

devoted to Irish heritage. Camille, who inherited Ellen's strength and vigour becomes a lawyer. These professions were once only for the Americans and not for the immigrants. These professions requires the higher education available to women only if they joined religious orders and not otherwise. Priests and nuns form a part of Gordon's novels. *The Other Side* also follows the same pattern. It was a notion among the Irish American Catholics that the priesthood provided social status and security. It was a respectable position for the priest and his family. While there are various types of priests as there are various types of Irish Catholics, their views and expectations also differ from one another. One example is of Sheilah's husband Steve who leaves the priesthood to marry. The visit of the priest to the house of the MacNamaras is a different one. He is a staple of modern Irish fiction. He acts as an instrument of social control. Ellen scorns the ideas of the priest towards the labour union and also expels him from her house. She has fully rejected the church that a priest is not called to her death bed. There are nuns too in her novel. Sheilah left her vocation as a nun to marry a priest she had met at a civil rights sit in. On the other side, we see Sister Otile, who runs an innovative nursing home where Vincent recovers from his injury. She is more of a social worker than a religious person. These are the kinds of religious people that Gordon openly focuses in her novel. Irish Catholics are good for their excessive drinking. Men drinking in the public were considered a social status. For Irish American men, it was typical of Irish identity. Though Magdalene has been detected with breast cancer and waiting to die, she rarely leaves her room and spends the day drinking sherry and trying on clothes. The fragmented lives of the characters have to be taken into consideration. Wendy Smith in "Mary Gordon's Fine New Generation Novel" chronicles the disintegration of the characters as follows:

...The MacNamaras' two daughters, each scarred in her own way by the knowledge that their mother loved only their brother John (killed in World War II), are unhappy women: Magdalene an alcoholic who has rarely left her room in 15 years; Theresa a loveless woman whose primary gift is for finding fault. Theresa's children are as bruised as she: anxious Sheilah, who can never please anyone; Marilyn, about to get her third divorce; and rootless, drifting John, a classic burned-out '60, case. Only Magdalene's daughter Camille and John's son Dan, who share a law practice, appear to have drawn purpose and fulfillment from their grandparent's strength, though both bear emotional wounds inflicted by their estrangement from their mothers... (High beam)

The novel is entangled in a host of relationships that follow one generation after the other. The portrayal of Ellen in this old age is too heavy a cross to be carried by her. The above mentioned lines stand testimony to the fact that the unfulfilled need for love in these women and the power of human beings to damage and vie at each other is because they are incapable of love. Ellen rails against the past while Vincent did not allow hatred to poison his life. While he accepted the new environment, he did not forget or reject the old place. The concern of the novel transcends those of the Irish American family. The experiences of

several generations of MacNamara's stand an illustration to this. A family cannot escape the ties that bind it. In one way or the other every person is tied to his/her family and no one can escape as we see through the characters in the novel.

In a controversial 1988 article published in 'The New York Times Book Review', Gordon accounts for what she saw as a shortage of Irish American novelists that made her to write this novel. All the ideas in the novel are relevant to the ongoing debate about the contribution of the immigrant families to American life. The novel is not about the Irish American life in general only; it also focuses on the love and the failure of love and to love the characters. Gordon shatters the romantic mythology of the Irish American experience, and with it the nostalgic belief that the solution to today's problems lies in the return to the benign past. The immigrant experience is universal in nature. What demarcates Gordon's characters from the other immigrants is that the characters are Irish American and their story reflects the specifics of this history. The Irish who left Ireland were forcefully sent due to famine and their non-acceptance immediately in an alien land is a matter of concern. Yet they cherished their memories and had a firm stand across the shores and their voices have been heard in that they have established their credibility even in an alien land.

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## **Nativization and its Pedagogical Implications**

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**Abstract:** One of the manifold effects of the global diffusion of English is its nativization. When a language encounters another language, it adapts itself to suit the new culture and in a way becomes a born- again language. This process of acculturation is known as the nativization of language. Unlike many other languages that have transcended the borders of their origin, English has come across a variety of cultures. By dint of this global spread it has also been nativized in multifarious ways much against the wish of linguistic puritans. These propagators of linguistic conformity have been marginalized by the forces of linguistic emancipation and English has now taken on new names such as Global English, English as an International Language, English as a Lingua Franca etc. Deviations from prescribed norms are often viewed as deficiencies by linguistic imperialists. However, users of English in the outer and expanding circles view nativization as inevitable for various reasons. Nativization may pose intelligibility hazards to other variety speakers of English. However, the inadequacy of English to represent all the cultures makes it a necessity. This paper is an attempt to look at the various reasons for nativization and its pedagogical implications.

**Keywords:** globalization, nativization, intelligibility, pedagogical implications

**Introduction:** The most widely spread language today is English. English is a major language in 240 nations of the world. It is used for a wide variety of purposes. As it has reached all the corners of the world and almost all the cultures, it has also been subject to a lot of indigenization. In the former British English colonies, where English is a second language, it has become an integral part of the cultural life that cannot be wished away. As the language penetrates into the different strata of the society, it gets further modified and transformed. Thus, we have intra-society varieties and inter society varieties. These varieties pose a lot of intelligibility hazards when they are used for communication between speakers of two varieties of English. Unless the learners of English became aware of the differences between these varieties there can be very serious communication breakdowns which can lead not only to misunderstandings but even to animosity.

**Why Nativize?** Every language is intimately connected to the culture of the community that uses it. So is the case with English too. Though global and international, no variety of English is culturally neutral. For example, “when an English man says something is not cricket (fair) the allusion is also to a game that is by no means universal in the English speaking countries” (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985, p. 6). Their advice is not to press the cultural neutrality of English too much. Expressions like 'It sells like hot cake' and 'That is not my cup of tea' also have strong overtones of culture. English used around the world is not the same. There are marked differences even among the inner circle

countries. As it always happens with languages, contacts with other languages influence each other. Contacts with other languages have changed and are changing English. In the process of the global diffusion, English has been transplanted to many countries. Wherever it has gained social status and existed alongside other languages, there has been a lot of give and take. The inadequacy of English to label all the phenomena or realia found in the new regions of its transplanting has compelled English to adopt words and names from the languages of the indigenous people. The lexical adoption has been an on-going process. The lexical inflow of words from the various Indian languages has reached such an extent that the Oxford Dictionary now has a very long list of those words supplemented to it. Other than the lexical features, phonological and grammatical features also have been rubbed on to English from the indigenous languages. These new embraces make one variety English different from the other. On top of this, as Fennel (2001) points out, in a multilingual society like India where the opportunity of access to English is not equal for all citizens, a variety of types of English develop in English- 'knowers' (p. 261). As Kachru (1983) observes this difference can vary "from pidgin English on the one hand to educated (or standard) South Asian English" (as cited in Fennel, 2001, p. 261) to the other. In the outer and expanding circle countries, the imported version of English needs to be adapted and modified to enable it to express native cultures. If language is translation of thoughts, it is to be remembered that every language has a culture at its core. As Patil (2008) points out, the English language has been acquiring new formal properties and functional roles enabling it to carry the connotations of its new cultural habitats (p.10). This settling into new habitats certainly demands a reorientation in order to serve other cultures. Sociolinguistic and pragmatic transfers work behind the nativization and the birth of varieties. This transfer is not necessarily the unintentional transfer of the mother tongue rules to the target language made by learners. Creative writers do make intentional transfers from the so-called native varieties to achieve the meaning and effect they aim at. They are creative users of the language who want the 'unkindest cut' to be the 'most unkindest cut of all'. To them 'vegetable love' is not a wrong collocation but a very powerful way of presenting their perception of love. Their mastery is not in conformity but in intended nonconformity from the norms and dictates of the inner circle countries to make meaning and style of their own. Their proficiency comes from nonconformity. They are so proficient that their pens can dig deeper to reshape and mould the language at use and effectively convey their message. As Patil (2008) puts it, "The various reincarnations of English share the medium but use it to express native and local messages" (p. 28) through a foreign tongue. They borrow the medium and cut it to their shape in order to be the vehicle of their message. This hybridization is necessitated by the inadequacy of the other tongue to convey effectively thoughts and emotions, which are not the others. Thus, they are compelled to make intended interventions subjugating the language to perform what they will. Many non-native creative writers themselves have explained why

they had to bend, reshape and hybridize the medium. It would be apt here to mention a few perceptions of some such writers about this kind of adoption. All of them raise the fundamental question of whether English without modification is capable of representing thoughts and experiences of people from varying backgrounds. The African writer Achebe (1975) raises the question whether an African can ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writings. And his answer is 'yes' provided he 'aims to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost' (p.171 ). His answer to the question, whether English should be used as native speakers use it, is an emphatic 'no'. He suggests that an African writer 'should aim at fashioning out an English language which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience' (ibid.). According to Achebe, a world language should be ready and willing to submit itself to different ways of use. To quote his words 'I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be different English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings' (from *Morning Yet On Creation Day*, pp. 169-72, reprinted in Jenkins, 2003). Jamake Highwater (2003), a well-known native-American writer who writes in English, talks of how he had been divided between two cultures in the initial years of his learning English. He could not simply digest and appreciate certain English words whose meanings never fitted into his and his people's understanding of the world. He was very disappointed to know that 'meksikatsi', his favourite bird that had a particular significance to him, was actually called a duck in English. To him, the bird neither sounded nor looked like a 'duck' whereas 'meksikatsi' meaning 'pink coloured feet' could be the perfect name for such an elegant bird. He also had problems with words like 'wilderness' and the synonyms of the word 'earth'. He had grown up in a place that was called 'wilderness'. But he could never understand how such an ecological park could be called a 'wilderness', something wild that needed to be harnessed. He could not cope with a culture that taught people to look at nature as some sort of adversary, a foe who is to be conquered and tamed to be of use to man. The concept of man placed above nature as its master was alien to him. His was a culture that treated humans as part of nature. He says that "Indians did not need Darwin to find out that man was part of nature". In fact, he saw his first wilderness when he got out of a bus in a city called New York. He was greatly distressed to find that the synonyms for the word earth-dirt and soil-were used to describe uncleanness and obscenity. He could not understand how something that is dirty could have negative connotations. To him, it sounded like saying someone is saintly so do not go near him. (One is reminded of the accusation against Mark Antony as being in a queue with those who smell sweat). He speaks of his later realization "that languages are not just different words for the same things but totally different concepts, totally different ways of experiencing and looking at the world" (pp.4-6). Many Indians writing in English also have aired their views on the same line. In his forward to

his magnum opus *Kanthapura*, Raja Rao (1938) explicitly talks about the way English should be used by non-native writers. He admits that the story telling had not been easy, as he had to express his own spirit in a language that was not his own. English, he says, "is the language of our intellectual make up like Sanskrit or Persian was before but not of our emotional make up". Therefore, he opines, "We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect, which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it" (Preface to *Kanthapura*). He is strongly advocating acculturation of the English through indigenization and the creation of a new technique hybridizing the English and the Indian.

Rao experiments his theory of nativization by employing the intellectual character of English and the emotional of the other (Kannada in this case). In order to bring in the tempo of Indian life into his English, he adopts various strategies like colourful figures of speech, Kannada sentence structures, local rhythms and cultural expressions. He also uses Kannada equivalents of English proverbs without crossing the boundaries of comprehensibility. His conscious employment of such strategies infuses a native spirit into an alien language. He shows how he nativizes the language in order to make it suitable to carry his message. Every literature is a product of time and place. As Thakur (2008) observes, 'No literature develops in a vacuum. Images, themes, forms, assumptions, attitudes and discursive modes are determined and given direction to by the socio-cultural forces that shape the world in which the writer lives and to which he or she responds' (p. 2). It is true that the intellectual make of the educated Indians have been very much influenced by the English and the English education. With all his opposition and anger against the colonizers, Narayan's protagonist in the *English Teacher* could not stop his appreciation of Shakespeare's sonnets or Keats' *Ode to the Nightingale*. However, to look at the English literature produced in India as a direct inheritance from the British will be much farther from the truth. It may be true in the case of railways, cricket and post offices but not with the English literary works of the Indians. All the various factors like Indian philosophy, aesthetics, economics, politics, religion and the very rich indigenous literature including the Puranas and the epics have found their way into their works, and they have expressed *their* messages in *their* words symphonizing both but at the same time with a distinction of their own. Macaulay wanted to create an elite group who would be the interpreters of the English values to the millions whom they ruled. Nevertheless, in the wake of time that group has turned out to be the interpreters of the indigenous values and cultures to the rest of the world. Like the fallen angels, they serve different gods now. To quote Phillipson (1992):

There are writers from many parts of the periphery-English world who have refashioned the English language so as to meet their own cultural and linguistic needs. It appears that their capacity to draw on English and other local languages and to blend their own culture with the

canons of certain genres has not resulted in attempts to reassert a global standard, meaning one that conformed to British or American expectations (p. 26).

The culture specific requirements along with the contact with the indigenous languages have given birth to varieties of English around the world. As Jenkins (2003) points out, this has happened mainly in two diasporas or dispersals of English. The first diaspora is that of the initial migration from England mainly to America and Australia. American English and Australian English have become varieties, as they are different from the English of the early settlers. In the altered sociolinguistic contexts, the migrants had to adapt and change. They did not have words to refer to all that they came across in the new alien land. On the other hand, not all the settlers, though from Britain, were of the same linguistic background. For example, those from the east of England did not have the rhotic /r/ and the voiced /s/ of those from the west of England. In the later stages of migration, slave trade took English to the southern parts of America and to the Caribbean islands where pidgins, which developed into creoles, were born. New Zealand and South Africa are also parts of the first diaspora (p. 5). The transplantation of English to Asia and Africa took place in the second dispersal. Absorbing water and manure from the culturally rich soil of these lands and by being exposed to the native languages English has grown into varieties here also. With more than 40 million users of English, South Asia is now the third largest English speaking area after Britain and the USA. Whatever the case may be in demography; there exists a variety of Englishes in South Asia due to historical reasons. Yet another force that worked behind the nativization of English was the inherent desire of people to be different. As a community, they wanted to highlight their uniqueness and individuality. In the case of the Americans, there was a deliberate attempt to establish an identity different from the motherland of the migrants. Thinkers such as Emerson and Webster contributed much to this trend. They urged the settlers to throw away the yoke of European ideologies and cultural inheritance. There was to be a different nation culturally, ideologically and linguistically. With the growth in the spirit of nationalism, there have been such linguistic upheavals in many parts of the world. The raised economic status and the awareness of their own cultural heritages have inspired many onetime English colonies to think differently. Thus, nativization may also be viewed as a resistance to all forms of imperialism in the post colonial, postmodern world. This intentional ethno-centric intervention has helped and is helping in the development of home-grown varieties of English in divergent ways.

**Levels of Nativization:** Nativization happens at all the different levels of the language such as lexis, pronunciation, grammar and discourse. However, the greatest degree of nativization takes place at the lexical level. This is because, as discussed earlier, in the new cultural setting English confronts a lot of new realia. They can be either material or immaterial realia closely intertwined into the regional cultures. English may lack suitable equivalents to express or represent them. This inadequacy compels English to accept and receive the words used by the

natives. As English has widely spread across the world in an unprecedented way, it also has a large treasure of loan words taken from different languages. This, in fact, is a two-way process affecting the regional languages as well. Unable to find equivalents for imports from English, the regional languages also absorb English words into their corpus. Most varieties, South Asian English or Indian English in particular, abound in nativized stock of lexis. True, the British conquered the people of India, but in turn, the people of India have conquered their language by making it their own and stuffing it with their words and expressions, and contributing in their own way to the development of English. Yet another area of nativization is phonology. This poses a great threat to intelligibility as even slight variations in pronunciation can make significant changes in meaning. This can seriously impair communication. Nativized variations can be observed both at the segmental (i.e., the sound system-consonants and vowels) and at the supra segmental levels (i.e., word accent, rhythm and intonation). Jenkins (2000) classifies the trouble making phonological features in English into core features and non-core features. She does not include features harmless to intelligibility in her *lingua franca* core. She regards divergences in the areas of vowel quality, assimilation, stress and weak forms from the native speaker realization as non-core features. They are L2 sociolinguistic variations and should be accepted. Aspirated or unaspirated phonetic realization of /p/ in 'pen' does not affect intelligibility. Thus, she regards such features as non-core features. Jenkins, as Walker (2001) observes, takes into account the international status of English as a *lingua franca*. Her core features are the product of her meticulous research into intelligibility problems between native speakers and non-native speakers. They are a target for those seeking international intelligibility. They can be summarized as vowel quantity, consonant substitutions, devoicing of consonants, phonetic realizations, consonant cluster simplifications and nuclear stress. Patil (2008) gives a few interesting examples of how the core features affect intelligibility:

'mug' pronounced as 'muck' (devoicing of consonant)

'six' pronounced as 'sick' (omission from consonant clusters)

'ship' pronounced as 'sheep' (confusion between short and long vowel)

'bird' pronounced as 'bard' (vowel substitution)

'TB' pronounced as 'TV' (consonant substitution) (p. 35)

The above features account for intelligibility issues in EIL. These variations mostly depend on the L1 background of the speaker. It is also to be noted that such deviations are not limited only to the non-native speakers of English but is also inclusive of the native variety speakers. The cultural complexities in the communities that use English demand variations in pragmatics too. As discussed earlier, no language is adequate for universal pragmatics. In the new lands of its transplantation English is forced to undergo a lot of changes for reasons of cultural appropriateness which might sound inappropriate in other cultures. When a foreign medium, English in this case, is used to express a culture that does not belong to it misunderstandings and miscommunications can occur both in verbal and in nonverbal communications. A study,

done by Gumperz (1982), manifests this clearly. His study was initiated by the many complaints of the airport staff at Heathrow airport. Their complaint was that the Indian and Pakistani employees at the cafeteria were rude in their behaviour to the customers. To know what exactly was going on, Gumperz taped their talk on the job. He found that the misunderstanding was caused by the tiny difference in intonation. When a British lady requested for meat, the Asian server wanted to know whether she wanted gravy on it. The British lady asked 'Gravy?' and the Asian server repeated 'Gravy' with a falling intonation instead of rising. Later when the tape was played to Asians and British, the Asian listeners could not find anything odd in the conversation. However, the British listeners found it rude. To the British, 'Gravy?' with a question intonation means 'would you like gravy?' But, the same word if spoken with a falling intonation, as in the case of the Asian server, means 'This is gravy. Take it or leave it' (as cited in Tannen, 1984, p. 192). Certainly, the East is East and the West is West. Even intonational differences can lead to miscommunication. Gumperz also pointed out another difference between the Indian speakers and the British speakers. The Indian speaker emphasizes the sentence preceding the main point and says the main point in a low voice to achieve some dramatic effect. However, the British speaker emphasizes the main point itself. The danger here is that the British listener might take the emphasized sentence as the main point (as cited in Tannen, 1984, p. 194). In addition, Indians speak loudly to get the attention of the listener or to win the floor. Speaking loudly can be interpreted as a sign of anger in the western culture. Contrary to the other levels of nativization, nativization at the grammatical level is very limited. There are deviations from the native variety norms, but they are not considered acceptable by the users of the standard non-native variety. Also, they seldom meddle with intelligibility whether they are acceptable or unacceptable. Shastri (1996) did a study on the grammatical variations in Indian English. His purpose was to challenge the argument that there is deterioration in new varieties. He focused on complementation in Indian English. His study proved that the argument was false as the frequency of deviant usages was very low except for the verb *suggest* (p. 81). The following are examples of some of the deviant uses that Shastri collected:

External courses are meant for those persons who are *interested to enrich* (instead of *in enriching*) their knowledge.

But when he wanted to celebrate Quarbana in the morning they *prevented him to do so* (instead of *from doing so*).

David Copperfield's stepfather, Murdstone had forbidden David Copperfield's mother *from speaking* to David Copperfield (instead of *to speak*) (pp.75-80).

The most noteworthy point here is that these deviations from the native standard varieties do not affect intelligibility. Moreover, users of the standard variety of Indian English do not consider them acceptable. Shastri (1996) used corpora from published texts. But, Parashar (1994) based his study on unpublished texts- eighty five letters of bank managers, administrators and scientists. He identified certain

grammatical variations in the cases of nominals, modifiers and determiners, syntax, verb patterns, auxiliaries, tense and aspect, prepositions and clause connectors and clause structure. The acceptability of the deviant uses was judged by a team of two native speakers of British English, two native speakers of American English and two Indian teachers at the university level. Based on his findings, Parashar arrived at the conclusion that there were very few violations of the major rules of grammar in Indian English. Moreover, there was no dispute among the judges in rejecting such ungrammatical expressions as unacceptable (p. 163). It is to be noted that there were no intelligibility problems in the examples given by Parashar.

**Pedagogical Implications:** The present socio-politico-linguistic scenario demands adaptations and reorientations in ELT. It is necessitated by the unprecedented revolutions caused by globalization and open market. The situation demands that people interact with a worldwide community. That means one needs to be aware of the language variations around the world. If one is unaware of the existence of the varieties of English around the world, it is sure to hamper his/her professional prospectus and profile. The fact is that many students in universities have little knowledge about the diverse varieties of English that are spoken around the world. They fail to understand that people in the USA or the UK speak unique varieties of English. They are also often not aware of the issue of language styles (Takagaki, 2005, p. 4) and the intranational variations in the use of English. Students tend to believe that the only standard English is the English they are exposed to in the language learning curricula which is usually American or British English. This gives them a one-sided view of English, which keeps aside the English of the vast majority of the people they have to interact with on international platforms. To excel in international communication, one needs to be aware of the diversity in the use of English. Mastery over the language skills and a rich treasury of vocabulary are indeed advantageous. Nevertheless, they alone cannot guarantee successful communication. A basic understanding of sociolinguistics is imperative if one is to take full advantage of the globalized world and the opportunities it offers. Thus, English language teaching curricula should ensure that the learners are made aware of the existence of varieties of English. They should be exposed to as many varieties of English as possible. It should try to familiarize and equip them with the English of their target audience. That is to say, if learners are expected to mingle more with the users of Canadian English, they should be exposed to the major features of the Canadian variety. This will not only improve their sociolinguistic competence but also inculcate in them a respect for different varieties. Once they realize why English is used differently, they will begin to look at all the varieties with equal respect. There will be no question of superior varieties and inferior varieties. This will promote tolerance for different variety users and make the linguistic world a fairer one. Therefore, every English language-teaching programme should include activities to raise the learner's awareness of the global use of