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**Address:**

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts  
Department of Asian and African Studies  
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

**E-mail:** [nina.golob@ff.uni-lj.si](mailto:nina.golob@ff.uni-lj.si)

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## FOREWORD

With this volume, *Acta linguistica* is entering its 5th year. We would like to announce, with our great pleasure, that the journal has undergone some changes and will from now be published twice a year, with its summer and winter volume. This summer volume includes researches with a common topic of practicing a language, whether in educational, and religious institutions, or in the languages primary surroundings. In this spirit, the volume is divided into two parts, with the first devoted to the methodology of language teaching, focusing mainly on Chinese and Japanese language and presently still under-researched dyslexia role in language studies, and the second focusing on under-documented languages and their gap between language policies and the actual state of language use.

The first paper by **Katja Simončič**, entitled *Evaluating Approaches to Teaching and Learning Chinese Vocabulary from the Learning Theories Perspective: An Experimental Case Study*, discusses two basic approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary, and evaluates them based on the results of experimental study on Slovene students of Chinese.

The next two papers deal with the different lexica in Japanese language. **Nataliia Vitalievna Kutafeva's** research, entitled *Japanese Onomatopoeic Expressions with Quantitative Meaning* analyzes the lexical mode of expression of quantitative meanings and their semantics with the help of onomatopoeic (*giongo*) and mimetic (*gitaigo*) words, and based on it proposes the new arrangement of semantic groups.

**Kiyomi Fujii's** research, entitled *Blogging Identity: How L2 Learners Express Themselves*, discusses identity expression in blogs by Japanese language learners on the intermediate and advanced level.

The paper by **Nagisa Moritoki Škof**, *Japanese Language Education and Dyslexia: On the Necessity of Dyslexia Research*, shows an insight to dyslexia and through an outline of the present state of accepting and treating leaning disabilities in the Japanese education system stresses the importance of incounting dyslexia in language education in general.

**Manel Herat** in his paper *Functions of English vs. Other Languages in Sri Lankan Buddhist Rituals in the UK*, analyzes the language shifts from the Sinhala and Pali languages to English at Buddhist festivals and sermons in UK.

Next paper by **Ali Ammar** and his colleagues, *Language Policy and Medium of Instruction Issue in Pakistan*, briefly re-explores the situation of languages in the country and studies the latest language policy of Pakistan and its implications for local languages.

The last research paper in this volume *Bhadarwahi: A Typological Sketch* was written by **Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi** and is an attempt to describe phonological and morphosyntactic features of the under-documented Bhadarwahi language belonging to Indo-Aryan language family.

Finally, in the context of describing under-documented languages, the influence of the existing language policy is also noticed by **Erwin Soriano FERNANDEZ** and his book review on Pangasinan, entitled *Panuntunán na Ortograpiya éd salitan PANGASINAN 2012. Manila: Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino.*

Nina Golob

## RESEARCH ARTICLES



# EVALUATING APPROACHES TO TEACHING AND LEARNING CHINESE VOCABULARY FROM THE LEARNING THEORIES PERSPECTIVE: AN EXPERIMENTAL CASE STUDY

**Katja SIMONČIČ**

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

katja.skitek@siol.net

## Abstract

With Chinese language gaining more and more popularity among Slovenian students and with the growing number of learners of Chinese as a foreign language in Slovenia and elsewhere, it is crucial to find an approach that will lead to high quality and long-term knowledge of Chinese and that will motivate learners to continue learning.

We can speak of two basic approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary: the approach that first introduces pronunciation and the approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character. The key question that arises is which of the two approaches leads to high quality and long-term knowledge? To answer the question an experimental case study was carried out at Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts in the academic year 2011/2012. The case study showed that the approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character and is based on the key principles of constructivist learning theory had beneficial effects on the students in terms of motivation and quality of knowledge of Chinese vocabulary.

**Key words:** Chinese vocabulary; didactics; learning theories; Confucianism; experimental case study

## Povzetek

Ker kitajščina kot tuji jezik postaja vedno bolj priljubljena med učenci v Sloveniji in po celem svetu, je nujno najti pristop, ki bo vodil v kakovostno in dolgotrajno znanje in ki bo motiviral učence k nadaljnjemu učenju kitajščine.

Lahko govorimo o dveh pristopih k poučevanju kitajskega besedišča: pristop, ki najprej uvaja izgovorjavo, in pristop, ki hkrati uvaja izgovorjavo in pismenko. Ključno vprašanje, ki se pri tem poraja, je, kateri od obeh pristopov vodi v bolj kakovostno in dolgotrajno znanje? V iskanju odgovora na to vprašanje je bila na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani v študijskem letu 2011/2012 izvedena eksperimentalna študija primera, ki je pokazala, da je pristop, ki hkrati uvaja izgovorjavo in pismenko in je osnovan na konstruktivistični teoriji učenja, pripomogel k večji motivaciji med učenci ter bolj kakovostnemu znanju kitajskih pismenk.

**Ključne besede:** kitajsko besedišče; didaktika; teorije učenja; konfucianizem; eksperimentalna študija primera

## 1. Introduction

There have been and still are many debates about how to teach Chinese as a foreign language (in continuation CFL), but according to Everson (2009) the lack of a common consent and general guidelines has led to very diverse approaches to teaching CFL. Among the researchers of how to teach CFL the debates evolve mostly around 5 themes as Xing (2006) points out:

1. elaboration of a more relevant curriculum,
2. grammar,
3. listening comprehension and oral communication,
4. reading comprehension and written communication,
5. use of technology in the CFL class and influence of culture.

Even though researchers like Lü (2006), Xiao (2006) and Xing (2006) have started to focus on vocabulary there is still a lack of consent and researches on how or whether to teach Chinese vocabulary as a whole at the beginning of the teaching process or whether to teach tones, character, pinyin and meaning as separate components.

## 2. Chinese vocabulary

When researching and finding guidelines on how to teach Chinese vocabulary, it is necessary to outline what exactly does it mean to know and comprehend a Chinese word?

Ur (1996) and Jesenovec (2004) say that knowing a word means knowing its grammatical category, usage, meaning and form. If we look at a Chinese word we can see that knowing a Chinese word means knowing its grammatical features (including usage), meaning, pronunciation and written form (character).

Since Slovenian language is not a tonal language and uses Roman alphabet it is obvious that for Slovenian students there are 2 aspects of Chinese words that need special attention especially when teaching CFL to beginners: pronunciation (especially tones) and character. In addition, the most commonly taught languages in Slovenian schools are German, English, French and Spanish. Chinese language is therefore with its characteristics something completely new and unknown for Slovenian students.

But still there is one more component of Chinese words that need to be addressed, the system for writing Chinese words with the Roman alphabet called pinyin. How can Slovenian students link a character with its pronunciation? It is practically impossible without pinyin. When addressing the issue of how to teach Chinese vocabulary, there are not only three, but four (if we leave the grammatical aspects out) aspects that need special attention: pronunciation (especially tones), character, pinyin and meaning.

## 2.1 Approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary

The key difference in approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary is in separating or joining the word's components: pronunciation, character and meaning. Xing (2006) outlines two basic approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary:

1. the approach that first introduces pronunciation and
2. the approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character.

The advantage of the first approach is according to Xing (ibid.) that students can master Chinese pronunciation before starting to learn characters. Chinese researchers like Cui (2010) say that 12 days should be a minimum for teaching pronunciation. On the other hand there are disadvantages of this approach that need to be highlighted.

Firstly, focusing on pronunciation and consequently on pinyin distracts the student from the word's true graphic form (character). When students start to learn characters they are relying too much on pinyin instead of concentrating on characters and their structure (Xing 2006).

Secondly, focusing on pronunciation means that the students are not learning Chinese words as a whole and have difficulties when learning Chinese vocabulary such as not connecting the structure of Chinese characters with the pronunciation and meaning, relying too much on pinyin and not perceiving Chinese words as a whole (ibid.).

Thirdly, teaching and learning only pronunciation at the beginning also raises the question of motivation. Concentrating on pronunciation in the first weeks or months means that the students will have very little knowledge of the Chinese language in general, but will only master Chinese pronunciation. After learning CFL for a month the student will therefore not be able to greet or make small basic conversation in Chinese, let alone write basic communication structures in characters. If after a month a student will have very little knowledge of Chinese and will only master the Chinese pronunciation, how motivated will he be to continue learning CFL?

Even though there obviously is a general consent that pronunciation is so important it cannot be left out of the teaching process since both approaches include teaching pronunciation at the beginning, we cannot say the same for teaching characters. Wang (1998) presents three approaches to teaching characters:

1. teaching characters according to radicals,
2. teaching characters according to their frequency in usage and
3. not teaching characters.

According to Wang (ibid.) the last one was prevailing in USA, because Chinese is a tough enough language even without learning characters. This seems to be also the opinion of one of USA's most important sinologists DeFrancis (1976a and 1976b) whose textbooks [*Beginning Chinese*] (DeFrancis 1976a and 1976b) for teaching and

learning CFL were one of the more popular textbooks for teaching CFL and were used in Slovenia likewise. Even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century there are still textbooks published in the USA that don't include characters at all, for example [*Chinese for Dummies*] (Abraham 2005) and [*Complete Mandarin Chinese*] (Lai 2006). But characters are a fundamental part of Chinese language and hold many information regarding their history, meaning and pronunciation. If the student is aware of the character's structure he can learn how to read this information. Even more, characters are an important part of the Chinese culture, so is it really permissible not to teach them?

Research carried out and published by Ye (2011) deals with the question of when to include characters in the teaching process of beginners. The research was carried out in USA and showed that students enjoyed learning Chinese characters very much. From the student's point of view not teaching characters is inadmissible, since characters are such an interesting aspect of the Chinese language. But as Ye (ibid.) underlines it is very important for a teacher not to overload the students with the quantity of characters as they are still difficult for a student to learn especially at the beginning. When discussing whether to teach characters at the beginning or not, maybe the real question is not whether to teach them but how to teach them in order to help students understand their structure and facilitate the learning process.

It is essential to look at the background of the basic approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary. As Everson (2009) points out the teachers of CFL have been forced to create different approaches and methods to teaching CFL according to their own experience due to the lack of a general consent and guidelines. But what is the theoretical background of these approaches? How have different learning theories on one hand and Confucian tradition on the other hand left an impact on them?

### **3. Learning theories and Confucian view on learning and teaching**

Throughout the history there have been and still are different theories on what is the essence of learning, how we learn, what is the role of the teacher and the student in the learning process, the role of mistakes in the learning process etc. To evaluate approaches to teaching and learning CFL I have focused my attention on three learning theories: behaviorism, cognitivism and constructivism.

Authors like Batistič Zorec (2003), Driscoll (2000), Lightbown and Spada (2006) and Skela (2008) place behaviorism and cognitivism on different, sometimes opposing poles due to the very different, sometimes opposing views the two learning theories have on the role of the teacher, student, mistake and environment on learning. If behaviorism and cognitivism are on opposite sides, where should we place constructivism? As Fletcher (2008) explains constructivism is, like cognitivism, many times perceived as opposite to behaviorism, but in his opinion the two learning theories should be perceived as complementary. Constructivist learning theory is not a learning theory that excludes the key principles of other learning theories, but rather combines different principles basing on the key principle of constructing

knowledge in the search of finding high quality approaches and methods to teaching and learning (Marentič Požarnik 2008, Plut Pregelj 2008). Let us take a closer look at the key principles of the three learning theories as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Key principles of behaviorism, cognitivism, and constructivism

	<b>BEHAVIORISM</b>	<b>COGNITIVISM</b>	<b>CONSTRUCTIVISM</b>
<b>NATURE VS. NURTURE</b>	Environment in which the child is raised determines his personal characteristics.	Cognitivists don't deny the role of environment, but focus their attention on mental states and mental development in terms of maturational changes.	Nature and nurture are equally important as they are complementary.
<b>LEARNING</b>	The key in the learning process is changing the environment for the learning to begin and progress.	Previous knowledge and understanding of learning content and concepts are crucial.	Learning is an active, constructive, cumulative and goal-oriented process.
<b>THE ROLE OF THE STUDENT</b>	The student is passive in terms that he cannot participate in the decisions regarding the learning process. The student's role is to follow and trust the teacher completely.	The student has an active role in the learning process as he relates all the new information with his previous knowledge.	The student independently constructs his own knowledge and develops different skills with his own activity. The student is very active in the learning process as he is part of the decision making process and regulates his own learning.
<b>THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER</b>	The teacher is the most important part of the learning process as he is the one that controls, leads and regulates the learning process.	The teacher adapts to student's needs and understands that students enter the learning process with different levels of previous knowledge. His role is to create opportunities for learning.	Both teacher and student have equal responsibility in the learning process. The teacher plays the role of the researcher. In addition he has to observe and get to know his students, thereby seeking approaches to high quality teaching.

<b>MISTAKE</b>	Mistake should be avoided at all costs as it is an obstacle in the learning process. Mistakes are indicators of inefficient learning and teaching.	Mistakes don't have a negative role as from mistakes we learn.	Mistakes define learning and create new opportunities for learning. Since cognitive conflicts are crucial for learning and reconstructing knowledge mistakes are welcome in the learning process.
<b>IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING</b>	Learning content should be divided into smaller parts. Smaller parts of the learning content are easier to master and mistakes can be avoided. It also enables the teacher to give immediate feedback.	The student has to understand and make sense of the learning content.	In terms of quantity of learning content, less is more.
	Immediate feedback, especially positive, is crucial.	The student's working memory should not be overloaded with too much new information.	The teacher uses a variety of strategies and creates the right circumstances, in which students can independently construct their knowledge and reconstruct their knowledge when the situation of cognitive conflict arises.
	Exercise and drill are the most significant part of the learning process.	Exercise is important, but it is essential for the teacher to know WHEN to exercise and HOW to exercise.	Every new learning content or concept has to be presented in different ways with different strategies as every student learns in his own way.

Sources: Batistič Zorec 2003, Driscoll 2000, Lightbown and Spada 2006, Maicusi and others 2000, Orlich and others 2001, Plut Pregelj 2008, Shuell 1986, Simons 1997, Woolfolk 2002

On the other hand when evaluating approaches to teaching and learning Chinese vocabulary we cannot evaluate the approaches from the perspective of behaviorism, cognitivism and constructivism only. We can divide the first teachers of CFL in the western countries into two pillars: Chinese immigrants living in the West and western missionaries working in China (Xing 2006). If western missionaries and later teachers of CFL based their approaches to teaching CFL on learning theories such as

behaviorism, cognitivism and constructivism, Chinese immigrants based their approaches to teaching CFL on Chinese tradition, especially Confucianism.

We cannot say that Confucianism is a learning theory, but Confucianism has played an important role in the lives of the Chinese people throughout history as philosophy, religion, political ideology and moral doctrine (Rošker 2005, Yao 2000). Confucius was according to Cheng (1985) the first person in Chinese history to establish a private school and made education available to everybody. Confucianism is therefore closely related to education also.

Nevertheless as Confucianism is not a learning theory but rather a philosophy of humanity its key principles differ from the key principles of the three learning theories exposed in Table 1. Behaviorism, cognitivism and constructivism all focus on human behavior, mental processes, mental development and the student's self-activity. Confucianism, in terms of education, does not deal with observing and researching human behavior and mental development, but focuses rather on the importance of moral education and transmission of knowledge (teaching the classics) (Rošker 2005, Yang 1993). Key principles of Confucian view on teaching and learning are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2:** Key principles of Confucian view on teaching and learning

	<b>CONFUCIANISM</b>
<b>NATURE VS. NURTURE</b>	Understanding and learning already existing knowledge is the key to changing individuals. We are all born equal.
<b>LEARNING</b>	Moral education and learning the classics are most important parts of the learning process. The key is to internalize, understand and discuss about already existing knowledge.
<b>THE ROLE OF THE STUDENT</b>	The student is respectful, disciplined, understands the importance of community and does more listening than asking.
<b>THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER</b>	The teacher is a role model (especially in the terms of moral behavior) and authority in the learning process. The teacher possesses extensive knowledge and the student's role is to follow the teacher completely.
<b>MISTAKE</b>	Mistakes should be avoided at all costs.
<b>IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING</b>	Memorization, exercise and drill are vital parts of the learning process.

Sources: Li 2004, Wang 2011, Xia 2011, Xing 2006

According to Li (2004) there seems to be a belief that teaching and learning in China is based on memorization, exercise and drill and that these methods are in direct connection to the Confucian tradition. Xing (2006) names this method "the duck-feeding method", whereas Cai (2012) names it the "mouth-ear" method which clearly

summarizes the key principles of this method shown in Table 2. But is the so-called "duck-feeding method" really in accordance with the original teachings of Confucius?

As Rošker (2005) points out Confucius emphasized the importance of internalizing the existing knowledge rather than independently think and search for new ideas. As far as Confucius was concerned all the important knowledge and truths already existed and thinking independently and searching for new truths was therefore completely inappropriate (ibid). Even though thinking independently was not appropriate Confucius still wanted his pupils to think and understand the already existing knowledge and not only memorize it (ibid). Thinking can therefore have good or bad consequences according to Confucius (ibid). If we only learn and don't understand what we have learnt, learning has no sense. But if we search for new knowledge and contemplate without possessing the right knowledge, learning becomes dangerous (ibid).

Li (2004) says that among the western stereotypes about learning according to Confucian tradition the stereotype that stands out is that the Chinese learning method is based on memorization. Li (ibid) explains that this is a stereotype because the Chinese way of memorizing is not only learning by heart but also includes understanding.

When relating memorization to the Confucian tradition both Li (2004) and Xia (2011) talk about an important period in China's history that has had a major impact on learning methods in China - the imperial examination. Historically the teachings of Confucian philosophers were the basis for all education in China, but especially the imperial examination system, and pupils and candidates for the state bureaucracy were forced to memorize their teachings and were never encouraged to think creatively about them (Li 2004). As Xia (2011) points out the students in China seem to be learning the so-called "silent English", since after ten years of learning most of the students are not able to use English in real life situations. Xia (ibid.) believes that this is related to the current Chinese examination system to enter the university, which has the same importance today as the imperial examination did in the past. As these exams are so important, the primary goal of the teachers, students and parents is to pass them. The only goal of learning English is therefore to pass the exam and not to use the language in real life.

All this shows that the teachings of Confucius are in a way contradictory as Confucius wanted his pupils to understand the knowledge, but on the other hand the pupils were supposed to understand the knowledge the right way and not in their own way. Maybe these contradictions could also lead to different authors interpreting the teachings of Confucius and Confucianism in two different ways.

Even though Li (2004), Shi (2006) and Shim (2008) assert that there is often a misguided view upon teaching and learning according to the original teachings of Confucius, there is still a general belief between authors like Cai (2012), Wang (2011), Xia (2011) and Xing (2006) that teaching in modern China is based on the "duck-

feeding method" as Xing (2006) calls it. Maybe we could relate this inconsistency among the authors' beliefs with the following two arguments:

First, Li (2004) and Shim (2008) focus on the research of teaching English as a foreign language in China, which is definitely also under the influence of non-Chinese teachers and textbooks and can lead to a different point of view on teaching and learning. This point of view could combine the key principles of Confucianism and the key principles of teaching foreign languages in the West.

Second, Confucianism has more than 2000 years of tradition, during which it changed and adapted to current social, political and historical circumstances, which led to deviations from the original teachings of Confucianism as Milčinski (in *Klasiki konfucijanstva* 2005) points out. Li (2004), Shi (2006) and Shim (2008) all focus on the original teachings of Confucius in their researches, whereas other authors focus on Confucianism in general.

Regardless of this inconsistency among authors we can expose three main features of teaching and learning according to Confucianism:

1. big emphasis on moral education;
2. the teacher is the authority in the learning process;
3. big emphasis on memorization (whether it includes understanding or not).

In continuation we will take a closer look at how different approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary and to teaching characters are related to different learning theories and to Confucianism.

### **3.1 Evaluating approaches to teaching and learning Chinese vocabulary from the learning theories perspective and from the perspective of Confucian view on learning and teaching**

#### **3.1.1 The approach that first introduces pronunciation**

This approach is largely consistent with the key principles of behaviorist learning theory as behaviorism puts a big emphasis on teaching pronunciation and listening first (Lightbown & Spada 2006, Yang 2006). The method that is based on the behaviorist learning theory is also the method that has left a big impact on teaching Chinese pronunciation; it is the audio linguistic method (Liao 2004). The basic learning goals of the audio linguistic method are mastering grammar and pronunciation (Lightbown & Spada 2006, Melero Abadía 2000).

The key principles that both behaviorism and Confucianism share are:

- memorizing,
- exercise and drill are key for learning,
- teacher is the authority in the learning process and the student has to trust him and follow him.

All the mentioned common principles are also the basic principles of the so-called "duck-feeding method", which is according to Cai (2012) and Xing (2006) the traditional Chinese method for teaching foreign languages. Since the duck-feeding method is the traditional Chinese method for teaching foreign languages it is no surprise that this method has consolidated itself also as one of the traditional methods to teaching CFL.

Nevertheless it is difficult to evaluate the approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary from the perspective of Confucianism, since Confucianism did not and does not deal with the issue which is more important in regards to the content and in regards to what the structure of the teaching content needs to be for it to lead to high quality teaching. The approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character is therefore also completely acceptable from the Confucian point of view.

However when speaking of learning Chinese characters, Li (2004) believes that the need to memorize Chinese characters when teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language is closely related to learning Chinese as a mother tongue. Li (ibid) lists the following characteristics of learning Chinese as a mother tongue:

- memorizing Chinese characters;
- learning pinyin by reading and repeating;
- emphasizing the correct pronunciation of the tones.

As far as the content goes both approaches are acceptable from the Confucian point of view. But as far as the teaching method goes we can relate this approach to both behaviorism and Confucianism, since the textbooks that are in accordance with this approach follow the same basic principles:

- emphasis on pronunciation, the character is included but is not that important and there is no emphasis on the character's structure;
- teaching of pronunciation is very extensive with drills and exercises;
- emphasis on pinyin, which is almost more important than the character.

Among the textbooks that are in accordance to this approach are:

- Beginning Chinese (DeFrancis 1976a in 1976b),
- Chinese course 汉语教程 (Yang 2002).

### **3.1.2 The approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character**

Cognitivism and constructivism in comparison to behaviorism, which focuses on the transfer of knowledge, memorization and exercise and drills, focus on the very important concept of understanding the learning content and not merely memorizing it without understanding (Woolfolk 2002). The concept of understanding the learning content is reflected in the teaching of pronunciation and characters and in teaching Chinese words as a whole.

Different manuals and textbooks written and published in the last decade with the goal to help facilitate learning and teaching pronunciation and characters are closely related to the key principles of cognitivism and constructivism. Among these manuals are:

- Learning Chinese Characters. A revolutionary new way to learn and remember the 800 most basic Chinese characters (Matthews and Matthews 2007),
- Remembering Simplified Hanzi 1 (Heisig and Richardson 2009),
- Key to Mastering Chinese Characters (Gu 2008) for teaching characters and
- Chinese Through Tone & Color (Dummit 2008) for teaching tones.

Vermunt (1996) and Woolfolk (2002) explain that students use different learning strategies and not every approach and strategy is good for every student. All of the four mentioned manuals try to facilitate learning and teaching pronunciation and characters by using different strategies and approaches: the first two by using mnemonics to explain the character's structure, the last one by linking colors with tones in order to help the visual learning style students.

### 3.1.3 The approach of not teaching characters

The approach of not teaching characters could be closely linked to the Confucian tradition and the traditional "duck-feeding method" according to Xing (2006). As explained previously the teacher's role is according to Confucian tradition the most important one. Not teaching characters is completely admissible, because the student cannot learn characters by listening and following the teacher, but only by writing the characters again and again. Since the student can do this on his own he should do it independently outside of class (Li 2004, Xing 2006).

On the other hand the behaviorist learning theory emphasizes the importance of pronunciation and listening, yet leaving the students to learn characters independently is unacceptable since it can lead to many mistakes in the learning process and mistakes have to be avoided at all costs.

Interestingly both textbooks that are in accordance with the approach that first introduces pronunciation leave the decision of teaching characters or not to the teacher. Beginning Chinese (DeFrancis 1976a in 1976b) by containing two books, one completely in pinyin and one in characters, and Chinese course 汉语教程 (Yang 2002) by including pinyin until lesson number 30. What is even more interesting is that both books put more emphasis on the correct stroke order and very little on the structure, which means that there might be a connection between the "duck-feeding method" and the approach that introduces pronunciation first with little emphasis on the character's structure.

### **3.1.4 Teaching characters according to their frequency in usage or through radicals**

According to behaviorist view on teaching and learning one of the main characteristics is that listening and pronunciation come first. When including characters in the learning process they need to be subordinated to listening, which means that they have to be taught according to the listening dialogues.

Since for constructivism and cognitivism the key is to understand the structure I believe the key to high quality learning of Chinese characters is in finding a middle road between teaching by frequency and teaching through radicals. The simplest characters are usually the most frequent ones, but it is difficult to see and explain the structure due to the simplification process. But teaching through radicals alone means that many of the most frequent ones will be left out.

## **4. Comparing the approaches to teaching chinese vocabulary: An experimental case study**

As I have exposed in the previous chapters the lack of general guidelines, the development of different learning theories and the influence of Confucian tradition have led to different approaches to teaching CFL in general and to teaching Chinese vocabulary. Due to the lack of researches in the field of how to teach Chinese vocabulary and Chinese word as a whole, I have carried out an experimental case study among students of CFL at the Faculty of Arts in the academic year 2011/2012 to find out which of the approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary will lead to high quality learning.

The main purpose of the experimental case study was to compare two approaches to teaching Chinese vocabulary:

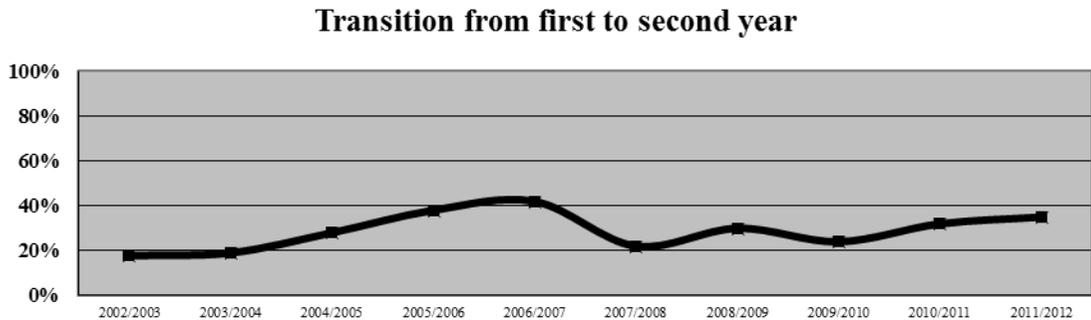
- the approach that first introduces pronunciation that is based on behaviorism and is partly related to the traditional Confucian duck-feeding method and teaches the characters according to their frequency in usage with the emphasis on stroke order and with no emphasis on character's structure (in continuation APPROACH 1);
- the approach that introduces pronunciation and characters simultaneously that is based on constructivist key principles and that puts a big emphasis on learning and understanding the character's structure in addition to the correct stroke order (in continuation APPROACH 2).

The comparison was carried out from two perspectives:

- quality of knowledge of Chinese vocabulary and
- the level of motivation of students.

One of the main problems in the study of sinology at Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts is the high dropout rate in the first couple of months. In the academic year 2001/2002 50 students were enrolled in the first year of sinology and by the beginning of the second semester only 3 students were attending class from my personal experience. As Figure 1 shows the highest dropout rate in the last ten years was 81% in the academic year 2002/2003 and the lowest in 2006/2007 when the rate was 59%.

**Figure 1:** Structural number of students (f %) who have progressed from first to second year for the last ten years



Source: Archive of the Department of Asian and African Studies, Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana

In addition to addressing the problem of the dropout rate and the quality of learning Chinese vocabulary, there is one more issue I wanted to address with the experimental case study, the use of pinyin. As explained previously focusing on pronunciation at the beginning can lead to students relying too much on pinyin and too little on characters. The use of pinyin when learning and teaching CFL is inevitable, but can a more subtle use of pinyin in the learning process facilitate learning how to write characters and read texts written in characters only?

#### 4.1 Research questions and research hypothesis

On the basis of the previously mentioned main issues two main groups of research questions were addressed:

1. Motivation: will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 lead to higher motivation, higher level of cooperation of students during the class and lower dropout rate?
2. Quality of knowledge: will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 lead to higher quality of knowledge of Chinese vocabulary?
  - a. Pronunciation: since APPROACH 2 puts equal emphasis on learning and teaching of characters and pronunciation, will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 lead to poorer knowledge of pronunciation and more mistakes in pronunciation?

- b. Character: will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 facilitate the learning of writing and reading characters, lead to faster and easier recognition and learning of new and unknown characters? Since APPROACH 2 puts equal emphasis on learning and teaching of the character's structure and stroke order, will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 lead to more mistakes in the stroke order?
- c. Pinyin: will a more subtle use of pinyin in the learning process of APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 lead to higher focus on characters?
- d. Word: will APPROACH 2 in comparison to APPROACH 1 facilitate the acquisition of Chinese words and vocabulary?

#### Research hypothesis:

1. Motivation: APPROACH 2 will lead to higher motivation, higher level of cooperation of students during the class and lower dropout rate in comparison to APPROACH 1.
2. Quality of knowledge: APPROACH 2 will lead to higher quality of knowledge of Chinese vocabulary in comparison to APPROACH 1.
  - a. Pronunciation: even though APPROACH 2 puts equal emphasis on learning and teaching of characters and pinyin, APPROACH 2 will not lead to poorer knowledge of pronunciation and more mistakes in pronunciation in comparison to APPROACH 1.
  - b. Character: APPROACH 2 will facilitate the learning of writing and reading characters, lead to faster and easier recognition and learning of new and unknown characters in comparison to APPROACH 1. Even though APPROACH 2 puts equal emphasis on learning and teaching of the character's structure and stroke order, APPROACH 2 will not lead to more mistakes in the stroke order in comparison to APPROACH 1.
  - c. Pinyin: more subtle use of pinyin in the learning process of the APPROACH 2 will lead to higher focus on characters in comparison to APPROACH 1.
  - d. Word: APPROACH 2 will facilitate the acquisition of Chinese words and vocabulary in comparison to APPROACH 1.

## 4.2 Data and methodology

The experimental case study was carried out by combining qualitative (observation, research diary, interview) and quantitative research methods (knowledge tests and attendance log) at the Faculty of Arts in the academic year 2011/2012. The decision of combining both qualitative and quantitative research methods was based on the following reasons:

- because it is difficult to get a complete view on any phenomenon that includes people when using only quantitative research methods and
- because we can get a deeper view on the phenomena that include people by using qualitative research methods and a more complete view by using quantitative research methods (Vogrinc & Devetak 2007).

According to Sagadin (1993) an experimental research is any research with two kinds of variables in which the researcher manipulates the independent variable (the approach to teaching and learning CFL in our case) and measures the dependent variables (dropout rate, level of cooperation of students during the classes, test results). Due to the fact that only approximately 30 students could be included in the study<sup>1</sup> it is essential to call this experimental research an experimental case study. As Sagadin (1991) explains any research that focuses on certain course of study in certain academic year at certain school is consistent with a case study. The problem of a case study is that we cannot generalize the results to the underlying population, but according to Sagadin (ibid.) the results obtained in a case study can still be generalized to similar situations.

The experimental case study was carried out in the first semester (from October till end of January) since the first semester is crucial for building a good foundation when teaching and learning Chinese vocabulary.

33 students that were involved in the experimental case study were divided into two groups: control group (APPROACH 1) and experimental group (APPROACH 2). For the students to be able to attend all classes it was necessary to coordinate schedules and due to the coordination 21 students were enrolled in the control group and only 12 in the experimental as Table 3 shows.

**Table 3:** Division of students involved in the case study

Group	f	f %
Control	21	63,6 %
Experimental	12	36,4 %
Total	33	100 %

Source: Simončič 2013, 236

<sup>1</sup> The Department of Asian and African studies in Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts is a department with three different courses of study: sinology, Japanese studies and studies of East Asian cultures. Each course of study enrolls approximately 30-40 students each year.

Both control group and experimental group had in common:

- entrance level: all of the students were complete beginners;
- the teacher: the researcher was the teacher in both groups to avoid the influence of personal characteristics on the results;
- the curriculum.

What separated the control group from the experimental was:

- the approach:
  - the approach in the control group had the following characteristics:
    - emphasis on pronunciation,
    - emphasis on learning the correct stroke order of characters without the explanation of the character's structure,
    - vocabulary was taught in accordance to the dialogues in the textbook and was therefore many times not related thematically,
    - high use of pinyin,
    - many exercises and drills,
    - teacher was the authority, students followed the teacher.
  - the approach in the experimental group had the following characteristics:
    - equal emphasis on pronunciation and character,
    - equal emphasis on character's structure and stroke order,
    - vocabulary was taught thematically,
    - subtle use of pinyin,
    - exercises were varied, combined all four skills (listening, reading, writing, speaking) and were also carried out in pairs or groups,
    - teacher was the mentor, students actively constructed their knowledge by constantly relating the new information to what they already knew.
- teaching material:
  - teaching material in the control group was the textbook Chinese course 汉语教程 (Yang 2002),
  - teaching material in the experimental group was prepared by the researcher according to the approach and to constructivist key principles.

### **4.3 Research methods**

Three basic research methods were used within qualitative research.

#### **4.3.1 Observation**

According to different types of observation that Vogrinc (2008) presents the observation in this experimental case study was:

- scientific, because it was preplanned and goal oriented;
- public, because the students were aware of it from the beginning;
- with participation, because the researcher was an active part of the group although the role of the researcher was different than the role of the students;
- partly structured, because the observation logs scheme was prepared in advance, but the scheme still allowed changes to be made if the need arose.

Observation logs were prepared by the researcher according to the research problem, research questions and hypothesis. The main objectives considered during the preparation of the observation logs scheme were motivation and the quality of knowledge. Within these two, cooperation during the class, quality of pronunciation and writing characters were also considered.

#### **4.3.2 Research diary**

Research diary was used to record all the data that was not recorded within the observation logs.

#### **4.3.3 Interview**

Based on the characteristics of the unstandardized interview that Vogrinc (ibid) explains, the decision was made to use an unstandardized interview, because:

- it is a less formal, more open and flexible type of interview;
- only the main goal of the interview is preset, the researcher can change the content and sequence of questions according to the situation;
- the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee is more personal.

I interviewed 6 students, three from each group with similar results on the 4 tests and above average attendance logs and posed them 11 different questions referring mainly to their opinion about the classes, textbooks and learning activities.

Apart from attendance logs, there were 4 knowledge tests and 1 test prepared especially to test the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words to research the quality of knowledge of Chinese vocabulary used within quantitative research.

All four knowledge tests were part of a formal examination and had the same assessment criteria. The tests contained from six to nine different tasks that tested the knowledge of different language skills based on the learning content: listening comprehension, reading comprehension and written expression. Only the content of the especially prepared test which was not part of a formal examination, but was prepared for the purposes of the experimental case study only, was different from the 4 knowledge tests. As this test was used to test the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words, it did not directly test what the students learned during the year, but whether they can actively transfer the acquired knowledge about the structure of Chinese characters and words to new and unknown Chinese characters and words.

According to Sagadin's (1993) important measure characteristics of knowledge tests, which include validity, reliability, objectivity and sensitivity, I defined the measure characteristics of all five tests. I determined the validity by using rational and empirical validation, reliability by using Cronbach's alpha and sensitivity by determining the difficulty index and the index of discrimination for all five tests. Objectivity was ensured by uniform criteria and objective testing circumstances.

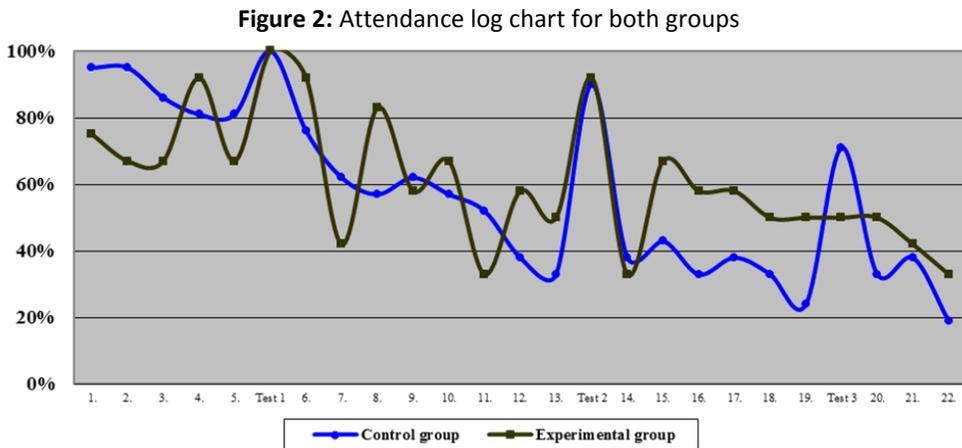
#### **4.4 Key findings**

Although the sample was very small, I have come to some basic empirical findings based on the following research methods:

- attendance logs for dropout rate,
- observation logs for motivation, level of cooperation during classes and the use of pinyin and characters when doing exercises and making notes,
- interviews for motivation,
- four knowledge tests and one test prepared especially to test the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words.

##### **4.4.1 Attendance analysis**

As Figure 2 shows the dropout rate in the experimental group was lower (67%) than in the control group, since by the end of the year only 19% of the students of control group were still attending class, which means that the dropout rate in the control group was 81%. According to the attendance log chart the attendance was higher in both groups when mandatory tests were on schedule, yet the difference is even higher in the control group. This could mean that the students of the control group were not motivated enough to attend classes, but they studied independently and only attended classes when mandatory tests were on schedule.



Source: Simončič 2013, 313

On the other hand we can say that for the experimental group a big difference between attending classes and tests is only seen at the time of the second test. In addition we can see that, with the exception of the classes with tests, the dropout line in the control group is much more steady than in the experimental group which means that the students of the control group were slowly dropping out one after another (by the end of the year only 4 % of the students of the control group were still attending classes) in comparison to the students of the experimental group whose dropout rate even lowered in the second semester<sup>2</sup>.

#### 4.4.2 Analysis of motivation and level of cooperation during the class

Observation logs and interview were the key research methods for analyzing motivation and level of cooperation during the class. The content of the observation logs was divided into 9 parts, of which part 2 was intended for observing the level of cooperation and motivation during the class and included 5 observation points (signs of boredom, posing questions and presenting ideas, focusing on the content and the level of relaxation).

Based on the analysis and comparison of part 2 of the observation logs from the experimental and control group, the students of the experimental group were more motivated to cooperate actively with many additional questions and ideas during the class, whereas the students of the control group were only listening and had practically no additional questions. For both groups the level of motivation and cooperation was very high at the beginning (first six lessons) and for both groups it was characteristic that there were certain lessons when the level of motivation and cooperation was lower. Nevertheless I did not detect drastic drops of motivation and cooperation level in the experimental group whereas the students of the control group many times showed signs of boredom (yawning, chatting etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Based on the attendance logs for the second semester.

In addition, through the process of coding interview responses, which included 11 questions prepared specifically to find out the level of motivation of the students, the answers of 6 students questioned in the interview (3 from the control group and 3 from the experimental) showed that the students of the experimental group believed that the innovative approach helped them to understand the structure of the characters, motivated them to cooperate, attend classes and learn Chinese outside the class.

#### 4.4.3 Quality of knowledge

Statistical analysis of the results of both groups on 4 knowledge tests and 1 test prepared especially to test the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words gave the following results:

##### Pronunciation

To test the quality of knowledge of pronunciation the students wrote 3 dictations. Table 4 shows the results of F-test and t-test of differences in total score of the three dictations.

**Table 4:** Results of F-test and t-test of differences in total score on three dictations

		N	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Test of homogeneity of variances		Test of differences of arithmetic means	
					F	p	t	p
Dictation 1	CG	21	14,31	0,91	0,227	0,637	1,305	0,202
	EG	12	12,25	1,35				
Dictation 2	CG	19	13,92	0,21	0,917	0,347	-0,187	0,853
	EG	11	14,00	0,42				
Dictation 3	CG	16	4,34	0,31	0,065	0,801	-0,55	0,957
	EG	8	4,38	0,50				
Total	CG	16	34,72	0,77	2,708	0,114	2,099	0,063
	EG	8	30,56	1,82				

Source: Simončič 2013, 350

The results of the F-test show that there are no statistically important differences in variances ( $F = 0,403$ ;  $p = 0,595$ ). The results of the t-test also show that between the two groups in the three dictations there are no statistically significant differences

( $t = 2.099$ ;  $p = 0.063$ ). The statistical analysis of the results on all 3 dictations therefore shows that there were no statistically important differences between both groups, which means that even though APPROACH 2 put equal emphasis on pronunciation and characters the results of the students in the experimental group were not poorer.

### Characters

To test the quality of knowledge of characters 2 different types of test tasks were prepared within the especially prepared test: ones to test the correct stroke order and ones to test the knowledge of character's structure.

**Table 5:** Results of F-test and t-test of differences in total score on tasks that test the knowledge of the structure of characters tested within the especially prepared test

		N	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Test of homogeneity of variances		Test of differences of arithmetic means	
					F	p	t	p
Capability test task 1	CG	16	1,88	0,38	3,819	0,064	-2,66	0,015
	EG	6	4,33	1,15				
Capability test task 2	CG	16	2,06	0,52	4,978	0,037	-1,134	0,27
	EG	6	3,50	1,61				
Total	CG	16	3,94	0,77	6,686	0,017	-1,964	0,043
	EG	6	7,83	2,61				

Source: Simončič 2013, 357

Both the results of the F-test and t-test show that there are statistically significant differences on the total score of the two tasks prepared to test the knowledge of the structure of characters ( $F = 6,686$ ;  $p = 0,017$ ;  $t = -1,964$ ;  $p = 0,043$ ), which means that we can assert that the APPROACH 2, which put more emphasis on the structure of characters and that was based on the key principles of the constructivist learning theory, helped the students of the experimental group achieve better results on tasks that tested the knowledge of the structure of characters.

**Table 6:** Results of F-test and t-test of differences in total score on tasks that test the knowledge of the correct stroke order of characters tested within the especially prepared test

		N	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Test of homogeneity of variances		Test of differences of arithmetic means	
					F	p	t	p
Task (stroke order) 1	CG	21	8,88	0,36	0,137	0,714	1,395	0,173
	EG	12	8,08	0,41				
Task (stroke order) 2	CG	19	7,92	0,28	5,521	0,056	0,874	0,39
	EG	11	7,25	0,93				
Task (stroke order) 3	CG	16	4,16	0,17	0,18	0,675	0,514	0,613
	EG	8	4,00	0,25				
Total	CG	16	21,69	0,51	0,031	0,861	1,121	0,274
	EG	8	20,69	0,75				

Source: Simončič 2013, 358

On the other hand both the results of the F-test and t-test show that there are no statistically important differences on the total score of the three tasks prepared to test the knowledge of the correct stroke order ( $F = 0,031$ ;  $P = 0,861$ ;  $t = 1,121$ ;  $P = 0,274$ ).

To resume, even though APPROACH 2 put equal emphasis on stroke order and characters' structure in contrast to APPROACH 1, which only put emphasis on the correct stroke order, the students of the experimental group did not achieve poorer results on the correct stroke order test types. Nevertheless the analysis of the test types testing the knowledge of a characters' structure showed that students of the experimental group were statistically better at knowing and recognizing the character's structure.

### Pinyin

Pinyin was present in the control group during the whole period of the experimental case study as all the dialogues and some of the exercises in the textbook Chinese course 汉语教程 (Yang 2002), the textbook that was used in the control group, include pinyin until lesson number 30. The fact that all the dialogues are also written in pinyin means that the students didn't actually have to know the characters to be able to read the dialogues.

To see if a more subtle use of pinyin contributed to higher focus on character, meaning that the students of the experimental group would have less trouble when reading texts written in characters only and would use characters instead of pinyin

even when writing or solving exercises independently, part 8 of the observations logs was intended to observe the use of pinyin during the class.

The analysis of part 8 of the observation logs of both groups showed that students of the experimental group used characters instead of pinyin even when making notes and doing exercises whereas the students of the control group used and relied mostly on pinyin. Since pinyin was used only as a bridge between pronunciation and character in the experimental group and not as key element of teaching Chinese words the students of the experimental group did not rely on pinyin.

### Words and vocabulary

There were altogether 8 tasks that tested the knowledge of vocabulary on the five tests. The tasks within the four formal test tested general knowledge of vocabulary learned during the classes. But the tasks prepared within the test prepared especially to test the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words were different as these tasks included only the characters and words that the students have not learned yet, but should be able to conclude their general meaning based on knowing the structure of the characters.

**Table 7:** Results of F-test and t-test of differences in total score on tasks that test the knowledge of vocabulary

		N	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Test of homogeneity of variances		Test of differences of arithmetic means	
					F	p	t	p
Task (vocabulary) 1	CG	21	5,21	0,18	4,77	0,037	1,626	0,114
	EG	12	4,54	0,45				
Task (vocabulary) 2	CG	19	5,26	0,66	0,195	0,662	0,644	0,525
	EG	11	4,50	1,06				
Task (vocabulary) 3	CG	15	2,20	0,14	1,263	0,275	-0,553	0,587
	EG	6	2,33	0,11				
Task (vocabulary) 4	CG	15	8,91	1,60	0,005	0,947	-0,079	0,938
	EG	6	9,12	2,28				
Total	CG	15	22,43	1,85	0,846	0,369	0,057	0,955
	EG	6	22,25	1,95				

		N	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Test of homogeneity of variances		Test of differences of arithmetic means	
					F	p	t	p
Capability test (vocabulary) task 3	CG	16	2,47	0,32	1,267	0,273	-1,438	0,165
	EG	6	3,50	0,81				
Capability test (vocabulary) task 4	CG	16	2,24	0,47	8,938	0,007	-3,018	0,007
	EG	6	5,67	1,41				
Capability test (vocabulary) task 5	CG	16	3,12	0,33	11,535	0,003	-2,055	0,05
	EG	6	5,17	1,45				
Capability test (vocabulary) task 6	CG	16	1,35	0,31	1,983	0,174	-2,836	0,01
	EG	6	3,50	0,96				
Total	CG	16	9,18	0,86	10,141	0,004	-2,596	0,016
	EG	6	30,57	13,098				

Source: Simončič 2013, 367-368.

Even though the results of the F-test and t-test show that there are no statistically important differences between both groups on tasks that were testing general knowledge of vocabulary ( $F = 0,846$ ;  $p = 0,369$ ;  $t = 0,057$ ;  $p = 0,955$ ), the results of the F-test and t-test show that there are statistically important differences between both groups on tasks that were testing the capability of students to conclude the meaning and pronunciation of unknown characters and words ( $F = 10,141$ ;  $p = 0,004$ ;  $t = -2,596$ ;  $p = 0,016$ ). The statistical analysis of the test types testing the knowledge of unknown words and vocabulary therefore shows that the students of the experimental group were much more aware of the structure of characters and were able to deduct the meaning and pronunciation of new and unknown characters with the help of their previous knowledge of the structure of characters.

To resume the results showed that the students that learned by the approach that simultaneously introduces pronunciation and character and is based on constructivist learning theory were much more aware of the structure of characters, more focused on the characters, did not rely on pinyin and used characters even when writing on their own. Not only were the students of the experimental group more aware of the words' general structure and were more able to deduct the meaning and pronunciation of new and unknown words based on their knowledge of the words' structure; they were more motivated to attend classes, pose questions, cooperate during class and continue learning CFL.

## 5. Research contribution

When talking about implementing a new innovative approach to teaching and learning Chinese language that is based on constructivist principles I believe the experimental case study has shown that the key is for students to construct the knowledge of Chinese words and not to memorize it.

However when talking about implementing a new innovative approach to teaching Chinese language into Slovenian schools there are several issues that need to be addressed:

- The aversion of teachers, especially those of Chinese heritage in my personal experience, toward implementing innovative approaches, which can be related to the Confucian tradition.
- There are no relevant teaching materials that would attract and motivate Slovenian students.
- For the teachers to be able to implement such approach they need to be properly educated and guided through this process (Driscoll 2000).
- In order to implement innovative approach the teachers, schools and organizations have to be prepared to fully commit to it (Korthagen and Vasalos 2005, Resnick and others 2013).

The advantage that the Chinese language has is simply the fact that Chinese language is so different than other foreign languages taught in Slovenian schools. But in order to really motivate the students to learn Chinese, the approach to teaching and learning Chinese language has to be carefully selected.

Since teaching CFL is becoming more and more popular in Slovenian schools the key findings of the experimental case study can lead to higher quality learning of CFL and the development of high quality Slovenian textbooks for teaching CFL. Carefully prepared textbooks on the basis of the constructivist principles, properly educated teachers of CFL, the support of schools and organizations can lead to even higher number of learners of CFL not only in Slovenia but in the world.

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# JAPANESE ONOMATOPOEIC EXPRESSIONS WITH QUANTITATIVE MEANING

**Nataliia Vitalievna KUTAFEVA**

Novosibirsk State University, Russian Federation

natasha7362@mail.ru

## Abstract

Grammatical category of quantity is absent in the Japanese language but there are many different grammatical, lexical, derivational and morphological modes of expression of quantity. This paper provides an analysis of the lexical mode of expression of quantitative meanings and their semantics with the help of onomatopoeic (*giongo*) and mimetic (*gitaigo*) words in the Japanese language. Based on the analysis, we have distinguished the following semantic groups: mimetic words A) existence of some (large or small) quantity (things, phenomena and people), B) degree of change of quantity; and onomatopoeic words A) single sound, B) repetitive sounds.

**Keywords:** category of quantity; Japanese language; onomatopoeic words; mimetic words.

## Povzetek

Slovnčna kategorija kvantitete je v japonščini odsotna, vseeno pa je veliko načinov izražanja kvantitete, od slovnčnih, leksikalnih, derivacijskih do morfoloških in drugih. Raziskava ponuja izsledke o leksikalnem načinu izražanja kvantitativnih pomenov in njihove semantike skozi onomatopejske in mimetične izraze v japonščini. Na osnovi analize avtor loci več semantičnih skupin: mimetično besedje, ki ga nadalje razdeli na izraze za obstoj manjših ali večjih kvantitet in izraze za stopnje sprememb kvantitete, ter onomatopejsko besedje, ki vsebuje enkratne in ponavljajoče se glasove.

**Ključne besede:** kategorija kvantitete; japonščina; onomatopejske besede; mimetične besede

## 1. Introduction

This paper provides an analysis of onomatopoeic and mimetic words with quantitative meanings in the Japanese language. Section 2 discusses the structure of the category of quantity and meanings of quantity expressed with different parts of speech in the Japanese language. Section 3 focuses on the history of studying onomatopoeic and mimetic words in European philosophy, Japanese linguistics in Russia and Japanese linguistics in Japan, and defines major terms used for this phenomenon. Section 4 describes semantics of onomatopoeic and mimetic words with quantitative meanings, and Section 5 contains the conclusions of the study.

## **2. Meanings of quantity**

We study the category of quantity and modes of its expression in the Japanese language. The substance of the linguistic category of quantity is quantitative relations reflected by human mentality and linguistic forms.

The category of quantity represents a unity of two components, namely the number, meaning a discrete quantity, and the value, meaning a continuous quantity. The number and the value, as two constituents of the category of quantity, can be expressed variously in a language. Their usage spans all main levels of language structure – lexical, derivational, morphological, and syntactical. Regardless of their heterogeneous usage, they do not form a uniform system within grammar. One of the manifestations of the grammatical category of quantity is the category of number, which is absent in the Japanese language, except for the cases of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

We understand the category of quantity as a semantic category and, simultaneously, as a group of different methods, expressing this category, as well as according to further defined structure of semantic field. The nucleus is formed with quantitative numerals and pronouns having the category of number; the center is formed with of different parts of speech, namely the noun, the adjective and the adverb etc., and also combinations of words that express quantity. The middle part is formed with words including morphemes with quantitative meaning and the periphery is formed with phraseology and terminology. The category of quantity includes some functional and semantic categories, namely the singular, the plural and the numeral. The plural includes collective and representative meanings. The numeral includes precise, approximate, and indefinite meanings (Kutafeva 2014, p. 173).

We have studied the lexical mode of expression of quantity and clarified that quantitative nouns express meanings of the singular, the dual, the cumulative and the numeral. Quantitative adjectives express various grade of quantity. Complex verbs implicitly express quantity with various semantic nuances, namely reciprocal, plurality of subjects, plurality of recipients involved in verbal action, plurality of inanimate things, excessive quantity of people and things, repetitive verbal action, and simultaneous coexisting of plurality of people and things. Quantitative adverbs express quantitative manifestation of verbal and adjective signs with meaning of grade, value, change and approximations.

The aim of this study is to analyze the lexical mode of expression and meanings of quantity with the help of mimetic and onomatopoeic words.

## **3. Brief story of study of onomatopoeic and mimetic words**

The study of sound symbolism has a long story, beginning from ancient Indian Vedas that were the first to mention linkages between sounds and meanings. This issue attracted attention of a number of philosophers such as Saint Augustine, Thomas

Aquinas, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Rene Descartes. Philosophers of ancient Greece tried to define relations between characteristics of extra linguistic reality and forms of its linguistic expression.

Further study of sound symbolism is to a great extent bound with theory of sound mimesis. For example, one of the theories of language origin is based on the postulate that language is a result of imitation of natural sounds (sound mimesis) and phenomena (sound symbolism) of surrounding world.

At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century Edward Sapir, Otto Jespersen, and Charles Bally laid the foundation of theoretical studies of sound mimesis in its direct relation with sound symbolism.

According to Russian linguist Voronin (1990: 4) sound symbolism is studied in the terms of phonosemantics. Phonosemantics is a new science, which object is sound mimetic (onomatopoeic) and sound symbolic system, studied in terms of time and space. Other terms, such as 'phonosemics', 'linguistic iconism' and etc. are frequently used as well.

In the paper, we use the term 'onomatopoeic expression' combining mimetic and onomatopoeic words. Onomatopoeic expressions have national and cultural specifics and are frequently used in the Japanese language.

In the history of Japanese linguistics in Russia many linguists, such as Konrad (1937), Polivanov (1968), Kolpakchi (1936) and Feldman (1968) studied the Japanese onomatopoeic expressions. Modern grammars of Japanese written by Neverov (1977), Alpatov (2008) onomatopoeic expressions are studied as one of particular problems of the Japanese language. Various aspects of Japanese onomatopoeia are also studied by Russian linguists. For example, Cherevko (1971) studies structural, phonetic and semantic characteristics; Chironov (2004) studies phonosemantics; Rumak (2007) studies their translation into the Russian language; and Podshibyakina (2003) studies lexicological classification.

Japanese linguists actively study onomatopoeia. Kadooka (2007) tries to distinguish onomatopoeia as a separate lexical-grammatical class, having lexical, formal, prosodic and syntactic peculiarities.

Yamaguchi (2001 a) studies onomatopoeia in the diachronic aspect namely changes in the form and semantic depending on changes in surrounding reality.

Tamori and Schourup (1999) try to find linguistic universes, comparing Japanese onomatopoeia with that of Indo-European languages, for example Japanese and English.

One of the directions of studies is the terminological problem of onomatopoeia.

Chironov (2004) states that in addition to set expressions such as 'onomatopoeic words' (*giongo* and *giseigo*) and 'mimetic words' (*gitaigo*), other terms are used in Japanese linguistic works rather frequently. These words are 'copying word' (*moshago*) and 'transcription word' (*tenshago*) by Ishiguro Hiroaki, 'copy' (*utsushi*) by

Ishigaki Sachio, and ‘imitation word’ (*giyougo*) and ‘symbolic word’ (*shouchouji*) by Kindaichi Haruhiko.

Tamori (2002) analyzes preceding theories and classifications, based on the type of denotatum, and uses terms ‘onomatopoetic words’ (*giougo*, *giseigo*), ‘mimetic words’ (*gitaigo*), ‘motion mimetic’ (*gijougo*), ‘sensory words’ (*gijou kankaku*) and ‘emotion words’ (*gijou kannjō*).

Yamaguchi (2001 b) studies onomatopoeia as expressive means in *manga*.

#### **4. Onomatopoeic and mimetic words with quantitative meanings**

We define Japanese onomatopoeic words (*giougo* and *giseigo*) as words directly imitating sounds of animate and inanimate nature, and mimetic word (*gitaigo*) as words describing physical and emotional states, actions and states of things. Onomatopoeic and mimetic words have lexical, structural and prosodic peculiarities; they are written with alphabet (*kana*) and used for emotional and laconic description and liveliness of speech.

About two thousands of onomatopoeic and mimetic words are frequently used in the Japanese language. Most of them are illogical and difficult to classify and to translate into foreign languages.

Grammatical function of onomatopoeic and mimetic words is adverb but they can be used as adjective, verb etc. As for onomatopoeic and mimetic words with quantitative meaning it may be noted that they are often used in sentence as adverbial phrase with or without particle *to* and as predicate with auxiliary verb *suru*.

To translate Japanese onomatopoeic expressions into English, we use the different modes in translation:

3. Reference to the Electronic resource ‘Weblio Japanese English Dictionary’ where part of Japanese onomatopoeia is absent though.
4. Retaining of quantitative meaning by direct translation with adverbs, adjectives, verbs and nouns.
5. Omission of onomatopoeic expressions in translation.
6. Usage of idioms.

At first, we describe the meaning of onomatopoeic expression, then give examples for using these onomatopoeic words and variants of translation.

We have found about 121 onomatopoeic expressions with quantitative meaning by sampling from ‘Explanatory Japanese Russian dictionary of onomatopoetic lexica’ Rumak (2012) and ‘An illustrated dictionary of Japanese and onomatopoeic expressions’ Gomi (2000).

Some of onomatopoeic expressions can function both as onomatopoeic and mimetic word and have two or more meanings.

For example, *zakuzaku* describes the following meanings:

1. A large number of metal coins or jewels.
2. The sound of chopping vegetables.
3. The sound of gravel.
4. The sound of walking over the gravel or frost.

In the words such as mentioned above example we pay attention only to the quantitative meaning. In such cases onomatopoeic expression is used as rule as a mimetic word.

We have analyzed and distinguished the following semantic groups with the following meanings.

Mimetic words

- A) Existence of some (large or small) quantity of people, things and phenomena.
- B) Grade of change of quantity.

Onomatopoeic words

- A) Single sound.
- B) Repetitive sounds.

Then in each group, we have distinguished the subgroups emphasizing semantic nuances are emphasized from different points of view.

## 4.1 Mimetic words

### 4.1.1 A large number:

- *un (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* describes a very large number.  
*Unto kari ga aru.*  
I am in debt. I have a lot of debts.
- *dossari (gitaigo)* describes a large number, excess, abundance, stack, pile.  
*Anohito wa kane ga dossari aru.*  
He has plenty of money.
- *gossori (gitaigo)* describes a very large number simultaneously acquiring or losing things; many, completely; to the utmost, all.  
*Toranku no nakami wo gossori toreta.*  
All content of trunk (chest) was stolen.
- *zakuzaku (gitaigo, giongo)* describes a large number of metal coins or jewels.  
*Ōban koban ga zakuzaku detekita.*  
Old gold coins came out in plenty.

Something gathered in a large number:

- *Dosatto (gitaigo, giongo)* describes something gathered in a large number in one place; jumble, crowd.

*Kōkoku wo dasu to dōjini, mōshikomi ga dosatto kita.*

As soon as I published advertisement, immediately a large number of applications appeared. I had barely managed to publish an announcement when a pile of applications appeared.

- *kichikichi (gitaigo, giongo)* describes jam-packed (with something, somebody).

*Yogoreta yofuku de kichikichi no sūtsū kēsu.*

A suitcase jammed with dirty clothes.

- *gotagota (gitaigo)* describes numerous things chaotically gathered in one place.

*Ie no naka ga gotagota shiteiru.*

The inside of house is in mess. The house is messy.

- *wansa (gitaigo)* describes a large of quantity, mass, crowd, oodles and used as a rule in speech about animate things.

*Sono teido no hito nara wansa to iru.*

There are lots of such people. There are pots of such people.

- *zorozoro (gitaigo)* describes a large number of people or things standing in line, crowd; continuous flow; one by one.

*Zorozoro detekuru.*

Come out in droves.

- *ujauja (gitaigo)* describes many small things gathered together and moving, swarm of insects or crowd of people.

*Kodomo ga ujauja iru.*

Have lots of children.

A large number connecting with variety:

- *dekodoko (to) (gitaigo)* describes crude things, accessories; heap of something, heap up something; fill something to the top.

*Dekodekoto kazaru.*

Decorate with a lot of things (trinkets).

- *kotekote (to) (gitaigo)* describes a too large of quantity of piled up material (powder, make up), heavily, thickly; plaster.

*Keshōhin wo kotekoteto nuru.*

Makeup is thick. Too much makeup.

- *betabeta (to) (gitaigo)* describes the state when something is all plastered or covered with something, thickly strewn with something.

*Kabe ni betabetato pira wo haru.*

Plaster all walls with lots of piles. Plaster the entire wall with lots of posters.

- *gotegote (to) (gitaigo)* describes many gaudy decorations, excessively decorate something.

*Mono wo gotegoteto egaku.*

Paint something abundantly. Plaster something heavily.

Negative appreciation of excessive large quantity of something:

- *dabudabu (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* describes excess of something (water, money).

*Ekitai ga dabudabu aru.*

There is excess of (too much) liquid.

- *gorogoro (gitaigo, giongo)* describes the state when something is in excess, and as a result novelty and value are absent; loads of something; to be full of, to be strewn with.

*Ano teido no bijin nara, Tōkyō ja gorogoro iru.*

Well, there are lots of such beauties in Tokyo. Well, these beauties in Tokyo dime a dozen.

Quite a large number:

- *tappuri (gitaigo)* means generously, quite plenty, plentifully, abundantly.

*Kare wa kane ga tappuri aru.*

He is rolling in money. He has lots of money.

- *tanmari (gitaigo)* means considerable and sufficient quantity according to the person who gives estimation; sufficient degree.

*Kane wo tanmari motte iru.*

Be flush with money.

#### 4.1.2 A small number.

Expressing different grade of small number:

- *chotto* (*chokkura* (*gitaigo*) common speech) means a little, a bit of quantity.

*Chokkura ore nimo waketekure yo.*

Give me a little, too.

- *choppori* (*gitaigo*) means a very little bit, just a little, smidgen.

*Sūryō ga choppiri da.*

There is a very little something.

- *pocchiri* (*gitaigo*, *giongo*) means existing in a little bit, less than noting.

*Kore, hon no pocchiri da kedo hatsumono da kara meshiagatte ne.*

This is only a little, but it is the first harvest, please, taste some.

Various mode of existing in a small number:

- *chobochobo* (*gitaigo*) means a little, sparsely, drop-by-drop; head-to-head.

*Koten wo hiraitemita ga mi ni kitekureta hito wa chobochobo datta.*

Although I tried to open my exhibition, people who came to see were a few.

Although I tried to arrange my exhibition, few people came to see it.

- *garagara* (*gitaigo*, *giongo*) means a very few somebody, something in empty space; be nearly empty of.

*Hōru wa mada mattaku garagara da.*

There is practically nobody in hall yet. There is practically no one in the hall yet.

- *chirahora*, *chirarihorari* (*gitaigo*) means existing in a small number here and there, sparsely, a few.

*Sakura ga chirahora sakihajimeta.*

A few cherry blossoms are just begging to come out.

Using by small portions:

- *chobichobi* (*gitaigo*) means not at once but by small portions, a few.

*Hige niwa shiroi mono ga chobichobi majitteita.*

Gray hairs are occasionally seen in her bears. Only a few grey hairs were sprinkling in his beard.

- *chibichibi* (*gitaigo*) means doing something little by little, bit by bit to make it lasts as long as possible.

*Hitori de chibichibi sake wo nomu.*

Drink small sips of sake alone.

Existing in single number:

- *pocchiri (gitaigo)* means existing in single number as a dot.  
*Gohan wo pocchiri kudasai.*  
Give me just a little rice.
- *potsun (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means existing in single number as a bulge or hole.  
*Kare no herumetto tōjōbu ni ana ga hitotsu potsunto aiteita.*  
His helmet had a small hole at the top.

Absence:

- *suttenten (gitaigo)* means lost all (for example, money, shares, etc).  
*Kabu de suttentenni nacchatta.*  
I lost all money in the stock market. I diced away all money in the stock market.
- *garan (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means empty, look empty.  
*Ie no naka wa garanto shite dare mo inakatta.*  
The house was deserted.

In conformity with certain quantity. These onomatopoeic expressions are used with numerals:

- *kikkari, kakkiri (gitaigo)* mean exactly, just, precisely.  
*Sētā to zubon de 1 man en kakkiri datta.*  
Sweater and pants were just 10,000 yen.
- *chokkiri (gitaigo)* means absence of excess, exactly.  
*Ie wo dete kaisha ni tsuku made chokkiri 2 jikan da.*  
It takes just 2 hours from home to working place.

#### 4.1.3 Change of quantity

Sharp increase:

- *pinto (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means the sharp increase in the value.  
*Ondo ga pinto agaru.*  
Temperature increases sharply.

Sharp decrease:

- *gakun (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means the sharp decrease in the value.  
*Sekiyu no kakaku wa gakunto sagatta.*  
The price of oil has dropped sharply.
- *gakkuri (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means the acute decrease in the activity of a human or energy of a phenomena.  
*Nōryoku ga gakkurito ochiru.*  
Ability dramatically decreases.
- *suton (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means something falls (price, support etc).  
*Jimintō no shijiritsu ga sutonto hetta.*  
The rating of Liberal Democratic Party has abated acutely. Support rate of Liberal Democratic Party has acutely decreased.

Increase or decrease:

- *dokat (to) (gitaigo)* means increase or decrease in large quantity.  
*Seikatsuhi ga dokatto agatta.*  
The cost of living was zoomed (risen very rapidly).
- *gasat (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means something quickly increase or decrease in large quantity at a time.  
*Tenkō fujun de yasai no nyūka ga gasatto ochita.*  
The stock of vegetables was quickly reduced because of bad (variable) weather.

#### 4.1.4 Energetic movement

- *dokadoka (to) (gitaigo)* means energetic movement of a large number of people, things inside and outside, upstairs and downstairs.  
*Kodomo ga ōzei dokadokato basu ni norikondekita.*  
A lot of children rushed into our bus. A lot of children crowded into our bus.
- *gappori (to) (gitaigo)* means movement of money in large quantity at a time.  
*Keiba de gappori kasegu.*  
Make a pile of money on horseracing.
- *gabat (to) (gitaigo)* means movement of a large number of money, goods, etc.  
*Neagari wo mikonde gabatto kaikondeoita ga...*  
Expecting prices increase bought a large number of goods...

- *dosadosa (to) (gitaigo, giongo)* means uninterrupted movement of a large number of things inside and outside.

*Ōzei no hito ga hairiguchi kara dosadosato detekita.*

A lot of people strode out of the entrance one group after another.

## 4.2 Onomatopoeic words

Single sound:

- *garari (to)* means a sound when you hit a solid single heavy object.

*Gagarito doa wo akeru.*

Open the door with a bang.

- *potsunto* means sound of drop falling.

*Genkan no soto ni deru to amadare hitotsu potsunto kao ni atatta.*

When I stepped out of the door, a rain drop fell on my face.

Repetitive sounds:

- *gasagasa* means a rustle.

*Kare wa kaidan de gasagasa to iu oto wo kiita.*

He heard the sound of rustling on the stairs.

- *potsunpotsun* means sounds of periodic drops fall one by one with small gaps.

*Monohoshi zao kara potsunpotsun shizuku ga ochiru.*

Raindrops fall one by one (periodically) from a drying rail.

- *potsupotsu* means consistent sounds of falling drops.

*Ame ga potsupotsu furidashita.*

Rain dots appears. Rain began to drip. Drops of rain began to drip.

Among the 121 extracted onomatopoeic expressions, 77 are mimetic words (some of them simultaneously are onomatopoeic words with the other meanings) and 53 are onomatopoeic words.

Among the extracted 77 mimetic words, the biggest group with meaning of 'a large number' is 40 words, then follow groups with the meanings 'change of quantity' is 15, 'a small number' is 10, 'in conformity with certain quantity' is 5, 'existence in single number' is 4 and 'absence' is 3.

Among the extracted 53 onomatopoeic words, groups expressing single and repetitive sounds are the same. 17 describe single sound and 17 describe repetitive sounds. Onomatopoeic words reproduce various modes of creation of sound. For

example, a single sound hitting a hard object against a solid object, liquid sounds of blows on the subject, sounds of falling drops and so on.

## 5. Conclusion

Thus, we have analyzed onomatopoeic expressions with quantitative meaning in the Japanese language and distinguished the following semantic groups: large number with various nuances, a small number, existing in single number, absence, certain quantity, change of quantity and presentation of sounds. We distinguished subgroups within each larger group where the meaning of quantity or change of quantity is specified from different points of view. We can conclude that it is the semantics (quantity) that predetermines the quantitative composition of group, namely the number of mimetic words with semantic that they express is larger than the number of onomatopoeic words with semantics that they express. Onomatopoeic words express only two quantitative meanings: single and repetitive sounds.

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## BLOGGING IDENTITY: HOW L2 LEARNERS EXPRESS THEMSELVES

**FUJII Kiyomi**

Kanazawa Institute of Technology, Japan  
kfujii@neptune.kanazawa-it.ac.jp

### Abstract

This study discusses language learning and identity, particularly pertaining to intermediate-advanced-level Japanese-language learners, focusing on their target language and identity expression through their interactions with peers and Japanese college students. When learners of Japanese express their identities while interacting with others in their target language, they feel a gap between the self-image they want to present, and the image they are capable of presenting in Japanese (Siegal, 1994, 1995, 1996). Along with adjusting their L1 and L2 usage depending on their interlocutor (Kurata 2007), learners also use different sentence-ending styles depending on the role they want to assume (Cook 2008). By conducting a case study, the present inquiry attempts to address how learners of Japanese express their identities through blog conversations, focusing on their language choice and expressions. Results suggest that participants use the formal endings for self-presentation and projection of their student and classmate identity. However, when expressing emotion some students preferred informal endings, or sentence-final particles.

**Key words:** SLA; identity; blog; sentence final expression; JFL

### Povzetek

Študija obravnava povezavo med učenjem jezika in identiteto in se še posebej osredotoča na študente japonščine na srednjem in višjem nivoju ter njihovim ciljnim jezikom in izrazi identitete v pogovorih s prijatelji in japonskimi študenti. Splošno znano je, da študent japonščine ob izražanju svoje identitete v tujem jeziku občuti razliko med podobo, ki si jo želi orisati, in podobo, ki jo je sposoben orisati v japonščini (Siegal, 1994, 1995, 1996). Poleg tega govorec prilagaja tako materni kot tudi tuj jezik, hkrati pa izbira med različnimi oblikami na koncu stavkov, s katerimi nakazuje govorni stil in prevzeto vlogo v komunikaciji (Kurata 2007). S študijo primerov raziskava razkrije, kako študenti japonščine razkrijejo svojo identiteto preko blogov. Raziskava se osredotoča predvsem na izbiro jezika in izraze. Rezultati kažejo, da sodelujoči uporabljajo formalne oblike za samopredstavitve in napovedi identitete sovrstnikov, medtem ko so neformalne oblike in členki na koncu povedi priljubljeni pri izražanju čustev.

**Ključne besede:** usvajanje tujega jezika; identiteta; blog; izrazi na koncu povedi; poučevanje japonščine kot tujega jezika

## 1. Introduction

Our capacity to influence language learners beyond the classroom has increased with developments in internet technologies and SNS. Based on an activity using these innovative tools, in this paper, I will investigate how students of the Japanese language, maintain their self-identities using their target language, rather than native language, in their interactions with Japanese native speakers in an online social network context.

Much research has been conducted in the acquisition of Japanese as a second language. However, few studies have investigated how learners of Japanese express their identities in their second/foreign language while they interact with others in that second/foreign language (Japanese). In this paper, I will investigate how learners of Japanese express their identity through their blog conversations by conducting a case study. First, I will discuss language learning and identity and review previous research in terms of L2 learners of Japanese, particularly intermediate-advanced-level learners, focusing on the L2 language and their identity expression through their interactions.

## 2. Language and identity

### 2.1 Language socialization and identity

Japanese children acquire "language socialization<sup>1</sup>" skills through interaction at home and at school and construct their identity with the use of shifting *desu/masu* form and plain forms. In elementary school, children explore being socialized by participating in classroom interaction. In particular, they learn how to interact and listen to opinions of others and speak as members of a group from attentive listening (Cook, 1999).

Clancy (1999) pointed out that Japanese children learn how to express their feelings in their culture and mother-child interactions develop children's linguistic social skills. When people in a society interact with others "their actions are influenced by their conceptions of their own and other's social status (Schieffelin & Oche, 1986, p.6)."

To view identity from our language socialization, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) proposed a framework that states:

Identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems; identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy; and identity may be in part intentional, in part habitual and less

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<sup>1</sup> "socialization through language and socialization to use language (Schieffelin & Oche 1986, p.2)"

than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures. (p. 584)

Nakamura (1999) studied how Japanese children acquire language socialization, focusing on the addressee honorific *desu/masu* form. This is a longitudinal study of the interaction between 30 Japanese children, from 18 months to 6 years old, and interaction with interlocutors such as mothers, siblings, peers, and unfamiliar adults. The data show that children start using the addressee honorific form when they are between 18 months and 2 years old. Her study illustrates that addressee honorifics are "one of the easiest forms of polite language for young children to acquire" (p. 509). She categorized children's *desu/masu* usage into four categories:

(1) "repetition/direct quotation" is when children repeat or quoted adults' utterances, especially in their beginning stage; (2) "responding to the level of the interlocutor" is when children answer formal questions; (3) "presentation/identification" is when children present their identification; and (4) "narrative function" is when children use *desu/masu* forms while retelling stories which they are familiar with. (Nakamura, 1999, p. 509)

She points out that children are sensitive to the social context, because they use *desu/masu* forms when they interact with unfamiliar adults, switch between *desu/masu* form and plain forms when they role-play, and use *desu/masu* forms when they need to maintain formality.

Cook (1996) also studied the usage of the *desu/masu* form and its counterpart, plain form, both at home and in elementary school. The data collected from three families illustrate that at home, children use *desu/masu* forms when they show their responsibilities as members of the family, and also when they are engaged in role-play of a character such as a doctor. The data collected from four different elementary schools' third and fourth grade classes indicate that children create presentation speech when using *desu/masu* form in an on-stage setting. Cook points out that the *desu/masu* form is used as an index of the discipline mode, and the plain form is used as an index of spontaneous modes. The data also show that students use the plain form to their teachers. Cook claims this is because "the students do not understand this form [the addressee form] as an index of politeness or [they are] socially lower status" (p. 189). Both teachers and students use the *desu/masu* form for public display. These interactions facilitate children's socialization processes, which are created by using the *desu/masu* form and plain forms in the *uchi* and *soto* contexts. She speculates that switching between the *desu/masu* and plain forms "both at home and school promotes the acquisition of the culturally significant concepts of *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside'" (p. 194).

This raises the question of how can learners of Japanese acquire this language socialization and how they construct their identity using L2? Can they acquire it from social environments such as home and school, like Japanese children do? In the next

section, I will review previous studies of Japanese language learners and their language socialization and identity.

## 2.2 Japanese language learner's language socialization and identity

Previous studies of learners of Japanese and their interaction in home-stay environments (Hashimoto, 1993, Marriott, 1995) indicate that students who learn Japanese in Japan receive a massive amount of input and try to interact native speakers. Two more studies of learners of Japanese as a foreign language report classroom interaction routines provide language socialization even in a non-target-language environment (Kanagy, 1999, Ohta, 1999). However, these studies focus on linguistic features and not on learners' language socialization and identity and the related language use.

Armour (2003) analyzed the case of two Australian students who have studied the Japanese language and participated in a home-stay. He investigated how "multiple self-presentations are scaffolded by the ability to make meaning in Japanese as an additional language" and how those learners process identity slippage. His discourse data illustrate how learners change their views of Japan and gain intercultural competence, and how this change constructs their narrative space; to identity slips and express multiple self-presentations.

Siegal (1994, 1995) studied four adult women Karen, Sally, Mary, and Arina, learning Japanese in Japan, including their acquisition of sociolinguistic competence and use of honorifics. The research focused on language use associated with the image the students wanted to present, and their individuality. Unlike the two studies above, Mary and Arina were aware of the different speech styles associated with expressing politeness. Although Mary wanted to express her politeness, her data indicate inappropriate usage of the epistemic modal *desho*, and formulaic routine expressions such as 'I'm sorry' *sumimasen*. The research focused on language use associated with the image the participants wanted to present, and subjectivity. As Siegal (1996) described, Mary often thought she could not express certain 'subtleties' like she could in English. In the case of learners wanting to express deference or politeness, this gap seems larger for an adult learner than for a younger student. However, an interlocutor did not necessarily view pragmatic inappropriateness as failure (Siegal, 1995, 1996). Her further research (1996) concludes that a learner's subjectivity plays an important role.

Cook (2008) investigated conversation between nine learners of Japanese and their host families. She analyzed how learners socialized using *masu* form and how their host families express their identity through the use of the *masu* form. She analyzes dinner table conversation between a learner and host family and focused on two ways, a learner and host family, identity constructions. The data illustrate that frequency of the use of the *masu* form are relatively small. However, when they are used host families construct their social identity, such as host parents. They use the *masu* form when "(1) uttering set formulas, (2) highlighting various aspects of their

social identities associated with the home-stay context and (3) foregrounding identities of speakers in reported speech” (p. 200). Learners also use the *masu* form when they construct identities such as “English teacher” and “presenter.” Cook argues that the *masu* form is “an important linguistic resource for expressing a variety of social identities and it can be used to socialize learners to become speakers who can competently display a range of social identities” (p. 201).

These studies focus on language and identity in immersion situations, in which learners can interact with interlocutors face to face. In the next section, I will review L2 learner’s language socialization in Internet environments.

### **2.3 Language socialization on Web 2.0 and L2 identity**

Noting the exceptional growth in students’ use of Web 2.0 innovations such as blogs, instant messaging, and social networking, we as language instructors began to explore ways to incorporate these technologies in language pedagogy. Now, online instructional tools are widely used in language learning. Lam (2004) studied two Chinese female teenagers who emigrated to the U.S. from China with their families. They were both having trouble to immerse their English speaking peers. They were both willing to learn English, so they joined an online chat room in which native Chinese speakers use English to communicate. The data were collected through their chat room conversations with other native Chinese speakers who used English to chat. Lam points out that they use romanized Chinese for the sentence-final particles and honorifics to address each other, to show their emotions and construct social identities.

Kurata (2007) investigated a college student who studied Japanese and the interactions with his friends. Data were collected throughout their conversation and analyzed with focus on patterns of language choice. Kurata pointed out that the learner’s language choice was influenced by many factors and these factors appeared to be related to the learner’s and interlocutor’s identity. She indicates that learners choose their language use (English or Japanese) according to their interlocutor’s L2 language ability. However, Kurata’s study only pointed out learners’ language choice between Japanese or English. Consequently, my research question asks how learners’ language choices are determined in terms of expression tools of their identity through the target language and the class blog space.

## **3. Data and methodology**

This study focuses on Japanese language learners, their language choice, and expressions used to construct their identity. The participants in this study are five students among 13: five females and one male, from the third-year Japanese course. They completed four to six semesters of Japanese (one student could not get into the third-year class because it was full, so this student retook the second-year course, and

some students tested out the first semester of the third-year Japanese course) and are enrolled in the second semester of the third-year Japanese course. The participants were chosen by the researcher for the judgment sampling since they met the following conditions: they all had over two years of formal study of Japanese and they participated in the class blog activity. They all posted their free messages and posted comments to other students.

The data were collected through the third-year Japanese class blog. All participants were required to create a blog as a course assignment from last semester. All individual blog pages were posted to the third-year Japanese course blog and students could visit their classmates' blogs. They exchanged comments with Japanese college students who study English in Japan. The Japanese college students' blog pages were posted to their English class blog and the link posted to the third-year Japanese class blog as well. The third-year Japanese class blogs were all written in Japanese, including students' posted messages and comments, while the native Japanese college students' blogs were all written in English. In this study, I focus on the third-year Japanese class blog, which was written in Japanese.

Students who joined the third-year Japanese class this semester, created a blog page at the beginning of the semester. All students needed to post their *sakubun* 'essay' after they received their corrected final draft. Therefore, *sakubun* have been collected and rewritten. There were four *sakubun* assignments in this course, and the topics were assigned. Students were also asked to post messages at the end of each chapter covered in the textbook, but this started from chapter 11 and two chapters were covered after the free message assignment started this semester. However, they didn't have any restrictions or requirements for their messages and they did not receive any grade, so some students did not post any message. The instructor did not post any messages to class blog because doing so would have altered the social dynamic.

The analysis focuses on students' use of sentence endings (formal, *desu/asu* form, or informal, plain form, endings) and sentence-final particles from their free posted message and participants' comments to others and response to others' comments, which included response to Japanese college students' comments as well. In addition, the questionnaire was used to ascertain the participants' perceptions of the sentence endings. The participants were asked to mark perceptions of the sentence endings, indicating characteristics like: femininity/masculinity, polite/non-polite, and weak/strong impression.

## 4. Results and discussion

### 4.1 Initial observation

First, I will present the participants' blogs and their self-introductions from the initial observation, specifically analyzing how they introduce themselves and what projection we can observe in the introductions and the blogs themselves.

Since all students have formal language instruction, they all begin with their name, year in school, where they are from, and what they like. All sentences are written with formal sentence endings and all of them mention their reasons for studying Japanese. This was their first post. It indicates that all of them show the "student" persona and seem to get a lay of the land, just like they would on the first day of class. Since all of the participants are juniors and seniors, they seem to consider their post-graduation plans. Two junior students did not talk about their future, but the rest of the participants clearly mention their plans after graduation.

All participants changed their blog backgrounds from the default to a custom theme background with more colors, or to something more stylish. In addition, one blog included pictures of the student and her boyfriend. This differentiates their blogs from others and shows individuality through the manipulation of the blog theme. It is reasonable to assume that they may be aware of their language limitations and use other strategies to set themselves apart from their classmates.

### 4.2 Sentence endings

There are 106 sentences total including one greeting from the posted messages. 74 (69.8%) sentences end with formal endings, *desu/masu* form, and 32 (30.2%) sentences end with informal endings (Table 1). This is probably because formal endings are introduced from the first year, allowing students time to practice usage of these forms in class from the first-year to the third-year course, except when they practice casual forms. Another possibility is that students use formal endings for public display through this space. Aforementioned studies, Cook (1999, 2008) and Nakamura (1999), investigated Japanese L1 speakers' language socialization and found they used the *desu/masu* form to index their mode, for example when giving a presentation.

**Table 1:** Posted messages sentence endings

	Formal endings	Informal endings	Total sentences
	%	%	n
S1-1 <sup>st</sup> message	87.5 (14)	12.5 (2)	16
2 <sup>nd</sup> message	8.3 (1)	91.7 (11)	12
S2-1 <sup>st</sup> message	100.0 (5)	0 (0)	5
2 <sup>nd</sup> message	100.0 (6)	0 (0)	6
S3-1 <sup>st</sup> message	87.5 (7)	12.5 (1)	8
2 <sup>nd</sup> message	0 (0)	100.0 (7)	7
S4-1 <sup>st</sup> message	92.3 (12)	7.7 (1)	13
2 <sup>nd</sup> message	100.0 (7)	0 (0)	7
Total	69.8 (74)	30.2(32)	106

( ) numbers of sentences

One participant used formal sentence endings exclusively, other participants used mixed forms. In the case of the participants who used both formal and informal endings, their later messages used a more casual style than the message they posted initially. It seems they created classmate relationships, causing them to shift to plain form in order to construct a friendly environment. This can be observe in their posted message content as well. All participants posted their recent, or weekend, activities and there are no posted messages that state their opinions in the manner of the *sakubun* assignment. However, the posted messages show what they thought about, instead of only stating their experiences, and these experiences are more private. For example, Student 1 (S1) posted the first message about his girlfriend who recently returned to her country. His second posted message stated how he spent spring break and talks about how he feels about his girlfriend, since it has been about one month since she left. Another example is that of Student 2 (S2), who posted a message about her class project, but the second message was about her favorite song and she uploaded a video to share with others.

Most participants used mixed forms and often the sentence ending shifted from formal to informal ending as demonstrated in the following examples:

(1) From S4's first posted message

1. *Demo daatuno wa yappari joozujanai node taitei taagetto wo hazushimashita.*  
'However, I'm not good at darts, so usually I didn't hit the target.'
2. *Demo, sono futatsu no geemu wa tanoshikatta.*  
'However, those two games are fun.'
3. *Sorekara, geemu wo shitekara tomodachi no uchi ni itte sukoshi osake wo nomimashita.*  
'After that, after the game, I went to my friend's house and drank alcohol.'

In Example (1), S4 posted her weekend activities. Line 1 and 3 are activities she did, but in line 2 are her thoughts about games played. She shifts the ending from formal to informal ending to express her thought process.

(2) From S5's first posted message

1. *xxx-san wa xx-chan ni "kanojo to kekkon wo shiro!" to iimashita!*  
'xxx told xx to "marry her!'"
2. *Bikkurishita!*  
'[I was] surprised!'
3. *Watashi wa hazukashikatta desu yo!*  
'I was embarrassed!'

In this example, S5 discussed her and her boyfriend's usual Friday activities. They typically go to a coffee shop and play chess there. Last Friday, when they went there, they ran into her German friend who is older than them and that friend told her boyfriend to marry her, as stated in line 1. S5 ended her reaction with a non-polite ending saying *bikkurishita* with an exclamation mark.

(3) From S1's first posted message

1. *Maa...kore wa daigakusee no jinseedesu yone.*  
'Well...this is a college student' life isn't it?'
2. *Kanashii toki mo aru kedo itsuka tanoshiitoki mo aru.*  
'There are sad times, but there are fun times as well.'
3. *Shiawasena hi ga kanarazu kuru node mattemasu.*  
'Happy days are definitely coming, so I will wait.'

In the above example S1 shared his recent experience of having his girlfriend returning to her home country, and these are the final three lines. S1 chose an informal ending for line 2. Compared to line 1 and 3, he is saying this himself and it seems he has a strong feeling that he wants to believe.

As illustrated in above examples, in the case of shifting from formal to informal endings, the participants use informal endings to express their emotions, thoughts, and strong beliefs. Conversely, participants use formal endings to show their "student" persona to other classmates and informal endings to show their insight. In the posted message the participants used formal endings more than informal endings since this is more like a presentation, especially the first posted message. The characteristics of posted message and leaving comments and responding to others' comments are slightly different. However, the results still indicate that the participants used formal endings more than informal endings.

There are 326 sentences from blog comments (99 sentences) and response to others (227 sentences) comments. 283 (86.8%) sentences end with formal endings, *desu/masu* form, and 43 (13.2%) sentences end with informal endings as in Figure 1. Beside the fact that formal endings are introduced from the first year of language study and the students are familiar with using them, a possible reason that the formal

endings are used more than the informal endings is that participants are being polite to their classmates. There is no discernable pattern that comments have more formal endings than do responses to comments, or visa versa.

Although the informal endings were used in most of the sentences and they are used more than posted messages, comments and response to others comments are more conversational than posted messages. In the posted messages participants displayed their “presentation” mode using formal endings.

There are a few reasons for this. First, unlike the posted message (one question sentence), there are 21 question sentences included in the comments and responses to others’ comments. The questions are related to the posted messages and participants who were asked questions response to those comments. Secondly, they express more their thought and feelings. However, in the posted message, when they express their thought and feelings they used the informal endings. If the content of the comments include more thought and feelings, the informal endings sentence should be more, but there are more formal endings. They use other strategies such as the sentence-final particles to express their thoughts and feelings, while being polite to other classmates using the formal endings. In the next section, I will discuss how they use other strategies to socialize with other classmates.

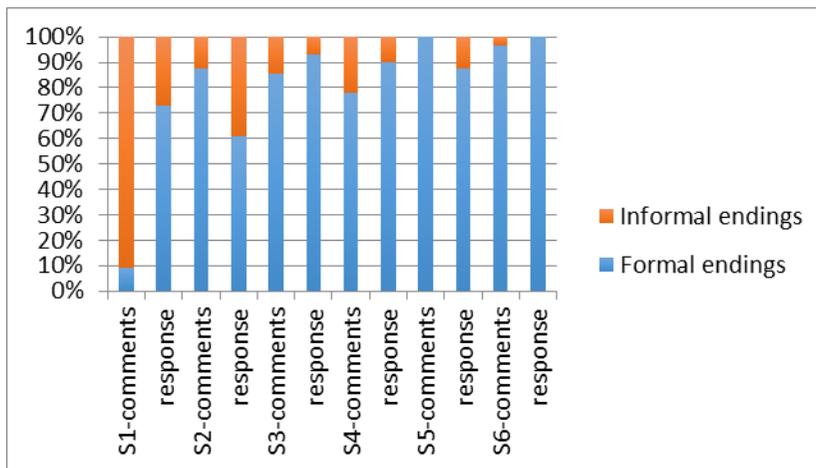


figure 1: Sentence endings from comments and response to others comments

### 4.3 Sentence-final particles

Sentence-final particles used in the posted messages were limited in number; *ne*: 7, *yo*: 2, *yone*: 2, *na*: 2. Other ending are *kamo*, *kedo*, and *dakara*. *Kamo* derives from *kamoshirenai*, ‘it might be,’ by dropping *shirenai*. *Kedo* means ‘although’ in English, and is usually followed by a sentence presenting a contrast. There are also *desho* to seek agreement.

Japanese sentence-final *ne* is generally used to express (1) agreement, (2) confirmation, (3) cooperation, and (4) affective command (Cook, 1990). It is also used when the speaker has less information and more feeling than information whereas *yo* is used when the speaker has more information and is more forceful (Maynard, 1997). In the textbook that participants used, *ne* is introduced in the following manner: “when the speaker is seeking the listener’s agreement or confirming a fact. It is similar to ~ isn’t it? In English,” and *yo* is introduced as: “when the speaker wishes to emphasize to the listener that he/she is imparting completely new information. Like *you know* in English” (Hatasa, Hatasa, & Makino, 1998, p.79). As seen in line 3 in Example (2), *Watashi wa hazukashikatta desu yo!*, S5 emphasizes how much she was embarrassed.

(4) From S3’s first posted message:

*Projekuto to shite nikki wo kakukotoni narimashita ga taninno nikki nante tumarai desu yone.*

‘I decided to write a diary as my project, others’ diaries are pretty boring, aren’t they?’

The choice between *yo* and *ne* is in a complementary functional relationship: information and interaction (Maynard, 1997). However, *yo* signals stressing information and participant’s expectation of success to exchange information, but if the exchange is not successful the speaker’s emotion will “include an impression of self-centeredness and a lack of consideration and cooperation (Maynard, 1997, p. 90). In line 3 in Example 3, *Maa...kore wa daigakusee no jinseedesu yone*, and in Example 4, in both of these cases *ne* and *yo* work, but *yo* sounds rather strong and *ne* sounds like an attempt at reducing his responsibility (Ohta, 1999). Therefore, they used both and make the effect of *yo* softer.

The participants learned the particle *na* as in ~*kana*/~*kashira*. In the textbook, they are introduced in the following manner: “when the speaker is asking himself or herself about something” and “they express the speaker’s monologue question, I wonder~.” Again, “the expression ~*kana* can be used by both males and females, but ~*kashira* is used only by females,” and “they should not be used with someone with a superior social status because they are used in fairly informal speech” (Hatasa, Hatasa, & Makino, 2000, p.65). The participants use the particle *na* to express their thoughts to others as in example (5) and (6).

(5) S1’s first posted message

1. Anmari kankoku jin no tomodachi ga inai n da kedo semete ichido tameshite mitai  
‘I don’t have many Korean friends, but I would like to try at least once.’

2. Nantoka naru **na**...

‘I will be fine, yeah?’

(6) S3’s second posted message

1. Nado kiitemo namida ga deru gurai iikyoku da to omou.

‘I think it is a good song, like every time I hear it, I get choked up.’

2. Wakaimono no ongaku mo iikedo toki niwa konna kyoku mo iina.

‘Young people’s music is fine, but sometimes a song like this is nice, ain’t it?’

**Table 2:** The sentence-final particles in posted messages, comments and responses to others' comments

	ne	yo	yone	na	others	emoticon	Total	
S1- message			1	1			2	10
comments	2	1		3	1		7	
response		1					1	
S2- message								9
comments	1					1	2	
response						7	7	
S3- message	1		1	1	3		6	39
comments	3				1	3	7	
response	10	2		1	1	12	26	
S4- message	5						5	17
comments	2						2	
response	5	5					10	
S5- message	1	2					3	9
comments	3	1				2	6	
response								
S6- message						1	1	24
comments	8	2			4	3	17	
response	2	1			2	1	6	
Total- message	7	2	2	2	3	1	17	108
comments	19	4	0	3	6	9	41	
response	17	9	0	1	3	20	50	

Compared to the posted messages, comments and responses to others' comments include more sentence-final particles as well as emoticons. Comments include, *ne*: 19, *yo*: 4, *na*: 3 and other ending are *kedo* and *desho*. Response to others comments include, *ne*: 17, *yo*: 9, *na*: 1 and one other ending is *desho*. Both comments and responses include emoticons, comments (9) and responses (20). They also used the smile mark, *kanji* 笑 'laugh,' and one pictogram abbreviation.

(7) S3 response to classmate's comment

1. *Henji ga osokunatte sumimasen >\_<; ;*

'I'm sorry for the delay in my response'

2. *Guguru shite mita n desu ka!*

'Did you google me?'

3. *Hai, twitter yatte masu.*

'Yes, I do twitter.'

4. *Ima wa follower ga kankoku no tomodachi bakkari de kannkokugo dake kaitemasuga, moshi xx-san ga follow shitekureba nihongo ya eigo mo kakeru shikai ni naru desho :)*  
 'Now, followers are all Korean friends, so I write in Korean, but if xx-san follows me, I can be a host that writes Japanese or English, can't I?'
5. *Ego demo nihongo demo iindesu.*  
 'Either English or Japanese is fine.'
6. *Koe kakete kureru nara ureshii :)*  
 'If you call me, I will be happy.'

In Example 5, S3 used emoticons to show her emotions. In line 1, she apologized with formal ending using a formulaic expression and used the emoticon, >\_< ; ;, to show emotion and friendliness. In line 4 and 6, she used the smile mark as well. She used the formal sentences for all sentences, but she also managed to create friendly atmosphere using emoticons.

Another example is *kanji* emoticon, 笑 'laugh'. Before Example (8)'s conversation, S6 left her comment for S3's posted message which was S3's self-introduction. S6 comments S3's Japanese is very good. In the following conversation, S3 and S6 were talking about Japanese language for Korean learners.

(8) S3 response S6's comments

1. S3: *xx-san to yonde ii desu ka.*  
 'May I call you xx-san?'
2. *Yoroshiku onegaishimasu :)*  
 'Nice to meet you.'
3. *Watashi wa kankoku no shushin desu kara dounimo nihongo ga hoka no hito yori yasashiidesu.*  
 'I'm from Korea, so I kinda feel Japanese is easy for me than other people.'
4. *Kankokugo to nihongo no bunpou ya tango nado ga sugoku nitemasu yo.*  
 'Structure and vocabulary of Korean language and Japanese language are very similar, you know.'
5. *Chotto zuruinjanai kana~ to omottemasu (笑).*  
 'I think it is unfair (laugh)'
6. *Natsuyasumi ni nihon ni ikun desu ne!*  
 'You are going to Japan on the summer vacation, aren't you!'
7. *lina...*  
 'lit. It is good. [I'm jealous].'
8. *Watashi wa nihon no gakkoo ni ittakoto ga nai node xx-san ga urayamashii (笑).*  
 'I've never been (attended) a Japanese school, so I'm envy you/jealous, xx-san (laugh).'

(five sentences continue)

S6 response again

9. S6: *Zehi, xx to yonde kudasai.*  
'By all means, call me xx.'
10. *Soudesune, kankoku kara kita tomodachi mo nihongo wo benkyoushite te, suggoku jouzu to omoimasu.*  
'Well, my friend who came from Korea studying Japanese and I think she is very good at it.'
11. *Zurui to omowanai n desu nedo, nanka mukatsuku desu ne.* 笑  
'I don't think it is unfair, but I'm a little pissed, right, laugh.'  
(four sentences continue)

In Example (6), S3 and S6 used the *kanji* emoticon, 笑 'laugh' in line 5, 8 and 11. In line 5, after S3 states *Chotto zuruinjanaai kana~ to omottemasu*, 'I think it is unfair,' she uses the *kanji* emoticon, 笑. Since she used *zurui* as she feels she is cheating, she makes this as a joke. In line 8, S3 again use the *kanji* emoticon, 笑 when she express her jealous feelings to make it as joke. When S6 responded to S3, she express her thought saying *zurui to omowanai n desu nedo* and she said *nanka mukatsuku desu ne*. S3 used a word *mukatsuku* which original meaning is feel nausea, but here it is used as 'piss me off' or 'bite me.' She didn't say *mukatsuki masu* which is correct way to conjugate *mukatsuku* since it is verb, but instead she used as a noun and in katakana. It seems she did it on purpose and used *mukatsuku* as a expression since not many situation in the real life to use this polite way, *mukatsukimasu*. *Mukatuku* is insulted expression and rather strong, so she added *desu* to show politeness and *ne* to soften what she expressed. She also used the *kanji* emoticon, 笑 to show it is a joke. If she is mad she could have used the *kanji* emoticon, 怒 instead.

Above examples indicate that participants use the sentence final particles and emoticon to express their feelings. However, they also try to keep their manner and friendliness toward their classmates.

## 5. Conclusion

In this study, I investigated how learners' language choice is determined in terms of expression tools of their identity through the target language and class blog space. The study indicates that participants use the formal endings to present themselves and express their identity as students and classmates. However, when they want to express their emotion, some use the informal endings and others use the sentence final particles. The study also found that participants are using other strategies, besides the linguistic, to maintain their identity, or perhaps to compensate for their linguistic limitations, by using the sentence final particles and emoticons.

Although the data include participants' responses to Japanese college students, for further research, the interlocutor's perspective of acceptability toward people who don't have many experiences of contact with non-Japanese needs to be explored.

Since this is a pilot study, the data collected were rather small, and for further research more data should be collected. This study focused on learners of Japanese language use and identity expressions. However, other factors need to be considered when we research learner's Japanese and their identity projection: one such factor is gender. Many previous studies examine the differences between women's and men's speech (Shibamoto, 1985, Ide, 1982, 1997, 1999, Ide and Yoshida, 1999). On the other hand, studies also confirm that usage of sentence final particles differs depending on the individuals, time, and context (Matsumoto, 2002, Okamoto, 1997, 2002, 2004, Ozaki 1998). Another factor is the language-learning environment. Matsuda (2014) conducted research using Facebook birthday message data and the results, arrived at through correspondence analysis, showed that mid to advanced Japanese learners' language use was close to middle-aged Japanese women. This result correlates with the fact that the majority of Japanese language teachers represent this demographic. Matsuda's research suggests how learners' learning environment affects their language use, and the next iteration of the present study will include more consideration to this influential element.

Finally, individual differences need to be considered. The participants' motivations and learning strategies are different for each subject. Furthermore, it is also important how sensitive or aware the learners are when it comes to usage of the sentence final particles and sentence endings, for example. There have been few studies done on how learners develop language socialization in an online environment in regards to Japanese as a second language. More quantitative research needs to be done on acquisition of language socialization, especially in the area of L2 learner's identity.

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# JAPANESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND DYSLEXIA: ON THE NECESSITY OF THE DYSLEXIA RESEARCH

**Nagisa MORITOKI ŠKOF**

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

nagisa.moritoki@guest.arnes.si

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is to show the important role of dyslexia, which is said to account for most learning disabilities in Japanese language education. Potential dyslexic learners in Japanese language are rather few, however, the recognition of dyslexia brings about both the reform of Japanese language education as well as the results of the change to 'more accurately conceptualized as an alternative developmental pathway' (OECD 2007: 92).

In this paper, I will first discuss what dyslexia is and what perspective it offers to the area of Japanese language education. I will then outline the present status of accepting and arranging learning disabilities and dyslexic learners in Japan and Japanese language education. Then I will consider actual conditions and attitudes about learning disabilities and dyslexia in Japanese language education through previous surveys and point out present problems and finally proposals to solve them.

Dyslexia is a disability of the phonological component bound to semantic understandings, but includes future suggestions in widespread subjects to Japanese language education.

**Keywords:** dyslexia; Japanese; language learning; inclusive education; autonomous learning

## **Povzetek**

Namen te raziskave je prikazati pomembnost prepoznavanja disleksije, ki naj bi bila vzrok za večino težav tudi v procesu izobraževanja japonskega jezika. Kljub temu, da je učencev z disleksijo relativno malo, pa je njeno prepoznavanje spodbudilo reforme v sistemu poučevanja japonskega jezika, rezultati pa se kažejo tudi v 'spremembah konceptualizacije disleksije kot alternativne razvojne poti' (OECD 2007: 92).

V raziskavi najprej predstavim pojav disleksije in diskutiram o vplivih, ki jim ima disleksija na področje izobraževanja japonskega jezika. Kasneje se osredotočim na sedanje dožemanje in razvrščanje učnih motenj ter dislektičnih učencev na primeru Japonske in pri izobraževanju japonskega jezika. Hkrati skozi predhodnje raziskave ocenjujem trenutne razmere in splošni odnos do učnih motenj, še posebej odnos do disleksije, izpostavljam problem in navajam predloge k reševanju problemov.

**Ključne besede:** disleksija; japonščina; učenje jezika; vključujoče izobraževanje; samostojno učenje

## 1. Introduction

The statistics of the Japan Foundation 2013 count approximately four million Japanese language learners enrolled in institutions. These statistics do not include those engaged in civil language courses, TV/radio language courses, and learners who learn through the Internet or a social network system (SNS), which has grown in worldwide popularity in recent years. The diversification of such increasing number of learners includes varied purposes of learning, attributes of learners, learning environments, learners' backgrounds and so on. Considering this, the increasing number of learners with LDs (learning disabilities) is a present issue in Japanese language education (Ikeda, 2004; Imura, 2007; Ikeda and Moritoki, 2013 and others). In December 2004, 137 examinees (among them, 11 people with LDs) received special arrangements<sup>1</sup> on the JLPT (Japanese-Language Proficiency Test)<sup>2</sup>. Though only a small number among all examinees received such exemptions, this figure is steadily increasing every year.

The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of perspective of dyslexia, which is said to account for most LDs in Japanese language education. The next section first discusses what dyslexia is and what perspective it offers to Japanese language education. I will then outline the present status of accepting and arranging LD and dyslexic learners in Japan and Japanese language education in section 3. In the following section, I will consider actual conditions and attitudes about LDs and dyslexia in Japanese language education through previous surveys and point out present problems and proposals to solve them.

## 2. Learning disabilities, dyslexia and its cause

Dyslexia is the most common and most carefully studied-of the learning disabilities; it affects 80% of all individuals identified as learning disabled (Lerner, 1989; Shaywitz, 2003; Shaywitz and Shaywitz, 2004; Ishii, 2004; OECD, 2007). Dyslexia is reported to affect 5-10% of alphabetic language speakers<sup>3</sup>. In Slovenia 3% of the population is seriously affected and 7% mildly. In addition, 2-3% of pupils categorized as serious cases are unable to finish elementary education because of dyslexia (Kavkler, 2002). However, with wider recognition and understanding of dyslexia in recent times, more dyslexics are being identified, recognized and counted in surveys. We cannot neglect

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<sup>1</sup> JLPT, Data of the test in December 2014. Retrieved from [https://www.jlpt.jp/statistics/pdf/2014\\_2\\_4.pdf](https://www.jlpt.jp/statistics/pdf/2014_2_4.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) is a test to measure and certify the Japanese-language proficiency of non-native speakers. It started under the joint organization of the Japan Foundation and Japan Educational Exchanges and Services (previously Association of International Education, Japan). It is the largest Japanese-language test in the world, with approximately 610,000 examinees in 62 countries and areas worldwide in 2011.

(<http://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/message.html>)

<sup>3</sup> BBC NEWS on September 1, 2004, Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/health/3618060.stm>

the approximate 10% of the population identified as dyslexic. Considering this, we can safely estimate that the same ratio of Japanese language learners could be dyslexic in Europe.

Here, let us understand the definition of dyslexia. The definition below was given by the American organization International Dyslexia Association (IDA) in 2002, which has become the fundamental basis in Japan and other countries:

Dyslexia is characterized by difficulties with accurate and/or fluent word recognition and by poor spelling and decoding abilities. These difficulties typically result from a deficit in the phonological component of language that is often unexpected in relation to other cognitive abilities and the provision of effective classroom instruction. Secondary consequences may include problems in reading comprehension and reduced reading experience that can impede growth of vocabulary and background knowledge (adopted by the IDA Board of Directors, Nov. 12, 2002<sup>4</sup>).

Dyslexia is considered to have a neurobiological foundation. The deficit of writing and reading abilities causes difficulties in reading comprehensions, therefore reducing reading experience, and thus, can lead to poor vocabulary and background knowledge. Dyslexia occurs developmentally, which is inherent or found in the stage of development, and acquirmentally, which occurs because of accident or illness after the birth. We will discuss developmental dyslexia, since all of the Japanese examinees who have so far requested special arrangements for the JLPT are identified as developmental dyslexic.

The Japanese definition of dyslexia (Uno et al., 2006) is based on IDA's definition, however, it differs from IDA on the following two points. One is that the Japanese definition states deficit of the visual component, as well as the phonological one, which causes difficulties in accuracy and fluency of spelling and decoding in information progresses. It is reasonable to say that the process of reading and understanding differs among languages, for example between phonogram and ideogram, in a system of decoding characters and understanding meanings. The second characteristic point of the Japanese definition is that it refers to the mental status of dyslexics. The dyslexia often causes low self-evaluation and loss of confidence through repeated failures, and thus maladjustment to the society. Therefore, arrangements for dyslexics require both learning support and mental support. I will discuss the differences between the IDA's definition and Japanese definition in another paper.

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<sup>4</sup> Retrieved from <http://eida.org/definition-of-dyslexia/>

### **3. Dyslexia in Japan and Japanese language education**

#### **3.1 Japanese students with LD and dyslexia in educational institutions**

The terms LD and dyslexia or '*yomikaki shōgai*' (disabilities in reading and writing) have become quite common in recent years in Japan and Japanese language education because of the media and the increasing number of LD and dyslexic pupils. With the wide recognition of LDs and dyslexia, the number is reportedly increasing in Japan. According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in Japan, diagnosed LDs have increased from 4.5% (2003 survey) to 6.5% (2012 survey) and dyslexic students account for 4.5% (2012 survey) of approximately 53,000 children in compulsory education in Japan.

On the other hand, the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) survey (2015) was implemented in questionnaire format to approximately 1000 institutions in higher education and reported that 0.44 % of students need special support in their studies. Students with developmental disorder (including LD, ADHD, high functioning autism and so forth) occupy almost 25% of the whole. Comparing the JASSO survey with the MEXT survey of 2012, it is estimated that quite a few students are learning without any special support at the higher education level, even if not all the disabled students go on to university. The survey also reports that 639 out of 833 schools that disabled students are enrolled in are carrying out special support for them.

Those surveys present recent changes in the status of students with difficulties in Japanese education. Japanese students with difficulties at educational institutions are counted less than in Europe, but are still certainly increasing. The survey reports that at least three-fourths of Japanese higher educational institutions have a support system for students with difficulties. Japanese government declared 'Plan for 300,000 exchange students' by 2020, and considering such an increase of foreign students at the level of higher educations, foreign students' success on study in Japan will definitely depend much on firm support system for diversifying students at universities.

#### **3.2 Special arrangements on the JLPT**

Special arrangements on the JLPT for Japanese learners were first organized for an examinee with disabilities in 1994 when a Brazilian with cerebral palsy made a demand of his helper's attendance during the test. As for LDs, in 1996 a British examinee requested special arrangements for taking the JLPT. This was also a time when LDs came to be accepted in Japan. In 1992, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Japan (at the time) established the Council of Research Cooperator on Teaching Methods of Students in Compulsory Education with LDs and Similar Difficulties, and it defined LD in 1999. MEXT, the former Ministry of Education, renamed 'special education' 'special support education'. The existing law is the Act on Support for Persons with Development Disabilities, implemented in 2005 in the

general society; consequently, the revised School Education Act was enforced in 2007.

Let us have a look at the procedure of examinees and arrangements on the JLPT. The guidelines for special arrangements on the JLPT were established and carried out in 1999 (Ueda, 2003). Examinees with disabilities are to submit the Special Arrangements Request Form and an explanation of their disability written by a teacher from their current or former educational institution, or certified specialist such as a medical doctor or a case worker when they register their JLPT application. The committee at the JLPT head office examines the form sent from the examinee, accepts/revises to accept, and informs the local institution to let the examinee take the test with appropriate measures. After taking the exam, the local institution and the examinee report whether the measures were appropriate.

Here is a list of special arrangements:

- Use test booklets in Braille and answer in Braille
- Enlarged test papers
- Extended test time
- Transcription of answers onto answer sheets
- Use of personal equipment
- Listening test exemption
- Seat position (e.g., in front of audio speaker, separate room, etc.)
- Other

One of the problems in establishing arrangements was how to judge various types and degrees of disabilities, as legislative, administrative, and educational systems for handicapped persons differ from country to country (Ueno and Ōsumi, 2008). Thus, the JLPT found a way to establish criteria not depending on the national or regional certificate where the examinees are, but by examining submissions of the actual conditions applied on the examinee at the current institution. It is estimated that examinees require the same or similar arrangements that have been made previously. The same goes for educational institutions of learners.

### 3.3 Support systems at institutions abroad

In this section we will look at the support systems at institutions in England and France, of which the dyslexic population is considerably high<sup>5</sup> and, therefore, support systems are well organized in institutions. First, the UK ratified the Salamanca Statement<sup>6</sup> in 1994, aiming for 'inclusive education', which is considered an approach to special support education, reaching out to the heterogeneity of learners and taking diversity as a starting point for education. The Special Education Needs and Disability

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<sup>5</sup> Ten percent (10%) of the population are dyslexic; 4% severely so. (British Dyslexia Association, Retrieved from <http://www.bdadyslexia.org.uk/about>)

<sup>6</sup> Retrieved from [http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA\\_E.PDF](http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF)

Act (SENDA) 2001 requires educational support for LDs and dyslexia at schools and The Children and Families Act 2014 guarantees support of children with special educational needs or disabilities up to the age of 25 (Nishizawa in printing). On the other hand, in France, special support programs at universities are based on law on equal rights and opportunities, participation and citizenship of people with disabilities, ratified on February 11, 2005 (LOI n° 2005-102 du 11 février 2005 pour l'égalité des droits et des chances, la participation et la citoyenneté des personnes handicapées), and Charter university / handicap (Charte universite / handicap) in 2012 (Ōshima, 2013).<sup>7</sup> In both countries, domestic laws are well developed to support students with LDs and dyslexia at universities.

#### **4. Actual conditions and attitudes about LD and dyslexia in Japanese language education**

##### **4.1 Special support for foreign LD and dyslexic Japanese language learner at universities**

In this section we will especially look at the status of special support for LD and dyslexic students in Japan. Ikeda (2004) seems to be the first report that surveyed approximately 80 Japanese language teachers at universities, and then Imura (2007) about 130 teachers at universities in Japan regarding LD supports. Ikeda (2013) surveyed only 15 teachers in Japanese language schools but especially about support for dyslexic learners. Table 1 (see next page) is a comparison of these three surveys.

These three surveys should not be compared short-sightedly, because the topic and the number of investigated teachers and categories of the answers differ from each survey. However, at least the table shows the trend of how Japanese teachers understand LDs and dyslexia. From the surveys, the ratio of language teachers who do not know about LDs and dyslexia at all has reduced in the past decade, and teachers with such knowledge are increasing, rising from 57% in 2001 to 81.04% in 2005. The growing ratio seems to reflect the increased awareness that Japanese teachers gradually have acquired about LDs and dyslexia in the last decade.

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<sup>7</sup> Corresponding to these laws in UK and France, Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which was adopted by the United Nations in 2007, was ratified in 2015 after several years of necessary measures in domestic matters, and Act of Discrimination classification of Persons with Disabilities is going to be put into force in 2017.

**Table 1:** Research on the recognition of dyslexia

Report, year and theme	Year of the research	Sampling	Know very well	Know what LD/dyslexia is	Have heard the term LD/dyslexia	Have never heard about LD/dyslexia
Ikeda (2004) on LD	2001	81 Japanese teachers at univ. in Japan	4 (5%)	42 (52%)	31 (38%)	3 (4%)
Imura (2007) on LD	2005	132 Japanese teachers at univ. in Japan	With teaching experience 30 (22.72%)	68 (51.51%)	13 (9.84%)	9 (6.81%)
			Have knowledge 9 (6.81%)			
Ikeda (2013) on dyslexia	Not described	15 Japanese teachers in Japan	15 (100%)		0 (0%)	0 (0%)

More interesting, however, are teachers' attitudes about LDs and dyslexia on the following two points. Firstly, the knowledge about LDs and dyslexia that Japanese teachers have is not always correct: "LDs are often mixed with ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity disorder) or developmental disorder" (Imura, 2007, p. 8) and "dyslexia is thought not to be hereditary" (Ikeda, 2013, p. 7) and so on. Language teachers answered that they have knowledge about LDs and dyslexia; however, it is not always based on positive knowledge, but instead on vague conjecture through the media or stories without foundation.

Secondly, the present status is reported that teachers obtain measures and supporting methods for LDs and dyslexia through their own experience, not within the institutional supporting division, and it remains unchanged in the past decade. Ikeda (2004) and Imura (2007) pointed out that the teachers learn by themselves how to support and arrange for LD learners through their trials and efforts. Ikeda (2013) reports that all 15 respondents recognize the needs of instruction on dyslexia in training courses for Japanese teachers. It shows that the institutional supporting system, that the JASSO reported is increasing, does not function to help them efficiently.

#### 4.2 Educational institutions in Japan and dyslexia

Unfortunately, this is not the scene found only in Japanese language education. According to Hiroshima's survey (2007) of 75 teachers for special support education at elementary and secondary school, they answered that they do not have proper information about the mechanism of dyslexia: only 4% of them had already known about dyslexia and others had not known or understood properly. The teachers, as well as the Japanese language teachers, try to find better support measures at

schools through their experiences without certain foundations. The present scene may be different from the survey in 2007, because the present status for LDs is changing every year as the new School Education Act was enforced in 2007 and LD and ADHD students, who had not previously been targeted for support, can now qualify for special support at school. However, at least in 2007, each teacher was isolated at school, and when faced with dyslexic students, searched independently for strategies without any organizational support; such is the case now in Japanese language education.

### **4.3 Conclusions from these surveys**

In this section I will discuss future schemes of supporting dyslexic learners in Japanese language education, which can be obtained through the surveys.

First of all, they tell us that teachers need to have proper and accurate knowledge about dyslexia based on scientific and positive grounds. The media can help to diffuse information and understanding about dyslexia, but it is not enough for teachers to support dyslexic students. What they need is an understanding of the neurobiological mechanism that causes dyslexia, proven supports based on the mechanism, and teaching methods which should be effective on dyslexic students. Teachers are required to have knowledge about dyslexia before facing-dyslexic students in class so that they can identify and deal with the problem as soon as possible. I believe it is vital that teachers have some knowledge of dyslexia since it is based on a neurobiological deficit. I will discuss this in the next section.

Besides teachers' preparation for dyslexia, it is also essential that supporting divisions at educational institutions function properly. As shown in MEXT and JASSO surveys, it is true that the number of supporting divisions is increasing, but there is room for doubt whether they function properly for supported students, supporting teaching staff, as well. The supporting division at educational institutions should be a place, as is the case in England and France, to evaluate the status of students and provide the direction and methods necessary to solve-problems and allow for continued studies.

Additionally, cooperation among teachers tightens the supporting system. Dyslexic students at Japanese language institutions are enrolled in ordinary classes and study with other students. The special supports outside the regular classes are only a part of their studies, and this is not enough if only teachers for special supports teach and support them. Another reason that cooperation with other teachers is required is because teachers' lack of understanding of dyslexia can cause dyslexic students' to suffer from low self-esteem. Dyslexic students are usually not disabled in mental ability, nor lazy, but they do have neurobiological deficits in the phonological component. Attention and support with positive knowledge for all teachers leads the way to effective learning without absence of self-esteem, insecurity, pressure and feelings of alienation.

## **5. Discussion – why do we need perspective of dyslexia?**

Dyslexia is a learning difficulty that affects only a small percentage of Japanese language learners. So, why do teachers have to learn about dyslexia? Below are three beneficial points which dyslexia presents to Japanese language education.

### **5.1 Neurobiological approach to reading-writing process**

The neurobiological approach, which is considered a basis for dyslexia, promotes better understanding of literacy and different processes underlying neural circuits. The process of phonological and semantic understanding may suggest more effective learning for language learners, as well as dyslexic learners. This leads teachers to reconsider their teaching methods, whether their ways to teach characters, words and their meanings are proper from the point of neurobiological mechanism. The neurobiological approach also gives another perspective to research how a learner recognizes characters, phrases, sentences and then texts, with regarding to understanding the meanings and listening the sounds.

Thus, the neurobiological approach may uncover different pathways of understanding of literacy, which will enable language teachers to design a different possible pathway of language learning. The approach should also suggest a way of teaching and dealing with characters in Japanese classes at the present when digital life with computer and smart phone makes us possible to live our lives without writing characters but with only recognizing them. The process and pathway may differ in Japanese language from in alphabetic language, but such a pathway underlying the neurobiological result should be effective for language education, which is inclusive rather than selective with potential consequences.

### **5.2 Reform of Japanese language learning in teaching method and institutional system**

Dyslexic learners have, in the past, been labeled as ‘lazy’ and ‘hindering’ in the classroom. However, research on dyslexia uncovered neurobiological foundations, and language teachers can now design effective and more targeted interventions in language learning. It is an alternative way to achieve the same end goal for the acquisition of literacy. The methods in language learning based on linguistics research and teachers’ experiences are undoubtedly effective, but the research results on dyslexia give us other efficient ways of literacy process underlying neural circuits. Here are two examples to prove one’s literacy: the DAISY and a reading system on IDA homepage. First, the DAISY (Digital Accessible Information System) is a digital system for audio library which offers a recorded sound and a text synchronically colored with the voice. The second example, on the IDA homepage, provides a text and sound that one highlights the phrase or the sentence, and he can hear the sound. Those two digital methods help a person to reach to the end goal – to read and understand the meanings. Though they are aimed for dyslexic people and people with visual and

hearing disabilities, they suggest new ways to learn a language to the field of language education.

Research on dyslexia also makes us reconsider supporting systems at language learning institutions. Previous research uncovers the status that inadequately organized supporting systems in language institutions do not serve as well-functioning tools for teachers trying to solve problems. Language institutions should improve their status under a nationally endorsed instruction program, so that dyslexic learners and teachers supporting them can learn and develop to the best of their abilities.

### **5.3 Inclusive education and learner autonomy**

To reconsider learning methods and institutional systems leads us to reconsider the interaction and relationships between teachers and learners. To find better methods for a singular dyslexic learner leads us to consider inclusive education and learner autonomy, which is currently the strong stream in language education as in Tumposky (1982), Thanasoulas (2000) and others.

Inclusive education is an alternative thought to special education because it integrates learners with disabilities into regular society. Inclusive education, which is a basic thought of the Salamanca statement adopted in 1994, aims to enroll all children even those with disabilities, into mainstream schools and regular classes, unless there are compelling reasons for doing otherwise. With the shift of educational ideology, inclusive education became a reforming process of the whole education system to welcome diversity and to benefit all learners. Meanwhile, the integration of special education students and forced assimilation into regular classes has resulted in the oversight of some learners' particular needs and identities. Integration demands that all teachers be involved in supporting all learners in education, even in regular classes. Thus, knowledge of dyslexia is needed for all teachers to cooperate in supporting dyslexic learners.

When teachers are aware of learners' problems in learning, learning methods, goals of study and so on, it encourages learners' autonomy in learning. Though there is no room to discuss learners' autonomy in this paper, thinking about dyslexic learners allows teachers to reconsider teaching methods in which 'teachers teach learners Japanese language in a class' and instead to think of each learner and his background as part of that learner's lifelong study.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed the status of accepting dyslexic learners in Japanese language teaching and why Japanese teachers need to have a perspective of dyslexia. Potential dyslexic learners in Japanese language are very few, however, the perspective of dyslexia brings about both reform of Japanese language education and, as OECD mentioned, results in change 'more accurately conceptualized as an alternative developmental pathway' (OECD, 2007, p. 92). This results in the reform of institutional systems to support learners with disabilities or other problems and to investigate whether or not such systems are functioning properly. Dyslexia is a disability of the phonological component bound to semantic understandings, but includes future suggestions in widespread subjects.

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# FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH VS. OTHER LANGUAGES IN SRI LANKAN BUDDHIST RITUALS IN THE UK

**Manel HERAT**

Liverpool Hope University, UK

heratm@hope.ac.uk

## Abstract

This paper focuses on the functions of English versus other languages in Sri Lankan Buddhist rituals. The framework for this paper is based on a previous work on the language of Hindu rituals by Pandharipande (2012). This study aims to examine the following research questions: (1) What languages are used for practicing Buddhism? (2) Is English used in Buddhist rituals? (3) What methods are used to sanction change? and (4) Will English replace Sinhala and Pali in the UK? In order to answer these research questions, I collected data by attending Sri Lankan Buddhist festivals and event in the UK and recording sermons and speeches used during these festivals to gather information regarding language use and language change. The study proved to be a worthy investigation, as unlike in Sri Lanka where only either Sinhala or Pali is sanctioned in Buddhist practice, in the UK, Sinhala is undergoing language shift and is being replaced by English during Buddhist sermons and other activities. Although prayers and ritual chantings are still in Pali, most of these are explained to the congregation using English. In addition, the use of English is also sanctioned by the Buddhist clergy, through the use of the internet and other media for purposes of promoting Buddhism and reaching young Sri Lankans born in the UK. The investigation draws on Fishman's (1972) theory on domains of language use; Smolicz's (1981) core value theory and Bourdieu's translated work on linguistic markets (1991).

**Key words:** Buddhist rituals; functions of language; English use, Sinhala, Pali, Sri Lankan Buddhists, Buddhist community UK

## Povzetek

Članek se osredotoča na položaj angleščine v primerjavi z drugimi jeziki na primeru budističnih ritualov Šri Lanke. Članek privzema metodološki okvir, ki ga je v svoji raziskavi o jeziku v hindujskih ritualih zasnoval Pandharipande (2012), in poskuša odgovoriti na naslednja vprašanja: 1. V katerih jezikih so izvajani budistični obredi?, 2. Ali so budistični obredi tudi v angleščini?, 3. Kateri mehanizmi se vključijo pri spremembah jezika?, 4. Ali angleščina izpodriva jezika sinhala in pali v Veliki Britaniji. Odgovore na vprašanja je avtor poiskal s snemanjem pridig in govorov na budističnih festivalih in drugih dogodkih po Veliki Britaniji. Rezultati so zelo zanimivi: medtem ko sta na Šri Lanki v uporabi samo jezika sinhala in pali, pa v Veliki Britaniji predvsem sinhala močno izriva angleščina. V primeru jezika pali pa rituali in molitve ohranjajo prvotni jezik, medtem ko so razlage v angleščini. Angleščino spodbujajo tudi budistični duhovniki predvsem s promocijo budizma preko interneta in drugih medijev.

**Ključne besede:** budistični rituali; funkcije jezika; uporaba angleščine; jezik sinhala; jezik pali; budisti na Šri Lanki; budistična skupnost v Veliki Britaniji

## 1. Introduction

There are a large number of Sri Lankan Buddhists in the UK, scattered across many cities of the country with the majority living in places such as London, Birmingham and Manchester. Many of these have come to the UK as professionals or students. It is difficult to estimate the number of Sri Lankan Buddhists in the UK due to inadequacies in the census questions, which does not ask questions about religion and ethnicity. Migrating to a new country is a big experience, and once Sri Lankans come to Britain, they tend to continue their links with Sri Lanka through establishing Buddhist cultural centres and old boy/old girl networks<sup>1</sup> linked to schools they have attended in Sri Lanka. Cousins (1994:148) notes that the centres founded by Sri Lankan communities became primarily “ethnic centres for the Sinhalese community”. The purpose of the Buddhist cultural centres is to promote Buddhism among the second generation of Sri Lankans and to preserve the cultural traditions and Sinhala language.

No previous research exists on the language used for Buddhist practice and rituals in the UK. The only work that discusses a similar topic is Pandharipande (2013, 2010), who analyses the patterns of language use in religious rituals of the Hindu diasporic community in the US, where she observes English is a new code added to the Hindu Community’s repertoire of languages of rituals in the US. A study of Sri Lankan Tamils in Melbourne by Fernandez and Clyne (2007) found that among Sri Lankan Hindu families, religious identity was extremely important in maintaining language. They, however, observed that for Christian Tamil families it was their level of educational attainment and their experience of English in the homeland that determined language maintenance or shift. This paper will draw on Smolicz’s core value theory (1981, 1991), Fishman’s theories of domains of language use and language maintenance (1965, 1966, and 1972) and Bourdieu’s theory of linguistic markets to explore the core significance of language in the performance of Buddhist rituals within the Sinhala Buddhist community. As Buddhism is part of the identity of Sinhala Buddhists who have migrated to the UK, the purpose of this paper is to investigate how globalisation and the dominant influence of English have affected the language of Buddhist rituals among the Sinhala community in the UK. This study aims to complement Pandharipande’s (2013, 2010) work on language use in Hindu rituals in the US by describing and analysing a sample of language use in Buddhist rituals in the UK. It presents findings in the context of how language practices in Buddhism have undergone change to accommodate to the new socio-cultural climate. Following the framework used by Pandharipande (2013) this paper intends to answer the following research questions:

1. What languages are used in Buddhist practice and rituals in the UK?
2. Who sanctions the use of English for Buddhist ritual practice?
3. How is this change sanctioned?
4. Will English replace Sinhala and Pali in the UK?

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<sup>1</sup> A type of society that is based on people with whom one has been to school

## 2. Historical Background

Sri Lankans have continued to migrate to the UK from colonial times, and many Sri Lankans arrived in the UK to work and live after World War II, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s. Professionals as well as temporary visitors, primarily students came to the UK for studies and began to settle down (Deegalle, 2008:3). According to the 2011 National Census there were 247,743 Buddhists in Britain. However, it is difficult to know exactly how many Sri Lankan Buddhists are there in the UK, as even the Sri Lankan High Commission in London is not able to provide accurate figures on the number of Sri Lankan Buddhists. The UK National Census is of no use in this regard, as it does not include separate questions for ethnicity and religion, classifying all Sri Lankans as 'Asian British' or 'other Asians'.

The Sinhala community in the UK is well represented by Buddhist temples and old boy/old girl networks. The Sri Lankan community regularly gather at temples around the country as well as at people's homes and at the Sri Lankan High Commission in London to celebrate Buddhist festivals and to carry out Buddhist rituals. Buddhist religious festivals are usually also attended by many Sri Lankans who are non-Buddhists as well as non-Sri Lankans. Since Buddhist religious centres are often also cultural centres they gather diaspora Sri Lankans for religious and cultural functions (Deegalle, 2008:10).

### 2.1 Buddhism in Sri Lanka

There are many different sects of Buddhism. Sri Lankan Buddhists practise 'Theravada Buddhism' which means "the view of the elders" (Tilakaratne, 2012:xxiii). The elders are the senior Buddhist monks. Sinhala Buddhists believe that their practice is the closest to the Buddha's original teachings, which were written down in Sri Lanka in the first century C.E (BBC 2002). They were written in Pali and are known as the Pali canon, called the *Tipitaka* - the three baskets. The three sections are: the *Vinaya Pitaka* (the code for monastic life); the *Sutta Pitaka* (teachings of the Buddha) and the *Abhidamma Pitaka* (supplementary philosophy and religious teaching) These texts have endured without any alterations since being written down and Sri Lankan Buddhists consider it important to commit sections of these texts to memory to be used in Buddhist rituals (Perera, 1988:32; BBC, 2002).

### 2.2 Languages in Buddhism

The Sinhala people speak Sinhala. Sinhala is a diglossic language (Gair, 1968, 1998) with separate spoken and written varieties. The spoken variety consists of formal spoken Sinhala and colloquial Sinhala used in ordinary conversation (Gair, 1998:216) whereas the written variety is more formal and archaic. The spoken variety of Sinhala has borrowed extensively from languages such as Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil and former

colonial languages, and “is used by all Sri Lankans at all social levels (Senaratne, 2008:28).”

Sinhala is an Indo Aryan language which is supposed to have originated from North India. Sinhala was influenced by many languages, mainly Pali, the liturgical<sup>2</sup> language of Southern Buddhism and the classical<sup>3</sup> literary language Sanskrit. Just as Pali was the sacred<sup>4</sup> language of Buddhism, Sanskrit was the sacred language of the Brahmins, Hinduism and of Mahayanism (de Silva 1981: 59). The Sinhala language consists of equivalent forms from both Sanskrit and Pali, for example, *nirvana* (Sanskrit); *nibbana* (Pali). In addition, Sinhala has also been heavily influenced by colonial languages, especially, Portuguese, Dutch and English.

The extensive influence of Pali and Sanskrit lexicon on Sinhala, especially since the arrival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, can be seen in the Sinhala word stock. The introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka is seen by scholars as the beginning of Sinhala culture and Sinhala literature. Ludowyke (1956: 91) describes the impact of Buddhism on the development of Sinhala ‘for creative and artistic purposes’. This is supported by De Silva (1981: 57) who cites Buddhism as the greatest stimulus to literary activity among the ancient Sinhalese.

Table 1. shows the population by religion in Sri Lanka and the languages used for religion. As it is evident from Table 1 Buddhism is the most widely practiced religion by the Sinhalese people. Other religions practiced by the Sinhalese include Catholicism and Christianity, which amounts to a total of 7.4 million. Hinduism is mainly practiced by the Tamil population and Islam by Muslims and Malays. In terms of the languages used for religion, Table 1 demonstrates that the languages used for Buddhism are Sinhala and Pali. In Sri Lanka, English is only used for religious purposes by a small group of Sinhala Christians. However, English is a powerful and prestigious language of Sri Lanka outside the religious domain, which is associated with the elite of society. It is seen as a badge of class and is typically referred to as the *kadda* (sword) (Gunasekera 2005:33); English is also the first language for a small group of people in Sri Lanka and is their home language irrespective of religious affiliation. However, English has been typically excluded from Buddhist practices. Like among the Hindus in India (Pandharipande, 2013:419) English is used for philosophical discourses on Buddhism but not for rituals.

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<sup>2</sup> A liturgical language is a language in which religion is performed.

<sup>3</sup> A classical language is defined as a literary language that is no longer spoken except in religious contexts or for ceremonial purposes.

<sup>4</sup> A sacred language is defined as a ‘holy’ or liturgical language that is traditionally used for religious rituals by a community who speaks another language in everyday life, for example, Sanskrit is the sacred language of Hinduism but it is not a spoken language. Hindu worshippers use Sanskrit for worship but Hindi for ordinary conversation.

**Table 1:** Population by religion and languages used for religion<sup>5</sup>

Population	Number (in millions)	%	Languages used for religious rituals
Buddhist	14,222,844	70.2	Pali, Sinhala
Hindu	2,554,606	12.6	Sanskrit, Tamil
Islam	1,967,227	9.7	Arabic, Tamil, Malay
Roman Catholic	1,237,038	6.1	English, Sinhala, Tamil
Other Christians	272,568	1.3	English, Sinhala, Tamil
Other	9,440	0.0	
Total	20,263,723	100	

Source: Sri Lanka Census of Population and Housing, 2011

As Senaratne (2008:29) has noted, Pali and Sanskrit have played an important role in the development of Sinhala and are “visible at all levels, particularly, in the domains of religion, education and administration”. Furthermore, she observes, that the Theravada Buddhist scriptures brought to Sri Lanka were in Pali and that it was in Pali that the ancient Sinhalese first started to write. As a result, “a considerable body of writing consisting of exegetical works, religious texts and historical accounts were in Pali and old Sinhalese” (Senaratne, 2008:29). Sinhala developed as a distinct language under the influence of the Pali chronicles and Buddhism (de Silva 1981: 58). Senaratne (2008:209) notes that in subsequent centuries a large gamut of Pali and Sanskrit terms were assimilated into the Sinhala language and that, unusually, many of these forms were retained at least in colloquial form in the language used by the masses. She cites examples such as *tanhaavā* ‘desire’ and *dharmāyā* ‘doctrine’ (among many others), as being commonly used words by speakers of colloquial Sinhala.

Some examples of Pali and Sanskrit borrowings retained in written English in Sri Lanka are illustrated in example (1):

1. The evening *pooja* and chanting of *pirith* were done by all at the newly built *budu vihara* with Ven Sirisumana who did a *anumodana* of the days *kusala kamma*. (*Newslinka* 29<sup>th</sup> May 2014)

The English sentence in example (1) contains 29 words out of which 7 words are in Pali. This is 24% of the lexicon, almost a quarter of the words<sup>6</sup>. As noticeable from

<sup>5</sup> There is no information available in the census regarding ethnic distribution (for example, % of Sinhala being Muslims or Catholics, etc. A Sinhala man would only convert to Islam in the event of marrying a Muslim woman. This proportion would be small. The proportion of Sinhalese who are Catholics would be much higher and of the figures given above, it can be surmised that the Sinhalese make up the major portion of Catholics. Tamils are generally Hindus or Muslims.

<sup>6</sup> *Pooja* means a devotional offering or veneration, *pirith* is a set of protective chants used by monks as well as lay people; *budu vihara* can be interpreted as the Buddha’s dwelling place, a

example 1, the language used by Sri Lankan Buddhists for ceremonies and rituals is distinct due to the use of Pali. According to Gunasekera (1891:381) a few examples of the most commonly used Pali and Sanskrit terms that characterize language used for Buddhist rituals by a Sinhala speaker are *sil* 'meditation', *pooya* 'full moon day', *nirvaana* 'enlightenment', *dhamma* 'doctrine', *teeroo* 'a Buddhist monk' and *dukka* 'sorrow'. Senaratne (2008) sees these Pali terms as conveying "reverence and respect".

### 2.3 Buddhist ceremonies and rituals

Kariyawasam (1996:2) notes that any religion when it is introduced to a new cultural context needs a 'communally shared' system of outward manifestations of practice to express people's devotion to the religion. He further recognises Buddhist ceremonies and rituals as necessary 'devotional forms' for the survival of Buddhism as a vital and vibrant force in society. In both Sri Lanka and in other countries, Sri Lankans practice Buddhism by performing certain ceremonies, rituals and devotional practices.

A ritual is defined as "as an outward act performed regularly and consistently in a context that confers upon it a religious significance not immediately evident in the act itself". A ceremony on the other hand is "a composite unity consisting of a number of subordinate ritualistic acts" (Kariyawasam, 1996:3).

Buddhists rituals and ceremonies performed by Sri Lankan Buddhists can be broadly classified according to three headings:

- a. Acts performed for the acquisition of merit (offering of food to the monks, alms giving, Pali: *punnkamma*; Sanskrit *punyakarma*)
- b. Acts directed towards securing worldly prosperity and averting calamities through disease and unseen forces. *Pirith chanting*; *Bodhi puja*
- c. Rituals adopted from folk religion. (superstitions, horoscopes)

Kariyawasam (1996) observes that all religious activities that have a ceremonial and a ritualistic significance in Buddhism are regarded as acts for the acquisition of merit. In this sense, all Buddhist religious activity can be explained as a means towards this end.

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place of worship, *anumodana* is a kind of thanksgiving through which merit is transferred and finally *kusala kamma* means good deeds.

### 3. Theoretical background

#### 3.1 Core value theory

The theoretical background for this paper is drawn from the sociology of language that examines core values as crucial for cultural identity. The theory of the core values of culture (Smolicz 1981) has been shown to be useful in understanding patterns of language maintenance, change and language loss in multilingual societies. According to Smolicz (1981:108), the maintenance of a group's language and culture depends on the extent to which its heritage interacts with new cultural inputs. This theory can be applied to the way in which language is used within the Sri Lankan Buddhist community; as Smolicz observes, cultural values are not just a random collection of items that are of equal value to a group's cultural identity, but are aspects of cultural identity which are of "fundamental importance for its continued viability and integrity that they can be regarded as the pivots around which the whole social and identificational system of the group is organised."

For Smolicz (1981:109) core values are cultural values from the homeland which symbolically identify the group and its membership. He observes that it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinct communities who can maintain their own creative culture. Core value theory becomes fundamental in the circumstances discussed here where there are external pressures for language change due to globalisation and the new cultural context. It has been argued (Smolicz, 1991) that cultural groups differ in terms of the extent to which they emphasise their own language as a core value. In relation to the Sri Lankan Buddhist community, it could be stated that the Sinhala language and the Buddhist religion are core cultural values that define the identity of the Sinhala Buddhist community in the UK. Nevertheless, due to external pressures from the new cultural context and processes of globalisation, Sri Lankans have adapted English in performing various non-core tasks at Buddhist functions. Although the Pali language is still used for chanting prayers and for performing the rituals, English is recognised as suitable for other activities for which Sinhala would normally be the language used in the homeland. The inclusion of English and change in language functions is discussed below using Fishman's (1972) notion of domains of language use.

#### 3.2 Domains of Language use in Sri Lanka

In his classic study of the New Jersey barrio, Joshua Fishman (1972) laid down some useful generalizations that will be adapted in this discussion. Fishman defines a domain as a social space, such as home or family, school, neighbourhood, church (or in this case temple), workplace, public media, or government. He further distinguishes a domain by three characteristics: participants, location, and topic. The social roles and relationships of participants characterise a domain not individuals. These relationships can sometimes cause obvious conflicts. What is evident from

Fishman's theory however is that the choices made by individuals depend on people's understanding of what language(s) are appropriate for a particular domain.

### **3.2.1 Use of Sinhala**

In Sri Lanka Sinhala is the only language that is used in the religious domain for non-ritual activities. It would have a significant use in the religious domain compared to formal domains. For most people, Sinhala would also be the language used at home and at the temple. In the Sri Lankan context Sinhala seems to be exchanging places with English in many formal domains. In domains where Sinhala dominates such as at the temple, English would have no role. This indicates that in Sri Lanka English is an alternate code for Sinhala.

### **3.2.2 Use of English**

As mentioned above, English is more evident within formal domains such as educational, professional contexts, etc. In Sri Lanka English would be the least used code in the religious domain, especially among Buddhists, Muslims and Hindus. It is common for Catholic and Protestant services in church to be held in English. This indicates that English has a prominent role in daily discourse, especially in education and in professional contexts but not in religious domains.

### **3.2.3 Use of Pali**

According to Fernando (1977:343) the clergy of all three oriental religions in Sri Lanka (Buddhist, Islam and Hindu) would normally know no English (the rare exception being the missionary Buddhist monk or Hindu priest). All Buddhist sermons are preached in Sinhala, but the language of the sacred texts is Pali and all ritual chanting and prayers would be in Pali.

## **4. Methodology**

The data analysis will consider the use of language in two important rituals: the rain retreat and the Sinhala New Year celebrations. These Buddhist rituals are performed both at Buddhist temples and organisations in the UK.

The data for the investigation was collected through participant observation and recording of events; recordings were made of 5 speeches and 5 sermons at the Sinhala New Year celebrations and the Rain Festival during 2013 held at Manchester, Letchworth, Leicester and London. The speeches were approximately 20-30 minutes long and the sermons were approximately 40 minutes to 1 hour in duration. Each of the sermons and speeches on average contained 5242 and 2664 words respectively. The total number of words for the recorded data are 39,533. The data are also supplemented from a newspaper corpus covering a time span of one year from the publication *NewsLanka*, an English newspaper produced in the UK in order to see how the media uses language to authenticate Buddhist rituals. The total number of words

of the newspaper corpus is 257,388. The corpus included all articles not only ones related to the reporting of Buddhist rituals.

The transcripts of the recorded data were analysed using AntConc (version 3.4.1w developed by Anthony (2014)) with regard to keyword use. Although not entirely comparable, for this I used the *Newslinka* corpus as a reference corpus to investigate what languages the top 5 key words in the recorded data are in. This method was used to reveal what languages were most prominent within Buddhist rituals in the UK. The analysis is mainly qualitative but data will also be presented quantitatively with regard to key word use. As the two corpora are not comparable in terms of the number of words, normalised frequencies will be provided per thousand words.

## 5. Findings

### 5.1 . English in Buddhist rituals in the UK

The findings from the participant observation confirmed that English is being used at Buddhist festivals, especially for sermons but not for *pirith* chanting or prayers. The chanting was always in Pali, but after the chanting was over explanations of the chanting were given in English, whereas in Sri Lanka usually these explanations would be in Sinhala. This is confirmed by Deegalle (2008:18) who observes that “the programmes of the SSIBC<sup>7</sup> are conducted both in Sinhala and English”. In terms of the interaction among lay people and clergy, a clear pattern was evident with regard to language domains. The use of language among interlocutors is detailed in Figure 1. The percentages are calculated by looking at the duration of time used for each language.

It was found that all talk with the Buddhist priests are in Sinhala, whereas conversation among friends is either in Sinhala, English or a Sinhala/English mixed code. The mixed code was more predominant than Sinhala. Young people (second generation) usually used only English to talk to their parents; the parents used Sinhala, or sometimes a mixed Sinhala/English code to talk to their children. The patterns of language with one’s spouse were also sometimes wholly in Sinhala, at other times, in both Sinhala and English. However, unlike Pandharipande’s (2013) study, no English was used at ritual events by Sri Lankans for purposes of chanting and prayers. These were always observed in Pali. The findings suggest that religion has a strong influence on language maintenance. Sinhalese who are devout Buddhists are likely to use Sinhala for politeness in addressing the Buddhist priests and for

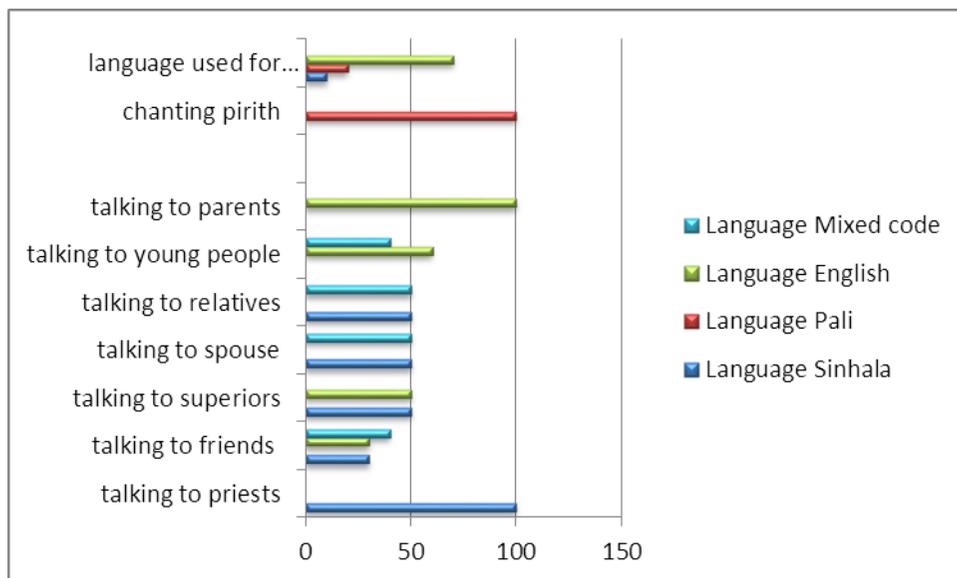
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<sup>7</sup> This is a Sri Lankan organisation The Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre in London.

There is no information available in the census regarding ethnic distribution (for example, % of Sinhala being Muslims or Catholics, etc. A Sinhala man would only convert to Islam in the event of marrying a muslim woman. This proportion would be small. The proportion of Sinhalese who are Catholics would be much higher and of the figures given above, it can be surmised that the Sinhales make up the major portion of Catholics. Tamils are generally Hindus or Muslims.

philosophical and political discussions. This confirms similar findings by Fernandez and Clyne (2007) carried out in Australia, who observed that Indian and Sri Lankan Tamils who are Hindus have the lowest rate of language shift compared to people of other religious affiliations.

**Figure 1:** Language use in different domains



## 5.2 The rain festival

“The rain festival is a three month religious retreat called *vassa* (rain) which ends with the offering of *kathina* (‘hard’) robes to the community of monks and is an extremely important religious event for the communal life of Theravada Buddhists in South Asia and Southeast Asia” (Deegalle, 2008:7). The observance of the rain retreat is an age old tradition, and is directly related to the weather pattern. In Sri Lanka, this ceremony is performed after the full moon day in October at the end of the rainy season. The ritual is performed by taking the robes “in a colourful procession, accompanied by local traditional dancing, music, decorations, flags and floral arrangements” (Tilakaratne, 2012:98) around the village in the early hours of the morning. Once the offering of the robes is done, “certain monks are selected to do the cutting, sewing and dyeing of the robes – all in a single day” (Kariyawasam, 1996). In the UK, although it may not be the rainy season, the ritual is still performed to enable people to learn and practice *dhmma*. The ritual of going in procession to the temple with the robes was only performed in one location; in the other places, the procession was held in a function room.

With regard to language use, invitations to the ceremony are sent out via email in English but the subject of the email was sometimes entitled in Sinhala *Vas Aradhana* (rain invitation) and the ritual itself was referred to as the *katina chivara* (rain festival)

and the period of time was referred to as the *vassana* (rain). The congregation and the members were referred to using the terms *dayaka dayikas* (male and female devotees) which can be seen as an Anglicization of the Sinhala words *dayikavo* (female, -pl); *dayakayo* (male, -pl). Gunasekera (2005:195) defines it as a "Sinhala term to refer to people who assist the priests in the running of the temple." References to the clergy are made through use of the words *maha sangha* (clergy). Although the words *katina chivara* (rain retreat) was used, equivalent English forms 'rain retreat' or 'rains retreat' was also used to refer to the ritual. In performing the ritual of offering 'cloth' to the Buddhist monks who observed the retreat, announcements at the ritual were in English not in Sinhala.

The continued use of Pali in ritual chantings can be seen as a recognition that the survival of the Sri Lankan Buddhist community remains in the preservation of the cultural identity and maintenance of the sacred language of Buddhism, as observed in Smolicz's core value theory. The core significance of language in the transmission of culture is seen by the fact that Sinhala continues to be used in spoken interaction among family and friends but there is also a preference for English for activities that are not seen as 'core' cultural activities. This may be an attempt to be inclusive of non-Sri Lankans and non-Buddhists or it may be that using English is easier or an acceptance of the status quo. Fishman's (1965, 1966) observation that it is characteristic of immigrant groups to move from a non-English language to English monolingualism is not evident here as bilingual language use is a more noticeable aspect with English taking over certain functions of Sinhala.

### 5.3 Language use during the New Year celebrations

According to the lunar calendar, Sri Lankans celebrate the New Year festival usually in the middle of April by observing a number of domestic rituals. In the home country, these rituals are shared by people in the neighbourhood and the New Year is celebrated by sharing food, music, dance and traditional sports. In the UK, it is not possible to celebrate the Sri Lankan New Year within this same cultural context. In order to get a sense of community, the New Year is celebrated at Buddhist temples or in a hired function room with the Buddhist monks chairing the proceedings. This is a major difference to how the New Year is celebrated in Sri Lanka. This not only changes the ritual of how the event is celebrated but it also influences language use. The proceedings usually begin with the arrival of the Buddhist priests and the lighting of the traditional lamp and the singing of the *Jayamangala Gatha*<sup>8</sup> by young girls clad

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<sup>8</sup> The recital of the *jayamangala gatha*, is "a set of eight benedictory stanzas extolling the virtues of the Buddha." This is usually done on important occasions like a marriage ceremony, when setting out on an important journey, or when inaugurating any venture of significance. According to Kariyawasam (1996) The contents of the stanzas recited clearly show that the ritual is intended to bring happiness and prosperity to the persons concerned or the successful completion of the project. Accordingly these verses have come to be called "the stanzas of success and prosperity," *Jayamangala Gatha*, and have become quite popular among all sections of the Buddhists.

in white saris. Then the chief priest of the temple welcomes the congregation in English. In Sri Lanka, Buddhist priests would always address the congregation in Sinhala. After the welcome, there is a sermon by a priest before the day's events begin. The priest usually quotes what he refers to as 'a teaching' from the *Maha Parinibbana Sutta* from the *Digha Nikaya* in English. As Deegalle notes (2008:17) an important aspect of this diaspora Sri Lankan community is that "it attempts to be inclusive by integrating into British society by involving local authorities in Buddhist ritual activities", which may be another reason for the use of English.

#### 5.4 . Qualitative data analysis - samples of language use in Buddhist rituals

In the following section, I will consider some samples of language from the recorded data to illustrate the functions of English and other languages in Buddhist rituals.

As example (2) demonstrates, although English is used for the teaching, Pali words for important Buddhist concepts are mentioned by the monk:

2. According to this well known discourse, the Buddha once addressed Ananda and said: "Ananda, whoever has developed four paths of power (*iddhipada*), practised them frequently, made them his vehicle, made them his base, established them, become familiar with them, and properly undertaken them, he could undoubtedly live for a century (*Ayukappa*) or the remainder of one. The Tathagatha has developed these powers..."

In the sermon in (2), the priest explains the Buddhist concepts in English and then provides the Pali words, *iddhipada* and *ayukappa*. In Buddhism, the word *iddhipada* refers to factors that are "critical in accomplishing a goal, whether mental or transcendental." *Iddhi* means magical powers to see and hear things and to be able to read minds. *Pada* refers to the base. In other words, *iddhipada* gives the meaning of 'power' which includes will power, effort, consciousness and wisdom. *Ayukappa* on the other hand suggests duration of life, in this case a century. As the core value theory suggests using Pali words for Buddhist concepts and quoting from the Sinhala Literary Canon while preaching could be seen as a way of maintaining a distinct cultural identity. The function of Pali/English, Sinhala/English in examples (2), (3) and (4) draw on a bicultural/biliterate identity and takes advantage of the religious and cultural values of Sri Lanka.

Likewise, the opposite is also present where the Pali words are given first and then they are explained in English as in example (3):

3. What then are these four-fold paths of power? They are *chanda* (intention or wish) *citta* (consciousness), *viriyā* (effort or energy) and *vimamsa* (investigation).

In example (3) four Pali words are used. *Chanda* is explained as intention. In Buddhism *chanda* is recognised as a mental feature that can have positive or negative

effects depending on what factors it co-occurs with. In the sermon, the monk is careful with his choice of words. The word *citta* is used as opposed to the words *manasa* and *vinnanaya* all of which are used in Pali and Sinhala in a generic sense to mean 'mind'. According to the Pali Text Society's Pali-English dictionary, the word *citta* emphasises the emotional or conative side of the mind being referred to as heart (psychologically), whereas the word *manasa* on the other hand emphasises the intellect. *Cita* is defined as "the centre and focus of man's emotional nature as well as that intellectual element which inheres in and accompanies its manifestations; i. e. thought". *Viriya*, on the other hand is translated as expending effort or energy as mentioned in the sermon and can be defined as "having an attitude of engaging gladly with wholesome activities". *Vimamsa* is described as investigation and is used to mean "skilfulness or wisdom".

It is also common for the Buddhist priest to quote from the Sinhala literary canon and verses from works such as the *Lowedasangarawa* are utilised in English for purposes of explaining ideas (see example (4)):

4. "when one does an evil deed it may feel like eating honey, but when the results of such actions come it will feel like eating fire".

In example (4), the priest uses some new similes such as comparing the doing of an evil deed to the 'feeling of eating honey', which suggests something pleasant and sweet but the result of the evil deed is compared 'to eating fire' which suggests an unimaginable and horrific outcome.

The *Dhammapada* is also quoted as in example (5), and in these translations conditionals are used with similes to foreground important considerations. In example (5), it is said that 'if someone acts with an impure mind, then their pain will pursue them and this is symbolised by 'the wheel that follows the foot of the ox'. The ox is a beast of burden and the wheel following the ox indicates relentless action that has no end. On the other hand, in example (6), if a person acts with a pure mind, the simile used to describe their happiness 'never departing shadow' suggests that happiness is a constant companion for those whose acts are 'pure.'

5. "If with an impure mind a person speaks or acts, suffering follows him like the wheel that follows the foot of the ox".
6. "If with a pure mind a person speaks or acts happiness follows him like his never departing shadow".

English is also used for thanking the congregation. Hybrid compounds using Sinhala and English are used such as *sugatha qualities* to describe the good qualities of those who help the temple and the Buddhist monks. The word *sugatha* in Pali means Buddha, so using this word as a modifier for the word 'qualities' indicates that the people in question have 'Buddha qualities' or the qualities of a Buddha.

The Buddhist monks' language use also suggests that they have to be very careful when they translate Pali words into English because there are no clear equivalents that convey the actual meaning of the Pali words. Example (7) demonstrates that

there is no direct equivalent for the word *avijja* although it is often translated as ignorance. This example shows the way in which the Buddhist monk tries to explain it in English.

7. “*Avijja*, Pali word *Avijja* translates as ignorance into English. What is the real meaning? If I say ignore, is it the same meaning or a different meaning? [waits for answer from the audience] It is different meaning. So the ignorance has the lack of knowledge as well meaning. Original meaning. Then it is right. *Avijja* also has the same meaning. One is don’t know, that is lack of knowledge. I don’t know. Another thing, ignoring. I know but I don’t want to know, that is ignoring. *Avijja*. Sometimes people they don’t know what is actually happening; other things they know but they don’t want to know. “

The monk goes on to further explain the concept using real life examples looking at how people react to a doctor’s advice about disease. Through these means he is able to explain what he sees as a difficult Pali word for people to understand. There are also times when the monk is unable to explain a particular word in English, such as in example (8).

8. For the monks, the Buddha advised; when you walk don’t look at here and there like this. In Sinhala we say *viyagasa*. I don’t know what is the English word for this? What is the word? Don’t look here and there?

The above analysis illustrates that the inclusion of English has changed the linguistic repertoire of the Sinhala Buddhist Community in the UK. As noted above, in the homeland all Buddhist sermons are preached in Sinhala, but the language of rituals is Pali. In the rituals discussed above, priests use Sinhala, Pali and English and not just Sinhala or Pali. As with Hindu priests, using English only for performing rituals is uncommon. The priests generally use English for translation purposes and for explanation, especially for those who have no knowledge of either Sinhala or Pali. However, the priests are known to also give sermons in English and things like announcements, emails, texts, messages, newsletters, etc., are in English. Even though the use of Sinhala is a core cultural value that defines Sinhala Buddhists, external pressures from the new context such as integration has made it essential for English to be recognised as an important language of communication in the religious domain.

The analysis of language use suggests that the inclusion of English in the linguistic repertoire has changed the repertoire of the Sinhala Buddhist community as well as the structure of the language of Buddhism. English has taken over the function of Sinhala in the religious domain of sermons, explanations of rituals, messages, newsletters, announcements, and philosophical discussions as it is the dominant language spoken by the majority of people in the UK.

## 5.5 Quantitative data analysis – language use in Buddhist rituals

### 5.5.1 Most frequent words

Having considered how language functions in Buddhist rituals in the UK qualitatively, I will now provide a quantitative analysis of the data examining the most common words in the two corpora and the key words in the recorded data. Table 2 demonstrates that Buddhist terms are more common in the recorded transcripts than in the *Newslinka* corpus although some terms appear to feature more in the *Newslinka* corpus such as ‘dhamma school’. It is also interesting that the terms ‘venerable’, ‘Buddhist’ and ‘monks’ were used less in the *Newslinka* corpus whereas its use in the recorded data was higher. This could be because the speeches included a long list of Buddhist priests who were welcomed to the events in question. The log likelihood score suggests that the term ‘resident/venerable Buddhist monks’ was overused in the transcript corpus with a score 0.57% compared to the newspaper corpus which was 0.23% giving a total log likelihood calculation of 382.64, which is statistically significant. Of the most frequent words per 1000 words, ‘meditation retreat’ and ‘rainy retreat’ had the highest frequency in the recorded data (5.72) as opposed to the newspaper data(0.23). The fact that the English words ‘meditation’ and ‘rainy retreat’ are used as opposed to their Sinhala equivalents *bhavana* and *kathina* reveals that English has a higher functional use within Buddhist rituals than Sinhala.

**Table 2:** Words with the highest frequency per 1000 words in recorded and newspaper data

Sri Lankanisms	Frequency of use per 1000 words recorded data	Frequency of use per 1000 words newspaper data
<i>dhamma</i> school	3.66	3.31
<i>dhamma</i> sermon	3.31	0.04
<i>Buddha puja</i>	2.31	0.02
Resident/venerable/Buddhist monks	5.72	0.23
Meditation/rainy retreat	5.72	0.23

### 5.5.2 Keyword analysis

The keyword analysis of the recorded transcripts showed that the 5 most frequent words that were used in Buddhist rituals were the words *dhamma*, *Buddha*, *vihara*, *meditation* and *mind*. This shows that in terms of language use Pali is the most frequent and then English. The fact that no Sinhala words are used in the top 5 key words suggests that English is replacing Sinhala in Buddhist rituals. The frequencies are given in Table 3.

**Table 3:** The five most frequent keywords in the recorded data

Keywords used in the transcripts	Frequency	Keyness
<i>Dhamma</i>	295	1055.536
<i>Buddha</i>	287	1034.948
<i>Vihara</i>	202	516.759
Meditations	97	253.111
Mind	94	226.608

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 What languages are used in Buddhist practice and rituals?

The findings show that language use among the Sri Lankan Buddhist community is complex with Pali, Sinhala and English interacting at different times for Buddhist practices and rituals. As a practice, English is used among Sri Lankans for non-religious cultural activities and it is not clear that there is disapproval for this use, although there may very well be some Sri Lankans for whom this may not be acceptable.

Bourdieu's translated work (1991) on linguistic markets offers a new way of understanding the differential values assigned to English and other varieties or languages. Bourdieu associates language skills and knowledge with various kinds of 'symbolic capital' and distinctive life styles. His concept of 'symbolic capital' is useful in understanding the hegemony of English. In Bourdieu's view, 'linguistic hegemony' is an integrated market with sponsorship from the state. This theory raises two important issues: firstly, the role of state cultural institutions in reproducing the hegemony of the legitimate language (here read as English) over other co-existing languages (here read as Sinhala and Pali), and secondly, the extent of integration – that is, to what extent hegemony is fully established and to what extent these markets allow the production and maintenance of alternate languages. In relation to English and Buddhist culture, using Bourdieu's notion of language and symbolic power, it could be said that English is the dominant language in the secular domain, as it is the language of work, education, commerce, etc., whereas in the religious domain, English has less power. In the context of the UK, it is the main language in both religious and secular domains, including those of Christianity and Judaism.

Among Buddhists, although English is used for sermons and for explaining Buddhist concepts and philosophical ideas and for quoting from the *Dhammapada*, it is not used for conversing with the Buddhist priests nor for religious chanting and prayers, which are always in the liturgical language Pali. Sinhala is used for purposes of discourse and for interacting with the Buddhist priests. In Sri Lanka, Buddhists priests are highly respected and there are special terms for addressing a Buddhist

monk and for rituals associated with Buddhist monks such as sitting, eating, walking, dying, etc. (see Table 4)

**Table 4:** Special terms used by lay people when talking to the clergy  
(Also see Senaratne, 2008:39)

Meaning of the words in English	Words in colloquial Sinhala	Special terms for Buddhist clergy
Eating	<i>kanava</i>	<i>valadinava</i>
Drinking	<i>bonava</i>	<i>valadinava</i>
Sleeping	<i>nidagannava</i>	<i>saethapenava</i>
Food	<i>aahara</i>	<i>daanaya</i>
coming in	<i>enava</i>	<i>vadinava</i>
Died	<i>nethivuna</i>	<i>apawathvuna</i>
Preaching	<i>kiyanavaa</i>	<i>deeshanaa karanava</i>
yes (in answer to question)	<i>ov</i>	<i>ehemai, ehei</i>
yes (in answer to request)	<i>haa</i>	<i>hondamai</i>
present (as in the priest is in the temple)	<i>innawa</i>	<i>vedainnava</i>

As seen from Table 4, when a Buddhist monk is invited to enter a place the word is *vadinawa* not the normal term that is used to ask a person to come in which is *enna*. Likewise, it's not possible in Sinhala to say a monk is eating or drinking, one has to say *valadinavaa*. As Buddhist priests are highly respected in society, a lay person would also not sit down at the same level with a priest nor will they partake of food at the same time as the monks. These customs are preserved in Buddhist practice in the UK and in order to be able to perform this kind of humility in discourse, the appropriate language is Sinhala. I observed very little direct interaction between second generation young people and clergy although I did find that when they did interact they used English but addressed the clergy in Sinhala using the word *hamuduruwane* which is a respectful way of addressing a monk in Sinhala. Nevertheless, one can agree with Deegalle that the second generation is not as close to the Buddhist clergy and the community (Deegalle, 2008:29) as the first generation is nor is the relationship the same as it would be in Sri Lanka. A distance is created between the clergy and the second generation because of the language barrier.

English is regarded as a prestigious language in Sri Lanka and attitudes towards English are quite positive. Unlike Indians, who often prefer to use their own mother tongue, the Sinhala people prefer to be seen as being able to use English. This ties in with notions of social class and prestige and could be a reason why it is seen as acceptable to use English in Buddhist practice; often, non-Buddhists and non-Sri Lankans also attend these events, and using English is a means of being inclusive and 'accommodating' towards outsiders. Unlike other religions it also posits Buddhists as being liberal.

## 6.2 Who sanctions the use of English?

The above discussion raises the question, namely, who authenticates or sanctions the change in the patterns of language use for English in Buddhist practice and rituals, and what is “the method” through which this change is authenticated? Before discussing these questions, it is pertinent to explain the nature of ‘authority’ in Sri Lankan Buddhism. As Pandharipande (2013:423) explains for Hinduism, in Buddhism too, there is no central authority such as the Church in Christianity. The main source of authority is the Buddhist clergy; they are held with high reverence and respect. Therefore, like the Hindu Saints and Mystics, traditionally, the Buddhist clergy have always been regarded as the quintessential authority “to introduce, sanction or prohibit certain religious practices and rituals (Pandharipande, 2013:423).” From the pre-colonial period the temples were the centres of learning and it was the monks who provided people with formal education. Hughes (1987) observes that as the sole teachers and knowledge producers of their society, the monks shaped the world views of the people in their own interests, and in the interests of those with whom they were inter-dependent, the aristocracy and royalty. This ties in with Bourdieu’s notion of who provides linguistic authority, as he (1991:63) mentions schools, schoolmasters, the grammarians and the literary producers as those who inculcate recognition of linguistic authority. He notes that even though it is the family that first endows the child with language, it is the school system that establishes and legitimises the most highly valued linguistic and cultural forms, and secures universal recognition of this legitimacy. In the case of Buddhism, because of the authority of monks as providers of education they hold the authority to decide which languages can be used. Even today there is a close relationship between the community and the Buddhist clergy and people look up to the clergy as teachers and guides, and as a result, they are highly revered. The Buddha’s teaching, the *Dhammapada* is regarded as the equivalent of the Christian Bible. This is seen by the fact that in five star hotels in Sri Lanka, a copy of the *Dhammapada* is available alongside the Gideon’s Bible.

When we examine the Buddhist clergy in the UK, it is clear that it is on their authority that English use is authenticated. The Buddhist clergy who head the Buddhist temples are monks who have arrived from Sri Lanka. Although Fernando (1977) claimed that Buddhist monks normally have no knowledge of English, this is no longer true for Buddhist monks who take up residence in temples outside Sri Lanka. Their knowledge and proficiency of English is on a continuum with some monks being highly proficient in English and others not having such a high level of proficiency. As mentioned before, in Sri Lanka English is typically excluded from Buddhist rituals, however, this is not the case in the UK, where the clergy encourage devotees to practice Buddhism using whatever language they are comfortable in.

## 6.3 How is this change sanctioned?

As seen in the findings, the degree and extent to which English is used in Buddhist discourse is limited as it does not infiltrate or encroach on ritual chanting or

*Dhammapada* which are in Pali. At many of the Buddhist temples, the chief priests as well as most other clergy use English in their sermons and discourse and the degree to which English is used among the different monks varies depending on their own proficiency as well as the topic and the audience. A noticeable feature of my participant observation was that more English was used when the audience included young Buddhists, especially teenagers, and if the topic of the sermon referred to aspects such as sexuality and crime. Sexuality is a taboo topic in Sinhala, which is often avoided by the Sinhalese and this may possibly be another reason for the increased use of English. Another reason for using English was if the audience included non-Sri Lankans or young people.

#### 6.4 What are the methods used to sanction language change?

The media (including newspapers, YouTube and the internet) contribute to the sanctioning of language change. Newspapers report Buddhist events using the same words in English used by Buddhist monks albeit in a more standard form than in speech. You Tube is a powerful new media that is used for this purpose; sermons are publicised through YouTube in English, to consolidate and bring together the Buddhist community. Most Sri Lankan Buddhist temples in the UK also have internet websites through which people can listen to Buddhist chanting and sermons or even contact the priest to ask a question. This relates to the issue of what variation is permissible in Bourdieu's linguistic market and the attitudes towards alternative linguistic forms. Bourdieu argues that there are no linguistic markets which are so fully integrated that there are no private markets where variant forms could be used, and where standards are relaxed.

The sanction of English for Buddhism by Buddhist monks is also seen through the publication of chantings and prayers in English, through the medium of e-books and CDs. The following e-book *Vandana: the album of Pali devotional chanting and hymns* written by a senior Sri Lankan monk Elgiriye Indraratne gives the English translations for all ritual chantings for different occasions and this e-book is made available through Sri Lankan Buddhist temple websites in the UK. The e-book further provides the email address and a website link for devotees to contact the priest. The book has been produced by the Buddha Dharma Education Association. The first page of the book tells devotees about '3 objects of veneration in a Buddhist temple' and gives instructions on how to venerate those objects, for example: "Veneration can be carried out by reciting the appropriate stanzas and making some offerings like flowers, incense and oil". The stanza to be recited is given in (9):

A popular stanza in venerating the three objects is:

9. *Vandāmi cetiyaṃ sabbam  
Sabbatthānesu patitthitam  
Sārīrikadhātu Mahā-Bodhiṃ  
Buddharūpaṃ sakalaṃ sadā*

I salute every Stupa  
that stands in any place,  
the bodily relics,  
the great Bodhi Tree and  
All images of the Buddha.

This is an example of how the use of English as well as Pali devotional chantings is authenticated. This accommodation of English and non-Pali chants for use in performing rituals is important, as it sends the message to those Sinhala Buddhists whose first language is English, and most importantly, the Sri Lankan community in the UK, that the Buddhist clergy sanction the use of English as well as the mixed code in Buddhist practice.

In addition, there are also numerous websites, newsletters, YouTube sermons, etc., that have been authenticated by the Sri Lankan Buddhist clergy that provide Buddhist devotees with the necessary chantings and prayers for use in their homes or temples. This is quite an important change for Sri Lankan Buddhists that would not be witnessed in Sri Lanka, where Buddhism is heavily 'guarded' in its original liturgical language.

Example (10) is a hymn from a Buddhist music CD *Abhaya Gatha devotional hymns for blessings and protection* by Gee Bees. It was published and produced by the Mahindarama Temple in Malaysia in collaboration with Elgiriye Indraratne, a senior Sri Lankan monk. The song is in English and Pali and uses a traditional Asian style of music.

10. *Buddham Saranam Gacchāmi*  
*Dhammam Saranam Gacchāmi*  
*Sangham Saranam Gacchāmi*

I go to the Buddha as my refuge  
I go to the Dhamma as my refuge  
I go to the Sangha as my refuge

Ah – ha – ha – ha – ha ha ha ha ha – ha  
Ah – ha – ha – ha – ha ha ha ha ha – ha

Many religions have found ways to transfer their rituals into a virtual format; Pandharipande (2013:425) notes that Hindus can perform the worship ritual virtually by simply clicking on the name of the 'god' on a list. Buddhism is no exception. However, for Theravada Buddhism practiced by Sri Lankan Buddhists, there are no alternative rituals on-line. For Tibetan Buddhists, for example, there are hundreds of digital variations of repeated mantras and spinning prayer wheels online where one could use a moving animated image of a prayer wheel and recite the mantra to oneself (2012, Buddhism in a digital age). The internet is also able to magically transport people to Sri Lanka by taking devotees to the most sacred Buddhist temple in Sri Lanka, The Dalada Maligawa or the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy through virtual tours. There are also Buddhist pilgrimages advertised on-line for people to

experience Sri Lankan Buddhism by visiting world famous Buddhist landmarks in Sri Lanka. There is also a lot of downloadable Buddhist material such as stories from the Dhammapada and stanzas for recitation in English. Furthermore, there are many websites devoted to teaching Pali and Sinhala for those who want to learn the language for religious purposes.

The use of English in the media facilitates access of the Buddhist sites to the global Buddhist community, including the UK. Additionally, magazines, newsletters, DVDs, Audio CDs of Buddhist rituals and practices are actively promoted by Sri Lankan Buddhist organisations and temples, which primarily use English as their language of communication. When Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka visit the UK, they address public religious meetings either in English or Sinhala; often however, unlike the Hindu Saints their individual consultations will be in Sinhala. Buddhist priests rarely interact with devotees in English unless they are unable to speak Sinhala.

Buddhist identity is a very sensitive subject in Sri Lanka, as seen from the incident of a British woman deported from Sri Lanka for having a Buddha tattoo on her arm. The BBC (22<sup>nd</sup> April 2014) reported that the woman 'had hurt others' religious feelings' and observed that Sri Lankan authorities "regularly take strict action against perceived insults to Buddhism." This kind of sensitivity towards Buddhism is not evident among Sri Lankan Buddhists in the UK and there is more accommodation to the cultural context of the UK where English is dominant. English is thus increasingly becoming one of the languages of Sri Lankan Theravada Buddhism in the UK and the use of it in the temples is not, as far as I'm aware, regarded by anyone as distasteful or disrespectful.

### **6.5 Will English replace the sacred language(s) of Buddhism in the UK?**

Another question that the above discussion raises is whether the increased use of English for Buddhist activities will eventually result in language shift of the liturgical languages of Buddhism in the UK. As discussed above, a major challenge that the Sri Lankan community currently faces is the problem of language loss among the second generation Sri Lankans.

In Sri Lanka, Buddhism "is imbued in the culture and its influence on people and life-styles can be seen in daily life (Deegalle, 2008:29)." While Sinhala and Buddhism are taught at Buddhist temples and Buddhist cultural rituals are kept alive and continued through the celebration of cultural events, imparting Buddhism to the younger generations of Sri Lankans in the UK is a real challenge. For many young Sri Lankans, English is the first language, or 'mother tongue' and Sinhala is a second or foreign language. Many young Buddhists will be familiar with Pali and Sinhala through listening to their parents speaking the language or sometimes through memorising stanzas, but they will not be able to use the language for Buddhist discourse.

There are significant differences between the first and second generation of Buddhists in the UK. One of the main challenges for the first generation is that their

children's understanding of Buddhism may be different from that of their own. According to Deegalle, unlike the first generation, the children may not see some of the rituals such as *Buddha-pūjā*, *pirith chanting* and cultural activities as "essential ingredients" for being proper Buddhists. He explains that for most parents, however, these traditional ceremonies are an integral part of their religious life. "The first generation learnt the religion by getting involved in Buddhist rituals and listening to sermons whereas the second generation learns the religion through meditation and reading" (Deegalle, 2008:29). As Smolicz observes, when a community's core values are seen as inessential, then it can result in the disintegration of cultural values.

Although there are evident changes taking place and challenges to maintaining Sinhala and Pali, it is difficult to predict that these languages will be replaced by English. As mentioned previously, the majority of Sinhalese in Sri Lanka are Sinhala speaking Buddhists and Sri Lankans only employ English as the language of communication for non-core cultural activities. Even though, according to Fishman (1965) second generation Buddhists in the UK may shift to English only monolingualism with no knowledge of either Sinhala or Pali, the continuation of Buddhist rituals in Sinhala and Pali will ensure the longevity of these languages and if second generation Buddhists want to continue to live as Buddhists, they will be forced to learn some Sinhala and to memorise stanzas from the *Dhammapada* in Pali, and in this way, the languages will continue to survive in the UK.

For Sinhala Buddhist immigrants in the UK their identity is closely tied to the Buddhist tradition which arrived in Sri Lanka in 250 BC (Perera, 1988:3) and its close connection to the sacred Pali canon. Pali is the liturgical language of Buddhism; it is held with great reverence because it is the language of the *Dhammapada*. Sinhala is the language of Buddhist theology and philosophy; it is highly regarded because it is the language of the Sinhalese and the majority language of Sri Lanka. For Sinhalese Buddhists both languages are deeply connected to their Buddhist identity and this is what draws Sri Lankans to temples and cultural centres. Parents are keen to preserve their Sinhala Buddhist identity and it is primarily this that "motivates parents to support temples, monks, their Sunday *dhamma* schools and special Buddhist festivals. Parents not only support monks financially and materially but also volunteer to teach in the Sunday *dhamma* schools" (Cush, 1990:44). All these strategies are ways of maintaining identity and ensuring that the second generation who are heavily influenced by Western culture in school "acquire a good Buddhist background." (Deegalle, 2008:27). The Sunday schools in temples provide children with the opportunity to learn Buddhism and Sinhala even if it is through the medium of English. This shows that Buddhism, Sinhala and Pali are core cultural values for Sri Lankan Sinhala people in the UK. Evidence of the vitality of Theravada Buddhism is also seen in the steady increase of Sri Lankan Buddhist temples in the UK, at a time when Christian seminaries are struggling to recruit new brothers to the priesthood. This may be because the ethnic core values are threatened by assimilation to the new culture.

However, as Tilakaratne (2012:141) explains, it is only inevitable that “the nature of diaspora Buddhism will have to change with the second and third generation of migrants assimilating more into the host country’s culture and lifestyle”. The role of the clergy as well as the media in this process is important; Buddhists temples offer many Buddhist programmes such as weekly and monthly meditations as well as series of sermons in both English and Sinhala and websites offer many free resources of Theravada Buddhism in the form of audio visual material, which enable devotees to listen or watch Buddhist rituals as they are performed in the original Pali language, which “reemphasizes their belief in the efficacy in the sound of the sacred language Pandharipande 2013:426).” Through these means it will be possible for the media to maintain the function and transparency of Pali and Sinhala.

## **7. Conclusion**

This study aimed to discover whether globalisation and the new cultural context had an effect on language use and maintenance of the languages of Buddhism for the Sri Lankan Buddhist community in the UK, with regard to previous research and theory which discuss how socio-political pressures can elevate language(s) to the status of core values in the diaspora. As the discussion showed, distinct languages were used in Buddhist rituals; Pali for chanting and prayers; Sinhala for talking to the clergy and English for non-core cultural activities. Although this is not a big use, it is a significant use, as it shows an expansion of domain functions for English within the religious domain. The role of English is expanding to slowly become a prominent language in Buddhist events being used at some of the important rituals such as the annual rain retreat and New Year celebrations.

It was also found that the use of English is sanctioned and authenticated by the Buddhists priests themselves who have the authority to use, reject, and prohibit certain practices. They sanctioned this use through using the language for sermons and explanations and also by recording sermons for download on the internet by users. Furthermore, use of English for Buddhist practice was authenticated through translations of Buddhist chantings and prayers and authorising the production and sale of audio CDs and DVDs of Theravada Buddhist songs containing mixed Pali and English verses.

Likewise, it was also seen that the media plays an important role in connecting Buddhists or those interested in Buddhism together with Sri Lankan Buddhist communities all over the world as well as in the UK through the dissemination of Buddhist content. Finally, it must be stated that the findings show the way in which language change within the Sri Lankan Buddhist community demonstrates how English has infiltrated into a new domain and is creating conflicting identities within the Sinhala Buddhist community as well as causing English itself to change in the way that it is used in terms of vocabulary and new idiomatic uses.

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## LANGUAGE POLICY AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION ISSUE IN PAKISTAN

### Ali AMMAR

Institute of Social Sciences, BZU, Multan  
Pakistan  
aracademy123@gmail.com

### Naveen ALI

NUML University Multan Campus  
Pakistan  
naveenali731@gmail.com

### Ali FAWAD

Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad  
Pakistan  
aracademy@yahoo.com

### Khamsa QASIM

GCU, Faislabad  
Pakistan  
120071@students.au.edu.pk

### Abstract

The issue of language in Pakistan is not just related to linguistics. It has far more implications for cultural, economic, political, and social dimensions of Pakistani society. The current paper studies the latest language policy of Pakistan and its implications for local languages. It then relates to the formation and implementation of a (certain steps) feasible language policy to root out the conflicts and ethnic clashes from time to time in the country, and discusses ways to survive the language shock of majority of students in Pakistan, who are taught English as compulsory subject up to 14 years of education despite the puzzling phenomenon of cultural aversive attitudes towards English language by the masses. The employed teaching methods and curriculum in the institutions of Pakistan, for decades, have only been successful in maintaining the gap between the privileged English speaking people and the hardcore anti-English sentiments. In this battle for linguistic-identity crisis and supremacy, a lot of national talent has been wasted. This paper briefly re-explores the situation of languages in the country on the first step, and then it moves on to focus on the national policy, its flaws, and its possible ways out by bringing in examples from Chinese and Indian Language Policies.

**Keywords:** language policy; ethnic; aversive attitudes; linguistic-identity; anti-English sentiments

### Povzetek

Dileme jezika v Pakistanu niso povezane samo z jezikoslovjem. Njihove posledice je čutiti na kulturnem, ekonomskem, političnem in socialnem področju pakistanske družbe. Članek natančno pregleda trenutno jezikovno politiko v Pakistanu in njen vpliv na lokalne jezike. Naveže se na oblikovanje in uvedbo tistega dela jezikovne politike, ki bi kar najbolj izkoreninilo med-etnične konflikte. Obenem se dotakne obveznega 14-letnega učenja angleščine v šolah, ki se otepa splošnega ljudskega odpora, saj naj bi le povečeval razlike med privilegiranim slojem angleško-govorečih in preostalimi. V boju za jezikovno identiteto in prevlado je bilo precej izgubljenega. Članek tako prevetri jezikovno situacijo in razmišlja o nacionalni jezikovni politiki ter o jezikovnih politikah na Kitajskem in v Indiji, katerih ideje bi bilo moč privzeti.

**Ključne besede:** jezikovna politika; etničnost; averzivni pogled; jezikovna identiteta; proti-angleška čustva

## **1. Introduction**

Socioeconomic and political considerations are taken into account while choosing languages and giving them official, administrative or semi-official status to be used in the fields of education, administration and so on (Agnihotri et. al, 2006). Like all multilingual countries, Pakistan has also been facing challenges in this regard. Yet, her case is more complex owing to the religious pressures and demands which cannot be put aside due to the fact that Islam, the religion of majority in the country, cannot be dissociated from any aspect of life.

The revised manual of Education Policy, uploaded on August 1, 2009, formulated with the collaborative efforts of the relevant government and non-government agencies including universities, has very little to offer for the resolution of language issues infested in Pakistan since her inception in 1947. In order to understand the language issues of the country, first we would draw our attention to the current situation of languages in Pakistan. There are six major and 58 minor languages in Pakistan (Rahman 2002). The largest ethnic group is Punjabi around 44.15% (Census 2001); while Urdu, besides being the most widely understood, spoken and official language, remains at 7.57% (Census 2001); and English is used for administrative and academic purposes based on the principle of necessity to a very limited level (see NORRIC Report 2006). Other major spoken languages of Pakistan include Sindhi at 14.10%, Pashto at 15.27%, Baloch 3.57%, and Siraiki at 10.53% (Census 2001). Grimes (2000) reports that more than 105 million people use Urdu as second language. In 2009, government of Pakistan made English as medium of instruction at school level from 1 to 12 years of education but still there are many problems in its implementation due to lack of teachers' skills, students' attitudes, socio-cultural conditions, ethnic conflicts, and political concerns (see PEELI Report 2013). According to the findings of PEELI report (2013), 56% of government sector school teachers' scored very low in computer based Aptis language testing system, while 62% of private school teachers' scored very low. These results mean that the teachers did not have basic understanding of English sentence structure (see PEELI Report 2013). One of the major reasons for this poor performance may be that around 65% to 70% of the population lives in rural area where the situation English as medium of instruction is even worse and most of the times teachers have been observed teaching in Urdu or local regional language i.e. Siraiki, Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto, or Sindhi (see NORRIC Report 2006). It is a significant marker of failure of Pakistan's Language policies, a country which has been wrought with the failed language policies since its inception (Rahman 2002).

## **2. Language Policy of Pakistan**

In its earlier meetings, the Advisory board of Education had decided that at primary level the medium of instruction would be mother tongue that for the majority of population of Pakistan is either Punjabi, Siraiki, Sindhi, Urdu, or Pashto (ABD, 1948),

but due to colonial influences and emotive value of Urdu especially in the Hindi-Urdu controversy, Urdu remained the official medium of instruction in most of the institutions of Pakistan (Rahman, 1995). But the elitist ideology and status attached to English by the ruling class kept English at the dominating level, and Urdu started to recede and began to be associated with the concepts of religious fundamentalism and conventionalism, a phenomenon most abhorred by the dominant colonized offspring of ruling elite (Brass, 1991). Yet again, Pakistan's most popular and active constitution of 1973 states that Urdu would be national language and further necessary arrangements would be made in the next fifteen years for Urdu to be used officially and for other purposes (Article 251). This means that English would be replaced by Urdu at official and national level. But like most of the policies, it also doomed to the dust of papers. Rahman (2002) contends that the basic reason is the inclination of the ruling elite towards English for modernization, colonial asset, thirst for association with western culture and globalization. With the long history of Hindi-Urdu controversy, as both of these languages were set at opposing battlegrounds on religious and ideological platform, almost same happened in the case of English and Urdu. Besides the majority sentimental and religious concerns in the favour of Urdu as medium of instruction and administration (or so propagated), English language could not be replaced due to its value at international level in economy, politics and academics.

This polarized state of Urdu-English controversy even deepens when the active constitution of Pakistan of 1973 (article 33) states that education policy should be according to the Islamic ideology with Islamic studies to be the code of life in all educational levels (NEP, 1998-2010). In the backdrop of Pakistani educational institutions in which Madressahs vs English Medium Schools, Government Institutions vs Private English Schools, hybrid low status private schools vs elite private schools, Cambridge system of education vs Government Higher and Secondary Schools (NORRIC Report, 2006), the conflicts have escalated from the level of differences in languages to that of ethnic and religious identities and ideologies. Millions of talented Pakistani students thus remain in a state of constant confusion and tension with mixed aversive and acceptance attitudes towards English language. This situation also causes very low performance in language learning. English language learning for majority of students in Pakistan is more a tense and troublesome activity than a pleasant exercise. In this condition, a uniform language policy is a far reaching dream for Pakistan.

In the revised National Education Policy manifesto of Federal Government of Pakistan (2009), the challenge to carry forward the cultural asset i.e. Urdu language and literature, and also to be able to meet the growing needs of modernism and economic well being i.e. learning of English, has been very aptly identified. The solution offered that manifesto is that, 'the curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject' (NEP, 2009). Mathematics and Sciences would be taught in Urdu or English language for five years and after that these would only be in English

language (NEP, 2009). Such policy statements and resolutions make it clear that English is going to remain not only the part of curriculum in Pakistan but also as the medium of instruction. Such decision by the state to use English as the language of instruction is actually language allocation (Gorman, 1973). Hence in Pakistan, there is English backed by the state and the powerful elite versus local languages supported by majority ethnic groups, and in the middle is the young hungry talent of this developing state crunched under the innumerable geo-political, social, economic and psychological pressures from inside and abroad.

### **3. What has this policy to offer?**

Kloss (1969) suggests that language planning has to focus on three dimensions i.e. status, acquisition, and corpus planning. National Education Policy (2009) has something to offer about the status planning of English and Urdu when it states that English and Urdu would both be taught at primary level and English would be medium of instruction from class 5 onwards. But this policy lacks completely in the spheres of acquisition and corpus planning, which add up to the problems of students as well as teachers.

Regarding the status of languages, this policy seems to be developed without considerations of the socio-cultural needs of one important element of stake holders i.e. powerful ethnic groups and on the other hand it is aligned with the ideals of powerful elite. In papers, this policy is going to restrict major regional languages of Pakistan as a subject to be studied in curriculum up to a limited level, and implement English language at broader level up to advanced studies. This situation creates reservations by the ethnic groups and gives rise to mass gatherings for their shows of power from time to time that have the capacity to erupt at any time into ethnic violence of which Pakistan has a long complex history. Isn't it like keeping a time bomb in the pocket and shutting eyes to the realities of explosions? It is more like a colonized state of affairs on the part of the policy makers and the powerful elite.

Least attention has been paid to the acquisition of language which is related to teaching methodologies and language learning (Cooper 1989). Yet, the language policy of Pakistan favours the language shift, which is the shift from using one language to another and normally from less powerful to the powerful (Rahman, 1996). It also implies the idea of shifting at the expense of already prevalent language. In the case of Pakistan, the sacrificed languages are Urdu and other major regional languages. To achieve this objective, English language communication courses are a compulsory part of university level education in Pakistan as well. However, the teaching methodologies are not defined clearly. It is left to the choice of teachers who normally have no formal instructions in teaching methodologies and in using language labs. Therefore, the graph of communicative competence in English remains very low (see PEELI Report 2006), and the conflict in the teachers and learners about the

utilization and learning of English vs other languages remains a constant source of tension and anxiety in general.

National Education Policy (2009) has nothing to say about the corpus planning. Corpus planning is related to the development and change in certain language of policy choice (Fishman, 1977). The current practice is that of importing corpus from foreign books in the form of short stories, plays, essays and poetry written by the foreign writers. Mostly, in Pakistani institutions, the corpus provided by the westerners, typically that of English, is copied and arranged in the text books of Pakistani institutions at all levels. Many studies show that the cultural and social attitudes of learners, after learning a second language, change to a great extent (Christensen, 2004; Dirim & Auer, 2004; Jaspers, 2007; Juffermans, 2010; Keim, 2007). In the 'English Language class' the students are normally conscious of where they are sitting and what they are studying. This consciousness develops certain attitudes among the learners associated with the features of the English (Jorgenson, 2010). The prevalence of English in the same manner at such a massive scale in Pakistan also bears its massive impact on the attitudes of Pakistani students. This denotes 'socio-cultural' changes as observed in many studies conducted in Pakistan (Rahman, 1995).

Another important aspect of learning the particularly borrowed corpus by the English is that of 'privilege'. The learners of English language are normally given more privilege than those without it in Pakistan and are considered among the literate learned segment of society. Hence, the more anglicized the learner, the more privilege, he is going to get in society (Jorgensen, 2010). For Pakistani society, this issue of privilege is giving rise to an academic-class-categorization that is pushing the non-native like English speakers or low competence level students already in the back seats of learning. This divide among students starts from the primary level and continues up to university level in Pakistan.

Besides the assertion on the preservation and propagation on the cultural asset that echoes in the constitution of 1973 (article 33), the cultural input through corpus is going to be reduced to the subjects of Urdu and Islamic studies up to a certain level of classes. These also have very limited economic and power associated promises in the career planning of students in Pakistan. It is like putting the culture at stake which was the ideological basis in the making of this country, and also being at a collision with the ethnic groups.

Mathematics and Science students in Pakistan normally go for engineering and medical sciences which is the guarantee of prosperity at economic and social level, a modern phenomenon and quite at hype in the progressing states with Pakistan being no exception. Hunger does not need much of a culture than bread. For masses, the drive for bread surpasses all other drives. Hence, the privilege that English is going to enjoy because of teaching these subjects in English (NEP, 2009), is never going to be that of other languages of people of Pakistan. This Anglo-centric ambitious policy is going to heighten the ethnic conflicts already present in various other forms in the country like tribalism, sectarianism, religious intolerance and provincialism. The cost

of giving English a supremacy over other languages is going to be high in terms of socio-political unrest and culture slaughter.

With national education policy lacking in acquisition and corpus planning, issues of academic-class divisions, social and economic privileges, wastage of young energetic talent, ethnic conflicts, and confusion in the vision of education are certain grave issues that need serious attention. In the coming lines, the case of china and India, as neighbouring countries that share some historical commonalities with respect to independence times and ethnic issues, is discussed, and a viable solution is also presented for specific case of Pakistan.

#### **4. The Case of China and India**

The linguistic issues of China and India are briefly presented here because of some very important reasons. Both countries are neighbours, with India having lots of cultural similarities with Pakistan. These countries have almost the same independence years. Both are multilingual and ethnic like Pakistan. And all have started their journey from being developing countries. According to Constitution of Pakistan Article 2, Islam would be the state religion. Islam has this inherent ability and obligation to be the part and parcel of all activities ranging from individual to social, constitutional to ethnic and so on. This aspect has been very influential throughout Pakistani history, more so in the case of choosing languages for Pakistan. Therefore, in the next heading, while discussing recommendations for linguistic policy, a great care and thought has also been given to it.

English has been gaining lot of importance in China in the last quarter century (Hu, 2010), and it has also been associated with the nation's progress and modernization (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996). The increase in learning English language in the new millennium can be realized by the research of Jiang (2003) who states that parents are even pressuring their children to learn and speak English. Around 200-300 million people study English in China at any phase of their education (Zhao and Campbell, 1995). Though, officially foreign languages are considered as belonging to different cultures and are not made part of official and administrative purposes, yet English language learning is constantly increasing (Ross, 1993). The reasons for not making English as the official language of China are cultural and national for which Chinese are very specific. However, realizing the need of English language, various language teaching methods have been adopted in china. Grammar-translation methods and audiolingualism got lot of support but the communicative competence of the learners remained very low (Hu, 2001). Later on, communicative language teaching (CLT) method was adopted to address the issue of low level of English language competence (Hu, 2010). There have been lot of debates by researchers on the need to adopt CLT in China (e.g. Anderson, 1991; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Li, 1984; Rao, 1996; Wang, 2001). Yet CLT failed to yield required results in China due to some conflicts with Chinese culture of learning (Hu, 2010). CLT focuses on interaction with

students by encouraging students to focus on the communicative functions of language (Brown, 2001; Widdowson, 1990), whereas, Chinese culture is greatly influenced by Confucianism (Biggs, 1996; Lee, 1996; Scollon, 1999), that lays great stress on respect for knowledge, development of not only academic aspects but also of the moral qualities of students (Guo, 2001; Llasera, 1987; Scollon, 1999) having an extremely respectable relationship with the teachers. These aspects of Chinese culture of learning are quite contradictory to western culture of learning where there are free and open discussions among the students and teachers with different respect levels. Therefore, CLT has not been a very successful language teaching method in China (Rao, 2002). This means that cultural and ideological aspects of a society can be a major factor in teaching and learning of languages.

Owing to the linguistic diversity in India, three languages policy was incorporated in National Education Policy of 1986 recommended by the National commission on Education 1964-1966 (Meganathan, 2011). There has also been massive researches on the choice and promotion of languages at national and private level in India. According to the policy of 1986, the three languages, to be adopted in India, included one regional language, Hindi or any other area language, and English or any modern European language (GOI, 1962, p. 67). According to the survey of 2002, 84.86 % of the primary education is conducted on the basis of three language formula with 13.26% of secondary education is in English as first language and 33.08% in Hindi as first language. However, use of English as second language is 54.12% at secondary level education in India (Survey, 2002). Hindi and English are the most frequently used languages in the 32 states of India (Meganathan, 2011). As the Education Commission (1966) had debated that English would continue to have higher status because of its usage at university and official level, the above statistics regarding English as first and second language re-emphasize the same speculation. With clarity in incorporating languages of Indian culture and English language in the mainstream educational system in India, it has been a great success. The developments in the indigenous languages have also been going along especially in the case of Hindi that has resulted in the increase in “prestige, wealth, power, electronic technology, and presence in education system” (Crystal, 2000). Moreover, Indian propagation and promotion of nationalism on media has also been a major factor in the development of indigenous languages. This country has not suffered so many riots due to language issues as compared to Pakistan. The linguistic diversity, media propagation for English language and less intense historical and cultural bias towards English has paved the way for the implementation of three languages policy. The roots of learning English without biased approach also date back to pre-partition times for Indians.

## **5. What to Do?**

On the contrary, in the case of Pakistan, the cultural demands are strictly more prevalent which require proper language planning and implementation in order to come out of the confusion and the downward academic trend of youth. It is necessary

that the responsible and concerned personnel should take certain emergency steps in order to resolve this issue.

The primary action required for language policy of Pakistan is to clarify the choice of medium instruction and the status of official and administrative language. For this there is need of a three languages formula. English and Urdu need to go side by side as compulsory subjects from class 1 to masters, with a regional language as compulsory at primary and secondary level (up to 10<sup>th</sup> grade) . Clearly defined status of languages needs to be ensured for the concern of the people of Pakistan. Prior to implementation of three languages formula, it is impertinent to conduct a large scale survey regarding the attitudes and opinions of the concerned stakeholders, including responses from variety of people of Pakistan from all provinces. The voice of the people, thus heard and prioritized, would make the policy implementation task much easier and practical.

In order to tone down the cultural pressures, Pakistan needs corpus planning. The intelligentsia and linguists need to devise syllabi of all classes by adding maximum cultural contents in both English and Urdu text books. The object of learning English, particularly, has to be functional. Mastering English language skills would be easier for the students when the material and course contents are culturally relevant.

A governmental department of translation needs to be set up whose job should be to translate all the latest and valid researches from foreign languages into Urdu and other significant regional languages. This would serve as the lifeline for Urdu and other regional languages and would be pivotal in keeping these languages alive. Establishment of digital libraries, plagiarism checks and ready research materials would further reinvigorate Pakistani students to develop themselves further in this language.

For English teaching, culture-centered teaching methodologies need to be developed owing to the needs of the masses which account for rural population about 65% of the total population. The focus should be on the skills i.e. reading, writing, listening and speaking. Writing and speaking skills need to be focused more as these are related to linguistic output. The exams also need to be oral as well as written with special focus on unseen questions in order to avoid rote learning. Not all grammatical rules are needed at the initial level to be taught, as is the case in Pakistan. This would require more effort from the teachers as well as from students. Moreover, traditional method of English teaching, syllabus, and course contents has already failed and caused wastage of talent for many years.

Development of teachers is a very important aspect that needs lot of improvement. In Pakistan teachers are selected on the basis of qualifications and exams/interviews. This is not a sufficient criteria to select a teacher. Teachers should be selected initially for a certain period of time in order to evaluate them if they are fit for teaching, primarily for a certain period whose evaluation should be conducted on regular basis. At the end of probationary term, they should be selected or rejected. In the selection of teachers, experienced teachers, administrators, and

members of community should also be involved. After their selection, there should be regular exams for promotions and development of teachers.

## 6. Conclusion

The issue of medium of instruction has become a severe challenge for Pakistan that needs to be addressed on emergency basis to put the country on trek of development. Serious steps are required in status planning of all the languages to be selected for Pakistan. Corpus planning should be done carefully that should consist of maximum cultural contents, for Pakistan, being an ideological state cannot move on while ignoring the cultural and religious aspects. Language acquisition planning, in essence, needs to be done for the betterment of teachers as well as learners to learn languages speedily and easily bearing in mind the available resources and environment of Pakistani institutions. The voice of the concerned stakeholders has a special place in this regard as, time and again, there are strong ethnic protests owing to the westernization policies from different quarters of the country. A large scale survey in this regard would be mandatory for implementation of clear language formula. A well defined language policy is in the best interest of the country in many respects primarily for ending the wastage of talent due to language barriers, subsiding ethnic conflicts in Pakistan, coming out of the much debated issues of hybridization and confusion, and for carrying out researches in various field of knowledge for sustainability and development of the country.

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# BHADARWAHI: A TYPOLOGICAL SKETCH

**Amitabh Vikram DWIVEDI**

Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, India

amitabhvikram@yahoo.co.in

## Abstract

This paper is a summary of some phonological and morphosyntactic features of the Bhadarwahi language of Indo-Aryan family. Bhadarwahi is a lesser known and less documented language spoken in district of Doda of Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir State in India. Typologically it is a subject dominant language with an SOV word order (SV if without object) and its verb agrees with a noun phrase which is not followed by an overt post-position. These noun phrases can move freely in the sentence without changing the meaning of the sentence. The indirect object generally precedes the direct object. Aspiration, like any other Indo-Aryan languages, is a prominent feature of Bhadarwahi. Nasalization is a distinctive feature, and vowel and consonant contrasts are commonly observed. Infinitive and participle forms are formed by suffixation while infixation is also found in causative formation. Tense is carried by auxiliary and aspect and mood is marked by the main verb.

**Keywords:** Indo-Aryan; less documented; SOV; aspiration; infixation

## Povzetek

Članek je nekakšen daljši povzetek fonoloških in morfosintaktičnih značilnosti jezika badarvahi, enega izmed članov indo-arijske jezikovne družine. Badarvahi je manj poznan in slabo dokumentiran jezik z območja Doda v regiji Jammu v Kašmirju. Tipološko je zanj značilen dominanten osebek in besedni red: osebek, predmet, povedek. Glagoli se povečini ujemajo s samostalniškimi frazami, ki lahko v stavku zavzemajo katerikoli položaj ne da bi spremenile pomen stavka. Nadaljna značilnost jezika badarvahi je tudi to, da indirektni predmeti ponavadi stojijo pred direktnimi predmeti. Tudi aspiracija je, tako kot v drugih indo-arijskih jezikih, ena izmed pomembnih lastnosti jezika badarvahi, medtem ko je nazalizacija (nosnjenje) tudi pomensko-razločevalna lastnost. Članek obravnava tudi medpone, opisuje njihovo uporabo v primerjavi s priponami, glagole in izražanje glagolskega časa in drugo.

**Ključne besede:** indo-arijska jezikovna družina; slabo dokumentiran; struktura SOV (osebek; predmet; povedek); aspiracija; medpone

## 1. Introduction

Bhadarwahi language is spoken (Indo-European family group language) in the region of Bhadarwah (the ancient name Bharderkasi) of Doda district in eastern part of Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir state in India. This district is surrounded by Anantnag district of Kashmir on its north, Kishtwar district in the northeast, Chamba area of Himachal Pradesh in the south, Kathua district in the south, Udhampur district in the southwest and Ramban district in the west. Siraji is also a major language of Doda district, but it is spoken mainly in Doda town and its surrounding villages. The population of Doda district in Jammu and Kashmir was 409,576 in 2011 according to census of India, out of which, 52.0% were males and 48.0% were females. Bhadarwahi speakers' population in 2011 was 250, 000 approximate.

The standard Bhadarwahi is spoken in the Bhadarwah town of Doda district of Jammu & Kashmir state of the Republic of India. This language shows lexical similarity with Pangwali, Siraji, Padri, and Bhalesi languages. SIL International in 2009 documentation for Bhadarwahi identified Bhadarwahi as bhd.

**Table 1:** SIL International 2009 documents Bhadarwahi as

Identifier: bhd	Dialects: Bhalesi and Padari
Name: Bhadarwahi	Spoken by: Hindu & Muslim community
Code: ISO 639:3	Script: Devanagari & Arabic
Scope: Western Pahari language	

### 1.1 Bhadarwahi under Western Pahari Languages

Bhadarwahi language comes under Northern Zone Western Pahari languages. The word 'pahari' (hilly) has been derived from Hindi word 'pahar' (mountain). Western Pahari is a cluster of 17 different languages which are spoken in Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh regions. The word order of Bhadarwahi language is SOV. Out of these 17 Western Pahari languages Bhattiyali, Bilaspuri, Chambeali, Churhahi, Hinduri, Kangari, Kinnauri, Mandeali, Pahari-Mahasu, Pahari-Kullu, Sirmauri, and Pangwali are spoken in Himachal Pradesh state of India; and Gaddi is spoken in 6 Indian states namely Delhi, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Uttar Pradesh; and Dogri is spoken in Jammu of Jammu and Kashmir state; and Jaunsari is spoken in Uttarakhand state; and Pahari-Potwari is spoken in Pakistan and Kashmir state.

**Table 2:** Lexical similarity of Bhadarwahi with other Pahari languages

Pangwali	Siraji	Padri	Bhalesi
45%	30%	60%	70%

## 1.2 People and language

The origin of Bhadarwahi can be traced back to the ancient time when Jammu and Kashmir was a Hindu (majority of the population was the follower of Hindu religion) state. As Buddhism started to spread around 400 BC in this region, the Buddhist priests searched a language other than Sanskrit to spread the teachings of Buddha. Buddhists adapted Pahari as a language of their preachings and various scripts were introduced to write the language such as Duggal, etc.

This was the climax of Pahari language. However, with the fall of Buddhism and again with the rise of Hinduism in Kashmir proved to be a fall of Pahari language. Pahari language was abandoned and it remained at the mercy of the local people.

Bhadarwah is also known as 'Nagon ki Bhoomi' (land of snakes). The Bhadarwah town was known as Hettary Nagar and prior to that, there were other towns namely Donga and Udho Nagar. Both the nagars were situated around the villages which is about 3 kms in the east of present Bhadarwah town.

The poets and singers such as Kailash Mehra Sadhu, Bashir Ahmed Mastana, Ghulam Nabi Goni, Basir Charag, and Master Dina Nath are mainly responsible for the development of the oral culture of this language. Bhadarwah tehsil has its own radio station. Bhadarwah programme is broadcasted on each Sunday at 8'o clock on local radio station.

## 1.3 Previous Studies

In 1916, Sir George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part-I) made a mention of Bhadarwahi as one of the dialects of Kashmiri. He observes that the Kashmiri language is the language of the Valley of Kashmir. In a dialect form it has spread south-west into the valley of Kashtwar, and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Panjal Range into the lower hills lying north of the river Chinab, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects (such as Bhaiderwahi, Kishtwar, Siraji, Poguli and Rambani). In 2013, Dwivedi documented this language in the descriptive grammar tradition.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Vowels

Bhadarwahi has an 11 vowels system as given in Table 3. In terms of vowel height, there are four high vowels /i:/, /i/, /u:/ and /u/, and five mid vowels /e/, /e:/, /ə/, /o:/, and /o/, and four low vowels /ə/, /o/, /a/, and /a:/. In terms of backness, there are four front vowels /i:/, /i/, /e/ and /e:/, one central vowel /ə/, and six back vowels /u:/, /u/, /o:/, /o/, /a/, and /a:/.

**Table 3:** Vowels in Bhadarwahi

	Front	Central	Back
High	i:		u:
Lower High	i		u
Mid	e, e:		o:
Lower Mid		ə	o
Low			ɑ, ɑ:

There are five pairs of short and long vowels: /i/ and /i:/, /a/ and /ɑ:/, /e/ and /e:/, /u/ and /u:/, and /o/ and /o:/. As in: d̪lɑ 'marriage', d̪lɑ: 'brother', koɽi 'where', koɽi: 'a leper', kero 'did', ke:ro 'how', muʃo 'mother's sister's husband', mu:ʃo 'mouse', horo 'and', and ho:ro 'another'. Stress is not a phonemic feature in Bhadarwahi language. Generally a syllable having a consonant cluster gets stressed. As in: kənne 'and', d̪zəkʰno 'bite', həd̪d̪ 'bone' In a di-syllabic vowel where both the syllables having vowel sounds (if vowel is of same length), the first one gets stressed. As in: piɲo 'to drink', sukkʰo 'dry', kʰɑɲo 'to eat'. The first syllable gets stressed if it is a low front vowel or a back vowel. As in: dure 'far', deli 'Delhi'. The second syllable gets stressed when the first syllable having a short vowel. As in: həro 'green', həsno 'to laugh', and dərjɑ 'river'. In a tri-syllabic word if first and third syllable having long vowel and the middle vowel is short; the initial vowel gets stressed.

## 2.2 Consonants

There are 37 consonants sounds in the Bhadarwahi language. The eight points of articulation are attested, viz. bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. There appears distinctive voicing and aspiration in this language. Aspiration is a prominent feature of this language; twelve consonant sounds show this feature. The palatal nasal sound occurs only in the word middle position and nasal velar sound occurs in the word middle and the word final position. Bhadarwahi has a palatal fricative sound ɟ which is not found in Hindi and Dogri.

Bhadarwahi consonant sounds geminate in the word middle and the word final position. The gemination of two aspirated sounds makes the first sound unaspirated. Such as, pəttərũ 'back', həd̪d̪ 'bone', kənn 'ear', səpp 'snake', ɟəpp 'hide', bətt̪ʃo 'child', t̪əkki 'water-mill', məkku 'axe', ʃukku 'dry', and pəkkʰo 'fan'.

**Table 4:** Consonants in Bhadarwahi

	Bi-labial		Dental		Alveolar		Post-alv.		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
-V or +V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V	-V	+V
Plosive	p	b	t	d					ʈ	ɖ			k	g		
Plosive (+asp)	p <sup>h</sup>	b <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>					ʈ <sup>h</sup>	ɖ <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>		
Nasal		m			n				ɳ		ɲ		ŋ			
Affricate											tʃ	dʒ				
Affricate (+asp)											tʃ <sup>h</sup>	dʒ <sup>h</sup>				
Trill					r											
Tap									ɽ							
Fricative					s	z	ʃ				ç					h
Fricative (+asp)						z <sup>h</sup>					ç <sup>h</sup>					
Approximant		w										j				
Lateral approx.					l											

### 2.3 Phonotactics

The simple vowels are found in all positions. Most of the vowels can be nasalized. Nasalization is a distinctive feature in Bhadarwahi; it has a phonemic status, ta ‘and’, tā ‘then’, ba ‘hit’, bā ‘forearm’, zid ‘obstinacy’, zīd ‘darling’, d<sup>h</sup>ou ‘washed’, d<sup>h</sup>oũ ‘washed’ (past participle), sei ‘right’ and seĩ ‘from/with’. Vowel contrast is also attested in the Bhadarwahi language as tənki ‘water-tank’ and tənki: ‘water-tanks’, nəlko ‘tap’ and nəlki ‘yarn thread’, ka: ‘which’ and ki: ‘why’, ded ‘sister’ and dɑ:d ‘grandmother’ (paternal), and go:ɽ ‘cow shed’ and guɽ ‘sugar’.

Almost all consonants are attested in all positions, except [ɳ], [ɲ] and [ŋ]. Consonant clusters can occur at word initial, word middle, and word final position. For example, consonant cluster (consonant + semi-vowel) at word initial, kw: kwantʃ ‘wife’, gj: gjani ‘sikh priest’ etc, consonant cluster (velar stop + consonant) at word middle position, kk: dəkku ‘tradition dance of Bhadarwah’, kk<sup>h</sup>: kukk<sup>h</sup>di ‘hen’, kɽ: kəkɽɑ ‘crab’, etc, consonant cluster (affricate + consonant) at word middle position, tʃk: hitʃki ‘hiccup’, tʃtʃ: kətʃtʃu ‘unripe’, tʃtʃ<sup>h</sup>: ətʃtʃ<sup>h</sup>ɑ ‘yes’ etc, consonant cluster (retroflex + consonant) at word middle position, ʈk: uʈka ‘bounce’ and ʈt: kəʈtər ‘strong belief’ etc, consonant cluster (dental + consonant) at word middle position, tl: pətlo ‘thin’, tt: səttu ‘a dish’ etc, consonant cluster (bilabial + consonant) at word middle position, pk: tʃipkəli ‘gecko’, pɽ: tʃəpɽo ‘flat’, pn: d<sup>h</sup>upno ‘to lock’, etc, consonant cluster (nasal + consonant) at word middle position, nk: t<sup>h</sup>ənkɑ ‘coin’, nk<sup>h</sup>: pənnk<sup>h</sup>o ‘fan’, etc, consonant cluster (continuant + consonant) at word middle position, jt: rajto ‘a yoghurt dish’, wr: nəwrəte ‘a nine day religious festival’ etc, consonant cluster (liquid + consonant) at word middle position, lk: nəlki ‘thread roll’, lg: p<sup>h</sup>algun ‘last month of Hindu calendar’ etc, and consonant cluster (sibilant +

consonant) at word middle position, sk: nəskwər ‘a local tobacco’ and sr: nəsrɪ ‘a name of a place’.

## 2.4 Intonation

There are four major types of intonational patterns in Bhadarwahi language. They are: high-fall, high-rise, rise-and-fall, and mid-level.

### 2.4.1 High-fall in statements

1. aũ      hunɔ   məze   mə   dɪ̃  
I.1.SG   now   good   in   am.PRES.SG.  
‘I am fine now.’

### 2.4.2 High-rise in interrogatives

2. kun      tus   mĩ   pəsənd   kerte   ətʰ  
what   you   me   like   do   AUX  
‘Why do you like me?’

### 2.4.3 Rise and fall in information questions

3. te              kun      kerte  
you.2.SG   what   do.PRST  
‘What does he do?’

### 2.4.4 Mid level in imperative

4. i              kəm   ker (impolite)  
this   work   do  
‘Do this work.’

## 2.5 Canonical form

The canonical form of Bhadarwahi syllable is CCVCCC. The eight types of syllable found in Bhadarwahi are:

V	i: ‘this’, u: ‘that’, o ‘oh’, etc.
VC	edʒ ‘come’, a:n ‘bring’, uʰ ‘get up’
VCC	ukʰl ‘a utensil to crush nut’, ‘utr ‘get down’, etc.
CV	kʰa: ‘eat’, gə ‘go’, zo ‘say’, mə ‘not’, etc.
CCV	ɖlɑ ‘marriage’, ɖlɑ: ‘brother’, etc.
CVC	nɑ:l ‘neck’, kuŋ ‘what’, sək ‘doubt’, etc.
CVCC	çəpp ‘hide’, səpp ‘snake’, kənn ‘ear’, etc.
CVCCC	məŋʈl ‘chant’, əŋʈl ‘inside’, hejɖl ‘turmeric’, etc.

The vowel is the obligatory element, whereas the consonants are optional. The nucleus is always occupied by the vowels whereas onset and positions are occupied by consonants. The coda position can have up to three consonants, but the onset position can have up to two consonants

### 3. Morphology

Bhadarwahi allows prefixing, suffixing and infixing. Prefixation and suffixation are employed in derivational and inflectional morphology where as infixation converts a verb into a causative verb. I will be presenting the morphology into four subsections, viz. nouns and nominal morphology, adjectives, verb morphology and adverbs and other categories.

#### 3.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

Bhadarwahi nouns are inflected for gender, number, and case by morphosyntactic categories. Nouns are masculine or feminine, and count or non-count. All nouns in Bhadarwahi are assigned a grammatical gender, which may or may not coincide with natural gender e.g. pəkkʰo 'fan' is masculine; andəç 'eye' is feminine. The distribution of gender to inanimate objects is arbitrary, i.e. any inanimate object may get either masculine or feminine gender and we can't reason why we are assigning either masculine or feminine to them. Human and animal nouns sometimes have a single lexical form which represents both the genders as in kaw 'crow', dlag 'cheetah', bæcco 'kid', etc. A borrowed noun from a foreign language also takes only one form to represent either of the genders e.g. graundɔ 'ground'. Common nouns inflect for gender, number and case. Proper nouns are assigned to specific gender categories and remain the same in all numbers and cases.

Bhadarwahi has two genders: masculine and feminine. Both animate nouns and inanimate nouns get a gender. According to Masica (1991: 219): "In the New Indo-Aryan...gender is an inherent and classificatory property of one class of words (nouns) and a variable or inflectional property of others (adjectives, certain verbal forms, sometimes pronouns and adverbs), and one extremely important postpositions." Assigning gender to nouns is arbitrary. Abstract nouns generally do not inflect for numbers with some exception, but concrete nouns inflect. Non-count concrete nouns are used with partitives e.g. the gender formation involves two processes: (a) suffixation, and (b) phonological changes (suppletion, etc.).

Most males are masculine nouns. Most of the masculine nouns get suffixed with /o/ sound, and the rest is consonant ending. For example, gʰoɔ 'horse', tʃatʃo 'uncle', bəttʃo 'kid', kaw 'crow', səpp 'snake', luhar 'black-smith', kumhar 'potter', pəkkʰo 'fan' alike. Most females are feminine nouns. Most of the feminine nouns get suffixed with /i/ sound, and rest are consonant ending, such as gʰoɔri 'mare', tʃatʃi 'aunt', luharni 'blacksmith's wife', kumharni 'potter's wife', tʃəpli 'slippers' kutəri 'bitch',

bəççʰi ‘cow’ etc. There are nouns which are inherently masculine or feminine as miṭl ‘friend’ a masculine noun (used for both masculine and feminine), bidali ‘ant’ a feminine noun (used for both masculine and feminine), etc.

### 3.1.1 Semantic classification and nouns

The days of the week are masculine: tʃændərɒr ‘Monday’. Trees and cereals are generally masculine: pipəl ‘fig-tree’, ənɑ:r ‘pomegranate, tʃʰolo ‘gram’ but there are exceptions also in kukəri ‘maize’, dʒleik ‘neem-tree’, etc. are feminine. Names of the languages are feminine: hindi ‘Hindi’, iŋliʃ ‘English’, bʰədərɒhi ‘Bhadarwahi’, etc. Jewels are masculine: sonnu ‘gold’, lūo ‘iron’, moti ‘pearl’, hiro ‘diamond’, etc. Names of spices are feminine: pipəli ‘chilly’, sōpʰ ‘fennel’, loŋ ‘clove’, ilatʃi ‘cardamom’, etc. Names of the mountains are masculine: trikuṭa ‘Trikuta-hills’, pi:r-pəndʒal ‘Pir-Panjal’, himgiri ‘Himalayas’, etc.

### 3.1.2 Size and Gender

The size of the things is also responsible for assigning gender, e.g. pəhɑɾ ‘mountain’ is masculine, whereas pəhɑɾi ‘small-mountain’ is feminine.

### 3.1.3 Derivation of feminine nouns

Many feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns by suffixation, and phonological changes such as vowel alteration. As in: rɑ:kəʃ ‘demon’ (M) and rɑ:kəʃəŋi ‘female-demon’(F), bɑ:ndər ‘monkey’ (M) and bɑ:ndri ‘female-monkey’, dʰobi ‘washer-man’ (M) and dʰobəŋ ‘washer-woman’. Feminine suffixes are: əŋi, əŋ, əŋi, i, ni, and ŋi.

## 3.2 Pluralization

The vowel sounds /ɑ/, /ā/, /i/, and /ī/ are generally employed as a suffix for the pluralization in Bhadarwahi. But the word final and medial vowel also alters and changes in /e/, /ē/, and /ɑ:/. As in: məm ‘father-in-law’and məma ‘fathers-in-law’, bein ‘sister’ and beina ‘sisters’, bʰeĩ ‘buffalo’ and bʰeĩā ‘buffaloes’, kui ‘girl’ and kuija ‘girls’, and gʰəɾollu ‘pitcher’ and gʰəɾolle ‘pitchers’, and dʰla ‘brother’and dʰla: ‘brothers’, etc.

## 3.3 Number and Case

In Bhadarwahi every noun has six forms that change according to the number (singular and plural) and case (nominative, oblique, and vocative). The forms of some of these look similar but they have different functions in a sentence. The nominative case is related to the subject, the vocative case is for addressing, and the post-position comes after the noun and it includes all the other cases under the heading oblique. Consider the masculine singular noun mətʃʰu ‘boy’:

Figure 1: Declension

Case	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mətt <sup>h</sup> u	mətt <sup>h</sup> e
Oblique	mətt <sup>h</sup> e	mətt <sup>h</sup> ɑ
Vocative	mətt <sup>h</sup> ɑ	mətt <sup>h</sup> o

For the word mətt<sup>h</sup>u ‘boy’ the nominative plural and the oblique singular have a same form mətt<sup>h</sup>e, the oblique plural and the vocative singular have the same form mətt<sup>h</sup>ɑ, and the nominative singular and the vocative plural have the mətt<sup>h</sup>u and mətt<sup>h</sup>o forms respectively. As we can see vowel alteration is also a process in addition to suffixation in the Bhadarwahi language.

5. mətt<sup>h</sup>u g<sup>h</sup>əre a:to æ  
boy.SG home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST  
‘The boy goes to home.’
6. mətt<sup>h</sup>e g<sup>h</sup>əre gɑ:te ən  
boy.PL home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST  
‘The boys go to home.’
7. mətt<sup>h</sup>e ĩ kəm kero  
boy.SG ERG work do.PST  
‘The boy did the work.’
8. mətt<sup>h</sup>e ĩ kəm kero  
boy.PL ERG work do.PST  
‘The boys did the work.’
9. o mətt<sup>h</sup>ɑ ira edʒ  
O boy.SG here come.IMP  
‘O boy, come here!’
10. o mətt<sup>h</sup>o ira edʒɑ  
O boy.PL here come.IMP  
‘O boys, come here!’

### 3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives as qualifiers are of two types: variable and invariant. Variable inflects for number and gender; invariant remains same for number and gender. Adjectives, in direct form, end in /o/ in singular masculine gender, and /i/ in singular feminine gender.

### 3.4.1 Variable

For rətɔ 'red':

Figure 2: For rətɔ 'red'

Singular			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
rətɔ 'red'	rətɔe 'red'	rətɔi 'red'	rətɔi 'red'

Plural			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
rətɔe 'red'	rətɔe 'red'	retɔi 'red'	retɔi 'red'

Figure 3: For həɔ 'green'

Singular			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
həɔ 'green'	həɔe 'green'	həɔi 'green'	həɔi 'green'

Plural			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
həɔe 'green'	həɔe 'green'	heri 'green'	heri 'green'

Popularly used invariant adjectives are: bəɟəkəl 'ugly', əgrəũ 'next', ɡol 'circular', səɟ 'true', əmi:r 'rich', ɡəri:b 'poor', kəi 'many', ɖani 'benevolent' etc. The commonly used adverbs in Bhadarwahi language are: huɟi 'now', tetʰɑ:li 'then', ketʰɑ:li 'when', iɟi 'here', uɟi 'there', koɟi 'where', kentʃere 'how', kiɟɔ 'why', həɖiɦɑ:ɔe 'daily', ləɡɑtɑ:r 'continuously', astə 'slowly', ɟupkerta 'silently', tʰi:k-tʰɑ:k 'well' alike.

Numerals belong to the class of adjectives. They are divided into five types: cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, fraction, and aggregative. The functions (Abbi 2001:134) of numerals are following:

**Table 5:** Numerals and their functions

Numerals	Functions
Cardinal	Pronouns or Modifiers
Ordinal	Modifiers
Multiplicative	Adverbs of frequency
Fraction	Adverbs
Aggregative	Nouns

Cardinals are numeral quantifiers used for counting. They are invariable in nature and they do not inflect for number and gender. Ordinals are used to show rank or ordering. They are formed by suffixation of /jəũ/ to the base form. The feminine form shows /fi/ suffixation, such as

10th: dəjəũ, 20th: bijəũ, 30th: tlijəũ and 40th: çelijəũ. The multiplicatives are formed by suffixation 'gəŋ' (which may inflect for person and gender) to cardinal numerals such as: 2 times: du + gəŋo = dugəŋo, 3 times: tli + gəŋo = tligəŋo, etc.

### 3.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are often used to refer to a noun that has already been mentioned. Pronoun morphology is connected with the different forms of pronouns, gender, number, animacy, and deictic categories.

#### 3.5.1 Personal pronouns

Figure 4 shows personal pronouns.

**Figure 4:** Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
First person	əũ 'I' (subject)	əsa 'we' (subject)
	mĩ 'I' (ergative)	əseĩ 'we' (ergative)
	mero/i/e 'my' (possessive)	ijo/i/e 'our' (possessive)
Second person	tu 'you' (subject) –HON	tu 'you' (subject) -HON
	tus 'you' (subject) +HON	tusa 'you' (subject) +HON
	tusəĩ 'you' (ergative) –HON	tuseĩ 'you' (ergative) –HON
	tusəĩ 'you' (ergative) +HON	tuseĩ 'you' (ergative) +HON
	təro/i/e 'you' (possessive) –HON	tero/i/e 'you' (possessive)–HON
	tujfo/i/e 'you' (possessive) +HON	tujfö/ĩ/ě 'you' (possessive) +HON

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
Third person	tu/u 'he/she' (subject)	ten 'they' (subject) –HON
	/	tena 'they' (subject) +HON
	teni 'he' (ergative)	unei 'they' (ergative)
	tesa 'she' (ergative)	/
	usero/i/e 'his/her' (poss.)	unkero/i/e 'their' (possessive)
	tesero/i/e 'his/her' (poss.)	tenkero/i/e 'their' (possessive)

### 3.5.2 Definite and indefinite pronouns

Figure 5 shows definite and indefinite pronouns.

**Figure 5:** Definite and indefinite pronouns

	<b>Definite pronouns</b>	
	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
Proximate	in 'this' (subject)	ina 'these' (subject)
	ini 'this' (ergative)	ineĩ 'these' (ergative)
	isero/i/e 'this' (possessive)	inkero/i/e 'these' (possessive)
Remote	te 'that' (subject)	ten 'those' (subject)
	teni/uni 'that' (ergative)	tenei/unei 'those' (ergative)
	tesero/usero/i/e 'that's' (poss.)	tenkero/unkero/i/e 'those' (poss.)
	<b>Indefinite pronouns</b>	
	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
	koi 'someone' (subject)	koi 'someone' (subject)
	kentji 'someone' (ergative)	kentjeĩ 'some' (ergative)
	kentj-ero/i/e 'someone's' (poss.)	kenkero/i/e 'someone's.pl' (poss.)

### 3.5.3 Relative pronouns

Figure 6 shows relative pronouns.

**Figure 6:** Relative pronouns

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
zes 'whom' (subject)	zen 'whose' (subject)
zeni 'whom' (ergative)	zeneĩ 'whose' (ergative)
zesero/i/e 'whom' (possessive)	zenkero/i/e 'whose' (possessive)

### 3.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

Figure 7 shows interrogative pronouns.

**Figure 7:** Interrogative pronouns

Singular	Plural
kən 'who' (subject)	kəun 'whose' (subject)
keni 'who' (ergative)	keneĩ 'who' (ergative)
kesero/i/e 'whose' (possessive)	kenkero/i/e 'whose' (possessive)

### 3.6 Verbs and verb morphology

The verb is the heart of a sentence. It tells us about the time and nature of the event. The nature of nominal expressions (requires one nominal expression or two) is determined by a verb. In imperative the subject remains elliptical but recoverable from the verb. Lexical verbs, conjunct verbs, auxiliary verbs, and compound verbs are discussed below. Following are the examples:

The base form k<sup>h</sup>ə 'eat' admits the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k <sup>h</sup> ə	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>h</sup>
Feminine	k <sup>h</sup> ə	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>h</sup>

The habitual form (by imperfective) is generated by the addition of a base /t/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: o, əe, i, and ie. Thus, the base form k<sup>h</sup>ə 'eat' admits the following:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>o</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>əe</sup>
Feminine	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>i</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ət <sup>ie</sup>

The habitual aspect has these verbal forms: X-to, X-ti, and X-te where X is the verbal root. X-to form comes with masculine first person singular əũ 'I', with masculine third person singular (or any noun person) te 'he', and with masculine second person tu 'you'. X-ti form comes with feminine first person singular əũ 'I', with feminine third person singular (or any noun person) te 'she', with feminine first person plural, and with feminine second person tu 'you.' X-te form comes with masculine first person plural, masculine second person plural/honorific and masculine third person plural. But we find variations in the auxiliaries of above mentioned X-to, X-ti, and X-te verbal form for habitual aspect. The following table precisely captures this difference:

**Table 6:** Habitual Aspect

Person & Number	Verbal Form (Aspect marker)	Auxiliary Form (Present Tense marker)	Auxiliary Form (Past Tense marker)
Masculine First Person Singular	X-to	ɑĩ	t <sup>h</sup> u
Masculine Third Person Singular	X-to	ɑe	t <sup>h</sup> u
Masculine Second Person	X-to	əs	t <sup>h</sup> u
Feminine First Person Singular	X-ti	ɑĩ	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Third Person Singular	X-ti	ɑe	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Second Person singular	X-ti	əs	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Second Person plural/honorific	X-ti	ət <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> i:
Feminine First Person Plural	X-ti	əm	t <sup>h</sup> i:
Masculine First Person Plural	X-te	əm	t <sup>h</sup> ie
Masculine Second Person plural/honorific	X-te	ət <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ie
Masculine Third Person Plural	X-te	ən	t <sup>h</sup> ie

The perfective form is generated by the addition of a base /ɑ/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: u, i, and u when the verb agrees with the subject.

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k <sup>h</sup> ɑu/i	k <sup>h</sup> ɑu/i
Feminine	k <sup>h</sup> ɑi/u	k <sup>h</sup> ɑu/i

When the verb agrees with object (feminine):

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k <sup>h</sup> əi	k <sup>h</sup> ei
Feminine	k <sup>h</sup> ɑi	k <sup>h</sup> ei

When the verb agrees with object (masculine):

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k <sup>h</sup> au	k <sup>h</sup> ae
Feminine	k <sup>h</sup> au	k <sup>h</sup> ae

Table 7: Perfective aspect

Perfective Aspect Form	I.M	I.F	We.M	We.F	You SG.M	You SG.F	You PL.M
'eat'	k <sup>h</sup> au	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑɪ	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑɪ	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑɪ
'sleep'	z <sup>h</sup> ɔlo	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ule	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ulo	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ule
'run'	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe	dewəɾɪ	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe
'fall'	fɪgo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge	fɪɾɪ	fɪgo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge
'understand'	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmze	səmzɪ	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmze
'see'	hero	heru	hero	heru	hero	heru	hero
'drink'	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw
'bath'	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu
'write'	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o
Perfective Aspect Form	You PL.F	You HON.M	You HON.F	He	She	They M	They F
'eat'	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑ:ɪ	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑɪ	k <sup>h</sup> eɪ	k <sup>h</sup> ɑ:ɪ	k <sup>h</sup> e:ɪ
'sleep'	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ule	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ulo	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ	z <sup>h</sup> ule:	z <sup>h</sup> ulɪ
'run'	dewəɾɪ	dowəɾe	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe:	dewəɾɪ
'fall'	fɪɾɪ	fɪge	fɪɾɪ	fɪɾo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge:	fɪɾi:
'understand'	səmzɪ	səmz <sup>h</sup> e	səmz <sup>h</sup> ɪ	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmz <sup>h</sup> e	səmz <sup>h</sup> ɪ
'see'	heru	he:ro	he:ru	hero	heru	he:ro	he:ru
'drink'	pɪɾɪ	pi:w	pi:ɾi	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pi:w	pi:ɾi
'bath'	nɪhau	nəhau	nɪhau	nəhau	nɪhau	nəhau	nɪhau
'write'	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o:	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u:	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u	ɪk <sup>h</sup> o:	ɪk <sup>h</sup> u:

The progressive form is generated by the combination of a base /rəor/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: o, e, i, and i:, and the auxiliary forms which we will discuss in the following heading: auxiliary.

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	rəoro	rəore
Feminine	rəori	reori:

11. rəmeʃ      əu  
Ramesh    come.PST  
'Ramesh came.'
12. rəmeʃ    i      kəm      kero  
Ramesh    ERG    work    do.PST  
'Ramesh did the work.'

A verb like kerno 'to do' requires two nominal expressions as in (12).

13. rəmeʃ    i      həri-e/dʒo    peɪso    ditto  
Ramesh    ERG    Hari-IO/OBL    money    give.PST  
'Ramesh gave money to Hari.'

A verb like deno 'to give' requires three nominal expressions as in (13).

**Table 8:** Progressive aspect

Person & Number	Verbal Form (Aspect marker)	Auxiliary Form (Present Tense marker)	Auxiliary Form (Past Tense marker)
Masculine First Person Singular	X-ro	ɑ̃i	t <sup>h</sup> u
Masculine Third Person Singular	X-ro	ae	t <sup>h</sup> u
Masculine Second Person Singular	X-ro	ae	t <sup>h</sup> u
Feminine First Person Singular	X-ri	ɑ̃i	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Third Person Singular	X-ri	ae	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Second Person singular	X-ri	ae	t <sup>h</sup> i
Feminine Second Person plural/honorific	X-ri	ət <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> i:
Feminine First Person Plural	X-ri	əm	t <sup>h</sup> i:
Masculine First Person Plural	X-re	əm	t <sup>h</sup> ie
Masculine Second Person plural/honorific	X-re	ət <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ie
Masculine Third Person Plural	X-re	ən	t <sup>h</sup> ie

### 3.6.1 Compound verbs

In Bhadarwahi when two verbal elements are used to express a single meaning; it is constructed by a compound verb. The first verb in the verbal carries the primary meaning or the main meaning (semantic), and the second verb only modifies the primary verb. The second verb marks for number, person, and gender (grammatical), and the first verb comes in the non-honorific imperative invariant form.

### 3.6.2 Compounds with ga:ŋo 'to go'

The ga:ŋo 'to go' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: k<sup>h</sup>ei ga:ŋo 'to eat', z<sup>h</sup>uli ga:ŋo 'to sleep', b<sup>h</sup>oi ga:ŋo 'to happen', keri ga:ŋo 'to do', meri ga:ŋo 'to die', etc.

14. koskoi-koskoi ero b<sup>h</sup>oto ae  
 Sometimes this happen.IMPF AUX.PRST  
 'Sometimes this happens.'
15. koskoi-koskoi ero b<sup>h</sup>oi ga:to ae  
 Sometimes this happen go.IMPF AUX.PRST  
 'Sometimes this happens.'
16. mere edzte ei u/te k<sup>h</sup>ijki dzew  
 my.POSS come.IMPF EMPF he crawl go.PST  
 'He left as I came.'
17. te/u meri dzew  
 he.III.SG die go.PST  
 'He died.'

In (14) the verb b<sup>h</sup>oto 'to happen' is intransitive, but the compound verb b<sup>h</sup>oi ga:to 'to happen' in (15) gives it a special suggestive meaning which cannot be expressed by the (14). In (16) the compound verb shows an immediacy of action, and in (17) it shows the completion of an action.

### 3.6.3 Compounds with edzəŋo 'to come'

Another verb edzəŋo 'to come' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: b<sup>h</sup>oi edzəŋo 'to happen', nəji edzəŋo 'to run', keri edzəŋo 'to do', nissi edzəŋo 'to pass', etc.

18. tu kla:si mə rə dzəldi nissi edza  
 you.II.SG class in from early pass come.IMP  
 'You come from the class early.'

Generally the compound verb with edzəŋo 'to come' directs two actions the first verb carries the main meaning and the second verb includes suggestiveness to the meaning.

### 3.6.4 Compounds with *çəddəno* 'to put'

Another verb *çəddəno* 'to put' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: *tlor* *çəddəno* 'to crush', *tju:fi çəddəno* 'to suck', *meri çəddəno* 'to kill', *keri çəddəno* 'to do', *k<sup>h</sup>oli çəddəno* 'to open', etc.

19. uni        sɑ:ro    kəm    k<sup>h</sup>ətəm    kerɪ    çəddə  
       he.OBL   all        work    finish    do        put.PST  
       'He finished all the work.'

The compound verb with *çəddəno* 'to put' comes with transitive verbs.

Compounds are also formed with *neɲo* 'to take', *deɲo* 'to give', *rək<sup>h</sup>əno* 'to put', *pəno* 'to fall', *uɲno* 'to get up', *bifəno* 'to sit', etc.

20. te            k<sup>h</sup>ij-k<sup>h</sup>ij        həssi    peɪ  
       he.3.SG    bloom.REDUP    laugh    fall.PST  
       'He had a belly laugh.'

21. rəwi        ətʃɑ:nək    ut<sup>h</sup>i    k<sup>h</sup>əɾo    b<sup>h</sup>uo  
       Ravi        suddenly    get        stand    happen.PST  
       'Ravi stood suddenly.'

### 3.6.5 Conjunct verb

This consists of a noun or an adjective and a verbal element such as: *zəbɑ:n deɲi* 'to promise' (literal meaning is 'to give tongue'), *hət<sup>h</sup> deɲo* 'to marry' (literal meaning is 'to give hand') and *dɑ:n deɲo* 'to donate' (literal meaning is 'to donate').

The behavior of conjunct verbs can be compared with English phrasal verbs i.e. they are metaphorical in meaning. The conjunct verbs are employed in the following sentences where they give the metaphorical meaning:

22. ʃərmɑ: ho:r i        suref-e    əpni        kuj        ero    het<sup>h</sup>    dit<sup>o</sup>  
       Sharma HON ERG Suresh-IO his.POSS daughter of    hand    give.PST  
       'Mr. Sharma married his daughter to Suresh.'

23. mero    tə        sənsɑr    erɑ        dil        b<sup>h</sup>eri    dʒewro    əe  
       my.POSS EMP world from heart fill        go.PST    AUX.PRST  
       'I am fed up with this world.'

The conjunct verbs in (22) & (23) have a metaphorical meaning. In (22) the verb *het<sup>h</sup>dit<sup>o</sup>* has a connotative meaning when a father selects a person for her daughter to get married.

There are sentences when the noun of a conjunct verb agrees with the object as in (24) & (25):

24. *teni mət̪t̪hero kʰija:l rəkʰo t̪u:*  
 He.ERG child.POSS care put.PERF AUX.PST  
 'He took care of the child.'

25. *iʀi mət̪t̪hɑ: kero kʰija:l rəkʰo ɡɑ:to æ*  
 here child.PL of care put.PERF go.IMPFX AUX.PRST  
 'Here children are being taken care of.'

In sentence (24) the verb agrees with the masculine singular noun *kʰija:l* 'care', and in (25) *kʰija:l* 'care' agrees with the verbal complex *rəkʰo ɡɑ:toæ*.

### 3.6.6 Auxiliary verbs

In Bhadarwahi the auxiliary verbs are used to mark present and past, they are of two types: base /tʰ/ (in present tense) which inflects for the gender and number suffixes: /ɑ/ and /ə/, and u, ie, i, and i: (in past tense) which inflects for the gender and number suffixes: e and ən. The future tense is marked on the main verb by base /l/ which inflects for the gender and number: o, e, i, and i:.

	Present	
	Singular	Plural
Masculine	ɑ	ən
Feminine	ə	ən
	Past	
	Singular	Plural
	tʰu	tʰie
	tʰi	tʰi:

The presumptive form is with a base /bʰo/ inflects for the gender and number suffixes: o, e, i, and i:.

	Presumptive	
	Singular	Plural
Masculine	bʰoto	bʰote
Feminine	bʰoti	bʰoti:

### 3.6.7 Verb Inflection

Bhadarwahi verbs exhibit the following inflection:

Root	pəɾ 'read'
Infinitive	pəɾno
Imperfective participle (Masculine)	pəɾto
Imperfective participle (Feminine)	pəɾti
Perfective participle (Masculine)	pəɾo
Perfective participle (Feminine)	pəɾi
Causative (I)	pəɾhanu (cause X to V)
Causative (II)	pəɾwahanu (cause Y to cause X to V)

Figure 8: Verb inflection for verbs

Root	Base form for infinitive	Base form for imperfective	Base form for perfective	Base form for causative-I	Base form for causative-II
pəɾ	base /n/ and suffixes o, e, i, ī, u are added for number and gender	base /t/ and suffixes o, i, e, ī, u are added for number and gender	base /r/ and suffixes o, i, e, ī, u are added for number and gender	base /han/ and suffixes o, i, e, ī, u are added for number and gender	base /wahan/ and suffixes o, i, e, ī, u are added for number and gender
Root Meaning	Infinitive	Imperfective	Perfective	Causative (I) Participle	Causative (II) Participle
pəɾ read	pəɾno	pəɾto (M) pəɾti (F)	pəɾo (M) pəɾi (F)	pəɾano	pəɾwano
uɽ <sup>h</sup> stand	uɽ <sup>h</sup> əno	uɽ <sup>h</sup> to (M) uɽ <sup>h</sup> ti (F)	uɽ <sup>h</sup> o (M) uɽ <sup>h</sup> i (F)	uɽ <sup>h</sup> ano	uɽ <sup>h</sup> wano
əɳ bring	əɳno	əɳto (M) əɳti (F)	əɳo (M) əɳi (F)	/	əɳwano
uzəɾ devastate	uzəɾno	uzəɾto (M) uzəɾti (F)	uzəɾo (M) uzəɾi (F)	uzəɾano	uzəɾwano
uɕəɾ jump	uɕəɾno	uɕəɾto (M)	uɕəɾo (M)	uɕəɾano	uɕəɾwano

## 4. Basic syntax

Bhadarwahi simple sentence is a combination of subject and predicate. A simple sentence consists of one main clause only. The predicate of a sentence contains the verb (it optionally consists of objects also) and gives information about the subject. The predicate is typically the structure that follows the subject.

#### 4.1 Word order

Bhadarwahi is a subject dominant language with an SOV word order (SV if without object). Its subject comes in the first place, an object comes in the middle, and the verb comes in the final position.

26. sərɪtə dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑːti æ  
 Sarita frozen-milk.O eat.IMPF Aux.PRST  
 'Sarita eats curd.'

The subject sərɪtə 'Sarita' comes first in the sentence. The object dʒəmoro-dudə 'curd' comes in the middle, and verb kʰɑːti æ 'eats' comes in the last. In English the order of object and verb is inverted from OV to VO. Here the verb kʰɑːti æ 'eats' agrees with the subject sərɪtə 'Sarita', and it is without an overt case-marker. We can also write the sentence (26) such as:

- 26.a. dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑːti æ sərɪtə  
 frozen-milk eat Aux.PRST.SG Sarita  
 'Sarita eats curd.'
- 26.b. dʒəmoro-dud sərɪtə kʰɑːti æ  
 frozen-milk Sarita eat Aux.PRST.SG  
 'Sarita eats curd.'

The word order in Bhadarwahi is flexible to an explanation for the subject and the object. The word order of an assertive, negative, interrogative, and imperative remain different from each other. The changes in person, number, gender, case, aspect, tense, and mood are also observed in the Bhadarwahi language.

#### 4.2 Subject-verb agreement

Bhadarwahi verb agrees with a noun phrase which is not followed by an overt post-position. Unless there is a post-position after the subject of a sentence, the verb will agree with the subject in person, number and gender. The subject NP triggers the agreement. Consider the following sentences:

27. bepɪ dʒi hər bəri vɑiʃnɪ dɛwi gɑːtɛ ən  
 father HON every year Vaishno Devi go.IMPF AUX.PRST.PL  
 'Father visits Vaishno Devi every year.'

The subject is third person singular honorific bepɪ dʒi 'father' in (27) and the verb is accordingly marked plural gɑːtɛ 'go', and the auxiliary ən marks tense and plural, and it also shows that honorific singular subjects are marked plural.

28. mohən kəne səlɪmɑ peni sei kʰɛdʒi rəore ən  
 Mohan and Salma water from play live.PROG AUX.PRST.PL  
 'Mohan and Salma are playing with water.'

The subject in (28) has two III person singular nouns *mohən* ‘Mohan’ and *səlma* ‘Salma’ conjunct with *kəne* ‘and’, which constitute a plural subject. The verb and auxiliary (a tense marker) is marked plural accordingly.

29. *mɑ:sʈər dʒi bəre bəle zote ən*  
 teacher HON very slowly say AUX.PRST.PL  
 ‘The teacher speaks very slowly.’

The subject in (29) is a third person singular honorific and the verb and auxiliary (a tense marker) is marked plural (honorific gets a plural verb form). The modifier *bəre* ‘very’ and adverb *bəle* ‘slowly’ agrees with the verb *zote* ‘say’.

30. *tus hər dihɑ:re tesere kɑ: gɑ:te ətʰ*  
 you.2.SG daily day him near go AUX.PRST  
 ‘You go to him every day.’

The subject in (30) is a second person singular pronoun. Bhadarwahi has three different words for second person reflecting politeness hierarchy like Hindi. They are:

*tu* ‘you’ (an impolite form),  
*tus* ‘you’ (more polite), and  
*tusa* ‘you’ similar to *ap* ‘you’ in Hindi (the most polite)

31. *sərita əi kukəri eri roʈʈi kʰəi*  
 Sarita ERG maize of chapatti eat.PST  
 ‘Sarita ate a chapatti made of maize.’

As we can see in (31) that noun phrase *sərita* is followed by an overt post-position *əi* that is an ergative marker. The verb *kʰəi* ‘ate’ agrees with object-head *roʈʈi* ‘chapatti’. The object-head ‘chapatti’ is a feminine noun and that’s why we have verb form *kʰəi* ‘ate’ and not *kʰəw* ‘ate’ which is used for masculine.

## 5. Typological overview

The major typological features of the Bhadarwahi language have been summarized and presented in Table 9:

**Table 9:** Some typological features of Bhadarwahi

Grammatical features	Types of features
Unmarked clause order	SOV
Direct/Indirect object	Indirect object precedes the direct object
Adposition	Postposition
Genitive noun	Genitive precedes noun
Deictic system	Proximate/distal

Grammatical features	Types of features
Adjective	Adjective-Head, the adjective follows the standard of comparison
Verb affixes	Mainly prefixing, also suffixing, infixing in causatives
Agreement	

## 6. Conclusion

The paper summarizes some grammatical features of the Bhadarwahi language. Due to prolonged contact with Hindi, Dogri and Kashmiri speakers, the natives of Doda and Bhadarwah have borrowed script and few lexical items from these languages. Despite this, Bhadarwahi is a different language and the language does not show any mutual intelligibility with Dogri, Hindi and Kashmiri. However, other languages spoken in the region such as Pangwali, Siraji, Padri and Bhalesi show lexical similarity up to fifty to fifty five percent.

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## **BOOK REVIEW**



**PANUNTUNÁN NA ORTOGRAPIYA ÉD SALITAN PANGASINAN 2012.  
MANILA: KOMISYON SA WIKANG FILIPINO, 2012. XV + 20 PP.**

**Erwin Soriano FERNANDEZ**

Abung na Panagbasay Pangasinan, Philippines  
win1tree@yahoo.com

**Book review**

The haste in which this orthography was made contributed, no doubt, to some errors and misconceptions that proliferate in the pages of this booklet. It aims to establish orthographic rules on Pangasinán, a language spoken by at least two and a half million speakers in the province of Pangasinán in Northwest Luzon, Philippines. By all means this booklet must be welcomed by all Pangasináns and non-Pangasináns alike as it heralds the revitalization of Pangasinan, which has been pronounced as a dying language due to national language policy and the apathy of the people themselves.

That it was done under the auspices of the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino [KWF or Commission on the Filipino Language] raises a number of questions. The rules are patterned after the guidelines set for Filipino making Pangasinán a mere copycat without its own distinctive character as unique language. Pangasinán as a language has its orthographic history whose speakers and more so its writers developed an inimitable custom for writing that makes it different from other languages. To agree and to accept the Tagalog, Filipino, way of orthography is to insult the struggles and innovations made in the name of the Pangasinan language. Messages that should have been translated to Pangasinán remain in Tagalog particularly that of the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd) secretary and the KWF director-general.

More dubious is the role of the Pangasinán Provincial Tourism Office (PPTO) in the making of the booklet. While there must have been a need for personnel that could easily be loaned from this office, this could have been supplied by the Pangasinán Historical and Cultural Commission (PHCC) whose commissioners gather when there is a meeting or two without the concomitant office and personnel designated to this agency. Its ad-hoc personality makes it difficult to run programs that could have stimulated discussion such as this on orthography through conferences, forums and meetings under its guidance and supervision.

It is true that the PHCC helped in the crafting when one of its commissioners became one of the validators and even wrote a short essay included in the booklet. The latter, however, instead of enlightening the origins of Pangasinán, obfuscated it

by mentioning unsubstantiated claims that Pangasináns came from Thailand and Flores Island in Indonesia or that Dutch came to colonize after the Spaniards (ix).

Now to its substance, the makers of this orthography have confused the sounds of Pangasinan with English so that the pronunciation of letters either vowel or consonant is based not on Pangasinán phonics but on English. Thus, Pangasinán school children are taught “ey”, “bi”, “si”, “di”, “e/i”, “ef”, “ji”, “eych”, “ay”, “jey”, “key”, “el”, “em”, “en”, “enye”, “enji”, “o”, “pi”, “kyu”, “ar”, “es”, “ti”, “yu”, “vi”, “dobolyu”, “eks”, “way” and “zi” for a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, ng, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y and z (1). When I raised the issue that Pangasinán must be studied on its own terms in a forum, the late head of KWF Division of Linguistics shrugged it off and said it would be very difficult to do that. The result is a set of orthographic rules with phonics borrowed from English. The distinctive schwa sound, ə, which is peculiar in Pangasinan, is never discussed.

There are four sets of orthographic rules stipulated in the guidelines. The first set deals with rules on pronunciation using English phonics but under this are misplaced orthographic rules on borrowing words from other Philippine languages, words from foreign languages, and words from Spanish (2-6). The second set of rules deals with rules on syllabication (6-9). The third set tackles rules on borrowing, which somehow repeat what are stated in the first set: borrowed words from Philippine and foreign languages must remain in their original spelling while those from Spanish must be spelled in Pangasinán (i.e., *asfalto* to *aspalto*, *diccionario* to *diksyonaryo* etc.) although Spanish words beginning in “e” or with “o” must retain these letters if borrowed (i.e., *estudiante* to *estudyante* not *istudyante*, *politica* to *politika* not *pulitika*) (9-11). It also rules that proper, technical, scientific and mathematical terms must remain in their original borrowed spelling (11-12), which I think – with the exception of proper names – is a lazy way out of the challenge in intellectualizing the language.

The fourth set, “Other rules”, contains rules on the use of “na” and “n”, modification or assimilation of verbs, adjectives or nouns through affixes, the use of ligatures “ya” and “a”, the use of “y” in the shortening of words or contractions, the usage of “u” and “o”, the use of “w” instead “o” in “oa” and “ua”, which is used in the old Castillian orthography and the use of “w” between “u” and “e” (i.e., *buer* to *buwer*) (12-18).

On the proper use of ligatures “ya” and “a”, the booklet is a clear manifestation of not following the rule (4, 6) simply because it is contradictory and goes against the established norms. It says that “a” is to be used when it follows a word ending in consonant or it is before a word beginning in consonant while “ya” is to be used after words ending in vowels or semi-vowels (i.e., “w” and “y”). Convention has it that “a” is used before a word that begins in consonant while “ya” is used before a word that starts in vowel. This rule is evidently seen in the translation and publication of the gospel of St. Luke in 1887 into Pangasinan, the first among Philippine languages that opened the doors for translation of the Bible, by Nicolas Manrique Alonzo Lallave, a defrocked Spanish Dominican priest turned protestant.

It is curious, however, that last in this set is a rule that disallows the use of “saray” in plural form of nouns, which is outright wrong. This is contrary to the consistency rule in which “saray”, which is the plural form of “say”, the article, must be consistent with the sense of the substantive. Hence, the first example given, “say pituran lalaki” [the seven men] must be “saray pituran lalaki” [the seven men] (18). I tried to understand as to why this rule is included when it is obvious that the rule is incorrect and it came to me that the basis is the application of a rule for another language.

The use of accent in the pronunciation of words as advocated by the booklet should be encouraged. Nonetheless, the use of ['] or acute accent in indicating the stress on a syllable and the ə sound in é is confusing. It can be replaced by another symbol, [¨] the diaeresis or umlaut – as advocated by one writer – or designate “e” as the ə sound with e that can still be used for other sounds since only a number of words have the ə (i.e., tawen, berbér, ebá etc.).

The rush in which this is undertaken is shown in the typographical mistakes (7, 11).

But altogether these imperfections are minimal compared to the grievous lack of acknowledgements due to their respective authors since they are not cited or mentioned giving the impression that this is wholly an original undertaking. There were efforts to standardize the Pangasinán orthography since the 1930s beginning with the works of Pablo Mejia, the so-called prince of Pangasinán poetry. A poetess-scholar of Pangasinán literature also proposed orthography for Pangasinan. In 2008 a forum was held on Pangasinán orthography in a university in Dagupan. Ignorance – or even intellectual dishonesty – can never be made an excuse for any enterprise as critical as this.