#### Applied Linguistics. Professor Rajesh Kumar. Indian Institute Of Technology Madras. Lecture -31. Language and Education.

In the domain of applied linguistics, education is one particular field where lots from research in different domains of the study of language comes to play. Education interacts with language in a very significant way. There are a lot of that are part of education. In this domain, in this module, we are going to be looking at a relationship between language and education.

Education happens to be one of the most significant sectors in society and language is yet another one. They interact with each other in a very significant way, their interdependence on each other, rather the dependence of education on language is immeasurable. We are going to look at how they work with each other and what we need to look into when we look at together.

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## Introduction

- Knowledge is coded in and transacted through language, it should be obvious that language is the most critical element in education.
- In fact language is required for everything that we do. As humans do not perform anything without language.
- Language becomes a defining factor of humans.
- Identifying the significance of language in education, MAK Halliday believes that learning about language is learning the genesis of learning itself. A leading educational



anthropologist Heath believes that language is fundamental to education.

Knowledge, that is part of the dissemination system and education is coded in transacted through language. It should be obvious that language is the most critical element in education. All kinds of transactions in general and transactions in classroom in the field of education takes place through language. Without language there is no transaction in education, there is no transaction of knowledge inside the classroom or outside the classroom in the field of education.

Such is the significance of education, such is the role of language in education. Unlike anything else, that is anything else can wait but proper attention to language and education does not wait, it requires attention. And the more focused attention is paid to the issues of language in education, the outcome is sharper.

In fact language is required for everything that we do in our lives. As humans, we do not perform anything without language in general. In fact, language becomes a defining factor for humans. We have discussed these things in greater details in various other modules of this course. We have also look at the internal structure of language to emphasise the significance of its rules, significance of the language as a system.

In this module what we are trying to address is language being critical part of education requires focused attention. And this attention is primarily at the policy level but also at the level of practice in classroom and requires sensitivity in looking at the relationship between the 2. First in order to understand how significant it could be and what kind of role it plays in transaction of knowledge.

Identifying the significance of language in education, Michael Halliday believes that learning about language is learning the genesis of learning itself. That is the learning of language, that is what goes in learning of language is the genesis of learning itself. Therefore it is not at all possible to drop the focus from language in education. A leading education anthropologist Surley Heath also believes that language is fundamental to education. So, in this introductory part we are trying to establish the connection between the 2 and the significance of language in the domain of education.

- For Heath, schooling brings a growing sense of dissonance between transmitted knowledge which help children shape their identity and the subsequent transitional experience learning. The language of children is heavily influenced by the academic and social culture that they come to interact with in the school.
- The fact of the matter is that in most of the cases the language of the school does not match with the language that children bring to schools; the language of the peer group hardly finds any space in the classroom transactions.

For Heath, in terms of education and the relationship between the 2, schooling brings a growing sense of dissonance between transmitted knowledge which helps children shape their identity and the subsequent transitional experience learning. The language of children is heavily influenced by the academics and social culture that they come to interact with in the school.

So, school becomes a very specific domain for learning for children. And it brings a very different kind of sense to children. It does a lot of things to children and we are going to be spending couple of minutes on looking at how significant schools are and what it does. The fact of the matter is that in most of the cases, the language of the school does not match with the language the children bring to schools.

This is the primary paradox, the primary genesis of issues in language and education. When the language of the school does not match with the language of the children, how would the success of transaction of knowledge would be measured? What are these children expected to do. And what are the teachers or the schools or policymakers and the planners plan? What is their strategy to deal with this mismatch? Why would they bring something to children which will not make much sense to them? The language of the peer group schools for children hardly finds any space in the classroom transaction.

Now it is a well-known and established fact that children bring language to schools, they have already acquired this complex system called language before they go to school. They do not come as a blank slate. So, they have brought their language and all other children have

also brought their language and they have found and develop a method of communication among peer group which does not find any difficulty.

Children have no difficulty in establishing peer group communication channel. But the problem is this peer group communication channel their beloved by children and the language brought to school by groups of children or individual children hardly find any space in the classroom. That is in the transaction of knowledge in the classroom, rather for that purpose schools choose a language of their own.

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A United Nation's report claims that fifty percent of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home. This underscores the biggest challenge to achieving Education for All. Through language, schools play a formative role in human behavior, patterns of interactions, power and race relations and gender.

And then we find a difficulty because the gap is pretty much obvious. And it can very well be visible when you look at a United Nations' report that claims that 50% of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever used at home. In other words, the language that children use at home is not at all used as the language of or a language in schools. The irony is they teach children, are not allowed to use that language and if they do so, they are punished in variety of age.

This is not a matter of information for anybody who have gone to schools, the language of the indigenous speakers, the language of the society, the language of the locality, the language that children use at home among peer group or in the society are not encouraged in the school. And that is the reason for this United Nations' report find, is the reason of drop out of 50% of the children in the domain of education.

This is in fact what underscores the biggest challenge that we need to achieve in education for all. Education for all will remain a slogan and tell this has got a solution. Through schools, through language, schools play a formative role in human behaviours. Patterns of interaction, power and race relations and gender, so, these are the formative roles that schools play in education.

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## School as a community

Schools are primary institution for formal learning in the formative years for children. Schools prepare children for transitional experience. More than the transitional experience of education, schools prepare children for a range of social challenges. Children grow in schools learning things that they do not consciously realize that they are learning.



What is a school? And we need to understand that space before we look at the language in that space. Schools are primarily solutions for formal learning in the formative years of children. Schools prepare children for transitional experience, more than the transitional experience of education, schools prepare children for a range of social challenges. Children grow in schools learning things that they do not consciously realise that they are learning.

It is a very important space for children, it has huge role to play in formation of personality and formation of citizens in society. With that kind of significance of a particular space which forms a community itself requires a very careful planning. And for that careful planning language finds or occupies the biggest space which is not a matter of debate for anyone. A school is a smaller sample of the society where it is located.

#### School

 A school is arguably a smaller sample of the society where it's located. The patterns of social status and unwritten hierarchy of the community can be detected in schools. As children come from different sociolinguistic and sociocultural backgrounds, they will inevitably be carried over to their school. But a school has its own way of categorizing its students, to a large degree separate from, but not totally unrelated to their backgrounds.



The patterns of social status and unwritten hierarchy of the community can be detected, can be seen in these schools as children come from different socio linguistic and socio culture background, they will inevitably be carried out to their schools. But school has its own way of categorising its students to a large degree separate from, but not totally unrelated to their backgrounds. So even the children bring everything, including social status and hierarchy of the community with them, school has to play a critical role on its own in dealing with these issues in that space too, with that kind of significance to the space that we call school, which is highly significant one.

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#### Language

Language, on the other hand, is a complex and rule governed system. It is organized in a very scientific manner at the level of sounds, words, sentences and discourse. There are rules that are common to all languages; at the same time there are rules around which languages differ from one another. Both the types of rules (rules common to all languages and rules that helps us understand structural differences between them) are part of Universal Grammar as Principles and Parameters.



Let us look at language, what it is and then we will look at how it works with each other. We have looked at many parts of what we are going to discuss today while discussing language. It is a, language is a complex and a rule governed system. It is organised in a very scientific manner at the levels of sounds, words and sentences and discourse that you have seen. You, we have taken you through all these levels of language to indicate the formal complexity of the structure of language at each level.

There are rules that are common to all languages, at the same time there are rules along with languages differ from one another. Both the types of rule, that are rules common to languages and rules that help us understand structural differences in them are part of what they call universal grammar and it is part of universal grammar as what we call principles and parameters. Principles are the rules that are common to languages, that is languages have limited number of sounds and they are, they share sounds with one another is one of the principal roles that we find across languages.

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#### **Principles and Parameter**

- Principles: Languages have limited number of sounds and they share sounds with one another; all languages have sentences; sentences will have both subjects and predicates.
- Parameter: The relative position of verbs in sentence is part of parameter in the sense that verb may occur at the final position in a sentence (in all South Asian languages with the exception of Khasi) or in the middle position
   preceding objects (in languages like English).

All languages have sentences, sentences will have both subject and predicates, these are the examples of principles in language. Parameters on the other hand are the rules along which languages differ from one another, such as the relative position of verb in sentence is part of the parameters in the sense that verb may occur in the final position of the sentence as it happens.

And we see in all South Asian languages with the exception of Khaasi as we discussed the other day, Khaasi is spoken in the Garo hills of Meghalaya, one of the north-eastern states of

India. Language verbs can also appear in the medial position of effective as we see in English where verbs precede objects and in some languages of the world, verb can also be seen in the initial position of the sentence. So, on the basis of the, so the position of, relative position of the verb in a sentence is an example of parameter.

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#### Language and 'a language'

One of the other striking features of language is such that no individual speaks just one language or variety and therefore no society speaks just one language. What follows from here is that the idea of 'a language' though used by linguists and various socio-political institutions is not either valid or useful, particularly for educational discourse. Variability in linguistic behavior has to be at the centre of all pedagogical transactions. Language can then only be conceptualized as multilinguality i.e. as a space where multiplicity of voices converge and interact to evolve fresh articulations.



This is what we find, this is how we see language as a technical and a systematic stuff which we all acquire through natural process from our surroundings. When we move beyond this concise introduction of language as a system, we want to see how it is perceived, particularly we want to take a turn now where we want to see how it is perceived in schools.

So, as one of the other striking features of language, we see that no individual streets just one language or just variety. Therefore what is significant is no individual speaks just one language or just one variety. What is important here to understand that language has several varieties and normally speakers of a variety of language would have capacity to deal with and navigate through several varieties of that language.

Therefore it becomes much easier to conclude that no society speaks just one variety or just one language, therefore just one language. So, what follows from here is that the idea of a language, though used by linguists and various socio political institutions is neither valid or useful, particularly for educational discourse. Let me take you through this once again because this is the crux of the argument which is essentially us to understand. All languages will have several internal varieties, no individual speaks just one language or just one variety, therefore it is easy for us to conclude that individuals based on their competence of dealing with several varieties at a time and several languages at a time do not speak just one language. And therefore no society uses just one language for any kind of transaction, though it is, it might be convenient for several socio political institutions and linguists to deal with the notion of a language for variety of purposes which we do not want to contest here.

Such a discussion is of no use, that is the existence of a language has got no use in educational discourse is what we want to underline here. Variability in linguistic behaviour has to be at the centre of all pedagogical transactions. Variability of language is a reality, therefore it cannot be ignored.

We cannot shy away from this particular, specific feature of language which is called variability. Language can then be only be conceptualised as variations which in other words can also be known as multilinguality. That is as a space where multiplicity of voices converge and interact to evolve fresh articulations. This is the fundamental conclusion of several research papers by Agnihotri.

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## What do students bring to school!

Every individual is unique in her way of talking and communication with others. Hence, language plays an important role in identity formation. The heterogeneity in the use of language leads to mismatches, often resulting in misunderstandings. This mismatch in a classroom setup is mostly between the language used by the student at home and the language they are expected to learn and use at school. Numerous researches have studied the consequences of this mismatch on students whose language is different from the language that the school values. These mismatches often lead teachers to underestimate the language ability of students as they fail to realize the use of students' mother tongue.

Given such a significance to language, when we begin to see the relationship between language cools and language in classrooms and therefore language in education, what we find is every individual is unique in her own way, that is every individual talks and communicates with others in a unique way. Hence, language plays an important role in the formation of identity. The heterogeneity in the use of language leads to mismatches often resulting in misunderstanding and mismatch is again the kind of mismatch that we have just seen earlier in our discussion where the language that children use in their community, their society, their homes are not often the language of the schools.

So, this mismatch in a classroom sets up mostly between the language used by students at home and the language they are expected to learn and use at the school, the point that we have just made. Numerous researches though have studied the consequences of this mismatch on students whose language is different from the language that the school values. These mismatches often had teachers to underestimate the language ability of students as they fail to realise the use of students' mother tongue.

As a consequence of this, children are often discouraged, at times disrespected and punished for the use of the language that they bring to the classroom, to the schools. And such is the consequence because they find no use of what they have already acquired, what they have already done effortlessly.

And therefore they end up spending time on something which is hard, in the sense that it does not get acquired the way they acquired the language that they brought to school. This in a very subtle way, just like the acquisition of language takes place without us realising that results into school dropouts and not being able to make sense of what goes in school. Can this be ignored? It is a question that you need to ask yourself in the domain of education.

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 Language is tied up with culture and culture is mediated through language. Culture, refers to widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted by people who identify themselves as members of a society.



Language is tied up with culture and culture is mediated through language, no debate here, no discussions. We find numerous examples of these things in the process of our development. We, how fast we learn to use appropriateness in language is something that we do not realise. Culture refers to widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, themselves about life and goal directed activities that become consciously or subconsciously accepted by people who identify themselves as a member of a particular society. And then all these things get mediated through language. They find their space, the inn, the structure of language and that is the connection between language and society. That is the connection between language and its uses.

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#### **Basil Bernstein's Restricted and Elaborated Codes**

- Bernstein's study on language use helps us understand that the middle class and the lower working class are very different from each other which influence the difference in the language they use.
- Bernstein coins the term 'restricted code' to describe the patterns of language the working class uses. Restricted code includes poor grammatical constructions that are often short, simple, unfinished, with few conjunctions, little subordination, dislocated presentation of information, limited number of adverb and adjective types, infrequent impersonal pronoun subjects and



frequent comprehension requests.

Let us quickly look at Basil Bernstein's ideas of restricted and elaborated code which has similar resonance. Bernstein's study of language use helps us understand that the middleclass and the lower working-class are very different from each other which influence the difference in the language they use. That is, their language is a different, the way they use language is different and the way they will, the use of these 2 languages are viewed are different. Bernstein's coined terms for these 2 for the language of the lower working-class people, he uses the term restricted code and for the other side, he uses the term elaborated code.

So, the restricted code is used to describe the patterns of language the working-class people use. It includes poor grammatical constructions that are often short, simple, unfinished, with few conjunctions, little subordination, dislocated presentations of information, limited number of adverbs and adjectives, infrequent impersonal pronouns, subjects and frequent comparison requests.

These are some of the features of restricted code. A careful study of restricted code reveals that the reason for each one of these features of restricted code and the abundance of these features and the uses of restricted code has completely different Genesis. Schools use elaborated code and therefore it is important for us to understand the difference between restricted code and elaborated code.

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### **Elaborated** Code

- Schools on the other hand use elaborated code and expect students to use it.
- Elaborated code involves standard syntax, complex sentences with subordinate clauses, prepositions, wide range of adjectives and adverbs, and a lot of qualifying language, typically associated with the middle class. Hence students belonging to the parents of the working class section of the society, who are distant to the school's culture and language, are at a disadvantaged position. In forcing change upon them, the school in a way, is attempting to bring in changes to their cultural patterns and hence their identity.

So, the languages that schools use are part of elaborated code and that comes with standard syntax, complex sentences with subordinate clauses, preparations, wide range of adjectives and adverbs and a lot of qualifying language, typically associated with middle-class. Hence, students belonging to the parents of the working class section of the society who are distant to the school's culture and language are at a disadvantageous position. In forcing change upon them, the schools in a way is attempting to bring a change to their cultural patterns and hence their identity. This is one of the things that schools are trying to do. As a consequence of this attempt by schools, a lot of other things happen as well.

 The classroom conventions of conversation are different from our everyday speech. Teachers emphasize the use of complete sentences in classrooms which is recognizably different from our patterns of conversations out of the schools in our immediate discourse. The standard language ideologies link the non-standard use of language to the school's inability.



However, the classroom conventions of conversation are different from our everyday speech that we have categorically established. Teachers emphasise the use of complete sentences in classroom which is recognisably different from the patterns of conversations out of the schools in our immediate discourse. The standard language ideologies link the non-standard use of language to the school's inability. And these are far dissociative from each other. However, nonetheless this is what we find out.

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 It is a common tendency among people, including teachers, to judge others solely on the basis of their linguistic abilities. In education, this attitude of teachers may often lead to self-fulfilling prophecies, as their expectations on the 'weaker students' is low and hence provide them little instructions, attention and support. This, in turn, can deteriorate the performance of these students. Parents generally tend to oppose the languagebased view of their wards' poor performance.



So, it becomes a common tendency among people including teachers to judge others solely on the basis of their linguistic ability. In education, this attitude of teachers may often lead to self-fulfilling prophecies as their exceptions on the weaker students is low, their expectations from weaker students is very low and hence provide them little instructions, attention and support.

This in turn can deteriorate the performance of these students, that is the students who, who use restricted code. Parents generally tend to oppose the language based views of their wards' for performance. And this has a complete, this is a different story and different reasons underlying it. But what becomes a common tendency among teachers is with, and that results into little attention and support to students who are weaker because they use restricted code in the classroom.

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# Labov

Labov's intervention to show that the so-called restricted code was as systematic as the so-called elaborated code and it was unfair to judge system Y from the norms located in system X. It is just that the normative variety, or the standard pure variety, has social acceptance and political and literary patronage. As a linguistic variety, the so-called restricted code as rich and rule-governed as any other language. Bernstein's deficit hypothesis was thus replaced by Labov's variability hypothesis.

Labov's intervention in this debate is to show that the so-called restricted code was as systematic as so-called elaborated code and it was unfair to judge system Y from the norms located in system X. The entire volume of Labov's work is devoted to this and in long innings of his research, Labov has demonstrative that there are not structural differences between what is called elaborated code and what we refer to as restricted code. The users of these 2 learn language the same way. And that has got implications and we will take a look at these implications as well. But it is just that the normative variety or the standard pure variety has social acceptance in political and literary circles.

As the linguistic variety, the so-called restricted code is as rich and rule governed as any other language. Bernstein's deficit hypothesis was 1<sup>st</sup> replaced by Labov's variability hypothesis where variability is one of the features of human language and the distinction

between restricted code and elevated code may be an observation worthwhile and does not hold structural differences.

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# Chomsky

In early 1960s Noam Chomsky raised the question of learnability in children, in particular the learning of language. He demonstrated with empirical evidence that children learn complex system of language in no time on the basis of limited and fuzzy/degenerate input. Prior to Chomskian intervention into the understanding of learning of language, researchers focused and believed that the input is proportionately responsible for the output in the process of learning ignoring the generative capacity of human mind.

In between, in early 90s, in early 60s, Chomsky raised the question of learning ability in children, in particular the learning of language. He demonstrated with empirical evidence that children learn complex system of language in no time on the basis of limited, fuzzy, degenerated input. Prior to Chomsky's intervention into the understanding of learning of language, researchers focused and believed that the input is proportionately responsible for the output in the process of learning and ignoring the generative capacity of human mind.

We have discussed this part in dealing with language teaching in greater detail. So, when Halliday talks about the questions of learnability, when Surley Heath talks about the questions of learnability, we see the shades of this in the questions of learnability and in particular the questions about learning of language by Chomsky as well.

# 'A language'

- It is a common notion that the education system ought to be monolingual in the sense that the use of 'a language' is the only option.
- In all possible perspectives, educational institutes have traditionally been working in the same fashion not realizing that no one speaks just 'a language' and that it is a distorted notion of language.

So, what we find also is as a common notion in education system that everyone has to be monolingual in the sense that the use of A language is the only option. In all possible perspective, educational institutes have traditionally been working in the same fashion not realising that no one speaks just A language and that it is a distorted notion of language. We have established this, we have seen how any society does not use just one language, nonetheless schools would want to believe so and this is also reasons related to mismatches between schools and language.

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- In formal schools, contents were delivered either in the language of the elite or in a language that was nobody's language.
- Around the world, an observable change in this trend was apparent during the 1960s wherein a greater emphasis was laid on ethnic diversity.
- As a result, the use of the mother tongue was introduced and accepted in schools.



In formal schools contents were delivered either in the language of the elite or in the language that was nobody's language, because quote unquote standard variety of language either English, Hindi or for that matter any language which is known as a standard variety is not the language of the people in the society in the real world. Take a moment pause here, sit down, reflect and think about this, you will find the reality underlying it, that what we speak is variety of any given language and therefore we begin with our multilingual competence. Around the world an observable change was in place. It was, it became apparent that during 1960s, greater emphasis was laid on ethnic diversity.

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Second Language Learning

- The use of one's language hinders the learning of another and that retaining one's mother tongue slows down the assimilation into mainstream society.
- Hence, bilingualism or multilingualism is
  seen more as an obstacle rather than a goal.



So, we started observing a change in 1960s in this monolingual assumption in pattern of School education. And it resulted in the use of mother tongue and mother tongue got introduced and accepted in schools. However, what was also seen side-by-side or just a little while that particularly in the domain of second language learning and research that the use of one's language hinders the learning of another and that restraining one's mother tongue slows down the assimilation into mainstream society.

So, if we want to hold on and retain or the issues of mother tongue, it is going to reflect on the assimilation process into mainstream society which was observed in several pockets of, with the immigrants in Canada and United States. And therefore what they concluded that bilingualism or multilingualism was rather an obstacle in learning. (Refer Slide Time: 37:04)

# Multilingualism

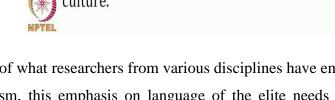
 Researches have suggested that bi/multilingualism has a number of advantages such as the cognitive advantages (Hudson 1968), metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok 1987), communicative sensitivity (Genesee et al.1975) greater inter group understanding i.e. social tolerance (Cummins 1988) and psychological esteem benefits and higher
 scholastic achievements (Cummins 1986).



Quite contrary to that, researchers have suggested that multilingualism has a number of advantages. Such as the cognitive advantages, meta-linguistic awareness, communicative sensitivity, greater intergroup understanding that is social tolerance and psychological esteem benefits and higher scholastic achievements are few things that have been proposed, proposed in terms of the outcomes of multilingualism.

Therefore, it has also been concluded that higher the degree of multilingualism, higher scholastic achievements, higher greater social tolerance, greater communicative sensitivity and greater acceptance of heterogeneity. So, to find attention, however schools at this point in time needs to focus on what has been suggested by researchers. So, the basic ideology that the school practice is that the student is expected to follow the mainstream culture irrespective of their backgrounds.

- Basic ideology that the schools practice is that the student is expected to follow the mainstream culture, irrespective of their backgrounds.
- This emphasis on the language of the elite needs to change.
- All children are linguistically equal; this is an area where natural democracy prevails. We also know that just as bio-diversity is essential for the health of a forest, linguistic diversity is necessary for the health of a society and the growth of knowledge and culture.



On the basis of what researchers from various disciplines have emphasised the significance of multilingualism, this emphasis on language of the elite needs to change. All children are linguistically equal, in fact linguistics is the only science which begins with the fundamental assumptions that all humans are born equal to acquire all languages and any language of the world. This is an area that natural democracy prevails. We also know that just as biodiversity is essential for health of a forest, linguistic diversity is necessary for the health of a society and the growth of knowledge and culture.

This requires attention. Education must take a serious note of language of all children as it will find ways and means of reducing hierarchies in our society. In the future, therefore has been suggested that those who study language will investigate and come up with the finding that language is part of all this is learned within society. It has its uniqueness in the domains of learning, current research has shown that it should be possible to find space for language of minorities in classroom transactions.

As early as 1982, the famous educational anthropologist Surley Heath predicted that the disciplinary boundaries will be broken for the study of language. She could foresee that the root ideas in diverse disciplines such as cognitive science, literary theory, language planning and communication theory carry basic information from linguistics. She predicted in 1982 and the results are there for all to see. In the result domains ranging from computer science to industrial sociology, science of language is central. The knowledge about language that has

come from linguistics is in the process of becoming a matter of general knowledge, certain principles of mathematics, physics and biology.

We on the basis of this can simply see that the relationship between language of the individual and language of that individual, language of several individuals which constitute society needs a space in education for dealing with variety of complexities. This is a complex relationship but not impossible to attain in the domain of education. Thank you.