissive to all kinds of violation of norms.

Because of close contact with other speech communities and possibly because of early lingualization in other languages, a virtual claim of being proficient or having native-like control over more than one language or dialect is a very common phenomenon. In such a plurilingual society, one's total repertoire is influenced by more than one linguistic system and a person's choice of languages is hardly obstructed by linguistic boundary or, by

native speakers in such speech communities is hardly conscious of operating across boundary. The boundary between dialect and language and between two languages (where children have been lingualized, culturated and socialized in two languages, simultaneously) remain very fluid. Apart from that mastery over language at large they do not show over-consciousness of speech characteristics in operating in various domains unless it's correctness is formally highly demanded. Therefore, in such plurilingual societies mere speech characteristics cannot be a strict marker of lingual identification as in the western countries this is considered to be a big issue.

In countries like America, Turkey, France, and Britain where people are accustomed to bilingualism as a "vanishing phenomenon" as a temporary dislocation from a presumably more normal state of affairs characterized by 'one man' 'one language' theory that exhibit examples of stable intra-group bilingualism cannot be taken as a model for language choice.

In heterogeneous country like India, a child acquires language from every life situation as he grows or starts entering from lower-based linguistic environment to successively upper ones, that is, from home to the capital in chapter 4. Therefore, speech behavior or course of language choice is guided by various sociolinguistic demands based on close groups, regional, supra-regional or out-group - functional in different contexts. Choice of another language in India thus is in response to needs to be functional at various sociolinguistic layers.

However, it should be noted that this multilingual ecology is neither a post-independent creation in India three language formula is adopted, nor is a result of British imperialism with which came English, but it was a practice prior to both. Burton's (1851) elaboration of multilingual pattern in Sind before its consequences by British in 1943 should be given as a valid example to have a very clear account of how choice of languages in similar fashion was operative in pre independent era who found that a Hindu child started with the Devnagri script from Brahamin teacher for studying religious texts in Sindhi. He also learnt Gurumukhi characters to read *Guru Granth* which is the sacred text for both Sikhs and Hindus in north India. An Amil boy who belonged to the courtly Hindu class then moved to Akhund that was Muslim or Hindu teaching system or centre under maktyab system. And they had also been taught popular Persian poetry. Few of them had been found studying Arabic also. The Amil boy had then be taken to some daftar (secretariat) to get training in the mysteries of *arzi* (petition-writing in Persian), simple calculation, etc.

The liberized version of the education commission report in 1966 wished that endeavor that students at the level of lower secondary stage must be trained in three languages: mothertongue and two non-native modern languages, broadly Hindi as the official medium as well as a link language for most of the inter-state communication requirements, and English as the associate official language as well as medium used in high education or for intellectual and international communication requirements. However, all states had freedom of choice in determining where its schools should offer the third place to Hindi or English. The scene could thus be summarized as follows:

Education

- 1) Primary stage
 - i) Dominant regional language
 - ii) National and official language of the country (Hindi and English)
 - iii) Other major languages (mostly tribal and other minority languages)

- 2) Secondary stage
 - i) Dominant regional language
 - ii) National and official language of country (Hindi and English)
 - iii) Other major languages

- 3) Higher education
 - i) English as developed media
 - ii) Hindi and other regional languages

One could easily notice here that in the western countries, the elite does not bother to address their own people in their mothertongue but is usually fond of international audience. Within the country there are moves in the clubs of language made by the self-restricted elites. The English educated elite in India, for instance, developed a kind of dual personality. Their personal life is virtually sealed off beyond their drawing room. Their drawing room behavior acquired through education in a kind of linguistic polythene bag (Le Page 1964). Kubchandani's observations on such elitist Indians' linguistic behavior seems to be the most attractive commentary on this issue which can

also be our concluding statement. Khubchandani (1981:14-15) puts it like this:

"In such fluid conditions, natives speak a typical 'language' which defies the standard notion of 'grammar'. People do not associate speech labels precisely with grammatical and pronunciation stereotypes, and the standardization and other property controls in verbal behavior generally tend to be permissive. Consequently, it is often difficult to determine whether a particular discourse belongs to language A or language B. Such ambiguities can arise with the Punjabi settlers in Delhi, urban Muslims in Gujarat and Maharashtra and urbanized tribal communities. The fall-in-line processes of western societies, operating through various standardization mechanisms, don't find easy acceptance in the speech behavior of even literate groups in the South Asian region, as revealed through 'high brow' Anglicized versions of Indian languages, and also through code switching among bilinguals, i.e. intermittent shifting between Indian languages and English..."

According to a 1974 NCERT survey, at different stages of education about eighty languages are being used as media of instruction. However, a large number of them were confined to the primary education stage only, that is, up to 1st to 4th classes, when a student switches over to any major languages as the medium at secondary stage. Fourteen languages remain as the principal media languages that comprise various regional languages and a pan-Indic language like Hindi. Apart from that, in some urban areas, foreign languages like Persian, Portuguese and French are also retained as media. Thus, the educational language formula has so far not resulted in any major linguistic enmity (except in few states) because of the popular and governmental tolerance at the regional level of heterogeneity of education media and understanding of their national and state-level multilingual pockets.

Different language teaching strategies and programming or introducing different languages at different levels would obviously be assigned differen-

tial values or weight to those languages. Besides they would serve different needs at different walks of life. Difference of relative weight could be seen being assigned to different languages in the total instruction program. Generally schools in different states devote between a quarter and two-third of duration of total teaching period to teaching of languages. The allotment of greater or lesser time to the teaching of particular language is judged as a prestige status issue for that particular language. Strategies for teaching contact languages in different regions respond to satisfy the immediate and long-term societal needs. Such teaching program is designed to facilitate the scope of communication with prevailing socialization of values in a community extending from one's native speech, second language, and when necessary to totally unfamiliar languages (foreign). Language choice in this situation is, therefore, characterized by the demands of language privileges in different walks of life.

Notice that it has been proven beyond doubt here that possession of two or more languages give rise to multiple identities - the reasons for which are numerous. Obviously, this plural identities spread, split and multiply very easily on the Indian soil, without necessarily destroying the ecology of language. Although the child with two or more languages obviously face the prospect of a conflict of identity, it is possible for the displaced children in India to avoid this conflict because of a basically tolerant and pluralistic attitude of our people. It is now upto the future researchers to discover how or under which conditions a plural country may promote integration to reconcile culturally pluralistic demands by maintaining cultural traits of

their own groups? Or, under which conditions multiple identities are permissible? In particular, it would be interesting to work out whether the people of plural countries like India whose multilingualism has arisen because of large-scale within the country but inter-nationality migration witness unhyphenated identity? Obviously, a person's identity in a homogeneous society will differ from another person's living in a heterogeneous society, but the question is whether we have a methodology of writing a grammar of this difference.

CHAPTER 7 IN CONCLUSION

7.1. RELEVANCE

The present study has underscored the relevance of theoretical positions in social psychology of language in the context of child bilingualism. This work has not only demonstrated the state of the art in our present knowledge about bilingualism, it has also made it apparent that the issues and the problems in the context of diaspora communities of huge geo-political space such as India can be best tackled by a social psychological approach. The detailed theoretical discussions included here have been done with an endeavor to reiterate the importance of considering child bilingualism from multiple and complementary perspective.

This study is also to be taken as a warning for anyone who may be studying to find out more about the behavior of bilinguals either as a group member or as an individual within the general enterprise of grammar of language use. It has not been especially designed for the description of only monolingual competence or for idealized western monolingual performance. It must go beyond these stagnated concept. Much of this chapter has spent surveying the kinds of problems and phenomena involved in the study of bilingualism and explaining as to why research in this field is of great importance and interest if looked from the plurilingual point of view. It has been argued here that the study of bilingualism entails a very different perspectives from

the currently dominated linguistic theory of the west. Perhaps it was thought inevitable that anyone who believes that grammatical competence is invariant is wrong. And one must take into consideration an individual's differential competence in a plurilingual country.

We started with the advance warning given by Skutnabb-Kangas (1984:81), namely, that "there are almost as many definitions of bilingualism as there are scholars investigating it". In fact, Baetens Beardsmore (1982) had listed some thirty-five definitions and typologies of bilingualism and bilinguality, very few of which are multidimensional. A careful observation of these definitions would lead us to conclude that there cannot be one definition of bilingualism, because of its essentially multifarious nature. The challenge gets more and more difficult when one wishes to offer a new definition. One could expect that this visage of bilingualism would cause despair or anxiety to researchers. However, what has happened is exactly the opposite. All these controversies have rather accelerated the interest so much that the challenge has now been accepted by the active workers in the field. As a result, the literature on bilingualism got further loaded with still newer issues and definitions. The present work is a step in that direction.

7.2. THEORETICAL POSITION

The discussion on bilingualism started with the question of setting up principles of or guidelines for calling a person bilingual on the basis of knowledge of language that a bilingual possesses in two or more languages. At

first, all earlier attempts to institutionalize such requirements have been touched upon. It was then pointed out how narrow the definitions were based on the notion of 'competence', even when one considered the maximum extension of the original Chomskyan notion by adding the ideas of Dell Hymes on 'Communicative Competence'.

It was then argued that any viable definition of bilingualism must also capture the multidimensionality of this phenomenon and help one in setting up of a viable typology of bilingualism and bilinguals. This position automatically led us to the conclusion that for a more comprehensive description of the notion, one has to answer the following set of classic questions: 'who USES what speech varieties, how, why and where'? It was thought that any meaningful answer to these questions will predict the type of bilingualism one would like to refer to, every time a concrete case was to be studied for a specific purpose.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the views of Halliday (1978), who has been in very much favor of rejecting the notions of competence and performance and distinction between them, were also considered under the discussion on theoretical considerations. Halliday's ideas - especially his idea of 'potential' - which could be divided into either 'meaning potential' (that is, what the speaker could mean) or 'behavioral potential' (that is, what the speaker could do) - received adequate attention here.

Finally, a broad typology of bilinguals based on the above notions was proposed because it was argued that the best way of studying the multiteistic notion of bilingualism was by typologizing it. The typification emerged by permuting and combining the feature specifications for competence and communicative competence.

The above description mainly concentrates on the bilingual's linguistic knowledge in the first and the second languages in different configurations. It has provided a basis under which a particular person can be classified. The consequence of this kind of typology is the assumption that language knowledge can be structurally broken down into possession of different types of linguistic knowledge - the knowledge of grammar and knowledge of language use. The study is also obviously concerned with that particular set of borderland problems in knowledge generation and knowledge application which can be classified into cultural knowledge, social knowledge and ethnical knowledge. To introduce a basis of comparability among different types of bilinguals who have appeared in the present analysis, a scheme of analysis was adopted by striking a balance among them.

Obviously, the functional approach adopted here is expected to be able to classify various types bilinguals, with a promise to set out a model which will provide a heuristic device for types of knowledge that a bilingual might need to fulfill. This approach allows a kind of formally valued eclecticism and has many characteristics. First, the model assumes that a complete mastery or native-like competence is not a necessary or an absolute condition to be

a bilingual. Secondly, it is a graded approach i.e., how much of knowledge of language structure and language use is possessed by the person. Thirdly, this model has been directly and indirectly conceived of in a process framework.

It was also argued here that since children develop a concept of socio-culturally structured universe through their participation in language activity (cf. Ochs 1988), it was only through the process of socialization and cultururation in the second language group that an individual internalized the values of society, culture and ethnicity of the second language, including the aspects related to personality and role behavior. In this sense, an individual would construct the socio-cultural values of another group through socio-cultural interactions with them. The selective, active role of the individual in constructing social order has been a theme of phenomenologists such as Schultz (1967) and Berger and Luckman (1967). From this perspective, an individual acquires through socialization certain 'stock knowledge' which is inherent in that society and culture (rules of performances and preferences, law to act appropriately, etc.). Of course, to get this specific "stock knowledge" of second language society and culture, the learners will have to be an active socializer and culturator. Here the processes of socialization and cultururation should be considered bipolar, that is to say, socialization through language and socialization to use language. The survey used here is specially designed keeping points in mind.

The question that was raised here was as follows: Is the acquisition of socio-cultural knowledge of SL group possible through learning second language (through institution) without being socialized and acculturated with second language society and culture? The surveys reported here were also expected to provide answers to the above. Especially, an attempt was made to understand how different types of knowledge were acquired through different processes - 'lingualization', 'socialization', 'culturation', or 'ethnicization', etc, because it was realized that children, while going through a number of processes, perceived and conceptualized events, states and objects in the world, and tried to fit this information into lexical, grammatical, and discourse structures. It was, however, made clear that much less was understood about children's concept of effect, social acts, social activities, social events, social relationships and other areas of socio-cultural knowledge, and how these concepts were learnt on the one hand, and language learning per se, on the other hand.

Thus, the emphasis in this work has been on the nature of plural behavior in society and its collective effect on the competence in second language by the speakers who came in contact with another speech community. Similarly there is also an emphasis on the mental structure of such bilinguals and their sociolinguistic organization.

7.3. APPROACHES

The present survey specially emphasized on the following important questions: Why people used or needed two languages? Or, why people preferred to use two languages or a second language which eventually turned them into bilinguals? In particular, the aspects of bilingualism research considered here included a thorough discussion on the following aspects, a synthesis of which was attempted in the present study:

(i) **Psychological aspect of bilingualism:** This approach is based on the belief that if conscientiously and intelligibly pursued, it will provide a rich background of information about the individual's cognitive organization, process and function, individual behavior, psychological growth under a variety of environmental conditions, information about psychological scale appraising a bilingual's developmental status, and certain 'norms' of behavior and growth which are useful for comparative purposes. Certain understanding of basic psychological processes like learning, motivation, maturation, identification, personality formation, and socialization are important here. The question is, of course, whether it is enough to take only this approach to study the phenomenon of bilingualism.

(ii) **Neurological aspect:** The relationship between bilingualism and brain could be seen as an extension of or as a part of a more general study of the relationship between language and brain. The primary questions in-

cluded the following: How two languages are represented and processed in the brain, and how it breaks down after a brain injury? Three explanations, namely, phylogenetic, developmental, and relational, were considered here.

(iii) **Linguistic aspect:** Here, explanation of bilingualism could be tried at two levels: firstly, categorization level and; secondly, predominance level. In different formulations, the debate has been ranging from 'native-like competence' to only 'passive knowledge' of two or more languages among the researchers in this field. At the level of predominance, it was realized that an inquiry should be made to find out the answer to the following questions: 1) Do the two linguistic systems in an individual affect each other? 2) If the answer is yes, then how are the two linguistic systems affected and what could be the possible rate of affectation?

(iv) **Sociological aspect:** It was argued here that in a contact situation, bilingualism emerged as a consequence of social processes. However, only in the last few decades, there was a concerted effort to bring the techniques of sociological research into the arena of bilingualism but it was still in the initial stages. It was shown that the study of bilingualism could be done from the sociological angle at two levels, that is, micro- and macro-levels. The relevance of 'Linguistic Relativism' or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to the study of bilingualism was also touched upon.

(v) **Educational aspect:** Bilingualism was generally viewed at the mercy of education or posing problems for education planners. Although a bilingual educational program might aim primarily at optimizing the cognitive, emotional and social development of individuals or at achieving some desired social goals, such as social justice, enrichment and proper distribution of the resources available to the society, maintenance of an ethnically compartmentalized community, but one must see to what extent it could be successful. It was shown that bilingualism in education was expected to play a vital role because it determined how well or how quickly individuals understood the nature of any learning task. Particularly the following terms were highlighted here: Aptitude, motivation and attitude all of which concern effort, desire, affect, belief, and anxiety.

(vi) **Political aspect:** The study of bilingualism and politics has been of potential interest to the students of bilingualism for many reasons. The following have been the important considerations here: first, how a political system gave birth to bilingualism and, secondly, how bilingualism and multilingualism complicate the politico-administrative processes of a nation. The study of politico-bilingualism becomes more important -- where the political goals and interests can to be shown to have shifted from mobilization to achieve nationhood and national cultural development through certain language policies. Multilingual countries have brought linguistic concerns into the foreground. Similarly linguistic complexity of these countries appears to shape and influence -- upto some extent -- the political process itself.

(vii) **Social Psychological aspect:** At the social psychological level, relationship between an individual and the socio-cultural group or among several such groups in contact were concentrated to find out how a bilingual child became member of a given social group through the process of lingualization, socialization, culturation and ethnicization. This approach contemplated an important role played by the psychological mechanisms which result from the processes of socio-culturation. The particular questions which have been dealt with here are: social, cultural, linguistic and ethnic categorization of an individual, his ways of differentiating himself, strategies for positive linguistic distinctiveness for two members in a communication dyad, factors which determine the choice of language behavior in an intercultural communication, and code selection by the bilinguals.

7.4. RESEARCH SURVEYS

The research survey reported here studied the conditions of two sets of displaced children (42 Bengali-speaking children in the age-group of 10 to 14, living in Bihar for quite long and 39 Bihari children living in West Bengal) and belonging to different types of minorities, namely, 'Islandic' (those who are demographically settled and assembled at one place) and 'Dissipate' (those who are demographically not assembled at one place and are scattered) and investigated how one or the other value of language had higher potency in determining their choice of language. It was also intended to find out wheth-

er this choice of language could serve as a subtle behavioral index for direction of acculturation or educational need or chance of survival, etc. In particular, this raised the following questions and tried to provide at least partial answers to it: how and why a minority community preserved its mother-tongue depending on its perceived subjective value even in what was known as 'complete risk situations' (where there was no opportunity for learning).

This research fragment also wished to tackle a plethora of issues arising out of the majority-minority configuration in a speech community and identified important cognitive and social considerations that played important role in the preservation or shift of mothertongue. The idea of 'language value' in this research derived from the fact that language was an object which mitigated our interest and necessity and often acted as a driving force to initiate or block changes. The model here accounted for the meshing (i.e. the matching and interlocking of these factors) and the mutual enrichment of the psychological factors with sociological factors to provide a coherent agenda for assessing, comparing and contrasting a wide variety of minority language preservation processes at the individual and social levels. It emphasized a theoretical import of research that was able to describe in detail the development of bilinguality and bilingualism, in terms of various aspects of second language learning, as contrasted with first language acquisition.

As it has already been stated, the approach has been interactive, in that it takes the view that a better understanding of child bilingualism under a social-psychological umbrella, requires a judicious use of an inter-

disciplinary perspectives and that it requires a clear understanding of the relation between different levels of social complexity in which bilingual children happen to interact.

7.5. FURTHER QUESTIONS AND CHALLENGES

The present research fragment may be useful in answering a number of questions that are yet to be considered seriously. A list of questions that throw challenges to the researchers in bilingualism include the following:

- 1) Whether possession of two or more languages give rise to multiple identities? If identities could spread, split and multiply, when and how do these happen?
- 2) Whether in case of loss of first language a child or a person will necessarily lose his group and/or his individual identity? In case of incompetence in both languages, will a child will suffer from anomie of identity?
- 3) Does a child with two languages face the prospect of a conflict of identity?
- 4) At what level or in which conditions would a child start identifying himself/herself with the second language group?
- 5) Under what conditions language suicidal tendency may prevail? Under which conditions someone's language will remain the marker or tool for self-identification even when a person does not have full competence in that particular language?
- 6) What is the basis of commitment that is required to preserve one's language even if this language does not rank high on the utilitarian grounds?
- 7) Can linguistics alone be able to explain the true nature of the language and identity link?
- 8) What motivation does a learner have for learning another language - integrative or instrumental?

9) Whether or not perceived distinctiveness of different language values may create a sense of conflict or discrimination against one another?

10) How or under which conditions a plural country may promote integration to reconcile culturally pluralistic demands by maintaining cultural traits of their own groups? Under which conditions multiple identities are permissible?

11) Can people of those plural countries whose multilingualism has arisen because of inter-national immigration witness un-hyphenated identity? How a person's identity in a homogeneous society may differ from another person's living in a heterogeneous society?

12) Is there a hierarchy of identities in a plural country?

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALAP	----->	As Less As Possible
AMAP	----->	As Much As Possible
B	----->	Bad
BE	----->	Bengali
BH	----->	Bihar
BT	----->	Both
G	----->	Good
MBM	----->	Magahi Bhojpuri Maithili
NA	----->	Not All
NO	----->	No Opinion
O	----->	Often
S	----->	Sometime
SM	----->	Some how
SM	----->	Some What
VG	----->	Very Good