

EXAMINING URDU;
A STUDY OF 16+ EXAMINATIONS IN THE U.K.

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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1989



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ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate some aspects of Urdu examinations in Britain. The changeover from GCE to GCSE has required Urdu teachers and students to develop a broader range of skills. The goals of the Urdu-using community do not necessarily accord with the demands of the GCSE, which requires Urdu to be examined according to criteria determined for French.

Chapter 1 discusses factors which affect the examination and distinguish Urdu from French: the students' bilingual background, teachers and teaching provision, the implications of the change in the examination system, the introduction of the National Curriculum and the notion of parity of status with 'Modern Languages'. Chapter 2 analyses the GCSE criteria and the Urdu syllabuses derived from them. Certain aspects of the GCSE are given special consideration, including writing standards, the oral examination, discrete-skill testing and the use of dual language papers.

In view of the social priority accorded to writing by the Urdu-using community it was thought appropriate to investigate examination candidates' written performance. Chapter 3 discusses the rationale for the collection and analysis of the corpus analysed. Chapter 4 demonstrates the types and range of verbs and verb forms used by the candidates and relates them to the GCSE vocabulary and structure lists. Chapter 5 analyses errors with particular reference to the influence of Panjabi and the relationship between phonemes and graphemes and considers them from the standpoint of the GCSE assessment criteria. Chapter 6 contains an analysis of English words used in the Urdu compositions and of those included in the GCSE vocabularies.

The final chapter summarises the findings of the research and suggests areas worthy of further investigation. Alternative examination formats are also suggested which may be more appropriate for Urdu than those prescribed. These include graded assessment, the introduction of national attainment targets and the development of a new post 16+ examination.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I wish, first of all, to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr David Matthews, for his advice, encouragement, friendship and support. During the course of my research I have had the opportunity to consult with many colleagues in the field of Urdu teaching. Special thanks are due to Professor Christopher Shackle for his extremely useful information on Panjabi influences on Urdu. Others who have read parts of the thesis and offered many valuable comments or otherwise contributed include John Broadbent, Sughran Chaudry, Professor Abdul Sattar Dalvi, Kasim Dalvi, Mahmud Hashmi, Iqbal Khan, Tasavvur Khan and Ralph Russell. I would like to express my thanks to them all. Permission to use the GCE 'O' Level material analysed in this thesis was kindly granted by The University of London Schools Examination Board; I would like to thank Drs Michael Kingdon and Gordon Stobart of the ULSEB Research Department for their helpful advice. My position as Chief Examiner for GCSE Urdu with the London and East Anglian Group enabled me to gain access to much relevant information; I would like to thank Diana Muallem for her help. Thanks also to Drs Nigel Griffin and Fiona Ross for proofreading and editorial advice. Finally, I would like to thank Sylvia Knights for her love, forbearance and support; without her this work could not have been completed and it is to her that it is dedicated.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION.

<u>VOWELS.</u>	<u>CONSONANTS.</u>			
ā ≡ ā-	ب ≡ b	د ≡ d	س ≡ s	ل ≡ l
ā ≡ a-	پ ≡ p	ڈ ≡ ḍ	ز ≡ z	م ≡ m
ī ≡ i-	ت ≡ t	ذ ≡ z	ط ≡ t	ن ≡ n
ū ≡ u-	ٹ ≡ ṭ	ر ≡ r	ظ ≡ z	ہ ≡ h
o ≡ o-	ث ≡ ṯ	ب ≡ b	ع ≡ ' (aspirate)	و ≡ v/w
ū ≡ ū-	ج ≡ j	ز ≡ z	غ ≡ ḡ	ی ≡ y
au ≡ au-	چ ≡ č	ژ ≡ ž	ف ≡ f	ہ ≡ h
ī ≡ i-	ح ≡ h	س ≡ s	ق ≡ q	ہ ≡ h-
e ≡ e-	خ ≡ x	س ≡ s	ک ≡ k	ہ ≡ h
ai ≡ ai-				ہ ≡ -ā
o/ū/au				ہ ≡ +h
-ī				(hamzâ) ہ ≡ ' (aspirate)
-e				ہ ≡ ' (hamzâ)

See also table of phonemes and graphemes on pp199-200.

CHAPTER 1.
CANDIDATES, TEACHERS AND PROVISION OF URDU TEACHING.

1.0. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss certain topics concerning the examining of Urdu which have arisen as a result of the change in the examination system from GCE to GCSE. A discussion of these topics is necessary to contextualise the research undertaken which is covered in later chapters of this thesis. Section 1.1 describes the background of the potential candidates for Urdu examinations. Besides the nature of the candidature there are other matters which may impinge on the effectiveness of instruction and preparation for these examinations. These include the provision of Urdu teaching, covered in Section 1.2, the availability of teachers and the related issue of teacher training, covered in Section 1.3. It is also necessary to discuss the implications for Urdu teachers and students of the changeover from the dual examination system, which comprised the GCE 'O' Level and the CSE, to a unified one, the GCSE, which is discussed in Section 1.4. Among the main areas of concern are the introduction of an oral examination and the debate over writing standards. The latter was a major factor in the decision to analyse the compositions written by candidates. This analysis forms a large part of this thesis. (1) A discussion of the students, the experience and expertise of their teachers and the provision of teaching is also crucial to an understanding of the argument that Urdu and other Community Languages should be assessed at GCSE according to criteria different to those prescribed for 'mainstream' foreign languages. Part of this argument concerns the notion of parity of status, contained in Section 1.5 and establishes a framework for an analysis of the criteria and the syllabuses at GCSE from a community languages perspective which is contained in Chapter 2.

(1) Detailed consideration of the compositions used for analysis and the rationale behind the decision to focus on verbs, errors and English words are contained in the relevant chapters, 3, 4, 5 and 6.

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1.1. LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF CANDIDATES.

The vast majority of the candidates entered for public examinations in Urdu belong to the community that regards the language not only as a means of everyday practical communication but also as the means of transmitting cultural, social and to some extent religious values. In short, it is a community language. Up until only five years ago the term used for languages such as Urdu was 'Mother Tongue' but this term has now been superseded by 'Community Language', although some authorities have started to use the term 'Heritage Language'. The use of the term 'Community Languages' to describe those languages spoken by member states of the European Economic Community does raise the possibility of confusion. Although many of the languages subsumed by the term 'Community Language' are mother tongues of the majority of the users and learners in this country, the situation for Urdu is rather different. It is partially for this reason that this term has fallen out of favour. Alladina, critically reviewing eurocentric approaches to South Asian languages, differentiates between the language of speech communities who may be speakers of a dialect of one of the major languages and the term 'Community Language', which he likens to 'Culture Language'. 'According to this usage, the mother tongue or the home language of a learner may be a variety, dialect or a related language but the standard variety of a language is used for educational purposes or for wider community interaction.' ⁽²⁾ This description is an appropriate one for Urdu.

It is not necessary in this work to re-iterate the history and development of Urdu; this is well covered in greater or lesser detail by many authorities and has also been discussed in this work with reference to the use of English words in Urdu. ⁽³⁾ It is more important to understand the linguistic background of those settlers who regard Urdu as their 'Community Language'. Most of these settlers do not have Urdu as their 'Mother Tongue' but are speakers of various dialects of Panjabi

(2) S Alladina, 'South Asian Languages in Britain: Criteria for Description & Definition', *J.M.M.D.*, 6, 6, 1985, pp449-465.

(3) See Rai, 1984, Matthews *et al*, 1985, and Siddiqi, 1971.

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spoken in the north of the Pakistani province of Panjab and Azad Kashmir. These are the areas from which the majority of those in Britain who use Urdu have migrated. It has to be remembered that although Urdu is the national language of Pakistan it is the mother tongue only of those who originally migrated from India, in particular the areas encompassed by the state of Uttar Pradesh. Throughout the subcontinent Urdu has for over two centuries been regarded by Muslims as their cultural language; whatever their first language, Urdu has been the means of maintaining and transmitting their culture. In the subcontinent bilingualism is an almost universal phenomenon and millions of people speak not only their local dialect but also a regional language and, in many cases, the national language as well. Urdu has also traditionally acted as a *lingua franca* for disparate linguistic groups. In the modern state of Pakistan it continues to share that role with English. The special position of Urdu compared with most other major languages is that it is not limited to a discrete geographical area consistent with its area of origin; rather its native speakers are mainly found in urban centres within or without that area. Since most of the settlers who use Urdu come from rural backgrounds only a small proportion of these will have Urdu as their first language.

The students of Urdu in Britain come to the classroom with a broad range of linguistic experience. Some may have attended school in Pakistan and be able to read and write Urdu fluently, some will have merely a passive knowledge of the language, while in between these extremes there will be students with every combination of intermediate skills. This includes differing degrees of bilingual competence in Panjabi and in English. This complex linguistic situation is a feature of most community language classes in this country. In order to demonstrate the wide variety of linguistic experience which may be found in an Urdu classroom the following is a breakdown of the data collected by Stella Lewis. ⁽⁴⁾ Her survey on Urdu teaching in Waltham Forest is a valuable source of information on attitudes towards the subject, as well as background material on bilingualism and Community Language provision.

(4) S. Lewis 1986, p A13-A14.

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Out of a total of 28 students interviewed 9 were born in Pakistan, 18 in the U.K., and 1 in Kenya. 3 of the students born in Pakistan had arrived in England less than 5 years previously. 8 of the students had attended, or, at the time of the interview, still attended, Urdu classes outside school. 3 students reported being able to write Urdu 'well', 6 'quite well', and 16 'a little', although these categories are undefined. Lewis also gathered information on language use in the home which revealed a wide variety of combinations of languages used to communicate with different family members. The chart showing these patterns which is displayed below is adapted from that supplied by Lewis. (p A14) It shows the different languages used by different students to communicate with their relatives and peers. The same 28 respondents supplied information on this topic.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME.

<u>RELATION.</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>P+E</u>	<u>P+U</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>E+U</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>PA+U</u>
with Father	9	3	3	7	-	5	1
" Mother	12	3	2	9	-	1	1
" Parents	21	6	5	16	-	6	2
" Brother/s	4	3	1	-	2	16	1
" Sister/s	3	2	1	-	4	10	1
" Siblings	7	5	2	-	6	26	2
" Grandp/s	10	1	-	6	1	1	1
School Break	2	4	2	3	3	12	-

The figures do not all total 28 because several students did not report all of the relatives listed in column 1. P=Panjabi. U=Urdu. E=English. PA=Pashtu.

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These figures seem to corroborate the well described features of generational language shift; while Panjabi and/or Urdu is used to communicate with parents and grandparents by most of the students, English is used in a majority of cases to communicate with siblings. ⁽⁵⁾ The language most commonly spoken among friends in the school is English and this is not surprising in the British context. It is perhaps more surprising to find that Panjabi and Urdu are used as frequently as reported. It is necessary to note that the distinction between Panjabi and Urdu has been made by the students themselves and cannot be taken as accurate. Many students of Urdu are not themselves clear about the difference between these languages; a frequently heard comment is that 'we speak Panjabi but write Urdu.' This is a matter which causes confusion to many British teachers who have no involvement in Community Languages but it is quite a natural statement in the context of South-Asian languages and bilingual students in many societies. Panjabi is the majority language in Pakistan but Panjabi Muslims have traditionally preferred to conduct the education of their children in Urdu. Urdu is a high-status language among Muslims of South-Asian origin and although movements have arisen to use Panjabi as a means of education they have made little headway. Many people believe, incorrectly, that Panjabi cannot be written but, even if they were to be shown otherwise, Urdu would be the preferred language through which not only Indo-Muslim culture is transmitted but also as a medium of general education. The historical development of Urdu is a result of its use as a language which linked culturally similar but linguistically disparate communities in the subcontinent.

This specialised form of bilingualism can create difficulties in the classroom especially as the new GCSE examination requires the students to develop oral skills in Urdu. This can lead to a situation where the Urdu teacher has to 'correct' the students' Panjabi utterances even though, in the context of authentic language use, Panjabi is an appropriate means of communication. Research conducted on errors in this

(5) See LMP 1984, pp156-157, for a pertinent observation on the complexity of the factors involved in the process of language shift,

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thesis indicates that many of the orthographical errors committed by GCE 'O' Level candidates are linked with an inadequate understanding of Urdu phonetics and a certain degree of confusion between the two languages, although it must be stressed that the majority of these errors do not cause any serious impairment of communication. ⁽⁶⁾ Part of the difficulty arises from the fact that many students do not know the difference between Panjabi and Urdu. Thomas reports on recent research conducted into third language acquisition by bilinguals which indicates that an awareness of the similarity and differences between the languages, in this case Panjabi and Urdu, needs to be inculcated if students are to benefit from the potential advantage of prior knowledge of the related language. ⁽⁷⁾

While Panjabi/Urdu is likely to be the preferred language for communication with elders, Lewis's research shows that amongst siblings English is more frequently used. Instances of parents and grandparents speaking to their children in Panjabi or Urdu, and children responding in English, are commonplace. Lewis's figures show that no children reported speaking to their siblings only in Urdu, 7 mixed Panjabi with English or Urdu, while 26 reported using English only. For communication with adult relatives Panjabi is the most frequently reported language. ⁽⁸⁾ These students are regularly using two or more languages inside and, in many cases, outside the home.

Its significance both socially and educationally is that most of the students of Urdu possess functional bi- or tri-lingual skills and are called upon to use them as part of their daily lives. Children may accompany relatives who do not speak English to the doctor, or stay at home to mediate between them and officials or representatives of social agencies, etc. They may use these skills to explain the content of letters, forms or information from schools or local authorities. These

(6) See Ch 5, *infra*.

(7) J. Thomas, 'The role played by metalinguistic awareness in second and third language learning', *J.M.M.D.* 9, 3, 1988.

(8) Lewis, *op. cit.*, A13-14.

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skills may not be highly developed but they are an intrinsic element of the students' background. Outside the home the use of language is largely determined by situation. In a 'typical' urban environment many neighbours and local shopkeepers will be Panjabi or Urdu speakers. Community gatherings of a social or religious nature also provide public situations for the use of Urdu. For many Panjabi speakers of Urdu the latter is a 'public' language, with Panjabi being reserved for the domestic environment. This reflects the relative social status of the two languages.

It is not only in the home that the students of Urdu are required to use their bilingual skills. In the primary school environment older children may be used to interpret the teachers utterances, or to communicate with parents. At the secondary level the number of arrivals from the subcontinent with no English is low; the need for the former task is therefore less. While some bilinguals may have had the chance to put their linguistic skills to use at school, the school environment has had a generally negative effect on their linguistic development. Current educational thinking on bilingualism rejects the the previously held theory that the cause of minority students academic difficulties is bilingualism *per se*; 'rather it is the failure to develop students L₁ for conceptual and analytical thought that contributes to cognitive confusion.' ⁽⁹⁾ Unfortunately, for too long, too many schools have been 'no-go' areas for community languages and the reasoning that lies behind this attitude has by no means disappeared. This is noted by Lewis, who has recorded continuing opposition to Urdu teaching in schools. ⁽¹⁰⁾ The gap in many Urdu students' natural linguistic development, caused by lack of access to tuition in that language in the period between going to primary school and the fourth year of secondary school, is manifested in many students' unpredictable vocabulary and restricted range. On the other hand, students may use their language to communicate in situations where they do not want a non-Urdu speaker to understand. Iqbal Khan writes that the community language 'helps to counteract that sense of

(9) Cummings, 1984, quoted in Lewis, p15.

(10) Lewis, *op. cit.*, Table TB4, p57.

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alienation which an outsider must necessarily feel in a strange, often hostile, social environment.' (11) Using the community language turns the outsider into the insider; the monolingual Anglophone teacher can be made to feel excluded.

The variety of linguistic experience present in a class of students of Urdu is markedly different from that normally present in an equivalent class of students of French. While in a modern inner-city school there may be students from a wide range of linguistic backgrounds, the likelihood that more than one or two of them have any previous experience of French is minimal, although there are a few groups of French speakers. Most of these are likely to come from countries with a history of French colonisation, e.g. Morocco, Guadeloupe. In the Urdu classroom the overwhelming majority of students will be those who have some experience, if only receptive, of the language. Lewis's figures show that this experience is unevenly distributed: out of the 28 students surveyed 25 reported at least 'a little' ability to write Urdu although this minimum ability is not quantified. In the experience of many teachers this minimal level of writing skill is likely to be limited to little more than writing one's name. If the other linguistic skill areas were to be similarly reported the range of experience would be even more diverse.

In addition to the variety of experience present among a class of students from a similar cultural background, there are students from other backgrounds who, for various reasons, wish to study Urdu. They may be from Muslim societies who regard Urdu as a cultural language, or they may be from entirely unconnected backgrounds who wish to learn Urdu for other reasons. Two examples of the former were present in one fourth year class in a Waltham Forest school: one student, from Mauritius, was intending to study theology at Deoband in India, while the other, from Bangladesh, wanted to learn Urdu in order to socialise more easily with his neighbours.

(11) I, Khan 1988, p14.

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There is a small but growing number of students from other cultures: in a class of third year girls in a Waltham Forest Junior High School students from Afro-Caribbean, Chinese, English and Italian backgrounds were learning Urdu. While these students are not, as yet, registering for examinations the next few years may well see a greater number of students who are learning Urdu as a foreign language taking a GCSE in that language. The reason for this interest is not hard to understand: for students in an area, such as Waltham Forest, where there are significant numbers of Urdu speakers, there is a welcome desire among some students to learn Urdu so that they can talk to their school-friends and neighbours. In the minds of some there may be the idea that, for some careers, a knowledge of Urdu is a potentially valuable qualification. While the numbers of such students are unlikely to increase greatly, their presence in a classroom can have positive effects on their fellow students who are culturally associated with Urdu. In a school where English is the dominant language and the medium of instruction, many students of South-Asian origin can feel at a disadvantage compared with their English counterparts: on the other hand, in an Urdu classroom some of the former are in the position of 'experts', able to demonstrate their skills and teach their classmates. This blend of students, if managed carefully, can lead to both groups benefiting from co-operative learning activities; the enhancement of self-esteem among the Urdu speaking students is probably the most immediate benefit. The motivation of some of the non-Urdu speakers is such that they sometimes outperform their classmates.

The fact that many of the users of Urdu are not native speakers sets the language apart from most of the other languages in use in Britain which are commonly termed 'Community Languages'. This should not, however, prevent their being considered collectively in contrast to what are normally termed 'Modern Foreign Languages' which include exclusively European languages. From an educational perspective, the significant difference between the two groups is that the former are in everyday use by the communities concerned, whereas the latter are used mainly in the country or countries where those languages are spoken. There is some overlap between the two groups because there are significant

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numbers of speakers of European languages settled in this country; Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish are the largest of these communities. The proposed categorisation of modern languages into two schedules as set out in the DES Order ⁽¹²⁾ has raised further complications because Schedule 1 languages include those used taught and examined as Community Languages. These languages are restricted to those spoken in member states of the EEC, and they are 'unconditionally specified as foundation subjects in the National Curriculum.' The languages included in Schedule 2 are, with the exception of Russian, non-european languages, most of which are in everyday use by communities in this country and include most of the South-Asian languages in common use and which are taught and examined as 'Community Languages'. LEAG examines Modern Greek and Portuguese as Community Languages but their inclusion in Schedule 1 raises a question mark against their future status.

1.2. PROVISION FOR COMMUNITY LANGUAGE TEACHING.

While the future may be hard to predict, the present situation is that in certain cities and large urban centres of this country there are concentrations of speakers of these 'Community Languages'. In the case of Urdu, these settlers arrived mainly in the 1960s, during which time the dominant social priority was to assimilate the settlers and their children as quickly as possible. This was interpreted educationally as providing intensive teaching of English to them. The monolingual perspective of most English speakers was, and still is, reflected in the attitude that the use of any other language was a barrier to the acquisition of English. Although community-based initiatives for maintenance of language and culture have been operating since the 1950s, they were on a very small scale and attracted little or no support from local authorities. ⁽¹³⁾ The changing social and political attitudes of the

(12) DES 1989, p10-11. The Draft Order, published in March, was issued as an Order, with minor modifications, in July 1989.

(13) The first South-Asian language class in Bradford was in 1957, LMP 1984, p101.

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1970s began to influence educational policies and a policy of multiculturalism slowly began to emerge which upheld the right of all people to have access to, and to foster, their own language and culture. This coincided with a growing realisation from within the communities concerned that there was increasing deculturation and loss of language among the younger generation, an increasing majority of whom was born and educated in this country.

Academic studies of bilingualism have demonstrated the fallacy of previously held attitudes which, in effect, regarded bilingualism as a handicap rather than a positive resource. Traditionally monolingual cultures, such as Britain, seem to have great difficulty in coping with bi- or multi-lingual individuals or communities. The socially and politically dominant linguistic groups tend to regard linguistic minorities as potentially threatening; this results in pressure on the minorities to abandon their own language and culture in order to gain social acceptability. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Lewis, reviewing research into bilingualism, states: 'whereas in 1962 Alleyne categorised spoken proficiency in a language other than English as 'total language deficiency', more recent research indicates that there is a growing body of evidence that there are cognitive benefits to bilingualism.' ⁽¹⁵⁾ The DES-funded Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project (MOTET) was the first project to show that five-year old children who learnt through the medium of their first language for half the school day learnt English just as well as, if not faster than, their peers who were in the control group and learning entirely through English. ⁽¹⁶⁾ More recent research by Dodson and Thomas suggests that if the students' first or preferred language is ignored, especially during the initial stages of the L₂ acquisition process, at whatever age they are, they will never become a competent bilingual. ⁽¹⁷⁾ If bilingualism is still perceived as a problem then logically even

(14) For an interesting discussion of this topic see; Einar Haugen, 'The stigmata of bilingualism', in J.B.Pride, ed., Oxford 1979, pp72-85.

(15) Lewis 1986, pp15-18. (16) MOTET 1981.

(17) Dodson & Thomas, 'The effect of total L₂ Immersion Education', *J.M.M.D.*, 9, 2, 1988, p483.

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the learning of european languages must be considered as detrimental to the development of English among native English speakers. What does seem to be crucial to language development is the opportunity for students to consolidate their command of their first language, which will then enable them to acquire the second language more successfully than if their nascent linguistic skills in their first language were impaired by being prevented from continuing them. The result of this is a deficiency of expertise in both languages, which is termed 'semilingualism'. Language acquisition has been likened to a computer programme: if the first language programme is not fully developed the programme for second and subsequent languages are also 'corrupted'. Tosi believes that the major cause of this is the disdain society has for minority languages. ⁽¹⁸⁾

By the end of the 1970s a few of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) where there were considerable numbers of school-age pupils from particular linguistic and cultural backgrounds had begun to make limited provision for the teaching of 'Community Languages'. The increasing demand for tuition in the last decade is reflected in the increasing number of examination entries for Urdu. According to ULSEB Statistics the total 'home' entries for GCE 'O' Level were 162 in 1978; by 1987, the last year of the 'O' Level examination, the total entry was 1817, of which the 'home' entry was 1491. Bearing in mind the fact that the 'O' Level examination was designed to test the upper end of the ability range, there is evidence of a much greater potential candidature. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The new GCSE was entered by nearly 2,000 candidates and there is no reason to believe that that figure will not continue to increase, at least in the short term.

While some LEAs have responded to the demand for Community Language provision, in many parts of the country Community Languages are taught in private houses, community centres, religious institutions, etc., with or without the support of the local authority. These community-based initiatives were in operation long before the LEAs began

(18) Tosi, quoted in Lewis 1986, p17.

(19) ULSEB Statistics 1987,

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to consider provision and continue to operate, whether or not provision has been made and it was pressure from such community groups that led to mainstream provision. Nationally, the overall picture of provision is extremely fragmented, ranging from an LEA such as Bradford where, according to the Community Language Co-ordinator there are nearly 3,000 students of Urdu in mainstream schools and something approaching 100 teachers to LEAs where the only teaching is to a handful of students in the lunch hour or after school. <20>

The Linguistic Minorities Project, (LMP), has conducted the only large-scale survey of minority language speakers and provision for teaching them in Britain. <21> Their report, published in 1984, covers the period up to 1983, since which time provision has increased greatly in certain areas for many of the languages surveyed, particularly the South-Asian languages. An important portion of its research was into bilingualism and patterns of language use which provides an important basis, not only for planning provision, but also for the design of appropriate teaching materials etc. which reflect the actual situations in which languages are used.

The differing provisions made for Urdu and other Community Languages by LEAs in different parts of the country indicate that there is still a resistance in many circles to the introduction of these languages into the school curriculum. It is apparent that many of those who oppose Community Language teaching consider that learning or developing Community Language skills hinders the acquisition of English. This attitude remains despite the research evidence which has already been discussed in brief above. (cf. p17 above.) The fact that there are great variations in provision also affects the candidates and potential candidates for public examinations. The changeover from GCE to GCSE is discussed in detail in Section 1.5, below.

(20) H.A. Seyyad, personal communication, October 1988.

(21) LMP 1984, pp91-113.

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The role of the community-based initiatives should not be underestimated; Hashmi credits pressure from these bodies as being instrumental in getting Community Languages established in the mainstream schools. ⁽²²⁾ Some of the more active LEAs have supported community schools by providing premises, paying teachers, offering modern training facilities and encouraging a general sharing of expertise and problems. Many of the teachers now operating in the mainstream schools started teaching Urdu in community schools, indeed, many continue to do both. What all research does indicate is that the optimum arrangement is for the Community Languages should be taught alongside 'Modern Foreign Languages' in mainstream schools as part of the curriculum. These languages are then perceived as being equal in status. In the LMP report, the response to questions on attitudes to language maintenance 'confirmed our observation that there is a widespread demand for public support for minority languages.' ⁽²³⁾ The project also reported that 'the scope of mother-tongue schools or classes revealed by the Survey demonstrates a recognition among parents and teachers of linguistic minorities that a deliberate effort needs to be made if the minority languages are going to have a continuing role alongside English.' ⁽²⁴⁾ This effort should not be the responsibility of the communities alone.

If it can be taken as read that Community Languages are going to have a continuing place in a multicultural Britain, then it is clear that there will have to be continuing support both in mainstream and community schools. Unfortunately, just because a Community Language finds room in a mainstream school does not necessarily guarantee that its status will be enhanced. The varying degrees of support and provision mean that, in many instances, the language or languages introduced are not given the resources which are given to French or German. The ideal arrangement is specified by Broadbent, who states 'The presence of a community language specialist on the established staff

(22) M. Hashmi, in R. Russell, ed., 'Urdu in Britain', London 1982, p116.

(23) LMP 1984, p152.

(24) *ibid*, pp165-166.

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of the school has been found greatly to enhance the integration of provision within the normal school life.' (25) The reality is all too often that the teacher is a visitor who is unknown to nearly every member of staff and regarded as a stranger, even by his or her students. Most schools do not have sufficient students to allow of the luxury of a full-time teacher, so the more usual arrangement is for the teacher to belong to a department of the LEA which sends out teachers to different schools in the area, as, and when, required. Peripatetic teaching schedules are rarely satisfactory, although sympathetic timetabling can mitigate some of its defects. Very often schools have different classtimes and the teacher has to leave one class early in order to avoid arriving at the next one late. Late arrival is disruptive to the students, who become restless, and is seen by the school as being inefficient or displaying an unprofessional attitude, which may reinforce existing negative attitudes towards community languages and their speakers.

It is also difficult to have access to school-based resources such as paper or books because different schools have different procedures for their distribution. Other resources, such as overhead projectors or tape recorders, may only be available in some schools if booked in advance, or with the signature of the Head of Department. Reprographic facilities may likewise be obtainable 'to order' or at restricted times that do not fit in with the peripatetic timetable. Perhaps more importantly, there is no opportunity to find out about the students from other teachers, who may be able to provide vital information about them, such as progress in other subjects, medical or behavioural problems, etc. The effect of all these difficulties is largely negative; the subject and its users are seen as peripheral to the daily life of the school. This marginalisation is an experience common to minority groups, and it is ironic that what is intended as a positive initiative, namely the introduction of community language teaching in a school, may tend to have the reverse effect.

(25) ECPP 1987, §3.6, p14-15.

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Where the subject has achieved mainstream status and a full time teacher, or at least a peripatetic one with a timetable that allows fuller participation in school activities other than classroom teaching, the interest and support of senior members of staff and Borough officials is a significant factor in determining the successful outcome of the venture. Lewis's report on attitudes contains some pertinent insights on this point, including quotes from Heads of Modern Language Departments, Head Teachers as well as those whom she terms 'Significant Others'. These include Advisers and an Assistant Education Officer. Responses to question TB3, 'When Urdu was first introduced as an option in your school, was there any opposition to the idea?', demonstrate a wide range of opinion. The Urdu teachers interviewed reported opposition more than Heads of Languages and Head Teachers, most of whom were 'Don't Knows'. Comments included 'Certainly, and right up to senior management level: "They've come to our country so they should learn our language and ways"', 'One councillor asked "Why should we teach them Urdu? We should be teaching them English"' and 'No, because it doesn't conflict with other subjects'. Out of a total of eighteen teachers asked for their feelings on opposition from staff there were 5 'Yeses', 2 'Nos' and 11 'Don't Knows'. Question TB4, 'Is there evidence of opposition or negative feeling towards the Urdu classes now?', brought 8 'Yeses', 3 'Nos' and 7 'Don't Knows'. Lewis's conclusion is that 'There were, and still are, quite a few people who are not happy seeing these languages introduced into schools'. ⁽²⁶⁾ It may be significant that Head Teachers appeared reluctant to comment; only one out of six interviewed gave a response other than that classified by Lewis as 'Don't Know'.

The effect of the relationship between the Urdu teacher and other members of staff is perceived by the Urdu teacher at a more practical level than reported by Lewis. If it is the LEA that is instigating the introduction of community languages, then it is possible that the key members of staff of a particular school will resent the presence of a teacher and a subject imposed upon them. ⁽²⁷⁾ Even in a school which is

(26) See Lewis, 1986, Tables TB3, 4, pp56-57.

(27) See Hashmi in Russell, Ed., 1982, pp116-119.

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sympathetic towards community languages, the Urdu teacher is likely to be on the end of the queue for scarce resources.

On a day to day basis the most important relationship is with the Head of the Modern Languages Department. Some of them do feel threatened by what they perceive as competition from community languages. The predominance of French in the British school system has led to an unwitting assumption of priority, if not superiority. In terms of experience and expertise this assumption is not entirely unfounded, but the current debate on languages in the context of the European Community has once again highlighted the inadequacy of language teaching in this country. ⁽²⁸⁾ When an Urdu teacher is fortunate enough to teach in a school with sympathetic support from the Modern Languages Department the potential for co-operation and reciprocal learning is great. With such support the Urdu teacher can feel part of the team and, more importantly, is seen to be so by the students and other teachers and Heads of Department. This was noted by Lewis in Waltham Forest as a result of the introduction of Urdu classes. ⁽²⁹⁾

A dimension of provision that has a vital bearing on Urdu teaching is timetabling. Since Urdu is normally offered as a fourth-year option in the secondary timetable, the range of subjects offered within that option block may play a part in determining the students' choice of subject. The choice may be one of Urdu or a technical subject, in which case the more academically able student may be pressured into taking what is generally considered to be a more 'serious' subject. Some students are diverted away from Urdu in this manner by their teachers or their parents leaving a class of less able students. This can lead to an Urdu classes being thought of as a 'dustbin', which perception does

(28) This researcher attended an interview for an Urdu teaching post in Derby in 1984. One of the questions was 'What would you say to reassure the Head of the Modern Languages Department who felt threatened by the introduction of community languages?' My reply was to the effect that French teachers had had the field to themselves for long enough.

(29) Lewis *op. cit.*, Table T5, p55

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nothing for the status of the subject. Until, and unless, Urdu is regarded as a subject of equal status by the schools concerned, the parents of potential students, particularly the more able ones, are likely to be reluctant to allow their children to opt for what is perceived to be a 'second class' option. This further disadvantages the classes because the stimulus generated for both teachers and students by the presence of the brighter students is lacking. In my experience as a teacher there were a number of students who were not able to attend regular Urdu classes who would come to ask for work to be set and marked.

School-based provision is not merely a matter of options but a question of which year of secondary school the language is introduced. ⁽³⁰⁾ In most schools where Urdu has been introduced into the school it has been included as an option in the fourth year. This means that the teacher has only two years in which to prepare his or her students for public examinations. While it is fair to say that some students of community languages are capable of taking and passing a 16+ examination at the age of fourteen, they are the exception rather than the rule. ⁽³¹⁾ In LEAs where Urdu teaching has been established for a number of years some schools have introduced it as early as the first year. This gives teachers and their students time to progress at a pace not dictated by the pressure of public examinations and the constraints of teaching to an examination syllabus. In the section 1.4, below, the discussion on the concept of parity of esteem is discussed in terms of modern and community languages conforming to the same syllabus: here parity of esteem is equality of provision. The recent DES Order on Modern Languages in the National Curriculum allows, in principle, equality of provision, as long as the school concerned offers a European language for the same period of time. ⁽³²⁾

(30) Research has demonstrated the desirability of introducing language teaching at the primary level; See Houlton, 1985 and MOTET, 1981, (cf, n14 supra.)

(31) The youngest examination entrant for the GCE 'O' Level was 12, (See Ch 3, 53,2,

(32) DES 1989, pp4-5,

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The imminent introduction of the National Curriculum is currently a matter of debate in community language circles; as yet the picture is not entirely clear. There is doubt over the funding of community language teaching programmes. This mainly centres on the withdrawal of Section 11 funding for these purposes. Most LEAs which have introduced Community Language teaching have been able to do so only by funding them, at least partly, through Section 11 finance. The DES ruling on this means that Section 11 monies can only be used in programmes involving English language support. This means that the LEAs concerned are having to find alternative sources of funding; in some cases schools in areas of high demand are able to take on a full-time Urdu teacher. Under the Local Management Scheme schools now have the right to allocate funds to suit their own needs. Most community language teaching is, however, centrally organised and teachers are supplied to schools as required. If the LEA concerned is financially stretched the teaching of community languages is not usually accorded priority status. Since nearly all mainstream teaching takes place in inner-city LEAs and many of their Local Authorities are already rate-capped the outlook for the continued provision of community languages, even at its present limited level, cannot be viewed with optimism. There are some aspects of the Education Reform Act which can be used to advantage. The power of Parent-Governors has been enhanced and since the catchment area of schools offering community languages includes numerous interested parents, they can, in theory, exercise some pressure on their schools to introduce or to continue providing tuition. This does, of course, depend on the active participation of the local communities. As yet this has not been effectively mobilised in support of community languages.

An attempt to organise a belated response to the DES Draft Order on Languages which categorised Urdu and other South-Asian languages in Schedule 2 has recently appeared in the Urdu newspaper, the Daily Jang. (33) This took the form of a campaign to mobilise objectors to this classification, and to raise signatures for a petition demanding that the

(33) Daily Jang, London, 10 May 1989, p2. According to the Draft Order responses to the document had to be received by the DES by the 14th of April.

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Secretary of State for Education declare Urdu, Panjabi, Bengali, Hindi and Gujarati as Foundation Subjects in the National Curriculum. While it is a positive step to mobilise community opinion, it may be thought that the argument over classifying community languages in Schedule 1 or 2 is not the most immediate priority. While it is clear that this classification is seen by most of those involved as confirmation of the second class status of community languages, some teachers have expressed their qualified approval. Teachers at a recent conference at York University passed a resolution welcoming the recognition of community languages as National Curriculum subjects, although the necessity of classifying languages into two schedules was questioned, as was the omission of certain languages, especially Tamil, from the Schedule. ⁽³⁴⁾ The DES published the final version of the Order in July 1989. The only significant change from the Draft document is the inclusion of Hebrew on Schedule 2. It does seem ironic that, in the argument over language teaching programmes and policies in the European Community, the Secretary of State for Education is claiming that it is, in part, the interests of speakers of 'Indic Languages' which are causing him to oppose the European Community proposals. ⁽³⁵⁾ It does seem clear from the Draft Order that, at least in principle, Urdu and other languages can be taught within the framework of the National Curriculum. Whether or not schools and LEAs have the resources to make provision for them is another question whose answer will depend on the particular circumstances prevailing in those areas.

1.3. TEACHERS AND TEACHER TRAINING.

The continued survival of community language teaching in schools is not solely dependent on the outcome of the debate over the National Curriculum or the relative status of Schedule 1 or Schedule 2 languages. A delegate at the 1989 York University conference stated that the future

(34) Conference on GCSE and Community Languages, York University, 20-23 March 1989.

(35) Kenneth Baker, Radio 4 interview, The World this Weekend, May 21 1989.

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outlook would be bleak unless something were to be done to provide teachers for the next generation. The whole question of teachers and teacher training requires some discussion. There are three main issues: 1) The expertise of current teachers in relation to the range of skills required for the GCSE. 2) The status of qualified and unqualified teachers, and 3) Teacher training facilities for Community Language teachers.

1.3.1. THE EXPERTISE OF CURRENT TEACHERS.

Many of the current teachers of Urdu and other community languages have received their education in the subcontinent. While some of them will have obtained degrees in the language that they teach, a considerable number of them will have graduated in other subjects. When these teachers came to Britain, at a time when there was no provision for community language teaching in schools, some of them obtained positions as teachers of Science, Maths, English and other subjects. A number of these will have taught, and may continue to teach, their community languages in private community based classes. Since these teachers will have received a traditional and formal education in their language, and only rarely any form of training as language teachers, they are likely to prefer to use traditional methods with which they are familiar. This generally involves the use of *qā'idās* and a series of readers. This traditional approach and its shortcomings have been rightly criticised by Hashmi as being inappropriate for learners in this country. (36) His view is that the material is unfamiliar and that the methodology, reliant as it is on rote learning and unquestioning acceptance, is outmoded for learners used to less formal teaching methods in British schools. Another factor is that techniques and materials in use in the subcontinent are supported in that environment by the language being heard and spoken at home, at school and elsewhere in the students' daily lives. In Britain the students do not get such universal exposure to the language and are unlikely to have anything

(36) Hashmi, in Russell, ed., 1982, pp109-110.

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like as much opportunity to use the language. ⁽³⁷⁾ For this reason techniques which may be effective in the subcontinent will not be equally effective in this country. Teachers are, to some extent, conditioned by the methods of learning and teaching they were brought up with; it takes practical experience of the effectiveness of newer and unfamiliar methods to make them realise the desirability of adopting those methods. The eagerness of community language teachers to attend training sessions, materials production workshops etc. is evidence of their willingness to learn and improve their teaching techniques. What is lacking are the facilities to provide systematic training in the required techniques.

There are also teachers of community languages who have obtained their degrees and teaching qualifications in this country, but there are very few who have trained as language teachers and fewer still who have received specific training to teach a community language during their B.Ed. or PGCE course. The difference between the two groups of teachers is that those educated in this country are more likely to have some familiarity with more modern teaching techniques, especially if they have themselves received some form of language tuition at school. Since until the late 1970s the opportunity to study community languages at school were minimal, the probability is that this tuition will have been in one of the European languages. These teachers, like their elder counterparts, are likely to have taught in both community and mainstream classes and, until the introduction of the GCSE, will have concentrated their energies on the traditional skills of reading and writing which were, in part, dictated by the exigencies of the examination system although those skills conformed, to a great extent, to community aspirations.

Teachers who are working in mainstream schools may have the opportunity to share experiences with other language teachers. This is certainly valuable where the Head of Modern Languages is sympathetic and is prepared to support community languages but even then the time

(37) Moltano points out that students of community languages unfavourably compare the methods and materials used with those for European languages, *op. cit.*, 1986, p21.

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available for such support is limited. Peripatetic teachers are unlikely to get much opportunity to consult and discuss their needs with modern language teachers. Molteno considers that the isolation of many of the community language teachers, especially peripatetic ones, from each other and from mainstream schools is a major factor in the continuing influence of the traditional approach. ⁽³⁸⁾ In areas where the teaching of community languages has become well established, such as Waltham Forest, there is provision for in-service training of community language teachers. In that authority this takes the form of a half day session every week, with input from advisers and other appropriate sources. While this is a very useful contribution it cannot be considered a permanent programme, and the regular attendance of all the teachers is dependent on the vagaries of timetabling in the different schools involved.

Support for the community-based classes is an important stage in the process of bringing modern teaching methodology to community languages. Several LEAs have appointed co-ordinators to oversee and advise local classes and provide some form of in-service training. While many of the teachers involved may not possess recognised qualifications in any subject, they represent a resource which needs to be developed if the next generation of community language speakers are going to continue to have the opportunity to study their own languages.

1.3.2. RECOGNITION OF TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

The expansion of community language teaching in mainstream schools in the last decade has clearly demonstrated the lack of qualified teachers of those languages. As has been described above, only a very few of those teaching community languages are qualified teachers of any language. This is not to say that they are not effective teachers; many have acquired the relevant skills by experience and practice. The response of some LEAs has been to appoint unqualified teachers as

(38) Molteno 1986, p22.

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instructors. This is seen by many as a way of employing teachers at a cheap rate and is felt to be insulting to many highly qualified and experienced teachers. Some of these teachers are graduates or teachers with qualifications gained overseas but which are not recognised by the DES. This has long been a cause for grievance among the teachers concerned. Until now the recognition of such qualifications has been perceived as a lottery, in that a teacher with a particular qualification may achieve qualified teacher status, while a colleague with an identical qualification may find that it is not recognised. The recognition, or otherwise, of these qualifications does not seem to depend on the ability of the teacher but on the arbitrary and inconsistent decisions of the Department.

Recent proposals concerning the use of unqualified 'licensed' teachers in shortage subjects have been received with suspicion by the main teacher unions; the situation for overseas qualified teachers has been going for years but has not received the same attention. According to the Secretary of State for Education this will allow overseas qualified teachers to acquire licensed teacher status without the rigmarole of time consuming enquiries into the content of their training. (39) The mutual recognition of educational and professional qualifications in a European Community context is clearly on the agenda for 1992. This may be perceived as a primarily political move but its effect on language teaching in general may be considerable. (Whether teachers from most of the countries in the European Community will be willing to work in this country, where pay and conditions of service are relatively low, is another matter.) In this context, there are two European languages which are currently taught and examined as community languages, as opposed to foreign languages, namely Greek and Portuguese. Teachers from those countries may be in demand and, coming from economically relatively depressed regions of the European Community, they may find conditions sufficiently attractive to warrant moving to Britain. Although these proposals are potential partial solutions to the

(39) Text of Kenneth Baker's IBM Education Lecture, reproduced in TES, 26 May 1989, p A22.

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shortage of teachers of some community languages, the languages of South-Asia are unlikely to be greatly affected. The need is for qualified teachers who are trained specifically to teach these languages. If the argument over parity of status is to be taken at face value then this must be expanded to include parity of access to teacher training facilities. These will be discussed in the next section.

1.3.3. TEACHER TRAINING PROVISION FOR COMMUNITY LANGUAGES.

Section §1.3.1 commented on some of the training provided by LEAs, Examination Boards and other organisations for teachers of community languages; their common feature is that they are half or one day sessions, laid on for practising teachers, which are normally known as in-service training. In this section the provision for long term and initial teacher training for community languages will be discussed.

At present there are two courses for prospective teachers which lead to DES recognition. These are the B.Ed. course which is normally either a three or four year course with entry qualifications of a certain number of 'A' Levels and the one year PGCE course taken after graduating from university. As of 1989 no B.Ed. course offers any facilities to those intending to teach community languages. Two further education establishments offer some form of community language component in their PGCE courses. The first is the University of London Institute of Education, but the course offered is not a full course, merely a Further Professional Option for those who, while training to teach another subject, are considered to be sufficiently competent in a community language to consider teaching it. The second is Thames Polytechnic, formerly Avery Hill College, which has offered a specialism in community languages since 1987 although this is, temporarily at least, restricted to serving teachers seconded from within the Inner London Education Authority. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ In addition to these two there is a course for primary teachers at the North London Polytechnic.

(40) Broadbent notes that this was restricted only in the first year, ECPP 1987, p36.

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While both these courses are an advance on anything previously offered, and are to be welcomed as such, the restrictions placed, on the latter course in particular, do limit their usefulness. The Institute course expects their students, who may have graduated in any subject but who are unlikely to be graduates in their language, to be linguistically competent enough to teach that language. In any other subject the minimum qualification would normally be a university degree. This is counter to the principle that subject teachers should be graduates in that subject. Given the shortage of teachers of community languages, necessity dictates that an intake of part qualified teachers be accepted, but, for the long term development of the languages, more graduates are required.

Facilities for studying South-Asian community languages to degree level in this country are concentrated in The School of Oriental and African Studies, where degrees may be taken in Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, Tamil and Urdu. The number of undergraduates studying these languages is very low and the number of graduates who have gone on to teach community languages in schools is less than five. This is clearly not sufficient to meet demand; the shortfall is currently being met from other sources, of which the most used is the Royal Society of Arts qualification in community languages teaching. This normally takes the form of a one year full-time course involving project work and materials production, and has been generally well received. Unfortunately the course does not bring qualified teacher status; there is a feeling among the community that this seriously affects the value of the qualification. The course is undoubtedly valuable in educational terms, since teachers are given relevant language teacher training, but if teachers or prospective teachers are going to be employed as instructors whether or not they achieve the RSA qualification, then, quite logically, some will question the point of the course.

The future of community language teaching within the school system depends on the continuing throughput of students who, having achieved success at 'A' Level can go on to take a degree, add a teaching qualification, then return to school to teach their languages. At present

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this route is extremely restricted, and the current low morale of the teaching profession and the low status of community languages in most schools does not provide an encouraging scenario or present an attractive model for the present generation of school students to follow. Governmental policies on education in general and on language teaching in particular are in the process of being implemented. The effects these policies on Urdu teaching are already being felt: in the London Borough of Newham the Urdu teacher at Lister school has been told that if she wants to continue teaching Urdu the responsibility is on her to raise funding from the local community. In John Kelly School, Brent, a language teacher has reported that while French is to be offered from the first to the fifth year, i.e., from the ages of 11 to 16, it therefore fulfills the criteria for consideration as a Foundation Subject in the National Curriculum whereas the community languages, in this case mainly Gujarati, will not be taught until the second year and cannot be considered a Foundation Subject. (41) Such moves do not encourage an optimistic view of the future but, even under ideal conditions, Urdu teaching will not be able to survive without a new generation of teachers who have emerged from within this country's educational system.

1.4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGEOVER FROM GCE TO GCSE.

The replacement of the GCE 'O' Level and the CSE by the GCSE has been the the first major revision of the examination system for nearly 25 years. The intention was to unify a dual system in which one of the examinations, the CSE, was designed to cater for the lower end of the ability range. For this and other reasons it was regarded as a second rate examination. The existence of two examinations segregated the high acheivers, who took the GCE, from the low acheivers, who took the CSE. The change has been generally received positively by teachers and educationalists but the implications for Urdu need to be given careful consideration because the majority of Urdu teachers are unfamiliar with

(41) J. Broadbent, personal communication 11 July 1989.

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the teaching methodology required in order to prepare their students effectively for the new examination. Furthermore the changeover has meant that teachers are actively involved in conducting the orals for which special techniques have to be acquired.

The only examination available to most community language learners in Britain prior to the introduction of the GCSE was the GCE 'O' Level, although in certain areas there was limited provision of a CSE. Whereas the GCE for languages such as French had been drastically modified since the introduction of the CSE in 1965 to include testing in all four of the skill areas, namely Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing, the format of the GCE for Urdu had not changed substantially since the introduction of a Preliminary Examination for the School Certificate in 1926. ⁽⁴²⁾ This examination tested only reading and writing skills by means of translation to and from English, and composition. CSE Examinations for Urdu followed the format established for French, with separate tests in the four skill areas. The CSE was not widely available for students of Urdu, being examined at a local level under Mode 2 or Mode 3 Provisions. Mode 2 CSEs were devised and examined on a regional basis while Mode 3 CSEs were devised and examined by a single school. The CSE tested a broader range of linguistic skills, and was more in accordance with the prevailing trends in 'modern' language learning and teaching, which encourage the development of spoken and receptive skills and give less attention to writing. It was designed to cater for a lower ability range and was regarded as being inferior to the GCE. Grade 'C' at GCE was equivalent to Grade 1 CSE.

To some extent the GCE corresponded well with the needs of the community language users and its formality suited the formal methodology of the traditional community language teachers. The Urdu-using community has long considered the acquisition of literacy as a social priority, and, in the British context, Panjabi-speakers, forming the great majority of those who chose to learn and use Urdu, have felt that

(42) See Broadbent and Hashmi 1983, Ch 1, §5 for an informative review of language examinations.

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it is less important to learn to speak Urdu than to learn to read and write it. The standard of literacy required by the GCE, with its emphasis on grammatical and orthographical accuracy, is still seen by many as a desirable objective. The introduction of the GCSE has forced the teachers of community languages to pay more attention to the other skill areas, at the expense of writing. The emphasis on communicative competence, in contrast to grammatical accuracy, has caused great concern among teachers of Urdu, who feel that the GCSE does not provide an adequate preparation for further study of the language. An issue of particular importance is that of compulsory writing which is covered in detail in Ch 2, §2.5.

The principles and practical requirements of the GCSE are described and discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Equal weighting is given to the four skill areas of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing which are tested separately. While reading and writing skills are familiar territory for community language teachers, the development of the other two skills and of oral skills in particular has proved a problem. The reports of the GCSE Chief Examiners have stressed the difficulties encountered in conducting the Oral component of the first GCSE examinations in 1988. ⁽⁴³⁾ These difficulties are directly associated with unfamiliarity on the part of the teacher-examiners of the oral elicitation techniques required, and lack of classroom practice in oral work by both teachers and their students. In some cases, students of community languages do not have teachers in their schools and not all of them receive tuition of any kind. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ The immediate response has been to intensify the training given by the GCSE Boards but, although the one or two days available for this have been well attended and of direct relevance to the specific techniques required for the orals, this is not an adequate solution to the longer term needs of community languages. The chief examiners of Urdu at LEAG report more problems

(43) See NEA Chief Examiner's Report, 1988, For a fuller discussion of the Oral See Ch 2, §2.10, pp94ff.

(44) See this Chapter, §1.2, p16.

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this (1989) year with the conduct of the Oral component of the GCSE than in 1988. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Although much of this difficulty is directly connected with an increased candidature, which necessarily involved the services of a greater number of teacher-examiners, it has demonstrated the serious lack of experience in developing oral skills and in oral elicitation techniques. While courses for community language teachers organised by the examination boards and other establishments, e.g. York University Language Teaching Centre and The School of Oriental and African Studies, have provided valuable training and opportunities for materials production they are no substitute for a full-time PGCE training course along the lines of that available for teachers of European languages.

1.5. PARITY OF STATUS: FOREIGN OR COMMUNITY LANGUAGE.

The GCSE examinations for all modern languages have been developed from the framework established by the National Criteria for French. A full analysis of the Criteria and the Urdu syllabuses derived from it is contained in Chapter 2. In this section I shall concentrate on the debate concerning the appropriateness, or otherwise, of examining Urdu according to criteria established for French. The argument is not simply one of whether Urdu is learnt as a foreign language or a community language, although it is clear from the background of the students, described in Section 1.1 above, that their linguistic experience puts them in a different category than learners of French. What has aggrieved many teachers of Urdu is what is perceived to be the imposition of examination criteria inappropriate for their language and its learners. This has led to the logical conclusion that Urdu and other community languages are treated with less consideration than European languages. This is exemplified for many by the Order on Foreign Languages in the National Curriculum, issued in July 1989, which classifies Urdu and other Asian languages in Schedule 2, while Schedule 1 is reserved for European languages.

(45) See Chapter 2, §2.10, on the GCSE Oral examination,

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The National Criteria lays down the principles underlying a course leading to a GCSE examination in French as a foreign language. The great majority of Urdu and other community language teachers do not consider themselves to be teaching their languages as foreign, but as community languages, and, in many cases, they are developing skills in the students' mother tongues. While it is important not to ignore the possibility of students being able to learn Urdu as a foreign language, it is at present being learnt by students who are almost exclusively from that community who use Urdu. The transactional bias of the criteria and syllabus is symptomatic of the division, which is sometimes an artificial one, between a foreign language syllabus and a community language one.

The French model has been described as a touristic, foreign holiday or survival language syllabus, where 'practical communication' on a restricted range of transactional contacts is the only goal. Members of working groups at the SEC/DES/HMI conference felt that there was an existing examination model which was more suitable for community languages than the French, foreign language, model. It was suggested that the Welsh Mother Tongue examination syllabus was a far more appropriate basis on which to teach and examine Urdu etc. The people of both Urdu and Welsh speaking communities 'express their feelings, emotions, views, experiences and knowledge and share their values, traditions, ceremonies, faith and arts through their community languages'. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ Even non fluent Urdu speakers are likely to use their language for such reflectional rather than simply transactional purposes.

The GCSE Welsh model has received much favourable comment from community language teachers, for it is composed of two discrete examination syllabuses: one for 'mother tongue' speakers of Welsh and the second for those who are learning Welsh as a second or foreign language. The latter model conforms very closely to the French one, although there is less emphasis on holiday or survival language because the assumption is that the potential candidature will be living and working alongside

(46) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p18.

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native speakers of Welsh. The former is devised to cater for the needs of the mother tongue speakers, but the crucial difference between the mother tongue speakers of Welsh and community language speakers is that there are two types of schools in Wales; English and Welsh medium schools, which cater for their respective linguistic communities. Therefore native speakers of Welsh have the opportunity not only to study Welsh but also to receive instruction in all school subjects in that language. This is not the case for Urdu speakers, who have mostly received an entirely English medium education, although some may have been educated for some time in an Urdu medium school in Pakistan. It is generally accepted that one of the best means of language acquisition is to receive not merely language tuition but to receive tuition in every subject in that language. With most school based provision of Urdu limited to two hours or so per week in the fourth and fifth years at secondary school, it is clear that it is unrealistic to expect most of the students of Urdu to achieve the same level of linguistic expertise as their Welsh counterparts. It is clear from the pronouncements of HMIs that the official position on this issue is that it is impractical to provide first language examinations for languages other than English and Welsh. At the SEC/DES/HMI conference HMI Wightwick stated that 'there are good reasons, both of principle and of feasibility, for basing GCSE syllabuses in all languages other than English and Welsh on the criteria worked out for French, i.e. for treating them all as learnt languages. (47) He cited three main reasons:

(a) all languages should have parity of status. This could easily be endangered by fundamental differences in examination criteria;

(b) all GCSE language examinations should be accessible to and equally valid for the same range of pupils;

(c) in practical terms, it is not feasible for the national examination system at 16+ to provide 'first language' syllabuses in the home languages of all its citizens and, apart from the two official

(47) SEC/DES/HMI, p12, §C6.

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languages of England and Wales, it would be invidious and divisive to select some and exclude others.

It is difficult to see how this can be justified; if, as in (a), in principle all languages have parity of status then how can the separate treatment of Welsh and English, as in (c), be justified? If the geographical location of languages is the criterion, then why has Gaelic not been included alongside English and Welsh? If the statement in (b) is held to be true, then how can the Welsh language, two examination model be allowed? The two system model can only be justified by defining mother tongue speakers and foreign language learners as belonging to two separate 'ranges' of pupils. The word 'range' is neither defined nor explained and lends itself to two possible interpretations: firstly, that it means the same age group in which case for Welsh two examinations are available for the same, 16+, age group while for Urdu etc. only one is available. Secondly, it is possible to interpret 'range' as being linguistic background in which case Urdu should, like Welsh, be considered as catering for two distinct ranges of linguistic background. Thus, whichever interpretation is accepted, Urdu and Welsh should, on the grounds of parity of status, receive the same treatment. As it is clear that this is not the case, the parity of status argument cannot be held to apply to all languages equally.

The long awaited DES discussion document on Foreign Languages in the National Curriculum, released in March 1989, raises new difficulties. (48) Under the proposed order foreign languages will be divided into two categories; Schedule 1 comprises languages spoken in the countries of the European Economic Community and Schedule 2 comprises many of those languages commonly spoken in this country by non european settlers and includes what have been commonly termed 'community languages'. Apart from terminological confusion, the relative status of the languages in the two lists has been made clear by the need for one of the languages in Schedule 1 to be offered as a school subject before a language in Schedule 2 can be offered. While this document can be seen as an attempt by the DES to pre-empt criticism and possible action by the EEC on the grounds of non compliance with its directives *vis à vis* the

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teaching of EEC languages, the practitioners of 'community languages', i.e. those in Schedule 2, have seen it as official confirmation that their languages are regarded as second class by the powers that be. If the same educational facilities are not made available to all languages equally it is a spurious claim that all languages have parity of esteem.

The argument put forward by HMI Wightwick as to feasibility is equally problematical, and is also at odds with the argument put forward for parity of status. It is clear that the feasibility is economic and not educational, but English and Welsh are specifically excluded from the argument. How much effect the directives of the European Commission on the right of all linguistic minorities to be provided with mother tongue instruction have had can be gauged from the patchy and inadequate provision of all the modern European languages in Schedule 1, save French, in the English educational system. So far Britain has resisted European initiatives on language teaching and learning of modern European languages, as can be demonstrated by the rejection of the European 'Lingua' programme. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ The situation for 'community languages', i.e. those on Schedule 2, is even less adequate. If it is feasible for European languages such as Danish and Dutch to be considered as being worthy of inclusion in Schedule 1, even though there are very few speakers of those languages present in this country and even fewer qualified, let alone interested in, teaching them, then how can it be unfeasible to provide adequate resources for the teaching of Urdu, with many thousand speakers and many qualified and experienced teachers already engaged in teaching the language? ⁽⁵⁰⁾ It seems inconceivable that the present government would consider recruiting Urdu teachers from the subcontinent. What really counts is neither parity nor feasibility; it is political will which decides which languages are

(49) DES 1981. This document acknowledges compliance with the E.C. Directive on the education of migrant workers in Europe.

(50) The government has recently (May 1989) announced its intention to allow qualified European teachers to teach in England after 1992. Some LEAs have already begun recruiting teachers from Denmark and Germany, TES 7 July 1989, p1.

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considered worthy of official approval and which are accorded the necessary priority in resources and timetabling.

If the Welsh model is seen as a potentially appropriate one for Urdu, it is necessary to consider the differences not in terms of language use, which is broadly similar, but in terms of educational provision. As has already been mentioned above 'mother tongue' Welsh speakers attend Welsh medium schools and live in an environment where Welsh is in daily public use. On the other hand, many students of Urdu have no access to tuition, in or out of the mainstream classroom. Even if they do have access it is severely restricted. For this reason alone it is inappropriate to base a syllabus for Urdu on the Welsh mother tongue model. That is not to say that all of the Welsh experience should be disregarded, for the situations and context in which the languages are used are broadly similar. These aspects of language use are expressed in the syllabus as the topics and settings. This experience has been drawn upon in modifications to the 'Community Language' syllabuses suggested and proposed by the examining bodies. Most of these modifications have been made in the light of considerations into the situations where these languages are used in everyday life, as opposed to the foreign holiday context presupposed by the French model.

Whereas Welsh provides alternative syllabuses for the mother tongue and foreign language learner, Urdu and other community languages have only one syllabus for all learners. If the Urdu model is too closely linked to the 'mother tongue' model then there is a danger that access will be limited to those with some previous exposure to the language. Although most teachers of Urdu concur with the view that Urdu should be available to all students, regardless of linguistic background, they are naturally reluctant to accept unconditionally what they already perceive to be an examination designed for learners of Urdu as a foreign language. Their argument is that although it would improve the image and status of Urdu to have students of all backgrounds studying the language, their primary concern is naturally with their own community and that the current GCSE syllabuses do not accord with the needs and wishes of that community. Even for those students of Urdu who come from

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outside the Urdu speaking community, it is not necessarily a foreign language model which would be most in accordance with their needs and interests.

It is not hard to assume that most of the students of Urdu with no linguistic or cultural connection with the language are going to have a much greater opportunity to use the language in Birmingham, Bradford or London than in India or Pakistan. Therefore, the topics and settings, which determine the context in which the language is used, should be the same, whatever the background of the students concerned. If the argument used by HMI Wightwick about examinations being accessible to the same range of students is applied here, one is forced to assume that the term 'range' means 'age range' rather than 'linguistic range'. If the latter is meant, there are two or more linguistic ranges of experience, and, according to the HMI's logic, it would therefore not be divisive to provide two separate examinations on the lines of the Welsh model. This view is expressed somewhat differently by some of the community language teachers who were participating in the SEC/DES/HMI conference; 'If examinations were to be provided at two levels...the division could lead to a hierarchy of status between the levels of the examinations. It was thought that although this might be undesirable, it might also be inevitable.' ⁽⁵¹⁾ If it is considered undesirable that there should be two separate examinations for different levels of pupils, which appears to be the official view, then the argument proposed for parity of status demands that equal provision, in terms of timetabling, resources, teacher training, etc., should be provided for all languages taught in British schools. ⁽⁵²⁾ Since this is an unlikely eventuality there is a need to examine alternative strategies. There seem to be two possible courses open to the examining bodies; either to modify the existing criteria and syllabuses or to create new ones from first principles.

The constraints upon the first option are primarily psychological. If teachers are dissatisfied with the existing foreign language oriented

(51) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, 51.

(52) This argument is well covered in Broadbent *et al* 1983, Pt 2.

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criteria and syllabuses then any changes made could be seen to be tinkering with an already fatally flawed system. This attitude is epitomised by the reaction to HMI Wightwick's comments on parity of status and the potential divisiveness of separate criteria.⁽⁵³⁾ On the other hand, the examining bodies have been actively working on modifications to the community language syllabuses in order to make them more appropriate for the candidates.

The second option may be seen to be divisive but, in reality, the division already exists between French and other 'foreign languages' which might be termed 'learnt' and 'community languages' such as Urdu. The crux of this argument is that Urdu etc. are not 'learnt' languages, and the uses to which these languages are put and the situations in which they are used are very different from French, etc. The protagonists of this option do not consider modifying the existing syllabus as an adequate response to the needs of the language community. The most radical position is to claim equal status with English and demand that full provision be made throughout the school life of a pupil. This view has been expounded with clarity in a paper presented to a conference of community language teachers by Iqbal Khan.⁽⁵⁴⁾ He feels that the confusion created by defining Urdu etc. as community languages but treating them as foreign languages 'gives rise to the absurd position of children of our community having to learn their own languages as if they were foreign languages to them. The planners of the GCSE do not seem to have taken much trouble to find out what a community language really is and what role it plays in the life of a community.' He points out that in many countries it has now become an accepted principle that ethnic minority children have the same right to their own languages as the majority community has to its own. Acceptance of this principle is demonstrably absent in the approach of the GCSE boards to community languages. Iqbal Khan goes on to propose that provision should be made on the basis that it is a mother tongue subject and should be taught as such. In other words, it should not

(53) See above, p11, 92.

(54) I. Khan, *op. cit.*, p4.

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merely be taught as a language, but made the medium of instruction. This is a scenario accepted by Krashen as being the most conducive to linguistic development. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

It is clear that this scenario is unlikely to take place within the English educational system. It is, however, necessary to state this point of view as being representative of a sincere and informed body of community language teachers. Having set out the 'extreme' case, Khan continues by making the point that 'as far as basic communication of a practical nature is concerned then English will serve the purpose just as well as the community languages'. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ This stretches a point somewhat for there is a need for 'transactional' language in this country in an Urdu syllabus. It does, however, underline the view that the community language users needs are more than transactional and the cultural element must be given a greater emphasis than is currently the case.

While it is neither realistic nor feasible to aim for medium of instruction status for community languages in this country, this does not mean that Urdu teachers and examiners should meekly accept the given criteria and syllabuses as the only alternative. The first option is a viable one for there are modifications which can be made to the existing syllabuses which create a far more appropriate and acceptable framework for the teaching and examining of community languages. What can be done is to ensure that the aims of the syllabus should openly reflect the interests and needs of the language community concerned. According to Munby, the basic principle of communicative syllabus design is that the aims and objectives of any syllabus are based on an analysis of the needs of the target group. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ This principle has not been observed in the GCSE syllabuses for community languages.

(55) Krashen *et al*, p15-17. This is a very useful and informative work with a special emphasis on second language acquisition as opposed to teaching.

(56) I, Khan, *op. cit.*, p5.

(57) Munby's *Communicative Syllabus Design* is the standard textbook on this subject,

1.6. CONCLUSION.

The arguments presented in the sections above are those which have been raised by those concerned with the maintenance and future development of Urdu and other community languages in Britain. They also establish the basis for the analysis of the GCSE examination and the linguistic performance of candidates in the GCE which form the major part of this thesis. The background of the students clearly sets them apart from learners of French or German, although the situation for Italian and Spanish is different. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ The students of Urdu are not, as yet, learning the language as a foreign one to be used only in holiday situations; rather they are using it in their everyday domestic and social environment. Even those students with no cultural connection with Urdu are going to find more opportunities to use it in Britain than in a touristic setting. Furthermore, the prescriptions of the new GCSE examination, as set out in the National Criteria for French and interpreted in the Urdu syllabuses, which are analysed in greater detail in Chapter 2, do not necessarily accord as well with community aspirations as the GCE.

It was the concern over criteria for writing which provided the stimulus for the analysis of students' written compositions submitted for the GCE in order to gain some information concerning their linguistic performance. In addition to these factors, the issue of parity has been discussed above as it seriously affects Urdu teachers' and examiners' perceptions of the validity of the new examination for their students and their community. The inconsistent provision of teaching and the scarcity of teachers with appropriate skills can be seen to disadvantage students of Urdu, when compared with the situation facing those who take GCSE in French and other European languages. This, to some extent, counterbalances the natural advantage of having, if not total, at least some familiarity with their language.

(58) The Officer for Modern Languages at EAEB reports that about a quarter of the entries for GCSE for these two languages were from mother tongue speakers, S. Barker, personal communication, July 17 1989.

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It is a combination of the factors outlined above which not only affects Urdu students' and teachers' perceptions of the GCSE criteria and syllabuses, but also reinforces the commonly held view that the attitude of the educational system towards them and their language is a largely negative one. It is these matters which form the framework upon which the analysis of the GCSE criteria presented in the following chapter has been based.

CHAPTER 2.
THE GCSE CRITERIA AND URDU.

2.0. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and examine the criteria which have been determined for the examining of Urdu and other community languages at GCSE, and the syllabuses that have been developed for Urdu under the guidelines of the National Criteria for French. The principle by which Urdu is examined as a foreign language is one which has been seriously questioned by many teachers and examiners of Urdu and other community languages. This argument has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter; it is sufficient to state that the position taken in this chapter is that it is inappropriate to examine Urdu under the existing criteria.

Three examining bodies, the London and East Anglian Examining Group, LEAG, The Midland Examining Group, MEG, and the Northern Examining Association, NEA, have produced syllabuses for Urdu at GCSE. The syllabuses express the aims, objectives, context and content of the examination course and also describe the assessment objectives, criteria and techniques by means of which the candidate's performance is measured. The differences between these three syllabuses are relatively minor and will be noted as they arise.

Particular attention has been paid to certain points which have proved to be the foci of concern of Urdu teachers and examiners at conferences and working parties convened to study the GCSE and its implications. These points include the assessment techniques, the use of English as a means of assessment and the use of dual language rubrics and questions. The principle of authenticity and relevance is also discussed in some detail. The examining criteria stress that what is to be tested should be useful outside the classroom and examination environment. The assessment techniques are analysed in the light of these criteria, as are the topics and settings, which are expressions of the context in which the language is used. This area of the syllabus is particularly relevant to the contention that Urdu is not used in the same contexts that French or German are used.

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The criteria and the syllabuses prescribe that assessment is conducted of performance in discrete skill areas. The testing procedures often require the use of other skills than those which are overtly being assessed. This issue is discussed at some length, for there seem to be some instances where performance may be affected by the use of particular assessment techniques. The criterion of authenticity requires that the assessment techniques should at least approximate real life situations, but discrete skill testing appears to contradict this principle. Alternative assessment procedures, including integrated multi skill tasks which attempt to approximate authentic language usage, are described and discussed in Chapter 7, §7.1.

My position as Joint Chief Examiner of Urdu at LEAG gave me access to much information and material from that board. Consequently I have been able to use examples from the LEAG syllabus, papers, etc., and discuss them in greater depth than those from MEG or NEA. However most of the topics covered in this chapter derive from the National Criteria, under whose guidelines all the examining bodies' syllabuses, etc., are produced. The points discussed should be of common interest to all the boards and individuals who are concerned with examining Urdu. It is also necessary to mention that some of the criticisms and inconsistencies outlined above are not the exclusive concern of teachers of community languages, but have also been voiced by teachers of modern foreign languages, particularly in the area of assessment techniques.

2.1. THE NATIONAL CRITERIA FOR FRENCH.

The National Criteria for French, (NCF), were published in January 1985, but most Urdu teachers were unaware of their existence until training sessions for the GCSE began more than a year later. The syllabuses for Urdu and other community languages have been produced under the guidelines established by the National Criteria for French. These criteria set out the aims, objectives and means of assessment for a modern languages examination syllabus. Although drawn up for French, these criteria 'were devised with the general needs of modern languages

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in mind', and it is recognised that 'the individual needs of different languages will need to be taken into consideration.' ⁽¹⁾ It is also pointed out that 'these criteria deliberately refrain from laying down a single examination pattern to be followed by all syllabuses. Examining groups are free to explore and develop different examination models.' ⁽²⁾ The contention is, that examining bodies have not exploited this leeway in order to make their Urdu syllabuses and examinations more appropriate to the needs of that language community. There is also scope for innovation: 'It is essential that, from the outset, the introduction of a new system of examining is taken as an opportunity to improve syllabuses and methods of assessment.' ⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, this is not evident in the initial syllabuses, although changes have been proposed in the light of the experiences of the first year of conducting the examination. These changes will be discussed where appropriate. It is important to bear this in mind when considering the minimal differences between the syllabuses.

2.2. AIMS OF THE GCSE.

The second section of the National Criteria set out the educational purposes of following a course in French for the GCSE examination. Seven aims are listed, which have been adapted by the three boards which offer Urdu. In most cases the changes made have been very minor, some being merely the substitution of the word Urdu for French. These aims need to be considered in the light of their relevance to Urdu.

The first aim is 'to develop the ability to use Urdu effectively for purposes of practical communication.' The LEAG syllabus adds 'both within Britain and in other countries.' Neither of the other boards have made any changes to this aim. The intention of the LEAG addition is to recognise the fact that Urdu is not restricted to foreign and holiday situations but is used in daily life in this country. Other suggested alterations have been focussed on the limitations inherent in a

(1) NCF 1985, pl, §1.2, (2) *ibid*, pl, §1.4,

(3) *ibid*,



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restricted interpretation of the term 'practical communication'. At a conference on community languages and the GCSE, concern was expressed that the term 'practical' should not be limited to transactional. Urdu is used in daily life in Britain not merely for transactional purposes; it is used to express all aspects of existence. ⁽⁴⁾

The second aim is 'to form a sound basis of the skills, language and abilities required for further use of the language in study, work and leisure.' This is an entirely appropriate aim for any language course and it has been adopted without amendment by all three Examining bodies. How far the syllabus and the requirements of the examination allow for an adequate preparation for further use of Urdu is the key issue, and has been the focus of much discussion among Urdu teachers and examiners, especially in the area of preparations for further study up to GCE 'A' level. This will be discussed later in this chapter, §2.4.

The third aim is 'to offer insights into the culture and civilisation of French speaking countries.' For 'French speaking' LEAG have substituted 'the communities concerned', MEG have 'areas and communities where Urdu is spoken' and NEA 'Urdu speaking countries'. It is a debatable point as to how much insight is offered in the French syllabus into the culture and civilisation of, for instance, Francophone Africa, but it is necessary that the Urdu syllabus should cover usage not only in the subcontinent but also in Britain, and thus relate the aims to the contemporary needs of the Urdu using community. The LEAG and MEG amendments recognise this need. Further suggestions were proposed at the SEC/DES/HMI conference, amongst which were 'to foster positive attitudes towards them' and 'to give pupils an increased awareness of the use of the language in communities using the language today, in the UK and abroad, and to reinforce the appreciation of the culture and civilisations of these communities.' ⁽⁵⁾ The implications of this aim are very important for users of community languages, particularly those who are concerned at the loss of language and

(4) SEC/DES/HMI 1980, p18, §2.7.

(5) *op. cit.*, p18, §2.3.

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deculturisation of the younger generation born and brought up in this country. Unlike the situation for French, the 'clientele' who are taking Urdu at GCSE are almost entirely drawn from within the community whose culture and civilisation are to be appreciated. The need to maintain and transmit these cultural aspects is strongly felt, and while a historical perspective of 'language shift' indicates that there will be a progressive shift towards English, the close relationship between language and culture may help to reverse or reduce the rate of shift.

The fourth aim is 'to develop an awareness of the nature of language and language learning.' This aim was adopted unchanged by all three examining bodies, as was the fifth aim, which is 'to provide enjoyment and intellectual stimulation.'

The sixth aim is 'to encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning and to speakers of foreign languages and a sympathetic approach to other cultures and civilisations.' MEG have removed the inappropriate and insular term 'foreign' from this aim and rendered it as follows: 'To encourage positive attitudes to all language learning and to speakers of all languages and an informed approach to other cultures and civilisations.' Participants at the SEC/DES/HMI conference considered the wording 'sympathetic approach' to be patronising and suggested the following: 'to encourage positive attitudes to all languages and cultures.' <6>

This aim is particularly important when considered in relation to the concept of parity of status of community languages vis à vis foreign languages, and to the self esteem of students who come from the speech communities concerned. The following aims were argued for in supporting papers to the Schools Council Conference on Examining in a Multicultural Society, 1981 . <7>

(6) *op. cit.*, p18, §2,6,

(7) Broadbent *et al* 1983, p42,

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'To reflect personal experience and a confident sense of personal identity, self-esteem and worth.'

'To realise that in linguistic terms no complete system of language is inferior to any other.'

The second of these two aims is particularly relevant to Urdu because the majority of students of Urdu in this country are speakers of some dialect of Panjabi, and it is important for teachers of Urdu not to devalue Panjabi while teaching Urdu. The incorporation of these aims into the Urdu GCSE syllabuses would, at least, signify a public commitment by the examining bodies to the validity of the languages and linguistic experience of all students, regardless of their linguistic and cultural background. The need for such aims may be considered in the light of the chapter on the candidates for Urdu examinations and their background.

The seventh aim of the National Criteria is 'to promote learning skills of a more general application, (e.g., analysis, memorising, drawing of inferences).' All the examining bodies have adopted this aim without amendment. It needs to be mentioned here that some of the stated skills are specifically excluded in some parts of the examination. In the section in the National Criteria on listening the assessment objectives include the statement that 'no undue burden should be placed on memory'.

<8>

The MEG has added an eighth aim to the seven included in the National Criteria. It is directly relevant to the linguistic experience of most of the potential candidates for Urdu and the other community languages. 'To develop and encourage bilingual skills where appropriate.' This aim was also suggested as being appropriate by a working group at the SEC/DES/HMI conference. ⁽⁹⁾ The bilingual experience of the candidates has been described and discussed in Chapter 1 and the testing of bilingual skills will be covered later on in this chapter, in the section on assessment techniques, §2.8 and 2.9.

(8) NCF, p2, §3,1,1.

(9) SEC/DES/HMI, p18, §2,8.

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2.3. ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES.

The aims of a language course are not necessarily reflected in the assessment objectives because some of them cannot be easily assessed for examination purposes. What can be assessed is covered by Section 3 of the National criteria. These objectives are described for the four separate skill areas of Listening, Reading, Speaking and Writing, and in order to make the GCSE more accessible throughout the whole ability range 'it has been considered necessary to have some differentiation of objectives in each of the four skill areas.' (10) Therefore the objectives have been divided into two groups: Common Core Objectives and Additional Assessment Objectives. The three Common Core Objectives are Basic Listening, Basic Speaking and Basic Reading, while the Additional Assessment Objectives comprise Basic Writing and the Higher Levels of all four skill areas.

These objectives have been incorporated practically verbatim into the Community Language syllabuses. The major exception is Basic Writing. Both MEG and NEA include Basic Writing as an Additional Assessment Objective, but LEAG has included this element as part of the Common Core. Thus LEAG is the only board which has determined that Basic Writing should be a compulsory element of the GCSE. This decision has been reached after consideration of the needs of the language communities concerned. The importance of writing skills in Community languages is properly recognised by this move and has generated some interesting reactions from various interested parties. This will be discussed in greater depth later on in this chapter in the section on Writing skills.

Another difference between the bodies is that LEAG has not produced differentiated papers for Listening and Reading. This means that candidates are obliged to take papers in these two elements to a Higher Level standard. While it is generally accepted that the receptive skills of community language candidates are more developed than would

(10) NCF 1985, p2, §3.

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be the case for foreign language learners, it is inherently unjust to compel them to take higher level papers in two of the four skill areas. When this is combined with compulsory Basic Writing, there is a wide difference between the Common Core Objectives of the LEAG syllabus and those of the other two boards' syllabuses. In effect, the LEAG syllabus requires their candidates to take Basic and Higher papers in Listening and Reading, and Basic papers in Speaking and Writing. MEG and NEA require only Basic papers for Speaking, Listening and Reading. The relationship between the Assessment Objectives and the Grades awarded is explained in terms of which elements, or combination of elements, must be offered in order for the candidate to qualify for the award of each of the grades. In order to illustrate the differences between the boards, the requirements of each board for grades 'C' and 'D' are tabled overleaf.

It can be seen from the table that there are problems of comparability between the Grade requirements of the three examining bodies. The requirements of LEAG can be seen to be considerably higher than the other two. Not only are all four Basic Level elements necessary to achieve Grade 'D', but the Higher Level elements of Listening and Reading are also compulsory. This has the effect of making the demands on the LEAG candidate considerably greater than for the other two boards. In order to bring their grade requirements more into line with those of the other boards, LEAG has modified their requirements following the recommendations of the Community Language Chief Examiners and Moderators to the Group Subject Committee that, from 1990, there will be differentiated papers for Listening and Reading, and that from 1992 Basic Writing will no longer be a compulsory element. The modification to the Basic Writing is contingent upon it being clear that without Basic Writing no candidate can achieve a higher grade than 'D'. The argument over compulsory writing is covered in Section 2.4, below.

It can also be seen from the chart that the Higher elements of the MEG papers are subdivided into Parts 1 and 2. This is in accordance with the provisions of the National Criteria which allows for a differentiation of the Higher Level papers into Intermediate and Higher components. It represents an alternative approach to differentiated

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papers, in that candidates can attempt Part 1 of any two Higher Level papers or both Parts 1 and 2 of any one Higher Level paper in order to achieve the same grade. It therefore presents candidates with the opportunity to achieve a given grade by demonstrating intermediate levels of performance over two skill areas, rather than a more advanced level of performance in any one skill area.

GCSE COMPONENTS REQUIRED FOR GRADES 'C' & 'D'.

GRADE	LEAG	MEG	NEA
'D'	Basic Oral (B+H) Listening (B+H) Reading Basic Writing	Basic Oral Basic Listening Basic Reading <u>+ either</u> Basic Writing <u>or</u> Pt 1 of any 2 Higher Level element <u>or</u> Pt 1&2 of any 1 Higher Level element.	Basic Oral Basic Listening Basic Reading <u>+ any 1 other</u> element.
'C'	As above + At least 1 of: Higher Oral Higher Writing	All Basic elements <u>Either</u> Pt 1 of any 2 Higher elements <u>or</u> Pt 1&2 of any 1 Higher element.	All Basic elements <u>+ any 1 Higher</u> element.

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2.4. COMPULSORY WRITING.

If, by 1990, the examinations offered by the three bodies are to be more equivalent, the matter of compulsory writing is one that deserves further consideration as it is a matter of direct concern to all community language teachers. Although LEAG has agreed to remove Basic Writing from the Common Core elements of the GCSE, it has done so despite considerable opposition from community language teachers and examiners. The arguments for and against compulsory writing need to be set out against the background of the importance of writing skills by the linguistic communities concerned. This will be discussed with special reference to Urdu, but the arguments apply, with greater or lesser force, to all of the community languages concerned. The principles of the GCSE, as reflected in the National Criteria for French, can be seen as an acknowledgement that previous examination systems have failed to produce communicatively competent linguists. The GCE 'O' Level produced students who were able to read and write in the language concerned, but who were not necessarily able to speak and communicate effectively. For the Urdu speaking community, however, the 'O' Level did satisfy some genuine needs, especially with regard to standards of literacy. The introduction of the CSE went some way to remedy the imbalance in skills by laying greater emphasis on oral skills and a more communicative approach in general, but it was perceived as being of a lower status than the GCE. The absence of writing as a compulsory element of the GCSE can be considered as a further stage in the same process. However much this may be true for English learners of French as a foreign language, the absence of writing from a syllabus does contain potential difficulties for community languages.

The attitude of most twentieth century specialists in linguistics towards written language has, in general, been to assert the chronological and linguistic priority of the spoken language and to consider the written form of the language as merely a graphical representation of the spoken form. (11) While it is impossible to argue

(11) Bloomfield was the chief protagonist of this school of linguistic theory.

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with the chronological argument, the demotion of written language to a subordinate 'recording' role does not hold true. The purposes of writing are not always the same as of speaking, and the language used for writing is not necessarily that used for speaking. Stubbs, writing on this topic, asserts the argument that written language has a social priority. 'In general, it is written forms which have social prestige.'⁽¹²⁾ For many official purposes only written documentation is acceptable while the literature and history of a people and their culture is largely maintained, in most cultures, in written form.

In the case of Urdu, this social priority is very clearly expressed by the attitude of a community who consider Urdu to be their 'Community Language', even though the majority of its users in the U.K. do not speak Urdu, but one of a number of varieties of Panjabi, as their first language. To be literate in Urdu is the mark of an educated person. The social prestige of being able to write a language is naturally much greater in a community where literacy rates are traditionally very low. In Pakistan, where Urdu is the national language, the official literacy rate is approximately 25%, although the criterion of literacy is not clearly defined. Some of those involved in Adult Literacy campaigns reckon the true rate is even lower than that officially stated.⁽¹³⁾ The *kudos* attached to writing is therefore further enhanced by its scarcity value. Apart from social prestige or priority, there are instrumental reasons for giving writing in the community languages greater priority. What needs to be taken into account are the purposes for which the students of community languages choose to study them. A recent survey conducted by Stella Lewis in Waltham Forest, where Urdu has been offered to students for over ten years, was conducted into attitudes and aims of students and teachers regarding Urdu. Students were asked why they chose to learn Urdu in school. Over half of those questioned cited 'being able to communicate in writing with relatives in the subcontinent' as the most important reason. Amongst other reasons given was that

(12) Stubbs 1980, p30. Stubbs presents a coherent and cogent argument for written language to be considered as more than a subsidiary and dependent of the spoken form.

(13) See Harrison 1985, Introduction.

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they would be considered illiterate if they didn't know Urdu. ⁽¹⁴⁾ This is supported by the teachers' survey which reported communication with relatives as the second most important reason, and the most important instrumental reason, for learning Urdu. ⁽¹⁵⁾ The importance attached to writing is acknowledged by both students and teachers of Urdu in Waltham Forest, and there is no reason to believe that, if the same survey were to be conducted in other areas where community languages are widely used, there would be any great difference in the results. The report of the SEC/DES/HMI conference on Community languages and the GCSE notes 'there were those who argued that proficiency in writing is an essential skill, particularly in South Asian languages, and therefore this skill should be part of the Common Core.' ⁽¹⁶⁾

Another indication of the priority of writing skills was obtained in an informal survey conducted by a questionnaire on the GCSE criteria. This was given to teachers of community languages as a result of discussions at a working conference convened at York University Language teaching centre. ⁽¹⁷⁾

Question G.4.1. of the questionnaire asked:

'Do you agree that skills in listening and speaking are more important than skills in reading and writing?'

9 disagreed, 7 agreed while the remainder were not sure.

Question 4.6.1. asked:

'Do you think that the extra effort and skills involved in writing should be rewarded?' 10 responded positively, 5 negatively, 2 not sure.

Question 4.6.2. was a follow up question which was answered by those who had responded positively to Question 4.6.1.

'If so, should there be added weighting to the marks given in the writing skills exam?' All 10 respondents said 'yes'.

(15) Lewis *op. cit.*, Table T1, p51.

(16) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p20, §5.4.

(17) This questionnaire and the results are reproduced in Table 2.1, pp110-114.

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This view of the importance of writing to community languages is reflected in the proposal of one of the working groups at the SEC/DES/HMI conference. 'Whereas equal weighting for the four skills was appropriate for community languages as a second language, in the case of the first language combined totals of 60% for reading and writing and 40% for listening and speaking were appropriate.' (18) The questionnaire contained space for additional comments on each skill area, some of which are directly relevant to this issue: 'The criteria for writing are so wildly out of line with community expectations that change in this area is highly desirable.' Opposition to positive weighting for writing skills is based not on the fact that writing is not a priority skill but on the fact that learning to write an unusual script is 'part of the deal.' (19)

One of the major concerns of community language teachers has been the continued study of Urdu, etc., beyond the GCSE, where reading and writing skills are more important and need to be mastered to a comparatively high level in order to embark on an 'A' Level course. This was the rationale behind the proposal to adjust the weighting at GCSE in favour of reading and writing skills, 'which would promote community languages in the academic and literary fields and enable students to continue with the study of these languages beyond the GCSE.'

There are strong social reasons for placing greater emphasis on writing skills which would be served by making writing compulsory. Broadbent and Hashmi comment as follows: 'Any form of Urdu examination which did not include a written component is not likely to be greatly valued by users of Urdu in the community.' (20)

The arguments against making writing a compulsory element of the GCSE run on two lines. The first is, that if Urdu is to be made accessible to all candidates, regardless of background, the admittedly

(18) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p21, 96,9.

(19) Response to Questionnaire Q 4,6,1. See Table 2,1., pp110-114.

(20) Broadbent *et al* 1983, p51, 116-7.

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difficult skill of manipulating the Urdu script is a potential barrier to this goal. Previous experience in teaching and examining Urdu has shown that even candidates who have a linguistic background in Urdu are not necessarily able to acquire sufficient proficiency in writing skills to successfully take a public examination in which writing skills are compulsory. In my own experience, a large number of students in the London Boroughs of Newham and Waltham Forest have been entered for examinations, such as the Institute of Linguists Preliminary Certificate or the London Chamber of Commerce's Preliminary Certificate, in which there is no written component. ⁽²¹⁾ While it is obviously a desideratum among the Urdu using community that written skills should be acquired, the constraints of timetabling provision demand that this skill be taught in two years, and it is the opinion of many teachers that it is very difficult to bring a candidate to a high enough standard to succeed in any authentic writing task. This question was included in the informal questionnaire, (Q.4.8.). ⁽²²⁾ Opinion was almost equally divided indicating a lack of consensus on this issue.

For students with no family or community connection with the language the likelihood of success is even smaller. There is a small but growing number of such students, and it is generally accepted that the development of Urdu in Britain would be hindered if it is considered the exclusive province of its own community. For them, the acquisition of the basics of the spoken language must be given priority. On the other hand, even if writing is not made compulsory, an understanding of the script is necessary in order to acquire reading skills, which are a compulsory element of the GCSE. It could be argued that the script can not be properly understood without experience of writing in that script. There has been much debate among examiners of oriental languages and officials as to how much script can be acquired by potential candidates after a limited period of tuition. ⁽²³⁾

(21) The new IOL Urdu syllabus is designed for L1 English speakers See IOL 1989, p2.

(22) See Table 2.1., p110-114.

(23) This debate occurred during the development of specimen papers for the IOL in Arabic, Urdu and other languages with non-roman scripts.

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The second line of argument is that, even if Basic Writing is an optional item, the onus is on the teacher to prepare his or her students to be able to enter for the written component. If, as teachers assert, writing is a priority as far as the Urdu using community is concerned, then they will make every effort to inculcate those attitudes and the necessary skills in order to successfully enter for the writing component. It may be that the community which accords high status and priority to writing Urdu perceives that, merely by reason of writing not being compulsory, its language is not given due recognition. It appears most unlikely that there will be more than a small proportion of candidates who would not be entered for the writing papers. For the minority, the grade achieved would be concomitant with their performance in only three of the four skill areas. If writing were compulsory, their genuine achievements in Speaking, Reading and Listening would be undervalued.

What needs to be borne in mind is that the National Criteria stipulate restrictions on the potential grades achievable by those candidates who do not take Basic Writing. The maximum grade award open to these candidates is grade 'D'. While the GCSE differs from its predecessors, in that its aim is to reward positive achievement, the attitude of most people outside education is to regard low grades as failures. The GCE 'O' Level grade 'C' pass is meant to be equivalent to grade 1 CSE and to grade 'C' at GCSE. The likelihood is that these will be regarded as the benchmarks for a meaningful achievement in language exams. If that is so, then there is every incentive for the candidates to reach that level, which can only be done by including Basic writing in the papers taken. The debate among teachers examiners and officials at LEAG covered all the areas discussed above; it was eventually decided to fall in line with the other boards by making Basic Writing an optional element, with the clear proviso in the syllabus that any candidate not entering this paper would be restricted to achieving a maximum grade 'D' award.

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2.5. ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES FOR SEPARATE SKILL AREAS.

The Assessment Objectives have been described in general terms above. In the following section, the more detailed provisions of the syllabuses will be discussed. These objectives specify the kinds of materials and tasks through which the candidates' performance in each of the four skill areas can be assessed at both levels of the GCSE. The requirements in the four skill areas at each level will be considered separately.

2.5.1. LISTENING.

The National Criteria for French specify the type of stimulus materials considered suitable: Candidates should be expected to demonstrate understanding of specific details in announcements, instructions, requests, monologues (e.g. weather forecasts, news items), interviews and dialogues. ⁽²⁴⁾ The stimuli are to be set within a limited range of clearly defined topic areas. It is evident that it is the topic areas which will be the most important determinant of vocabulary, structures, etc., and the choice of topic and setting is also a major factor in creating the semblance of authenticity which is a guiding principle for assessing the suitability of materials and tasks in the GCSE. The choice of topics and settings for all skill areas is covered in section 2.12 of this chapter. Viewed, somewhat artificially, in isolation the tasks and stimulus materials suggested seem in line with the needs of any speech community at this level.

At the Higher Level the range of stimuli and the skills to be assessed are increased. The range of stimuli needs little comment, but a suggestion made by a teacher, referring to objectives, is noteworthy. 'Pupils should be able to understand the oral traditions of the culture such as proverbs and sayings.' ⁽²⁵⁾ Since all of the material used in the

(24) NCF 1985, p2, §3.1.1.

(25) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, §5.1.

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Listening Test is recorded especially for the examinations, the principle of authenticity requires the addition of sound effects to suggest the authentic context or setting. The range of tasks used at Higher Level has been given little attention, but, assessing them in the light of the experience of setting papers, it does seem evident that, for the LEAG papers at least, the tendency has been to increase the length of the materials and not necessarily increase the difficulty of the tasks. Instead of asking questions which required the drawing of inferences, the amount of factual information required was increased. The difficulty of setting authentic tasks for listening is compounded by the artificiality of the conduct of this component in the examination. This will be discussed more fully later on in this chapter. See 92.10, pp84ff.

2.5.2. READING.

Reading tasks suggested by the National Criteria ⁽²⁶⁾ include notices, advertisements, signs, brochures, letters, etc. The report of the SEC/DES/HMI conference includes comments on the range of stimulus materials which were considered too narrow. It was suggested that 'simple poems, short stories, folk tales and riddles, i.e. forms of imaginative writing, should be included.' ⁽²⁷⁾ The criteria for Higher level reading does include imaginative writing; there is no reason why some simple examples cannot be used at the Basic level also. The setting of reading tasks and the selection of suitable reading materials is a problem when considered in the light of authenticity. There is an acute shortage of material designed to read by, and at an appropriate level of difficulty for, U.K. based students of Urdu, many of whom have had only a limited exposure to reading materials. The materials designed for their age range in India or Pakistan are not only too advanced for use at Basic Level but can also, in some cases, be outside their experience. On the other hand material of an appropriate linguistic level is designed for primary school age students in the subcontinent. At Higher Level,

(26) NCF 1985, p2, 93, 1, 2,

(27) *op. cit.*, p20, 95, 2

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the problem should be less acute because the candidates can be expected to read texts of greater complexity, drawn from a wider range of topics.

An analysis of the stimulus materials used by LEAG in the 1988 Reading Paper, which was not differentiated, shows that out of eighteen items of stimulus material, eight were newspaper advertisements, five notices from a variety of sources, one letter, one cartoon, one itinerary, an extract from a Post Office pamphlet and one magazine article. While few of them could be considered outside the range of the target group none of them were written either specifically for, or about, them. Perhaps most significantly there is not one piece of imaginative writing. Iqbal Khan's and others' criticisms of the GCSE as being defined as narrow and limited to a transactional perspective are given added weight in the light of this omission. ⁽²⁸⁾

2.5.3. SPEAKING.

Basic Speaking objectives require candidates 'to respond to unprepared questions on a limited range of clearly defined topic areas', and 'to perform role playing tasks which involve both taking the initiative and responding to questions with both strangers and friends.' ⁽²⁹⁾ At the Higher Level the range of topics and settings are wider, and the candidates are expected not only to respond to but also to ask questions and to conduct a sustained free conversation.' ⁽³⁰⁾ The candidate is expected to act as interviewee in the conversational element, transactor in the Basic Level role play, a limited amount of negotiation can be included in the Higher Level role play, while in the MEG Higher Level Part 2 there is a task for the candidate as narrator. The role of transactor is one which is singled out for criticism by Iqbal Khan and others as constraining the candidate to a foreign

(28) NCF 1985, p2, §3.1.3.

(29) *ibid.*, p3, §3.2.2.2.

(30) *ibid.*, p3, §3.2.2.3.

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language and touristic perspective of language use which is not appropriate to community language users. Since it is only one of at least three roles specified for the Oral component, the criticism is not entirely justified, although, at Basic Level, the transactional role accounts for half the test. Detailed consideration of the limitations of the tasks is included in the following section, on Techniques of Assessment. It is sufficient to state that the Syllabus Review Committee of LEAG has proposed major changes in the Oral component, including the abandonment of the role play, although this has not been proposed solely for the reasons given above. (31)

2.5.4. WRITING.

Writing objectives operate within a narrower range of topics and settings than the other skill areas. This is in accordance with the more limited scope for writing tasks appropriate to the target group. Tasks suggested include form filling, writing lists, messages, postcards and letters and guided compositions. The issue of compulsory writing has already been discussed and, subject to approval, from 1990 all three boards offering Urdu will include Basic Writing as an optional component. There are, however, significant differences in the tasks set at the two levels by the boards. These can best be summarised in chart form which is shown overleaf.

It can be seen from the chart that the boards require their candidates to perform tasks varying not only in length but also in degree of difficulty. The difference is especially marked at Basic level. In terms of quantity, the candidate for Basic Level Urdu at LEAG has to write more than at Higher Level. The LEAG Basic Level tasks are of a considerably higher order of difficulty and this is compounded by the fact that the Basic Writing paper is, until proposed syllabus changes come into effect, a compulsory element of the Common Core. Even before

(31) There have been serious difficulties administering and conducting Oral for candidates who do not have teachers. See §2.11, p94 below.

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the first examination in 1988 there had been a number of responses from teachers of Urdu during training sessions, indicating that while it was appropriate for writing to be compulsory, the prescribed tasks, as set out in the syllabus and the specimen papers, were unrealistically difficult for many students. This comment points up the dichotomy in the thinking of many community language teachers; on the one hand there is the familiar cry that our children already know their languages, and that the GCSE is an insult to their capabilities, which has been noted whenever discussion of community languages and the GCSE takes place, while on the other hand it seems that the reality of the situation is only brought home when the teachers are confronted with the kind of tasks that have been devised on the basis that the candidates are taking an examination in a community language and not a learnt, foreign language. <32>

WRITING TASKS FOR THE GCSE.

	<u>LEAG</u>	<u>MEG</u>	<u>NEA</u>
BASIC	Informal letter (100wds)	2 or 3 tasks	Short message (30wds)
	Formal letter (80 wds)	lists, messages	Letter (60wds)
		postcards.	
HIGHER	As above + Guided composition (130 wds)	As above + Pt1 Letter(100wds) Pt2 Guided Composition(150wds)	As above + Letter (100wds) Guided Composition(100wds)

The tasks prescribed for Basic Level at the GCSE were devised on that understanding, but there are other factors which need to be considered. Firstly the completing of a formal letter writing task cannot really be considered a Basic Level objective. There are three reasons for this:

(32) See York Conference Report 1987 and SEC/DES/HMI Report 1988.

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1) that the assessment criteria allow the candidate to achieve the majority of the available marks for content and information, while only a minority of the marks are given for accuracy. Most formal letter writing tasks are, in authentic situations, subject to more rigorous scrutiny for acceptable handwriting, spelling, language, etc. Formal letter writing tasks suggested in the syllabuses include job applications, requests for information and lost property enquiries. In a British context, these tasks would almost always be performed only in English. It would be more authentic to set these tasks in India or Pakistan but in the case of formal communication, such as a job application, the candidates' writing would be judged to a very high standard, which would be incompatible with the Basic Level assessment criteria. These tasks are more suitably assessed at Higher Level.

2) by prescribing two letter writing tasks, the examiners have given little opportunity for the less able candidates, or for those who may have had little exposure to the language. This is contrary to the ethos of the GCSE, in which the objective is to provide a range of tasks which will allow candidates to demonstrate positive achievement at all levels of the ability range. Candidates of lesser ability are given that opportunity in the form filling and similar tasks prescribed by the MEG and the NEA.

3) That the standard required for candidates in one language should not be higher than that required in any other language. This issue of comparability between subjects is one which raises particular problems for the community language protagonists, who feel that the standard expected of their candidates is, in some cases, not high enough. The logical counter to this is that, if the community language examination is made more difficult than, say, French, then the candidate who takes Urdu, for example, at GCSE, has to achieve a higher standard of performance in order to achieve the same grade. This is patently inequitable, and effectively penalises the community language candidate for knowing his or her language rather better than an English-speaking student knows French.

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Partly as a response to the arguments set out above, the Syllabus Review Committee of LEAG has proposed the following modifications to the Writing papers. These changes have been approved for the 1990 examination. ⁽³³⁾ At Basic Level the revised requirements are:

- 1) A form filling exercise.
- 2) A short message or postcard.
- 3) An informal letter of no more than 100 words.

At Higher Level the tasks have been widened in scope and the candidate will be required to attempt two out of three given tasks, such as expansion of notes, compilation of a report from given stimuli or a free composition. Although these changes are a necessary response to the criticisms and comments received, and bring each of the three community language syllabuses more closely into line with each other, some discussion on the type of writing tasks prescribed by the boards is necessary.

2.6. BASIC LEVEL WRITING TASKS.

At Basic Level the letter writing task is, as already discussed, the specialist writing skill most demanded by the Urdu-using community. For the reasons given above, as long as this letter writing task requires only an informal response, this is entirely appropriate. It is necessary to provide means of assessing writing at a simpler level in accordance with the ethos of the GCSE as an examination designed to cater for all levels of proficiency. The simplest type of task is one which does not involve connected writing but which require the candidate to write single words or simple phrases. Form filling exercises are commonly used in European language examinations and are regarded as a convenient means of testing the proficiency of the candidate at the lowest level through a dis-connected writing task. Whilst it may be common in France or Spain for holiday-makers to fill in simple forms, in the case of Urdu

(33) LEAG Revised Syllabus for 1990, p23.

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it is less easy to create an authentic context for this task. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, although genuine Urdu forms are used in Pakistan for such purposes as obtaining driving licences, passports, etc., the Urdu used for these is in a register which is far in excess of GCSE standard. Secondly, many forms are 'dual language', written in both English and Urdu, so there is no need for the filler to use Urdu if they can read and write English more easily. It is possible to devise simplified forms for the purposes of the examination but the use of such doctored material is at odds with the principle of authenticity. Alternative dis-connected writing tasks which can be considered more authentic can easily be devised; these include the compilation of shopping lists and inventories of such items as presents or holiday luggage.

At a slightly higher level, message writing provides a means of assessing an elementary level of connected writing. Requiring the candidates to write a short message or postcard is also appropriate, although, for variety, the task should not be one that overlaps the letter writing task. While it is not difficult to provide an authentic context for the postcard, which can be considered as a shortened version of an informal letter writing task, examiners will have to prepare the questions carefully in order to provide an authentic context and purpose for writing messages. For any task set in Britain, contextualisation is needed which precludes the use of English. This can realistically only be done by positing the existence of a correspondent who does not know English. If the task is set in India or Pakistan contextualisation becomes simpler, because the range of potential contexts become wider. Wherever the task is set, there is also the need to establish a plausible reason for written, as opposed to oral, communication.

An informal letter writing task is, as already stated, the minimum requirement appropriate both to the language and the level of examination. Writing a letter to a friend or relative is precisely what is expected of students of Urdu by their community, and is suitable for Basic Level as long as the task remains informal. Contextualisation is straightforward because many candidates will have received and written

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letters to and from relatives or friends in the subcontinent. The usual format is to provide a stimulus letter to which the candidate has to reply. The instructions also indicate points in the letter to which the candidates have to respond in order to achieve maximum marks for the task. Since, at Basic Level, the majority of the marks are given for communication and not for accuracy, the candidate can achieve a high score by answering the points, errors notwithstanding. It is an innovative feature of the GCSE that marking schemes are published by the examining bodies. Two of the three boards offering Urdu examinations, LEAG and NEA, have published their marking schemes in detail. Those produced for the GCE were regarded as highly confidential and were for the use of the assistant examiners only. As applied to writing tasks, these schemes have been produced in considerable detail and require some discussion as to their appropriacy.

The NEA marking scheme considers the Basic Level tasks separately. (34) For messages, 0, 1, 2 or 3 marks are awarded, depending on the appropriacy of the candidates' responses. For the letter writing task, the candidates' performance is assessed on three criteria: content, appropriateness of language, and accuracy. It is the criteria for accuracy that have created some comment from Urdu teachers. Full marks for accuracy can be given if 'most of the messages are conveyed in spite of errors and although requiring an effort of concentration on the part of the native speaker to understand.'

Whilst such an approach is in accordance with the communicative ethos of the GCSE, some Urdu teachers have expressed their reservations, considering them to be insufficiently rigorous by community standards. In the informal questionnaire a sample sentence was given, which, according to the above criteria, would receive full marks for content and accuracy despite errors etc. Out of 17 respondents, 13, 76%, considered that the marking criteria were not in accordance with the expectations of the community. Respondents were also given the opportunity to mark the sentence according to the scale 0-3 prescribed

(34) NEA 1996, p85.

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by the NEA. One awarded zero, 11 awarded 1, and 4 awarded 2 marks. This indicates a high degree of dissatisfaction with the GCSE criteria for writing at Basic Level. Accompanying comments included: 'not up to standard' (sentence marked 1), 'O.K. at Basic' (sentence marked 2), 'Written criteria so wildly out of line with community and candidate expectations that change in this area is very desirable' and 'At Basic Level elementary words must be spelt correctly.' (34) The criteria have been established to cater for learners of French etc., who do not have to cope with a new or unfamiliar script, but, even taking into account the difficulties involved in mastering the Urdu script, the standard set is not considered acceptable.

The marking scheme published in the LEAG syllabus is, for different reasons, even less satisfactory. (35) At Basic Level separate criteria have been determined for the informal and formal letter writing tasks. For the informal task there are no marks awarded for accuracy at all. The letter is divided into 20 sections, each of which are awarded a mark for communication. Dividing a letter of 100 words into sections of 5 words each and expecting each of them to contain a communicative point is both excessively mechanistic and artificial. According to the scheme for the second Basic Level task, the letter is divided according to the number of points asked for, and each section is marked for communication and accuracy. For a full and sensible answer 5 marks are awarded, with the possibility of an extra mark 'if the answer is more informative and/or more ambitious.' 2 marks are given for an incomplete answer and 0 for 'failure to communicate a sensible and appropriate message.' (37) For accuracy 3 marks are awarded for an error free answer, 2 if there is only one error and 1 if the response is correct but incomplete. Marks are also awarded for a correct 'top and tail' to the letter.

It should not be hard to prepare a scheme of assessment for Urdu in accordance with the National Criteria for French which prescribes

(35) See Table 2.1, p110-114.

(36) LEAG 1986, p62.

(37) *ibid*.

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a less mechanical means of assessing written performance. To deduct marks for errors is contrary to the principles of the GCSE, which lay great emphasis on rewarding positive achievement. The criticisms received by LEAG of their published assessment criteria and marking schemes led the Board to revise them. During co-ordination meetings for examiners, the impossibility of using the existing, published scheme was made so apparent that consultation with modern language examination officers resulted in adapting their revised scheme. For the 1988 examination and for the currency of the existing syllabus both the informal and formal letter writing tasks at Basic Level will be marked according to the same criteria, which award 12 marks for communication, 6 for accuracy and 2 for the 'top and tail'. Accuracy is determined roughly according to how much of the letter is correctly spelled: if one third is correct 1-2 marks are available, if two thirds 3-4 marks and if most of the letter is correctly spelt 5-6 marks may be awarded. Within these bands consideration is given to appropriate usage and range of vocabulary and structures. Examiners seemed satisfied with the new system of marking, which enabled them to mark the candidates' work with sufficient flexibility to account for varying standards of accuracy and communicative content. From 1990, the disconnected writing tasks will be assessed only on communication, and no marks are awarded for accuracy beyond that required for effective communication, while the informal letter writing task will be assessed by the scheme illustrated above.

2.7. HIGHER LEVEL WRITING TASKS.

The tasks prescribed by all three boards for Higher Level writing are formal letter writing and guided compositions. The inappropriacy of including a formal letter writing task at Basic Level has already been discussed, ⁽³⁸⁾ and this task will be included at Higher Level in the revised LEAG syllabus from 1990. ⁽³⁹⁾ At the Higher Level the

(38) cf. §2.4, p56, on Compulsory writing.

(39) LEAG 1988, p31.

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established assessment criteria do accord more closely with both community expectations and the requirements of a formal letter writing task. The second prescribed task, that of guided writing, merits further discussion. Guided writing is a term used to describe the three different tasks prescribed by the examining bodies: 1) An expansion of notes in the target language, which may be supplemented by visual material such as maps, charts or diagrams. 2) A narrative or report in response to written instructions. 3) A composition in response to a series of pictures. These guided writing tasks have to be examined from the point of view of authenticity. Valid and authentic contexts are not as easily constructed for these tasks as they can be for letter writing ones. Picture compositions have come in for severe criticism on other grounds than authenticity. Broadbent and Hashmi comment on low scores achieved by an inordinately high number of foreign language students at CSE and GCE, and in addition to this mention the problem of rubrics. They are considered suspect because 'the common instruction to place a story in the past tense conflicts with the logical tense - the present - for describing what is happening in a picture sequence.' (40)

Tasks involving narrative construction from notes are attempts to improve on the picture composition. One such task was set by LEAG in the 1988 Urdu examination. A timetable of a school outing was given, from which the candidates were required to create a narrative description of the event. (41) It is certainly appropriate task for sixteen-year old students and for classroom purposes, but as an examination technique there are certain inconsistencies. Candidates are expected to describe a 'fictional' event as though it were part of their personal experience. This is a skill of a high order, and it is questionable as to whether linguistic competence alone is being tested. LEAG Examiners have been told by their servicing officer for Community Languages that the object of the GCSE is to test linguistic performance and not the candidates' imagination, yet some metalinguistic skills are involved in transferring fictional stimuli and representing them as personal experience. One of

(40) LEAG 1988, p31,

(41) LEAG GCSE Urdu, Paper 4, Q3.

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the arguments against free composition as given in the GCE 'O' Level was that it was a test of imagination as much as writing skills but, according to Broadbent and Hashmi, 'less controlled forms of creative writing and rational argumentation reveal a great range of intermediate skills in language use.' ⁽⁴²⁾ The main objection seems to be a negative one, in that the diversity of response makes it more difficult for the examiner to standardise marking.

After the 1988 examinations a small sample of LEAG scripts (10) which included responses to the question given above was analysed. Out of the required 130 word limit, an average of nearly 100 words were required just to fulfill the instructions, leaving only 30 to demonstrate the candidates' own linguistic range. Since highly controlled writing tasks have already been demanded of the candidates in the formal letter writing task, it would seem desirable to test the candidates' performance through a less restrictive task. My own researches have been conducted on free compositions written for GCE 'O' Level for the reason that I wanted to analyse the candidates' language, not that dictated by the format of a guided writing task. Given a suitable range of topics from which to select, many of the candidates were able to display skills well beyond those possible within the strictures dictated by the guided composition format.

Authenticity is not the sole criterion by which tasks must be judged. Once a learner has mastered the Basic skills, there are writing skills which, according to the Aims of the GCSE, should be developed. It may be that many GCSE candidates will not wish to continue with their language studies after the examination, but the range of skills displayed by the same age-range of candidates indicate that narrative construction, description of physical and emotional events, setting out of argument, drawing conclusions etc. are skills that are present in the relatively advanced, GCE 'O' Level Grade 'C' ability range which is broadly equivalent to GCSE Higher Level.

(42) Broadbent *et al* 1983, p59.

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2.8. ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUES.

Whilst the objectives can, in general, be considered appropriate to any language course with the exception of the particular points noted above, the means and the techniques used to assess the candidates' work have been criticised not only by community language teachers but also by those involved in teaching 'foreign' languages.

These techniques are described in the National Criteria for French. ⁽⁴³⁾ The relevant section begins with a brief comment on the principles involved; 'The tasks set should be, as far as possible, authentic and valuable outside the classroom.' The crucial issue here is how far the prescribed techniques are in accordance with these principles. The Criteria prescribe means of assessment for each skill area, but they also indicate that there is scope for using other techniques which 'could profitably be investigated, provided that they carry only a maximum of 10 per cent of the marks available for the whole examination.' ⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is the assessment techniques and, in particular, certain aspects of the techniques used to test the receptive skills of Listening and Reading, that have received the most adverse comment. Sections 6.2.1. and 6.2.3. state that 'assessment of Listening (and Reading) comprehension can best be carried out by means of questions in English to be answered by the candidate in his or her own words in English.' Although the Criteria do not specifically exclude the possibility of using the target language, at least in multiple choice questions, the inference is clear; English should be used.

There are two major issues that arise as a result of the use of English, both of which need to be examined in some detail for the nature and means of assessment of performance continue to be a matter of debate. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ The first is the reliance on English as the medium of

(43) NCF, p5, ¶6.1-6, 2.4.

(44) *ibid.*, p5, ¶6.2.

(45) For an outline of this debate from a community languages perspective see Broadbent *et al* 1983, ch4 *passim*.

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assessment in exams, while the second, related, issue is that of 'discrete point' as opposed to 'integrative' assessment techniques. Although these issues will be discussed separately in the following sections, the relationship between the two is interdependent and there will inevitably be areas of overlap.

2.9. DUAL LANGUAGE EXAMINATION PAPERS.

The underlying assumption behind the statements in the National Criteria concerning the use of English in assessing listening and reading skills is that the candidates will be proficient readers and writers of English. The same argument applies to the use of English in the Oral tests, but this is discussed separately in the section on Orals. While this assumption is true for the vast majority of candidates who enter for French at GCSE, there are likely to be some whose mother tongue is not English and may be French or a French based Creole or Patois. In my own school teaching experience in London, I have met school students from Metropolitan France, Francophone Africa, the Caribbean, and Mauritius and the Seychelles. These potential candidates make up a very small percentage of the overwhelmingly Anglophone entry for French at GCSE. The present situation for Urdu and other community languages is a mirror image of this profile; the vast majority of Urdu candidates come from within the community that regularly use Urdu, although there are a few who come from communities with looser connections, such as Bangladesh, Mauritius, etc., while there is a very small number who have no direct connection at all with the language community. In the 1988 LEAG examinations there were only two names out of 354 candidates which could be identified as non-Muslim, and it is not possible from names to do more than guess the linguistic background of their owners. Muslim names are fairly universal in the Muslim world and one can only assume from this evidence that the candidates are of South Asian origin.

Although it can be taken as read that almost all the candidates for Urdu, etc., are from the community concerned, it is not possible to make such generalisations concerning their proficiency in English. Some

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students will have arrived only recently, while others may have spent some time of their school life abroad. The fact is that some students do not have a command of English sufficient for them to avoid being disadvantaged by the use of English as the language of examination rubrics, questions, or of the necessity of using English in their responses to those questions. Questions 1.3.1., 1.4.1., 3.3.1. and 3.4.1. of the informal questionnaire solicited the teachers views on the choice of language. Over two thirds of those asked, 13/17, thought that the rubrics and questions for listening comprehension should be in both languages while for the Reading comprehension forty seven percent, 8/16, wanted two languages, although an equal number thought that the target language only should be used. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ This demand may be explained by the desire to test reading skills without recourse to English. Another suggestion was that it was appropriate to use both languages at Basic Level, while at the Higher Level only the target language should be used. This point has also been raised by teachers of European languages, who feel that the reliance on English, especially for the more advanced students, is restricting their linguistic development. The issue of using English as the language of assessment is one which has received criticism from Community Language teachers: 'The use of English in assessment was felt to have harmful effects both on teaching methods and also on the perceived status of the other community language.' ⁽⁴⁷⁾ There are, however, two factors which create potential difficulties:

1) If the questions, etc. are in the target language only, then they become part of the test. Obviously, if the candidate does not supply the correct answer to any given question, he or she has demonstrated a lack of comprehension. The problem arises because it is possible that the lack of comprehension was not caused by the material which was included as part of the examination, i.e. an advertisement; rather, the instructions may have been misunderstood. The impossibility of determining whether what was intended to be tested was, in fact, being tested does cast doubts on the use of the target language only. It

(46) Table 2, 1, p 110-114.

(47) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, 93.

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might also be seen as giving undue advantage to those who have received their education in an Urdu medium school.

2) The traditional language of rubrics and questions in Urdu is in a formal register and relies heavily on Perso-Arabic vocabulary, e.g. *mandarjā-e-zail*. This language would only be taught as part of a GCSE course as the language used in instructions, as it would be considered too difficult and unusual for everyday use. While there is no reason for the students not to be taught the limited range of specialised terms and phrases, it would not seem appropriate to expect those students who were not familiar with them to use them in a test of their reading comprehension in an examination. The problem of disadvantaging the candidate who is not proficient in English by presenting questions and rubrics solely in English is not overcome by going to the other extreme. It also needs to be considered whether or not it would be appropriate to use simple alternatives to the formulaic Urdu phrases, so that candidates could read and understand the language of instruction because it comprised words with which they were familiar in other, everyday contexts. It is very possible that, if simplified rubrics were to be used, there would be considerable opposition from more traditional elements. It is also necessary to point out that the use of simplified rubrics may well conflict with the principle of authenticity.

The candidates' choice of language to answer questions in the Reading and Listening Comprehension papers of the GCSE was also included in the questionnaire. For Reading 10/16, and for Listening 12/18 respondents thought that the candidate should have the choice of language. 4 and 5, respectively, thought that the answer should only be in the target language, while the remainder suggested a choice at Basic Level and the target language only at Higher level. In this context the comments of Broadbent and Hashmi are relevant.

'Modern language teachers in the mainstream generally recommend methods of teaching which concentrate on the target language and which refer back to English as rarely as possible. The ultimate logic of this latter position would require an examination rubric

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in the target language itself and a form of assessment which tests skills solely in the target language, instead of the ability to switch codes.' ⁽⁴⁸⁾

The report of the SEC/DES/HMI conference contains comments on the use of dual language questions. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ 'It was felt that in practice the candidates chose English even when their mother tongue was the stronger language.' At the October 1988 meeting of the Group Subject Committee of LEAG this statement was called into question. Members of the Committee who had participated in the conference were able to state that the wording of the report did not reflect the feelings of the participants; what had been recognised was the difficulty of preparing dual language examination papers. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ In the first examination of the GCSE, in 1988, only one board, LEAG, had produced examination papers with dual language rubrics and questions and allowed the candidates to answer in either English or the target language. The Chief Examiner for MEG Urdu has informed me that the board has approved a change in the regulations so that candidates will be able to use either language to record their answers. ⁽⁵¹⁾ In order to determine the proportion of candidates who had chosen to answer in each language, the Reading and Listening comprehension scripts were analysed. The figures are given in tabular form on the following page.

(48) Broadbent *et al* 1983, p33,

(49) SEC/DES/HMI 1983, p19, 55,1 & 2,

(50) Minutes of LEAG G.S.C, 16 October 1988,

(51) Personal communication with M.K.Dalvi, November 1988,

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LANGUAGE CHOICE OF CANDIDATES IN LEAG EXAMINATIONS, 1988.

	(Paper 1) Listening %		(Paper 2) Reading %	
RESPONSES				
English	256	72.7	240	67.8
Urdu	96	27.3	112	31.6
E + U	-		2	0.6
TOTAL	352	100%	354	100%

Two candidates were absent from the Listening Comprehension paper.

The figures for candidates answering both papers are as follows:

PAPER 1	PAPER 2	No of Cands.	Percentage.
English	English	233	65.8%
Urdu	Urdu	92	26.0%
English	Urdu	21	5.9%
Urdu	English	4	1.1%
English	E + U	2	0.6%
-	English	1	0.3%
-	Urdu	1	0.3%

Proportion of candidates answering at least one paper in Urdu: 33.1%

While it is impossible to determine whether the language that the candidates chose to answer the questions was their 'stronger' language, the indication is that approximately one quarter of the candidates felt confident enough of their ability in Urdu to answer both papers in that language. A higher proportion, nearly one third, chose Urdu to answer the Reading Comprehension paper, which is open to two interpretations. Firstly, that it was felt more appropriate to answer Reading comprehension questions in the target language; and secondly, that it

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was easier to use Urdu to record the required information, which was written in Urdu in the stimulus material. Evidence which may support the second interpretation comes from the fact that the answers given in Urdu tended to be longer than the equivalent answers in English. While this may be due to the fact that some of the candidates felt that it was not appropriate to give a short or one word response, the suspicion remains that it was possible, by copying a section of the stimulus material, to include the required answer within that section without necessarily knowing or understanding it. The remedy for this is to construct the questions in both languages so that the answer cannot be supplied simply by 'lifting' sections of the text. This was the caveat implied by the participants at the SEC/DES/HMI conference. <52>

There is a psychological dimension to the choice of language by candidates. Even though the examination rubrics lay down the right of candidates to choose between English and Urdu, there may be other factors which affect that freedom of choice. Even though there is neutral bias attached to the choice of language, in that no extra marks are awarded for using Urdu, so that there is no external pressure to use Urdu if it was the more difficult language for the candidate to write in, they may be affected by a subjective pressure, perhaps due to the stress associated with examinations, to feel that the examiner is more likely to look favourably on the work of a candidate who has chosen to use Urdu rather than English. It is possible that some candidates will have chosen to use Urdu, even though it was their weaker language. In the majority of cases, however, it seems more likely that it was in the candidates' self interest to choose the language that was quicker and easier for them to use in order to maximise their chances of doing well in the examination.

Another aspect of the analysis of the candidates' choice of language was the use of mixed responses, i.e. the use of English and Urdu to answer questions in one paper. The LEAG rubrics specifically state that all the answers in any one paper should be in the same

(52) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, §5.1.

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language. The results of this analysis show that only two out of three hundred and fifty four candidates did switch languages in one paper. This may have been for the reason stated above, that it was easier to provide the correct answer for certain questions in Urdu.

There is another, potentially more serious, aspect of the use of dual language papers. This concerns the possibility of unfair advantage gained by those candidates who can read both languages and who could use their skills in both languages to glean information from the questions and rubrics inaccessible to candidates who can only read one set of instructions. This allegation requires some explanation. If the candidates are given questions in English only and are required to answer only in that language, then not only does this effectively penalise those candidates who are not proficient in English but also makes the examination a test of bilingual skills. While this may be, in principle, a desirable approach, this is not the stated intention of the examination, which is to assess the students' performance in a particular skill area. If the rubrics, etc., are given in English only then the candidates' competence in English is also being tested, albeit unintentionally. While it may be hoped that all candidates should have enough command of English to allow them to use that language in an examination, the reality is that there are candidates for whom this is not the case. As discussed in Chapter 1, many of the candidates entering for Urdu are functional bilinguals, it is a feature of their everyday lives to operate in two or more languages. ⁽⁵³⁾ While the GCSE is not intended to be a bilingual skills examination, in the same way that monolingual Urdu speakers should not be penalised by having instructions only in English, bilingual students should not suffer because they possess what is regarded as a positive resource outside the examination hall.

What leads some people to claim that readers of Urdu gain an unfair advantage is that there may be linguistic clues present in one set of questions which are not present in the other set which will

(53) See Chapter 1, §1.1, pp8ff.

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enable them to to answer the question. This is a negative approach to the issue, for the assumption appears to be, that if two languages are used, there will automatically be some form of bias. While it is possible to claim that bias may occur if the questions are not carefully designed and constructed, the claim that, if the questions are in two languages, an inevitable concomitant is bias, is not substantiated. The use of an example taken from the LEAG Listening Comprehension paper may serve to demonstrate that bias is not inevitable. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ The text of Questions 6 and 7 were as follows:

You hear this announcement in a bus station in Pakistan.

āp ko pākistān ke ek bas s̄eśan par yah ī'lān sunāī detā hai-

There is no information supplied in the Urdu text which is not given in the English text. Question 6 read as follows:

Why will the bus arrive late?

bas der se kyon pahūñcegī?

The Urdu question contains exactly the same information as the English version. Question 7 read as follows:

How late will it be?

kitnī der se pahūñcegī?

It should not be necessary to give more examples; the above examples demonstrates that there is no inherent bias in dual language questions. Clearly, extra care needs to be taken by Chief Examiners in order to ensure that there is no possibility of the candidates gaining an unfair advantage from one or other set of questions or instructions. The Chief Examiner's task is certainly more difficult in the Reading Comprehension paper, because, wherever possible, they need to ensure that the answer cannot be lifted straight out from the text of the stimulus material. At the Basic Level some of the easier questions necessarily

(54) LEAG Urdu 1988, Paper 1, Q6 & 7,

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involve recognition of one or two key words in the text so that it is possible for candidates to include the required answer by including sections of the text which, hopefully, will contain the correct answer. To avoid it requires careful design of the questions, but it is not an inevitable concomitant of dual language questions.

The Chief Examiner for Urdu at MEG encountered this prejudice when presenting the case for using dual language papers in community language examinations conducted by that board. He was told by an officer of the board that it was wrong for an Urdu examination to have questions in Urdu because it would not then be a fair test for all. His reply took the form of a question, 'In what language do candidates who take English language examinations read and answer the questions?' ⁽⁵⁵⁾ The reply was that they both read the questions and answered them in English. If it not unfair bias to use English in an English language examination, then how can it be claimed to be so in an Urdu examination if the candidates can use Urdu to read and answer the questions?

2.10. DISCRETE-SKILL TESTING.

The issue of dual language papers is inextricably linked with that of discrete-skill testing. The assessment principle for language examinations at the GCSE is prescribed in the National Criteria for French. According to these principles, separate tests are to be taken in each of four skill areas: Listening, Reading, Speaking and Writing. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ What must be ascertained is how far these single skill tests actually do measure the candidates' skill in the stated area, and whether or not other linguistic skills are also brought into play. There are, in effect, two possible scenarios:

(55) M.K. Dalvi, personal communication, November 1988.

(56) NCF 1985, p2, §3.

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Scenario 1) If the skills are assessed by means of papers in which the language of the rubrics and questions is in English only and the candidates must answer in English.

Scenario 2) In which the papers are in both English and the target language, and in which the candidates can record their answers in either language. It must be noted that this assessment technique is only applicable to papers testing the receptive skills of Listening and Reading. (The problems associated with the productive skills are of a different order and will be discussed separately.)

Scenario 1, Listening Comprehension. Instructions, etc. in English.

The candidates read the instructions and questions in English. The stimulus material is heard in Urdu, and, in order to demonstrate their comprehension of the Urdu passage, they are required to write their answers in English. Although the skill to be assessed is ostensibly that of listening, more than one skill is involved. While a certain amount of the different skills are inevitably involved in a written examination of any sort, the range of skills brought into use in order to tackle a listening comprehension question is considerable. Not only are the receptive skills used but also productive skills. In addition to this information has to be transferred from one language to the other and *vice versa*. Thus, bilingual skills are also requisite if the correct answer is to be supplied. This information must also be transferred from one skill area to another. The range of skills used are summarised below:

Skill to be tested: Listening Comprehension.

Skills required:

- 1) Receptive: Reading English, Listening to Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Writing English.
- 3) Bilingual: Transferring information read in English to discern reason for listening in Urdu. Transferring information heard in Urdu into English.

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4) Inter-skill: Reading English → Listening to Urdu. Listening to Urdu → Writing English.

Scenario 2 for the Listening Comprehension involves, in theory, a different and narrower range of skills than scenario 1. The candidate reads the instructions and questions in Urdu, and then listens to a passage recorded in the same language. Having listened to the Urdu passage, the student can then answer in the same language. In this scenario the bilingual skills are not brought into operation. The skills may be summarised as follows:

Scenario 2. Instructions, etc. in English and Urdu.

- 1) Receptive: Reading Urdu, Listening Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Writing Urdu.
- 3) Inter-skill: Reading Urdu → Listening Urdu. Listening Urdu → Writing Urdu.

This scenario must be considered theoretical because the likely reality is that many students will use their skills in both languages to maximise the information to be gleaned from the questions, in whichever language they may choose to answer.

If these same two scenarios are applied to Reading Comprehension the skills used may be summarised as follows:

Skill to be tested: Reading Comprehension.

Scenario 1. Instructions etc. in English only.

Skills required:

- 1) Receptive: Reading English and Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Writing English.
- 3) Bilingual: Transferring information from reading English to give a valid purpose for reading Urdu. Transferring information gained from reading Urdu to written English.
- 4) Inter-skill: Reading Urdu → Writing English.

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Scenario 2. Instructions, etc. in English and Urdu.

Skills required:

1) Receptive: Reading Urdu.

2) Productive: Writing Urdu.

3) Inter-skill: Use information from reading instructions to give purpose for reading text. Use information gleaned from text to write answer in Urdu.

It is clear that, in both scenarios for each skill area, there is more than one language skill area involved. In the first scenario, it is clear that what purports to be a single skill test of listening comprehension in Urdu is a multi skill test involving not only receptive skills in two languages, but also productive skills in the language that is ostensibly not being tested, English. The second scenario involves less skills because the need to transfer information using two languages is avoided. This code switching is a viable skill and one that is considered an authentic area of language development work for bilingual students. MEG have included the development of bilingual skills as one of the stated aims of following a GCSE course in one of the community languages. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ However a so called discrete- skill test which is neither designed nor intended to assess the students' bilingual skills should not require those skills to be developed in order to successfully complete the task set. This hidden agenda needs to be understood by teachers and examiners in order that the former may work on these skills with their students, and the latter may construct examination material and assessment techniques which minimise the use of unspecified skills.

It is impossible to construct a test for use in a public examination which only requires the use of one discrete linguistic skill. The main reason for this is that in almost all authentic situations in which language is used more than one language skill is involved. There are situations where only one skill is involved, but their assessment in an examination context would not be practicable. Spoken orders can be

(57) MEG Syllabus 1986, pl.

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listened to and understanding demonstrated by actions; reading comprehension can be demonstrated in the same way. Bearing in mind the stated objectives of the GCSE are that 'the tests should be as far as possible authentic and valuable outside the classroom' the type of tests prescribed are themselves contravening the basic principle underlying the choice and setting of tasks. (58)

The situation for Oral and Writing skills is somewhat different because productive rather than receptive skills are to be assessed. In one sense the task of the candidate is made easier because the finished product that is marked is: a) that which has been produced as a direct result of the exercise of the particular language skill involved, and b) in the language which is being tested in the examination. However there are other skills involved in the tests. By adopting the procedure outlined above these skills can be distinguished.

Although LEAG is the only one of the boards to have produced dual language papers, its Oral examination does not provide dual language instructions to its candidates. Thus scenario 1 is the only one available to its candidates. The skills used in scenario 2 can, however, be discussed hypothetically. Only in one part of the Oral examination does the candidate receive any written instructions. The conversation element of the test is conducted without any written materials. MEG has a narration task but this is stimulated by visual materials. In the role-play the candidate receives a 'cue' card containing written instructions which establish and contextualise his or her role and enumerate the tasks required. From these cards the candidates have to act out the given role in Urdu, with the examiner acting as interlocutor. From the instructions she or he has to respond to and sometimes initiate a dialogue. The skills involved can be analysed as follows:

(58) NCF 1985, p5, ¶6.1.

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Skill to be tested: Oral communication.

Scenario 1) Instructions etc. in English.

Skills required:

- 1) Receptive: Reading English, Listening Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Speaking Urdu.
- 3) Information transfer skills: From written English → Spoken Urdu.

Listening to Urdu → Spoken Urdu.

- 4) Bilingual skills: Reading English → Speaking Urdu.

In the, at present hypothetical, scenario 2 it has to be assumed that the candidates would be given written instructions in Urdu which corresponded with the English instructions used in scenario 1. It was for the reason that the Oral test should not require the candidates to demonstrate reading skills in Urdu that the principle of dual language papers could not be upheld in the Oral component of the examination. If written instructions in Urdu were used the skills required could be analysed as follows:

Skill to be tested: Oral communication.

Scenario 1) Instructions etc. in English and Urdu.

- 1) Receptive: Reading Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Speaking Urdu.
- 3) Information transfer skills: From written Urdu → Spoken Urdu.

Listening to Urdu → Spoken Urdu.

As with the other discrete-skill tests, in both scenarios more than the intended skill is in fact required to fulfill the given task or tasks. In the case of scenario 2 bilingual skills are not involved. The use of written instructions in an Oral examination in any language is an issue which has come in for much discussion, as has the value and authenticity of the role-play as a technique for assessing oral competence. This will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

(59) See Section 2,11, pp94ff.

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The written component of the GCSE can be analysed in exactly the same way as used for the other skill areas. In scenario 1 the candidate is required to read and understand instructions written in English in order to respond to given stimuli by writing in Urdu. There is a difference between this and other skill areas, in that all the boards allow stimuli to be given in either language. In most cases the stimulus takes the form of a letter or a set of guidelines, although picture stimuli can also be used at the Higher Level only. The skills involved in scenarios 1 and 2 are as follows:

Skill to be tested: Written communication.

Scenario 1) Instructions in English (Stimulus can be given in Urdu.)

Skills required:

- 1) Receptive: Reading instructions in English. Reading stimulus in English or Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Writing Urdu.
- 3) Information transfer: From written English instructions → Reading stimuli → Writing Urdu.
- 4) Bilingual skills: Understanding English instructions → Fulfilling writing task in Urdu.

Scenario 2) Instructions in Urdu. Stimulus in Urdu.

Skills required:

- 1) Receptive: Reading instructions and stimuli in Urdu.
- 2) Productive: Writing Urdu.
- 3) Information transfer: Understanding Urdu instructions → Reading Urdu stimuli → Fulfilling written task.

Even allowing for the fact that the stimulus can be given in Urdu, considerably more skills are involved than the stated one of written performance. It may be argued that since all the candidates have to use the same set of skills in scenario 1, it is a case of 'the same for everyone', and it is unnecessary to consider the hidden agenda of skill elements involved which are not directly assessed. The importance of the

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analysis is, that in scenario 1, all of the skill area tests require the candidates to understand written English and to transfer information from English to Urdu. It has already been noted that these skills cannot be taken for granted for all the candidates entered for these examinations. Those who do not have these skills are disadvantaged by rubrics and questions in English only and by being forced to respond in English only. The use of dual language papers goes some way to alleviate this disadvantage. It is only in the Oral that difficulties arise from the use of dual language instructions. The structure of the role-play dictates that written instructions are given. If they were to be given in Urdu the candidates could simply read out their 'lines' from the cue card. In fact this is not the case; The instructions, whether in English or Urdu are not given in direct speech but in indirect form, e.g. 'Tell the clerk that you want to buy a return ticket'. In order for the candidate to complete the task successfully, this must be transferred into a direct form which is not necessarily a straight equivalent of that given on the cue card. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

Since in each of the discrete-skill tests more than one skill is involved, whichever language is used for the instructions, the question of authenticity must be considered. While the National Criteria clearly define the means of assessment as being discrete-skill testing these means should also, as far as possible, conform to the notion of authenticity in the topics and settings, and the linguistic content of the materials used in the questions. ⁽⁶¹⁾ This is one of the basic principles of the GCSE and cannot be abandoned when considering the assessment techniques; the assessment of the four skill areas as though they were used *in vacuo* in real life situations does seem to be anomalous and is certainly not setting a good example of authenticity. The Oral examination is worth analysing from this perspective.

(60) The differences between indirect and direct speech forms in English and Urdu may be the cause of additional confusion.

(61) NCF 1985, p5, §6.1.

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In the role-play component of the Oral at Basic Level the candidate is required to act out two roles, contextualised in written English on cue cards. One of the roles does not require the candidate to understand and respond to the words used by the interlocutor. The candidate merely has to 'translate' the instructions into spoken Urdu. The use of English and the use of written instructions has already been commented on; these can clearly be seen to be inauthentic. That the candidate does not have to respond to spoken Urdu makes the role-play even less authentic. Only if the candidate were to deliver a monologue, such as a running commentary, could an assessment of oral skills be authentically conducted without recourse to interaction with an interlocutor. It would be far more authentic to give the instructions to the candidate orally and in the target language. This would obviate the need for written instructions and the use of English. The candidate would have to demonstrate understanding of the instructions; this would create an authentic situation for the assessment of the performance of the task. The role-play is a long established teaching and testing technique in foreign language teaching, but the limitations imposed by a 'phrase-book' approach to language use do not need to be discussed here. Most foreign language candidates for the GCSE have done at least three years of that language prior to entering for the exam; if the Basic Level role-play is the minimum achievement target set after that amount of tuition the sights are in need of readjustment. On the other hand, the format of the role-play does give some measure of standardisation to the linguistic performance of the candidates where the oral is being conducted by a large number of assistant examiners, many of whom are inexperienced at conducting the examination. (62)

The lack of authenticity is equally evident in the Listening Comprehension paper. There are not many authentic situations when one reacts to aural stimuli by responding in writing, especially if the writing is done in a different language. If the stated tasks were those of interpretation or translation, then there would be greater authenticity but these are specifically excluded from the GCSE. The

(62) See Chapter 1, §1.3.1., concerning the expertise of teachers.

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validity of these tasks for community language users is considered in the final chapter of this thesis. The assessment of listening skills in authentic contexts is not easy under the constraints of the existing examination system. Ideally it could be carried out under continuous assessment programmes or the Graded Assessment scheme currently being developed by LEAG/ULSEB. This is discussed in Chapter 7, §7.5.

The whole notion of discrete-skill testing has come in for criticism from teachers of foreign languages as well as community languages. ⁽⁶³⁾ Teachers of community languages felt it was important either to improve existing skill testing techniques drastically, or to move to mixed-skill testing in order to reduce the use of English. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ Although the short term use of the methods devised for French etc. was favoured, 'it was hoped that they too would move in the direction of mixed-or multi-skill testing'. Questions in the informal survey conducted in 1987, before the first GCSE examinations, concerned this issue. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ The question was asked: 'Do you agree with having a set of tests for listening and another for speaking?' 9 out of 18 respondents disagreed, 7 of whom responded positively to the follow up question 'Do you think these skills should be tested together?' These figures are taken from a very small sample but they do indicate the dissatisfaction with discrete-skill testing. If that fact is acknowledged, then practical and authentic alternatives need to be devised. What is beyond doubt is that the constraints of a public examination make the principle of authenticity extremely hard to maintain.

Single-skill tests are relatively easy to design and construct and there is a long history of practice to support them. Multi skill tests are relatively new and untried, but it is of probably greater significance that they are more difficult to construct and assess, and would require more training to administer and evaluate successfully.

(63) See Broadbent *et al* 1983, ch iv, §3 for a discussion on these techniques of assessment,

(64) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, §3.4,

(65) See Table 2.1, pp110-114.

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Resources for community languages are very scarce and there is a dearth of teachers trained in 'modern' techniques. Only if these techniques are adopted by the foreign languages is there much likelihood of their development. Community language teachers need to increase their contact with their colleagues in modern languages in order to open up the discussion on all these issues and exert greater pressure on the examining bodies to adopt more appropriate assessment techniques for all languages. A review of alternative assessment procedures, including graded assessment, is included in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

2.11. THE GCSE ORAL EXAMINATION.

It is in the Speaking and Listening skill areas that the need for a more authentic method of assessment is strongest, and that may be best carried out by some form of assessment which combines the two skills. If authenticity is of higher priority, then it is essential to analyse the situations in which the language is used so that the topics and settings for the examination are based on simulations of real life situations. This matter is discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter.

(66)

A detailed analysis of the existing Oral examination at GCSE is essential if its shortcomings are to be fully understood. There are differences in the tasks prescribed by the boards, but the two tasks common to all of them involve the candidate as transactor in the role-plays and as interviewee in the conversation component. In addition to this MEG includes a Higher Level task involving the candidate as narrator.

At Basic level, the candidate has to perform two role-play tasks which are based on those topics and settings which are deemed appropriate for this level. There are slight differences in the boards prescriptions for the role plays: the simplest LEAG role-play requires

(66) See §2, 13, below.

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the candidate to perform a three response task. The second is a five response task. MEG does not prescribe the number of responses, while both the NEA role-plays contain four responses. The information which contextualises the task and the guidelines to the responses are given to the candidate on a 'cue card', written in English. An example of a three response role-play taken from the LEAG 1988 Oral paper is given below.

LEAG BASIC LEVEL ROLE-PLAY A2.

Your aunt/uncle wants to come and see your school but doesn't know the way. The examiner will play the part of the aunt/uncle.

- 1) Tell your aunt/uncle to take the number 18 bus.
- 2) Tell her/him to get off at the station.
- 3) Say it takes about 20 minutes.

The candidate in this case is meant to respond to the questions of the examiner, who is playing the part of the relative. It can be seen from the responses that there is no need for the candidate to hear and understand the examiner's questions in order to complete the task satisfactorily. In reality, it is a form of translation exercise in which the candidate has to render the written English cues into spoken Urdu. There is no information which the candidate needs to obtain from the examiner, and the examiner merely has to set the scene in Urdu and utter his or her given lines. This information is given in the handbook provided by the board. Only if the candidate fails to give an appropriate or acceptable response may the examiner intervene, by either repeating or rephrasing the question, in order to give the candidate another opportunity to utter a suitable response. While, at the Basic Level, there is no reason to think a simple transactional role-play is, *ipso facto*, an inappropriate task for Urdu for those candidates at the minimal level of competence, the lack of genuine information exchange is one of the main deficiencies of this type of exercise. Criticism of the role-plays by community language teachers has been based on its simplicity and artificiality. <67>

(67) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p20, 95,3,

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Regarding the first point, candidates of any language examination should be able to carry out transactional tasks. Indeed, although most community language candidates have little difficulty, there are instances where some of them have *lacunae* in their linguistic competence, possibly as a result of not having access to regular tuition or practice. The linguistic expertise of foreign language learners can be more easily predicted, because it can justifiably be assumed that they only know what has been taught. It seems that there is no reason, merely on grounds of simplicity, to make drastic changes in the role-play.

The second point, concerning artificiality, is more serious and requires more thorough consideration. If it is an artificial exercise for community language candidates then it can be no less artificial for foreign language candidates. Although the second of the two Basic Level role-plays is longer, there is still no need to respond to what the examiner may say, merely a need to express what is given in written English into spoken Urdu. It is only at the Higher level that an element of unpredictability is introduced. In the Higher Level LEAG paper this is done by requiring the candidate to 'respond to the examiner's next question' in two out of seven responses included in the role-play. It is the opinion of some teachers that this element of open-endedness should be incorporated into the Basic Level role-play and not confined to the Higher Level. This seems to be tinkering with the details of an inherently unsatisfactory format.

The use of English in the Oral has already been discussed when considering the subject of single-skill testing and the use of dual language questions. While the appropriacy of tests involving bilingual skills for community language candidates is irrefutable, if they are to be introduced, then they should be introduced in such a manner as to be both overt tests of those skills, and placed in authentic contexts. They should not form an unstated test within a format which purports to test something completely different; in this case oral skills in one language. Since this is what the GCSE role-plays are intended to test, it is from that perspective that they must be analysed. The use of English is of questionable validity in an oral examination in another language, and the

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use of written English instructions is both inauthentic and a potential barrier to successful communication, especially if the candidates' knowledge of English is poor. While assessing and moderating tape recordings of candidates' role-play performances for the 1988 LEAG Urdu examination, an example was found which illustrates this point. One of the Basic Level role-play 'cue cards' contained the following task:

LEAG BASIC LEVEL ROLE PLAY A3.

- 1) Tell the waiter (examiner) that you want a snack.

The candidate could be heard on the tape saying in a querying tone what sounded like 'snake' and then, after a pause of two or three seconds, responded in Urdu as follows: *mujhe sāṅp čāhiye*. The meaning of the Urdu word *sāṅp* is snake. The candidate had clearly been confusing the two words. The key problem is that of finding a means to give the candidate the information and instructions necessary to complete the task without giving them the actual words. In order to do so it is essential to abandon the pretence that oral skills can be assessed as an isolated, single skill. If role-plays are considered necessary then their format must recognise the integrative nature of listening and speaking skills. Fortunately such formats do exist and these will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis. <ee>

The second component common to papers of all three boards is the conversation. At the Basic Level, the three boards prescribe different methods for its conduct:

LEAG use a questionnaire, to be filled in by the candidate, who indicates three from a given list of topics he or she would like to talk about. During the examination, the examiner initiates a conversation on one of those chosen by the examiner, after which there is a conversation on two other topics of the examiner's choice. The examiner is supplied with suggested questions and notes for each topic.

(68) See Ch 7, §7.2, pp284ff.

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MEG prescribe that the conversation consist of sixteen questions on at least five topic areas. It is also noted that 'This section is not in any way an interrogation and it is hoped a fairly natural conversation will take place.' ⁽⁶⁹⁾

NEA specify 'a general conversation, stimulated by unprepared questions, lasting not less than 3 minutes and not more than 4 minutes, based on topics listed in the syllabus, the topics to be specified at the time of the examination.' ⁽⁷⁰⁾ The examiner's material for the examination contained guidelines for four topics, of which at least 2 should be used.

Of the three boards, only LEAG gives the candidates an opportunity to choose a topic. There is some disparity in the number of topics to be covered: LEAG specify a total of three topics, MEG specify a total of five topics, while NEA specify at least two topics. The feature of the conversation that seems to be most detrimental to the concept of authenticity is found in MEG, where the actual number of questions to be asked is prescribed. This mechanistic approach is presumably dictated by the need to be seen to be fair to all candidates, but it must encourage the conversation to become precisely what the syllabus informs us it is not, i.e. an interrogation. Whether the conversation element of the Oral approximates natural conversation or becomes an interrogation depends less on the prescriptions of the syllabus than on the quality of the examiners used to interlocute with the candidates.

All of the boards specify that the ideal teacher-examiner should be the students own classroom teacher. While this is quite unexceptionable for French etc., where almost every student will have learnt the language in the classroom situation, and almost every teacher will have been trained in at least some of the techniques, neither of these points can be taken for granted in the sphere of community languages. The background of the students of Urdu has already been discussed at length

(69) MEG 1986, p6, (c), (iii).

(70) NEA 1986, p6, 3, (a), (ii).

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in Chapter 1, §1.1. Many of them do not have access to regular tuition and may be unfamiliar with the techniques used. Furthermore those who do have teachers may be inhibited from participating freely in a conversation by the traditional, and often formal, teacher-pupil relationship that can exist. The traditions of discipline and obedience in schools in the subcontinent have been carried over into some of the community-based language teaching initiatives in this country, many of which are based in religious institutions. This attitude may also exist in mainstream schools where the teacher is often a well known member of the local community and may even be known personally by the students and perhaps, and this may be of greater significance, by their parents.

The teachers of community languages will not necessarily have received any training as a language teacher besides the one or two days provided by the examination boards. ⁽⁷¹⁾ It is the role of the teacher-examiner that has been noted by Chief Examiners in their reports on the 1988 examination. The NEA Examiner's report includes the following comments:

'At some centres it was apparent that teacher-examiners were insufficiently prepared for conducting the tests.' ⁽⁷²⁾

'At some centres, teachers had a set list of questions which were put to every candidate. Some of the examiners' over-reliance on the suggested questions tended to hinder the candidates. The result was often rather a stilted and artificial question-and-answer session, instead of a natural spontaneous conversation.'⁽⁷³⁾

These comments exemplify the impression gained by all the Chief Examiners of community languages from assessing and moderating the recorded Orals. Neither LEAG nor MEG have published their Examiners'

(71) For informed discussions on community classes and the need for training for teachers see; Russell 1982, p19ff and Moltano 1986, p6-7, See also Chapter 1, §1.3.1,

(72) NEA Examiner's Report 1988, p5, §1.

(73) *ibid*, p5, §6.

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Reports, but a presentation on the 1988 Urdu Examinations by the Joint Chief Examiners included the following comments:

'Their (the candidates) or their teachers' unfamiliarity with the techniques of conducting oral examinations have created obstacles to their performance which have prevented the candidates from giving of their best.'

'A so called guided conversation which consisted solely of about thirty unconnected questions which were answerable by one sentence or even one word replies. That cannot be called a conversation.'⁽⁷⁴⁾

The experiences of the MEG Chief Examiner have been relayed personally and are very similar to those outlined above by his colleagues. Some of the comments which have not been publicly expressed by any of them have been based on the quality of language used by some teacher-examiners. There were instances in the LEAG orals when the examination was being conducted as much in Panjabi as in Urdu.

2.12. NOTIONS AND FUNCTIONS, TOPICS AND SETTINGS.

The linguistic content of a syllabus is an expression of the exponents of two sets of components: 1) notions and functions, and 2) topics and settings. The first set describe what the learner or user has to do in the language concerned, while the second determine where and about what the first set will be used. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ Notions and functions are not normally language specific; notions of existence, time, quality etc. can be expressed in any language. Functions such as imparting information, expressing emotional or intellectual attitudes and suasion are also able to be conveyed in any language. The principle of multi-lingual teaching initiatives such as the Council of Europe Threshold

(74) Paper given at GCSE Materials Production Workshop, SOAS, July 1988.

(75) Van Ek 1976, p5, §1.1.3, p6, §1.1.4.

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Level base their individual language syllabuses on a common list of these items. (76)

The GCSE examining bodies have included lists of notions and functions from which the linguistic content of the syllabuses are derived. There are only minor and insignificant differences, mainly of wording, in these lists and since, by virtue of being universally applicable concepts, they do not affect the syllabus in terms of appropriateness for community languages there is no need to elaborate on them in this thesis. However, if a systematically compiled vocabulary for Urdu is the goal, the notions and functions are the starting point, for their Urdu exponents represent the general language requirements which will be used in the more language specific topics and settings.

It is the topics and settings of a language syllabus which determine the context of language use. Although they are not inherently language specific, the topics and to a greater extent the settings determine whether the language is used in a 'foreign' or 'community' language context. Since the GCSE Criteria are closely modelled on those prescribed by the National Criteria for French, they naturally reflect the contexts in which French is used by English learners. This is easily demonstrated by the emphasis given to the touristic and semi-formal settings in the syllabus. As much as anything it is this emphasis, which is highly visible in the syllabus, to which Urdu and other community language teachers have raised objections. The reports of several conferences on community languages contain references to the unsatisfactory situation that arises from treating Urdu as a 'foreign' language. The need was felt to consider topic areas carefully. 'For example some French topics were inappropriate, e.g. tourism, yet others were not specifically included in the French syllabuses, e.g. community life topics like community, cultural, social, religious and educational centres, festivals and celebrations.'⁽⁷⁷⁾ it was also strongly argued 'that topics should be language specific, not a general list for all

(76) *ibid*, p4, §0.5.

(77) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p22, §iii.

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languages, and these would be influenced by the cultural dimensions inherent in the requirement for sympathetic interpretation of settings for each language.' (78) The E.C. Pilot Project on community languages in the secondary curriculum reported 'Failure to study the particularities of each language and its associated culture will result in monolingual, ethnocentric objectives and standards being imposed.' (79)

If the concept of authenticity enshrined in the National Criteria is to be applied consistently, then the topics and settings for Urdu should reflect authentic situations in which the language is used in this country. Some teachers have expressed the view that the topics and settings should be language-specific and not a general list applicable to all languages, although there is some virtue in producing a list which would be applicable to all community languages. This could form the basis of a language syllabus, which could then be amended and/or supplemented to suit the particular needs of individual languages. The GCSE examining boards have already acknowledged the need for basing the topics and settings for Urdu and other community languages on the authentic situations in which these languages are used. In April 1988, Chief Examiners and Moderators for GCSE community languages offered by LEAG met to examine the existing syllabuses in order to remove inappropriate topics and settings from the syllabuses and to attempt to devise a common list of appropriate ones. Although restricted to a limited brief of modification, which in the view of some amounted to cosmetic tinkering, the resulting lists are seen to be more acceptable to the communities concerned. Since it is the high profile of topics and settings which have led to their becoming the target of criticism the substitution of relevant and acceptable topics and settings has gone some way to improving not only the image of the syllabuses but also the substance. The syllabus review working party felt that even 'superficial' changes would render the existing syllabuses more acceptable to community language users. These changes have been approved by the Joint Subject Committee and the revised syllabus will be used for examination

(78) *ibid*, p22, §v.

(79) ECPP 1988, p30, §6.4.

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purposes from 1990. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ A few examples of the changes made will illustrate the nature of the exercise.

According to the principle of authenticity, the topics and settings should be those in which Urdu is or can be naturally used. It is clear that a number of the topics classified as Basic in the original list are not those in which an appropriate level of Urdu is used, and suitably authentic scenarios for examining these topics at Basic Level are difficult to contextualise. In addition to these considerations, it was agreed that certain topics were outside the experience of most Basic Level candidates. The three topics reclassified were Accommodation, Tourist Information, Banks and Customs and Road Travel. ⁽⁸¹⁾ The topic area defined by accommodation includes camping and similar activities which are generally inappropriate to the target group: booking accommodation in a hotel is not an activity normally performed by sixteen year olds in an Urdu speaking country. That is not to say that they do not have the necessary linguistic repertoire; rather that this is not an authentic situation in which to use the language. A candidate could be expected to book a room in a community centre for some family function; this would be authentic. It would also require a very similar linguistic repertoire to that required for booking a room in a hotel because the linguistic component of the syllabus is governed more by the notions and functions than the topics and settings. The second topic area to be reclassified was the one covering Tourist Information, Banks and Customs. In this area, the language used for these topics would not normally be considered Basic, neither would these activities be conducted by the target group. The third topic area, Road Travel, is primarily concerned with private means of transport which is again normally outside the direct experience of sixteen year olds. Table 2.2. shows the LEAG Topic Areas and the original and revised classification.

(80) Modifications to GCSE syllabuses of a more fundamental nature were subject to the approval of the School Examinations Council. This body has been superseded by the School Examinations and Assessment Council.

(81) LEAG Syllabus, Revised 1988, p47-54.

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In considering the detailed information relating to each topic area, the criterion applied was the relevance of these details to the experience of candidates. The nature of changes made can be illustrated by considering two of the given topic areas, one from those prescribed as being for Basic Level and one prescribed for Higher Level.

Basic Level Topic 3, Cafes, Restaurants, Food and Drink.

The first step was to examine the likelihood of the given situations being appropriate to the target group; in particular, where and when candidates would use Urdu to order or talk about food. It is in topic areas such as this that the cultural and religious aspects of a language need to be given careful consideration. The majority of Urdu speakers are muslims who observe rituals and taboos associated with food enjoined by Islam. Clearly material in this topic area needs to reflect this, but there is no mention in the existing syllabus of concepts, such as *halāl* and *harām*, *rozā* and *ramzān*, which are essential features of most Urdu speakers daily lives. Since the purpose of the Syllabus Review Committee was to produce a list of topics and settings appropriate to all of the community languages examined by LEAG, it was not necessary to include such details in the revised topic specification. It was agreed that the addition of 'food for special occasions, fasting, and vegetarian and non-vegetarian' would give sufficient indication to teachers of the languages concerned to express the culturally relevant concepts in their own languages. Obviously there are language specific sub-topics, but these can be developed by the language specialists from the headings supplied. Some teachers have demanded language specific syllabuses, but a systematically developed syllabus does not need every element to be so specific as to be inappropriate for any other language; many elements, such as notions and functions, are equally applicable to almost every language.

In addition to the additions discussed above a number of minor deletions and amendments were made; like the others these all have cultural relevance. The first of these was the deletion of the words 'sun/shade' from the Role-play section. The idea that anyone who had to

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choose between eating in the sunshine or in the shade would choose the former seems absurd to anyone who has eaten in the subcontinent. In the same section 'jukebox' was replaced by 'fan', a much more widespread and functional instrument in the context of this topic.

At the Higher Level, Topic specifications do not need to be given in any more detail than those at Basic Level; the primary criteria for differentiation are those of likely experience of a particular topic and the inherent linguistic difficulties likely to be encountered in covering them. An example of a Topic, originally prescribed as Basic, which was revised and transferred to Higher Level is number 7 in the original syllabus and number 15 in the revised, 1990 syllabus.

Higher Topic 15: Banks, Tourist Information, Customs and Immigration.

The main reason for the change of level was that these topics are not normally within the experience of the target group. That is not to say that many of the candidates will not have gone abroad for their holidays, in fact a large proportion of them will have made a journey to India or Pakistan. Rather, it is to accept that in most circumstances adults will have performed tasks relevant to these topics. In the context of South-Asian languages, the principle of authenticity means that the fact cannot be ignored that for most, if not all, of the realistic situations arising from these topics English is as likely to be used as Urdu. When Urdu is used, the register appropriate to the situations specified tends to become excessively formalised, particularly when bureaucratic institutions have to be dealt with.

At a more detailed level, it was accepted that some of the situations derived from these topics are as likely to be carried out in a domestic context. Thus, in the sub-section on Banks, it was necessary to include material relevant to that setting. In the sub-section on Customs the words 'and Immigration' have been added to the original wording. This reflects the reality for many Urdu speakers when they travel to and from the subcontinent. The same reasoning prompted the addition of 'visa' after 'passport' and 'airport' before 'frontier/customs'.

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The third sub-section, on Tourist Information, the obvious deletions were 'camp sites' and 'skis'. It was considered entirely inappropriate that these items should be included in a South-Asian language syllabus. Additions to the list of tourist sights included 'temples' and 'mosques'.

These changes illustrate how apparently superficial modifications can go a long way to improving the acceptability of this area of the syllabus. The LEAG syllabus has been used as an example in this section because, at the time of writing, it is the only one of the relevant bodies which has undertaken a review of its syllabus. ⁽⁸²⁾ The topic areas and settings provided by MEG and NEA differ from the LEAG syllabus only in minor detail and an equivalent exercise could equally easily be conducted on their topics and settings. It needs to be stressed, however, that changes have been made in such a way that interpreting them into the appropriate linguistic content is the task of the classroom teacher. Radical restructuring of a syllabus requires considerable time and resources for research based on a 'needs analysis' of the target group; these resources are not available to minority subjects such as community languages. Such research is necessary if community languages are to fulfill the National Criteria which specify the need for authenticity, relevance and the usefulness outside the classroom. ⁽⁸³⁾ If the topics and settings specified in the syllabus do not fulfill these criteria, and comments made by community language representatives at the SEC/HMI/DES/ conference indicate that it is the topics and settings which are the components of the syllabus in greatest need of change, community language teachers are justified in their claim that the 'parity of status' argument expounded by HMI Wightwick does not stand up. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ How far the examining boards and their supervisory body the SEAC allow each individual community language to devise their own language-specific syllabuses has yet to be tested, but it seems that the most limiting factor will be financial restrictions.

(82) As Chief Examiner for Urdu, I was a member of the Syllabus Review Committee.

(83) NCF 1985, p5, §5.1

(84) cf. Chapter 1, §1.5.

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The E.C. Pilot Project has conducted some research on this issue; their working parties compiled a list of topic areas at three levels. (85) This list, described as 'Community Language Assignments at three levels of competence', was produced as part of a teaching, as opposed to an examination, syllabus but the topics and settings are equally relevant to either, based as they are on authentic situations. It is a straightforward procedure to construct appropriate assessment tasks from within the topic areas. The list is reproduced in Table 2.3, p116.

Assignments are sub-divided into five categories (there are more, as yet incomplete) : Personal Information, Environment, Social Experiences, Media and Communications, and A Visit Abroad. These categories are based on the premise that the language is used mainly in a British, rather than a foreign or touristic, context. Although the headings are different to those in the GCSE syllabuses an examination of the sub-headings reveals that all the most important areas of the GCSE syllabus are covered. Table 2.3 indicates the concordance between the two sets of topics and settings. The GCSE topics and settings have been the focus of more criticism from Urdu teachers than other areas of the syllabus primarily because they are the most highly visible component of the syllabus and seen to be of questionable relevance to the language community concerned. The crucial difference lies in the E.C. Project's rejection of predominantly 'touristic' settings in favour of settings and topics with a clearer relevance to the actual contexts in which community languages are used in specific localities in Britain.

The topics as defined by the E.C. Pilot Project are not as radically different in substance from the GCSE topics as they appear. The difference in layout masks the fact that all the GCSE topics are covered to some extent, but they are defined and presented in such a way that highlights the contexts and situations appropriate to community language use in this country as well as abroad. The same cannot be said for the original topics specified by the GCSE.

(85) The list reproduced in Table 2.3, was prepared by Urdu teachers at the Bordesley Centre, Birmingham.

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The cultural and religious elements of an authentic Urdu syllabus are of central importance to the Urdu speaking community. They can be presented through a wide range of settings, e.g. Food and drink, Holidays, Family and daily routine, etc., but they are nowhere specifically mentioned in any GCSE syllabus. The nearest approach to it is found in the NEA syllabus where, appended to Topic number 15, Language Difficulties, is a list of some 40 words under the heading of 'Religious and Cultural Words'. (86) The rationale of including religious and cultural words such as *namāz*, *sajdā*, *ġazal* and *iftārī* under 'Language Difficulties' is hard to understand; but it is indicative of the artificiality of creating a syllabus for Urdu merely by appending cultural items on the end of a syllabus designed for French.

2.13. CONCLUSION.

This chapter has attempted to show the features of the GCSE syllabuses published for community languages which, because they are designed for languages used in different contexts and for different purposes, have been criticised as being unsuitable for the purposes of examining community languages. The ideal solution would be to devise a completely new syllabus but resource limitations render this highly unlikely. It has also been demonstrated that amendments to existing syllabuses, mainly in the area of topics and settings, can go some way to making them more appropriate for their specified purposes. Despite calls for language-specific syllabuses it seems logical and economically reasonable to have a set of common aims, objectives and assessment techniques while a general list of topics and settings could be produced to which language specific amendments can be made. This would appear to be particularly relevant to certain groups of languages, such as the South-Asian languages, which have much in common, especially in the area of topics and settings. Where language- or culture-specific material is necessary it is not a difficult task to append a list containing this material to a syllabus.

(86) NEA Syllabus 1986, p77.

CHAPTER 2.

As far as assessment techniques are concerned, the greatest problems arise in two areas: conduct of the Oral component of the examination, and the use of English as a means of assessment. At a recent JCLA conference, a colleague reported that a senior Urdu teacher had complained that GCSE Urdu was 60% reliant on English. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ Unfortunately, it appears that he had not realised that one of the Examining Boards' papers had been prepared as a 'dual-language' paper, significantly reducing that reliance, and a second board has received approval to produce similar papers in the future. The Oral examination has problems associated with the use of English but the most serious difficulty, acknowledged by all Chief Examiners, has been the lack of expertise in oral techniques, by both teachers and their students. Chapter 7 considers alternative examination formats and techniques for the Oral and for other components of the examination in some detail, along with a discussion of existing and future examination provision beyond the GCSE.

(87) T.A.S.Khan, personal communication, April 1989.

TABLE GCSE 2.1.
QUESTIONNAIRE ISSUED TO URDU TEACHERS RE. GCSE.
18 Respondents.

QUESTIONNAIRE: URDU AND THE GCSE CRITERIA.

GENERAL.

For questions with YES, NO, NOT SURE, please tick the word you want.

G. 1. 1. Name:

G. 1. 2. Address:

G. 1. 3. Position:

G. 1. 4. Please state any official connection with Examination Boards.

G. 2. 1. Have you had any opportunity to study the G. C. S. E. criteria?

YES 17 NO - NOT SURE 1

G. 3. 1. In general do you find them suitable for Urdu?

YES 5 NO 10 NOT SURE 3

G. 4. 1. Do you agree that skills in listening and speaking are more important than skills in reading and writing?

YES 7 NO 9 NOT SURE 2

G. 4. 2. Do you agree with having a set of tests for listening and another set for speaking?

YES 6 NO 9 NOT SURE 3

G. 4. 3. If NO, do you think that these two skills should be tested together?

YES 7 NO 2 NOT SURE -

G. 4. 4. If NO, do you think that all the skills should be tested through interdependent tasks?

YES 4 NO - NOT SURE 5

G. 5. 1. Do you think that a candidate with a good pass at G. C. S. E. will be as well prepared for 'A' level Urdu as a candidate with a good pass at 'O' level?

YES 7 NO 5 NOT SURE 6

G. 6. Please add any other comments on the criteria in general.

TABLE 2.1.
(Continuation.)

SKILL AREA 1: LISTENING.

1.1.1. In general do you find the criteria for listening for Urdu?

VERY SATISFACTORY	SATISFACTORY	ADEQUATE	UNSATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	VERY UNSATISFACTORY
3	7	6	1	1	1

1.2.1. Do you consider the listening tasks suitable for learners of Urdu?

(Announcements, directions, conversations, etc.)

YES 13 NO 3 NOT SURE 2

1.3.1. Should the questions and instructions in listening tests be given in :

a) English only	YES 1 NO - NOT SURE -
b) Urdu only	YES 4 NO - NOT SURE -
c) Urdu and English	YES 13 NO - NOT SURE -

1.4.1. Should candidates be allowed to answer in:

a) English only	YES 1 NO - NOT SURE -
b) Urdu only	YES 5 NO - NOT SURE -
c) Urdu and English	YES 12 NO - NOT SURE -

1.5.1. Please add any comments on the listening skill criteria.

TABLE 2.1.
(Continuation.)

SKILL AREA 2: SPEAKING.

2.1.1. In general do you find the criteria for speaking for Urdu:

VERY					VERY
SATISFACTORY	SATISFACTORY	ADEQUATE	UNSATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	
3	6	5	2	2	

2.2.1. Do you consider the oral tasks suitable for learners of Urdu?
(Conversation, role play, picture description, etc.)

YES 12 NO 5 NOT SURE 1

2.3.1. Does the format of the spoken part of the G.C.S.E. allow candidates enough room to demonstrate their full range of abilities?

YES 5 NO 6 NOT SURE 8

2.4.1. Do you think the use of cue cards written in English is right for an Oral Exam in Urdu?

YES 5 NO 8 NOT SURE 4

2.4.2. Would it be more appropriate to give candidates such instructions orally, in Urdu, as part of the exam?

YES 12 NO 2 NOT SURE 2

Some teachers have expressed a preference for the oral exam format used in the F.L.I.C. preliminary exams.

2.5.1. Do you have any experience of the F.L.I.C. Exams?

YES 3 NO 13 NOT SURE -

2.5.2. If so, do you find them better than the proposed G.C., S.E. oral exam format?

YES 3 NO - NOT SURE -

2.6.1. Please add any comments on the speaking skill area.

TABLE 2.1.
(Continuation.)

SKILL AREA 3: READING.

3.1.1. In general do you find the criteria for reading in Urdu:

VERY SATISFACTORY 1	SATISFACTORY 5	ADEQUATE 9	UNSATISFACTORY 2	VERY UNSATISFACTORY 1
---------------------------	-------------------	---------------	---------------------	-----------------------------

3.2.1. Do you consider the reading tasks appropriate for learners of Urdu? (Adverts, notices, letters, etc.)

YES 11 NO 3 NOT SURE 3

3.3.1. Should the questions be written in:

a) English only	YES - NO - NOT SURE -
b) Urdu only	YES 8 NO - NOT SURE -
c) Urdu and English	YES 8 NO - NOT SURE -

3.4.1. Should candidates be allowed to answer in:

a) English only	YES - NO - NOT SURE -
b) Urdu only	YES 6 NO - NOT SURE -
c) Urdu and English	YES 10 NO - NOT SURE -

There has been comment on the use of calligraphy and ordinary handwriting in the presentation of reading material in the G.C.S.E.

3.5.1. Do you think students should be expected to read:

at BASIC level-

a) Handwriting	6
b) Calligraphy	7
c) Both	3

3.5.2. at HIGHER level-

a) Handwriting	-
b) Calligraphy	1
c) Both	16

Students of Urdu have to learn to read a different script. The existing criteria do not take into account the extra effort and skill involved.

3.7.1. Do you think this skill should be rewarded?

YES 6 NO 3 NOT SURE 17

3.7.2. If so, should there be added weighting to the marks given in the reading skills exams?

YES 4 NO - NOT SURE 2

3.8. Please add any other comments on the reading skill area.

TABLE 2.1.
(Continuation.)

SKILL AREA 4: WRITING.

4.1.1. In general do you find the criteria for writing for Urdu:

VERY SATISFACTORY	SATISFACTORY	ADEQUATE	UNSATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	VERY UNSATISFACTORY
-	7	7	1		2

4.2.1. Do you consider the writing tasks suitable for learners of Urdu?

(Messages, letters, compositions, etc.)

YES 13 NO 1 NOT SURE 2

Concern has been expressed that the G.C.S.E. will lower literacy standards compared with that demanded at G.C.E. 'O' level.

4.3.1. Do you think that standards of literacy will be reduced?

YES 10 NO 3 NOT SURE 3

In G.C.S.E. exams marks are awarded for completing tasks and conveying meaning. If a candidate is asked to reply to a letter asking when s/he is coming to Lahore, a response such as:

- مے کل لہور جاوگا -

would receive full marks because 'the message has been conveyed despite errors and although requiring an effort of concentration on the part of the native speaker to understand.' N.E.A. Syllabus, p86.

4.4.1. Do you feel that such criteria reflect the Urdu-using community's standards of literacy?

YES 13 NO 2 NOT SURE 1

4.5.1. How would you mark the sentence given above?

0mks 1. 1mk 11. 2mks 4. 3mks -

Students of Urdu have to learn to write a different script. The existing criteria do not take into account the extra effort and skill involved.

4.6.1. Do you think this skill should be rewarded?

YES 10 NO 5 NOT SURE 2

4.6.2. If so, should there be added weighting to the marks given in the writing skills exams?

YES 9 NO - NOT SURE 1

4.7.1. Do you think it is possible for total beginners to succeed in any real writing task after the 'normal' two year course?

YES 6 NO 7 NOT SURE 4

4.8. Please add any other comments on the writing skill area.

TABLE GCSE 2.2.

LEAG TOPICS & SETTINGS FOR GCSE (Showing revisions Basic/Higher)

TOPIC No		TOPIC HEADING.	CLASSIFICATION	
1988	1990		1988	1990
1	1	FINDING ONES WAY	BASIC	BASIC
2	2	SHOPPING	BASIC	BASIC
3	3	CAFES, RESTAURANTS, FOOD & DRINK	BASIC	BASIC
4	13	ROAD TRAVEL	BASIC	HIGHER
5	4	PUBLIC TRANSPORT	BASIC	BASIC
6	14	ACCOMMODATION	BASIC	HIGHER
7	15	TOURIST INFO, BANKS, CUSTOMS/IMMIGRATION	BASIC	HIGHER
8	5	DOMESTIC/PERSONAL SITUATIONS: HOME/ABROAD	BASIC	BASIC
9	6	COMMUNICATIONS	BASIC	BASIC
10	7	HEALTH	HIGHER	BASIC
11	16	LOST PROPERTY, POSSESSIONS	HIGHER	HIGHER
12	8	PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT, TOURIST VISITS	HIGHER	BASIC
13	9	TOWNS, BUILDINGS, HOUSES	HIGHER	BASIC
14	10	FAMILY & DAILY ROUTINE	HIGHER	BASIC
15	11	LEISURE ACTIVITIES, SPORT	HIGHER	BASIC
16	12	SCHOOL	HIGHER	BASIC
17	17	YEARLY ROUTINE, FESTIVALS & HOLIDAYS	HIGHER	HIGHER
18	18	WORK & CAREERS	HIGHER	HIGHER
19	19	PEOPLE	HIGHER	HIGHER
20	20	TOWN & COUNTRY, GEOGRAPHY & CLIMATE	HIGHER	HIGHER
21	21	CRIME & THE LAW	HIGHER	HIGHER
22	22	HISTORY & BIOGRAPHY	HIGHER	HIGHER

SOURCE: LEAG Syllabus: Bengali, Gujarati, Panjabi & Urdu, 1988-89.
LEAG Syllabus: Community Languages, 1990-.

TABLE GCSE 2.3. TOPICS & SETTINGS.
CORRESPONDENCE WITH E. C. PILOT PROJECT ASSIGNMENTS.

E. C. PILOT PROJECT TOPICS. LEAG GCSE TOPIC NUMBER, 1990 SYLLABUS.

1. PERSONAL INFORMATION.

Names.	5, 10, 14, 19.
Preferences.	2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20.
Health.	5, 7, 17.
Family.	5, 10, 17, 19, 22.
Possessions.	2, 5, 10, 21.
Routines.	10, 17.
Characteristics.	10, 19.

2. ENVIRONMENT.

Educational.	12, 17, 18, 22.
Home.	1, 5, 9, 10, 17.
Climate.	5, 7, 11, 17, 20.
Food.	2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 17.
Clothing.	2, 5, 10, 11, 17, 20.
Urban and rural locations.	1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 17, 20.
Migration.	4, 5, 9, 20, 22.

3. SOCIAL EXPERIENCES.

Visitors.	3, 5, 9, 10, 17, 19.
Meals.	2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 17.
Celebrations.	2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 17, 22.
Outings.	3, 4, 8, 11, 15, 17, 20.
Work.	1, 4, 6, 10, 18.
News.	6, 12, 22.

4. MEDIA & COMMUNICATION.

World languages.	6, 12, 15.
Telephone calls.	5, 6, 8, 10.
Press.	6, 8, 14, 18.
Radio, film and T.V.	6, 8, 10, 11.
Advertising.	2, 3, 6, 8, 11, 18.
Storytelling.	5, 6, 11, 17, 22.
Songs and poems.	5, 6, 11, 12, 17, 22.
Urdu Literature.	8, 11, 12, 22.

5. A VISIT ABROAD.

Destination	4, 15.
Preparations.	2, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17.
Money Matters.	2, 6, 15, 21.
Transport.	4, 13.
Shopping.	2.
Food and drink.	3, 7.
Illness and accidents.	3, 7.
Lost property.	16, 21.

SOURCES: E. C. Pilot Project: Community Languages in the Secondary Curriculum, University of London Institute of Education, 1987.

LEAG Community Languages Syllabus, Revised for 1990 Examination, London and East Anglian Group for GCSE, 1988.

CHAPTER 3.
COMPILATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE GCE CORPUS.

3.0. INTRODUCTION.

The changeover from GCE 'O' Level to the GCSE has prompted much debate from Urdu teachers and examiners concerning the linguistic requirements of the new examination and the appropriateness of examining Urdu according to criteria developed for French. In order to obtain some information concerning the students' performance it was necessary to collect and analyse a corpus of work from the relevant target group. This chapter describes the choice of material which made up the corpus, the means of collection and methodology adopted for its analysis, Section 3.1., and includes statistical information regarding entries, grades, the relationship between grade achievement, age and sex, Section 3.2.. Section 3.3. contains a commentary on the candidates' choice of composition and the possible relationship between that choice and grade achievement. The final section, 3.4., describes the methodology used for the recording and compilation of the items used for the analysis.

The corpus collected for this purpose was drawn from compositions submitted as part of the University of London Schools Examination Board, ULSEB, GCE 'O' Level examination held in May 1987. (1) The corpus was used to analyse three main topics of interest which are relevant to the concerns of Urdu teachers: verbs, errors and the use of English words. It had been my original intention to analyse all the lexical items in the corpus but exigencies of resources necessitated limiting the lexical analysis to verbs. This includes verb forms, tenses and a comparison with the verbal components of the prescribed GCSE vocabulary lists, which are the subject of Chapter 4. The analysis of errors, contained in Chapter 5, has a twofold purpose: firstly, to determine them quantitatively and categorise them, and secondly, to ascribe their likely causes and relate them to the assessment criteria for the GCSE. The use of English words in Urdu raises issues particularly relevant to examining Urdu in a British context which are discussed in Chapter 6.

(1) Scripts were made available through the cooperation of the ULSEB Research Dept,

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Since the emphasis of the thesis is on examining Urdu it should not be necessary to spend too much time justifying the selection of corpus material. The normal practice of linguists is to analyse language produced under as natural conditions as possible and to use material produced under examination conditions may well contradict this principle. Nevertheless it seems appropriate to compare material designed to specify language to be used in examinations with material drawn from examinations.

It is a generally accepted assertion of linguists that language is primarily oral and that written language is mainly, although not exclusively, a codified form of the spoken language. This is the theory proposed by Bloomfield ^{<2>} in 1933 and spoken language has been the source of material analysed in most studies since that time. This focus on spoken language has encouraged the tendency for written language to be considered as a by-product, as it were, of the spoken forms. The dominance of oral language is reinforced by the leading figure of transformational grammar, Chomsky, who asserts that 'Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener...'. ^{<3>} Commenting on this Van Els identifies a number of abstractions in Chomsky's theory which include 'an abstraction away from the distinction between oral and written language behaviour is made.' He goes on to specify four characteristics which distinguish them:

1) that oral behaviour involves direct verbal interaction while in written language there is often considerable distance in time and space between reader and writer.

2) that the method of formulating and producing written language allows for a greater degree of self-correction.

3) Linguistic and paralinguistic conventions are different for speech and writing.

4) That oral skills are mastered before written skills in most cases. ^{<4>}

(2) Bloomfield, quoted in Stubbs 1980, p24,

(3) Chomsky, in Van Els 1984, p20,

(4) Van Els *et al* 1984, p20.

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Stubbs also presents a cogent argument for writing to be considered as more than merely being a graphic representation of oral language. He bases this argument on the premise that writing is used for purposes where spoken communication is either impossible or inappropriate, e.g. where there is a need to communicate over time or distance or producing material to be available to a number of people simultaneously. ⁽⁵⁾

In addition to these general and theoretical arguments there are, in the case of Urdu, certain language specific factors which place a premium on the acquisition of the written language. These have been discussed at some length in the chapter on teachers and candidates (Ch 1) but, in brief, they relate to the cultural identification of the particular community with Urdu, the rôle of Urdu and the status of literacy within that community and the purposes of learners of the language. It is for these reasons rather than any others that written language was chosen as the basis for compiling a corpus for analysis.

3.1. THE CORPUS.

The corpus which was used as a basis for this investigation of verbs was drawn from scripts submitted for the 1987 GCE 'O' Level examination; since the purpose of the research is to consider aspects of language use in the context of examinations it was considered entirely appropriate to use material generated in an examination for that purpose. The GCE 'O' Level examination was offered only by the University of London Schools Examination Board. This meant that it was taken by candidates from all over the British Isles as well as by a number of overseas candidates. This enabled me to have access to a wide geographical spread of informants. The figures are displayed in Table 3.1. 'O' Level results are published in the form of Grades 'A' to 'E' with a further grade, 'Unclassified', below grade 'E'. A summary of the results is given in Table 3.2.

(5) Stubbs 1980, pp29-32,

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It can be argued that the 'O' Level, designed to cater for the more able students, does not itself represent an appropriate vehicle for researching into the written performance of the 'average' student. That the CSE was designed to cater for a wider ability range is demonstrated by the official equivalence of Grade 1 CSE with Grade 'C' at GCE. In the light of the GCE 'O' Level being superseded by the GCSE in 1988 the relationship between the examinations has been publicly stated by the relevant examining bodies and the Secondary Examinations Council. Grade 'A' at GCE should be equivalent to Grade 'A' at GCSE. The standard of written language achieved by candidates awarded grades 'A' and 'B' is high and it was felt that to analyse the language of those candidates would not give a representative picture of the linguistic abilities of the average student. Grade 'C', however, can be considered to represent the average candidate both in terms of the marks awarded and in its equivalence with the old CSE and the GCSE. Had the GCSE examination started earlier than 1988 it would have been possible to compile the corpus from that source. The CSE too was a potential source of material but there were problems in gaining access to the papers, in the uneven distribution of provision and in the variability of the papers produced by the different boards. Some CSE papers were taken on a 'Mode 2' basis, taken by a localised group of schools, while others were conducted on a 'Mode 3' basis, taken by a single school. Thus it represented a considerable saving of time and travel to be able to gain access to the GCE papers from one place.

Besides administrative advantages the nature of the written language is also an important factor. The written language produced by students is largely determined by the nature of the tasks prescribed. In the CSE the writing tasks are limited in scope primarily by the close definition of the tasks. Written or pictorial stimuli are given such as a letter to which the candidate must reply. Points which must be included are also given which limits even more the range of language available for use by the candidate. In the GCE, besides translation tasks which are likewise ruled out of contention on the grounds of too close a prescription of linguistic content, the candidates are required to write a composition of about 170 words on one of three given topics. Although

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it can not be called totally free composition, i.e. unrestricted in topic or range, the candidate is free to write what he or she likes on the topic or title. By collecting samples from each of the three topics a fairly wide range of linguistic material should be available which would be considerably wider than that provided from the other potential sources.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF STATISTICS RELATING TO THE EXAMINATION.

Having selected the source of the materials it proved necessary to examine it in more detail. It would have been possible, in theory, to have used every composition submitted but this would have taken more time and other resources than were available. I also considered it inappropriate to use the material from the highest and lowest grades. The objective of my research was the linguistic range of the average candidate and for this purpose the compositions submitted by the grade C candidates seemed the most suitable. Other reasons have been outlined in Section 3.1. above. In addition to this there are statistical factors which support the choice of the grade C material. Both mean and median marks fall within the C grade boundaries. In proportional terms too the C grade falls approximately in the middle, with 39.9% of the candidates achieving grades above C and 43.7% achieving grades below C. (See Table 3.2.)

There were three other factors which needed to be considered. The first was the inclusion or exclusion of the scripts submitted by overseas candidates. The overseas entry was 326 or 17.9% of the total. Of these over 300 were from centres in Pakistan. It could be argued that in socio-economic terms the candidature differs significantly besides the differences in exposure to and experience of Urdu. These candidates are almost exclusively from private fee-paying schools with a consistently high achievement record. Thus although the scripts might be useful for purposes of comparison it was felt that the language used would be likely to differ significantly from that of the 'home' candidates who are

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almost all from state schools. It was therefore decided to exclude the scripts of all the overseas candidates from this analysis.

The second factor is age. One of the stated aims of the GCSE examination is that it is intended to cater for the average sixteen year old. My interest lay in attempting to ascertain information relating to the performance of that particular age group. Accordingly some time was spent in analysing the entry statistics of the GCE examination. The results are given in Tables 3.3. and 3.4. I was able only to obtain the ages of those candidates who had entered for the examination directly through ULSEB. Other candidates' entries had been made to ULSEB through one of the other examining bodies. It was only possible to determine the age (at the time of the examination) of 1185 out of 1491 'Home' candidates. By looking at the achievements of different age groups of candidates some interesting features emerged which were not apparent when analysing the overall figures. It can be seen from these figures that over 70% of the candidates fall into the 15 to 17 year old age range, (a). If this range is extended to include all candidates up to and including 18 year olds, (b), which includes (a), the figure is nearly 85%. The youngest entrant was 12 at the time of the examination. Just over 15% of the candidates were aged 19 or over, (c). It is this latter group which has created statistical problems.

It is not altogether unpredictable to find that the grades achieved by this age group were better than those achieved by the other age groups. Whereas the grade 'A' pass rate for the '15-17', (a), and the 'up to 18', (b), age groups was 9.01% and 9.97% respectively the rate for the '19+', (c), group was over double that figure at 24.91%. It seemed appropriate to consider this group as a mature entry not representative of the school age population. The language used by some members of this group would not be expected let alone demanded at this level. In certain of the compositions submitted it was made clear that the writer was an adult who had spent most of their life and received their education in Pakistan. The oldest entrant was 52. In the overall figures for the '15-17', (a), and the 'up to 18', (b), age groups there were only minor differences the greatest being exhibited at the 'A'

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grade.(9.01% to 9.97%.) Because the figures for these two groups were so similar and because it seemed logical to consider all of the candidates up to and including 18 as school students I decided to exclude the over 19s from the corpus and use the remaining 'C' grade papers which numbered 170.

Although for the purposes of my research I was not originally intending to investigate any possible differences in grades due to sex I wanted to ensure that the sample of scripts selected were representative in respect of this factor. The ratio of females to males is roughly 3:2 for the 'up to 18' age group although at the '15-17' age group this ratio becomes somewhat closer to 2:1. When the proportion of males and females of all age groups achieving grades 'A', 'B' and 'C' are looked at the figures for females are about 5% better than for males and this difference is maintained in the figures for the '15-17' and the 'up to 18' age groups. It is only in the '19+' age group that the males do better although the performance of the '19+' females is also better than for the younger age groups of both sexes.

When the individual grades are examined it can be seen that at grades 'B' and 'C' females in the two younger age groups have achieved better grades than males while at grade A the males have done slightly better: by approximately 1.5% for the '15-17' age group and 0.34% for the 'up to 18' age group. At the '19+' age group shows that males have done better than females at grades 'A', 'B' and 'C', with the greatest difference being exhibited at grade 'C', (6.15%). The results are summarised in Tables 3.5. and 3.6., while Table 3.7. shows the figures relating to the age and sex of the whole 'home' entry. If it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions then it is safe to state that while females outperform males in the two younger age groups at grades 'B' and 'C' and for the combined 'A'+ 'B'+ 'C' rate males have done slightly better at grade 'A'. In contrast to this, males in the '19+' age group have achieved better results at all grades. These findings reinforce my decision to exclude the '19+' age group on the grounds of being unrepresentative of the entry as a whole. The 'C' grade sample selected consists of 170 scripts with 107 females and 63 . males.

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3.3. CANDIDATES' CHOICE OF COMPOSITION.

Before embarking on analysis of the verbs and other features of the corpus I conducted some research into the choice of essay titles by candidates. Since these compositions form the corpus on which the main body of my research has been conducted it seemed necessary to give some consideration to the nature of the choice available to students and to see if there are any features with respect to that choice that might have any bearing on the research. The first step was to look through all the available scripts. The total 'home' entry was 1491. This figure includes 'non standard' centres and is therefore larger than that used for the total figure used for calculating the grade statistics. The sex of the candidates from the non standard centres had to be determined from internal textual evidence, usually the presence of first person singular verb suffixes, e.g. *kart-ī*. In some cases it was not possible to determine the gender and in some of the scripts in grades E and U no essay had been offered. In addition to this a number of scripts had been extracted by the examining board for their own research purposes. This left a total of 1436 scripts for which both sex and essay choice could be determined. The results are summarised in Tables 3.8. and 3.9.

Table 3.8. shows the actual numbers of candidates at each grade choosing title (a), (b) or (c). Table 3.9. gives the figures as percentages of the male or female candidates at each grade. The topics or titles were as follows:

- (a) Should there be separate schools for British Muslims?
- (b) A plane journey.
- (c) The things I expect from a friend.

It is possible to make some tentative suggestions concerning the likely choice by simply looking at these titles. Title (a) should give the more able candidates the opportunity to demonstrate more advanced linguistic skills including setting out an argument, the presentation of the pros and cons of the issue and coming to a considered conclusion. There is also the chance to use a more abstract and specialised

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vocabulary. The acquisition of the metalinguistic skills may have some relation to the candidates' performance in English. These skills are transferable and the positive correlation between linguistic competence and bilingualism is now generally acknowledged. (6) In terms of linguistic requirements Title (b) would seem to offer the simplest choice. One would expect a straight forward past tense narrative describing a personal experience. Title (c) is not quite so easy to classify. In grammatical terms one would predict a greater use of the subjunctive and a tendency towards an abstract vocabulary covering personal relationships and qualities would also seem likely. One could therefore predict that a preponderance of Title (a) choices would appear in the higher grades and that Title (c) requiring certain relatively advanced linguistic features might also be preferred by the more able candidates although the subject matter, as opposed to the linguistic requirements, is fairly attractive, possibly more so for females rather than males. Title (b) seems, on the face of it, to be the most obvious choice for the average candidate although the fact that many of the candidates irrespective of ability are likely to have made a plane journey, probably to the subcontinent, makes it seem to be a suitable choice for candidates throughout the ability range.

When the figures are analysed it can be seen that in overall terms the most popular choice throughout the grade range was Title (b). It is particularly noticeable that at grade 'A' Title (a) is almost twice as popular as Title (c) while at grade 'U' this ratio is nearly reversed. Overall the popularity of Titles (a) and (c) are nearly equal. As predicted above Title (b) was the most popular choice with nearly one half of all candidates offering this title. Title (a) proved more popular with those who gained the best grades while at the lower grades Title (c) which increased in popularity in line with decreasing grades. Attaching any significance to these statistics is less straightforward although the prediction that there is more likelihood of the more able candidates choosing Title (a) does seem borne out by the actual figures. It is possible that by choosing this title which did provide the

(6) See Dodson 1985, Krashen 1982 and Chapter 1 §1,2.

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opportunity to demonstrate higher order language skills the candidates were able to achieve higher scores than they might otherwise have attained. At the lowest grades one could propose that candidates who chose Title (c) were those of lower ability but it is possible that they thought it an easier option than the others or that they were of 'average' ability and found that it wasn't as easy as they had supposed.

When the sex factor is introduced some marked discrepancies appear, particularly in Titles (b) and (c). Title (b) exhibits the greatest differences between males and females at grade 'A', 41.0% female to 56.4% male, a difference of over 15%, whereas the overall difference is 6.6% in favour of males. These figures are expressed as percentages of the total female or male candidates at each grade. For Title (c) the most marked difference is at grade 'D' where over twice as many females selected this option. The difference is 18.8% in favour of females. (34.7%:15.9%). Although Title (a) shows one major difference at grade 'D' it is overall more stable throughout the grade range. It must be noted that grade 'D' is by far the smallest grade and thus the figures relating to that grade should perhaps be regarded with more caution than the other grades. Rather than looking at the individual grades in too much detail it is safer to comment on more general tendencies. Title (a) was chosen by more females than males at the higher grades whereas at the lower grades this tendency is reversed to the extent that in overall percentage terms more males than females offered this option. Title (b) was the most popular option for both males and females. Only at grade 'U' did the percentage of any other option prove more popular, where more females chose Title (c) than (b). Of those who did not choose Title (b), in overall terms more females preferred Title (a) while males tended to prefer Title (a) except at grade 'A'.

As a supplement to this research and paralleling the research described above on grades I decided to examine the essay choices both by age and sex. As has already been described above for the purposes of compiling a corpus I decided to exclude the 19+ age group. For the purposes of seeking for any possible relationship between either age or

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sex and choice of essay the grade 'A' and 'C' grade candidates were analysed in respect of these two factors. The results in actual and percentage figures are given in Tables 3.8. and 3.9. A number of large discrepancies immediately arise, especially among the females. At grade A the figures demonstrate a bias among the '19+' females towards Title (a) compared with the 'up to 18' figure and a bias away from Title (b). In these cases it must be noted that although the bias is large in percentage terms the actual figures for the '19+' group are very small and do not influence the combined percentage figures to any great extent. At grade 'C', however, although the figures are small, the percentage differences between the two age groups are enough to swing the combined figures both in relation to grade and sex. The figures demonstrate a large bias of the '19+' age group away from (b) and towards (a), whereas the bias for '19+' males is negative in respect of (c). The large positive bias towards (c) by the '19+' females affects the combined sex and combined age figures enough to change the order of preference from (b) (a) (c) to (b) (c) (a).

When the grades are combined the positive bias exhibited by the older females in respect of (c) has a noticeable effect on the grade 'A'+ 'C' figure. As has been previously stated some of the actual figures for the '19+' age group are very small in real terms so it is inappropriate to draw more than tentative inferences from them. It is possible to state that the figures indicate that the choice of Title may be influenced by age and in some choices this difference is enough to alter the overall order of preference at that grade. This difference is large enough only among the females but it is large enough to affect the order of preference of the combined 'M+F' group. Thus it seems probable that the differing preferences of the older females are distorting the overall order of preference. These results give added weight to the decision to exclude the '19+' age group from the corpus.

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3.4. METHODOLOGY OF CORPUS ANALYSIS.

Each of the 170 selected compositions was numbered and allocated a record card. At the top of each card the sex, age, grade and choice of composition was noted. Below this was recorded the length of the composition, the number of verbal expressions, the number of lexical items contained in the verbal expressions and the number of different verbs used. Every verbal item contained in the composition was copied on to the card in the form which appeared in the composition. When all the verbal items had been recorded the infinitive forms of all the verbs present were listed on the right hand margin of the card. On the left hand margin of the card was a list containing all the possible tense and non-finite verbal forms, against which their occurrences in the composition were recorded. At the bottom of the card occurrences of intensive, phrasal, modal and auxiliary verbs were recorded along with English words. An example of the record card used is given at the end of the chapter.

Once a card had been completed the information was transferred to a number of separate cards. The first set recorded each verbal occurrence in alphabetical order by verb. The second set recorded the tense or non-finite verbal form and the third set recorded the occurrences by verb type, namely, intensive, phrasal, modal or auxiliary. English words were listed separately. The occurrences were then totalled and recorded for each composition and transferred to a record book. When all the compositions had been analysed the cumulative totals were calculated and recorded.

The next stage was to analyse the verbs recorded. This involved adding up the number of occurrences of each verb and compiling a rank order table. It was then possible to calculate the occurrences of verbs which have different functions, such as *jānā*, which can function as a main verb, an intensifying verb and as a passive marker. A separate record was compiled containing phrasal verbs showing the combinations of nominal and adjectival components with different verbs. Once a complete list of verbs had been produced it was then possible to compare them

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for frequency with a previous frequency count conducted by Barker. (7) This is covered in Chapter 4, Section 4.6. Comparisons were also made with the prescribed vocabulary lists issued by the GCSE examination boards. This is covered in Chapter 4, Section 4.7.

The procedure adopted for the recording of errors was slightly different from that adopted for the other items. Each composition was re-examined and a list of errors in them was recorded. The number of errors was recorded on the original record card in a form which showed the total errors and the number of different errors. Thus for a composition containing a total of 32 errors of which 21 were not repeated the error record would be 21/32. These errors were then classified according to one of seven categories of error. The full analysis of these errors is contained in Chapter 5.

The analysis of English words was straightforward. Since each card contained a record of the English words used they could be extracted and recorded separately. This list then formed a basis for comparison with those extracted from Barker's frequency count and the GCSE vocabulary lists. This forms the substance of Chapter 6.

As already noted the corpus was used to analyse three particular aspects of the candidates' linguistic performance. There are a variety of other analyses which could be performed on the corpus, of which the most obvious would be conducting a frequency count of all the lexical items. This would provide a database for the compilation of a vocabulary list appropriate for the GCSE examination. It should also provide the means to conduct research on such features as sentence length, the use of cohesive devices or relative clauses.

(7) Barker *et al.*, 1969. This is the only major frequency count undertaken on Urdu,

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RECORD CARD USED FOR COMPILING INFORMATION ON VERBS.

WORDS	VERB EXPS	V. L. I	VERBS	ERRORS	TENSES	DETAILS	NUMBER
170	39	63	19	21/32	8/44	M/16/C/b	028
TENSE: VERBAL EXPRESSIONS: 39 VERBAL LEXICAL ITEMS: 63							
I	5	آ گیا ہے - لینڈ نے لگے ہیں - دیکھا - نظر آیا - گیا ہے - اچھا لگا - ملا - لگا - دیکھنے لگا - دیکھا - دکھائی نہیں جاتی تھیں - جانے لگا - کپا -					
IP	1	باندھی - اڑنے لگا - پہنچا - دیکھا - لگتے تھے - دکھائی نہیں جاتے تھے -					
PC	0	گیا - دیکھا - تھا سوچ نہیں سکتا تھا - ہوتا ہے - گیا - لگا - بیٹھے گیا -					
IMP	2	جاؤں گا - ہوں - اٹھا یا - ناافتہ کیا - پہنے - پہنچ گئے - جانے ہوا - دوڑ کر -					
PAC	0	گیا ہوں - ہوا -					
S	2						
F	1	DIFFERENT VERBS: 19					
SP	26						
FP	0	دوڑنا - سوچنا - سکنا - لگنا - لینڈنا - ملنا - ناافتہ کرنا - کہنا - ہونا -					
PP	4	نظر آنا - باندھنا - بیٹھنا - پہنچنا - پہننا - جانا - دکھانا - دیکھنا -					
PLU	0	اٹھا نا - اڑنا - آنا					
IP	0						
PEP	0	ENGLISH WORDS: 2					
ICP	1						
IM	0	اثر پورٹ - لینڈ نا -					
AG	0						
PAS	2	VERB TYPES:					
INTENSIVE: 3 PHRASE: 2 MODAL: 5 AUXILIARY: 8							

KEY TO CARD: I=INFINITIVE. P=PRESENT. PC=PRESENT CONTINUOUS. IMP=IMPERFECT. PAC=PAST CONTINUOUS. S=SUBJUNCTIVE. F=FUTURE. SP+SIMPLE PAST. FP=FUTURE PERFECT. PP=PAST PERFECT. PLU=PLUPERFECT. IP=IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE. PEP=PERFECT PARTICIPLE. CP=CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE. IM=IMPERATIVE. AG=AGENTIVE PARTICLE. PAS=PASSIVE.

TABLES 3.1 & 3.2.
STATISTICS RELATING TO GCE 'O' LEVEL EXAMINATION 1987.

TABLE 3.1: ENTRY STATISTICS.

TOTAL ENTRY:	1817
OVERSEAS ENTRY:	326
TOTAL HOME ENTRY:	1491
'STANDARD CENTRES':	1190
'NON STANDARD' CENTRES:	301

TABLE 3.2: GRADES OF HOME ENTRIES.

GRADES	STANDARD	NON STANDARD	ALL HOME	%
A	145	28	173	11.6
B	331	91	422	28.3
C	201	44	245	16.4
D	113	33	146	9.8
E	195	45	240	16.1
U	205	60	265	17.8

A, B & C as a % of entry: $840/1491 = 56.3\%$.

HIGHEST MARK 87

LOWEST MARK 0

MEAN MARK 48

MEDIAN MARK 49

NOTE: Non-Standard Centres include entries from institutions other than schools and from private candidates.

SOURCE: ULSEB STATISTICS, 1987.

TABLES 3.3 & 3.4.
GCE 'O' LEVEL STATISTICS.

TABLE 3.3: GRADES BY AGE GROUP: ACTUAL ENTRIES (1185)

GRADE	AGE GROUP			
	(a) 15-17	(b) 18&-	(c) 19+	(d)=b+c
A	75	100	45	145
B	228	276	55	331
C	147	170	29	199
A, B & C	450	546	129	675

TABLE 3.4: Grades by age group: AS A PERCENTAGE.

GRADE	AGE GROUP			
	(a) 15-17	(b) 18 &-	(c) 19+	(d)=b+c
A	9.01	9.97	24.72	12.24
B	27.40	27.52	30.22	27.93
C	17.67	16.95	15.93	16.79
A, B & C	54.08	54.44	70.88	56.96

NOTE: Age group a) is from 15 to 17.
 " " b) is up to and including 18.
 (a) is subsumed within this figure.)
 " " c) is 19 and over.
 " " d) is total of b) and c).

TABLES 3.5, 3.6, 3.7.
GCE 'O' LEVEL STATISTICS RELATING TO AGE & SEX OF CANDIDATES.

TABLE 3.5: GRADE ACHIEVEMENTS BY AGE AND SEX: ACTUAL FIGURES.

1185 ENTRIES.

GRADE	sex	AGE GROUP			
		a) 15-17	b) 18-	c) 19+	d)=b+c
A	M	32	42	19	61
	F	43	58	26	84
	M+F	75	100	45	145
B	M	81	103	27	130
	F	147	173	28	201
	M+F	228	276	55	331
C	M	49	63	16	79
	F	98	107	13	120
	M+F	147	170	29	199
A, B & C	M	162	208	62	270
	F	288	338	67	405
	M+F	450	546	129	675

TABLE 3.6: GRADE ACHIEVEMENTS BY AGE AND SEX: PERCENTAGES.
 Expressed as a percentage of males and females in each age group.

GRADE	sex	AGE GROUP			
		a) 15-17	b) 18-	c) 19+	d)=b+c
A	M	9.91	10.16	22.89	12.30
	F	8.44	9.83	26.26	12.19
	M+F	9.01	9.97	24.72	12.24
B	M	25.08	24.94	32.53	26.20
	F	28.88	29.32	28.28	29.17
	M+F	27.40	27.52	30.22	27.93
C	M	15.17	14.77	19.28	15.52
	F	19.25	18.47	13.13	17.71
	M+F	17.67	16.95	15.93	16.79
A, B & C	M	50.15	49.88	74.70	54.03
	F	56.58	57.63	67.68	59.07
	M+F	54.08	54.44	70.88	56.96

TABLE 3.7: ENTRIES BY AGE GROUP AND SEX.

sex	AGE GROUP			
	a) 15-17	b) 18-	c) 19+	d)=b+c
M	323	413	83	496
F	509	590	99	689
M+F	832	1003	182	1185

NOTE: Age Group b) includes a). d) is the total of b)+ c).

SOURCE: ULSEB, 1987.

TABLES 3.8 & 3.9.
STATISTICS RELATING TO CANDIDATES' CHOICE OF ESSAY.

TABLE 3.8: ESSAY CHOICE. (Actual figures.)

TOTAL ENTRY: 1436. *

ESSAY CHOICE.												
	(a)			(b)			(c)			(a)+(b)+(c)		
GRADE/SEX	F	M	F+M	F	M	F+M	F	M	F+M	F	M	F+M
A	34	25	59	39	44	83	22	9	31	95	78	173
B	50	47	97	124	95	219	70	34	104	244	176	420
C	39	25	64	56	56	112	44	18	62	139	99	238
D	11	21	32	36	32	68	25	10	35	72	63	135
E	24	25	49	62	43	105	50	29	79	136	97	233
U	23	28	51	54	45	99	63	24	87	140	97	237
ALL GRADES	181	171	352	371	315	686	274	124	398	826	610	1436

TABLE 3.9: ESSAY CHOICE. (%age of F & M candidates at each grade.)

ESSAY CHOICE										
	(a)			(b)			(c)			
GRADE/SEX	F	M	F+M	F	M	F+M	F	M	F+M	
A	35.8	32.0	34.1	41.0	56.4	48.0	23.2	11.6	17.9	
B	20.5	26.7	23.1	50.8	54.0	52.1	28.7	19.3	24.8	
C	28.1	25.3	26.8	40.3	56.6	47.1	31.6	18.1	26.1	
D	15.3	33.3	23.7	50.0	50.8	50.4	34.7	15.9	25.9	
E	17.6	25.8	21.0	45.6	44.3	45.1	36.8	29.9	33.9	
U	16.4	28.9	21.5	38.6	46.4	41.8	45.0	24.7	36.7	
ALL GRADES	21.9	28.0	24.5	44.9	51.6	47.8	33.2	20.4	27.7	

* NOTE: Total home entry was 1491. Only 1436 scripts could be analysed for both gender and essay choice. Some genders were not determinable either by name or from internal evidence. Some lower grade candidates did not offer any essay while others were inaccessible through having been withdrawn by the board from the script files.

SOURCE: ULSEB GCE 'O' LEVEL URDU, MAY 1987.

CHAPTER 4.
VERBS IN THE GCE CORPUS.

4.0. INTRODUCTION.

The decision to concentrate on an analysis of verbs and verbal forms in this research project was made for a variety of reasons. Having compiled a corpus of over 34,000 words, my original intention was to use it to conduct a frequency analysis on the lines of that compiled by Barker in his 'An Urdu Newspaper Word Count'.⁽¹⁾ Some time was spent investigating the possibility of using a computer and specially designed software to facilitate this task, but unfortunately the requisite software did not become available in time. It would also have been necessary to transcribe all the text into a special computer readable form which would have taken up several hundred hours of valuable time. Being obliged to restrict my analysis of the corpus it was then necessary to decide what elements of the language were likely to provide the most information. The verb is generally considered to be the element of a sentence which influences the choice and extent of other elements. The range of morphological contrasts which a verb can display include tense, aspect, voice, mood, person and number. The combination of lexical verbs with primary and modal auxiliary verbs, making use of the range of contrasts detailed above, allow the writer to express him or herself with a degree of precision determined by the appropriate choice of verbal forms. In Urdu certain verbs are commonly used with nouns and adjectives to form phrasal verbs so that any analysis of Urdu verbs necessarily includes a significant quantity of grammatically non-verbal lexical items. The complementation of verbs with other sentence elements is another feature which is directly analysable from a corpus of verbal occurrences. For all these reasons the verb can be considered the most important feature of sentence structure and there is much potentially useful information to be gained from paying special attention to it.

Before beginning to describe the types of verb found in the GCE corpus it is necessary to discuss some features of Urdu grammar and terminology with special reference to verbs so that an appropriate

(1) Barker 1969.

terminology can be used to describe the collected material accurately and unambiguously. The next section, §4.1., will cover these points.

4.1. GRAMMAR AND TERMINOLOGY.

In attempting to describe and discuss verbs and verbal usage in Urdu, the problem of terminology is an unavoidable one. Historically, Urdu has been a focus of attention of three discrete grammatical traditions, which reflects its developmental history. The origins of Urdu and its relationship to Hindi are well documented. ⁽²⁾ It is generally accepted that in purely linguistic terms Hindi and Urdu are identical, and the term 'Hindi/Urdu' is frequently found in modern works on linguistics, e.g. Pray (1971). The Hindi grammatical tradition is based closely on Sanskrit, from which Hindi is derived. There is a comprehensive corpus of treatises and manuals on Hindi grammar, with a refined and precise terminology which is naturally suited to the structure of the language. The grammatical approach used by the Urdu grammarians has been adapted from that devised for the Arabic language, reflecting the close affinity between Urdu, Islam and the Perso-Arabic cultural tradition. The difficulty is that whereas Urdu belongs to the Indo-European language system, Arabic is a Semitic language, and the imposition of an alien linguistic and grammatical framework on Urdu has resulted in a sometimes rather confusing and uncomfortable synthesis. The work generally cited as the first true Urdu grammar is the *Daryā e Latāfat* of Insha, which was completed in 1800, four years after Gilchrist produced his first 'Grammar of the Hindoostanee language' at Fort William College. Only a small section of Insha's book deals with grammar, which is incomplete and unsystematic. It is probably better regarded as a work on poetics and usage. In the twentieth century, Maulvi Abdul Haqq's *Qavā'id e Urdū* (1919) restated the traditional Urdu grammar with some measure of European influence, especially in the section on syntax. More recently, the *Jāmi'ā ul Qavā'id* of Siddiqi (Vol.1 1971) and Mustafa (Vol.2 1973) describes Urdu grammar and syntax in very much the same

(2) See Rai 1984, Matthews *et al* 1985.

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terms but the introduction contains a valuable survey of the development of Urdu.⁽³⁾ I have also used a Grammar produced in Pakistan, Rafiq (1983), designed to teach the principles of grammar and syntax to college students. Although restricted in scope it is a useful source of contemporary and usually straightforward Urdu terminology.

The interest of the Europeans, especially the British, in the languages of the subcontinent introduced a third grammatical framework which was used to describe Urdu and other South Asian languages. At the turn of the nineteenth century Gilchrist used terminology which reflected the Classics-oriented approach to languages dominant at the time. In structural terms Urdu is far closer to English, Latin and Greek than it is to Arabic. The correspondence of the terminology is therefore greater. The later nineteenth-century European grammarians, such as Forbes (1860) and Platts (1898), on Urdu, and Kellogg (1875), on Hindi, refined and expanded the earlier work but within the accepted framework. These grammars can be considered teaching grammars in that they were intended to be used by British learners for whom the study of Urdu was necessary. The mid twentieth century developments in linguistics have been applied more frequently to Hindi rather than to Urdu but this is merely an artificial terminological distinction. Much of this work has been done in the U.S.A. by American and Indian scholars of whom Hook and Kachru are prominent. Although these works are rigorous applications of modern grammatical theories they usually concentrate on one particular topic, e.g. aspect or case assignment and are not comprehensive studies of the language. I have made use of some of these studies in my research on verbs, for which purpose the research done by Kachru (1965) and Hackman (1980) on tense and aspect, and Hook (1979) on complementation have proved valuable.

In addition to the sources cited above I have made use of published and unpublished books and materials used in this country to teach university students. These include McGregor (1972) for Hindi, Russell (1971) and Matthews and Shackle (1985) for Urdu. Quirk and

(3) Contained in Volume I of this work, by Siddiqi,

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Greenbaum (1973) has been the source of standard English terminology. The use of terminology has not been consistent even within one particular grammatical framework. In order to remove this confusion, I have attempted to adhere to the terms used by contemporary scholars to describe the structure and syntax of the Hindi/Urdu verb. Unless otherwise indicated, examples used to illustrate the grammatical and syntactic features have been drawn from the corpus of GCE compositions analysed as part of this thesis.

4.2. VERB TYPES.

Most authorities identify three classes of verb:

- 1) Transitive, *fi'l e muta'addī*,
- 2) Intransitive, *fi'l e lāzm*
- 3) Defective, *fi'l e nāqis*.

Transitive verbs, in Urdu are further classified as causatives, *fi'l e muta'addī bil vāstā*, or as single or double transitives. Hook (1979) further discriminates between intransitives and derived intransitives and forms which he terms antitransitives. This distinction seems unnecessarily complicated and has not been adopted in this work. The intransitive verb does not take an object. Urdu grammarians define the two types of transitives on the basis of the number of objects which they can govern: the transitive *fi'l e muta'addī ba do maf'ūl* can govern two objects. Causatives (3) and (5) are a notable feature of the Urdu verb system and can include both transitive (2) and (4) and intransitive (1) verbs within the sets, as shown below.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) <i>main pāilaṭ <u>banuṅgā</u> -</i> | <i>bannā</i> (intransitive) |
| (2) <i>ham ne jāne kā progrām <u>banāyā</u> -</i> | <i>banānā</i> (transitive) |
| (3) <i>hameñ alag iskūl <u>banvāne</u> cāhiyeñ -</i> | <i>banvānā</i> (causative) |

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The same can be done with a transitive verb. The third verb of the set is sometimes referred to as a double causative (6).

- (4) *vuh axbār paṛhtā rahā - paṛhnā* (transitive)
- (5) *urdū paṛhāī jāī thī - paṛhānā* (causative)
- (6) *apnoñ se paṛhvāēñ - paṛhvānā* (double c)

With the exception of (6) all the above are drawn from the GCE corpus.

Defective verbs are those which are used in a restricted range of forms. Abdul Haq (1919) and Rafiq (1983) use the term *fi'l e nāqis*, but the discussion in the latter is limited to the use of the copula *honā*. This verb is restricted to two tense forms; *hai* (7) and *thā* (8). The use of a term derived from the Arabic grammatical tradition is an excellent example of the problems which can arise by applying it to a different language. In Arabic the *fi'l e nāqis* is expressed not by a separate lexical item but by a nominal suffix, whereas in Urdu the equivalent formation consists of the noun and the copula verb *honā*. Platts (1898) and others use the term to describe verbs such as *čuknā* (9), which is rarely used in anything other than the past tenses as a modal auxiliary.

- (7) *merī sahelī bahut xubsūrat hai - hona* (defective)
- (8) *havāī jahāz bahut baṛā thā - honā* (")
- (9) *merā bhāī tang ho čukā thā - čuknā* (")

A specialised verbal form, derived from *čāhnā, čāhiye* (10) has not traditionally been classified as a defective verb but it may be more appropriate to consider it as one; it is restricted in form to singular and plural, and in tense to the present and, with *thā*, the past.

- (10) *use māñ bāp kī 'izzat karnī čāhiye - čāhiye* (defective)

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Verbs are also classified by function: those which convey meaning, lexical verbs, and those which modify the lexical verbs, auxiliary verbs. A number of verbs can function in both categories. (11) illustrates the use of *denā* as a lexical verb and (12) shows it functioning as a modal auxiliary. It is termed a 'Permissive' by Platts and others.

(11) *mere čačā ne mujhe tikaṭ diyā - denā* (lexical verb)

(12) *unheñ bāhar na jāne deñ - denā* (modal auxiliary)

Other verbs which function both as lexical and auxiliary verbs are *honā*, *rahnā*, *karnā*, *jānā*, *pānā*, *čāhnā* and *lagnā*. *honā*(10), *rahnā*(11) and *karnā*(12) are used as tense modifiers, *jānā*(5) is the passive marker. *pānā* (13) as an auxiliary added to the stem of the main verb has the sense of 'managing'; according to Russell it is sometimes used simply in the sense of 'being able', i.e. as a virtual synonym for *saknā*. *lagnā* (17) imparts the sense of 'starting' to the action of the lexical verb. *čāhnā* (18) gives the meaning of 'wanting' to the lexical verb. In Platts and others *čāhnā* is known as the 'Desiderative', *lagnā* the 'Inceptive' and *pānā* the 'Acquisitive'.

(13) *merī sahelī mujhe nasīhat detī hai - honā* (tense auxiliary)

(14) *havāī jahāz uṭ rahā thā - rahnā* (" ")

(15) *vuh namāz paṛhā kareñ - karnā* (" ")

(5) *urdū paṛhāī jātī hai - jānā* (passive marker)

(16) *ham yah safar kabhī nahīñ bhūl pāeñge - pānā*(modal auxiliary)

(49) *vuh dāxil nahīñ hone pāe - pānā* (Acquisitive)

(17) *havāī jahāz utarne lagā - lagnā* (" ")

(18) *maiñ vahāñ kī sair karnā čāhtī hūñ - čāhnā* (modal auxiliary)

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Verbs which function only as auxiliaries are *čuknā*, illustrated in (7) above and *saknā* (19). *saknā* is described as a 'Potential' in Platts (1898) and it imparts the sense of 'ability' to the lexical verb. *čuknā* gives a sense of 'completion' to the action of the lexical verb and in the old grammars was classed as a 'Completive'.

(19) *ham šālvār qamīs pahin sakte haiñ- saknā* (modal auxiliary)

There is another class of verbs which function as modifying auxiliaries. In Platts (1875), Kellogg (1875) and other nineteenth-century grammars they are called 'Intensives'. McGregor (1972) and Hook (1974 & 1979) use the term 'Compound' verbs but this is somewhat confusing as any combination of verbal items can be termed 'compound'. Abdul Haqq uses the term *murakkab af'āl* which is used to describe any verb consisting of more than one lexical item; he does, however, distinguish between those which are composed of two verbs, one of which is auxiliary, and those which are formed by making a compound with a verb and a noun or an adjective. The term 'Intensive' is a more appropriate term because it describes the function of this class of verbs in general, although some verbs in this class do not appear to have an intensifying effect. Russell (1971 Vol2:p58-67), in particular, has a lengthy section on Intensives in which each verb is given a shade of meaning. Hook (1979:p63) differentiates between those which have a 'characteristic shade of meaning' and those which are 'colorless' which he terms 'least marked'. *jānā* (20), *denā* (21) and *lenā* (22) belong to the latter class. Matthews considers *jānā* to be an auxiliary used with past tenses of intransitive verbs of motion or those which describe a change of state. Other verbs, which fall into Hook's first category, are *ānā* (23), *uḥnā* (24), *baiḥnā* (25), *paḥnā* (26), *ḡālnā* (27) and *rakhnā* (28). Examples of all these Intensives are found in the GCE corpus.

(20) *ham jahāz meñ baiḥh gae - jānā* (least marked)

(21) *bačče ne ronā šurū' kar diyā - denā* (" ")

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(22) <i>maiñ ne khānā khā <u>liyā</u> -</i>	<i>lenā</i>	(least marked)
(23) <i>ham aḍḍe se nikaḷ <u>āe</u> -</i>	<i>ānā</i>	(Intensive)
(24) <i>maiñ taṛap <u>uṭhī</u> -</i>	<i>uṭhnā</i>	(")
(25) <i>izzat kho <u>baiṭhnā</u> -</i>	<i>baiṭhnā</i>	(")
(26) <i>phir jahāz čal <u>paṛā</u> -</i>	<i>paṛnā</i>	(")
(27) <i>hameñ dabā <u>dālnā</u> -</i>	<i>dālnā</i>	(")
(28) <i>maiñ ne soč <u>rakhā</u> hai -</i>	<i>rakhnā</i>	(")

4.3. PHRASAL VERBS.

The misleading use of the term 'compound verb' has already been discussed. Hook (1979) uses it to describe specific combinations of two different verbs. Some lexical verbs are composed of more than one lexical item. The verb in such constructions have an independent meaning when used alone but in combination with another word, usually a noun or an adjective, the combined verb carries a different meaning. Abdul Haqq describes them as a subset of 'compound verbs' which he terms *murakkab af'āl*. Hook calls these 'complex verbs' whereas in McGregor (1972) they are variously described as either 'conjunct' or as 'nominal verbal expressions'. In Platts and other grammars of the period the term 'Nominal' is most frequently used. Platts distinguishes twelve different forms but he makes it clear that he does not consider them true compound verbs. 'Such forms, it is clear, are not compound verbs; the noun in every instance simply serves to complete the notion of the verb.' Matthews and Shackleton (1985) and Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) use the term 'Phrasal' or 'Phrase' verbs. McGregor (p57) distinguishes two types: those in which 'the substantives have lost their separate syntactic identity and form an enlarged verbal unit' which he calls 'conjunct verbs', and

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'verbal expressions showing nouns in looser association with *karnā* and *honā*', which he terms 'nominal verbal expressions'. He considers these expressions 'can be directly associated with preceding expressions involving different postpositions.' I have not followed this distinction although a modern Hindi/Urdu vocabulary list categorises phrase verbs according to the complementing postposition.⁽⁴⁾ Phrase verbs are extremely common in Urdu and the GCE corpus contains 425 phrase verbs out of a total of 594 verbs, constituting nearly two thirds of the verbs and nearly one third of all main verb occurrences.⁽⁵⁾ In the study of a corpus such as this nominal components of phrasal verbs assume some significance. They will form an important part of the Urdu students' basic vocabulary.

The most common verbal components of phrasal verbs are *honā* and *karnā*. There are many pairs of phrasal verbs using the nominal component with these two verbs, forming transitives (29) and intransitives (30).

(29) *maiñ ne paḥnā šurū' kiyā -* PV *karnā* (transitive)

(30) *čuṭṭiāñ šurū' huīñ -* PV *honā* (intransitive)

Three-quarters of the phrasal verbs in the corpus were in combination with these two verbs, accounting for over two-thirds of all phrasal verb occurrences. See Tables 4.2. and 4.3. There were 53 *karnā/honā* phrase verb pairings. See Table 4.4.

Other frequently occurring verbal components include *ānā* (31), *denā* (32), *lagnā* (33), *lenā* (34), *rakhnā* (35) and *lagānā* (36). These all occur in combination with ten or more different nominal or adjectival components.

(31) *mujhe safar karne se bahut mazā ātā hai -* PV *ānā*

(4) Schomer 1983, Appendices 10-12, pp137-150.

(5) Table 4.2., 4.3., 4.4. & 4.5, contain the figures for Phrase verb occurrences.

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- (32) *gore Ꞥiĉar hamen ta'lim de rahe haiñ - PV dena*
- (33) *mujhe qar lagtā thā - PV lagnā*
- (34) *maiñ us se mašvarā letī huñ - PV lenā*
- (35) *maiñ apñi sahelī se yah umīd rakhtī huñ - PV rakhnā*
- (36) *us ne hamāre pāsportꞥ par muhr lagāī - PV lagānā*

In all, there are 31 different lexical verbs in the corpus which have been used to form phrasal verbs, of which sixteen are in combination with one nominal component. These are listed in Table 4.5. Schomer (1983) lists 32, of which 21 are shown in combination with only one nominal component. In considering the inclusion of phrasal verbs in an examination syllabus, frequency is not the only criterion but by looking at the verbs which appear at the top of the frequency lists in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.5, one can predict that such verbs are going to be necessary in any basic vocabulary list. Conversely, there are verbs which do not occur with regularity or frequency but which from a semantic point of view are indispensable. In Table 4.2, showing combinations with *honā*, it can be argued that *'alahīdā honā*, although occurring very frequently, is not a verb that would be expected of students at this level whereas, *mana' honā*, although occurring only once, is a basic requirement. In Table 4.3 the frequent occurrence of *safar karnā* and *intizār karnā* is, to some extent, a result of the subject matter of the compositions from which the corpus is drawn, although these are undoubtedly verbs that would be included in a basic vocabulary of Urdu. On the other hand, the high frequency of *i'lān karnā* does not mean that it would be automatically included in a basic vocabulary. Conversely, the single occurrence of *fikr karnā* is no indication of its regular use at the most basic level.

One specialised form of phrasal verb is the indirect intransitive. This is one variety of the combination with *honā* as shown in (30),

although not all of them have corresponding transitive forms with *karnā*. An example of the indirect intransitive construction is given in (37).

(37) *mujhe mahsūs hūā ki...* - *PV honā* (indirect intransitive)

In an indirect intransitive construction the logical subject is marked with *ko* and thus becomes the grammatical object. The problems of analysing this construction in terms of transformational grammar are exemplified in Sinha (1980) who, reviewing the existing literature on the subject, finds that some scholars regard it as the object and others as the subject. He does not accept the argument of those who regard it as the object on the grounds that it is marked with *ko*. From the point of view of teachers and learners this argument is irrelevant. What does need to be known is not the underlying transformational rules but what verbs require this particular construction and how commonly it occurs. That it is a construction which is necessary at the most basic level of the language is clear both from its frequency and from the verbs which are used in this construction. Over one third of the occurrences, 178 out of 513, of phrasal verbs with *honā* involve the indirect intransitive construction and its association with verbs of perception is manifest in the presence of *ma'lūm*, *xuśī*, *pasand*, *mahsūs* etc. at the top of the list of most frequently occurring phrasal verbs in combination with *honā*. These are all verbs which are used to express very basic perceptions, emotions, preferences, etc., and are a vital component of any basic vocabulary.

4.4. INTENSIVE VERBS.

The use of *jānā* as an intensifier has been noted in Example (17) above. Approximately one third of all occurrences of this verb are as an intensifier. 118 of the occurrences are in combination with *honā*, either as a lexical or a phrasal verb (36). Barker (1969: xxxvi) refers to this use of *jānā* as 'intransitive-completive' and this does seem to be a more accurate description of its function than 'intensive' or 'compound'. Hook

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(1979: 231-3) states that if the result of the action or process is the focus of interest then the simple form is used while the use of the 'compound' form indicates interest in the action or process of the verb. Although one cannot expect school students to have fully mastered the use of this construction, its frequent occurrence in the GCE corpus indicates its importance in Urdu. I have not systematically analysed the function of intensives in the GCE corpus but there are enough examples of apparently random presence or absence to raise the possibility of considering it a stylistic device as much as an intensifier. Platts (1884), referring to these intensives, states that 'it is however frequently added without affecting the sense of the other verb; and such a compound is even more common than the simple verb.' This fits in with the categorisation of some compounds as 'least marked' by Hook (1979: 63). (39) shows a use of *jānā* which accords with Hook's 'interest in the process' argument while (40) and (41) do not seem to demonstrate any particular difference in meaning.

(39) *phir aisī dostī barbād ho jātī hai - ho+jānā (+Intensive)*

(40) *ham vaqt par aḡḡe par pahunḡe - pahunḡnā (-Intensive)*

(41) *ham subh savere aḡḡe par pahunḡ gae - pahunḡnā (+Intensive)*

There are 403 instances of 'intensive' verbs in the GCE corpus involving 9 different intensifying verbs. Examples are given in sentences (19) to (27) above. The figures for the occurrence of each are given below. *jānā* accounts for over 60% of all occurrences.

<i>jānā</i>	<i>denā</i>	<i>lenā</i>	<i>paḡnā</i>	<i>ānā</i>	<i>rakhnā</i>	<i>uḡhnā</i>	<i>baiḡhnā</i>	<i>ḡālnā</i>	Total.
248	63	58	18	6	4	2	2	2	403

4.5. AUXILIARY VERBS.4.5.1. *jānā*.

There are only two occurrences of *jānā* as an auxiliary, in what Barker (1969) calls an 'intensifying continuative' formation in combination with the imperfective participle of the lexical verb. This will be discussed more fully in the section on tenses. Here it is enough to say that this formation is not one that can be expected of a school student at this level. (42) shows an example of this.

(42) *bačče in iskūlorī meñ qūbte jā rahe haiñ -jānā* (Continuative)

4.5.2. *karnā*.

The relative frequencies of *karnā* in the two corpuses appear to be closely correlated. In both the occurrence of this verb as an auxiliary is less than one percent, with only two examples in the GCE corpus. It is formed with the perfective participle of the lexical verb and the appropriate tense form of *karnā*. Barker calls this a 'habitual' while Hook uses the term 'marked habitual' differentiating it from the ordinary 'habitual present or imperfect'. (43) illustrates this formation.

(43) *to phīr ham udhar jāyā karen* - *karnā* (Habitual)

Since both these formations are able to convey a restricted range of tense modifications they are not themselves tense markers; rather they mark aspect. Like the *jānā* formation the *karnā* formation cannot be regarded as a basic structure.

4.5.3. *honā*.

On the other hand, the auxiliary usage involving *honā* is both frequent and basic in that the majority of tenses in Urdu are formed with this verb. In the GCE corpus this usage accounts for more than half of all the occurrences of *honā*. The system of tenses and the use of

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tense forming auxiliaries is discussed in detail in the section on tenses. (See §4.8, pp157ff.)

4.5.4. saknā, čuknā.

Besides the three most common verbs in each corpus four more of the ten most common verbs are used as auxiliaries while three other verbs which occur less frequently are also used in the same way. Two, *saknā* (7) and *čuknā* (18), occur only as auxiliaries with the latter only occurring in a restricted range of tenses, usually past tenses.

(7) *merā bhāī tang ho čukā thā -* *čuknā* (Modal Auxiliary)

(18) *ham šalvār qamīs pahin sakte haīñ -* *saknā* (" ")

4.5.5. rahnā.

rahnā occurs over twice as frequently as a tense auxiliary than as a lexical verb. Sentence (13) shows it used as a tense auxiliary, and (44) as a main verb.

(13) *havāī jahāz uṛ rahā thā -* *rahnā* (Tense Auxiliary)

(44) *ham is mulk meñ rahte haīñ -* *rahnā* (Lexical Verb)

There is a third, auxiliary, usage of *rahnā* which is formed with the imperfective participle of the main verb (45). Like (42) and (43) it marks a habitual or continuative aspect and is capable of tense modification.

(45) *do ghanṭe tak ham bāteñ kartī rahīñ -* *rahnā* (Continuative)

4.5.6. čāhnā.

Like *rahnā*, *čāhnā* occurs almost twice as frequently as a modal auxiliary than as a main verb. Although in the case of *čāhnā* the meaning

of the verb does not change, (47) shows that when it is used as a main verb the action of *čāhnā* is directed at someone or something away from the subject while modal auxiliary use, as in (46), only refers to the subject. It is possible to argue that in the modal auxiliary construction (46) the infinitive is an embedded form of the subordinate clause in a sentence (48) using the main verb. This sentence is not grammatically incorrect but sentence (46) is the normal form.

(46) *main̄ pākistān jānā čāhtā hūn -* *čāhnā* (Modal Auxiliary)

(47) *vuh čāhte haiñ ki main̄ jāūñ -* *čāhnā* (Lexical Verb)

(48) *main̄ čāhtā hūñ ki main̄ pākistān jāūñ -* *čāhnā* (" ")

4.5.7. *čāhiye*.

A specialised form of *čāhnā*, *čāhiye*, is used with the infinitive of the main verb to denote obligation. This form, which is morphologically unique in Urdu, is derived from an old passive formation. In Platts and other grammars of the period it was known as the 'desiderative'. It is restricted to inflections for number and to two tenses and is more appropriately considered as a defective verb. This form, *čāhiye*(49), occurs with greater frequency than *čāhnā* in both Barker and the GCE corpus. There is a hierarchy of constructions in Urdu which convey differing degrees of obligation, the form with *honā* (50) being the least marked and the form with *paṛnā* (51) the strongest although the difference between the formations with *honā* and with *paṛnā* is often indistinguishable.

(49) *alag iskūl zarūr hone čāhiyeñ -* *čāhiye* (Desiderative)

(50) *hamēñ savere ravānā honā thā -* *honā* (" ")

(51) *hamēñ intizār karnā paṛā -* *paṛnā* (" ")

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čāhiye is the sixth most frequent verb in the GCE corpus with 236 occurrences. There were 42 instances of *honā* and 22 of *paṛnā*. Acquisition of *čāhiye* is unquestionably within the Basic level syllabus while the other two, by reason of their commonness and use in everyday communication if not for their frequency in this corpus, should also be included.

4.5.8. pānā.

There is only one occurrence of *pānā* (16) as a modal auxiliary in the GCE corpus. Another auxiliary construction with this verb and the inflected infinitive of the lexical verb, known in Platts (1875) as the 'acquisitive', does not occur in the GCE corpus. (52) is an example of this construction, which would not be expected at GCSE.

(16) *ham yah safar kabhī nahīn bhūl pāenḡe -pānā* (Modal Auxiliary)

(52) *vuh dāxil hone nahīn pāegā - pānā* (Acquisitive)

4.5.9. lagnā.

Another verb which occurs both as a lexical verb and a modal auxiliary is *lagnā*. As a lexical verb it has several meanings, the most commonly occurring of which is 'to feel' or 'to seem' (53). As a modal auxiliary, it adds the meaning of 'to begin' to the main verb which is in the inflected infinitive form (54). In the GCE corpus the occurrences of the two forms are approximately equal. In both its usages *lagnā* is a necessary component of any syllabus at Basic Level.

(53) *mujhe bhūk lagī - lagnā* (Lexical verb)

(54) *ham jāne kī tayyāriyān karne lage - lagnā* (Modal Auxiliary)

Although the presence in the GCE corpus of nearly all the available auxiliary formations of verbs is not a justification of their inclusion in an examination syllabus, it is an indication that these forms should

not be considered to be beyond the range of students at this level of competence.

With the exception of the aspect marking auxiliary forms of *karnā*, *jānā* and *rahnā*, the frequency of occurrence of most of these forms indicates that at this level they are already a part of the candidates' repertoire. Table 4.7 shows the frequency and usage of the fifty most frequently occurring verbs in the GCE corpus. It can be seen that twenty two of the top thirty verbs can be used in more than one way. In this list the occurrences of *čāhiye* are listed separately and not under the 'other' usages of *čāhnā*.

4.6. COMPARISON WITH BARKER'S CORPUS.

In order to assess the validity of the material in the GCE corpus I used the corpus compiled by Barker (1969) from newspaper sources. Clearly examination and journalistic sources must be compared with caution. As has already been noted, one problem is that of size. Barker's corpus is approximately four times larger than the GCE corpus. In the absence of other corpuses Barker remains the only viable comparison. I have already explained the reason for limiting my researches to verbs and verbal expressions and the first comparison was made between occurrences of verbs. This immediately raised a difficulty. Barker's corpus was compiled by separately recording each lexical item. Consequently there are no separate records for either occurrences or frequencies of phrasal verbs, and the listed frequency of the verb includes all occurrences, whether as a phrasal or a lexical verb. He does, however, distinguish between main and auxiliary usage. In the GCE corpus phrasal verbs were recorded both separately and under the main verb heading as appropriate, in addition to distinguishing between main and auxiliary use. It was therefore impossible to compare occurrences and frequencies of phrasal verbs. In the absence of this the comparison was restricted to main verbs. The most frequently occurring verbs in the Barker and the GCE corpuses are listed in Table 4.6. It can be seen that seven of the ten most frequently occurring verbs in each list are

common and of the top twenty five verbs in each list nineteen are common to both while thirty five of the top fifty are common to both lists. Of the verbs in Barker's list six occur in the first twenty five most frequently occurring words of all types. In his introduction Barker (1969: xxxiv-viii) comments on the most frequently occurring words in the corpus and notes that all but one of these verbs, *lenā*, are those which function not only as a lexical verb but also as a phrasal verb, intensive verb, tense or modal auxiliary. In the case of *lenā* this verb does not occur as an auxiliary.

According to Barker, verbs account for 16% of the total running words of the corpus. I am not able to calculate an directly comparable figure because Barker has not included the nominal components of phrasal verbs in his count. By subtracting the total occurrences of phrasal verbs from the total 'verbal lexical items', i.e. all the nominal and verbal words, including main verbs, auxiliaries, etc. a roughly comparable figure can be calculated. The 'total verbal lexical items' in the GCE corpus was 8395, including the nominal components of phrasal verbs which amounted to 1429 occurrences leaving a total of 6966 verbal items. The total running words in the GCE corpus is 34,730. Thus verbs account for 20.1% of the corpus. This is not a great disparity and can be explained in part by the probability that the GCE corpus contains shorter sentences than those used in newspapers, resulting in a greater proportion of verbs in the former. The scientific study of sentence length in English has led to several techniques for determining the reading age of written material. Unfortunately the punctuation used in Urdu is not sufficiently systematic to allow any accurate determination of sentence length.

Barker has produced some interesting figures relating to the frequency of the most common words to the overall corpus. (1969: xxxiii) The first 25 words in the corpus account for nearly one half of all the running words in the corpus, (47.02%), and the most frequent 1,000 words account for over eighty five percent of the total running words, (86.12%). Figures can be calculated for individual words, those for the first fifty verbs in Barker's corpus are given in Table 4.6 with the

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equivalent figures for the same verbs in the GCE list. (%)1 is the figure for all occurrences and (%)2 is the figure for the occurrence of verbs.

The relative frequencies of the most common verbs on each list indicate that the GCE corpus is sufficiently large to represent an accurate indicator of verb frequency, given that the corpus is drawn from a restricted source. In both cases, the first three verbs on the list account for over one half, and the first ten verbs on the list account for over three-quarters, of all verbal occurrences. The most noticeable difference is in the relative frequency of *karnā*, which is relatively over twice as common in the Barker corpus. When considering a basic vocabulary relative frequency gives some indication not only of what needs to be included but also gives a pointer to which items should be introduced first.

If the ten most common verbs in each list are considered separately, it will be seen that seven verbs are common to both. The three verbs in Barker's list which do not appear on the GCE list are *lenā*, *kahnā* and *rakhnā*. Those appearing on the GCE list are *čāhiye*, *dekhnā* and *lagnā*. With the exception of *čāhiye* and *saknā* all thirteen verbs in the conflated top ten are used not only as lexical verbs but are also used as auxiliary, phrasal or intensive verbs. The pattern of use of the first three verbs in the list, *honā*, *karnā* and *jānā* are given below.

VERB	<i>honā</i>		<i>karnā</i>		<i>jānā</i>			
	main	aux	main	aux	main	aux	int	pass
BARKER	4615	4221	4126	23	142	4	898	1471
	52.2%	47.8%	99.4%	0.6%	5.6%	0.01%	35.7%	58.7%
TOTAL	8836		4149		2515			
GCE	1283	1994	590	2	461	2	248	64
	39.2%	60.8%	99.7%	0.3%	59.5%	<0.1%	32.3%	8.2%
TOTAL	3277		592		775			

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Separate figures for the the lexical and phrasal usages of main verbs are not available in Barker because the method of recording the lexical items in the corpus meant that each lexeme of a verbal expression was recorded separately. There is a greater proportion of auxiliary use of *honā* in the GCE corpus. this may indicate a greater use of the tenses that are formed by using that verb in the GCE material. The relative proportions of the use of *karnā* correlate very closely but there are very noticeable differences in the figures for *jānā*. The predominance of the main verb usage of *jānā* in the GCE corpus may be partially determined by the topic of the compositions. It is not surprising to find this verb used as a lexical verb, meaning 'to go', in a composition on the topic of 'a plane journey'.

In Barker the use of this verb, *jānā*, as a passive marker accounts for well over half the occurrences noted, 1471 out of 2515 or 58.7 %. In the GCE corpus, however, the use of *jānā* as a passive marker account for less than ten per cent of the total occurrences of this verb. Formed by the perfective participle of a transitive verb with *jānā* the passive construction in Urdu is one which is certainly favoured in journalism; conversely for the school student it may be regarded as a relatively advanced construction. (38).

(38) *iskūl meñ islāmī ta'lim dī jānī hai* - *jānā* (Passive Marker.)

Whether the passive construction is a form that it is appropriate to include in the GCSE syllabus cannot be decided upon merely on the evidence of its usage in the GCE corpus, although its infrequent usage relative to Barker's figure where the passive auxiliary form of *jānā* is seven times as common suggests that this construction is not normally much used at this level. Since the GCSE is divided into Basic and Higher Level components it seems suitable to consider the passive as a structure that merits inclusion at the Higher Level.

4.7. COMPARISON WITH GCSE VOCABULARY LISTS.

Two of the Examining Boards which have produced materials for GCSE Urdu have published vocabulary lists. The verbs prescribed in MEG and the NEA lists have been compared with the verbs found in the GCE corpus. The MEG list contains 305 verbs, (Table 4.10), and the NEA list contains 319, (Table 4.11.) There are significant omissions on both lists which indicate the importance of compiling prescribed linguistic material with care and with consideration of the requirements of the candidates and their teachers. The issue of prescribed vocabulary lists is a contentious one; there are sound arguments for and against their publication. The National Criteria for French specify the production of a defined content, including vocabulary and structures, although at the present time the Community Languages are not bound to comply with these prescriptions. It is undoubtedly useful for both teachers and their students to know what is required of them in the examination. On the other hand the presence of a vocabulary list can encourage teachers to restrict their teaching to what is included in that list. It may be that in the case of learnt 'Foreign Languages' such a list is appropriate; in the case of Community Languages, whose students are likely to have linguistic resources beyond that of an *ab initio* learner of French, many teachers and examiners are of the opinion that a vocabulary list would be restrictive. Teachers should be able to provide an appropriate range of vocabulary from the defined topic areas of the syllabus. If it is considered desirable or deemed compulsory to produce a vocabulary list, it is vital that such a list should be based on a study of the topics covered by the syllabus and consist of verbs appropriate both to the topics and to the age and ability range of the students.

Among the significant omissions from the MEG vocabulary list are *uṭhnā*, *badalnā*, *paṛnā*, *namāz paṛhnā*, *ṭūṭnā*, *ḡarnā*, *roza rakhnā*, *khāṭsnā*, *lagnā*, *muṛnā* and *haṭsnā*. The omission of such frequent and basic verbs as those meaning 'to get up', 'to change', 'to cough', 'to turn' and 'to laugh' are inexplicable in an Urdu vocabulary list and probably any other languages basic vocabulary. The omission of culturally and religiously

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significant concepts, as prayer and fasting are to Muslims, is also inexplicable in an Urdu syllabus at any level.

The NEA list also contains some important *lacunae*. These include *pahinnā*, *dikhānā*, *ronā*, *sočnā*, *likhnā* and *nikalnā*. There are less omissions than from the MEG list, but those that are noticeable should undoubtedly be a part of any basic Urdu vocabulary. Verbs meaning 'to dress or wear', 'to show', 'to think' and 'to write' are all essential components of the basic vocabulary in any language.

There are obviously a greater number of verbs in the GCE corpus than in the GCSE lists. Even if the verbs taken from the GCE corpus are restricted to the most frequently occurring 300 the comparison would not be precise mainly because the essays of the candidates do not cover the complete range of topics prescribed in the Urdu GCSE syllabuses. There are, however, omissions of verbs in both lists which are generally considered appropriate for students of Urdu at this level of competence, including those which are not only of use in one particular topic area but are needed 'across the board'. Table 4.12 is comprised of the verbs common to both the MEG and the NEA lists. Of the verbs prescribed by the two boards, only 124 are common to both lists. These have been compared with the verbs found in the GCE corpus; the verbs common to all three sources are given in Table 4.13. Only 105 verbs are found in all three lists. This indicates that the method of compilation was unsatisfactory. The compiler of the MEG vocabulary list informed me that he was given an English translation of the GCSE vocabulary for French and instructed to translate the list into Urdu. ⁽⁶⁾ Even if the constraints of time and resources are taken into consideration this method of vocabulary compilation is not only unsatisfactory but also reflects the low status accorded the Community Languages by the examining bodies. If these languages are to be taken seriously then syllabus design and construction must be undertaken systematically. The lack of consensus as to what constitutes an appropriate vocabulary is, in part, an indication of using techniques of compilation described

(6) M.A. Siddiqi, personal communication, February 1989.

above. It is also related to the difficulty of prescribing a vocabulary for a language which is not primarily being examined as a learnt Foreign Language.

When examining French or German at GCSE level, it can be assumed that the majority of students are highly unlikely to use verbs which are not included in the vocabulary lists provided by the boards. Like those for Urdu these lists contain approximately 300 verbs. The analysis of the GCE corpus determined that a total of 594 different verbs were productively used by 170 candidates. These verbs are given in Table 4.1. This is approximately double the number of verbs prescribed for use by the GCSE boards and indicates the difficulty of prescribing vocabulary lists for community languages such as Urdu which are not taught from scratch at schools. When the source of the corpus is taken into consideration the fact that the compositions are taken from a limited range of topic areas would indicate that the number of verbs available to candidates over the full range of topic areas would be even larger. It is also indicative of the weakness of the argument put forward by HMI Wightwick that community languages should be treated as learnt languages.⁽⁷⁾ If the language was truly a learnt one then the likelihood of the candidates being able to produce the number of verbs found in the corpus would be minimal. The range of tenses and aspectual forms used and the generally confident use of auxiliaries and intensives are additional factors which reinforce the argument that Urdu should be treated according to criteria specifically tailored to its particular requirements.

4.8. TENSE AND ASPECTUAL FORMS.

The Hindi/Urdu tense system has been well described; both in traditional grammars, in which the description and discussion of the verb and its tenses normally form a section of the work, and in more modern studies, which are usually restricted to specific features of verbs such as

(7) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p12.

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tense, aspect, compound verbs etc. In general terms, on the number of tenses and their use, there is agreement between the two schools. In modern studies of the verb much effort has been expended on the subject of aspect. Here there seems to be less agreement over the number of aspects present in the language. Since the present study is attempting to relate verbs and their use to examination requirements, examples have, where existing, been taken from the GCE corpus. The tense occurrences in the corpus have also been counted in an order to gain an impression of the most frequently used tenses. As already discussed, nearly two hundred years of grammatical study of Hindi/Urdu have resulted in a confusing number of terms used to describe verbs and tenses. When describing particular grammars I have used the terminology of the grammar concerned; when describing the use of tenses in the corpus I have used a standard terminology as adopted by the Department of Indology of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

The grammars of Gilchrist (1796, 1802, 1831) describe the tenses of the language in a very sketchy manner. The number of tenses given are six indicative and five aorist which include three passive forms.

Tenses cited by Gilchrist (1796).

(1-6 Indicative)		(7-11 Aorist)	
1 Present Indicative <i>jātā hai</i>	7	Present <i>jāe</i>	
2 Preterite <i>gayā</i>			
3 Preterite Imperfect <i>jātā thā</i>	8	Preterite Imperfect <i>jātā</i>	
4 Preterite Perfect <i>mārā hai</i>	9	Preterite Perfect <i>jāyā jāūn</i>	
5 Preterite Pluperfect <i>mārā thā</i>	10	Preterite Pluperfect <i>jāyā jātā</i>	
6 Future <i>māregā</i>	11	Future <i>jāyā jāegā</i>	
12 Imperative			<i>jāiye</i>

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Platts (1898) and Forbes (1860) concur on the number of tenses, both citing nine in common use and the imperative. Platts categorises the tenses into three groups; those which relate to imperfect action, those which relate to perfect action and, in a separate group, the past conditional. He also includes four other tenses which are not given elsewhere as separate tenses, rather as alternative forms of other tenses.

Tenses described by Platts.

(1-4 Imperfect Action)

1 Aorist *jāūñ*

2 Present Imperfect *jātā hai*

3 Past Continuous (Imperfect) *jātā thā*

4 Simple Future (Intentional) *jāūngā*

(5-8 Perfect Action)

5 Past Absolute or Indefinite - *gayā*

6 Proximate or Present Perfect - *gayā hai*

7 Remote or Past Perfect - *gayā thā*

8 Future Perfect or Past Potential - *gayā hogā (gayā ho)*

9 Optative or Past Conditional - *jātā*

The tense system outlined by Platts accords more closely than Gilchrist to that which is nowadays accepted. Gilchrist's system is not only deficient but inappropriate. Platts' four additional tenses are not classified as such in more recent grammars but as variants of other tenses. The first three combine the imperfective participle of the main verb, *jānā*, conveying the Imperfective aspect, with the copula, *honā*,

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conveying the tense modification. The fourth tense uses the perfective participle to convey the perfective aspect to the tense.

Platts' four additional tenses.

10 Future Imperfect - *jātā hogā*

11 Present Potential - *jātā ho*

12 Past Perfect Continuous Subjunctive - *jātā hotā*

13 Past Perfect Subjunctive - *gayā hotā*

Kellogg (1938) describes fifteen tenses; three of which are formed from the verb stem, six from the imperfective participle and six from the perfective participle. The three stem tenses are:

1 Imperative - *jāiye*

2 Contingent Future - *jāe*

3 Absolute Future - *jāegā*

The six formed from the imperfective participle are:

4 Present Imperfect - *jātā hai*

5 Past Imperfect - *jātā thā*

6 Contingent Perfect - *jātā*

7 Presumptive Imperfect - *jātā hogā*

8 Contingent Imperfect - *jātā ho*

9 Past Contingent Imperfect - *jātā hotā*

The six formed from the perfective participle are:

- 10 Indefinite Past - *gayā*
- 11 Present Perfect - *gayā hai*
- 12 Past Perfect - *gayā thā*
- 13 Future Perfect (Past Potential) - *gayā hogā*
- 14 Past Perfect Subjunctive - *gayā hotā*
- 15 Frequentative - *jāyā karnā*

Kellogg's 7, 8 and 9 are equivalent to Platts' 10, 11 and 12 and the same comments are applicable. His inclusion of the frequentative as a tense must be considered inaccurate since the auxiliary verb *karnā* is able to show tense modifications, although in a restricted range. The sequence of forms with the imperfective participle with the future, optative and the contingent of *honā* are not described in the section on tenses in Abdul Haqq (1919) who discusses them under auxiliary verbs, which he terms *imdādī af'āl*. The tense forms of *rahnā* with the imperfective participle are treated in the same way, as are the progressive tenses formed from the stem and the appropriate form of *rahnā*. It is only in these forms that the grammars of all traditions display any significant disagreement; some including them as tenses, while others discuss them as auxiliaries. Neither Platts nor Gilchrist consider the progressive tenses formed from the verb stem and the auxiliary *rahnā* in their description of tenses; Gilchrist does not mention them at all while Platts mentions the 'continuous present' only in a brief note (1898:349) and there is no mention at all of the past continuous. He does not seem entirely clear what these forms are although he is clear that they are not intensives (1898:171). The later grammars, while concurring on the majority of tenses, also treat these forms in different ways. Kellogg's 7, 8 and 9 are not covered by McGregor (1972) but he gives four 'continuous' tenses formed from the

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verb stem and *rahnā*. Matthews and Shackle (1985) adopt a different approach; the forms with the imperfective participle and the future and subjunctive forms of *honā* are described as the future and subjunctive habitual. They call the construction formed from the verb stem and the appropriate form of *rahnā* the 'continuous participle'. Hook (1979) does not cover these forms.

The confusion of terminology and classification evident in the treatment accorded these forms seems to be caused, in part, by the inadequacy of the traditional grammatical framework. Contemporary studies of the Hindi/Urdu tense system have concentrated on the additional element of aspect in order to create a coherent explanation of the system. Even then there has been some disagreement over whether there are two or three aspects in the system. Hackman (1980:110-116) covers this argument fairly comprehensively and supports the three aspect model. He has created a matrix based on the five tense three aspect model proposed by Kachru (1965) in order to demonstrate the forms available. This matrix is reproduced in Table 8. The forms associated with the imperfective participle and the future, optative and contingent forms of *honā* fit into this matrix. Mustafa (1973:74-76) presents a detailed list of Urdu tense and aspectual forms which appears to indicate five aspects. Part of the difficulty lies in applying the concept of aspect in a verb system which differentiates action in terms of duration, habit, frequency and repetition by means of participles, auxiliary verbs etc. One form which has caused confusion is not included in Hackman's matrix but is discussed in conjunction with it. This is the form with the imperfective participle and *rahnā* which is not given a name; Hackman associates it with frequency and duration. There is some confusion because he also connects the form with the perfective participle and *karnā* with the idea of frequency. This latter form is called the 'frequentative' by Gilchrist, Platts and Kellogg but 'habitual' by Shackle and Matthews who reserve the term 'frequentative' for the the *-tā rahnā* and *-tā jānā* construction. The last receives no mention in any other grammars except Abdul Haqq, who includes it, without discussion, in his section on continuative and habitual auxiliaries (1919:107,85) and Mustafa, (1973:76) who attaches to it the idea of duration or

persistence which he terms *istiqlālī*. The distinction between frequentative and habitual is not made clear; Hackman mentions the concepts of repetition and duration as being of equal significance. The different authorities have used so many overlapping terms that the chart showing the different terms, on page 164 below, may help to clarify the situation.

Since the *-tā + rahnā* and the *-ā + karnā* forms allow different tense forms they cannot be placed in a tense framework. Hackman, following Kachru, has used a three aspect model which can accommodate them more comfortably. His view is that although *rahnā* can be used in tenses which are formed from the perfective participle the imperfective form of the main verb stresses the process of, in his sentence (196), reading. He focusses on the notions of frequency and duration although the old fashioned term 'continuative' fits well with the English translational equivalent of 'keeping on' doing something.

Hackman(196) *kal rāt ko vah ek ghanṭe tak kitāb parhtā rahā -*

The occurrences of this form in the GCE corpus accord more precisely with this usage than Hackman's example which could equally well be expressed by the simple past. (48) is an example of this form taken from the GCE corpus.

(48) *do ghanṭe tak ham bāteñ kartī rahīñ -*

The *tā + jānā* form is not covered by all the authorities; Those who do make little or no distinction between this form and the *-tā + rahnā* form.

The table given overleaf shows the terminology used to describe continuative and frequentative forms formed from the present participle adopted by different authorities cited in this chapter

COMPARATIVE TERMINOLOGY OF *-tā +* VERB FORMS.

FORM	PLATTS	KELLOGG	ABDUL HAQQ	M & S	HACKMAN
<i>-tā ho</i>	present	contingent	<i>hāl e</i>	subjunctive	present
	potential	imperfect	<i>ih̄timālī</i>	habitual	potential
<i>-tā hogā</i>	future	presumptive	<i>hāl e</i>	future	present
	imperfect	imperfect	<i>ih̄timālī</i>	habitual	presumpt
<i>-tā hotā</i>	past perfect	past	-	-	present
	continuous	contingent			contingent
	subjunctive	imperfect			
<i>-tā+jānā</i>	continuative	continuative	<i>+jārī rahnā</i>	frequentive	-
<i>-tā+rahnā</i>	"	"	<i>+mutavātar</i>	"	+frequent
			<i>jārī rahnā</i>		+duration
^{stem} <i>+rahnā</i>	-	continuous	<i>māzinātamām</i>	continuous progress.	
			<i>mudāmī</i>		
<i>-ā+karnā</i>	frequentative	frequentative	<i>+ādat</i>	+habit	+frequent
<i>-ā hotā</i>	past perfect	past	<i>māzī</i>	-	past
	subjunctive	contingent	<i>šartiyā</i>		contingent
		perfect			

'+' indicates that the form is not included in the tense framework of the grammar concerned but is given a 'marked' meaning.

The *-ā + karnā* form cannot be explained in the same way; the main verb being in perfective participle form. Hackman does not offer any explanation but stresses the notion of frequency and says that a similar

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meaning would result from the use of a simple imperfect participle with the appropriate auxiliary. However the fact that perfective and progressive forms of *karnā* are not used implies that the forms of this construction should fit into the imperfective column (2) of Hackman's matrix. (Table 4.9). To stress the notion of frequency is at odds with both the traditional grammars and more modern authorities who stress the habitual connotation. The two examples of this form in the GCE corpus convey the idea of habit. (46) carries the notion that if an Islamic school is built then 'lets make a practice of going there'.

(46) *to phir ham udhar jāyā karenī* - -ā + *karnā* (+habit)

The low frequency of these continuative, frequentative and habitual forms in the GCE corpus indicates their relatively advanced nature. Although it may be thought that they are outside the scope of GCSE candidates the current syllabus for Urdu issued by the NEA contains a tense framework which includes some of these forms. This framework is given below. (NEA Syllabus: p53).

NEA GCSE URDU SYLLABUS TENSE FRAMEWORK.

<i>mustaqbil</i>	<i>māzī</i>	<i>hāl</i>	
<i>jāegā ṣ</i>	<i>gayā ṣ</i>	<i>jātā hai ṣ</i>	(<i>mutlaq</i>)
<i>jā rahā hogā ṣ</i>	<i>jā rahā thā ṣ</i>	<i>jā rahā hai ṣ</i>	(<i>jārī</i>)
<i>jā čukā hogā</i>	<i>jā čukā thā ṣ</i>	<i>jā čukā hai ṣ</i>	(<i>mukammal</i>)
<i>jātā rahā hogā</i>	<i>jātā rahā thā</i>	<i>jātā rahā hai</i>	(" <i>jārī</i>)

Forms which occur in the GCE corpus are marked with 'ṣ'.

Besides being an inaccurate and incomplete description of the Urdu tense system, the inclusion of this framework implies that all these tenses are to be expected of all GCSE candidates because no distinction is made

between tenses expected at Basic or Higher Level. The bottom row is composed entirely of *-tā + rahnā* forms. If it is seriously proposed that all these forms are within the repertoire of GCSE candidates, even at Higher Level, the evidence of the GCE corpus should be sufficient to reject such a proposal. The figures for occurrences of tense and other non finite verb forms in the GCE corpus are given in Table 4.8 which also shows the number and proportion of scripts in which these forms occur.

4.9. TENSE FORMS.

In terms of formation it is convenient to divide the tenses into four categories: those formed from the perfect participle, those formed from the imperfect participle, those formed from the stem of the verb, and a fourth group which, although not strictly speaking tenses, are formed from the infinitive, and includes other forms which are generally classified as non-finite. The terms used (in parentheses) to describe the tense and other forms given in the examples below are those which have been chosen as the most commonly used and widely known of the multiplicity of terms available. A full list is given in Table 4.8.

4.9.1. TENSES FORMED FROM THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

There are six tenses formed from the perfective participle and the participle itself will also be considered in this section. The simple past (76) is the most common tense in the GCE corpus numerically but occurs in fewer scripts than the habitual present. This can be partially explained by the nature of the composition topics. One of them, topic (b) 'A plane journey', is conducive to a past tense narrative treatment while the other two topics lend themselves to the use of the subjunctive and desiderative forms.

(76) *mera safar bahut hī xušgavār rahā* - (simple past)

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In most transitive verbs the construction with *ne* is used in tenses formed from the perfective participle. This is called the ergative construction and is well represented in the GCE corpus. There were no instances of its use with an inappropriate verb and only eight occurrences of its absence in a past tense where the use of the ergative is called for. The use of *ne* with the simple past (2), perfect (55), future perfect (77) and the pluperfect (56) is shown below.

(2) *ham ne jāne kā progrām banāyā -* (simple past + ergative)

(55) *main ne kaī bār pākistān kā safar kiyā hai-* (perfect
+ ergative)

(77) *āp ne yah kitāb parhī hogī -* (future perfect + ergative)

(56) *main ne vāpas āne kā va'dā kiyā thā -* (pluperfect + ergative)

Some forms derived from the perfective participle are subjunctive in meaning; (65) is an example from the GCE corpus, while there is a past subjunctive (93) of which there are no occurrences in the GCE corpus.

(65) *lagtā thā ki vuh āyā ho -* (past potential)

(93) *āyā hotā -* (past subjunctive)

There are over 100 occurrences of the perfect participle (57) and it occurs in over a third of the scripts analysed. The usage exemplified by (57) is not generally regarded by Urdu speakers as correct; it is considered to be a result of the influence of Panjabi. A common usage is in verbs that describe states or movements of the body, including wearing clothes. (58) shows the correct use of the perfect participle of *baiṭhnā* while (59), also drawn from the GCE corpus, shows incorrect use which is the result of the transference of the English idiom. The present progressive of this verb describes only the act of sitting, not the state. The correct form of (59) is shown in (60).

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(57) mere *čacā mujhe lene āe hūe the* - (perfect participle)

(58) main *ārām se baiṭha film dekhtā rahā* - (" ")

* (59) *vuh kursī par baiṭh rahā thā aur axbār paṅh rahā thā* -

(60) *vuh kursī par baiṭha axbār paṅh rahā thā* - (perfect participle)

The omissions from the NEA framework (See p165 above) are of significance. With the exception of *gayā* there are no other tenses formed from the perfective participle, neither is the participle itself included. The occurrences of the perfect (55) and pluperfect (56) in the GCE corpus total over two hundred while there are only thirteen occurrences of any form of the *-tā + rahnā* construction which is included in the NEA table.

4.9.2. TENSES FORMED FROM THE IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE.

There are seven tenses formed from the imperfective participle; the habitual present (13), the habitual past (33), presumptive present (66), potential present (62), contingent present (67), past subjunctive (64) and the frequentative past (71). In the GCE corpus the habitual present is the second most frequently occurring tense form and is found in over 90 percent of the scripts. There are 44 occurrences of the habitual past and 18 of the present potential but neither the presumptive present nor the contingent present are represented.

(13) *merī sahelī mujhe nasīhat detī hai* - (habitual present)

(33) *mujhe ḍar lagtā thā* - (habitual past)

(66) *vuh kālij zarūr ātā hogā* - (presumptive present)

(67) *agar vuh bīmār na hotā to vuh ātā hotā* - (contingent present)

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(62) *ki merī sahelī jhagrā na kartī ho -* (present potential)

(64) *agar alag skūl hote to yah masalā paidā na hotā -*
(past subjunctive)

There is another usage of *-tā* which is termed the frequentative past by Hackman. Being identical in form to the past subjunctive it can be identified only through the context. The GCE corpus contains nine occurrences of this form (68).

(68) *maiñ un se pākistān ke bāre meñ bahut kuch suntī -* (past frequentative)

The past subjunctive is identical in form to the imperfect participle *-tā*. This participle is included in the NEA syllabus and there were seventy instances in the GCE corpus. It is often used adverbially, as in (69), in which case the inflected form is used, while (70) shows it acting as a progressive. It can also occur adjectivally (72).

(69) *rāt jāgte hūe kaṭī -* (imperfect participle)

(70) *ham un ko ḡalat karte hūe dekhte haiñ -* (" ")

(72) *jahāz bādāl par se uṛtā hūā čarhne lagā -* (" ")

The habitual present is the second most frequently occurring tense; there were 1324 occurrences in over ninety percent of the scripts. There were numerous instances of the habitual form of *honā*. (73) shows the use of this form to make a general statement. This is contrasted with the use of the defective copula, restricted in form to *hai/haiñ* and *thā/thī/the*, to make a specific statement (74).

(73) *aksar bartānavī skūl ačche hote haiñ -* (" ")

(74) *merā dost bahut ačchā dost hai -* (copula +present)

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Of the seven tenses formed from the imperfective participle five occur in the GCE corpus. The NEA Table (p165 above) shows four forms containing the imperfective participle; three of them are not tenses as such and have been discussed thoroughly on pages 154-156 above. The only form that is included in the NEA syllabus is the habitual present (75).

(75) *vuh jātā hai* -

NEA (habitual present)

4.9.3. TENSES FORMED FROM THE VERB STEM.

Tenses formed from the stem can be sub-divided into two groups: those which are formed by adding a suffix directly to the stem, and those which are formed by the use of auxiliary verbs. The first group comprises the present subjunctive, simple future and the imperative but it must be noted that the subjunctive and future can also be marked by the use of auxiliaries in combination with the perfective and imperfective participles. Therefore it is necessary to include these forms in the discussion.

The complete absence of any tense form which expresses the subjunctive, which is a necessary component of a Basic Level syllabus, is a remarkable omission from the NEA tense framework. (p165 above) There are seven hundred occurrences of the present subjunctive alone in over eighty percent of scripts in the GCE corpus. This includes both the simple tense formed from the stem, *-e* (61), and the *-tā ho* (62) form. There were eighteen instances of the latter form. In addition to these forms there were five instances of the subjunctive form of the present progressive (63).

(61) *use cāhiye ki vuh merā sāth de* - (present subjunctive)

(62) *ki merī sahelī jhagṛā na kartī ho* - (present potential)

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(63) *aisā laga ki main xud bādalon par uṛ rahā hoñ* - (potential progressive)

In addition to the present forms of the subjunctive, the past subjunctive form (64) is also present in the GCE corpus; twenty seven occurrences in fifteen scripts. This must be considered a Higher level construction but that does not justify its exclusion from the NEA syllabus. There were also three occurrences of the past potential *-ā ho* (65).

(64) *agar alag skūl hote to masalā paidā na hotā* - (past subjunctive)

(65) *lagtā thā ki vuh āyā ho* - (past potential)

There is also a form of the past subjunctive formed from the perfective participle and the *-tā* form (96).

(96) *āyā hotā* - (past subjunctive)

In the NEA chart (p165 above) the future is represented by four forms. Hackman's matrix also contains four forms but there are only two common to both: the simple future *-egā* which is formed by a suffix added directly to the verb stem and the progressive form *rahā hogā* (91). There are over three hundred occurrences of future tense forms in the GCE corpus all of which are in the simple *-egā* form (76). There were no occurrences of the future perfect (77) although it is not an uncommon tense. It is not included in the NEA tense framework. The form with *čuknā* (78) is the nearest equivalent; it lays greater stress on the completion of the act than the *-ā hogā* form.

(76) *aise skūlon meñ ham apnā libās pahin sakeñge* - (simple future)

(77) *āp ne yah kitāb parhī hogī* - (future perfect)

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(78) *āp ne yah kitāb paḥ čukī hogī* - (future perfect
+completive)

(85) *jā rahā hogā* - NEA (presumptive progressive)

4.9.4. PROGRESSIVE FORMS.

All of the tenses formed by using auxiliary verbs in combination with the verb stem are used to mark the progressive aspect. Hackman defines five tenses in this group of which three are present in the GCE corpus. These are the present (82), past (13) and potential progressive (63) tenses. Matthews and Shackle, among others describe these as 'continuous'.

(82) *yah log hamāre bačče barbād kar rahe haiñ* - (present
progressive)

(13) *havāi jahāz uḥ rahā thā* - (past ")

(63) *aisā lagā ki maiñ xud bādaloñ par uḥ rahā hoñ*- (potential
progressive)

There was a notable degree of uncertainty in the GCE scripts in using the progressive past tense. It seemed that most of the difficulties arose in distinguishing between this form and the habitual past. (83) shows the use of the habitual past where the progressive past would be appropriate.

(83) *kaptān i'lān kartā thā ki ham uḥne vāle haiñ* - * (habitual
past)

The use of (83) implies that the captain of the plane used to make this announcement; the intended meaning is that he was, at the time, making this particular announcement. (84) shows the appropriate form.

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(84) *kaptān i'lān kar rahā thā ki ham uṛne vāle haiñ* - (past progressive)

The two progressive forms not included in the GCE corpus are the presumptive (85) and the contingent (86).

(85) *jā rahā hogā* - (presumptive progressive)

(86) *jā rahā hotā* - (contingent progressive)

The omission of any subjunctive forms from the NEA tense framework table (p165 above) has already been noted, as has the limited and unusual range of future forms. The imperative is mentioned by name but none of the forms described above have been given. Teachers and their candidates need to know what structures and forms are required; it would be very misleading to rely on this table.

4.9.5. THE IMPERATIVE.

The imperative in Urdu can be marked in five ways; three of which are formed from the stem. The GCE corpus contains two of these: the formal imperative *-iye* (78) and the informal *-o* (79). The third form *-iyegā* (80) is an ultra polite honorific form.

(78) *i'lān hūā ki sīṭ belṭ bāndh līiye* - (formal imperative)

(79) *maiñ ne kahā apne āp ko sambhālo* - (informal ")

(80) *tašrif rakhiyegā* - (honorific ")

The third form that is represented in the GCE scripts is that formed by using the infinitive *-nā* (81). This is considered to be less preremptory than the *-o* form and to have a future indication. The one instance of this form in the GCE corpus does carry the notion of futurity but since the command was given by a hijacker the assumption must be that it was

intended to be obeyed immediately. Of note here is the use of the negative particle *mat* which is only used with the Imperative forms of the verb. There were no occurrences of the simple stem form of the imperative, e.g. *baiṭh-* in the GCE corpus.

(81) *bhāgne kī kośiś mat karnā -* (infinitive imperative)

4.10. NON-FINITE VERB FORMS.

Two of the most common verb forms are non-finite; the infinitive and the conjunctive participle. Both Hook and Hackman note the characteristic use of the non-finite verb forms in Hindi/Urdu. The use of the imperfective (69), (70) and (71), and perfective (60) participles has already been discussed. The conjunctive participle, formed by combining the suffix *-kar* to the verb stem, makes for an elegant shorthand means of combining clauses and compressing them into one complex verbal expression. (87) shows the longhand version and (88) the compressed version of the same sentence.

(87) *-ham karācī pahūñce aur utarne lage -* (- conjunctive part.)

(88) *ham karācī pahūñckar utarne lage -* (+ " ")

The infinitive is used in several ways. As a verbal noun it often takes the *kā* of patient (89).

(89) *is liye un kā ṭānā nāmumkin thā -* (verbal noun)

Some modal auxiliaries are used in combination with the direct or inflected form of the infinitive e.g. *čāhnā* (18), *denā* (12) and *lagnā* (88).

(18) *maiñ vahāñ kī sair karnā čāhtī huñ -* (mod+direct infinitive)

(12) *unheñ bāhar na ṭāne deñ -* (mod+inflected infinitive)

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(88) *ham karāčī pahūčkar utarne lage -* (mod+ " ")

Many phrasal verbs govern either the direct form of the infinitive (29) or the inflected form (90) with a postposition.

(29) *maiñ ne paṛhnā šurū' kiyā -* (PV+direct infinitive)

(90) *ham ne landan jāne kā faislā kiyā -* (PV+inflected " ")

The most frequent use of the infinitive in the GCE corpus occurs in the 'desiderative' construction with either *čāhiye* (52), *honā* (53) or *paṛnā* (54). There were 300 occurrences of this construction although twelve of the *čāhiye* occurred without the infinitive (61). This sentence can equally well be expressed using the infinitive (91). The importance of this construction is indicated by its frequency.

(52) *alag skūl zarūr hone čāhiyeñ -* (des+infinitive)

(53) *hameñ savere ravānā honā thā -* (" + ")

(54) *hameñ intizār karnā paṛā -* (" + ")

(61) *use čāhiye ki vuh merā sāth de -* (" - ")

(91) *use merā sāth denā čāhiye -* (" + ")

The use of the inflected infinitive with the suffix *-vālā* is variously described as the 'agentive' or 'infinitive' participle. It has two meanings: one, to describe the person who performs the action described by the verb (92), and two, to mark an intention to, or to be about to, perform the action described by the verb (93). The second type is found in the GCE corpus much more frequently than the first, of which there were only six out of a total of 39 occurrences.

(92) *merī sahelī 'izzat karne vālī ho -* (agentive participle)

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(93) *Jahāz ravānā hone vālā hai -* (" " + future)

The use of the infinitive form as an imperative has already been noted (81).

There are examples of the infinitive in the NEA tense framework (p165 above), both as an infinitive and as a verbal noun. Its use in the construction with *čāhiye* etc. is not mentioned, neither is *čāhiye* itself. Other non finite verb forms are likewise omitted; there is no mention of either the conjunctive participle or the *vālā* construction. The passive voice is given but the example given is not formally a passive although it is passive in meaning. (94)

(94) *yah bartan kaise tūṭā?* NEA (passive)

In this example the intransitive verb, passive in meaning, has been used. The formal passive is formed in Urdu by adding the appropriate tense form of *jānā* to the perfective participle of the corresponding transitive main verb. (95) is an example of this construction but idiomatic usage would almost always prefer the corresponding intransitive verb to the passive voice of the transitive verb.

? (95) *yah bartan kaise torā gayā?* - (formal passive)

4.11. CONCLUSION.

The verbs used by the GCE 'O' Level Urdu candidates, both in terms of quantity and of type, as well as the wide range of tenses and other verb forms, indicate that they have achieved a linguistic standard considerably in advance of what might be expected of their French counterparts. The GCSE Syllabuses are required to include vocabulary lists but, as has been shown, less than half of the verbs included are common to both lists. If it is deemed necessary to produce a vocabulary list this should be derived from a corpus compiled from the target group's work in order to reflect their own language use. An enlarged

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corpus based on that used in this research and including GCSE material could form the basis for such a list.

Only one board, the NEA, has produced a structure list but there are serious *lacunae* in the tense framework included. (p165 above) Of the 24 tense and other forms which appear in the GCE corpus only eight are given in the NEA table. In Table 4.8 these forms are marked with 'NEA'. The omissions have been discussed individually above; their collective omission merits serious consideration. Even if the tenses etc. which occur in less than half the GCE scripts are set aside there are three notable exceptions: the subjunctive, in any form, the construction with *čāhiye* etc., and the conjunctive participle. Whatever lists of structures and/or vocabulary are published in an examination syllabus must be assumed to be stipulated requirements of the examination. If these lists are inadequate the teachers of Urdu are not getting the information necessary to prepare their students adequately for the GCSE.

It is perhaps not totally justifiable to single out the NEA for criticism, for it is the only one of the three boards that offer Urdu to have provided a list of grammatical structures. It is, however, essential that these structures are realistic ones for the candidates and that the grammatical information is correct. Frequency of occurrence is by no means the sole criterion for the inclusion of verb forms in a syllabus but the range of tenses etc. found in the GCE corpus, drawn from the same range of candidates as the GCSE, indicate that a more suitable and realistic framework can be created. The fact that many of the candidates who enter for the GCSE in Urdu and other Community Languages are, if not native speakers, proficient performers and not *ab initio* learners complicates the issue for the examination must also be accessible to those who are learning from scratch. Even for this group, however, a vocabulary and structure list needs to be based on actual usage. This and frequency of usage are important factors in deciding what, and in which order, language and structures are to be taught. The data on verbs etc. compiled from the GCE corpus could serve as a useful basis for this work.

TABLE 4.1.
LEXICAL VERBS IN GCE CORPUS (excluding phrasal verbs.)

ubalnā	pūčhnā	dekhnā	khonā
apnānā	pahčānnā	denā	khelnā
utārnā	pahnānā	dhaṛaknā	guzārnā
utarnā	pahuñčānā	dhakelnā	guzarnā
uṭhānā	pahuñčnā	dhulnā	girnā
uṭhnā	pahinnā	dhonā	ghabrānā
uṛānā	phāṛnā	ḍālnā	ghasīṭnā
uṛnā	phirnā	ḍabānā	ghirnā
ulaṭnā	phelānā	ḍarnā	ghūmnā
ānā	phainṭnā	ḍūbnā	lādnā
oṛhnā	pīnā	ḍhūṇḍnā	lānā
bāñṭnā	taṛapnā	račānā	lapaknā
bāndhnā	thaknā	rukṇā	laṛnā
batānā	ṭūṭnā	rakhnā	likhnā
biṭānā	ṭoknā	rakhvānā	lagānā
biṭhānā	ṭhahrānā	rūṭhnā	lagnā
bajānā	ṭhahrnā	roknā	lauṭnā
bajnā	jāgnā	ronā	lenā
bačānā	jānā	rahnā	lainḍnā (E)
bačnā	jānnā	sitānā	mārnā
bičhaṛnā	jagānā	saknā	māñgnā
badalnā	jalnā	sikhānā	mānnā
baṛhānā	joṛnā	samjhānā	mačānā
baṛhnā	jīnā	samajhānā	marnā
basānā	jhāñknā	sunānā	muskarānā
basnā	jhukānā	sunnā	milānā
biknā	jhagaṛnā	sañbhālnā	milnā
bulānā	čāhnā	sūjhnā	manānā
bulvānā	čaṛhnā	sočnā	mañgānā
banānā	čuknā	sonā	mañgvānā
bannā	čalānā	sikhnā	moṛnā
bolnā	čilānā	šarmānā	nāpnā
baiṭhnā	čalnā	farmānā	nibhānā
bečnā	čunnā	kāṭnā	nikālnā
bhāgnā	čīxnā	karānā	nikalnā
bharnā	čhānā	karnā	nahānā
bhūlnā	čhupānā	kodnā	haṭānā
bhejnā	čoṛnā	kahlānā	haṭnā
pānā	čhūnā	kahnā	hīlnā
parakhnā	xarīdnā	khānā	hañsānā
paṛnā	dabānā	khilānā	hañsnā
paṛhnā	dukhānā	khulnā	honā
pakaṛnā	dikhānā	khilnā	
pilānā	dukhnā	khulvānā	
palnā	dilānā	kholnā	
	dauṛnā		

178 verbs.

(E) = ENGLISH WORD.

TABLE 4. 2.

PHRASE VERBS IN GCE CORPUS.

NOMINAL COMPONENTS IN COMBINATION WITH *honā* FORMING PHRASE VERBS.

(a) BY ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

(b) BY FREQUENCY.

<i>ittifāq</i>	<i>sābit</i> (6)	<i>ḡarūb</i>	(3 or more
<i>asar</i>	<i>jaldī</i>	<i>ḡussā</i>	(occurrences.)
<i>ijāzat</i>	<i>jam'</i>	<i>ḡalat</i>	
<i>ahsās</i>	<i>javān</i> (3)	<i>ḡalati</i>	34 <i>ma'lūm</i>
<i>aččhā</i> (6)	<i>jhagrā</i>	<i>ḡam</i>	28 <i>xušī</i>
<i>udās</i>	<i>čup</i>	<i>fāriḡ</i> (3)	23 <i>ravānā</i>
<i>ārāmdih</i> (2)	<i>čūr</i>	<i>fāidā</i> (3)	23 <i>'alahidā</i>
<i>āsān</i> (2)	<i>ček</i> (E) (2)	<i>farz</i> (5)	19 <i>savār</i>
<i>ištīyāq</i>	<i>hādsā</i> (3)	<i>farq</i> (2)	18 <i>xuš</i>
<i>i'tarāz</i> (2)	<i>hāsīl</i> (3)	<i>fīkr</i> (7)	17 <i>pasand</i>
<i>i'lān</i> (9)	<i>hal</i>	<i>faut</i> (2)	16 <i>khaḡā</i>
<i>aḡvā</i>	<i>hairān</i> (3)	<i>qābil</i> (4)	16 <i>mahsūs</i>
<i>ikkatḡhā</i>	<i>xālī</i>	<i>qāim</i>	12 <i>paidā</i>
<i>alag</i>	<i>xāmoš</i> (4)	<i>qarīb</i>	12 <i>xarāb</i>
<i>umīd</i> (5)	<i>xatam</i> (8)	<i>kām</i>	12 <i>dāxil</i>
<i>āvārā</i>	<i>xarāb</i> (12)	<i>kāmyāb</i>	11 <i>zarūrat</i>
<i>īmāndār</i>	<i>xarč</i>	<i>kaḡhin</i>	10 <i>tayyār</i>
<i>itmīnān</i>	<i>xatrā</i>	<i>krāš</i> (E) (2)	9 <i>'ilān</i>
<i>badnasīb</i>	<i>xilāf</i> (2)	<i>kam</i>	8 <i>xatam</i>
<i>barbād</i> (3)	<i>xuš</i> (18)	<i>khaḡā</i> (16)	8 <i>šauq</i>
<i>baḡā</i> (5)	<i>xušī</i> (28)	<i>gumrāh</i>	7 <i>patā</i>
<i>buk</i> (E)	<i>xiyāl</i>	<i>lālač</i> (2)	7 <i>šurū'</i>
<i>band</i> (6)	<i>dāxil</i> (12)	<i>lutf andoz</i> (3)	7 <i>fīkr</i>
<i>bor</i> (E) (2)	<i>dukh</i> (2)	<i>lainḡ</i> (E) (2)	7 <i>nārāz</i>
<i>beparvāh</i>	<i>dilčaspī</i> (2)	<i>mubārak</i>	6 <i>aččhā</i>
<i>bezār</i> (2)	<i>dūr</i> (3)	<i>mubtalā</i>	6 <i>band</i>
<i>bīmār</i> (2)	<i>dair</i>	<i>majbūr</i>	6 <i>ḡhīk</i>
<i>behoš</i>	<i>ḡar</i> (4)	<i>muhabbat</i>	6 <i>sābit</i>
<i>bharosā</i> (2)	<i>ruxsat</i>	<i>mahdūd</i>	6 <i>yād</i>
<i>pāband</i>	<i>ravānā</i> (23)	<i>mahrūm</i>	5 <i>umīd</i>
<i>pās</i> (E)	<i>rošan</i>	<i>mahsūs</i> (16)	5 <i>baḡā</i>
<i>patā</i> (7)	<i>sāth</i> (2)	<i>muškil</i>	5 <i>farz</i>
<i>parvāz</i>	<i>štārḡ</i>	<i>masrūf</i>	4 <i>taklīf</i>
<i>parvāh</i>	<i>sastā</i>	<i>musībat</i>	4 <i>xāmoš</i>
<i>parešān</i> (3)	<i>savār</i> (19)	<i>m'alūm</i> (34)	4 <i>ḡar</i>
<i>paḡtāl</i> (2)	<i>šāmil</i>	<i>muḡarrar</i>	4 <i>qābil</i>
<i>paḡhā likhā</i>	<i>šarmīndā</i>	<i>mulāqāt</i>	3 <i>barbād</i>
<i>pasand</i> (17)	<i>šurū'</i> (7)	<i>munāsīb</i>	3 <i>parešān</i>
<i>pūrā</i>	<i>šarīk</i>	<i>manzūr</i>	3 <i>javān</i>
<i>piyār</i> (2)	<i>šak</i>	<i>man'</i>	3 <i>hādsā</i>
<i>allāh kā piyarā</i>	<i>šukarguzār</i>	<i>maujūd</i>	3 <i>hāsīl</i>
<i>paidā</i> (12)	<i>šauq</i> (8)	<i>mahngā</i>	3 <i>hairān</i>
<i>tāzā</i>	<i>zarūrat</i> (11)	<i>nārāz</i> (7)	3 <i>dūr</i>
<i>tabāh</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>nangā</i>	3 <i>fāriḡ</i>
<i>tasallīf</i>	<i>zāhir</i>	<i>vāqīf</i>	3 <i>fāidā</i>
<i>taklīf</i> (4)	<i>'ādat</i>	<i>višvās</i>	3 <i>lutf-andoz</i>
<i>tamām</i>	<i>'izzat</i> (2)	<i>vaqt</i>	
<i>tang</i>	<i>'ilm</i> (2)	<i>yād</i> (6)	2 22 words.
<i>tayyār</i> (10)	<i>'alahidā</i> (23)	<i>yaqīn</i> (2)	1 74 words.
<i>ḡhīk</i> (6)	<i>ḡāib</i>		TOTAL: 149 WORDS.
			TOTAL: 513 OCCS.

(E) = ENGLISH WORDS.

TABLE 4. 3.

PHRASE VERBS IN GCE CORPUS.

NOMINAL COMPONENTS USED WITH *karnā* FORMING PHRASE VERBS.

FIGURES IN BRACKETS SHOW FREQUENCY. (E) = English words.

(a) ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

(b) BY FREQUENCY.

<i>ittifāq</i> (2)	<i>tanqīd</i>	<i>zūlm</i>		
<i>ixtiyār</i>	<i>tavāzu'</i>	' <i>izzat</i> (19)	(3 or more	
<i>adā</i> (2)	<i>tayyār</i> (12)	' <i>alahīdā</i>	occurrences.)	
<i>udās</i>	ṭ <i>elīfūn</i> (E)	' <i>amal</i>		
<i>idhar-udhar</i>	ṭ <i>hīk</i>	ḡ <i>ussā</i>		
<i>irādā</i>	<i>jārī</i>	ḡ <i>alat</i> (2)		
<i>ārām</i> (2)	<i>jāldī</i>	ḡ <i>alatī</i> (3)		
<i>isti'māl</i>	<i>jhaḡṛā</i> (5)	ḡ <i>aur</i>		
<i>istiqbāl</i>	č <i>up</i>	<i>farāham</i>		
<i>i'lān</i> (19)	č <i>uḡlī</i> (3)	<i>farz</i>		
<i>aḡvā</i>	č <i>orī</i>	<i>farq</i>	42	<i>safar</i>
<i>ikaṭṭhā</i> (2)	č <i>ek</i> (E) (2)	<i>fikr</i>	41	<i>bāt</i> (en)
<i>āḡāh</i> (2)	<i>hāsīl</i> (8)	<i>fill</i> (E)	27	<i>kām</i>
<i>ulṭī</i>	<i>hajj</i> (2)	<i>faišan</i> (E) (2)	25	<i>madad</i>
<i>alag</i>	<i>harf</i>	<i>faislā</i> (4)	23	<i>šurū'</i>
<i>umīd</i> (3)	<i>harkat</i> (2)	<i>qāim</i>	20	<i>intizār</i>
<i>intixāb</i>	<i>hifāzat</i> (2)	<i>qurbān</i> (4)	19	<i>i'lān</i>
<i>intizār</i> (20)	<i>hal</i>	<i>kām</i> (27)	19	' <i>izzat</i>
<i>āvārā</i>	<i>hamlā</i>	<i>kāmyāb</i>	18	<i>košīš</i>
<i>ūnčā</i>	<i>xātir</i>	<i>košīš</i> (18)	17	<i>pasand</i>
<i>ījād</i>	<i>xatam</i> (4)	<i>khaṛā</i>	12	<i>tayyār</i>
<i>bāt</i> (en) (41)	<i>xidmat</i> (3)	<i>guzārā</i>	8	<i>hāsīl</i>
<i>bāthrum</i>	<i>xarāb</i>	<i>laṛāī</i> (3)	6	<i>sair</i>
<i>badtamizī</i>	<i>xarč</i>	<i>lainḡ</i> (3)	6	<i>mana'</i>
<i>badm'āšī</i>	<i>xuš</i>	<i>majbūr</i> (2)	6	<i>nafrat</i>
<i>barbād</i>	<i>xuš āmadīd</i>	<i>muhabbat</i>	5	<i>band</i>
<i>bartāo</i> (2)	<i>dastyāb</i>	<i>mahsūs</i> (3)	5	<i>piyār</i>
<i>bardāšt</i>	<i>d' uā</i>	<i>madad</i> (25)	5	<i>jhaḡṛā</i>
<i>baṛā</i>	<i>daḡā bāzī</i>	<i>mizāq</i> (3)	4	<i>pār</i>
<i>basar</i>	<i>dostī</i> (3)	<i>marzī</i>	4	<i>paidā</i>
<i>band</i> (5)	<i>dekh bhāl</i> (2)	<i>mazā</i>	4	<i>xatam</i>
<i>borḡ</i> (E)	<i>rahm</i>	<i>mu'āf</i> (4)	4	<i>faislā</i>
<i>bezār</i>	<i>ravānā</i>	<i>mu'āinā</i>	4	<i>qurbān</i>
<i>bharosā</i> (2)	<i>rošan</i>	<i>ma'lūm</i> (2)	4	<i>lainḡ</i>
<i>pār</i> (4)	<i>ziyādatī</i>	<i>mīks</i> (E)	4	<i>mu'āf</i>
<i>pās</i> (E) (2)	<i>šṭārṭ</i> (E)	<i>mulāqāt</i> (2)	3	<i>umīd</i>
<i>patā</i>	<i>safar</i> (42)	<i>mana'</i> (6)	3	<i>talāš</i>
<i>parvāz</i> (2)	<i>sulūk</i>	<i>muñh</i> (2)	3	<i>čūḡlī</i>
<i>parvāh</i>	<i>savāl</i>	<i>muhayyā</i>	3	<i>xidmat</i>
<i>parešān</i>	<i>swimming</i> (E)	<i>muassir</i>	3	<i>dostī</i>
<i>paṛhāī</i>	<i>sair</i> (6)	<i>nārāz</i>	3	<i>šādī</i>
<i>pasand</i> (17)	<i>šādī</i> (3)	<i>nāštā</i> (2)	3	<i>tai</i>
<i>plen</i> (E)	<i>šāmil</i>	<i>nibāh</i>	3	<i>ḡalatī</i>
<i>pūčh gačh</i>	<i>šarāratī</i>	<i>nisār</i> (2)	3	<i>laṛāī</i>
<i>piyār</i> (5)	<i>šarmindā</i>	<i>nazārā</i>	3	<i>mahsūs</i>
<i>paidā</i> (4)	<i>šurū'</i> (23)	<i>nafrat</i> (6)	3	<i>mizāq</i>
<i>peš</i>	<i>šarīk</i>	<i>nekī</i>		
<i>tāid</i>	<i>šukar</i> (2)	<i>vāpas</i>	2	25 words.
<i>tabdīl</i>	<i>sāf</i>	<i>vazan</i>	1	92 words.
<i>taqsim</i>	<i>salāh</i>	<i>va'dā</i> (2)		TOTAL: 507 occs.
<i>talāš</i> (3)	<i>tai</i> (3)	<i>yād</i> (2)		TOTAL: 153 words.

TABLE 4. 4.

PHRASE VERBS IN GCE CORPUS.

NOMINALS FORMING PHRASAL VERBS WITH *karnā* and *honā*. 53 Pairs.
ALPHABETICAL ORDER. FIGURES IN BRACKETS=FREQUENCY.

(E)=ENGLISH WORDS.

	+karnā	+honā		+karnā	+honā		+karnā	+honā
<i>ittifāq</i>	2	1	<i>jhagrā</i>	5	1	<i>ḡussā</i>	1	1
<i>i'lān</i>	19	9	<i>čup</i>	1	1	<i>ḡalat</i>	2	1
<i>alag</i>	1	1	<i>ček (E)</i>	2	2	<i>ḡalati</i>	3	1
<i>umīd</i>	3	5	<i>hāsīl</i>	8	3	<i>farz</i>	1	5
<i>āvārā</i>	1	1	<i>hal</i>	1	1	<i>farq</i>	1	2
<i>barbād</i>	1	3	<i>xatam</i>	4	8	<i>fīkr</i>	1	7
<i>baḡā</i>	1	5	<i>xarāb</i>	1	12	<i>qāīm</i>	1	1
<i>band</i>	5	6	<i>xarč</i>	1	1	<i>kām</i>	27	1
<i>bezār</i>	1	2	<i>xuš</i>	1	18	<i>khaḡā</i>	1	16
<i>bharosā</i>	2	2	<i>ravānā</i>	1	23	<i>lainḡ (E)</i>	4	2
<i>patā</i>	1	7	<i>rošan</i>	1	1	<i>majbūr</i>	2	1
<i>parvāz</i>	2	1	<i>sḡārḡ (E)</i>	1	1	<i>muhabbat</i>	1	1
<i>parvāh</i>	1	1	<i>šāmil</i>	1	1	<i>mahsūs</i>	3	16
<i>parešān</i>	1	3	<i>šarmīndā</i>	1	1	<i>ma'lūm</i>	2	34
<i>pasand</i>	17	17	<i>šurū'</i>	23	7	<i>mana'</i>	6	1
<i>piyār</i>	5	2	<i>tai</i>	3	1	<i>nārāz</i>	1	7
<i>paidā</i>	4	12	<i>'izzat</i>	19	2	<i>yād</i>	2	6
<i>tayyār</i>	12	10	<i>'alahīdā</i>	1	23			

TOTAL: 53 NOUNS OR ADJECTIVES IN COMBINATION WITH BOTH *karnā* & *honā*.

TABLE 4.5.

PHRASE VERBS IN THE GCE CORPUS.

NOMINALS FORMING PHRASAL VERBS WITH VERBS OTHER THAN *karnā* OR *honā*.

FIGURES IN BRACKETS=FREQUENCY IN GCE CORPUS. (E)=ENGLISH WORDS.

<u>+uṭhānā</u> (3v4occ)	<u>+banānā</u> (2v3occ)	<i>dhiyān</i> (1)	<u>+khehnā</u> (1v1occ)
<i>fāidā</i> (1)	<i>progrām</i> (1) (E)	<i>sāth</i> (21)	
<i>qadam</i> (2)	<i>mazāq</i> (2)	<i>sunāi</i> (2)	<i>mazāq</i> (1)
<i>lutf</i> (1)		<i>gālī</i> (1)	
		<i>mubārakbād</i> (1)	
	<u>+bolnā</u> (2v8occ)	<i>mašvarā</i> (1)	<u>+lagānā</u> (8v9occ)
<u>+uṛānā</u> (1v3occ)		<i>nasīhat</i> (2)	
	<i>jhūṭ</i> (7)	<i>vāpas</i> (2)	<i>ilzām</i> (1)
<i>mizāq</i> (3)	<i>sač</i> (1)		<i>patā</i> (1)
		<u>+rakhnā</u> (9v35occ)	<i>jhaṭkā</i> (1)
			<i>čakkar</i> (1)
<u>+ānā</u> (21v131occ)	<u>+paṛnā</u> (5v8occ)	<i>umīd</i> (15)	<i>dil</i> (2)
<i>āvāz</i> (5)		<i>ta'aluq</i> (2)	<i>dhačkā</i> (1)
<i>ūnḡheñ</i> (1)	<i>asar</i> (1)	<i>xaiyāl</i> (7)	<i>gālī</i> (1)
<i>bārī</i> (1)	<i>zarūrat</i> (2)	<i>dilčaspī</i> (1)	<i>muhr</i> (1)
<i>bāz</i> (1)	<i>'ādat</i> (1)	<i>rozā</i> (5)	
<i>bū</i> (1)	<i>farq</i> (3)	<i>qāim</i> (1)	<u>+lagnā</u> (10v55occ)
<i>pasand</i> (5)	<i>ma'lūm</i> (1)	<i>lagāo</i> (1)	
<i>peš</i> (5)		<i>nām</i> (1)	<i>ačhā</i> (18)
<i>tars</i> (1)		<i>yād</i> (2)	<i>burā</i> (2)
<i>tang</i> (1)	<u>+paṛhnā</u> (2v8occ)		<i>bhūk</i> (6)
<i>čaq</i> (1)		<u>+karānā</u> (7v16occ)	<i>patā</i> (8)
<i>samajh meñ</i> (2)	<i>sabaq</i> (1)		<i>jhaṭkā</i> (1)
<i>šarm</i> (2)	<i>namāz</i> (7)	<i>buk</i> (1) (E)	<i>dair</i> (3)
<i>ḡusse meñ</i> (1)		<i>ta'āruf</i> (1)	<i>ḡar</i> (18)
<i>qe</i> (2)	<u>+čalnā</u> (1v14occ)	<i>čup</i> (4)	<i>sardī</i> (1)
<i>kām</i> (26)		<i>ček</i> (5) (E)	<i>garmī</i> (1)
<i>mazā</i> (16)	<i>patā</i> (14)	<i>sair</i> (2)	
<i>nazar</i> (41)		<i>faišan</i> (1) (E)	<u>+lenā</u> (10v10occ)
<i>nīnd</i> (8)	<u>+dilānā</u> (1v1occ)	<i>vazan</i> (2)	
<i>vāpas</i> (4)			<i>ifāzat</i> (1)
<i>hoš meñ</i> (1)	<i>yād</i> (1)	<u>+kahnā</u> (3v5occ)	<i>patā</i> (1)
<i>yād</i> (5)			<i>tašrif</i> (1)
<i>yaqīn</i> (1)		<i>burā bhalā</i> (1)	<i>janam</i> (1)
	<u>+denā</u> (20v71occ)	<i>xudā hāfiz</i> (2)	<i>jhaṭkā</i> (1)
<i>bāñdhnā</i> (1v1occ)		<i>xuš āmadīd</i> (2)	<i>dilčaspī</i> (1)
	<i>ifāzat</i> (2)		<i>sāñs</i> (1)
<i>qitār</i> (1)	<i>tarbiyat</i> (3)		<i>mazā</i> (1)
	<i>tasallī</i> (2)	<u>+khānā</u> (2v2occ)	<i>mašvarā</i> (1)
	<i>t'alīm</i> (10)		<i>vāpas</i> (1)
<u>+biṭānā</u> (1v2occ)	<i>tavajjuh</i> (1)	<i>tars</i> (1)	
	<i>javāb</i> (7)	<i>rahm</i> (1)	<u>+mārnā</u> (3v3occ)
<i>hāth</i> (2)	<i>hukm</i> (1)		
	<i>daxil</i> (1)	<u>+khuInā</u> (1v3occ)	<i>ṭhappar</i> (1)
	<i>dikhāi</i> (8)		<i>golī</i> (1)
<u>+bajānā</u> (1v1occ)	<i>dhamkī</i> (1)		<i>muhr</i> (1)
	<i>dhakkā</i> (1)	<i>āñkh</i> (3)	
<i>tālī</i> (1)	<i>dhokā</i> (3)		

TABLE: 4.5.
(Continued)

<u>+māṅgnā(1vlocc)</u>	<u>+mačānā(1vlocc)</u>	<u>+milnā(2v9occ)</u>	<u>+nikālnā(1vlocc)</u>
du'ā(1)	šor(1)	gale(7) mauqa'(2)	gālī(1)
<u>+mānnā (1vlocc)</u>	<u>+milānā (1vlocc)</u>		<u>+hāṅknā (1vlocc)</u>
burā(1)	hāṅ meṅ hāṅ(1)		gap šap(1)
<u>Total Verbs: 123</u>		<u>Total Occurrences: 409.</u>	
+karnā verbs: 153		occurrences: 507	
+honā verbs: 149		occurrences: 513	
<u>TOTAL VERBS : 425</u>		<u>TOTAL OCCURRENCES: 1429.</u>	

TABLE: 4. 6.

VERBS OCCURRING IN BARKER. 50 VERBS IN RANK ORDER OF FREQUENCY.

WITH GCE VERBS AS COMPARISON. %1: all occs. %2: verb occs.

BARKER (136,738 words) (23,704 verbs)					GCE (34,730 words) (8,395 verbs)				
VERB	ORDER	FREQUENCY	(%)1	(%)2	ORDER	FREQUENCY	(%)1	(%)2	
<i>honā</i>	1	8836	6.46	37.3	1	3277	9.44	39.1	
<i>karnā</i>	2	4149	3.03	17.5	3	592	1.70	7.1	
<i>jānā</i>	3	2515	1.84	10.6	2	775	2.23	9.2	
<i>denā</i>	4	1355	0.99	5.7	9	195	0.56	2.3	
<i>rahnā</i>	5	905	0.66	3.8	4	316	0.91	3.8	
<i>lenā</i>	6	621	0.45	2.6	18	96	0.28	1.1	
<i>saknā</i>	7	558	0.41	2.4	8	203	0.59	2.4	
<i>kahnā</i>	8	546	0.40	2.3	12	120	0.35	1.4	
<i>ānā</i>	9	390	0.29	1.6	5	252	0.73	3.0	
<i>rakhnā</i>	10	309	0.23	1.3	28	34	0.10	0.4	
<i>batānā</i>	11	197	0.14	0.8	19	64	0.18	0.8	
* <i>čāhiye</i>	12	178	0.13	0.8	6	236	0.70	2.8	
<i>banānā</i>	13=	172	0.13	0.8	26	35	0.10	0.4	
<i>milnā</i>	13=	172	0.13	0.8	13=	112	0.32	1.3	
<i>dekhnā</i>	15	171	0.13	0.8	10	137	0.39	1.6	
<i>čuknā</i>	16	136	0.10	0.6	50	14	0.04	0.2	
<i>paṛnā</i>	17	126	0.09	0.6	21	59	0.17	0.8	
<i>pahučnā</i>	18	124	0.09	0.6	17	90	0.26	1.1	
<i>bannā</i>	19	123	0.09	0.6	24	38	0.11	0.5	
<i>čalnā</i>	20	107	0.08	0.5	15	103	0.30	1.3	
<i>samajhnā</i>	21	93	0.08	0.4	22	49	0.14	0.6	
<i>paṛhnā</i>	22	90	0.07	0.4	18	89	0.26	1.1	
<i>lagānā</i>	23	84	0.06	0.4	38	23	0.07	0.3	
<i>čāhnā</i>	24	83	0.06	0.4	13=	112	0.32	1.3	
<i>farmānā</i>	25	80	0.06	0.4	102=	2	<0.01	<0.1	
<i>bhejnā</i>	26	76	0.06	0.3	56=	9	0.03	0.1	
<i>lagnā</i>	27	74	0.06	0.3	7	214	0.62	2.6	
<i>uṭhānā</i>	28	64	0.05	0.3	37	24	0.07	0.3	
<i>ḍālnā</i>	29=	61	0.05	0.3	77=	5	0.01	<0.1	
<i>karānā</i>	29=	61	0.05	0.3	41	20	0.05	0.2	
<i>lānā</i>	31=	59	0.04	0.2	52	13	0.04	0.2	
<i>likhnā</i>	31=	59	0.04	0.2	45=	15	0.04	0.2	
<i>čalānā</i>	33	56	0.04	0.2	63=	7	0.02	0.1	
<i>mārnā</i>	34	53	0.04	0.2	77=	5	0.01	0.1	
<i>pānā</i>	35	52	0.04	0.2	72=	6	0.02	0.1	
<i>baṛhānā</i>	36=	48	0.04	0.2	102=	2	<0.01	<0.1	
<i>nikalnā</i>	36=	48	0.04	0.2	42	19	0.05	0.2	
<i>sunnā</i>	38	42	0.03	0.2	34=	27	0.07	0.3	
<i>baiṭhnā</i>	39	39	0.03	0.2	11	126	0.36	1.5	
<i>čhoṛnā</i>	40	37	0.03	0.2	45=	15	0.04	0.2	
<i>nikālnā</i>	41	36	0.03	0.2	77=	5	0.01	0.1	
<i>bačānā</i>	42=	35	0.03	0.1	--	0	0.00	0.0	
<i>pakaṛnā</i>	42=	35	0.03	0.1	72=	6	0.02	0.1	
<i>jānnā</i>	42=	35	0.03	0.1	34=	27	0.07	0.3	
<i>khānā</i>	42=	35	0.03	0.1	26=	35	0.10	0.4	
* <i>baje</i>	46=	34	0.03	0.1	--	0	0.00	0.0	
<i>roknā</i>	46=	34	0.03	0.1	92=	3	0.01	<0.1	
<i>badalnā</i>	48=	33	0.02	0.1	121=	1	<0.01	<0.1	
<i>dilānā</i>	48=	33	0.02	0.1	121=	1	<0.01	<0.1	
<i>guzarnā</i>	50	31	0.02	0.1	43=	18	0.05	0.2	

* *baje* and *čāhiye* are included as special verbal forms.

TABLE: 4.7.

MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURRING VERBS IN GCE CORPUS. (50)
SHOWING FREQUENCY OF VERB OCCURRENCES BY FUNCTION.

VERB	LEXICAL	PHRASAL	TENSE	AUX	INTENSIVE	OTHER	TOTAL
<i>honā</i>	770	513(149)	1952	-	-	42(des)	3277
<i>jānā</i>	461	-	2	248	-	64(pass)	775
<i>karnā</i>	83	507(153)	2	-	-	-	592
<i>rahnā</i>	90	-	226	-	-	-	316
<i>ānā</i>	122	130(22)	-	-	4	-	246
<i>čāhiye</i>	-	-	-	-	-	236(des)	236
<i>lagnā</i>	49	54(11)	-	-	-	111(mod)	214
<i>saknā</i>	-	-	-	203(mod)	-	-	203
<i>denā</i>	56	70(20)	-	63	-	6(mod)	195
<i>dekhnā</i>	137	-	-	-	-	-	137
<i>baiḥnā</i>	124	-	-	2	-	-	126
<i>kahnā</i>	115	5(3)	-	-	-	-	120
<i>čāhnā</i>	38	-	-	-	74(mod)	-	112
<i>mīlnā</i>	103	9(2)	-	-	-	-	112
<i>čalnā</i>	89	14(1)	-	-	-	-	103
<i>lenā</i>	28	10(10)	-	58	-	-	96
<i>pahučnā</i>	90	-	-	-	-	-	90
<i>parhnā</i>	81	8(2)	-	-	-	-	89
<i>batānā</i>	64	-	-	-	-	-	64
<i>uḥnā</i>	61	-	-	-	-	-	61
<i>paḥnā</i>	8	8(5)	-	-	21	22(des)	59
<i>samaḥnā</i>	49	-	-	-	-	-	49
<i>utarnā</i>	43	-	-	-	-	-	43
<i>rakhnā</i>	-	35(9)	-	4	-	-	39
<i>bannā</i>	38	-	-	-	-	-	38
<i>dikhānā</i>	36	-	-	-	-	-	36
<i>banānā</i>	32	3(2)	-	-	-	-	35
<i>khānā</i>	33	2(20)	-	-	-	-	35
<i>pūčhnā</i>	33	-	-	-	-	-	33
<i>sonā</i>	33	-	-	-	-	-	33
<i>bāndhnā</i>	29	1(1)	-	-	-	-	30
<i>bolnā</i>	21	8(2)	-	-	-	-	29
<i>pahinnā</i>	29	-	-	-	-	-	29
<i>jānnā</i>	27	-	-	-	-	-	27
<i>sunnā</i>	27	-	-	-	-	-	27
<i>sīkhnā</i>	26	-	-	-	-	-	26
<i>uḥnā</i>	22	-	-	2	-	-	24
<i>lagānā</i>	15	8(7)	-	-	-	-	23
<i>sočnā</i>	22	-	-	-	-	-	22
<i>pīnā</i>	21	-	-	-	-	-	21
<i>karānā</i>	-	20(20)	-	-	-	-	20
<i>nikalnā</i>	19	-	-	-	-	-	19
<i>sikhānā</i>	18	-	-	-	-	-	18
<i>guzarnā</i>	18	-	-	-	-	-	18
<i>uḥhānā</i>	12	4(3)	-	-	-	-	16
<i>bhūlnā</i>	15	-	-	-	-	-	15
<i>čhornā</i>	15	-	-	-	-	-	15
<i>kholnā</i>	15	-	-	-	-	-	15
<i>likhnā</i>	15	-	-	-	-	-	15
<i>čuknā</i>	-	-	-	-	14(mod)	-	14

TABLE: 4.8.
TENSE FREQUENCIES IN GCE 'O' LEVEL CORPUS.
INCLUDING NON-FINITE FORMS & ASPECT MARKERS.

'TENSE'	OCCURRENCES	SCRIPTS/170	PERCENTAGE	OCGS/SCRIPT	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
1 SIMPLE PAST -ā	1671	111	65.3	15.1	NEA (B)
2 HABITUAL PRESENT -tā hai	1324	159	93.5	8.3	NEA (D)
3 INFINITIVE -nā	758	169	99.4	4.5	NEA (-)
4 PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE -e	677	138	81.2	4.9	- (-)
5 DESIDERATIVE čāhiye	338	119	70.0	2.8	- (-)
6 FUTURE -egā	309	110	64.7	2.8	NEA (-)
7 CONJUNCT. PARTICIPLE -kar	197	109	64.1	1.8	- (-)
8 PROGRESSIVE PAST rahā thā	173	64	37.6	2.7	- (J)
9 PLUPERFECT -ā thā	152	65	38.3	2.3	- (H)
10 PERFECT PARTICIPLE -ā hūā	108	67	39.4	1.6	- (B)
11 HABITUAL PAST -tā thā	103	44	25.9	2.3	- (G)
12 PERFECT -ā hai	74	48	28.2	1.5	- (E)
13 IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE -tā hūā	70	40	23.5	1.8	NEA (A)
14 PROGRESSIVE PRESENT rahā hai	48	34	20.0	1.4	NEA (F)
16 IMPERATIVE -iye/-o	40	24	14.2	1.7	NEA (-)
15 AGENTIVE -ne vālā	39	31	18.2	1.3	- (-)
17 PAST SUBJUNCTIVE -tā	27	15	8.8	1.8	- (A)
18 PRESENT POTENTIAL -tā ho	18	8	4.7	4.4	- (N)
19 CONTINUATIVE -tā rahnā	13	9	5.3	1.4	NEA (-)
20 PROGRESSIVE POTENTIAL rahā ho	5	4	2.4	1.3	- (Q)
21 FREQUENTATIVE PAST -tā	4	2	1.2	2.0	- (A)
22 PAST SUBJUNCTIVE -ā ho	3	3	1.8	1.0	- (P)
23 FREQUENTATIVE -tā jānā	2	2	1.2	2.0	- (-)
24 HABITUAL -ā karnā	2	2	1.2	2.0	- (-)

(a) Total occurrences of 'tense'. (b) Number of scripts in which 'tense' occurs.

(c) (b) as a percentage of total number of scripts(170).

(d) Mean of 'tense' occurrences in scripts. (a)÷(b).

TABLE: 4.9.
TENSE AND ASPECT MATRIX FOR HINDI/URDU VERBS.

1	2	3	4
Present Participle	Past Participle	Progressive	Auxiliary
<i>ātā</i>	<i>āyā</i>	-	-
(A) frequentative past contingent	(B) indicative past	(C) -	-
<i>ātā hai</i>	<i>āyā hai</i>	<i>ā rahā hai</i>	<i>hai</i>
(D) (habitual) present	(E) present perfect	(F) present progressive	(present)
<i>ātā thā</i>	<i>āyā thā</i>	<i>ā rahā thā</i>	<i>thā</i>
(G) habitual past	(H) past perfect	(J) past progressive	(past)
<i>ātā hogā</i>	<i>āyā hogā</i>	<i>ā rahā hogā</i>	<i>hogā</i>
(K) presumptive	(L) presumptive	(M) presumptive	(future)
<i>ātā ho</i>	<i>āyā ho</i>	<i>ā rahā ho</i>	<i>ho</i>
(N) potential	(P) potential	(Q) potential	(optative)
<i>ātā hotā</i>	<i>āyā hotā</i>	<i>ā rahā hotā</i>	<i>hotā</i>
(R) contingent	(S) contingent	(T) contingent	(present participle)

NOTE.

Column 1 corresponds to the Imperfective aspect.

Column 2 " " " Perfective " .

Column 3 " " " Progressive " .

Column 4 gives the appropriate form of the Auxiliary verb.

SOURCE: HACKMAN (1980: P112).

Letters in brackets are those given in Hackman's thesis. For purposes of comparison these letters are put against the appropriate verb forms in Table 4.8. (p186)

TABLE 4. 10.
(Continued)

PHRASE VERBS COMBINED WITH karnā & honā.

<u>+karnā</u>	<u>+karnā</u>	<u>+karnā</u>	<u>+honā</u>
ada	tijārat	šurū'	band
adakārī	tajviz	šikār	bīmār
irādā	taxeir	šukar	parešān
ārāstā	tarraqī	šikāyat	paidā
ārām	ta'rīf	šanāxt	tāmul
istrī	taqsīm	šor	taklif
istiqbāl	takkaluf	sāf	tayyār
itminān	talāš	ğalat	ṭhik
i'lān	tanqid	ğalatī	jā bajā
ağvā	tayyār	farz	hairān
afsos	tez raftār	qāim	xālī
ikaṭṭhā	jaldī	qabūl	xāmoš
iltijā	jama'	qismat yāvarī	xatam
intixāb	jāsūsī	kām	xarāb
intizār	čarčā	khaṭā	dāxil
intizām	čaḥhāī	garm	durust
andarāj	hāsil	mubālağā	dastyāb
inkār	harkat	mutāsīr	dafa'
āhistā	hal	mihnat	dūr
bāt	hamāiat	muxālifat	rāzī
bahas	hoslā afzāī	madad	razāmand
barābar	hairān	marammat	ravānā
burāī	xālī	mašvarā	sastā
baṭā	xabar	matla'	savār
bas	xatam	mu'āf	šāmil
basr	xidmat	ma'lūm	zarūrat
bakvās	xarč	mukammal	fāriğ
band	xarīdārī	mana'	fāidā
bahānā	xušk	mavāzanā	farq
pārk	xuš	muhayyā	faroxt
pās	xeyāl	maxsūs	qāim
pazīr	darj	nazar sānī	qabūl
pur	dukh	nafrat	qarīb
paṭtāl	davā	nigarānī	kām
paḥhāī	der	vāh vāh	kam
pasand	zīkr	varziš	khaṭā
pošt	rakhvālī	vazan	gum
piṭh	rang	vusūl	mubārak
pičhā	zaxmī	vazāhat	mulāqāt
peš	sāmnā	haṭtāl	maujūd
painṭ	sifāriš	yād	nārāz
paik	safar	yaqīn	vāqi'a
tāmul	sūrāx		yād
tabdīl	sairāb	<u>130 verbs.</u>	<u>44 verbs.</u>

<u>PHRASE VERBS + karnā:</u>	<u>130.</u>
<u>PHRASE VERBS + honā:</u>	<u>44.</u>
<u>PHRASE VERBS + OTHER THAN karnā or honā:</u>	<u>44.</u>
<u>LEXICAL VERBS:</u>	<u>101.</u>
<u>TOTAL VERBS IN MEG DEFINED CONTENT:</u>	<u>319.</u>

TABLE 4. 11.
VERBS EXTRACTED FROM NEA VOCABULARY LIST.

<u>(A) LEXICAL VERBS.</u>		<u>(B) PHRASE VERBS.</u>	
		(Not <i>karnā</i> or <i>honā</i> .)	
<i>utārnā</i>	<i>thūknā</i>	<i>sonā</i>	<i>lutf uṭhānā</i>
<i>utarnā</i>	<i>ṭūṭnā</i>	<i>sūnḡhnā</i>	<i>āvval ānā</i>
<i>uṭhānā</i>	<i>ṭahalnā</i>	<i>sīkhnā</i>	<i>pasand ānā</i>
<i>uṭhnā</i>	<i>ṭahaṣnā</i>	<i>kāṭnā</i>	<i>nazar ānā</i>
<i>uktārnā</i>	<i>jāgnā</i>	<i>karānā</i>	<i>vāpas ānā</i>
<i>ugānā</i>	<i>jānā</i>	<i>karnā</i>	<i>tasvīr banānā</i>
<i>ugnā</i>	<i>jānnā</i>	<i>kamānā</i>	<i>barf paṣnā</i>
<i>ānā</i>	<i>jagānā</i>	<i>kahlānā</i>	<i>udhār denā</i>
<i>uṅḡelnā</i>	<i>jalānā</i>	<i>kahnā</i>	<i>ārḡar denā</i>
<i>batānā</i>	<i>jamnā</i>	<i>khānā</i>	<i>in'ām denā</i>
<i>bajnā</i>	<i>jītnā</i>	<i>khāḡsnā</i>	<i>tarjih denā</i>
<i>bačānā</i>	<i>čāṭnā</i>	<i>khilānā</i>	<i>javāb denā</i>
<i>bīčhānā</i>	<i>čāhnā</i>	<i>khulnā</i>	<i>dhakkā denā</i>
<i>badalnā</i>	<i>čabānā</i>	<i>khonā</i>	<i>šakl denā</i>
<i>bigāṣnā</i>	<i>čurānā</i>	<i>kholnā</i>	<i>mubārakbād denā</i>
<i>bulānā</i>	<i>čaṣhnā</i>	<i>khelnā</i>	<i>vāpas denā</i>
<i>banānā</i>	<i>čukānā</i>	<i>khaiḡčnā</i>	<i>jārī rakhnā</i>
<i>bannā</i>	<i>čuknā</i>	<i>guzārḡnā</i>	<i>qāim rakhnā</i>
<i>banvānā</i>	<i>čalānā</i>	<i>girānā</i>	<i>yād rakhnā</i>
<i>bolnā</i>	<i>čalnā</i>	<i>girnā</i>	<i>bāz rahnā</i>
<i>baiṭhnā</i>	<i>čhānnā</i>	<i>ginnā</i>	<i>pīčhā rahnā</i>
<i>bečnā</i>	<i>čhūṭnā</i>	<i>gūḡdhnā</i>	<i>xāmoš rahnā</i>
<i>bhāgnā</i>	<i>čhoṣnā</i>	<i>ghumānā</i>	<i>zindā rahnā</i>
<i>bhijvānā</i>	<i>čhūnā</i>	<i>ghūmnā</i>	<i>qāim rahnā</i>
<i>bharnā</i>	<i>čhīlnā</i>	<i>lānā</i>	<i>buk karānā</i>
<i>bhūlnā</i>	<i>xarīdnā</i>	<i>lagānā</i>	<i>kām karānā</i>
<i>bhūnnā</i>	<i>dabānā</i>	<i>lagnā</i>	<i>podā lagānā</i>
<i>bhejnā</i>	<i>daṣnā</i>	<i>lenā</i>	<i>čālāng lagānā</i>
<i>bheṣnā</i>	<i>duhrānā</i>	<i>marnā</i>	<i>ḡotā lagānā</i>
<i>pālnā</i>	<i>dekhnā</i>	<i>muskarānā</i>	<i>bhūk lagnā</i>
<i>paṣnā</i>	<i>denā</i>	<i>milnā</i>	<i>piyās lagnā</i>
<i>paṣhnā</i>	<i>dhonā</i>	<i>nikālnā</i>	<i>garmī lagnā</i>
<i>pakānā</i>	<i>ḡālnā</i>	<i>nigalnā</i>	<i>tasvīr lenā</i>
<i>pakaṣnā</i>	<i>ḡarnā</i>	<i>nahānā</i>	<i>dilčaspī lenā</i>
<i>pūčhnā</i>	<i>ḡhūḡḡnā</i>	<i>hārnā</i>	<i>vāpas lenā</i>
<i>pahčānnā</i>	<i>raṭnā</i>	<i>hilānā</i>	<i>čhīḡk mārḡnā</i>
<i>pahuḡčnā</i>	<i>rukḡnā</i>	<i>honā</i>	<i>muhr mārḡnā</i>
<i>phisalnā</i>	<i>rakhnā</i>		<i>nambar milānā</i>
<i>pheḡknā</i>	<i>roknā</i>		
<i>pīnā</i>	<i>rahnā</i>		
<i>talnā</i>	<i>sarāhnā</i>		
<i>toṣnā</i>	<i>saknā</i>		
<i>ternā</i>	<i>sikhānā</i>		
<i>thakānā</i>	<i>samajhnā</i>		
<i>thaknā</i>	<i>sunnā</i>		

PHRASE VERBS (Not+karnā/honā): 38.

LEXICAL VERBS: 127.

TABLE 4. 11.
(Continued)

(B) PHRASE VERBS IN COMBINATION WITH karnā & honā.

<u>+karnā</u>	<u>+karnā</u>	<u>+honā</u>	<u>+honā</u>
ihtijāj	xuš	ābād	muškil
adā	durust	aččhā	masrūf
ārzū	daryāft	udās	ma'lūm
išārā	dastxat	ārāmdēh	mana'
isrār	rāzī	āsān	mahīgā
i'lān	rezarv	band	nākām
āğāz	zaxmī	bor	vāqi'a
ikaṭṭhā	safar	bīmār	vaqt
intixāb	savārī	pās	
intizār	sair	patā	
bāt	šādī	parešān	<u>PHRASE + honā: 53.</u>
basr	šak	pasand	
band	šikāyat	pūrā	
bayān	sāf	pīyār	
pār	safāī	paidā	
pur	'ilāj	tayyār	
parešān	ğusl	ṭhik	
pasand	ğussā	hādīsā	
pūčh gāčh	ğalat	xālī	
piyār	ğalatī	xāmoš	
paidā	farāham	xatam	
peš	fursat	xuš	
tāīd	faislā	xiyāl	
tabdīl	qāim	dāxil	
tašrīh	qabūl	dur	
ta'aruf	qurbān	der	
ta'rīf	kāl	ğar	
tafrīh	kām	ruxsat	
taqsīm	kam	ravānā	
talāš	košīš	zindā	
tamannā	garm	savār	
tanqīd	ğum	šur'ū	
tayyār	madad	šarīk	
ṭelīfūn	mu'āinā	šak	
jaldī	maḡnī	šikār	
jama'	muhayyā	subh	
čup	nāštā	zarūrat	
čihil qadamī	nišāndihī	fāriğ	
hajj	naql	farq	
hisāb	hijje	fel	
hifz	yād	qarīb	
hairān	yaqīn	kam	
xarīdārī		khağā	
xušk		muhabbat	
xuāhiš		mahsūs	
<u>PHRASE + karnā:</u>			<u>87.</u>
<u>PHRASE + honā:</u>			<u>53.</u>
<u>PHRASE + OTHER THAN karnā & honā:</u>			<u>127.</u>
<u>LEXICAL VERBS:</u>			<u>38.</u>
<u>TOTAL VERBS ON NEA VOCABULARY LIST:</u>			<u>305.</u>

TABLE 4. 12.
VERBS COMMON TO MEG AND NEA VOCABULARY LISTS.

LEXICAL VERBS.

		<u>PHRASE VERBS</u>	<u>P. V. + honā.</u>
utārnā	denā	<u>NOT +karnā/honā</u>	
utarnā	dhonā		
uḥhānā	rukṇā		band
uktānā	rakṇnā	vāpas ānā	bīmār
ugānā	rokṇā	mubārakbād denā	parešān
ānā	rahṇā	jārī rakṇnā	paidā
batānā	sarāhnā	(3)	tayyār
bajṇā	sakṇā		ḥhik
bačānā	sikhānā	<u>P. V +karnā</u>	xālī
bulānā	samajhnā		xāmoš
banānā	sunṇā	adā	xatam
bannā	sonā	i'lān	dāxil
bolnā	sikhṇā	ikaṭṭhā	dūr
baiḥṇā	kāṭṇā	intixāb	ravānā
bečnā	karānā	intizār	savār
bharnā	karnā	bāt	zarūrat
bhūlnā	kahnā	basr	fāriḡ
paḥṇā	khānā	band	farq
pakānā	kholnā	pur	qarīb
pūčṇā	khelnā	pasand	kam
pahčānnā	guzārnā	peš	khaḥā
pahučṇā	ghumānā	tabdil	vāqi'a
pīnā	lānā	taqsīm	
ḥhahṇā	lagānā	talāš	(20)
jānā	lenā	tanqīd	
jānnā	milnā	tayyār	
čāhnā	nahānā	jaldī	
čurānā	hilānā	jama'	
čukṇā	honā	hairān	
čalānā		zaxmī	
čalnā	(69)	safar	
čhānā		sāf	
čhūṭṇā		ḡalat	
čhoḥṇā		ḡalati	
čhīlnā		qāim	
xarīdnā		qabūl	
dabānā		kām	
dauḥṇā		garm	
duhrānā		madad	
dekhṇā		muhayyā	
		yād	
		yaqīn	
		(32)	

<u>LEXICAL VERBS</u>	: 69.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + karnā</u>	: 32.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + honā</u>	: 20.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + other than karnā/honā</u>	: 2.
<u>VERBS COMMON TO BOTH MEG & NEA VOCABULARY LISTS:</u>	<u>124.</u>

TABLE 4. 13.
VERBS COMMON TO MEG, NEA & GCSE CORPUS.

		<u>PHRASE VERBS.</u>	
		<u>P. V +karnā</u>	<u>P. V +honā</u>
utārnā	dauṛnā		
utarnā	dekhnā		
uḥhānā	denā		
ānā	dhonā	adā	band
batānā	rukṇā	i'lān	bīmār
bačānā	rakhnā	ikaṭṭhā	parešān
bulānā	roknā	intixāb	paidā
banānā	rahnā	intizār	tayyār
bannā	saknā	bāt	ḥik
bolnā	sikhānā	basr	xālī
baiḥnā	samaḥnā	band	xāmoš
bečnā	sunnā	pasand	xatam
bharnā	sonā	peš	dāxil
bhūlnā	sikhnā	tabdīl	dūr
paḥnā	kāḥnā	taqsīm	ravānā
pūčhānā	karānā	talāš	savār
pahčānnā	karnā	tanqīd	zarūrat
pahučhānā	kahnā	tayyār	fāriḡ
pīnā	khānā	jaldī	farq
ḥahḥnā	khehnā	safar	qarīb
jānā	guzārnā	sāf	kam
jānnā	lānā	ḡalat	khaḥā
čāhnā	lagānā	ḡalatī	
čuknā	lenā	qāim	(19)
čalānā	milnā	kām	<u>Phrase Verbs</u>
čalnā	nahānā	madad	<u>+ other than</u>
čhānā	honā	muhayyā	<u>karnā/honā</u>
čhoḥnā		yād	mubārakbād denā
xarīdnā			(1)
dabānā			
	(57)	(28)	(20)

<u>LEXICAL VERBS</u>	:	57.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + karnā</u>	:	28.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + honā</u>	:	19.
<u>PHRASE VERBS + other than karnā/honā</u>	:	1.
<u>VERBS COMMON TO GCE, MEG AND NEA LISTS:</u>		<u>105.</u>

CHAPTER 5.
ERRORS IN THE GCE CORPUS.

5.0. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the errors which were made by candidates for the GCE 'O' Level examination in 1987. The reasoning behind, and the methodology of collection of the corpus has already been discussed in Chapter 3. The notion of 'error' requires some discussion. An interesting historical summary is provided in Van Els (1984: 47-49). This is written from a second language learning perspective and it is arguable how appropriate this is for Community Languages. As already explained in the Chapter on the background of candidates (Ch 1) very few of the students have Urdu as their mother tongue while, on the other hand, there are, at present, very few for whom it is a 'Foreign Language'. The reality is that for the majority of candidates Urdu is a second language, but the relationship between Urdu and Panjabi, which is the first language of most of the candidates, is close enough to create a situation which demands a specialised approach to the analysis of errors. Van Els states that "it was generally felt that L₂ learners would only learn what they were taught and would learn nothing that they were not taught." Although it can be accepted that for all but a small minority of candidates Urdu is being acquired as an L₂, the range of vocabulary and structures available to most of the candidates indicates that with Urdu there is much more available to the candidates than what they have been taught. On the other hand, the differences between Urdu and Panjabi are often slight enough to be restricted to minor changes in spelling and small but significant differences in case and number inflections in nouns and adjectives and in person and number suffixes in verbs. The principles of contrastive analysis have been largely discarded as it was felt that to describe and explain errors largely in terms of L₁ interference was an unsatisfactory approach.

One of the main reasons was that the hypothesis that some L₂ learning problems can be explained as interference phenomena lacks predictive power. In this work, however, it has been felt necessary to attempt to explain some of the errors in terms of the effect of the first language, Panjabi, on the production of the second language, Urdu.

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Van Els (1984: 52) rejects the assumption that interference increases proportionately to the linguistic differences between the two languages. If it were true it could be predicted that users of languages as closely related as Panjabi and Urdu should have the minimum amount of difficulty in learning the other language. The reality is that for learners of Urdu who are Panjabi speakers the close similarities between the languages create both advantages and disadvantages: the main advantages are a close correspondence of vocabulary and syntax, the disadvantages include inflections in nouns, adjectives and verbs which are slightly but definitely different and the pronunciation of cognate words. The difficulties for some learners can be compounded by the fact that there is no real perception of Panjabi and Urdu as different languages. The view of some students is that they speak Panjabi but read and write Urdu. In some cases the nature of the error indicates the effect of English on Urdu although it is impossible to know in either case which the first language of the candidate is. The orthodox view of the $L_1:L_2$ relationship which is appropriate for a monolingual English speaker who is learning French does not fit in with the linguistic situation common to most of the students of Urdu. It is possible to assume that, for many candidates for GCE and GCSE Urdu, there is a complex three way relationship between Panjabi, Urdu and English with all the potential for a wide range of positive and negative effects on linguistic performance in Urdu. In addition to this there are groups of learners of Urdu who come from other, usually South-Asian, linguistic backgrounds. In places such as Leicester there are numbers of Gujarati Muslims who choose to study Urdu. The effect of this and other languages may be evident in some errors.

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with the written form of the language the discussion must necessarily include notions of correct orthography and spelling. A complication arises in written language in that it is often very difficult to categorise certain errors correctly. This is especially so for errors in inflections of verbs and in nouns and adjectives. For instance an error, e.g. the omission of the *nūn ḡunnā* from a verb ending, could be considered as either a simple spelling error (91) or a grammatical error. Furthermore, the grammatical error

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could be analysed as either misapplication of the singular third person for the plural (92) or the use of the simple past tense in place of the subjunctive. This last error is both less likely and could usually be easily clarified by attention to the context of the sentence.

(91) *vuh čale* - (pl. subj. or m. pl simple past or spelling error)

(92) *vuh čaleñ* - (" ").

The above example demonstrates the difficulties involved in categorising errors too rigidly. It is necessary to exercise a degree of caution and in many cases it will not be possible to do more than indicate the likely causes of particular errors.

Much of the literature on error analysis and performance analysis concentrates on the spoken language of near beginners. Performance analysis is based on an understanding of the development of a hierarchically organised linguistic code which is represented by a more or less systematic acquisition of grammatical structures and syntactic features, etc. (Van Els: 68-69) It is clear that the candidates who have submitted the scripts used as a basis for the collection of the corpus from which the errors have been extracted cannot be classed as beginners; most of the basic structures of Urdu have been acquired by the candidates and the majority of the errors analysed are spelling errors, although some spelling errors may also cause ambiguities of grammar or syntax, as outlined above. (1) Van Els describes one method of performance analysis devised by Klein and Dittmar which involves the application of context free grammatical rules, a set of syntactic criteria and a weighting based both on personal and environmental factors of the informants. (Van Els: 73-78) It seems inappropriate to apply such a complicated analysis to the corpus.

It is also necessary to analyse errors with reference to the criteria laid down for the GCSE examinations which stress the notion of

(1) See Krashen *et al*, 1982, pp197-8,

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"communicative competence." The NEA assessment criteria for written skills at the Basic Level include the statement that the candidate will be awarded maximum marks for accuracy if 'most of the messages are conveyed in spite of errors and although requiring an effort of concentration on the part of the native speaker to understand'. (NEA 1986: 86) Whether or not these criteria are appropriate for the assessment of Community Languages has been discussed in the chapter on the GCSE (Ch 2, pp47ff.); the point at issue here is that, at the Basic Level at least, errors can be ignored as long as they do not cause ambiguities in the communication of the message. This is a significant change from the GCE 'O' Level marking principles, which demanded a high degree of accuracy with no provision for content or message except in the free composition element. It therefore seems necessary to propose a means of error classification which follows the principles of the criteria laid down for assessment. Under this classification, errors can be assigned to one of two classes: those which do not impede communication, and those which do either by being ambiguous or by being incomprehensible.

This proposed classification does not preclude the use of other schemes of categorising errors. Rather it can be used in conjunction with existing schemes; in effect it is one that covers all types of error and is one that in certain contexts will mark a particular error as being ambiguous or impeding comprehension or communication, while in other contexts the same error will not do so. In the analysis of the corpus, each of the following seven categories of errors will be discussed both separately and in relation to the classification proposed above:

- 5.1. Spelling errors.
- 5.2. Inflection errors in nouns and adjectives.
- 5.3. Errors in pronouns.
- 5.4. Inflection errors in verbs.
- 5.5. Incorrect tense assignments.
- 5.6. Construction errors.
- 5.7. Lexical choice errors.

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Before discussing these classes of errors in detail there is one further factor which merits some comment. The complex interrelationship between South Asian languages has a bearing on another point concerning errors; the notion of acceptability. Various errors from the GCE corpus have been shown to a variety of informants including mother-tongue Urdu speakers, those whose first language is Panjabi and educated in Urdu, and English mother-tongue teachers of Urdu. Consensus is extremely rare on many errors. An important feature of a language such as Urdu which is spoken over a wide geographical area is the variation in idiom and agreement. What is acceptable by one group of Urdu speakers is not necessarily acceptable to another group and vice versa. Their responses have varied with some speakers accepting some usages which have been defined as errors in this work and rejecting others while others have accepted or rejected a different set of errors. The subjective nature of acceptability makes it very difficult to be prescriptive over the issue of errors, particularly those classified here as construction errors. At the level of the GCSE, the notion of ambiguity takes on a more significant role; where there are arguments over acceptability, it seems appropriate to judge the word or phrase or structure on this criterion. In addition to this, modern research on language acquisition has focussed attention on the developmental nature of most errors and the difficulty of ascribing a single cause for them. (Krashen 1982: 197-8)

5.1: SPELLING ERRORS.

The GCE corpus has been analysed for spelling errors; Table 5.0 lists the errors by graphemes. The table shows the incorrect and correct grapheme, errors involving graphemic pairs, errors in dental and retroflex sets and errors involving phonemic/graphemic sets as discussed above. The individual graphemes most involved in spelling errors, whether by presence or by absence, have also been listed. All percentage figures have been calculated as a proportion of the total of the errors (1952). It should be noted that the total figure does not represent the total number of misspelt words because a number of words contain more than a single spelling error.

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It is easiest to analyse many of the errors described with reference to the different correspondences between graphemes and phonemes that occur in Urdu. Although there is a direct 1:1 graphemic/phonemic correspondence in the majority of cases, some graphemes are represented by more than one phoneme and some phonemes by more than one grapheme. In addition to these cases one Urdu grapheme, *hamzā*, ه , is only rendered phonemically in some circumstances, while another, *‘ain*, ع , has no phonemic equivalent. Certain Urdu phonemes do not occur in Panjabi while others are not found in English. By analysing these differences it is possible to ascribe some of the errors to the influence of these languages. The chart below demonstrates the various correspondences between graphemes and phonemes and some of the differences between Urdu and English and Urdu and Panjabi.

PHONEME / GRAPHEME CORRESPONDENCES IN THE URDU SCRIPT.

1. ONE GRAPHEME ≡ ONE PHONEME.

CONSONANTS.

. ب , <i>be</i> ≡ <i>b</i>	. خ , <i>xe</i> ≡ <i>x</i>	. ز , <i>ze</i> ≡ <i>z</i>	. گ , <i>gāf</i> ≡ <i>g</i>
. پ , <i>pe</i> ≡ <i>p</i>	. د , <i>dāl</i> ≡ <i>d</i>	. س , <i>śīn</i> ≡ <i>ś</i>	. ل , <i>lām</i> ≡ <i>l</i>
. ت , <i>te</i> ≡ <i>t</i>	. ڈ , <i>ḍāl</i> ≡ <i>ḍ</i>	. غ , <i>ḡain</i> ≡ <i>ḡ</i>	. م , <i>mīm</i> ≡ <i>m</i>
. ج , <i>jīm</i> ≡ <i>j</i>	. ر , <i>re</i> ≡ <i>r</i>	. ف , <i>fe</i> ≡ <i>f</i>	. ن , <i>nūn</i> ≡ <i>n</i>
. چ , <i>če</i> ≡ <i>č</i>	. ڙ , <i>ṛe</i> ≡ <i>ṛ</i>	. ق , <i>qāf</i> ≡ <i>q</i>	. و , <i>vāo</i> ≡ <i>v</i>
		. ک , <i>kāf</i> ≡ <i>k</i>	. ی , <i>ye</i> ≡ <i>y</i>

VOWELS.

. ا- , <i>-ā</i> ≡ <i>-ā</i> . (medial/final <i>alif</i>)
. ا , <i>ā-</i> ≡ <i>ā-</i> . (initial <i>alif maddā</i>)

2. MORE THAN ONE GRAPHEME ≡ ONE PHONEME.

. ت / ط , <i>te/toe</i>	≡ <i>t</i>
. س / ش / س , <i>se/sīn/suād</i>	≡ <i>s</i>
. ح / ه / ح , <i>He/he/dočaśmī he</i>	≡ <i>h</i> + allographs ه and ه .
. ذ / ز / ج / ط , <i>zāl/ze/zuād/zoe</i>	≡ <i>z</i>

3. ONE GRAPHEME ≡ MORE THAN ONE PHONEME.

CONSONANTS.

• ن / (ن), nūn (nūn ḡunnā) ≡ n/n̄ (in non-final position)

VOWELS.

• ا , -e/-ai ≡ -e/-ai • ا / ا / ا̇ , a-/i-/u- ≡ a-/i-/u-
 • ا ا , ī/e/ai ≡ ī/e/ai • ا , ū/o/au ≡ ū/o/au

4. ONE GRAPHEME ≡ LESS THAN ONE PHONEME.

• ا , 'ain ≡ - (') • ا , hamzā ≡ - (')

PANJABI/URDU DIFFERENCES.

The absence of phonemes in Panjabi corresponding to the Urdu *q* and *ḡ* necessitate the use of the phonemes *k* and *g* respectively to represent these two Urdu phonemes. This can lead to confusion when learners are trying to write words containing these phonemes.

Panjabi /k/ ≡ Urdu /k/ & /q/

Panjabi /g/ ≡ Urdu /g/ & /ḡ/

In Panjabi the tonal realisation of grapheme *h* can also lead to difficulties. The varieties of allographs of *he* present in the Urdu script compound the problem.

Panjabi [čāhunā] ⇒ /čāūnda/ This feature goes some way to explaining the realisation of the Urdu čāhnā, انا as čhanā, انا.

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In some Panjabi words the Urdu cerebral ڄ , ڙ , becomes چ , ڙ . This sometimes manifests itself in the realisation of the Urdu baḡā , بڙا , as baḡā , بڙا .

ENGLISH/URDU DIFFERENCES.

There are several Urdu graphemes which have no equivalent in English. These include 'ain , ع , ḡain , غ , and hamzā , ء . It is the phonemic differences, however, which are a more likely cause of confusion. There are no cerebrals in English equivalent to the Urdu ḡa , ڄ , ḡal , ڙ , and ḡe , ڙ . This leads to uncertainty between using the dental or cerebral.

English: t \equiv Urdu: ت , ط , not to Urdu: ت , ط .

English: d \equiv Urdu: د , ذ , not to Urdu: د , ذ .

English: r \equiv Urdu: ر , ر , not to Urdu: ر , ر .

Before considering spelling errors in detail, it is necessary to discuss certain features of the orthography of the language. Urdu is an Indo-European language whose writing system employs a script adapted from that used to write Arabic, a Semitic language. This script, which has come to Urdu via Persian, has undergone modifications and incorporated additions in order to accommodate those phonemes which occur in Persian but do not occur in Arabic. There are also phonemes in Urdu which do not occur in either Arabic or Persian. Urdu has both Arabic and Hindi phonemes, so one might expect difficulty in transferring the Hindi phonemes into an alien writing system, but there are also problems associated with the fact that several of the Arabic 'letters' are distinguishable both graphically and phonetically in Arabic, whereas in Urdu the same 'letters' are distinguishable graphically but not phonetically, e.g. in Arabic sīn , س , se , س , and suād , س , are both written and pronounced differently, but, although written differently in Urdu, all three are pronounced as sīn , س . It is the view of many Urdu teachers that this type of error is most common; and there are sound reasons to expect this kind of error, since it is necessary to know a particular

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word to be able to know how to write it correctly. Without any rules to follow prediction is impossible. This premise assumes that the student has insufficient knowledge of Arabic or has not learnt in Urdu class enough about the Arabic tri- and quadri-literal root system to make possible a limited prediction based on derivation from these roots. Since there are nearly as many occurrences of substitution of *suād*, سُوَاد , for *sīn*, سِيْن , this error can be explained in terms of overcorrection. In the corpus spelling errors involving *sīn/suād/se*, سِيْن / سُوَاد / سِيْء , made up 3.2% of the total of 1952 errors. The errors involving confusion over this class of graphemes accounted for 12.6% of the total. Very few of the errors associated with these graphemes cause ambiguity, and at the Basic Level there is no reason to consider that communication has been impaired. At Higher Level, the criteria demand a stricter approach, and candidates should be expected to spell correctly some of the more common words containing these graphemes.

Spelling errors connected with the Hindi derived phonemes have received less comment from teachers than the class of errors discussed above. The obvious examples are the contrasts between retroflex and dental, but since these sounds are distinctive the amount of errors involving the letters denoting the dental and retroflex *t* and *ṭ*, ت / ط , *d* and *ḍ*, د / ڈ , and *r* and *ṛ*, ر / ڑ , is very small. Out of a total of 1952 spelling errors, errors involving this set of graphemes amounted to less than seven percent. Since these phonemes also occur in Panjabi, the results indicate that the candidates have transferred them into Urdu where appropriate. Although there is a direct transferability of retroflex and dental phonemes between Urdu and Panjabi in most cognate words, one Urdu word, *baṛā*, is rendered with a retroflex *ḍ*, ڈ , in Panjabi. There were two occurrences of this error in the corpus. Four Urdu words accounted for the majority of the *re/ṛe*, ر / ڑ , errors. These were the verbs *paṛnā*, پَارِنَا , *paṛhnā*, پَارِہِنَا , and *uṛnā*, اُڑِنَا , and the adjective *thoṛā*, تُوڑَا . The lack of any English phoneme corresponding to the Hindi/Urdu retroflex phonemes is another likely cause of confusion.

The figures for 'converse pairs', spelling errors involving the presence or absence of a particular grapheme, suggest that candidates

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have greater difficulties with graphemes other than those indicated above. The grapheme *dočašmī he*, ⣀ , is the single most misused item in the list of spelling errors, accounting for nearly one fifth of all spelling errors. The second most frequently misused grapheme is *čhoḥī he*, ⣁ , which is only slightly less commonly misused than *dočašmī he*, ⣀ . These two are allographs, but the use of *dočašmī he*, ⣀ , is normally reserved for representing graphically the aspiration of consonants. This is not a hard and fast rule, although modern authorities are advocating the use of '*dočašmī he*', ⣀ , only to mark the aspirate. ⁽²⁾ This is a sensible and practical method for distinguishing formally the separate functions of the same grapheme. It would be useful if this distinction were to be accepted as standard by all the printing and publishing sources, as well as teachers and examiners in this country. The number of occurrences involving misuse of this grapheme indicate that a significant number of the candidates do not fully understand either the correct use or do not associate the aspiration with this grapheme. It seems probable that there is some relationship between this error and the students lack of exposure to modern classroom techniques of oral practice. In only a few cases do errors involving *dočašmī he* create ambiguity; only certain 'minimal pairs' such as *paṛnā*, ⣂ , and *paṛhnā*, ⣃ , *rukṇā*, ⣄ , and *rakhnā*, ⣅ , *paḷ*, ⣆ , and *phaḷ*, ⣇ , is there a potential confusion. Normally, however, this confusion is limited to the level of the individual word; the intended word is made clear in the context of the sentence.

The problems associated with *čhoḥī he*, ⣁ , are largely connected with one word, the conjunction *kī*, ⣈ , which is written with this letter. Over one third of the occurrences of errors involving *čhoḥī he*, ⣁ , are misspellings of *kī*, ⣈ . This again indicates a lack of attention to oral practice in the classroom. This error is one which causes potential confusion at the level of the individual word because the most common misspelling is identical to the inflected masculine form of the possessive postposition *ke*, ⣉ , although ambiguity is resolved by position in the sentence. It is also identical to the alternative marker

(2) R.H.Khan 1986, p54.

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of the conjunctive participle *-ka*, کـ, which is preferred by many speakers of Urdu who are Panjabi speakers to *-kar*, کار. Some of the occurrences of errors involving this grapheme and *alif*, ا, concern the final letter of words. Urdu spelling and orthography is fairly standardised, but debates over 'correct spelling' often focus on this pair of graphemes. Rashid Hassan Khan states that the final form of *choḡī he*, چوہی ہے, known as *hā-e-muxtafī*, is used only for words of Arabic or Persian origin but this rule is not universally followed. (3) In this thesis the rule has been followed in recording and counting errors. Other instances of errors involving this grapheme also involve the allograph *baḡī he*, باہی ہے. Strictly speaking, these two forms are not allophones, for in Arabic there is a difference in pronunciation which is not carried over into Urdu. Since there is no difference in pronunciation in Urdu, the candidates can only learn the correct spelling of words containing these graphemes by exposure to them. Instances of misspellings involving *baḡī he*, باہی ہے, account for five percent of the total, but a number of these errors are likely to be considered lapses as they involve the graphemic set of letter forms which have identical shape and are distinguishable only by the position and/or number of super or subscript dots.

Although errors involving *alif*, ا, are the third most frequent, there are so many different types that comment is difficult. The most common error is the incorrect presence or absence of this letter, which accounts for over one third of all the errors associated with *alif*, ا. In some cases, it is possible to suggest some connection between Panjabi words and their cognate forms in Urdu and this error. A number of words are spelt in Panjabi with a short vowel and a double consonant, whereas in Urdu the equivalent word is spelt with a long vowel and a single consonant. This same phenomenon may also account for the misuse of the long vowel/short vowel variants *alif madd*, آ, and *alif*, ا. A fifth of the errors involving *alif* are of this type. Classroom experience suggests a tendency for learners at a less advanced skill level to insert *alif* where the short vowel sound occurs in a medial position,

(3) *op. cit.*, p56.

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which indicates a confusion over the different values of *alif* when in initial or medial position. When used in the medial position, *alif*, with few exceptions, marks a long vowel \bar{a} , $\bar{ī}$, whereas in the initial position the plain *alif*, ا , is unmarked and only represents the long vowel value when used with *maddā*, آ . This phenomenon is not usually a barrier to comprehension, but there was some difficulty in distinguishing between some verbs and their causative derivatives, e. g. *ubalnā*, اُبَلِنَا , and *ubālnā*, اُبَلِنَا , *uḥhnā*, اُحْهِنَا , and *uḥhānā*, اُحْهِنَا , *bannā*, بَنِنَا , and *banānā*, بَنِنَا , *samajhnā*, سَمَجِّهِنَا , and *samjhānā*, سَمَجِّهِنَا , *nikalnā*, نَكَلِنَا , and *nikālnā*, نَكَلِنَا . There were 14 examples of such verbal pairs involving the presence or absence of *alif* which were so spelt that communication was obstructed. It is possible that the candidates concerned were choosing the incorrect verb from the set, but since there were only twenty five occurrences of spelling errors which caused ambiguity in verbs, excluding tense, person and number endings, the indication is that the correct verb has been selected but misspelt.

Errors involving the grapheme *nūn ḡunnā*, نُنْ , are exclusively associated with inflected forms of nouns and adjectives and plural verb endings. *nūn ḡunnā* is not a 'letter' of the Urdu 'alphabet' but is the graphic representation of the nasalisation which occurs at the end of plural inflections. If nasalisation occurs in the middle of a word, the grapheme *nūn*, ن , is used. In writing, the nasalisation is represented by the letter shape of *nūn* without the dot, نُنْ . As described above, it is not possible to determine the inappropriate presence or absence of this grapheme as being exclusively either a grammatical or an orthographical problem. This is the grapheme to which the proposed classification of ambiguity can be most suitably applied. The presence of an unnecessary *nūn ḡunnā* can change words from singular to plural, and, in combination with other errors, can lead to ambiguity in the inflection and agreement pattern in the sentence. The number of instances of this error, 254, represent 13 percent of the total. This would indicate that there was a problem for some students in using this grapheme correctly. The fact that over eighty five percent of the errors involved omission suggests that the connection between the phoneme and the grapheme is not fully understood.

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The figure for errors connected with the grapheme *ye*, $\text{ﻲ} / \text{ﻪ}$, is 292, which is fifteen percent of the total. This is misleading on two counts: firstly, that the grapheme is used to represent three phonemes, secondly, that half the errors are mistakes made in the spelling of one word *ki*, ﻜﻲ . This word has already been discussed in the paragraph above on *choḥī ha. ye* is used to write the consonant 'y' and the two vowels 'i' and 'e'. The errors which involve this grapheme do not normally cause problems of comprehension unless they occur in combination with those involving *nūn ḡunnā*, ﻦ . Many of the errors involving the insertion or omission of this grapheme occur in the medial position. This indicates a difficulty for the candidates analogous to that described above, in the paragraph discussing *alif*.

The last grapheme to account for over five percent of the total is the *hamzā*, ﻪ . This has no discrete phonetic value in Urdu but is used in some words of Arabic origin, e.g. *mas'lá*, ﻤﺴﻠﺔ . Its main use in Urdu is to mark the junction between vowels. Rashid Hassan Khan (1986: 61) discusses the use of *hamzā* and asks us to bear in mind the following rule:

" *hamzā* usī vaqt āegā jab harf-e-māqabl par zabar yā peš ho -
agar māqabl maksūr hai to *hamzā* na āegā - 'ye' āegā -"

" *hamzā* is used when the preceding letter is marked by *zabar* or *peš*. If the preceding letter is marked with *kasrā* then *ye* is used, not *hamzā*."

This rule has been followed in this research, but it is necessary to note that the situations in which the *hamzā* is or is not used are still not absolutely determined. The presence or absence of this grapheme will have a considerable effect on the comprehensibility of a word, particularly in verbal endings where, in some circumstances, the inappropriate insertion or omission of *hamzā* is the sole distinguishing feature between certain forms of the simple past and future tenses. Spelling mistakes involving *hamzā* in nouns, etc., are highly unlikely to cause any ambiguity.

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Although errors involving 'ain, ع , account for less than five percent of the total the difficulties associated with this grapheme merit some discussion. Since there is no corresponding phoneme in Urdu for this Arabic grapheme the likelihood of confusion in the minds of candidates is high. The substitution of *alif*, ا , for 'ain, ع , is the most common error associated with this grapheme. Since in many cases words spelled with 'ain are pronounced in Urdu as if they were spelled with *alif* this error is easily made. Correct spelling can only be achieved by familiarity with the particular word involved. Two words, 'alahidā, علمیدہ , and *ba'd*, بعد , account for more than half the occurrences of errors involving 'ain.

The seven individual graphemes considered above account for over 90% of all the spelling errors noted but, as already mentioned, only a small number of them cause semantic ambiguity and where this exists on a lexical level this is usually resolvable at the level of the sentence. The main problems arise in the inflectional suffixes of nouns, adjectives and verbs. These will be discussed further in the sections on inflectional errors. (§5.2 & 5.4.)

The study of individual words containing spelling errors provided an opportunity to examine specific words with which the candidates appeared to have most difficulty. There were 1573 occurrences of misspelt words involving 411 separate words. The discrepancy between this figure and the total number of spelling errors, 1952, can be explained by the fact that some words contained more than one error. Table 5.1 contains the most frequently misspelt words in the GCE corpus. It is valuable to consider some of these words in detail since some insight may be gained from an examination of particular words which appear to cause difficulties for some students. It is important when concentrating on spelling errors at close range not to lose sight of the fact that, out of a running total of over 34,000 words, only 1573 have been misspelt, approximately 4.5% of the total. This indicates that, for the majority of candidates, most of what they have written is spelt correctly. The mean error score of the 170 candidates, counting all errors including spelling errors, was 20.8 per script. If repeated errors

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this figure drops to 16.5 per script of which more than half are spelling errors which do not affect comprehension

The most frequently misspelt word is the conjunction *ki*, کي , which has already been discussed. This word accounts for nearly ten per cent of all spelling errors. The second word on the list is '*alahīdā*, اَلْاٰهِيْدَا , which was misspelt 44 times out of 51 occurrences. This word is not one in everyday use at this level and is notoriously difficult to spell correctly. Most of the spelling errors were associated with confusion over the initial '*ain*, اِيْن , which was most usually rendered by *alif*, اَلِيْف . In Urdu these phonemes are pronounced identically and without knowing the word its spelling cannot be predicted. Its occurrence is explained by the fact that one of the three essay titles was "Should there be separate schools for British Muslims?". The Urdu equivalent for 'separate' is '*alahīdā*, اَلْاٰهِيْدَا , although many candidates chose to use a more easily spelt alternative, viz., *alag*, اَلَاْغ . Both these words may be considered as special cases although for the different reasons given above.

The next word on the list is a verb with a specialised form used for a specific purpose. The verb *čāhnā*, چَاھْنَا , and the specialised form, *čāhiye*, چَاھِيْے , have been included together because the spelling errors are mainly restricted to the common elements of both forms. Out of 348 occurrences of the two forms there were 42 instances of misspelling. Many of these errors involved the grapheme *dočašmī ha*, دُوچَاشْمِيْ هَا , which was incorrectly inserted or the omission of the *alif*, اَلِيْف . The errors associated with the *čāhiye* form generally occurred with the *hamzā*, هَا , which did not cause any ambiguity. In some instances of errors in the *čāhnā*, چَاھْنَا , form there was a potential confusion between this form and the verb *čhānā*, چَاھْنَا . This error has been discussed in the section above (p200) on errors ascribable to the influence of Panjabi. This particular error is usually resolved semantically at the sentence level.

The word *sahelī*, سَاھِيْلِيْ , is a very commonly occurring item in the vocabulary of female candidates as it means 'the female friend of a female'. Its usage has been discussed in the chapter on English words (Ch 6, p249). Despite its frequent use the variety of misspellings is

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extraordinary: seven different ways of spelling the word were noted. Most of the errors involved the omission of the grapheme *čhoṭī he, •*. This is explainable by reference to both English and Panjabi influence. The postvocalic /h/ is absent in English, while the phoneme is often modified in accordance with the tonal system of Panjabi. (See p200 supra)

The misspelling of the fifth word on the list, *paṛhnā, ٲٲٲٲ*, is evenly divided between errors associated with the graphemes *dočašmī he, •*, and *ṛe, ٲ*. The former can result in confusion between the verb and its minimal pair *paṛnā, ٲٲٲٲ*, although the context almost always determines the intended meaning. Errors occurring in *paṛnā, ٲٲٲٲ*, also occur frequently and the same graphemes are involved; this reinforces the impression gained by this study that the use of the aspirate form *dočašmī he, •*, deserves attention in the classroom. The latter error does not create any such ambiguity in the samples investigated in the corpus.

Although the next word *mazhab, ٲٲٲٲ*, does not contain the aspirated form of *he, •*, the misspellings of this word indicate similar phonetic/graphemic confusion. Since this word is commonly pronounced in Panjabi as if there was no *he*, it is commonly written without it. (See p200 supra) Eighteen of the twenty six misspelt occurrences were omissions of this grapheme while the remaining eight were associated with the incorrect choice of grapheme for the /z/, for which in Urdu there are four alternatives: *zāl, ze, zvād* and *zoe, ذ / ز / ج / ط*. Neither of these errors create ambiguity.

The next word, *baiṭhnā, ٲٲٲٲ*, involves the same difficulties as *paṛhna*, namely the retroflex and the aspirate. The errors in the following word, *pahuṅčnā, ٲٲٲٲ*, are associated with the omission of the non aspirate *čhoṭī he, •*, and the substitution of the long vowel for the short vowel, although some authorities allow the written long vowel as an acceptable alternative. Errors which contain both can lead to confusion between this verb and the verb *pūčhnā, ٲٲٲٲ*.

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The negative particle *nahīn*, نہیں , is a very frequently occurring word and is, in most instances, spelt correctly. It is to be expected that candidates at this level should have mastered the correct spelling of such frequently occurring particles, pronouns, postpositions, etc. etc.. The errors that were noted involved *doḥāšmī ha*, • , and *nūn ḡunnā*. The tonal realisation of the Urdu phoneme /h/ in Panjabi has already been discussed, and errors in four of the words discussed in this section can be ascribed to this phenomenon.

These same graphemes are used in many of the pronouns, adverbs and interrogative particles which are part of the most basic repertoire of Urdu. Although the spelling errors do not often lead to ambiguity, there is a case for expecting such basic words to be written correctly, even at the Basic Level of the GCSE. Instances of potential ambiguity resulting from the misspelling of these words include *unheñ*, اُنہیں , and *inheñ*, اِنہیں . If spelt without the *ha*, • , and the *nūn ḡunnā*, ں , there is grammatical ambiguity between the intended word and the ergative structure involving the oblique form of the third person plural pronoun *in/un*, اِن / اُن , combined with the ergative particle *ne*, نے . The pronouns and the influence of Panjabi on the Urdu pronoun system are discussed below in Section 5.3, pp214-7 infra. The interrogative particle *kahāñ*, کَہاں , can, if the nasalisation is omitted, be confused with the past form of the verb *kahnā*, *kahā*, کَہا .

The next word *ānā*, اُنّا , was misspelt 22 times out of a total of 248 occurrences, all of which involved the omission of the graphic long vowel marker, *maddā*, اَ . As already discussed in the paragraph on the grapheme *alif*, there is reason to believe that some candidates are not fully aware of the correct usage of *alif*, in either initial or medial form. Whereas the unmarked form in the initial position represents the short vowel, in medial or final position *alif*, اِ , is used to mark the long vowel, ā.

Another difficulty involving *alif* is illustrated by the next word, *b'ad*, بعد . The pronunciation of *'ain*, عِ , and *alif*, اِ , in medial position are identical in Urdu and there is no way the presence of the

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former grapheme can be predicted phonetically. In effect, *ba'd*, بـد , is pronounced as if it were spelled *bād*, باد . All of the eighteen misspelt occurrences of this word were substitutions of *alif*, ا , for 'ain, ع .

The examples discussed above illustrate the range of spelling errors found in the GCE corpus. Over sixty percent of the errors concern the presence or absence of four letters, involving six graphemes: *dočašmī* he, ه , *alif*, ا , *alif maddā*, آ , *nūn ġunnā*, و , and *čhoṭī* he, ه . Many of these errors involving *čhoṭī* he, ه , and *nūn ġunnā*, و , may be ascribed to the influence of Panjabi and, to a lesser extent, English. In the total of 1952 errors, no distinction is made between those which affect the inflected portion of the word and those that occur in the stem of the word. In most cases, errors in the main part of the word do not affect the comprehension, whereas in the inflected portion there is a greater likelihood of ambiguity. 521 out of these errors involved the inflections of verbs, nouns, adjectives and pronouns, approximately one quarter of the total.

5.2. INFLECTIONAL ERRORS.

The second class of errors investigated was that involving the inflections for case and number in nouns and pronouns, gender and number in adjectives and for person, gender and number in verbs. As stated in the section above on spelling errors, there is no accurate means of determining whether some errors are caused by spelling or by inaccurately inflecting the word concerned. It seems plausible to assume that some errors are a combination of both factors. For this reason it is inappropriate to make more than tentative explanations for the errors observed. A more accurate description of these errors is that they are errors in the inflected portion of the word, which would avoid the necessity of ascribing them to any one cause or causes. The suggested criterion of ambiguity is, for this class of errors, a more appropriate yardstick by which to measure their significance. What is significant is the low number of such errors particularly in the nouns, pronouns and

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adjectives. In most cases the errors for these classes of words did not cause ambiguity. Errors in verbs, however, were more in number and more likely to cause miscomprehension. There are two main reasons for this: firstly, that there are more inflections to deal with and therefore more chances of getting them wrong, secondly, that the differences between some of these inflections are smaller and less distinct than the relatively clear cut distinctions between the direct and oblique, masculine and feminine, and the singular and plural inflections of the other classes of words.

5.2.1. ERRORS IN NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

Urdu nouns belong to one of four grammatical classes: masculine nouns ending in \bar{a} , \bar{i} , or \bar{a} , \bar{o} , other masculine nouns, feminine nouns ending in \bar{i} , \bar{u} , and other feminine nouns. The exceptions to this classification are very few in number. The inflections for case and number follow a regular pattern. Adjectives usually inflect only if they end in $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{i}$, although a few ending in $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{o}$, also inflect. The paradigm of nominal and adjectival inflections is shown below.

The most frequently occurring errors were in the feminine direct plural; out of 33 occurrences of errors in this category all but two involved the omission of the nasalising grapheme 'nūn ḡunnā', \bar{u} . The two exceptions were two instances of the singular form being used instead of the plural. One error was noted in the feminine oblique plural, the direct form being used instead. There were no errors in the feminine singular forms at all.

The commonest error in the masculine inflections occurred in the direct and oblique plural forms; each had 12 errors. The most common direct error was the attribution of the e inflection, \bar{e} , to nouns which did not end in \bar{a}/\bar{a} , \bar{i} / \bar{o} . This seems to indicate that a few candidates were at that stage of linguistic development where they were overgeneralising grammatical rules. Ten out of twelve of the oblique

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plural errors were omissions of the nūn ġunnā, ن . The other two were substitutions of the direct plural inflection.

NOUN INFLECTIONS AND THE AGREEMENT OF ADJECTIVES.⁽⁴⁾

	Masculine.		Feminine.	
	in -ā/-ā, /o	not in -ā/-ā	in -ī, ن	not in -ī
Direct	<i>baṛā laṛkā</i>	<i>baṛā makān</i>	<i>baṛī laṛkī</i>	<i>baṛī bahin</i>
Singular	بڑا لڑکا	بڑا مکان	بڑی لڑکی	بڑی بہن
Oblique	<i>baṛe laṛke</i>	<i>baṛe makān</i>	<i>baṛī laṛkī</i>	<i>baṛī bahin</i>
Singular	بڑے لڑکے	بڑے مکان	بڑی لڑکی	بڑی بہن
Direct	<i>baṛe laṛke</i>	<i>baṛe makān</i>	<i>baṛī laṛkiyān</i>	<i>baṛī bahineñ</i>
Plural	بڑے لڑکے	بڑے مکان	بڑے لڑکیاں	بڑے بہنیں
Oblique	<i>baṛe laṛkoñ</i>	<i>baṛe makānoñ</i>	<i>baṛī laṛkiyoñ</i>	<i>baṛī bahinoñ</i>
Plural	بڑے لڑکوں	بڑے مکانوں	بڑی لڑکیوں	بڑی بہنوں

There were only two noted errors in adjectival inflections: one was the use of the direct plural noun inflection in the feminine which occurred three times. The other, which occurred twice, was the use of the oblique plural in the masculine. Both these errors may be attributed to the influence of Panjabi, since in that language adjectives follow their nouns in inflection, whereas in Urdu the agreement is limited to masculine direct singular and plural and the feminine adjective has one form for all cases.

(4) Chart adapted from Russell 1971, p113.

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There were a total of 64 errors involving the inflected portions of nouns and adjectives. These are shown in Table 5.2. Out of a total of over 34,000 running words, this figure is remarkably low and indicates that, with the exception of a handful of cases, the candidates have successfully mastered this part of Urdu grammar. Since two thirds of the errors involved the omission of one grapheme, *nūn ġunnā*, ۞, it is likely that some of these errors are due to the influence of English, which lacks nasalisation, or either slips of the pen or the correct intended inflection misspelt. Only on very few occasions do these errors cause ambiguity, since inflections for number are usually reflected in other elements of the sentence while, oblique forms are normally preceded by postpositions which indicate the intended inflections. In addition to this there were 51 errors involving disagreements, ie. singular for plural or masculine for feminine. In general errors of gender are few in the GCE corpus.

5.3. ERRORS IN PRONOUNS.

Errors in pronouns, possessive adjectives, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives have been considered separately from the previous section for two reasons: firstly, that the inflection system of pronouns is completely different, and secondly, that errors in pronouns, etc. are much more likely to cause ambiguity than those in nouns and adjectives.

Although some of the errors associated with these classes of words cannot be definitely classified as inflectional as opposed to errors in the spelling of the inflected portion of the word the influence of the Panjabi pronominal system on the incorrect occurrences of pronouns is evident in the corpus. There were instances of incorrect construction of the word, mainly in the first and second person pronouns, but the majority are omissions of graphemes, in particular *nūn ġunnā*, ۞, *ġhoġī he*, •, or *doġašmī he*, •. The most frequent error was in the oblique form of the third person plural pronoun or demonstrative adjective. There are alternative versions of this pronoun when used in

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combination with the postposition *ko*, کو : in the first version, *in*, اِن , or *un*, اُن , with *ko*, کو , there were no errors but in the extended simple form *inheñ/unheñ*, اِنھیں / اُنھیں , there were 13 errors. In this word if the omission is limited to the *dočāsmī he*, ہ , the likelihood of confusion is small but if both this grapheme and the *nūn ġunnā*, ن , are omitted then there is potential ambiguity between * *ine/une*, اِنے / اُنے , and the extended oblique form of the demonstrative adjective with the ergative particle *in ne/un ne*, اِن نے / اُن نے . In the ergative construction the oblique form of the personal pronoun is distinguished from the demonstrative adjective or pronoun by the addition of the suffix *-oñ*, -وں . There were five occurrences of the use of the latter form in place of the former while there were four instances of the *-oñ*, -وں , form being used in the possessive adjective construction producing * *unhoñ ke*, اُنھوں کے , in place of *un ke*, اُن کے . There were two occurrences of the same error, involving *unhoñ*, اُنھوں , in the oblique construction with *ko*, کو .

That many of these errors can be ascribed to the confusion arising between Panjabi and Urdu third person pronomial forms is perhaps best demonstrated in tabular form.

CORRESPONDENCES OF URDU & PANJABI PRONOUNS & ERRORS.

	STANDARD URDU.	GCE URDU ERRORS	PANJABI.
DIRECT	<i>vuh</i>	-	<i>oh</i>
OBLIQUE	<i>un</i>	-	<i>unhāñ</i>
OBJECTIVE			
extended	<i>unheñ</i>	<i>une</i>	-
+pstpstn	<i>un ko</i>	<i>unhoñ ko</i> (using agentive form)	<i>unhāñ nūñ</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>un kā</i>	<i>unhoñ kā</i> (using oblique form)	<i>unhāñ dā</i>
AGENTIVE	<i>unhoñ ne</i>	<i>un ne/une</i>	<i>unhāñ ne</i>

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In the table the correspondences have been restricted to the third person plural oblique forms, for nearly all of the errors occur in these forms. In total 26 out of 63 pronominal errors occurred in the third person pronoun or demonstrative adjective, of which 24 were in plural forms; the exception being two occurrences of *ūs*, اوس, for *us*, اى. The omission of the aspiration can be partly accounted for by the Panjabi realisation of *unhāñ* as tonal /*ónāñ*/. Another factor is the weak phonemic status of aspirate nasals in Urdu, i.e. /*nh*/ and /*mh*/. This is not the same as sequences of /*n*/ or /*m*/ and /*h*/, e.g. *tumhārā* is frequently pronounced and written as if there were no aspirate but in *tamhīd* the /*h*/ is both pronounced strongly and less likely to be omitted in writing.

There were eleven instances of errors involving the oblique form of the personal pronoun *maīñ*, مى, *mujhe*, مجھے. They were divided into two types, the omission of the *dočaśmī* *he*, ہے, and the addition of *vāo*, و. These are clearly simple errors of spelling but they do indicate a lack of awareness of the connection between pronunciation and spelling which, in this case, is a direct one. The third error to occur more than ten times was in the reflexive pronoun *apnā*, اپنى. Although in all but one case the pronoun was used correctly, the remaining errors were the addition of the graphic marker, *maddā*, آ, آ, to the initial *alif*, ا. Since the second person pronoun *āp*, آپ, is spelt with *alif maddā*, آ, this uncertainty is understandable.

There were six occurrences of errors in the possessive adjective *hamārā*, ہمارا, and two in the possessive adjective *tumhārā*, تمہارا, instead of which the forms *ham kā*, ہم کا, and *tum kā*, تم کا, had been written. These errors can be considered the result of overgeneralisation of the normal means of formation of possessive adjectives from personal pronouns on the pattern of *āp* ⇒ *āp kā*, آپ کا ⇒ آپ کا, which is an indication of the writers having not yet fully acquired this particular formation.

In total there were 63 errors involving the classes of words described above, many of which are spelling errors which are likely to

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have been caused by writing them as they are spoken or heard by the majority of the candidates. These errors can be seen as graphemic realisations of Urdu pronouns, heavily influenced both by Panjabi forms and by the Panjabi phonemes used by many candidates when they pronounce these words in Urdu. The low frequency of 'grammatical' errors supports the view that the majority of candidates at this level have acquired most of the basic structures of Urdu. These errors are listed in full in Table 5.3.

5.4. ERRORS IN VERB INFLECTIONS.

This class of error is subject to the same comments as applied to the previous sections; to categorise them as inflectional errors is to ignore the possibility that some of them are simply spelling errors. It is safer to call them errors in those parts of verbs which show modifications for number, person and gender. These errors have been considered separately from tense errors, which will be discussed in a following section. Table 5.4 summarises the main errors occurring in verb endings. Errors in verb stems have already been discussed in the section on spelling errors.

It is convenient to consider this type of errors by verbal element. Only in tenses formed without auxiliary verbs can errors be considered by tense, in the majority of tenses the error may have occurred in the auxiliary verb which may, in form, be different from the tense of the main verb. Of the three tenses formed without auxiliary verbs, two show a significant number of errors: the simple future and the present subjunctive, although strictly speaking the subjunctive is not a tense but a mood. The future tense errors once again involved the addition or omission of the *nūn ġunnā*, ُ , and also the hamzā, ء . 53 out of 84 errors in the future tense involved the omission of the former grapheme resulting in a real or apparent confusion between the singular and plural forms. Genuine ambiguity occurred only in the feminine form where only the presence of *nūn ġunnā*, ُ , distinguishes the plural from the singular.

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-egī ےگی- Feminine singular, simple future tense.

-eṅgī ےگیں- Feminine plural, simple future tense.

It can be seen that omission of the *nūn ḡunnā*, ن , in the plural results in a form identical to the singular. This ambiguity does not arise in the doubly marked masculine plural form:

-egā ےگا- Masculine singular, simple future tense

-eṅge ےگے- Masculine plural, simple future tense

The greater prevalence of nasalisation in Panjabi as compared with Urdu verbal inflections is a major contributing factor to this and many of the other errors involving *nūn ḡunnā* in this section, as is the low incidence of nasalisation in English, especially at the end of words.

Another common error in the simple future was the incorrect addition of the *hamzā*, ء . This error, which occurred 19 times, does not necessarily create ambiguity, although it is open to an interpretation associated with pronunciation. One verb, in particular, is prone to ambiguity of tense; the future feminine singular of *honā*, *hogī*, ہوگی , can, by addition of the *hamzā*, ء , be easily confused with the simple past form of *ho jānā*, *hoga'ī*, ہوگی . The symbol ' is here representing the *hamzā*, ء . It must be noted here that the short vowel /a/, in medial position, is not often written in Urdu as it is marked only by a superscript diacritic *zabar*, َ, the two forms are distinguished in writing only by *hamzā*, ء .

hog'/a/ī ہوگی *hojānā* - Fem. sing/pl. Simple Past tense

hogī ہوگی *honā* - 3d.per. Fem. sing. Future tense

By adding *hamzā* to the masculine second person informal form or the masculine plural form of the same verb, there is also potential

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confusion between the future and simple past forms. The /a/ represents the sound that differentiates the two forms while the ' represents the *hamzā*.

<i>hoge</i> ہوگے	<i>honā</i>	- 2d.per.	M.int. Future tense
<i>hog'/a/e</i> ہوگے	"	- 1/2/3 per.	M.plural Simple Past tense
<i>hoŋge</i> ہوں گے	"	- 1/2/3 per.	M.plural Future tense
* <i>hoŋg'/a/e</i> ہوں گے	"	-	Future plural + <i>hamzā</i>

By addition or omission of the *hamzā*, ء , and the *nūn ġunnā*, ن , the future form becomes indistinguishable from the simple past form, but there were nineteen occurrences in which both graphemes appeared, as in the example marked * above. Errors occurring in the future tense were relatively far more frequent than other verb errors. Over one quarter of the occurrences of this tense contained errors. See Table 5.4 for figures.

Errors in the tenses formed from the perfect participle have been subsumed into the simple past, for the errors occurring in the auxiliary verbal elements of the perfect and pluperfect tenses have been classified under that particular tense form of the auxiliary. Thus errors such as the converse of the example given for *hog(a)ī/hogī*, ہوگی / ہوگی , in which the *hamzā*, ء , of the past tense is omitted, could occur in the simple past, perfect or pluperfect tenses. Half of the 84 errors associated with the tenses formed from the perfect participle involve the omission of *hamzā* in the past form of *hojānā* or of *jānā*. Ambiguity is only likely in the case of the above example. Although errors in tenses formed from the past tense are the most frequent numerically, they represent less than five percent of the total occurrences of these tenses. Errors associated with the ergative construction will be discussed in the section on construction errors.

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The errors which occurred in endings of subjunctive mood were mainly associated with the omission of *nūn ġunnā*, ں , from the plural form. The plural suffix of the present subjunctive -en, ے- , which does not vary for person, has been rendered as -e, ے- . This form is identical with the intimate second person and the third person singular form of this tense, e.g.:

čale چلے

čalnā - 2/3d.per. m/f sing.Subjunctive

čalen چلیں

čalnā -1/2/3d.per.m/fplural Subjunctive

The other error of note in this tense was the omission of *nūn ġunnā*, ں , from the first person singular, -a, ے , for -ūn, وں- , leading to a potential ambiguity between the intended form and that of the informal second person of the same tense or the informal imperative. There were eight such instances. Nearly 10% of the occurrences of the present subjunctive contained errors.

The present tense form of the verb is composed of two elements: there is a stem suffix and an auxiliary verb, *honā*. There were three notable types of error here, two of which solely involved the auxiliary verb. Errors involving the present form of the auxiliary verb are not necessarily connected to the present tense form of the main verb but may have occurred in the auxiliary of the perfect tense or the present progressive tense. These errors could be considered grammatical, but it is equally possible to consider them spelling errors because the difference between the singular form *hai*, ہے , and the plural form *haiñ*, ہیں , is only one grapheme, *nūn ġunnā*, ں . There were 22 occurrences of either *hai*, ہے , for *haiñ*, ہیں , or *haiñ*, ہیں , for *hai*, ہے . Although the difference is of one grapheme only this is visually very prominent in the Urdu script.

The second type of error also involving only the auxiliary element occurs in the first person singular, but this has only been recorded in this study in the present tense. This error is again due to the omission

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of nūn ḡunnā, نون , which results in potential ambiguity between it and the informal second person of the same tense and some forms of the present potential, although in the former tense the ambiguity is confined to the feminine form. It should be noted that the first person singular forms of the present potential are orthographically identical with the equivalent forms of the habitual present. They are pronounced differently and this difference, /ū/ in the habitual present and /o/ in the present potential is only rarely marked in writing by the use of the superscript *peš*,[ۛ] . These varying forms are shown below. The third example differs in writing only by the omission of the nūn ḡunnā, نون . There were 26 errors of this type in the corpus.

<i>čaltī hūn</i> نون	<i>calnā</i> - 1st.per. f.sing. Habitual present
<i>čaltī hoñ</i> نون	" - " " " " Present potential
<i>čaltī ho</i> نون	" - 2d.per. " " " Subjunctive

The third and most frequently occurring error in the present tense was the disagreement between the stem inflection and the auxiliary verb. If the stem inflection is in the singular *-tā*, تا- , the auxiliary verb must also be in the singular form *hai*, هي , and vice versa in the plural. The examples below show the two possible incorrect agreements:

- (96)* *bačče iskūl meñ kām karte hai karnā* - stem+inflect pl.+aux sing.
- (97*) *bačče iskūl meñ kām kartā haiñ* " - stem+inflect sing.+aux pl.
- (98) *bačče iskūl meñ kām karte haiñ* " - 3d.per. pl. Habitual Present.
- (99*) *dost hamešā sāth detā haiñ denā* - stem+ inflect sing.+aux pl.
- (100*) *dost hamešā sāth dete hai denā* - stem+inflect pl.+aux sing.
- (101) *dost hamešā sāth detā hai* " - 3d.per.sing.Habitual Present.

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In cases where the subject of the sentence is marked for singular or plural, this error does not create much ambiguity. However, if the subject is the pronoun *yah*, يا , or *vuh*, وھ , or a noun of the class that does not inflect for singular and plural, eg., *mard*, مرد , then a potential ambiguity is created. The corpus contained 31 errors of this type. This figure represents approximately five percent of the total occurrences of this tense.

Errors associated with tense inflections amounted to 404 out of 6,155 tense occurrences, which is 6.6% of the total number of errors. Given that over twenty five percent of the tense inflection errors occurred in one tense, the simple future, it can be seen that most of the candidates seem to have had very few problems with the inflections of the verbs. Futhermore, only some of the errors committed cause actual or potential ambiguity. If the assessment criteria of the GCSE for Basic Level are followed, most of the potential ambiguities are clarifiable by reference to other sentence elements or by considering the wider context of the composition. Even at Higher Level, errors such as the omission of *hamzâ*, ء , are not taken too seriously, but its correct use in written performance is one of the factors which distinguishes between candidates at the top, A/B, end of the GCSE grades. The misuse of *nûn ġunnâ*, ن , is a more significant error because, as already explained, its presence or absence often distinguishes the plural from the singular, and there is a direct relationship between the phoneme and the grapheme. The influence of Panjabi verbal forms has also been noted. This does indicate a need for greater attention to transferring oral and aural skills to writing. Candidates who had demonstrated uncertainty could have benefitted from simple phonetic drills involving listening and distinguishing between minimal pairs, eg., *hai/haiñ*, هي / هيں , and *hogi/hog'I*, هوكي / هوكي . What has to be taken into consideration is the fact that some of the candidates for GCE and GCSE have had no access to regular tuition. In the case of verb inflections, which comprise the largest single category of error apart from simple spelling errors, the risk of ambiguity is much greater than in other classes of words; consequently, there is greater need for attention to be paid to them in the classroom.

5.5. TENSE ERRORS.

This section will be concerned with the use of the wrong or inappropriate tense or mood. In many of the cases where spelling errors have occurred, there has been created a potential ambiguity between, say, the simple past and the subjunctive and these have already been discussed in the previous section. Out of over six thousand tense occurrences, there were 94 occurrences of verbs in the wrong tense which is approximately one and a half percent. This figure does not include the ambiguous cases discussed above. Detailed figures for this class of errors are given in Table 5.5.

The most frequent tense error involved the substitution of the pluperfect $-ā\ thā,$ ہو چکا ہے , form for the simple past, $-ā,$ ہو . The pluperfect is used in Urdu in the case of an event in the fairly remote past, with a strong emphasis on the fact that the effect of this past action is no longer current. Panjabi usage tends to be much freer here so often $-ā\ sī \cong -a$. There were 31 tense errors involving the inappropriate use of the pluperfect tense. Most of the errors involved sentences on the lines of the one given below. In the exemplary sentence, the action of the first verb immediately precedes the action of the second, so the simple past is appropriate.

(*102) *ham aq̄ḍe par pahuñce the aur intizār karne lage -* *pahuñc̄nā*
Pluperfect

(103) *ham aq̄ḍe par pahuñce aur intizār karne lage -* *pahuñc̄nā*
Simple Past

The second ranking error is strictly speaking an error of mood, not tense, but has been included here as it can be regarded as the incorrect use of the habitual present indicative, $-tā\ hai,$ ہوتا ہے , in place of the present subjunctive, $-e,$ ہو . In many cases in Urdu either of these tenses are allowable but the 22 occurrences recorded in the corpus are definitely inappropriate. Many of these errors occurred in the

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composition entitled 'The things I expect from a friend.' In writing on this topic, candidates naturally produced examples of the behaviour expected from friends, i.e., 'I want my friend to help me.' In Urdu this sentence would require the subjunctive mood and not the indicative, but there were examples where the present was incorrectly used.

(*104) *main̄ c̄āhtī hūn̄ ki merī saheli merī madad kartī hai* - Habitual
Present

(105) *main̄ c̄āhtī hūn̄ ki merī saheli merī madad kare* - Subjunctive

The third most frequently occurring tense error involved the substitution of the habitual present, *-tā hai*, ہاں ہاں , for the simple past, *-ā*, ہاں . It is not easy to understand why these errors came about, for the majority of them occurred in the middle of a past tense narrative, which, for no apparent reason, switched to the present tense. There were 16 such errors, five of which occurred in one script.

The only other tense error which occurred with a frequency of more than ten was the misuse of the past imperfect, *-tā thā*, ہاں ہاں . There were ten errors involving the use of this tense instead of the simple past, *-ā*, ہاں , and in 7 cases it was used instead of the past progressive, *+ rahā thā*, ہاں رہا ہاں .

(*106) *kaptān i'lān kartā thā* - *i'lān karnā* Past
Imperfect

(107) *kaptān ne i'lān kiyā* - " " Simple Past

The incorrect sentence (*106) means 'The captain used to announce' whereas the intended meaning is given by (107), 'The captain announced.' In the following sentences the intended meaning of the incorrect sentence (*106) is given by sentence (108), 'The captain was announcing.'

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(108) *kaptān i'lān kar rahā thā* - *i'lān karnā* Past
Progressive

There were two occurrences of the use of the Past Progressive instead of the Perfect Participle with the verb *baiṭhnā*. This appears to reflect English usage, where 'I was sitting' normally means 'I was in a seated position'. In Urdu the Past Progressive *(53) is used only to describe the action of the verb; the Perfect Participle (52) is used to describe the state. The influence of the English idiom is clearly evident in this type of error.

(52) *main ārām se baiṭhā film dekhtā rahā* - Perfect
Participle

*(59) *vuh kursī par baiṭh rahā thā aur axbār paṅh rahā thā* - Past
Progressive

The extremely low frequency of tense errors in the GCE corpus indicates that the majority of candidates have successfully acquired the appropriate tense forms and know in what situations they are used. While some of the errors in tenses suggest influence of English usage, the errors in inflections are more likely to be influenced by Panjabi. Other errors have no logical explanation. The successful disposition of tenses has been demonstrated by the great majority of candidates.

5.6. CONSTRUCTION ERRORS.

The errors in this section are ones which are associated with incorrect grammatical constructions, involving the use of an incorrect postposition or the inappropriate form of word or inflection of a word within a particular construction. Table 5.6 shows the rank order of errors covered in this section. Some of these errors are more correctly described as gender errors. In general, errors of gender were noticeably infrequent in the GCE corpus and for this reason have not been listed or described

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separately in this chapter. Some gender errors may be explicable in terms of the different gender of equivalent words in Panjabi and Urdu.

The lack of consensus over 'correct' usage in some of these constructions has created some difficulties in defining whether some constructions have been used correctly or not. The question of appropriacy cannot be easily resolved. According to the E.C. Pilot Project on Community Languages in the Secondary Curriculum 'it would seem appropriate to be promoting the language accepted by educated speakers and writers,...' ⁽⁵⁾ while Alladina, discussing the term 'Community Language', notes that '...the standard variety of the language is used for educational purposes or for wider community interaction.' ⁽⁶⁾ One of the most frequently occurring errors in this section is a case in point; obligation is usually expressed by the infinitive of the verb in combination with the appropriate tense form of *honā* or *paṛnā*. The person under the obligation is marked by the postposition *ko* or the appropriate oblique pronomial form is used (110). Under the influence of Panjabi, however, this construction is formed slightly differently; the particle *ne* is used instead of *ko* (111).

(110) *mujhe jānā hai* -

Obligation (Urdu)

(111) *maiñ ne jānā hai* -

" (Punjabi/Urdu)

There are many teachers who do not raise objections to this usage and it seems inappropriate, at this level at least, to take a pedantic view of the issue and mark this construction as incorrect. Since there is no problem of ambiguity and since the majority of students and teachers are speakers of Panjabi, it is not surprising that there were fourteen occurrences of this construction in the GCE corpus out of a total of forty two, exactly one third. As already stated in the first section of this chapter, a number of constructions identified here as errors are considered acceptable variants by some informants but not by others.

(5) E.C.P.P. 1988, §4.7., p20-21.

(6) Alladina, in *J.M.M.D.*, 6, 6, 1985, p462-463.

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Eleven occurrences of the omission of inflection in the verbal infinitive were noted in the corpus. Five of these involved one construction. The standard means of rendering 'to go and do something' is to use the inflected infinitive of the verb relating to the intended action with the appropriate tense form of the verb of motion, which is usually *jānā*. (*112) shows the incorrect form, while (113) is the correct form. One explanation for this error may be the English construction 'to go' where, of course, there is no inflection. The use of the incorrect form does not create any ambiguity.

(*112) *main apnī bahin kī śādī manānā gaī* - Uninflected infinitive

(113) *main apnī bahin kī śādī manāne gaī* - Inflected infinitive

Other errors of this type involved three different postpositions: *se*, *par* and *kī*.

Use of the incorrect postposition resulted in 21 errors, eight of which were unique. Some of these errors in gender may be attributed to the different gender of the nominal components of equivalent sentences, e.g. in (*116) the Panjabi equivalent of *intizār* is *uḍīk*, which is a feminine noun, whereas the Urdu word is masculine. Among those occurring more than once were three occurrences of the use of the masculine plural postposition *ke*, (*114), with the phrasal verb *sair karnā*, where the correct postposition is the feminine form, *kī*, (115).

(*114) *ham pākistān ke sair karnā čāhte the* - Incorrect Gender

(115) *ham pākistān kī sair karnā čāhte the* - Correct Gender

(*116) *main flāiṭ kī intizār karne lagī* - Incorrect Gender

(117) *main flāiṭ kī intizār karne lagī* - Correct Gender

Another error which occurred three times involved the phrasal verb *muhabbat karnā*. The correct postposition with this verb is *se* but there

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were two examples of the use of *meñ* and one of the use of *kī* (*118) shows the incorrect use of *meñ* and (119) shows the correct form.

(*118) *dost ko māñ bāp meñ muhabbat karnā čāhiye* -Incorrect Postposition

(119) *dost ko māñ bāp se muhabbat karnā čāhiye* - Correct Postposition

The following error seems inexplicable:

(*120) *dost apne dost ke lie madad kare* - Incorrect Postposition

(121) *dost apne dost kī madad kare* - Correct Postposition

Other examples of incorrect postpositions can also be explained in terms of differences between Panjabi and Urdu idiom. The construction with *bāteñ karnā* (*122) has followed the Panjabi construction using the Panjabi postposition *nūñ*, whose Urdu equivalent is *ko*. The same transference occurred in the construction with *pūčhnā* (*124). In both cases the correct Urdu postposition is *se* as in (123) and (125).

(*122) *maiñ us ko bāteñ kartā thā* - Incorrect Postposition

(123) *maiñ us se bāteñ kartā thā* - Correct Postposition

(*124) *hosṭes ne mujh ko pūčhā* - Incorrect Postposition

(125) *hosṭes ne mujh se pūčhā* - Correct Postposition

It should be noted here that in examples of the *čāhiye* construction, (*118) and (119), the infinitive is in the masculine singular form, although the nominal component of the phrasal verb is feminine. Sentence (126) shows the feminine agreement. There are, traditionally, two conflicting schools of thought on this issue; the Delhi school prefer to make the agreement, while the Lucknow school do not. In the view of some informants this traditional view is considered out of date. According to Russell 'Nowadays many Urdu speakers employ

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Delhi and Lucknow usage indiscriminately. Both are equally common.' <7>
Another feature of the use of the *čāhiye* construction in the corpus was the very frequent occurrence of the singular form *čāhiye* in cases where the plural form is expected. This very frequently occurred in the composition entitled 'Should there be separate schools for British Muslims?' In rendering the title into Urdu, the accepted usage would be to use the plural form *čāhiyeñ* (127) rather than *čāhiye* (128). Although in this study the form has been marked as an error, there seems to be widespread use of both forms and, since there is little likelihood of ambiguity, it is, perhaps, inappropriately strict, at this level, to do so. (?129), however, shows an example of what could be considered an error even though there is little or no likelihood of ambiguity. The confusion seems to be in the mind of the candidate as to what agreement should be made in this construction. There were 55 occurrences of this error in the corpus, by far the largest single error in this section.

(119) *dost ko māñ bāp se muhabbat karnā čāhiye* - Noun fem./Verb masc.

(126) *dost ko māñ bāp se muhabbat karnī čāhiye* - Noun fem./Verb fem

(127) *bartānavī musalmānoñ ke lie 'alahidā skūl hone čāhiyeñ ?* - Plural

(128) *bartānavī musalmānoñ ke lie 'alahidā skūl honā čāhiye ?* - Singular

(?129) *bartāniā ke muslim ke lie alag skūl hone čāhiye ?* - Plural/Sing.

There were eight occurrences of omission of the ergative particle *ne* from constructions associated with tenses formed from the perfect participle of all but a few transitive verbs. For foreign language learners of Urdu, this construction is often presented as being difficult to master; the evidence of examples in this corpus suggests that the GCE candidates have very few problems with the *ne* construction per se, rather it is some of the formations of personal and demonstrative

(7) Russell 1971, p265,

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pronouns which have caused problems. As already discussed in the section on pronouns, §5.3. above, in the ergative construction the oblique form of the personal pronoun is distinguished from the demonstrative adjective or pronoun by the addition of the suffix *-on*, *ون*. There were five occurrences of the use of the *un*, *اُن* form (*131) in place of the *unhon*, *اُنھوں*, form (132) while there were four instances of the *-on*, *ون*, form being used in the possessive adjective construction producing

(*132) *unhon ke*, *اُنھوں کے*, in place of *un ke*, *اُن کے* (133).

(*130) *un ne hamen biṭhā diā* - Incorrect form of Personal Pronoun

(131) *unhon ne hamen biṭhā diā* - Correct form of Personal Pronoun

(*132) *unhon ke pās bahut sāmān thā* - Incorrect form Possessive Adjective

(133) *un ke pās bahut sāmān thā* - Correct form Possessive Adjective

Errors of this nature, where errors appear to be caused by the influence of the Panjabi pronomial system, have been discussed above in the section on Pronouns. (§5.3, p214.) The Panjabi equivalent of *un ke* is *unhāñ de* which has been rendered as *unhon ke*, as in (*132).

The construction errors noted above are low both in type and in frequency. The status of some of the constructions discussed is disputable, and the evolutionary nature of linguistic change suggests that there will continue to be variations in the notional standard form of any language. The influence of Panjabi is evident in certain classes of errors, notably in the use of postpositions and in pronouns. Whether the constructions are considered errors or variants there are few of them that cause ambiguity. Since the criterion of ambiguity does not require the classification of errors as either grammatical or orthographical it is a suitable, if empirical, approach to assessing performance.

5.7. INAPPROPRIATE OR INCORRECT LEXICAL ITEMS.

The occurrences of this class of error were low and the majority of them do not usually create ambiguity. As with other classes of errors, there are some words which are ambiguous because they are spelt incorrectly, and some because the incorrect word has been chosen by the candidate. One hundred and two occurrences, involving fifty one different words or expressions, have been recorded, of which twenty eight were single occurrences. A full list of these errors is given in Table 5.7, while some of the more interesting examples are discussed below.

One word accounted for twelve occurrences in this section. Candidates using the word *akelā* (*134) were writing on the topic 'Should there be separate schools for British Muslims?', whose title contained the word 'separate' which the candidates were attempting to render in Urdu. This would normally be *'alahidā* or *alag* (135). The latter is a more basic everyday word, while the former not only belongs to a higher register but is also one of the more difficult Urdu words to spell. This is borne out by its position as the second most frequently misspelt word in the corpus. The choice of *akelā* is not surprising; meaning 'alone' it does carry the connotation of separateness. It is more surprising that so many attempted to use a word that was felt by the candidates to be more appropriate to a serious topic. The incorrect and correct forms are shown below

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (*134) <i>akele skūl zarūr hone čāhiye - akelā</i> | Inappropriate use |
| (135) <i>alag skūl zarūr hone čāhiye - alag</i> | Appropriate use |
| (136) <i>main akelā vāpas ā rahā thā - akelā</i> | Appropriate use |

The second most frequently occurring word is *angrezī* which appeared seven times in place of *angrez*. The elements of this minimal pair are easily confused because they are not representative of this class of proper nouns. In nearly every case, the adjective used to describe languages is the same as that used to describe people and

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objects, e.g., *frānsīsī*, which is used to mean 'French language' or 'Frenchman'. Only in the case of English is this pattern broken. *angrezī* is used for the language (137) and to denote a connection with England while *angrez* is only used to describe English people. (138)

(137) *angrezī bolnā kaise sikhēnge* - English language

(138) *angrez bačče hamāre sāth paṛhte haiñ* - English (children)

There are a few examples of closely related words of Arabic origin which have been confused. The formation of series of words based on Arabic trilateral and quadrilateral roots is not usually studied at this level of Urdu, so this confusion is understandable. Candidates are often aware that a certain Arabic word means something to do with a particular semantic area, but the exact meaning is a matter of guesswork. An example in the corpus is that of *mufīd* and *fāidā*. The former is an adjective meaning 'useful', the latter a noun meaning 'advantage'. There were two occurrences of the noun being used in place of the adjective, (*139) and (140). There is an alternative formation of an adjective by adding the Persian suffix *-mand* to *fāidā* (141).

(*139) *yah bahut fāidā bāt hai* - Incorrect use of noun

(140) *yah bahut mufīd bāt hai* - Correct use of adjective

(141) *yah bahut fāidāmand bāt hai* - Alternative adjective

As a converse to this example there were a few instances of words being mistakenly used because they appeared to belong to the same semantic group, e.g., *zulm*, ظلم, (*142) and *ilzām*, إلزام, (143) which may be considered false friends; besides the difference in letter order the first word is spelt with *zoe*, ز , and the second with *ze*, ز .

(*142) *vuh ham par zulm lagāte haiñ* - Incorrect word

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(143) *vuh ham par ilzām lagāte haiñ -*

Correct word

There are sets of Urdu verbs which are unduly prone to such confusions: the phenomenon of semantically and linguistically related sets of verbs has been described under the term 'causative verbs' in the chapter on verbs. Many of these verbs are graphemically 'minimal pairs', so potential confusion over intended choice by the candidate is increased by spelling difficulties. There were ten separate instances of this error amounting to twenty occurrences. Confusion between *lagānā*, لگانا, and *lagnā*, لگنا, occurred three times and in these, as in most cases, it is difficult to determine whether the error has occurred as a result of using the incorrect word or the correct word spelt incorrectly. (*144) and (145), (*146) and (147), (*148) and (149) illustrate the potential ambiguity between these types of minimal pairs. This could be explained as a failure to observe the rule requiring the weakening of the stem vowel before a causative -ā-. (*150) and (151) provide a different example, for although the verbs are superficially similar they do not belong to the same semantic group and there is no 'causative' connection between them.

(*144) *air hostes ne hameñ baiṭhā diā -*

* *baiṭhnā/biṭhānā*

(145) *air hostes ne hameñ biṭhā diā -*

biṭhānā

(*146) *ham jahāz se nikālkar kaṣamz ke pās gae -*

* *nikālnā/nikalnā*

(147) *ham jahāz se nikalkar kaṣamz ke pās gae -*

nikalnā

(*148) *mujhe patā lagāyā ki... -*

* *lagānā/lagnā*

(149) *mujhe patā lagā ki... -*

lagnā

(*150) *i'lān hūā ki siṭ belṭ ban lijiye -*

* *bannā/bāndhnā*

(151) *i'lān hūā ki siṭ belṭ bāndh lijiye -*

bāndhnā

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Other errors associated with verbs are not attributable to the close similarity between certain verbs. In the case of some phrasal verbs, the nominal component has been combined with the incorrect lexical verb, (*152) and (153), (*154) and (155). Other instances can be explained as simply not knowing the correct word, (*151) and (157).

(*152) <i>kaptān ne i'lān <u>diā</u> -</i>	* <i>denā/karnā</i>
(153) <i>kaptān ne i'lān <u>kiyā</u> -</i>	<i>karnā</i>
(*154) <i>hameñ dost kā sāth <u>lenā</u> čāhiye -</i>	* <i>lenā/denā</i>
(155) <i>hameñ dost kā sāth <u>denā</u> čāhiye -</i>	<i>denā</i>
(*156) <i>maiñ jahāz par <u>ravānā</u> hūā -</i>	* <i>ravānā /savār</i>
(157) <i>maiñ jahāz par <u>savār</u> hūā -</i>	<i>savār</i>

5.8. CONCLUSION.

Errors of the class just discussed are not numerous, and, in most cases, if ambiguity is created, it is resolved through the context of the sentence. That some of them are errors of orthography, as opposed to selection of the incorrect word, seems more than likely. This applies to all the classes of errors which have been discussed in this chapter. It has already been pointed out that nearly two thirds of the errors, spelling or otherwise, are associated with a limited number of phonemes and graphemes. These are not the ones that are traditionally considered to be the problem letters of the Urdu alphabet, *zuād*, *zoe*, *sīn*, *se*, etc., which are not distinguishable phonetically and which, by and large, do not affect the inflections and agreements in a sentence and rarely create ambiguity. The majority of errors are associated with graphemes representing aspirates, nasalisations and other phonemically distinctive sounds, and which form many of the inflected portions of all grammatical classes of words. It is errors in these which are far more likely to

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create potential ambiguity than whether a word is spelt with a *zoe* or a *zuād*. This does indicate that there is a connection between the difficulties experienced by many candidates in this area and the lack of the type of oral/aural recognition exercises which encourages students to distinguish between minimal pairs, etc.

Weighed against this is the fact that there were errors in less than 7% of over 34,000 words in the corpus. If the errors are assessed according to the Basic Level GCSE assessment criteria for writing, in which the operative concept is that of ambiguity, then, by even the strictest interpretation, not more than half of the errors could be classified as creating ambiguity. This reinforces the view that the GCE candidates who achieved Grade C or above have reached a far more advanced standard in the written skill-area than Basic Level assessment criteria require.

The criteria for Higher Level are less easily quantifiable; the published assessment criteria for writing of the examining bodies have been examined in detail in Chapter 2, on GCSE and the Criteria. Any scheme of assessment that marks mechanically or negatively is counter to the ethos of the GCSE, but the LEAG marking scheme, as originally published, involved just that. ⁽⁸⁾ Fortunately a more appropriate scheme was adapted from that evolved by Modern Language Examiners, in which equal marks are given for Language and Content. The NEA approach was less mechanical, and assessed under three headings: content, appropriateness of language and accuracy. ⁽⁹⁾ There is equal weighting for each, so that, in effect, two thirds of the marks are awarded for language rather than content. For the majority of the writers of the compositions examined these criteria have been fulfilled.

(8) LEAG 1986, p52.

(9) NEA 1986, p88.

TABLE: 5.0.
FREQUENCY OF SPELLING ERRORS BY GRAPHEMES. (1952 Examples.)

x	√	x	√	x	√
آ	ا	21	ع	-	2
ا	آ	37	ق	ك	17
ا	ع	39	ك	ق	28
ا	ح	37	ك	ك	14
ا	ه	19	ك	ك	7
ا	-	48	ك	خ	3
-	ا	73	ك	ع	7
ع	ا	8	غ	ك	1
ح	ا	2	-	-	-
ه	ا	15	ن	-	29
و	ا	2	-	ن	224
ث	ي	1	ن	ع	1
ي	ث	7	ه	ح	31
ي	ث	4	ه	ي	9
ي	ي	27	ه	ه	6
ي	ي	24	ه	ع	6
ط	ح	27	ح	ن	2
ط	ط	3	ه	د	3
ط	ط	3	ه	-	6
ط	ط	12	ه	ه	18
ط	و	4	-	ه	144
ظ	و	4	ه	ه	202
ظ	ن	1	ه	ي	5
ظ	ن	1	ي	ه	145
ظ	ن	4	ي	-	57
ظ	ع	6	-	ي	64
ظ	ه	33	-	ع	13
ظ	ح	2	ي	د	8
ظ	ه	4	و	-	57
ظ	ي	1	-	و	28
ظ	ح	11	-	-	-
ظ	د	2	د	ع	2
ظ	د	11	د	ي	2
ظ	ن	2	د	-	43
ظ	ن	2	-	د	71
ظ	ن	72	-	-	-
ظ	ن	10	-	-	-
ظ	ي	20	-	-	-
ظ	ظ	6	-	-	-
ظ	ظ	7	-	-	-
ظ	ظ	11	-	-	-
ظ	ظ	2	-	-	-
TOTAL: 1952.					
آ	ا	21	-	-	21
ا	آ	37	-	-	37
-	-	58	-	-	58
ي	ي	27	-	-	27
ي	ي	24	-	-	24
ي	ي	51	-	-	51

<u>converse pairs</u>		<u>Most used letters</u>	
ه	-	144	<i>dočašmī</i> he (ه) 369 18.9%
-	ه	202	<i>čhoḡī</i> he (ه) 364 18.6%
-	-	346	<i>alif</i> (ا & آ) 301 15.4%
و	-	29	<i>ye</i> (ي & ع) 292 15.0%
-	و	253	<i>nūn ḡunnā</i> (ن) 254 13.0%
ا	-	48	<i>hamza</i> (ء) 131 6.9%
-	ا	73	<i>baḡī</i> he (ح) 100 5.1%
ي	-	57	
-	ي	64	<u>phoneme/grapheme sets</u>
-	-	121	ح/ه/ه 88 4.5%
د	-	43	ث/ي/ي 63 3.2%
-	د	71	ظ/ي/د/ز 48 2.5%
-	-	114	ط/ت 46 2.4%
و	-	57	245 8.0%
-	و	28	<u>dental/retro. sets</u>
-	-	85	ر/ر 82
ر	ر	72	6 30
ر	ر	10	73 13
ر	-	6	31 125
-	ر	67	33 6.4%
-	-	73	64
ر	ا	21	
ا	آ	37	
-	-	58	
ي	ي	27	
ي	ي	24	
ي	ي	51	

TABLE: 5.1.
MOST FREQUENTLY MISSPELT WORDS IN GCE CORPUS.

145	ki	9	kahāñ	5	dar	3	utarnā
44	'alahidā	9	hamārā	5	ziādā	3	āsān
42	čāhnā/čāhiye	8	a'irporč (E)	5	sāth	3	imtihān
38	saheli	8	bilkul	5	'adat	3	būṛhā
27	paṛhnā	8	bhūlnā	5	kučh	3	bahut
26	mazhab	8	pahinnā	5	gorā	3	bahtar
23	baiṭhnā	8	ḡalati	5	laṛkā	3	bharnā
23	pahučnā	8	kabhī	5	māḡnā	3	pakaṛnā
23	nahiñ	8	ke	5	musāfir	3	phirnā
22	ānā	7	bāhar	5	milnā	3	taqrīban
18	ba'd	7	pahlā	5	vaqt	3	jānā
18	havāi	7	dikhānā	4	uṭhānā	3	jagānā
17	samajhnā	7	dekhnā	4	uṭhnā	3	jhagaṛnā
16	bartāniyā	7	šurū'	4	āj	3	jaisā
15	paṛnā	7	mahsūs	4	aččhā	3	čuḡlī
15	thoṛā	7	mazā	4	andar	3	čalnā
15	saknā	6	intizār	4	ūncā	3	hāfiz
14	safar	6	burā	4	beṭā	3	xuāhiš
14	mazāq	6	pūčhnā	4	bhejnā	3	rakhnā
13	baččā	6	jagā	4	ta'alluq	3	ravānā
13	xūš	6	čaṛhnā	4	taklif	3	rozā
12	uṛnā	6	xūbsūrat	4	tumheñ	3	rahnā
12	jahāz	6	dukh	4	hādsā	3	sukh
11	i'lān	6	sočnā	4	čoṭā	3	sunnā
11	inheñ/unheñ	6	sahīh	4	rukhnā	3	šāyad
11	tarah	6	tariqā	4	sač	3	tabī'at
11	sikhnā	5	aḡḡā	4	sikhānā	3	qism
11	mujhe	5	īmān	4	šauq	3	kāfi
10	apnā	5	briṭiš (E)	4	'umar	3	khānā (n.)
10	zarūrat	5	baṛā	4	ḡussā	3	khaṛā
9	ikaṭṭhā	5	bolnā	4	fāidā	3	khīṛkī
9	bāndhnā	5	ṭhahrnā	4	farq	3	guzārnā
9	tumhārā	5	ṭhīk	4	kal	3	lagnā
9	ḡhūṭḡnā	5	jānnā	4	khānā (v.)	3	madad
9	sīdhā	5	čoṛnā	4	kahnā	3	muñh
9	sīrf	5	hairān	4	ma'lūm	3	honā
9	'izzat	5	dauṛnā	4	muškil		

NOTE: Total occurrences of misspelt words: 1573
Different words: 411

TABLE: 5.2.
ERRORS IN NOMINAL & ADJECTIVAL INFLECTIONS.

(a) NOMINAL.

CASE:	ERROR:	CORRECT:	No:
f . plur. direct:	-iyā يا-	-iyāh يا-	18
f . plur. direct:	-e ع-	-eḥ ع-	13
m/f. plur. oblique:	-o و-	-oḥ و-	10
m. plur. direct:	-e ع-	-	6
m. plur. direct:	-āh ا-	-	4
m. plur. oblique:	-e ع-	-oḥ و-	2
f. plur. direct:	-ī ا-	-iyāh يا-	2
m. plur. direct:	-oḥ و-	-e ع-	2
f. plur. oblique:	-iyāh يا-	-iyōh و-	2

NOMINAL INFLECTION ERRORS: 59

(b) ADJECTIVAL.

CASE:	ERROR:	CORRECT:	No:
f. plural:	-iyāh يا-	-ī ا-	3
m. plural:	-oḥ و-	-e ع-	2

ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION ERRORS: 5

TABLE: 5.3.
ERRORS IN PERSONAL & DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS & ADJECTIVES IN GCE CORPUS.

ERROR	INTENDED.	FREQUENCY.
<i>ine/une</i> انے / انے	<i>inheñ/unheñ</i> انہیں / انہیں	11
<i>muje/mūje</i> مجھے مجھے	<i>mujhe</i> مجھے	11
<i>āpnā</i> اپنا	<i>apnā</i> اپنا	10
<i>ham kā</i> ہم کا	<i>hamārā</i> ہمارا	6
<i>un ne</i> ان نے	<i>unhoñ ne</i> انہوں نے	5
<i>unhoñ ke</i> انہوں کے	<i>un ke</i> ان کے	4
<i>tume/tumeñ</i> تمہیں تمہیں	<i>tumheñ</i> تمہیں	4
<i>unoñ</i> انوں	<i>unhoñ</i> انہوں	2
<i>jase/jāse</i> جاسے جاسے	<i>jaise</i> جیسے	2
<i>ūs</i> اوس	<i>us</i> اُس	2
<i>tumārā</i> تمارا	<i>tumhārā</i> تمہارا	2
<i>māre</i> مارے	<i>mere</i> مجھے	1
<i>hame</i> ہمیں	<i>hameñ</i> ہمیں	1

TOTAL 63

TABLE: 5.4.
ERRORS ASSOCIATED WITH VERB INFLECTIONS.

Only errors occurring with a frequency of more than 10 are shown.

TENSE	INCORRECT FORM	CORRECT FORM	FREQUENCY
FUTURE	-egī/-ege ہیگے - ہیگی	-eñgī/-eñge ہینگے - ہینگی	53
SIMPLE PAST	gaī/gae (- hamzā ') گے - گے	ga'ī/ga'e گی - گی	46
SUBJUNCT	-e ے	-eñ ہے	37
PRESENT	-tā haiñ/-te hai تے ہیں - تا ہیں	-tā hai/-te haiñ تے ہیں - تا ہیں	31
PRESENT	-tā hū/-ti hū تی ہوں - تا ہوں	-tā hūñ/-ti hūñ تی ہوں - تا ہوں	26
PRESENT	hai/haiñ ہے	haiñ/hai ہے	21
FUTURE	-eñga'ī/-eñga'e (+hamzā) ہینگے - ہینگے	-eñgī/-eñge ہینگے - ہینگے	19
INFINITIVE	-nā نا	-nā نا	14
PAST PROG.	-rahīñ thīñ رہیں تھیں	-rahī thīñ رہی تھیں	11
SIMPLE PAST	-'e (+hamzā) ے	-e (-hamzā) ے	10
<u>TOTAL ERRORS IN VERBAL INFLECTIONS:</u>			<u>404.</u>

ERRORS IN VERBAL INFLECTIONS, BY TENSE.

TENSE	ERRORS	TOTAL OCCS.	≡ PERCENT
SIMPLE PAST/PERFECT/PLUPERFECT:	86	1897	4.5%
FUTURE:	84	309	27.2%
PRESENT:	76	1324	5.7%
SUBJUNCTIVE:	67	700	9.6%

5.5. TENSE ERRORS.

(92 occurrences. Only errors with more than 5 occurrences shown.)

INCORRECT TENSE:	CORRECT TENSE:	FREQUENCY:
PLUPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	31
HABITUAL PRESENT	SUBJUNCTIVE	22
HABITUAL PRESENT	SIMPLE PAST	16
PAST IMPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	10
PAST IMPERFECT	PAST PROGRESSIVE	7

TABLE: 5.6.
ERRORS OF CONSTRUCTION INVOLVING POSTPOSITIONS, AGREEMENTS, ETC.

RANK ORDER. 24 examples, 115 occurrences.

<u>INCORRECT FORM.</u>	<u>CORRECT FORM.</u>	<u>FREQUENCY.</u>
-ne čāhiye	-ne čāhiyeñ	55
meñ ne jānā hai	mujhe jānā hai	14
'-nā'+ postposition	'-ne'+ postposition	11
Omission of 'ne'.	'ne'+ past of transitive verb	8
un ne	unhoñ ne	5
unhoñ ke	un ke	4
ke sair karnā	kī sair karnā	3
meñ muhabbat karnā	se muhabbat karnā	3
mujhe samajh meñ ānā	merī samajh meñ ānā	3
jāne ke lie lagnā	jāne lagnā	3
čale paṛnā	čal paṛnā	3
kisī ko bāteñ karnā	kisī se bāteñ karnā	2
kisī kī intizār karnā	kisī kā intizār karnā	2
kisī ke lie madad karnā	kisī kī madad karnā	1
kisī kī madad meñ ānā	kisī kī madad karnā	1
kisī ko pūčhnā	kisī se pūčhnā	1
kisī ke lie nafrat honā	kisī se nafrat honā	1
-ne ko mauqa' milnā	-ne kā mauqa' milnā	1
kisī ke milnā	kisī se milnā	1
kisī ke lie mahrūm	kisī se mahrūm	1
merī ūmīd hai	mujhe ūmīd hai	1
kisī ko talāšī ānā	kisī kī talāš meñ ānā	1
kisī ko -nā haqq honā	kisī ko -ne kā haqq honā	1

TOTAL: 126

TABLE: 5.7.
INSTANCES OF INCORRECT WORDS USED IN THE GCE CORPUS.

(a) OTHER THAN VERBS.

(b) VERBS.

CORRECT	INCORRECT	No	INCORRECT	CORRECT	NO.
<i>ādmī</i>	<i>mard</i>	2	<i>ubālnā</i>	<i>ubalnā</i>	1
<i>ārāmī</i>	<i>ārām</i>	2	<i>i'lān denā</i>	<i>i'lān karnā</i>	2
<i>akelā</i>	<i>alag</i>	12	<i>band karnā</i>	<i>bāñdhnā</i>	1
<i>angrezī</i>	<i>angrez</i>	7	<i>bannā</i>	<i>bāñdhnā</i>	4
<i>inglistān</i>	<i>inglistānī</i>	3	<i>baiṭhnā</i>	<i>biṭhānā</i>	2
<i>balki</i>	<i>magar</i>	1	<i>paṛnā</i>	<i>paṛhnā</i>	7
<i>bandā</i>	<i>ādmī</i>	2	<i>paṛhānā</i>	<i>paṛhnā</i>	1
<i>bahār</i>	<i>bāhar</i>	2	<i>paṛhnā</i>	<i>paṛnā</i>	5
<i>pāse</i>	<i>taraf</i>	1	<i>pasand lagnā</i>	<i>pasand honā</i>	1
<i>pākistānī</i>	<i>urdū</i>	1	<i>čīgnā</i>	<i>pīnā</i>	1
<i>pān</i>	<i>pānī</i>	1	<i>dikhānā</i>	<i>dekhnā</i>	2
<i>par</i>	<i>meñ</i>	2	<i>roknā</i>	<i>rukñā</i>	2
<i>pičhlā</i>	<i>pičhā</i>	2	<i>ravānā honā</i>	<i>savār honā</i>	1
<i>je</i>	<i>agar</i>	2	<i>samjhānā</i>	<i>samajhnā</i>	1
<i>jaise</i>	<i>jis ke</i>	1	<i>savāl pūčhnā</i>	<i>savāl-karnā</i>	1
<i>čūñki</i>	<i>kyoñki</i>	1	<i>sāth lenā</i>	<i>sāth denā</i>	2
<i>dilčasp</i>	<i>dilčaspī</i>	1	<i>farq ānā</i>	<i>farq paṛnā</i>	1
<i>zulm</i>	<i>ilzām</i>	1	<i>karnā</i>	<i>karānā</i>	2
<i>'aqīdā</i>	<i>irādā</i>	1	<i>khulnā</i>	<i>kholnā</i>	2
<i>fāidā</i>	<i>mufīd</i>	1	<i>kahnā</i>	<i>karnā</i>	2
<i>koī</i>	<i>kaī</i>	1	<i>lānā</i>	<i>lagānā</i>	2
<i>log</i>	<i>šaxs</i>	1	<i>tašrif lānā</i>	<i>ānā</i>	1
<i>musalmānūnī</i>	<i>musalmān</i>	1	<i>lagānā</i>	<i>lagnā</i>	1
<i>muslimz</i>	<i>muslim</i>	4	<i>mān jānā</i>	<i>manānā</i>	1
<i>nārāz</i>	<i>parešān</i>	1	<i>nikālnā</i>	<i>nikalnā</i>	1
			<i>niče honā</i>	<i>utarnā</i>	1

TOTAL WORDS: 25.

TOTAL VERBS: 26.

OCCURRENCES: 54.

OCCURRENCES: 48.

TOTAL: 51 WORDS, OCCURRENCES: 102.

CHAPTER 6.
ENGLISH WORDS IN URDU.

6.1. HISTORICAL ORIGINS.

Urdu is a language which has developed as a result of a continuing confrontation of languages and cultures. Although the currency of the name Urdu is barely two hundred years old, the language or its intermediate and transitional forms can be traced back to the time of the first large scale Muslim incursions into the subcontinent in the eleventh century of the Christian era. The Muslim armies, comprised mainly of Persian and Turkish speaking soldiers, and their camp followers needed to communicate with the indigenous population of the areas occupied. These areas comprise present-day Indian and Pakistani Panjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. The languages spoken in these regions at that time were the progenitors of modern Hindi and Panjabi, which were developing from the Western Prakrit forms which had been spoken in the north-west of the subcontinent for several centuries. The language which came into existence as a result of the interaction between the soldiers and the local population is the direct ancestor of what is now called Urdu. Urdu's rôle as a link language in the subcontinent dates from this time, indeed was its *raison d'être*.⁽¹⁾

The basic grammatical features and structures of Old Hindi and Old Panjabi were mixed with a variable proportion of words from the languages used by the Muslim invaders, primarily Persian and Turkish, although both these languages had, through Islamicisation of their cultures, incorporated a substantial corpus of Arabic words. Although Persian became the official language of the Muslim courts, for purposes of everyday communication it was the newly emergent language of the military encampment which gained currency as a *lingua franca*. At this time the name given to this new language was *Hindi* or *Hindavi* meaning no more than the language of Hind (Northern India) or the language of the Hindus. ⁽²⁾ It is important to remember that until the seventeenth century there was no real distinction between Hindi and Urdu; they

(1) For a detailed and informative account of the origins and development of Hindi/Urdu see Rai 1984 and Siddiqi 1971, Introduction.

(2) Matthews *et al*, (1985), p12.

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represented poles of a continuum which can be graded by the presence or absence of (in the case of Hindi) Sanskrit and (in the case of Urdu) Arabic and Persian lexical items. In simple terms, the greater the proportion of Arabic and Persian words the language contains, the more it becomes Urdu.

The arrival of the Europeans into the subcontinent brought a new linguistic dimension to the scene. While Persian remained the official language until 1827 English became the *de facto* language of power and influence. It was, however, in the interest of the new rulers to take an interest in the 'vernaculars' of the subcontinent and it was Urdu that became the main focus of this attention. To this end Fort William College was established in 1800 and under the direction of John Gilchrist a group of Urdu writers were instructed to produce exemplary texts for pedagogical purposes. Up until this time Urdu had been little used for prose writing for which purpose Persian was the preferred medium. What little Urdu prose existed was written in a florid and ornate Persianising style which was neither designed for nor suited to the practical needs of the British. At the same time the spread of English continued as its acquisition was the key to government employment and was, and remains, the mark of the educated middle class both in India and Pakistan.

In the same way that in earlier periods the Urdu language came into being by the introduction of exotic words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, so, in the last two hundred years, a considerable influx of English words has wrought significant changes in that language. It is a feature of Urdu, which is partially determined by its historical development, that the number of exotic words used can, to a certain extent, represent a form of 'register'. In everyday speech the linguistic content of the discourse is likely to reflect the practical communicative needs of the speakers while the speech of educated speakers discussing abstract matters is likely to include a much higher proportion of Arabic and/or Persian words which are the normal source of vocabulary for this type of communication. It is a curious coincidence that the development of the English language has followed along remarkably similar lines. The

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Anglo-Saxon-speaking indigenous population was conquered by the French-speaking Normans at roughly the same time as Mahmud Ghaznavi was leading the first large scale irruptions of Muslim armies into the subcontinent. French became, like Persian in India, the language of the English court. The English language was enriched by the addition of French words and there was a higher cultural and religious input of Latin (and to a lesser extent Greek) vocabulary in the same way that Arabic provides the religious vocabulary in Urdu. The English we speak now would not have the breadth and range of expression without these loan words. Urdu would not exist as we know it today without the input of Arabic and Persian 'exotics'. It would be Hindi.

As British power in the subcontinent became more established so the influence of English increased. For political and religious reasons the differences between Urdu and Hindi became increasingly wide and as the nineteenth century progressed the British, who had championed Urdu, were having to face up to the fact that the majority Hindu community, who were supporters of Hindi, would not accept the Urdu language. Among the educated speakers of both communities were those who used English in order to enhance their status and those who used a liberal sprinkling of English words when using Hindi or Urdu in order to demonstrate their knowledge of English. The achievement of Independence in 1947 marked the end of over two centuries of British power but it had little effect on the increasing use and importance of the English language. English has retained its official status in both India and Pakistan and although both nations profess a national language policy which promotes Hindi and Urdu respectively there are several reasons which encourage the continued use, if not the active promotion of, English. One reason is the global currency of English as the language of mass communication and the major language of science and technology. Despite initiatives in both countries to encourage the use of their respective national languages, not only as official languages but as languages that can function in all spheres of life as well as English, the use and influence of English continues to grow. Another reason is the linguistic diversity found in India and, to a lesser extent, in Pakistan. The linguistic communities of southern India have demonstrated considerable antipathy towards the use of Hindi as

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either a 'national' or a 'link' language. Acceptance of Hindi would, to many, be tantamount to accepting the dominant status of the Hindi speaking north: for this reason the politically 'neutral' English is preferred to Hindi when communicating with speakers of other languages. In Pakistan the situation is rather different, in that there are not so many languages as in India: nor is there any notable pressure group opposed to the use of Urdu. English, however, retains its official status and its influence in both countries.

6.2. CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS.

Although there has been much activity on the official level, particularly in the last decade, to promote the use of Urdu in official, technical and educational spheres in Pakistan, the international status of English, in particular its use as a medium of transmission of modern technological information, drastically reduce the likelihood of any proposal to replace it with English becoming fully operational. The body charged with the task of developing and implementing the policy of encouraging the use of Urdu in Pakistan is the '*Muqtadarā-e-Qaumī Zabān*', the National Language Authority, (NLA), based in Islamabad. Amongst other activities a lengthy series of pamphlets is being produced which give lists of technical terms in Urdu for an extensive range of scientific, technological, medical, legal, bureaucratic and other purposes. It has been the accepted practice for these terms to be used in English, and since most of the users of these terms have received an English medium education, the mere publication of a list of Urdu versions of these terms is unlikely to ensure their regular use. Since many of these terms are highly Arabised or Persianised, they can hardly be considered to be easily acquirable. How far they gain currency will largely depend on the motivation of the scientists and other potential practitioners to learn and use the Urdu terms which have been coined.

The NLA produces a monthly magazine, '*Axbār-e-Urdu*', which has been publishing a series of lists and articles on the subject of the use of everyday or non-technical English words in Urdu. Recent lists have

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included those of English words which have become incorporated into both spoken and written Urdu, words used in the conversation of the 'upper classes', and those used in informal conversation but not considered acceptable in written Urdu ⁽³⁾. Although published in the NLA's own periodical, these lists are not authoritative, and have generated some very hostile comments from interested subscribers. These have mostly been to the effect that there are perfectly good everyday Urdu words in use for many of the words listed and that it is not desirable to issue approved lists.

In the same way that Urdu previously accepted the introduction of exotic words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, so English words have also become a part of the language, even of those who have not received an English-medium education. These words may be classified into several classes. Barker, in his frequency count of Urdu words, discusses the topic of English loan words. ⁽⁴⁾ He identifies five categories; (a) items which are acceptable in both spoken and written Urdu e.g; 'station'; (b) terms for items, processes, etc. for which no Perso-Arabic equivalent can easily be constructed, e.g. 'television'; (c) words occurring in administrative titles, names of offices, and other phrases handed down from the days of British rule, e.g. 'Additional District Magistrate'; (d) more recent set phrases adopted in lieu of a long and possibly unwieldy Perso-Arabic translation, e.g. 'Trade Commissioner'; (e) miscellaneous items used simply because they happen to come more quickly to the tongue or pen of some English-educated Urdu speaker than their Perso-Arabic counterparts. ⁽⁵⁾ I have used a different method of classification and divided these loan words into three main groups; 1) 'concrete' terms 2) 'abstract' terms and 3) 'styles and titles'. All the groups can be further subdivided into sections which contain either; (a) words for which there are no Urdu equivalents, or; (b) for which Urdu equivalents do exist.

(3) *Axbār-e-Urdū*, See the continuing series of lists of English words and their equivalents in issues Mar 1986 to Sept, 1987.

(4) See Barker 1969 Introduction, pxi-xii for a classification of English words.

(5) *Ibid*, pxii.

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Group 1 is the largest of the three. The majority of the words in this group are those which describe objects introduced into the subcontinent since the arrival of the British, for which no Urdu words existed as the objects themselves were previously unknown. Words of this section, 1(a), include 'bus', 'camera', 'engine', 'machine', 'radio', 'taxi', 'television' and 'ticket'. (6) Since these words have no existing Urdu equivalents there is no argument over their acceptability or otherwise.

For the second section of this group, 1(b), the situation is very different, and it is some of the words included in this section that are the cause of much discussion among scholars and teachers of Urdu. Many of the words in this section describe objects found in the everyday environment in the subcontinent. This section includes such common words as 'bathroom', 'desk', 'kitchen', 'matches', 'table' and 'window'. The Urdu equivalents for these words are, with the exception of 'matches', in everyday use, but their English equivalents are, in most circumstances, perfectly acceptable, at least in informal speech. It is, however, reasonable to argue that certain English words carry concepts which are different from their commonly used Urdu equivalents; in the above list 'bathroom' and 'kitchen' are cases in point. The Urdu word *ḡusl xāna* is understood by many to be a suitable word for a 'traditional' South Asian bathroom, but not an appropriate term to describe the 'modern' European-style bathroom. For this reason Urdu speakers in this country may well choose to use the English word when describing their accommodation in England, reserving the Urdu word for describing the subcontinental facility. The same argument applies to the use of 'kitchen' and *bāvarcī xāna*. In contrast to the above, there are several 'modern' English words which might be expected to be in section 1(a) for which Urdu equivalents have been coined and are in everyday use, e.g. 'aeroplane' and 'airport'. Although these objects did not exist before the British period, the terms used in Urdu for them have been coined by combining the adjective *havāī*, 'air', with the word *jahāz*, 'ship', and *aqḡā*, 'stand', respectively.

(6) In Hindi a neologism has been coined for the word 'television', *dūrdarśan*.

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The second group consists of abstract words and this group can be subdivided according to the same criteria as Group 1 although the vast majority of this class of words do have Urdu equivalents. Among those words for which there are no equivalents are 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend'. In traditional South Asian Muslim society the concept of a young man having a relationship with a woman to whom he is neither related by blood nor by marriage is an alien one. In Urdu the terms used to describe friends are *dost* and *sahelī*. These terms are used for the male friend of a male and the female friend of a female respectively. Thus it is necessary to use the English words in order to describe the participants in a relationship between a man and a woman, sexual or otherwise. In Britain the use of the phrase *merī dost* to describe a friend (who happens to be a woman) of a man is beginning to gain some currency but is by no means in general use. ⁽⁷⁾ Another example of this section, 2(b), is 'bore'. One frequently hears the phrase *merī bahut bor hūā*. *bor* is found in combination with the verb *honā*, 'to be', and *karnā*, 'to do or make', and is also used as an adjective as in the sentence *vuh bahut bor ādmī hai*. The combination of nouns or adjectives with either *honā* or *karnā*, is a very common construction in Urdu. These combinations are known as phrase verbs or conjunct verbs. ⁽⁸⁾ It could be argued that *bor honā* does have an Urdu equivalent, namely, *bezār honā* but although the latter could be translated colloquially as 'to be fed up' strictly speaking a more accurate equivalent would be 'to be disgusted'. Equally common is 'upset', although *parešān* is the term in everyday use.

In group 2(a) there are numerous words used to describe feelings for which there are Urdu equivalents which, nevertheless, are often used in informal Urdu conversation. Examples include 'upset', 'sorry' and 'against'.

(7) Urdu grammar does not accept the combination of a masculine noun with an adjective in feminine inflection.

(8) McGregor (1979), McGregor uses the term 'conjunct verbs', Platts (1998) uses the term 'nominal' while to Abdul Haqq (1919) they are merely a class of 'compound verbs', which he terms *murakkab af'āl*.

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An Urdu speaker might well use the English words in speech but is far less likely to use them in writing in which case the preferred terms would probably be *parešān*, *mu'āf karnā* and *xylāf* respectively. In the case of 'sorry' its overuse by the English has weakened its effect: the use of *mu'āf karnā* implies something stronger. Another set of abstract words is concerned with intellectual moral and social concepts, e.g. 'culture' and 'multicultural', 'fashion', 'racism', 'reason' etc.

The third section consists of 'styles and titles'. There are thirty five included in Table 6.1. The majority of them are names of military or civilian ranks inherited from the British and still current. Interestingly the word 'captain' can be represented in two ways in Urdu; as the English word or, with a change in pronunciation, as *Kaptān*. What is unusual here is that the *t* of *kaptān* is not converted into the retroflex *ṭ*, which is normally the case when English words are Urduised as in *ḍākṭar* and *ḥrefik*. Of the others 'mister' is, unsurprisingly, the second most common word, although nowadays *sāhib* would be considered more suitable, particularly when addressing someone. There are three words which do not fall into any official system of rank: 'actor', 'film star' and 'smuggler'. There is a perfectly adequate Urdu word for 'actor', *adākār* but for its near synonym, 'film star', there is not. 'Smuggler' could be rendered into Urdu as *ḡair qānūnī taur par māl darāmād karne wālā* but such a word surely comes into Barker's category (d) in that any Perso-Arabic construction would be extremely cumbersome. Another word worthy of comment is 'in charge'. Although originally a military term, as in 'i/c signals', it is now commonly used in Urdu as a noun whose nearest English equivalent would be 'boss'. I have often heard my teaching colleagues referring to our co-ordinator as *yeh hamāre in cārj haiñ*.

Barker's work provides an invaluable and extensive source of English words although the fact that the material analysed was drawn from newspapers needs to be taken into consideration because 'journalese' is a highly specialised register in any language. The influence of English 'journalese' is evident in almost every news article. Phrases such as *bā-m'alūm zarā'i ke mutābiq* (according to well informed sources)

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abound. Table 6.1 shows the two hundred most frequently occurring English words in Urdu newspapers. Barker's study involved the analysis of 136,738 running words. A total of 6579 separate words were listed of which 709 were English. (10.78%) The first 200 of these occurred in the first 2112 entries in Barker's list, a figure which appears surprisingly high. (9.47%.) This needs to be put into perspective: the two most frequently occurring English words, 'police' and 'mister' are in forty eighth and forty ninth place overall, occurring 239 and 237 times respectively, and only four English words appear in the top 100. By the time the two hundredth English word is reached the frequency is only five. 267 English words occur only once. The ten most frequent words overall all occur with a frequency of well over 2000 with a cumulative total of 47,422 representing over one third of all occurrences. (34.7%)⁽⁹⁾

Many of the words in Table 6.1. are classifiable as 'official' or 'bureaucratic', e.g; 'party', 'conference', 'policy', 'council', 'division', 'tax' etc., while a further class are 'legal'; such as 'magistrate', 'jail', 'ordinance' etc. It is perhaps too easy to regard this kind of vocabulary as merely a legacy of two centuries of British rule: in practice a large proportion of these most commonly occurring 'loan' words have found their way into the language not only of politicians, bureaucrats and journalists but of all those who have any dealings with officialdom. Barker, commenting on the currency of English words, notes 'Some of these loan words will no doubt be dropped as time goes on, while others will be incorporated into the "standard language".' ⁽¹⁰⁾

6.3. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES.

Creative linguistic and semantic changes have taken place in a number of English words. The use of English words in combination with either *karnā* or *honā* has already been mentioned. In Barker's list only three are used with any degree of frequency; 'pass', 'vote' and

(9) *Op. cit.*, pp xxxii-xxxiii.

(10) *Op. cit.*, pxii.

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'telephone'. Unlike the other examples given of this type of phrasal verb 'vote' does not combine with *karnā* or *honā*; instead *denā* is used.

It is a feature of Urdu phrase verb construction that the same noun or adjective can be combined with either *karnā* or *honā* to form transitive and intransitive forms. There is a third possibility; namely the combination with *karānā* to form the causative. Some examples of English words used in combination with these verbs are given in Table 6.2, column 4. It should be noted that the words in Table 6.2 are those drawn from compositions offered for GCE 'O' Level examinations and do not necessarily reflect accepted usage. If the words used in combination with *karnā*, (a), are examined then it will be seen that out of the twelve words listed only five are in regular use in Urdu. ('check', 'fashion', 'pass', 'phone' and 'start'). Of the others all have Urdu equivalents which are by no means obscure, difficult or unusual. 'Bathroom' as a noun has already been discussed: as a phrasal verb the meaning is presumably to use a European-style bathroom but in most cases this function would be conveyed by the standard Urdu verb *ḡusl karnā*. It seems likely that the writer is using the term euphemistically and that she/he has intended to convey the meaning 'to use the lavatory'. If that was the writer's intention then the normal word would be *pāxānā*. There is also a sense of euphemism which, as in English, indicates the use of a more neutral word or expression for personal functions. It seems likely that the use of an English word creates a suitable aura of neutrality. The Urdu equivalent of 'fill' with *karnā* is the lexical verb *bharnā*. 'Land' plus *karnā* would likewise be conveyed by the lexical verb *utārnā*, 'mix' plus *karnā* by *milānā* and 'swimming' plus *karnā* by *tairnā*. Although 'plan' plus *karnā* has an Urdu equivalent, *tai karnā* or *intizām karnā*, the meaning is usually expressed in Urdu by a phrasal verb formed by combining the verb *banānā* with yet another English noun 'programme'.

If we turn our attention to section (b) it will be seen that several of the words occurring in section (a) also appear in this section. The words used in combination with *honā* become intransitive. Thus 'land' plus *honā* has been used to convey the meaning 'to land' as in the sentence 'the plane landed', whereas, with *karnā* the sentence, in

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active mood, would require the presence of a subject; e.g. 'The pilot landed the 'plane.' This is not accepted usage: the usual verb used to represent the intransitive meaning of 'to land' is *utarnā*. The use of 'start' with either *karnā* or *honā* would at first sight seem analogous but there is an important semantic difference. The normal Urdu verb for 'to start' is *šurū' karnā/honā*, depending on whether it is used transitively or intransitively. The sentence:

* 'meñ ne gāṛī šurū' kī '

might be taken to mean 'I started the car'. However this is not the case; here 'start' + *karnā* would be more suitable. In a sentence such as 'the 'plane started to move' the intransitive *šurū' honā* or *lagnā* should be used; in this sentence 'start' is not acceptable. Among other English words used with *honā* are 'bore', which has been discussed earlier (3), and 'book'. In the main section of Table 6.2. there are two entries; 1) when used for the Urdu word *kitāb*, and 2) when used to mean 'reserve'. In the first case the use of the English word is unacceptable. In the second case it is more common to use the English word with either *honā* or *karānā* than the Urdu phrasal verb *mahfūz honā/karānā*. The use of 'crash' in Urdu is not usual. There are two common equivalents; *ṭakrānā* and *hādsā honā*. The second verb more strictly means 'to have an accident' but can quite legitimately be used as a synonym for the first.

The third section, (c), contains examples of English words used with the causative *karānā*. Both 'book' and 'check' are legitimately used; the former has already been discussed, the latter was used in the context of checking in one's baggage at an airport. The third example, 'fashion', also occurred in combination with *karnā*. The meaning the writers intended to convey appear to be the same; namely to become westernised or adopt modern styles and fashions. For this purpose *karnā* would seem to be more appropriate.

The final section, (d), contains only one entry which, although it cannot be regarded as correct, demonstrates not only a logical constructive creativity but also for which there are grammatical

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precedents. The suffix *-nā* is used in Urdu as an infinitive suffix. Some Persian words are combined with this suffix to create verbs, e.g. *baxš-nā*. The synonym of this verb is formed by the more orthodox construction using the Persian noun *baxš* and *denā*.

There are not many English words on Barker's list (Table 6.1.) which are commonly used in combination with Urdu verbs. Those which are are marked with a (v). Amongst those shown only 'telephone' has no Urdu equivalent. 'Tax' is used with *denā* or *adā karnā*, 'to pay tax' or with *lagānā*, 'to impose a tax'. 'Appeal' is a legal term for which there is no direct equivalent, while 'bowling', a cricketing term, has none at all although other cricketing terms have been translated. Barker uses 'shift' as an example for which *muntaqil karnā/honā* is the standard equivalent. 'Record', used as a verb, does have an Urdu equivalent, *darj/andarāj karnā* but in everyday speech the English word is probably more common. 'Supply' is frequently used with *karnā* in Urdu, appearing regularly in advertisements in the press; its equivalents, *farāham* or *muassir*, are perhaps regarded as being somewhat 'posh'.

Three of the words on Barker's list demonstrate another form of combination. The words 'congress', 'science' and 'atom' are nouns and are used as such in Urdu but in place of the derived adjectival forms, 'congressional', 'scientific' and 'atomic', the forms most frequently found in Urdu are *kāngresī*, *sāinsī* and *aiṭamī*. The use of the *-ī* suffix to form adjectives from nouns is, strictly speaking, a Persian grammatical device but in common with many aspects of that language has become an accepted feature of Urdu and its grammar, even, as here, applicable to English words. The use of English adjectives as such is not common in Urdu although some examples have already been given in the paragraph on abstract words.

This section has briefly demonstrated the range of English words that are used in Urdu and the ways in which they are used. I have attempted to show that their usage is conditioned by several factors, the most important of which is not necessarily the presence of an Urdu equivalent. The precision of meaning seems to be equally if not more

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significant. The increasing currency of English as the language of international communication is likely, despite any national language policies to the contrary, to increase the numbers of English loan words, not only in Urdu, but in many of the world's languages. Barker's count, compiled twenty years ago, contains over ten percent of English words in the first two thousand. It would be instructive to perform an analysis of Urdu newspaper language today in order to see how much, if any, the type and proportion of English words has changed.

6.4. EXAMINATION AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS.

In this section I intend to discuss the use of English words in Urdu from the perspective of a teacher and examiner of the language in this country. Much of what has already been written in this chapter applies to the situation in this country as well as the subcontinent but there is one major difference. Whereas in India and Pakistan speakers of Urdu are operating in an environment in which Urdu or some similar language are heard or read in the media and in which many, if not all of their everyday communications are conducted in that language, this is not the case in Britain. Most of the South Asian community who live in Britain, whatever language they consider their 'mother tongue', need to use English outside their homes and are then subject to the influence of the English language media. For school students it is the exception rather than the rule that they receive anything other than an English-medium education. ⁽¹¹⁾ Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising if those who do speak Urdu were to use a more extensive range of English words than their counterparts in the subcontinent.

If Barker's word count can be taken as a valid source of English words in current usage in the subcontinent, it should, in theory, prove possible to compare it with an appropriate source of English words used in Urdu in this country. ⁽¹²⁾ Unfortunately, a source suitable for

(11) See Chapter 1, §1.1, pp16ff, on the linguistic background of the students,

(12) *Op. cit.*, ppxxii-xxiv.

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direct comparison does not exist. In the absence of such material I felt it was worth using the material which I had been analysing even though there are several reasons for treating the exercise with caution and to avoid drawing any but the most tentative conclusions. The first reason is the differing nature of the source materials; whereas Barker's work is drawn from newspapers, my source is compositions written by school students for examination purposes. Secondly, the sources are not synchronous; Barker's work was undertaken on newspaper material collected between February 1960 and December 1961. ⁽¹³⁾ The examination from which the compositions were collected was conducted in May 1987. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Thirdly, there is a significant difference in the size of the corpuses; Barker's is approximately four times as large as the GCE corpus. (136,738:34730) Other research, however, which I have conducted on verbal occurrences using both sources would tend to indicate some degree of correlation between them. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Primarily for this reason I decided to undertake some comparative research, although it is acknowledged that the provisos outlined above must be given due consideration.

In statistical terms, the occurrence of English words in Barker is over twice as frequent as in the GCE material. In the former, roughly one in every 25 words was English, while in the latter the proportion was approximately one in every 53 words. In Barker the ratio of different English words to the total number of different words in the corpus is a little over 10%, whereas in the GCE corpus the figure is approximately 6%. In other words, the GCE corpus contains proportionally nearly two-thirds as many different English words as that of Barker, and the cumulative frequency of occurrence of the former is less than half. There are 51 words common to both corpuses, as can be seen in Table 6.4, but only 25 of those, marked in the Table with an asterisk, occur in

(13) *Op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xiv.

(14) G.C.E. 'O' Level Urdu Paper, ULSEB, London, May 1987.

(15) My own research into Urdu vocabulary has indicated a high degree of correlation between verb frequencies in the GCE corpus and in Barker's corpus, 23 out of the 30 most frequent verbs are common to both lists.

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the most frequently occurring 200 words in Barker's list. (Table 6.1) This would appear to indicate that there is: a) a tendency for the writers of the GCE compositions to use fewer English words than the journalists: and b) for them to use a different but overlapping range of words.

The first indication, that the GCE students used fewer English words than the writers of the newspapers, can be explained partially by the fact that candidates would be likely to be trying hard to write their best Urdu. Therefore they would only use an English word where they could not think of the right Urdu word or where the English word was the appropriate choice. Journalists would not be under the same constraints, which is not to say that they would necessarily use English words willy-nilly. It is not unexpected to find that journalists are often using many English words, because they are often writing on more technical subjects than students. An article on the development of industry in Sindh would naturally lend itself to the use of English much more than an essay on 'My Holiday'. The second indication must be tempered with caution, because although the corpus of Barker was drawn, deliberately, from the widest possible range of newspapers and included articles on all the subjects covered by the Urdu Press, the GCE corpus was drawn from a restricted range of writers who had produced compositions on a narrow and prescribed range of subjects. Three titles were offered to the candidates: (16)

- a) Should there be separate schools for British Muslims?
- b) A plane journey.
- c) The things I expect from a friend.

It is possible to allocate the likely source of many of the words in Table 6.3 merely by looking at the titles and the list together. For title (a) 'British', 'college', 'multicultural', 'racism', 'school', 'subject', 'swimming', 'teacher' etc. For title (b) nearly a quarter of the words on Table 3 are directly concerned with travel in general and air travel in

(16) G.C.E. 'O' Level Urdu Paper, Q.4. ULSEB, London, May 1987.

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particular, e.g. 'airline', 'boarding', 'captain', 'channel', 'crash', 'flight', 'land', 'runway', 'ticket' etc. Title (c) is less easy to predict; for instance 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend' appeared not in this essay but in essay (a). Enough of the English words, however, are assignable to topics to allow the assumption that the topic, to some extent, determines the vocabulary. Therefore, it is valid to state that, in terms of the actual words used, that the Barker and the GCE corpuses are not directly comparable.

As already stated, English words occur over twice as often in Barker's corpus as in the GCE corpus. Reasons for this large difference have been put forward, but this subject needs to be examined from the point of view not of statistics, but of teaching and examining Urdu in this country. It is tempting to conclude that the GCE examination candidates do not need to have recourse to as many English words as the journalists. From the point of view of a teacher of Urdu, this would be an encouraging sign that the influence of English is not as pervasive as is generally thought. Teachers naturally want their students to learn as much Urdu as possible, but it is unrealistic to expect them to eschew all English words, especially as many of them have become 'naturalised' Urdu words. The opposite end of the spectrum is even more undesirable, that any and every English word can be used as an alternative to the appropriate Urdu word. In the context of GCE 'O' Level, the indications are that the candidates have attempted to minimise the use of English words. 1987, the year the GCE samples were written, was the last year of that format of examination. From 1988 the GCSE has replaced both GCE and CSE as the 16+ examination.

The GCSE syllabuses specify in detail the requirements of the new examination, including the topics and tasks to be covered. One of the specified aims of the GCSE is that the language used should be authentic. It is fair to say that it is authentic to use English words in Urdu, but the teachers of Urdu who are preparing their students for the GCSE need to know which ones are acceptable and in what contexts (i.e. formal/informal, spoken/written) they are acceptable. Two of the three Examining bodies who offer Urdu at GCSE have produced vocabulary lists

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of approximately two and a half thousand words. Both lists include English words which are listed in Tables 6.5 (MEG) and 6.6 (NEA). ⁽¹⁷⁾ and ⁽¹⁸⁾ I do not intend to discuss the selection of Urdu words, but it should be noted that the MEG vocabulary list is a translation of the one provided for the French GCSE exam. An accurate calculation of the ratio of English to Urdu words is difficult, because of repeated words, but, in the case of MEG, there are 289 different English words, out of a total of approximately two and a half thousand words. The NEA list contains 197 different English words, out of a vocabulary approximately equal in size to that of the MEG.

I am not attempting to demonstrate statistically that these vocabulary lists contain more or fewer English words than the percentage recorded in Barker's corpus, but the MEG figure does correspond fairly closely to the former, comprising roughly ten percent of the vocabulary, whereas the percentage of English words in the NEA vocabulary is approximately the same as that of the GCE corpus. If, however, it is acceptable for students of Urdu to include up to one tenth of English words in their spoken or written work, then there is a possibility that some of them will use them indiscriminately, leading to a situation where the students might feel that it is legitimate to use an English word as a substitute for any Urdu word. There is a conflict here between two of the fundamental principles of the GCSE, viz. that of authenticity and that of preparing the students to use the language at a more advanced level and in adult life. ⁽¹⁹⁾ As I have already mentioned, it is acceptable and authentic to use some English words in Urdu in some circumstances. A concept much mentioned in the GCSE documents is that the candidates' utterances should be capable of being understood by a 'sympathetic native speaker'. ⁽²⁰⁾ Even if it could be assumed that all the speakers of Urdu in Britain were able to understand English, that assumption could not be made about Urdu speakers in the subcontinent.

(17) Urdu Defined Content for GCSE, MEG 1986,

(18) Urdu Syllabus for GCSE, NEA 1986,

(19) NCF, 1985, pl, 91,2,7

(20) NEA *Op. cit.*, Assessment criteria, p,78,

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The second aim of the GCSE course is to prepare students for further study, and it is a matter of much concern to Urdu teachers that the 'gap' between the 16+ exam and the A Level exam, which was already wide during the currency of the GCE O level, has become even wider now that the GCSE has replaced the O Level. Furthermore, the emphasis on the use of English in assessment has been criticised as being detrimental to both teaching methodology and the status of Urdu. ⁽²¹⁾ To this end, one of the GCSE boards has produced papers with rubrics as well as questions given in both English and Urdu, while candidates are given the choice to answer in either language. ⁽²²⁾ While it is seen as desirable to minimise the use of English words, it is clearly unrealistic to eradicate their use entirely. However much official bodies may make pronouncements on the acceptability or otherwise of exotic words, the global currency of English and the effects of speaking Urdu in an English-medium educational and social environment are bound to continue.

The examination situation is, despite the declarations of the examining bodies, not an 'authentic' one. The candidates are under pressure to maximise their performance, and the examiners are attempting to test that performance by producing papers which allow the candidates to demonstrate their full range of abilities. In such a situation, the candidates who overuse English words due to examination pressure or insufficient knowledge of Urdu are likely not to do as well as those who only use them where it is appropriate. It is not merely a question of how many English words are used, for in certain contexts, as in the essay topic (b), above, where the use of English words to describe airports and air travel is unavoidable, rather what is important is the kind of English words that are deemed appropriate for the candidates in this examination.

(21) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, §5.1.

(22) London and East Anglian Examining Association Papers in South Asian Languages have been prepared with rubrics and questions in both English and the target language. The candidates may answer questions in either language.

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If these vocabularies are compared, it can be seen that, out of a grand total of 486 English words, only 90 are common to both lists giving, in effect, a total of 396 different words. Words common to both lists are marked with an asterisk on Tables 6.5 and 6.6. The MEG list, therefore, contains 199, and the NEA list 107 'unique' words. Although it is not possible to be prescriptive about the use of English words in Urdu, because so much depends on the context and content of the communication, one might expect that a greater degree of consensus would have been evident at this fairly elementary stage of the language. This lack of agreement is not confined to the compilers of these lists, rather that it would not be easy to find any two Urdu teachers who would agree on any such list. An idea of the subjective nature of the problem and of the impossibility of being prescriptive can be had from the comparison of the responses of two Urdu teachers to the list of English words taken from the GCE corpus. (Table 6.2) The teachers were shown the lists and asked to mark each item as either acceptable, unacceptable or questionable. The results are summarised below.

TEACHER	ACCEPTABLE	UNACCEPTABLE	QUESTIONABLE	TOTAL
1	92	20	11	123
2	72	41	10	123

Of those words deemed acceptable, 67 were common to both, and of those 67 words, 46 were those which had no Urdu alternative. Obviously these 46 words have to be used in Urdu, which leaves only 21 words which do have Urdu alternatives that were agreed upon as being acceptable. Of these 21 words, the Urdu alternatives are, for the most part, used in formal, written Urdu only and certainly not at the level expected of sixteen-year old school students in this country. For example: 'book' meaning 'reserve' is correctly rendered as *mahfūz* but this word would not be expected at this level, neither would *hifāzati* for 'safety' or *niśast* for 'seat'. Of the words that do have simple and common Urdu alternatives, such as 'teacher', 'late' or 'orange juice', the first word is used almost universally in this country while the second

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word appears to be gaining in currency although its Urdu equivalent *dair se* is both simple and common. ⁽²³⁾ The question of the use of the English 'orange juice' is somewhat different; it can be translated as *nārangī kā ras* or *malḥe kā ras* or even *saḡtare kā ras* depending on the type of orange used. In instances where the writer is not being specific, 'orange' serves as an appropriate generic term. One of the teachers who had participated in the exercise said to me that if the juice had been freshly squeezed in the bazaar, then the Urdu term would be more likely to be used and would certainly be considered more appropriate. On the other hand, if the juice came out of a can or a packet, then the English term would be preferred. In the same way, almost every word on the list requires contextualisation in order to clarify under which circumstances its use may be considered appropriate.

Applying the classification outlined in Section 6.2 on page 246 above, one can see that the majority of the English words in Tables 6.5 and 6.6 are concrete nouns (Group 2). Out of the total of 399 different words drawn from the two lists, 265 are concrete terms of which 174 have no equivalent in Urdu. There are 96 abstract words of which 61 have no Urdu equivalent. The third category, consisting of 'styles and titles', comprises 38 items of which 22 have no Urdu equivalent. Thus out of the 399 words over 60% (257) are not translatable into Urdu. It is the remaining 142 words which are translatable or have direct Urdu equivalents that are the focus of interest from an academic and pedagogical point of view. If these words do have Urdu translations, why are the English words prescribed in the GCSE vocabulary lists? It is most convenient to look at these words in their respective groups starting with the concrete terms.

Many of the items in this group have Urdu translations which are not precisely equivalent, e.g. 'bathroom', 'camp', 'car', 'jacket', 'pant', 'pen', 'toilet', etc. The first example has already been discussed and the

(23) The English word 'late' does not appear either in Barker or in either of the two GCSE vocabulary lists, same argument applies to 'toilet'. 'Camp' in the British context implies

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holiday activities whereas the Urdu word *derā* refers to a habitation and *xaimā* is a tent for living in, not for holiday jaunts. Nowadays when we hear the word 'car' we automatically assume that what is meant is 'motor car'. The Urdu *gārī* is commonly used to describe a motor car but it is perhaps more accurate to use *moṭor-gārī* which was current half a century ago. This use fits into the pattern laid down by *bel-gārī* and, using another example from the vocabulary lists, *rel-gārī*. Both 'jacket' and 'pant' could be translated but their use implies the wearer was wearing European rather than Asian dress. The same argument applies to 'frock' and 'skirt'. Likewise the word sometimes used for 'pen', *qalam*, is not really applicable to a modern writing instrument, as it refers to a traditional reed pen. Other words in this group do possess direct equivalents, but are somewhat erudite and can be considered, rightly, to be outside the range of language of the average sixteen year old who is the target of the GCSE examination. ⁽²⁴⁾ Therefore, words such as 'library', 'shelf' and 'certificate' are quite legitimately preferred to *kutub xānā*, *tāq* and *sanad* respectively.

There are, however, a dozen or more words on the list which have quite straightforward Urdu equivalents in everyday use, e.g. 'box', 'church', 'desk', 'pocket', 'shoes' and 'undress' all of which have very common Urdu equivalents: *ḍibbā*, *girjā*, *mez*, *jeb*, *jūte* and *utārnā*. The inclusion of such words, in even a basic vocabulary, indicates a lack of thought in its compilation, and their presence in the list gives rise to the feeling that there are those in responsible positions in Urdu education who are not taking the task of developing examination materials seriously enough. This attitude is illustrated by the incomprehensible inclusion of words like 'cathedral', 'geranium', 'hoover', 'ping-pong' and, most surprisingly, 'pork'. Given the sensitivity of many Muslims to ritually unclean food and knowing from experience as a teacher that many Muslim students cannot bring themselves to speak the word either in English or Urdu, that a phrase such as *pork kā qasāī* should appear in an Urdu examination syllabus seems utterly absurd.

(24) NCF 1985, p1, §1.2.1.

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Group 2 contains abstract words, and in the combined MEG and NEA list (Table 6.7) there are 90 entries, of which 61 have no Urdu equivalents. Twelve of those are the calendar months, while others include 'drama', 'term' and 'degree'. A significant set of the 35 abstract words for which Urdu words do exist are those which include school subjects and other school based vocabulary. The two boards who have provided these lists show a remarkable divergence on this topic; whereas at Basic level the NEA vocabulary includes 'science', 'biology', 'chemistry' and 'physics', the MEG list supplies the English word 'science', gives no word at all for 'biology' or 'physics' but prescribes *'ilm e kīmīā* for 'chemistry'. Similarly, although elsewhere in the document 'gymnastics' can be found (under Leisure Activities) under School Subjects at Basic Level, we find the term *'ilm e jismānī varzīš*. When the GCE derived list of English words (Table 6.2) was shown to the two teachers as previously discussed, there was disagreement over the four words for subjects included in that list. These words were 'science', 'geography', 'maths' and 'history'. Of the four only one, 'science', was acceptable to both and none of them were deemed unacceptable by both of them. There is disagreement over these terms in the MEG and NEA vocabularies also, not over the English but over the Urdu words.

Turning to other classes of abstract words, there is one set of words which is conspicuous by its absence, namely that concerning personal feelings. In my initial discussion on the scheme of classification which I intended to use, the common usage of words such as 'bore', 'upset', etc. in informal spoken Urdu was mentioned, but no English words of this category appear in either list. Other kinds of English words which are less easy to classify include 'duty', 'order', 'safety', 'service', 'pass', and 'fail'. 'Pass' and 'fail' in particular have become so completely naturalised in Urdu that they are commonly used in combination with the verbs *karnā* and *honā*, almost always in preference to the standard Urdu words *kāmyāb* and *nākām*, and are certainly unobjectionable at this level. In the NEA list 'order' is also given in combination with an Urdu verb, in this case *denā*. It is less easy to justify the inclusion of this phrasal verb than the examples given above. It is not entirely clear what the meaning of this verb is, but since it

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is included under the topic heading of 'Food and Drink', it is presumably intended as an alternative to the Urdu verb *maṅgvānā*. Since the English verb is given at the Higher level alongside such verbs as *tā'id karnā* and *ihṭijāj karnā* which cannot be described as appropriate to a Basic vocabulary its inclusion at this level is difficult to accept.

The third group consists of 'styles and titles', of which 22 out of 38 examples have no Urdu equivalent. The 16 which do are mainly those which describe professions, e.g. 'accountant', 'actor', 'engineer', 'secretary' and 'surgeon'. The question here is whether the Urdu terms are appropriate at the level expected of GCSE. With the exception of 'actor', for which the term *adākār* is in everyday use, the above mentioned terms are much more frequently used than their Urdu equivalents *hāsib*, *muhandis* and *jarrāh*, even in the subcontinent. It is, perhaps, being somewhat pedantic to include 'secretary' in the category of translatable words. The modern day secretary has little in common with the traditional *munṣī*, although they did perform similar functions. The same may be said of 'doctor', which describes a practitioner of modern 'European' medicine. The doctor's traditional counterpart who practices *yūnānī* medicine is known as a *hakīm*. Their roles are identical, but the crucial difference is in how they perform them. If someone says 'Go to see the doctor', it is clear what sort of medical treatment can be expected. Another set of words describes ranks, not in the military sense but as positions of authority such as 'director' and 'manager'. These terms have a particularly western connotation, and it would not be appropriate in a British context to use the Urdu words which, in the case of these particular examples, are borrowings from the Arabic. There is one other point to be made concerning the description of jobs or functions; that is the use in Urdu of the 'agentive' suffix *vālā*. An example of this can be found in the Urdu term for 'milkman' which is *govālā* but this could also be rendered as *dūdhvālā*. This construction, although not considered elegant, can be used to create an alternative to many of the more erudite terms used to describe a person's employment, even in combination with English words.

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The Urduisation of English words is a feature normally limited to those words which have long been incorporated into the language. Words like 'bus' take the standard grammatical inflections for case and number, so the direct plural form is *baserñ* and the oblique plural is *basorñ*. It is not possible to be prescriptive on this issue but there is no reason why any foreign word should not take these inflections. Thus, the expression *flaiṭorñ kā blāk* appears in the MEG vocabulary list. There is an example of the reverse of this practice in the list of words compiled from the GCE compositions, namely 'muslims'. Both of the teachers questioned about this list rejected this usage. Urdu speaking muslims normally refer to themselves as *musalmān* although the term *muslim* is also correct. The Urdu plural of this word is, in direct form, *muslim*, and when used in Urdu should not be used with the English plural suffix. There are several examples of hybrid expressions in the lists, e.g. *stāk meñ, do sṭrok* and *sonē kā baig*, and it seems inevitable that such expressions will become more frequent, particularly in an English speaking environment.

6.5. CONCLUSION.

The use of English words in Urdu has a history of nearly two hundred years and, for Urdu speakers and learners living in Britain, the effect of English on Urdu is not likely to diminish. Many users not only shift from one language to another but use a mixed form as well, depending on the context and the interlocutor. My studies have concentrated on written language where its more formal nature tends to reduce the use of English words. In an examination context, the ideal would be to minimise the use of English as much as possible but, as discussed in this paper, there are objects and concepts for which Urdu equivalents do not exist or are not appropriate at this level. Unfortunately, the vocabularies supplied by the Examination Boards contain English words for which simple equivalents in daily use do exist. It is difficult to be prescriptive on this issue, but Urdu teachers and examiners should be able to decide which English words are or are not acceptable. The example shown on page 261 above demonstrates the

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difficulty of achieving consensus on such a subjective issue as the acceptability of certain words.

The examination criteria require the examining bodies to provide vocabulary lists. ⁽²⁵⁾ Unfortunately, those that have been produced for Urdu appear to have been inadequately researched. The presence of nearly ten per cent of English words in each vocabulary does seem inappropriately large compared with the figure of under two percent in the GCE corpus. Furthermore, one might suppose that, at the Basic level of any language, the words used to describe one's immediate experiences and environment would be those of the target language. Vocabulary lists are prescriptive, and the presence of so many English words may give teachers the impression that these are to be preferred to their Urdu equivalents, even if those equivalents are properly a part of a Basic vocabulary. If the basic words of the language are so easily substituted by their English equivalents, then the more advanced vocabulary must also be under pressure. The prescribed vocabulary for French or German would not include more than a handful of English words; nor would a candidate offering one of those languages be expected to 'get away' with using an English word if the equivalent in the target language did not come to mind. The examiner needs to be able to assess the candidates performance in Urdu, not English.

A prescriptive list of acceptable English words has been mooted as a possible solution but it should not be necessary if teachers and their students are encouraged to use Urdu where possible, even if an artificial context has to be provided. Teachers, too, need to set a good example when using Urdu, inside and outside the classroom, so that their students become more aware of capability of Urdu to act as a functional language without overreliance on English. The emphasis on authentic use of language is a positive feature of the GCSE, but, for many Urdu and other Community Language speakers in Britain, the use of mixed language is the norm, particularly in informal contexts. Most students of Urdu want to improve their formal and, especially, written language skills;

(25) NCF 1985, p4, §4.

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to adopt a philosophy of linguistic *laissez faire* does disservice to their commitment to the language. What is required is a common-sense approach, based on simple guidelines, suggesting classes of words and topic areas where the Urdu word is expected, e.g. colours, numbers, relationships, domestic environment, etc.

The use of English words in Urdu has given that language an expanded range of vocabulary and expressive power, and, in a British environment, the influence of English is likely to increase. There is, however, a danger that if Urdu users allow the indiscriminate influx of English words, then what may develop will not be regarded as acceptable by users of 'standard' Urdu in the subcontinent. Fortunately, it seems from the evidence derived from the GCE corpus that the great majority of the candidates have minimised their use of English words, and have demonstrated their ability to use 'standard' Urdu, with recourse to English words only where appropriate or necessary.

TABLE 6.1.
ENGLISH WORDS IN 'BARKER', URDU NEWSPAPER WORD FREQUENCY COUNT.
BY FREQUENCY. 200 WORDS. 4609 OCCURENCES.

police	239	press	23	division	14	diesel	8
mister	237	truck	23	(sāinsdān)	14	branch	8
committee	148	licence	23	september	14	* rocket	8
100officer	116	jail	22	(kāngresī)	14	rail	8
party	104	chairman	22	additional	13	sub inspector	8
policy	96	december	22	actor	13	civil	8
conference	95	station	21	v record	13	* captain	8
january	79	assembly	21	service	13	* government	8
doctor	75	v*pass	21	v firing	13	v lecture	8
may	72	(sāinsī)	21	class	13	martial	8
report	71	april	20	league	13	machinery	8
* school	67	team	20	smuggler	12	medical	8
railway	59	justice	20	agency	12	ward	8
secretary	57	* radio	20	ordinance	12	western	8
commission	57	v control	20	challenge	12	hall	8
leader	57	case	20	senate	12	in charge	7
general	55	* machine	20	convention	12	eastern	7
* hospital	54	* minute	20	motor	12	operator	7
* college	50	v vote	20	special	11	office	7
communist	50	high	20	superintendent	11	property	7
v*programme	48	* hotel	20	* society	11	pension	7
magistrate	45	(aiṭamī)	19	* fund	11	degree	7
council	44	v*telephone	19	company	11	suit	7
v appeal	43	private	18	controller	11	film star	7
june	43	position	18	match	11	corn	7
comissioner	40	* film	18	bill	10	master	7
university	40	car	18	bloc(k)	10	mill	7
november	38	lieutenant	18	primary	10	manager	7
* bus	36	member	18	v cycle	10	major	7
v tax	35	* taxi	17	soviet	10	helicopter	7
october	35	court	17	file	10	stall	6
500governor	35	scout	16	home	10	store	6
scheme	33	ton 1000	16	1500transport	9	assistant	6
professor	33	subcommittee	16	polling	9	election	6
staff	32	corporation	16	supreme	9	oriental	6
field marshal	30	cricket	16	cinema	9	omnibus	6
congress	30	municipality	16	security	9	* airline	6
union	30	bomb	15	form	9	operation	6
general	29	judge	15	crime	9	budget	6
* driver	28	dollar	15	commander	9	v bowling	6
* mile	28	director	15	cadet	9	v parade	6
february	27	road	15	line	9	divisional	6
chief	27	roman	15	matric	9	democratic	6
reporter	27	v supply	15	notice	9	v shift 2000	6
municipal	27	colonel	15	allowance	8	foot	6
* science	26	academy	14	v interview	8	* club	6
* muslim	26	v*board	14	engineer	8	communism	6
parliament	25	bank	14	atom	8	vice chancellor	6
number	25	deputy	14	tribunal	8	inspector	5
traffic	24	district	14	double	8	advocate	5

Note: (v) indicates used with Urdu verbs. Words in brackets are Urduised adjectives derived from English words. Words marked with * (25) are common to Tables 6.1 and 6.4.

TABLE 6.2.
ENGLISH WORDS EXTRACTED FROM 'GCE' URDU COMPOSITIONS 1987.
BY FREQUENCY. 125 WORDS, 650 OCCURRENCES.

school	222	airline	2	autograph	1	kit	1
airport	52	airways	2	balloon	1	ladies	1
seat belt	34	boarding	2	bathroom	1	latrine	1
air hostess	25	book (reserve)	2	board	1	lesson	1
seat	25	bore	2	book	1	list	1
captain	20	bus	2	boyfriend	1	lounge	1
ticket	20	college	2	britain	1	low	1
british	18	crash	2	button	1	machine	1
passport	11	department	2	catholic	1	multicultural	1
pilot	10	driver	2	cement	1	night club	1
check	9	english	2	channel	1	orange juice	1
flight	6	fashion	2	coach	1	plan	1
land	6	gate	2	cologne	1	'plane	1
film	5	government	2	control	1	pool	1
'phone	5	late	2	cookery	1	programme	1
cigarette	4	maths	2	culture	1	racism	1
cockpit	4	mix	2	desk	1	reason	1
customs	4	muslims	2	dining room	1	rocket	1
foot	4	room	2	direction	1	rule	1
hotel	4	safety belt	2	disco	1	rush	1
loudspeaker	4	science	2	european	1	screen	1
minute	4	second	2	fill	1	shaving	1
start	4	secondary	2	fund	1	society	1
stewardess	4	stop	2	french	1	subject	1
engine	3	teacher	2	game	1	sweet	1
mile	3	television	2	gentlemen	1	terrorist	1
pass	3	uncle	2	geography	1	toffee	1
please	3			german	1	toilet	1
radio	3			girlfriend	1	train	1
runway	3			headphone	1	trolley	1
swimming	3			history	1	waiting room	1
taxi	3			hospital	1		
time	3			information	1		
				italian	1		

TOTAL WORDS: 125.
TOTAL OCCURRENCES: 650.

TABLE 6.3.
ENGLISH WORDS EXTRACTED FROM 'GCE' URDU COMPOSITIONS 1987
ALPHABETICAL ORDER. 125 WORDS.

air hostess	government	stewardess	English words
airline	headphone	stop	used with Urdu
airport	history	subject	verb forms;
airways	hospital	sweet	(a)with(<i>karnā</i>)
autograph	hotel	swimming	
balloon	information	taxi	bathroom
bathroom	italian	teacher	board
board	kit	television	check
boarding	ladies	terrorist	fashion
book	land	ticket	fill
book	late	time	land
bore	latrine	toffee	mix
boyfriend	lesson	toilet	pass
Britain	list	train	phone
british	loudspeaker	trolley	plan
bus	lounge	uncle	start
button	low	waiting room	swimming
captain	machine		(12)
catholic	maths		
cement	mile	(125)	(b)with(<i>honā</i>)
channel	minute		
check	mix		book
cigarette	multicultural		bore
coach	muslims		check
cockpit	night club		crash
college	orange juice		land
eau-de-cologne	pass		start
control	passport		(6)
cookery	phone		
crash	pilot		(c)with(<i>karānā</i>)
culture	plan		book
customs	plane		check
department	please		fashion
desk	pool		(3)
dining room	programme		
direction	racism		
disco	radio		(d)with verbal
driver	reason		infinitive suffix
engine	rocket		(<i>nā</i>) to form verb
english	room		
european	rule		land (<i>lainḡ-nā</i>)
fashion	runway		(1)
fill	rush		
film	safety belt		
flight	school		(e)with(<i>banānā</i>)
foot	science		
french	screen		programme.
fund	seat		(1)
game	seat belt		
gate	second(2d)		
gentleman	secondary		
geography	shaving		
german	society		
girlfriend	start		

TABLE 6.4.
ENGLISH WORDS COMMON TO BARKER'S & GCE CORPUS.
ALPHABETICAL ORDER. 51 WORDS.

air hostess	engine	* (tele)phone
* airline	fashion	pilot
* board	* film	plan
book	foot	* programme
bore	* fund	* radio
boy(friend)	gate	* rocket
* bus	german	* school
button	girl(friend)	* science
* captain	* government	seat
cement	* hospital	second
check	* hotel	* society
cigarette	ladies	* taxi
* (night) club	* machine	television
coach	* mile	toilet
* college	* minute	train
control	(multi)cultural	
culture	* muslim(s)	
department	* pass	
* driver	passport	

NOTE: (a) Words marked with an asterisk (*) also occur in the most frequently occurring 200 words in Barker's corpus. See Table 6.1.

(b) The words in brackets occur in combination with the adjacent entries in Table 6.3 (GCE) but do not occur in Barker's corpus.

TABLE 6.5.
ENGLISH WORDS IN MEG URDU DEFINED CONTENT FOR GCSE.
ALPHABETICAL ORDER. (289 WORDS.)

*accelerator	credit	menu	staff
accountant	degree	metro(station)	stage
actor	*desk	minute	*station
actress	*dialling(code)	motor	stationery
administrator	diesel	*motorway	steering(wheel)
*agent	diploma	notebook	stereo
alarm(clock)	director	*number	stock (men)
ambulance	*directory	*nurse	stool
antiseptic	dishwasher	orchestra	store
apron	*double (roḡī)	order(postal)	stove
*art	drama	*office	strawberry
aspirin	drawing	*pack (karnā)	studio
assembly	duty	packet	suit
*bag(sone kā baig)	*easter	paint (karnā)	surgeon
*bakery	eiderdown	pant(s)	surgery
balcony	engine	*parcel	sweater
*bank	*engineer	park	*switch
battery	*exchange	parking(meter)	tape
bar	fail	party	tax
*bed	*factory	*pass (karnā)	*taxi
belt(seat)	*flat(oñ kā blāk)	*passport	team
*bicycle	football	pedal	technical
bill	fork	pencil	technician
block(flatḡoñ kā)	*freezer	*petrol	telegram
bonnet	french(window)	photo	*telephone(booth)
booking	*fridge	photographer	*television
boot	gallery	pilot	tennis
*booth	*gas	ping-pong	*theatre
*bottle	gear	pitch	thermostat
brake	geranium	plastic	*ticket
brochure	german	*plate	*tie
brush	*glass	*platform	tin
bumper	goalkeeper	*plug	toothpaste
*bus	gooseberry	plumber	tourist
*button	grammar(school)	point	tournament
cake	gramme	*police	*town *hall
*camera	greenhouse	pork	traffic
camp	*gymnastics	*post (karnā)	transport
*car	hair(drier)	postal(order)	*travel(agent)
card	handle(gear)	postman	*traveller(cheque)
cartoon	heater	*pound	tube
cash	*heating(central)	power(station)	typing
cassette	headmaster	primary	typist
cathedral	highway(code)	primrose	tyre
centimetre	hoover	private	undress
*central(heating)	*hospital	project	university
certificate	*hotel	prospectus	volleyball
champion(ship)	hovercraft	public	*waiter
channel	industry	pump	*washing(machine)
*chemist	injection	puncture	windscreen
chemistry	inspector	pushchair	
*cheque	insurance	radiator	
*christmas	*jacket	*radio	
church	jelly	*railway	

TABLE 6.5. (Continued.)

cigarette	*judge	rake	
*cinema	*jug	record(player)	ALSO SPECIFIED:
circus	knicker	registered	
*clerk	lamp	*report	january
*clinic	laundry	restaurant	february
*club	lawn	*room	march
*coat	*letterbox	safety(belt)	april
*code(highway)	*library	science	may
college	librarian	scooter	june
commerce	licence	*school	july
commitee	*lift	*seat	august
company	*list	second	september
computer	litre	secondary	october
concrete	lorry	*secretary	november
cooker	lounge	*service	december
copy	*machine	shoes	
cork	manager	*shower	
cornflour	*market	shutter	
*corridor	mechanic	*single	
county	medical	ski (<i>karnā</i>)	
cream	meeting	sofa	
	member(ship)		

NOTE: Words marked with * are common to Tables 6.5 & 6.6. (90 Words)

TABLE 6.6.
ENGLISH WORDS IN NEA URDU SYLLABUS, GCSE.
ALPHABETICAL ORDER. 197 WORDS.

*accelerator	*cycle	*list	*service
*agency	day off	*machine	shelf
*art	*desk	*market	shopping centre
ashtray	*dial	meter	*shower
attic	*directory	mile	sign(board)
*bag	dish	milkman	*single
*bakery	dishwasher	mixer(food)	sixth(form)
*bank	doctor	*motorway	size
bath	*double	note	skirt
bathroom	drawers	notice	slice
*bed	driver	*number	socket
bible	duster	*nurse	stadium
biology	*easter	*office	*station
blender	*engineer	operator	suitcase
board	escalator	order (denā)	supermarket
*booth	*exchange	oven	swimming(pool)
*bottle	*factory	*pack	*switch
box	farm	pan(fry)	table(time)
briefcase	fashion	paper(toilet)	*taxi
bulb	felt(tip)	*parcel	teacher
*bus	film	*pass (karnā)	*telephone(booth)
business	*flat	*passport	*television
*button	food(mixer)	pen	term
call (karnā)	form(sixth)	pension	terrace(house)
*camera	*freezer	*petrol	*theatre
*car	*fridge	physics	*ticket
cassette	frock	picnic	*tie
centre(shopping)	fry(pan)	*plate	tip(felt)
*central(heating)	furnished	*platform	time(table)
chalk	furniture	*plug	toilet(paper)
*chemist	garden	pocket	token
chemistry	*gas	*police	*town(hall)
*cheque	*glass	pool(swimming)	train
*christmas	goldfish	*post (karnā)	*travel(agency)
*cinema	*gymnastics	postcard	*travellers(check)
class	*hall(town)	*pound	trip
classical	*heating(central)	programme	typewriter
*clerk	*hospital	*radio	underground
*clinic	hostel(youth)	*rail	university
*club	*hotel	receptionist	video
coach	house(terrace)	*report	violin
*coat	information(desk)	*room(bath)	*waiter
*code(dial)	*jacket	rubber	waitress
common(room)	*judge	ruler	*washing(machine)
*corridor	*jug	salesgirl	week
cosy(tea)	jumper	salesman	weekend
counter	kilometre	*school	youth(hostel)
cricket	*letter(box)	scout	
customs	*library	*seat	
cutlery	*lift	*secretary	

NOTE: words in this list with Urdu verbs (in parentheses) are listed as such in the NEA Vocabulary. Words marked with * are common to Tables 6.5 & 6.6. (90 Words.)

TABLE 6.7.
ENGLISH WORDS COMMON TO MEG & NEA VOCABULARIES.

accelerator	desk	machine	shower
agent	dial	market	single
art	directory	motorway	station
bag	double	number	switch
bakery	easter	nurse	taxi
bank	engineer	office	telephone
bed	exchange	pack	television
bicycle	factory	parcel	theatre
booth	flat	pass	ticket
bottle	freezer	passport	tie
bus	fridge	petrol	town
button	gas	plate	travel (agency)
camera	glass	platform	travellers (cheque)
car	gymnastics	plug	waiter
central	hall	police	washing (machine)
chemist	heating	post	
cheque	hospital	pound	
christmas	hotel	radio	
cinema	jacket	rail	
clerk	judge	report	
clinic	jug	room	
club	letterbox	school	
coat	library	seat	
code	lift	secretary	
corridor	list	service	

NUMBER OF ENGLISH WORDS COMMON TO MEG & NEA VOCABULARIES: 90.

CHAPTER 7.
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH.

7.0. INTRODUCTION.

The aims in this chapter are twofold: in the first part, Sections 7.1 to 7.5, I shall discuss some potential alternatives to the tasks used to assess performance in the GCSE, the development of graded assessment schemes which are likely to play an important part in the proposed tests at 7, 11, 14, etc., and consider present and proposed examinations at post-GCSE level. In the second part, Sections 7.6 and 7.7, I shall summarise the results of the research, and discuss areas where further research is desirable and outline some projects which are of potential value to Urdu teaching in this country.

In Chapter 2 of this thesis I have already presented a detailed analysis of the Criteria and the Assessment Objectives and Techniques used in the GCSE Urdu examinations. Certain aspects of the GCSE have been seriously criticised from a community languages perspective, the main thrust of which has been that Urdu and other community languages require their own criteria derived from the patterns of use of those particular languages. It has been demonstrated during the discussion that amendments to the Aims and Objectives and, in particular, the Topics and Settings can go some way to creating an examination which is more appropriate to the requirements of the linguistic communities concerned.

There are, however, other aspects of the GCSE which, although not necessarily related to the peculiar circumstances of community languages, have received criticism. Firstly, the artificial separation of the four skill areas, which is the effect of discrete skill testing, seems to contradict the principle of authenticity. The development of alternative tests which integrate these skills is considered. Secondly, the oral examination has caused serious difficulties for both teacher-examiners and their candidates. The role-play component can also be seen to be unauthentic and artificial, relying as it does on the candidates' ability to read English. Alternative oral examining formats which may alleviate these problems are suggested. Thirdly, assessment of languages such as Urdu in a British context and with regard for authenticity must also consider the relevance of bilingual skills. Fourthly, continuous

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assessment, which has been developed as a pilot project and may gain currency both on its own merits and in the light of the imposition of attainment targets at eleven and fourteen. Finally, the question remains as to how far the GCSE is an adequate preparation for further study of the language. These points will be considered in the following sections and some alternatives will be suggested.

7.1. DISCRETE AND INTEGRATIVE SKILL TESTS.

The GCSE Criteria specify tests in the four separate skill areas of Listening, Reading, Speaking and Writing. Section 2.10. of Chapter 2 has demonstrated the artificiality and lack of authenticity of this division. The differences between what is purportedly tested and what is actually tested in the discrete-skill tests have also been discussed. In the case of the Listening test the principle of authenticity is particularly strained; the question arises as to how often and in which circumstances people write down information from aural sources? There are situations where the combination of these skills is both authentic and appropriate to the candidates, e.g. taking telephone messages, but in reality the situations where this happens are infrequent. In fact, the example cited would also require oral skills. It seems more appropriate to link oral and aural skills for they are naturally associated more closely than aural and written skills. In fact, certain components of the existing oral examination do test the listening skills of the candidate; in the Basic and Higher Level conversations candidates are awarded some marks for comprehension, and the appropriateness of the candidates' oral responses is dependent on their comprehension of the teacher-examiners' utterances. Further discussion of the oral is contained in the following section, 7.3.

In the same way that aural and oral skills are closely linked, reading and writing skills are intimately associated and some of the existing GCSE writing tests require the candidate to read Urdu in order to write an appropriate response to the question. GCSE syllabuses

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specify stimulus material for writing which may be in English, Urdu or presented by means of pictures or diagrams. One of the basic requirements of the community which uses Urdu is letter writing, and the stress laid on authenticity in the GCSE indicates that reading Urdu stimulus material in the form of a letter and replying to it is a task ideally suited to both the community and the GCSE Criteria. That this kind of task exists in the GCSE papers of all three examination boards can be seen as an indication that the boards have taken the needs of the linguistic community into account. It can also be taken as an implicit acceptance of the difficulties involved in attempting to construct authentic discrete-skill tests.

Since the GCSE oral test requires some aural skills and the writing tests involve the use of reading skills, there seems no reason why the process should not be taken one stage further, and construct tasks which integrate three or four skills. The telephone message task is one that has been developed for use in other examinations albeit at a more advanced level than the GCSE. ⁽¹⁾ A suggested scenario is easy to devise:

INTEGRATIVE SKILL TASK.

TASK: Taking a telephone message.

SKILLS INVOLVED: Listening, Speaking, Writing.

SCENARIO: The candidate is at home alone and answers the telephone. The caller asks to speak to the candidate's brother or sister. The candidate informs the caller that he or she is not at home and offers to take a message. The caller dictates the message which is written down by the candidate.

There is no problem either of authenticity or of language level, which can easily be modified for Basic or Higher Level use. Besides the three language skills involved the candidate is required to demonstrate

(1) I.O.L. Advanced Certificate, Module E., I.O.L. Syllabus 1988, p19.

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telephone technique, which is an essential communicative skill. The instructions can be given orally, in the target language, to the candidate immediately before the test. Comprehension of the instructions can then be assessed as a component of the successful completion of the task without resort to the use of English. ⁽²⁾ The difficulties lie less in the tests or tasks themselves than in conducting the examination on a large scale in a variety of educational establishments. Integrative tests require a higher level of expertise from teacher-examiners than the existing format which, as has been discussed at length in Chapter 2 (§2.11, pp94ff), caused serious problems for some of the teacher-examiners in the first year of the GCSE in 1988; the indications for 1989 are that the lack of experienced oral examiners has continued to create difficulties. Although these may be partially alleviated by continuous or graded assessment programmes, the long term need for training is evident whatever the method of assessment.

Integrative tasks involving reading and no writing in the target language are relatively hard to devise without relying on English. The usual means of assessment of reading skills has been by comprehension with questions in English. Although LEAG have introduced bilingual rubrics and questions and allow the candidates to answer in either language (and MEG are to do so from 1990) these tests do involve writing. At the Basic Level, writing Urdu is not a compulsory component and if the use of English is to be avoided it is necessary to devise alternative means of assessing reading skills. Broadbent and Hashmi comment at length on the disadvantages of post-reading tests which test memory, general knowledge and knowledge of surface grammatical structure rather than reading for understanding. ⁽³⁾ Integrative tasks such as summarising the contents of a text or using the telephone to read a message to a caller allow the candidate to demonstrate valuable practical skills which are more authentic than the existing format.

(2) There has been continuing criticism of what is regarded as excessive reliance on the candidates's knowledge of English in assessment techniques. See ECPP 1988, p31 and Ch 2, §2.9, supra.

(3) Broadbent & Hashmi 1983, Ch iv, §5, p58.

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At the Higher level, where writing in the target language is an acceptable component, there is a wider range of tasks available to the examiner. It has been suggested by many teachers that at this level it would be more appropriate to give the rubrics, etc. in the target language only. ⁽⁴⁾ In the same way that the oral instructions to the candidate in the telephone message task outlined above become an integral part of the test so written rubrics, etc. can become an integral part of the reading test and can be assessed as such. If, as Broadbent and Hashmi suggest, reading comprehension tests would have greater face validity if a small number of questions, related to the extraction of essential information, preceded the given passage containing the information then the existing reading comprehension format of the GCSE can easily be modified by altering the layout on the page. ⁽⁵⁾ This creates an *a priori* reason for reading the text, but does not resolve the problem of selection of a suitable text, i.e. one of the appropriate linguistic level which would be likely to be read by the candidate in authentic language-use situations. Exactly what material the 'average' sixteen-year old might read in Urdu in a British context is an important question for teachers and examiners. Apart from the GCSE prescribed 'signs, notices, timetables, etc.', which are intended for use at the Basic Level, material for connected reading passages used at the Higher Level have been drawn mainly from books and magazines published in the subcontinent which are neither designed for young people nor of a suitable level for those who have learnt their Urdu in this country. If the linguistic level is suitable the material is probably intended for students of a much younger age range than that targeted by the GCSE. There is an unfulfilled need for some form of publication written in simple Urdu which covers topics of interest to the teenage student of Urdu in this country. A magazine '*Mulāqāt*' was produced by the Multicultural Service in Blackburn in 1986 but, as far as is known, only a single issue was published. Proposals have been made to Urdu newspapers that they should produce a regular 'Young Persons' Section',

(4) See n2 supra,

(5) Broadbent & Hashmi 1983, Ch iv, 52, p53.

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with contributions from readers, reviews of popular films and T.V. programmes, background information on cultural and social topics, etc.

Two alternative techniques for the assessment of reading suggested by Broadbent and Hashmi in their model examination paper are Cloze procedures and précis writing. ⁽⁶⁾ The first means is of dubious authenticity while the second, as presented, relies heavily on the student's proficiency in English. Van Els considers that it is not possible to establish exactly what a Cloze test does measure. ⁽⁷⁾ Although it can be a useful tool in the classroom when used to target attention on certain classes of words, i.e. verbs or conjunctions, it seems an inappropriate and meaningless task in the context of the GCSE's emphasis on practical communicative skills.

Précis writing offers a potentially more viable assessment technique. Although the specimen mentioned above requires the student to write in English there is no reason why the précis should not be written in Urdu. This is undoubtedly an advanced linguistic exercise but one that would not be inappropriate task for the Higher Level examination. The main objection would be on the grounds of authenticity; the passage and the related task would have to be properly contextualised in order to provide a genuine reason for performing the task. The GCE 'O' Level examination offered by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, UCLES, includes just such a task. ⁽⁸⁾ This examination is available only for overseas candidates and the standard is not suitable for the home entry but, given a sensitive choice of passage, the technique merits further investigation.

Other tests combining reading and one or more of the other skill areas include gist summarising and letter reading. Because these tests involve oral skills and would normally be conducted on a one to one basis with an examiner and would be assessed as much on the oral as the

(6) *op. cit.*, Appendix C., p105-6,

(7) Van Els *et al* 1987, 15,6,4,1, p327-8

(8) UCLES GCE 'O' Level Urdu Paper, Syllabus A, 3207/1, June 1989,

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reading skills and therefore require special consideration, these are discussed in the following section, §7.2. on oral examinations. There is, however, another multi-skill means of assessment which merits consideration.

Dictation is a venerable classroom and examination exercise which, in the opinion of most mainstream language teachers, has long fallen out of favour. There are two reasons why dictation is felt to be obsolete: the first is that it is an artificial exercise, and the second was that it was regarded exclusively as a spelling test. (9) It has recently, however, been subject to a re-evaluation as a general language proficiency test because research has demonstrated 'high correlations with reading, writing and listening.' Community Language teachers have not abandoned dictation in the way that their modern language counterparts have and there are several reasons for this. Traditional teaching methods used, and still in use, in the subcontinent are still in the repertoire of many Urdu teachers; they find dictation a help in developing the spelling of their students. The research conducted in this thesis on errors (see Chapter 5, §5.1.) indicates that many of them may be the result of an inadequate understanding of the connection between Urdu graphemes and phonemes, and dictation using carefully selected or specially devised texts can be a valid means of working on this aspect of language development. Students too often ask for dictation, especially those who have received some of their education in India or Pakistan. Perhaps more significantly dictation can be regarded as an authentic task for Community Language users. Low literacy levels in many parts of the subcontinent result in the phenomenon of the professional letter-writer outside the post offices and government buildings. Even in the communities settled in Britain literacy is by no means universal. This is not to advocate dictation as a training for such employment; rather, that being able to write a letter for a relative or neighbour is an authentic task for the GCSE candidate even in a British context. An appropriate scenario can easily be devised:

(9) Van Els *et al* 1984, p328.

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INTEGRATIVE SKILL WRITING TASK.

Topic: Communication.

Setting: Home.

Scenario: Your grandmother wants to send a letter to a relative in Jhelum. She cannot write Urdu so she asks you to write a letter for her.

Task: Listen to what you grandmother tells you and write it down as a letter in Urdu.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the use of dictation to test spelling, that some researchers suggest that dictations should be marked ignoring spelling errors because 'spelling has turned out to be practically unrelated to other language skills.' (10) An important proviso is added: 'It is of course not easy to determine whether an error is a spelling error or some other type of error.' (This point is discussed at length in Chapter 5, §5.1.) In view of the increased credibility of dictation among language testers, its favoured position among students and teachers of Community Languages, and its authenticity as a task for the GCSE target group, dictation is a means of assessment which should not be rejected out of hand.

7.2. ORAL ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUES.

The shortcomings of the existing oral examination format have been discussed at length in the chapter on the GCSE. (Ch 2, §2.11. supra.) There are two aspects to this: The first concerns the nature of the tasks and the method of conducting the examination. The second relates to the experience and expertise of the teacher-examiners who are required to conduct the examination.

There are two main criticisms which have been levelled at the GCSE Oral. The first is the use of role play cards which require the candidates to transfer information from written English instructions into

(10) Oller, in Van Els *et al* 1984, p329.

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spoken Urdu. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, §2.10, the prescribed single-skill test does, in reality, require a variety of unstated language skills. While in English language orals the instructions are given in English, whether written or spoken, it is not considered desirable to rely on the use of English in assessing language skills in other languages. ⁽¹¹⁾ There is a difficulty connected with using written Urdu unless the test is an overtly multi-skill test. In a so-called discrete-skill oral test it would penalise those who were unable to read Urdu well if the instructions were to be given in Urdu, which in this context would involve the use of Arabic and Persian derived terminology.

The second is the structure of some of the role plays at Basic Level which means that there is no need for the student to listen to the utterances of the interlocutor in order to perform their part of the 'dialogue'. In any authentic speaking task, with the exception of delivering a monologue, there is an interaction between the two participants which involves not only speaking but also listening skills. In order to conform to the principle of authenticity, oral skills cannot be assessed in a vacuum; they must be assessed in combination with listening skills. If role plays are to be used as a means of assessing oral skills then there must be a built-in 'information gap', so that the candidate has to understand the utterances of the examiner in order to deliver the appropriate response. It needs to be borne in mind that some role plays at the Higher Level for GCSE do include elements of unpredictability. There is no reason why even at the Basic Level this element should not be introduced.

One oral examination format which has been mooted as being more suitable for Urdu is that used by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry in their Foreign Languages in Industry and Commerce, known as FLIC, examinations. ⁽¹²⁾ While it is the role play component which is the primary target of criticism, it may be of use to describe the complete oral in the FLIC examination as it may offer the basis for a redesigned

(11) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p19, §3.

(12) LCCI Syllabus 1985, p9-12, §5.4.1-5.

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GCSE oral. The FLIC Preliminary Level is approximately equivalent to the Basic Level of the GCSE and is used in some schools where there are pupils who wish to take an examination in their language but do not have sufficient reading or writing skills to take the GCSE successfully. The assessment criteria stress the importance of successful communication, fluency and comprehension over grammatical accuracy and include the assessment of listening skills. The assessment criteria can, of course, be modified to suit the particular needs of any target group. The Intermediate Level is approximately on a par with the Higher Level of the GCSE, but the level can be adjusted by modifying the assessment criteria. It is the format which is the reason for discussing the FLIC exam.

At the Preliminary Level, the FLIC examination consists of four components: A) Conversation, B) Comprehending and responding to Instructions, C) Picture sequence for description and discussion, and D) Role play. Each section will be discussed separately.

Section A.(1) Description in Syllabus.

- (a) General conversation on the candidate's personal history, work and interests.
- (b) Development of one or two aspects of the general conversation.

The purpose is to test general conversational ability on a variety of topics, prepared and unprepared.

This is very similar to the conversation component of the GCSE and there is no need to discuss it further. Both formats test prepared and unprepared conversation.

Section B is described as 'Assessment of the candidates' ability to respond to spoken instructions given by the examiner and relating to everyday objects displayed in the examination'. Its purpose is described thus: 'To test oral comprehension and the ability to carry out instructions in the foreign language. This component has no counterpart in the GCSE and is mainly concerned with listening comprehension. The

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candidate is asked to describe and explain the functions of objects such as scissors and also to obey instructions such as 'pick up, move, put in front of'.

While it can be argued that this component is not authentic it does reflect aspects of authentic language use. If it is viewed as a listening exercise then it is more authentic than its GCSE counterpart where the response to listening tasks takes the form of written answers. Actions are more authentic responses in a listening test than writing down answers to written questions. With a suitable choice of possibly culturally relevant artefacts this could form a part of a revised oral examination. The notions of space, quantity, quality, etc. are included in the GCSE syllabus but in the current format there is little scope for testing them. This format provides an opportunity to do so with a reasonable degree of authenticity and to introduce elements of the culture associated with the language.

The third section, C, is described in the syllabus as follows: The candidate will be asked to describe two pictures or photographs, one provided by the candidate and one provided by the examiner. Its purpose is stated as being 'To test the candidates' power of expression relating to visual material both prepared and unprepared.' Here there is an 'opportunity for the candidates to show themselves at their very best.' In the preparation notes the type of picture preferred is described. 'It is to be preferred that candidates should use pictures involving people and actions, which will help them in their study of verbs of the language and the use of tenses.' The second picture, to be selected by the examiner, provides another opportunity to introduce culturally relevant material and to test the candidates' knowledge of their cultural heritage.

A similar test was used in some of the CSE oral examinations in Urdu. (13) The candidate was shown a picture and asked a limited number of set questions about it. At the GCSE the only board to incorporate a

(13) EMREB CSE Urdu Examination 1986, Paper 1, Q3.

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picture-description exercise was MEG whose Higher Level, Part 2, section of the Oral also includes a visual element in its test of the candidate as narrator. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Such a task as outlined above may not be considered authentic by some; there are two grounds for this objection: Firstly that to use pictures to test the candidates' knowledge of appropriate tenses is an artificial process. A picture shows what is purportedly an action in progress and students should not be expected to report on these actions in any other tense than the present and/or the progressive present. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Secondly, there are only a limited number of real-life situations where this activity takes place. In response to the question of authenticity; the whole examining process is, to a large extent, an artificial one. In the conversation for GCSE, the examiners are asked to test the candidates' range of tenses. Economic and practical constraints make the oral the most difficult examination to devise and conduct for large numbers of candidates. These constraints rule out the possibility of putting an oral examination combining authenticity and reliability into practice. Although the process is artificial, it can be argued that such a task has more relevance to Urdu users than for learner of French. Students of Urdu use their language in everyday, domestic situations and in such situations where language use is not restricted to the transactional but encompasses the reflectional it is not difficult to formulate a scenario for a picture-description task. One could envisage a discussion of wedding photographs sent from Pakistan which can involve not only factual description but can also include emotions stimulated by such visual stimuli. This type of task has the potential for generating a greater range of language use than the existing GCSE format. It has been one of the main criticisms of the GCSE that it is too narrowly transactional in its approach. ⁽¹⁶⁾ A judicious choice of visual stimulus material could provide the candidates with an opportunity to demonstrate their linguistic ability at the reflectional level, over and above merely descriptive language.

(14) MEG Syllabus 1986, p6, §(c)(iii).

(15) See Broadbent *et al* 1983, p59.

(16) SEC/DES/HMI 1988, p18.

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The fourth section, D, is described as a test in which 'the candidate will be asked to play a part in an everyday situation chosen by the examiner, e.g., booking in at an hotel, asking the way, buying a ticket, ordering a meal, etc. Its purpose is stated as 'To test the ability to cope with any of a number of common situations which are likely to occur on visits abroad, involving accuracy of comprehension, precision of response and the active involvement of the candidate'.

Although the emphasis is on travel and superficial and formal contacts abroad they can be adapted by appropriate contextualisation of the role play tasks so that the situation is an authentic one for Urdu speakers. This has been done for Urdu at GCSE in order to reflect situations where Urdu is used in this country. ⁽¹⁷⁾In the FLIC role play there is no use of cue-cards as used in the GCSE. The procedure is described as follows; 'The examiner will set the scene briefly, giving the candidate instructions about what to do, making sure he/she understands them'. The examiners' notes for the role play add 'The briefing will normally be given in the language under examination, although if it is clear that the candidate has difficulty absorbing the information in the target language the instructions may be given in English'.

The format described above for testing oral skills by role play avoids the three most criticised aspects of the GCSE role play in that there are no written instructions in English, the target language is to be used, where possible, in setting the scene, and the responses of the candidate are dependent on the candidate's ability to understand the utterances of the examiner. Thus comprehension of the instructions forms an integral part of the assessed skills, for if they are not fully understood the candidate will not be able to complete the task successfully. Because the candidates do not obtain the information through a written cue-card their reading skills, in whatever language, are not being covertly tested, nor can the candidate utter the appropriate responses merely by translating the information from the

(15) See Chapter 2, §2.11, p94, for detailed criticism of the GCSE Oral.

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cue-card; she or he must listen and understand what the examiner has to say in order to know how to respond correctly. This approximates authentic language behaviour rather more closely than the existing GCSE format. Although it is not being suggested that the FLIC model be adopted as it stands, the role play format represents a more suitable and authentic means of conducting that component without reliance on the use of English.

Although this format could be usefully adapted for use in the GCSE, it relies on the presence of a trained and experienced examiner and is therefore subject to the same constraints as the GCSE format. The quality of the candidates' responses are partially dependent on the expertise of the teacher/examiner. ⁽¹⁸⁾ It has been suggested that the Oral examinations should be conducted by visiting examiners who have received specialised training by the boards. There are potential advantages to this for the use of trained examiners would ensure a more even standard of examining and assessment. It might also allow the candidates to feel less inhibited in their conversation than has been the case before. There are, however, two main objections to this: firstly, the teachers are themselves keen to play a part in the assessment of their students' performance, and to remove this could be seen not only as a slight on their professionalism but would deprive them of the opportunity to receive specialist training in oral skills from the Examining Boards. The second and, in practical terms, the main objection is economic. To send a visiting examiner to all the centres would be prohibitively expensive. Urdu is a minority subject and the existing examination is already uneconomic when compared with large-entry subjects such as French. An alternative suggestion is for the teachers to conduct the examination but not assess it, this being done by the Board. This would enable the teacher/examiner to concentrate on the conduct of the oral without having to worry about marking the utterances of the candidates. To conduct and mark the oral is hard enough even for experienced examiners. The need to mark does interrupt the natural flow of the role plays and the conversation. A core of

(18) See Chapter 1, §1.3.1. See also Chapter 2, §2.11, on the GCSE Oral.

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trained assessors could then mark all the oral examinations which would enable the assessment criteria to be applied more evenly. The experience of the LEAG examiners in both 1988 and 1989 is that the majority of teacher-assessed oral tapes have had to be reassessed which was a time-consuming and costly procedure.

Besides the oral tests described above, there are other tasks which involve oral skills in combination with one or more of the other skills. The incorporation of some form of reading test within the framework of an oral examination bears some analysis. The value of reading aloud has been questioned by modern language teachers and its use as a testing device raises problems of authenticity. However there are authentic reasons for reading aloud which are particularly pertinent for those using Urdu. In a society such as Pakistan, where literacy in Urdu is less than 25%, reading letters, newspapers or notices out loud for one's friends or relatives is an everyday occurrence. Even if the task is transferred to a British context, similar situations are not uncommon. Broadbent and Hashmi cite speech-giving, poetry reciting and storytelling as other authentic tasks. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Until recently some Modern Language CSE examinations contained a reading component in the oral examination which involved candidates in reading a prepared passage. Perhaps, as Broadbent and Hashmi suggest, an unprepared passage would be more effective a test of comprehension with a brief discussion on the passage as a follow-up. ⁽²⁰⁾ There is evidence of a demand for some kind of reading aloud test; at a Community Language workshop and seminar held in July 1988 several participants raised the issue. The tradition of recitation is strong among South-Asian cultures and the Quranic tradition reinforces this. In the case of some students, their ability to read by decoding the script is well developed but appropriate comprehension questions often reveal little or no understanding of what has been so fluently read. It is possible to devise a test which is both authentic and has a genuine communicative purpose. An example is given overleaf.

(19) Broadbent *et al*, Ch iv, §4, p55-6.

(20) *ibid*,

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ORAL/READING TASK.

Topic: Communication.

Setting: Home.

Scenario: Your Uncle has received a postcard from someone in Pakistan. His glasses are broken so he asks you to read it to him.

Task: Read the postcard and answer any questions about it that may be put to you.

The instructions to the candidate could be given orally as part of an expanded and integrated examination, thus avoiding the use of English completely. Similar tasks which combine reading and oral skills can easily be devised.

It can be seen that there are alternative means of assessing oral skills both discretely and in direct combination with other skills. The primary obstacles to their development for use in public examinations are not their difficulty but the necessity to have trained and experienced examiners to conduct the examination, and the expense of conducting and administering lengthy oral examinations. The lack of experience and expertise of many Urdu teachers has been discussed at length in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Until these problems are addressed the likelihood of any significant advance towards integrative oral exams remains small.

7.3. BILINGUAL SKILL TESTING.

Much of the criticism of the GCSE has focussed on the over-reliance of English as a means of assessment in the GCSE. This is not merely a matter for Community Language teachers but has been expressed by those interested in Modern Languages also. Using dual-language papers and allowing candidates to respond in the target language has gone some way to mitigate this criticism. ⁽²¹⁾ While it is entirely appropriate

(21) See Chapter 2, §2.9., p76.

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to assess a language by means of that language, it can be argued that there is a case for Community Language users in Britain to prepare for and take some form of examination which assesses their bilingual skills. It is a feature of the potential GCSE students of Urdu, etc., that they are operating bi- or multi-lingually as an integral part of their lives. ⁽²²⁾ The existing GCSE for Urdu requires the student to use bilingual skills but they are not overtly tested, rather they form part of the hidden agenda of the examination. ⁽²³⁾ Bilingual skill testing can be considered both an authentic and practical exercise for students of Urdu if it is presented as such; the only caveat is whether it is appropriate for the 16+ age group which is the stated target of the GCSE. Since one of the 'aims' of the GCSE as expressed in 'The National Criteria for French' is 'to form a sound base of skills, language and attitudes required for further use of the language in study, work and leisure', there seems to be no absolute restriction on including bilingual skills within the examination syllabus. ⁽²⁴⁾ One of the Boards offering Urdu at GCSE has specifically included the sentence 'to develop and encourage bilingual skills where appropriate' as one of the 'aims' of the GCSE. ⁽²⁵⁾ There is no evidence of this aim having been incorporated into the examination as yet, partly because a more pressing need has been to reduce reliance on English as a means of assessment.

The only bilingual skills examination which has been specifically designed for the purpose is the Bilingual Skills Certificate developed by the Institute of Linguists. ⁽²⁶⁾ The tasks included in this examination include written translation, letter-writing, role play, liaison interpreting, sight translation and gist summarising. While it is not a professional examination the standard expected is well above that which is required for the GCSE, lying somewhere between 'A' Level and

(22) See Chapter 1, §1.1., on the linguistic background of the candidates for Urdu.

(23) See Chapter 2, §2.10., for an analysis of the skills required in performing tasks in the GCSE.

(24) NCF 1985, pl, §2.2.

(25) MEG Syllabus 1988, pl, Aim 5.

(26) IOL Bilingual Skills Certificate 1986.

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B.A. degree standard, although it does demand equal proficiency in both English and the chosen language. However, it should not prove difficult to devise similar tasks at the appropriate level. The role plays in this examination are monolingual, but it may be suitable to devise some form of bilingual role play which requires the candidate to perform a simplified liaison interpreting task. This is subject to the same difficulty as that which besets the GCSE; namely, the lack of experienced oral examiners. Sight translation and gist summarising tasks at GCSE level also appear viable with the advantage over other bilingual tasks with an oral component that the test does not require an interlocutor and could be recorded for later assessment.

The major objection to incorporating some form of assessment of bilingual skills in the GCSE is the same one that has been raised against the reliance of English as a means of assessment; it would penalise those candidates who did not have an adequate command of English. Economic considerations will certainly rule out the provision of two separate examination syllabuses at GCSE level, and it is, therefore, logical to consider the inclusion of bilingual skills at a higher level examination.

7.4. POST 16+ EXAMINATIONS.

The only examination at this level presently available for Urdu is the GCE 'A' Level provided by ULSEB. Currently taken by about 350 candidates per year, the likelihood is that this figure will increase in the next few years, reflecting the increase in GCSE entries. Unfortunately the format of the examination is not in line with Modern Language 'A' Levels. The Urdu 'A' Level comprises two papers: Paper 1 contains unprepared translation and essay questions, while Paper 2 consists of translations and questions on specified literary texts. Apart from changes to the prescribed texts and allowing candidates to write literary appreciation essays in Paper 2 in either English or Urdu this format has remained almost unchanged since its inception.

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One of the points of concern which have been raised by Urdu teachers over the GCSE was how far that examination would be an adequate preparation for candidates who wished to continue studying Urdu to the Advanced Level. ⁽²⁷⁾ The impression of former examiners of GCE 'O' Level Urdu was that those candidates who gained 'A' or 'B' grades at 'O' Level would be able to cope with further study of Urdu at 'A' Level, whereas those who obtained C grade would be faced with considerable difficulties. Teachers consider that they spend too much time teaching those students the basics of the language, including spelling and grammar, when they should be able to take those skills for granted and be able to concentrate on developing skills relating to literature and literary criticism. There is another category of students which needs to be considered. These students wish to continue their study of the language, but for a variety of reasons, including specialising in other fields of study at 'A' Level, they do not want to undertake a full 'A' Level course in Urdu, but would rather develop their linguistic skills for more practical purposes. The examination format currently in force for French and German provides a possible model for Urdu.

The main difference in format between the French and the Urdu examinations is that the French examination contains an Advanced Supplementary Level (A/S) component which is broadly equivalent to half the full 'A' Level. According to the Syllabus 'it lays stress on the practical use of French or German involving authentic, contemporary materials'. ⁽²⁸⁾ It has been designed reflecting the developments at GCSE and includes components which assess all of the four skill areas. It can be taken as an examination in its own right after either one or two years or as a half-way stage to the full 'A' Level. While it would not be appropriate to adopt the examination in its entirety for Urdu the format is one which fulfills many of the needs outlined in the preceding paragraph. ULSEB has sanctioned the development of a syllabus and specimen materials for a revised Urdu 'A' and 'A/S' Level. As yet, this has not proceeded beyond the initial stages, but initial development work

(27) See Questionnaire on GCSE and Urdu, Q G, 5, 1., Table 2, 3., p110.

(28) ULSEB A/S Level French Syllabus 1989, Introduction, pl.

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has been undertaken and the format of the examination at least partially determined. The examination would include five papers. Paper 1 is a listening test which would require the candidate to listen to a passage of Urdu and produce a written summary of its contents in either English or Urdu. Paper 2 would be on prescribed literary or other texts. Candidates would have to answer questions from two sections ensuring a balance of material. Paper 3 comprises composition writing and translation into Urdu. Paper 4 has translation from Urdu and gist summarising in Urdu. Paper 5 is an oral paper comprising a variety of tasks, including oral translation and presentation of a poem. The full 'A' Level consists of all five papers, whereas the 'A/S' Level can be either Papers 1, 4 and 5 or Papers 2 and 3. It will be possible for those candidates taking the full 'A' Level to take one set of papers after one year and the remaining papers in the second year.

Although this examination is still under development it does appear to answer most of the needs of the Urdu-using community which have not been fulfilled at the level of the GCSE. It can be seen that some of the elements are very similar to those contained in the IOL Bilingual Skills Certificate and it is these skills which give the proposed examination the practical bias which is required if Urdu is to be regarded as a viable subject for study at Advanced Level. ⁽²⁹⁾ It also provides an examination for those who wish to study beyond the GCSE but not undertake the full 'A' Level. It is to be hoped that this examination will encourage students to study Urdu who may wish to use it in their professional lives.

7.5. GRADED ASSESSMENT AND THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM.

The Education Reform Act 1988 has specified that all school students will be required to undergo a series of tests at the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16. They will be assessed by means of Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs). These tests will cover all the foundation subjects

(29) See above, §7.3, p292.

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specified in The National Curriculum. Since Urdu can be considered a foundation subject if it is taught from the ages of 11 to 16, these SATs will have to be devised for each of these stages. The School Examinations and Assessment Council (SEAC) has yet to decide whether the GCSE, either in its present form or with modifications, will form the ultimate stage of this assessment programme but it is already clear that there are going to be major changes in the examination system in the near future.

The Graded Assessment in Modern Languages programme (GAML) which is being developed jointly by LEAG and several London-based LEAs 'is a scheme of assessment intended mainly for pupils in the 11-16 age range in secondary schools'. ⁽³⁰⁾ The scheme consists of eight levels of achievement ranging from the Foundation Level, which is appropriate for students who have started Urdu from scratch, to Level 8, which is intended to be equivalent to the highest grade at GCSE. Materials and assessment tasks for Urdu have been piloted in several London schools since 1986 and the project has now reached Level 7. The seven modules included in the scheme at each level are: 1) Personal and Family Information, 2) Neighbourhood, Town and Travel, 3) Food and Drink, 4) Shopping, 5) Leisure and Entertainment, 6) School, Education and Work, and 7) Language and Culture. These correspond fairly closely to the Topics and Settings prescribed by the GCSE. ⁽³¹⁾ According to the Project Development Officer, the principal benefits of the scheme are that it provides a coherent and comprehensive means of assessing the performance and progress of students of all abilities. ⁽³²⁾ One of the many obstacles facing Urdu teachers in British schools is that there has been no adequate course or set of materials available to them, and consequently it has been difficult to implement a graded programme of language learning. The range of linguistic expertise present in an Urdu classroom means that it is difficult to provide sufficient stimulation across the ability range. The experience of teachers who have been

(30) GAML Pamphlet 1989.

(31) T.A.S.Khan, Personal communication, July 1989.

(32) See Table 2.2, p115, for details of the GCSE Topics and Settings.

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piloting the material in London schools is that the motivation and involvement of the students has increased because they can proceed through the stages at their own pace and that the subject matter of the material is directly relevant to their own experience. (33)

While the future shape of Urdu examinations at the 16+ level cannot yet be ascertained, it seems probable that the SATs will form a series of stages leading up to a certificated examination at the GCSE level. (34) The practical advantages of the Graded Assessment Scheme from a teaching perspective (that there is a graded series of materials, topics and settings which can motivate pupils at all levels of attainment to achieve short term goals) are also potential advantages from an examining perspective. Criterion-referenced assessment, as practiced in the GCSE, requires closely defined objectives for each grade. In Graded Assessment these objectives are inherent stages of the scheme, and the attainment levels are precisely defined in terms of both content and skills. (35)

One of the problems of grading candidates in the GCSE has been the requirement to give an overall grade for possibly widely differing standards of performance in the four skill areas examined. One candidate may achieve a grade 'C' at GCSE by a more or less even performance over all four skills while another may perform outstandingly in the Oral but not so well in reading or writing and be awarded the same grade. This does not give the pupil, parent, teacher or prospective employer a true picture of a candidate's practical accomplishments. Some educational establishments require students intending to study a subject to 'A' Level to achieve a minimum grade 'C' at GCSE. In the case of Urdu a student who achieved a grade 'C' by means of an excellent performance in speaking and listening would, by obtaining a grade 'C', be eligible to

(33) M.K.Dalvi, in Graded Assessment Newsheet No,6 1986.

(34) The new Secretary of State for Education announced on 8 August 1989 that some form of written examination (like the GCSE) will be the final stage of ten levels of assessment in the National Curriculum.

(35) Modern Foreign Languages to 16+ 1988, 557, p26-7.

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proceed to study for the 'A' Level. But a prerequisite for studying Urdu at 'A' Level is fairly well developed writing and reading skills. In the days of the GCE 'O' Level, in which only reading and writing were tested, students who achieved grade 'C' were faced with a considerable struggle to reach the standard necessary to be able to read the set texts and write sufficiently accurately in the language. The greater range of skills examined by the GCSE means that a low standard of performance in reading and writing can be masked by excellence in the other skills. Graded assessment schemes detail the students' achievements in a manner which specifies in which skill areas a specified level of performance has been reached. For as long as the GCSE exists in its present form, to follow the practice adopted by the Graded Assessment scheme and specify achievement levels in each skill area would make the grades awarded more meaningful to all concerned.

7.6. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH.

The research described in this thesis has followed two interlinked lines: The first was to consider the appropriateness of the criteria and syllabuses prescribed for examining Urdu and other community languages at GCSE. Other aspects of the GCSE which had been regarded as matters of concern were also discussed. These included the use of English as a means of assessment, discrete-skill testing, the oral examination and compulsory writing. The second was to investigate some aspects of language use by analysing compositions written for the GCE 'O' Level which was superseded by the GCSE. This research concentrated on three topics: verbs, errors and the use of English words. Part of this research was aimed at attempting to ascertain how far the students' written work accorded with the assessment criteria for GCSE.

In order to determine the suitability of the GCSE criteria and syllabuses it was necessary to analyse something of the background of the potential candidature. Chapter 1 demonstrated that almost all the candidates are approaching the study of the language not as a foreign one but as a language in everyday use. The emphasis placed on

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transactional, foreign holiday situations has been one of the most forceful criticisms of the GCSE. This has led to calls by community language practitioners for totally separate and language-specific criteria and syllabuses for their languages. The argument over parity of status, discussed in Section 1.5, is a necessary adjunct to this for if, as argued by Wightwick, all languages have parity of status, they should be entitled to be examined under their own language-specific criteria. The modifications made to the topics and settings contained in their syllabuses by LEAG, described in Chapter 2, §2.12, show that even relatively minor changes can go some way to changing the emphasis from a touristic and foreign language approach to one more appropriate to the largely domestic environment in which Urdu is used in this country. LEAG covers a dozen community languages, and this board has not attempted to produce a syllabus for all of them; there is one syllabus for the five South-Asian languages, within which there is scope for the addition of language- or culture-specific material, where appropriate.

While modifications to the topics and settings of the syllabus are relatively easy to make, changes in the method of assessment, which are prescribed in The National Criteria for French, cannot be made by individual boards or subjects. One of the most frequently heard criticisms from community language circles is that there is over-reliance on the use of English as a means of assessment. The dual-language papers produced by LEAG for Urdu and other South-Asian languages allows those students whose command of English is weak to read the rubrics, questions, etc. in the target language. The discrete-skill examination format does raise difficulties here because, in theory, only one language skill at a time is being tested. The argument presented in Section 2.10 has demonstrated the impossibility of testing skills *in vacuo*. Sections 7.1 and 7.2 of this chapter outline some integrative-skill tests which would be a more authentic approach to assessment, both in terms of skill testing and in terms of the contexts in which languages are used. In integrative-skill testing it is possible to include an understanding of the instructions in the target language as part of the assessed skills. From informal discussions with modern

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language teachers and examiners there seems to be agreement on this issue from this quarter.

Whether the SEAC, which has the role of approving examination syllabuses, would sanction the introduction of integrative skill tests depends on the future development of 16+ examinations. Section 7.5 above has briefly discussed the introduction of Staged Assessment Tasks and mentioned the likelihood of major reorganisation of the examination system to allow for them. One of the problems is the practical difficulty of administering complex multi-skill examinations, even given the sorely needed experienced assessors. These tests are also more expensive than the traditional written papers and more time-consuming than the prescribed oral, which would have to be expanded to make room for these tests. Graded Assessments do provide some scope for using multi-skill tests as part of their classroom assessment procedures and if they were to be incorporated in some form it would be a more suitable environment for conducting such tests than the examination hall.

The oral examination has proved to be the most problematical component of the GCSE for community languages. The lack of trained and experienced teacher-examiners has been covered in Chapter 1, §1.3.1 as has the traditional community language priority accorded to literacy. Apart from these factors, the nature of the tasks prescribed also raise difficulties. These are mainly associated with the role plays which rely heavily on the use of English, not for assessment purposes but as the means of providing the candidate with the instructions and information necessary to successfully complete the role play. Section 7.2 of this chapter contains some alternative oral examination formats which do not rely on English and have the added advantage of testing a wider range of oral skills than the existing GCSE Oral.

There are other factors apart from technical issues which affect the oral examination. Since many potential candidates for these languages are not receiving regular tuition or attending school-based classes, they themselves may be unfamiliar with the techniques required in the oral examination. This not only puts them at a disadvantage vis-

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à-vis other candidates, but the difficulty and expense of providing a suitably trained examiner is one that is exercising the officials of the examining bodies. Under the financial restrictions applied to schools headteachers are understandably reluctant to give their teachers leave to conduct examinations in other schools. Small-entry subjects, such as Urdu, may have been relatively inexpensive to administer in the days of the GCE 'O' Level, when there was one written paper; the situation for the GCSE, with eight papers including an oral, is very different. Community languages are minority interest subjects and the probability of their achieving economic viability is low. To embark on a revised and expanded oral examination in the current economic climate and in a rapidly changing educational environment would be to take a considerable risk. Until the full details of the SATs and their relationship with the existing GCSE are made clear, there seems little likelihood of any large-scale modifications to the existing oral. As already mentioned, the Graded Assessment Scheme for Urdu could provide a more satisfactory means of conducting oral or multi-skill assessments as a part of the normal teaching timetable and thus remove some of the educational and administrative strains inherent in conducting separate oral examinations.

The situation regarding writing has been discussed in Chapter 2, §2.4 from the point of view that since in the case of Urdu writing has a social priority, any examination which did not test these skills would not be highly valued in the community. As has already been noted, if the writing paper is voluntary it is the teachers' responsibility to enter their candidates for the examination, and if they feel that their students should enter for the writing component of the examination they can do so. What also has to be borne in mind is that the GCSE should not be, nor must it be, allowed to become the exclusive province of the community concerned. For the small minority of students who have no connection with the language it is perhaps unrealistic to expect them to achieve a meaningful performance in the written-skill exams, and to discriminate against them is clearly unjust and unacceptable. It is administratively easy to set a 'hurdle' which prevents those students who have not entered for a writing paper from achieving the highest grades.

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The second portion of the thesis concentrated on the research undertaken into aspects of language use by analysing the corpus comprising the written compositions submitted for the GCE 'O' Level examination. It was necessary to limit the original parameters of the project (which was to conduct a frequency analysis of all the lexical items contained in the corpus) for the reasons stated in Chapter 3, §3.0. Three topics were selected: verbs, errors and the use of English words. It was possible to compare verbs and English words with those prescribed in the vocabulary lists for GCSE Urdu by MEG and NEA. <35>

The detailed account of the verbal analysis is the subject of Chapter 4. Its outstanding feature was the range of verbs used by the candidates. 170 candidates provided 8395 occurrences of 603 verbs. In an essay of an average 200 words length the students used an mean of about 20 different verbs per composition. Of particular interest was the wide range of phrase verbs, 425 in number, which gave some indication of the nominal components of the vocabulary available to the students. The range of auxiliary, modal auxiliary and other specialised verb forms was also noteworthy. This indicates a command of language and vocabulary which would not be the case if the students were approaching the examination from a foreign-language background. In addition to the verbs, an analysis of the range of tenses and aspectual forms was undertaken. The range of these provided another indication of the students' facility in the language. If they had been taught the language as a foreign language from scratch, it seems highly unlikely that they would be able to use such a wide range of verbs in such a variety of tense and aspect forms.

The second part of the research on verbs involved a comparison with the verbs included in the frequency count of Barker. (§4.6.) The closeness of the similarities between the rank order and the relative frequency of verbs in the two corpuses indicate that the GCE corpus is sufficiently large to form a representative sample of the students' work for the purposes of analysis. If Barker's work had contained separate

(36) LEAG has not, to date, produced a vocabulary list.

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records of phrase verbs rather than isolating the verbal components a more accurate comparison could have been made.

Having conducted the comparison with Barker, the same was done for the GCSE vocabulary lists. (§4.7.) The two boards that have provided lists include approximately 300 verbs. An indication of the unsatisfactory nature of these lists is that only 124 out of them are common to both lists. One would expect to find a greater degree of conformity between two properly researched vocabulary lists. There is also the unaccountable absence of certain verbs which would normally be expected in any basic Urdu vocabulary list. Although the GCE corpus cannot be considered directly equivalent to a vocabulary list, some indication might be obtained by a comparison of them with the GCSE lists. This comparison revealed a total of 105 verbs common to all three lists. It is possible to assume that these 105 verbs do form a core of the verbs which are to be required of students at the GCSE. This does indicate that the basis of prescriptive vocabulary lists should be an analysis of material provided by the target group.

The second subject of research into the corpus was errors. This is covered in Chapter 5. The major indication was the relative infrequency of errors in a corpus deliberately not compiled from the highest two grades of the GCE. A total of 1952 errors in over 34,000 running words does indicate the mastery of the basic principles of grammar and orthography. It was not possible to determine the precise nature of some errors because errors in the inflected portions of words could be the result of a spelling error. Of the errors which could be ascribed as grammatical few caused ambiguity; many of those that did involved pronominal forms.

A particularly close study of the graphemic constituents of errors was a major part of this research. This revealed a concentration of errors in a few graphemes. The relationship between phonemes and graphemes seemed to be a valuable area for research into a language such as Urdu where, in a British context at least, the majority of learners are speakers of a different but closely related language,

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Panjabi. Many of the errors reveal a relationship between them and the way these Panjabi speakers utter certain Urdu words. Since many of them are not clear about the nature of the differences between Panjabi and Urdu it would suggest that if teachers could improve their students' oral skills and try to establish some understanding of the phonemic/graphemic relationship there would be a corresponding improvement in written standards.

Errors were also analysed from the perspective of the assessment criteria applied to the GCSE written papers. These lay greater emphasis on communicative competence at the expense of grammatical or orthographical accuracy. It was clear that most orthographical errors involved only a few sets of graphemes; most of these did not seriously impede communication although two graphemes in particular did feature in errors which were potential sources of ambiguity. This is because the graphemes concerned, *nūn ġunnā* and *hamzā*, are prominent and distinguishing features of the inflected components of verbs. Errors involving these graphemes were liable to cause greater ambiguity than others for this reason. These two graphemes are sharply contrasting; the former is a graphic representation of nasalisation, while the latter is a grapheme which has no defined phonetic value in Urdu. Since most students tend to write as they speak the incorrect use of *hamzā* is more understandable than the misuse of the *nūn ġunnā*. Concentration by teachers on oral/aural recognition drills involving minimal pairs could increase the accuracy of their student's written performance at this level.

The third area of research conducted using the GCE corpus was into the use of English words, described in full in Chapter 6. The words extracted, 650 occurrences of 125 different words, were compared with those extracted from Barker's corpus. (§6.2.) The initial finding suggested that English words were over twice as frequent in the latter than in the GCE corpus. Although differences in size and source require a cautious approach, it does seem that the students have not had to resort to a random use of English words.

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The second stage was to extract English words from the GCSE vocabulary lists. (86.4.) Nearly 10% of one list's contents were English words and the combined total of English words in the two lists was 486, of which only 90 were common to both. The fact that there were so few common words and the inexplicable presence of some words for which there are simple, everyday Urdu equivalents draws attention to the dangers of producing an underresearched vocabulary list. It is hard to avoid the use of some English words in Urdu many of which have long been incorporated into the language but to prescribe such a number and variety of words in an examination syllabus is hard to justify.

The experience of studying the GCSE vocabulary lists raised the question of the necessity of producing them. They are felt by some to be overprescriptive and to encourage a rigid 'learn this page of vocab for homework' approach to language teaching. At present the production of a vocabulary list and list of structures is a prescription of the National Criteria. (37) A list of structures is certainly of more use to teachers of community languages than a misconceived vocabulary list. Unfortunately the structure list produced by the NEA is far from complete, particularly in the tenses and verbal structure framework. It is important to discriminate between those structures which are expected at Basic Level from those needed at Higher Level. A list of suggested structures for GCSE is reproduced in Table 7.2.

7.7 FURTHER RESEARCH.

The paucity of research into teaching and examining Urdu language at the level covered in this thesis presents a prospective researcher with many opportunities and with the problem of having to decide which potential topics are most worthy of attention. In this section I shall concentrate on those topics which appear to have research potential which have arisen as a direct result of my work on the current project. The original intention of the research was to have conducted a complete frequency count of all the lexical items in the existing corpus. The late

(37) NCF 1985, 54, p4.

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availability of specialised word processing software within the budget of the research project necessitated its curtailment. Appropriate software is more easily available and there is now a greater range of Urdu software which may allow the possibility of undertaking the work without transcription. The existing corpus could form the basis for a larger word frequency count of school students' written language. The data gathered from such a source could then inform the preparation of a vocabulary list for the GCSE.

During the course of this research I had ^ubegin a comparative analysis of the verbal content of a wider range of vocabularies produced for beginners. These included sources from Pakistan, colleges and universities in Britain and America, and a translation of the vocabulary in the Council of Europe Threshold Level. Since some of these have been based on compilations from a variety of sources, one would expect a higher degree of unanimity as to content than the comparison of the GCE vocabularies has revealed. An initial study found that only 35 out of a total of 1047 verbs, 3.3%, were common to all eight lists surveyed, and by the half-way stage (4/8 lists) this figure had only reached 270, 25.9%. This indicates the inadequacy of some of the sources used, and also provides a reason to conduct this comparison on the entire linguistic content of these vocabularies. There is also the possibility of compiling a Students' Dictionary of some 3-5,000 words on the basis of these word frequency studies. With an increasing number of school students of Urdu there is a need for a well-researched dictionary which contains the most useful and necessary words of the language up to GCSE level.

Apart from straightforward word-frequency analysis, the corpus of written compositions might also be the source of useful data on other syntactic features. Two that present interesting possibilities are the cohesive devices and the relative/correlative structures. The former might allow an examination of differing levels of mastery over their use corresponding to the beginner's repetitive use of 'and then' in English and the wide range of lexical items in the repertoire of a more advanced student. The successful use of the latter is an indicator of advanced

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linguistic skills and the variety of these 'sets' of words in Urdu are a prominent feature of the language.

One different field of research is a study of the relationship between Panjabi and Urdu. The research conducted on errors in this work has indicated the influence of Panjabi as the likely cause of many of the grammatical and orthographical errors analysed. Thomas's research indicates that bilingual students improve their L₂ performance if an awareness of the similarities and differences between two closely related languages is inculcated. ⁽³³⁾ The appropriateness of these findings to Panjabi/Urdu and the Panjabi speaking students of Urdu is evident and the obvious stimulus to devising a study into how this may best be put into practice.

7.8 CONCLUSION.

The results of the research into some aspects of Urdu examinations have lent added weight to the argument that Urdu should not be examined as if it were a learnt language. The linguistic, social and cultural environment in which the students of Urdu live is one in which Urdu plays an important role in many different situations. Unlike French, it is not, in the British context, restricted to transactional and holiday communication.

At the level of the GCSE examination itself some of the techniques used to assess the students' linguistic performance can be seen to be at odds with the concepts of authenticity and of discrete-skill testing. These concepts sometimes appear to be in conflict with each other because in most authentic situations more than one linguistic skill is involved. Particular problem areas of the GCSE have also been discussed. In the short term, the most pressing of these is the nature of, and the means of, conducting the oral examination. An alternative format has been suggested, but a major factor in the oral is the expertise of the teacher/examiner. Urdu and other community languages are in great need of a means of producing teachers trained in the

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techniques of language teaching provided for teachers of European languages.

The portion of the research devoted to the linguistic performance of students tended to support the argument that students of Urdu are operating at a different level of competence than their counterparts studying European languages. They are able to use a wide variety of verbs in a broad range of tense and aspect forms. Errors are infrequent and are mainly confined to orthography; those that do occur are rarely those that impede communication and cause ambiguity and therefore fulfill the assessment criteria at the Basic Level of the GCSE. In most cases the standard achieved would also fulfill Higher Level criteria. One feature of note was that the influence of Panjabi on the students' written performance was apparent through an analysis of the different graphemes involved in errors and the relationship between these graphemes and their corresponding phonemes in both Panjabi and Urdu. This is an area where further research would be most valuable.

The earlier sections of this chapter have included a discussion of the desirability of a new form of examination at post 16+ level to develop the practical language skills, including bilingual skills. While this is considered desirable, the current educational debate is centred on the implications of Standard Assessment Tests. Fortunately for Urdu, it is one of the languages piloted by the Graded Assessment for Modern Languages programme. This presents a potentially valuable basis for the proposed SATs and provides teachers with a comprehensive teaching and assessment system which has long been called for.

How far the current developments in education and examinations affect the provision of Urdu teaching is hard to predict. While on the examination front the prospect of authentic and relevant assessment schemes is one to anticipate eagerly, the issues of provision within the confines of the National Curriculum and of achieving foundation subject status cannot be faced with much optimism. This position is exacerbated by the concentration of most Urdu classes in relatively underresourced inner city LEAs and where, under the Locally Managed Schools scheme,

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funding for teachers is becoming the responsibility of individual schools who may see community language provision as an expendable luxury. It is not so for those involved in teaching and learning these languages.

The final point to be made concerns Urdu teachers. It might appear that when teachers have been discussed in this thesis the focus has been upon their shortcomings. The reality is that there are many dedicated and resourceful teachers who have not had the opportunities for language teacher training, nor in many cases the benefits of an in-service training programme. Without either the resources or the expertise, the solution to these difficulties may be hard to implement but these factors are overshadowed by the scarcity of trained teachers from the younger generation of Urdu speakers who have learnt the language in this country. The current conditions of state schools and the depressed status of teachers in general has contributed to this shortage but until, and unless, there is a comprehensive teacher-training programme to provide more trained teachers, there will be few teachers or students to take advantage of the positive developments which are taking place in Community Language examinations.

TABLE 7.1.
SUGGESTED STRUCTURES FOR BASIC AND HIGHER LEVEL GCSE.

URDU GRAMMAR AND STRUCTURE LIST.

The following Table makes suggestions for structures to be included in the Basic and Higher Levels of the GCSE Examination. It will be seen that most of the necessary grammatical and structural features of Urdu are included at the Basic Level. Structures which apply to Higher Level include all those listed under 'Basic' plus the additional items listed in the 'Higher' column. Although the entries in this column are few in number candidates are expected to use those structures marked with an (R) in the Basic column, unless they are also marked (R) in the 'Higher' column. (R) indicates that a receptive knowledge only is required.

BASIC LEVEL.

HIGHER LEVEL.

1. ADJECTIVES.

Regular adjectives ending in -ā
Agreement for case, number and gender.
Regular adjectives not ending in -ā

2. ADVERBS.

Common adverbs of time, place and manner,
e.g., *ab, yahāñ, xušī se, etc.*
Many adverbs are expressed as adverbial phrases
with a noun and a postposition.

Limited range of
Arabic adverbial
forms, e.g.
fauran, yaqīnan (R)
Emphatic forms:
e.g. *yahīñ,*

3. AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION.

jī hāñ, jī nahīñ, nahīñ, nā.
koī nahīñ, kabhī nahīñ, kuč nahīñ.

4. COMPARISON.

Comparative: e.g. - *se baṛā*
Irregular formation: *bahtar* (R)
Superlative: e.g. - *sab se baṛā*
ziādā

Irregular
formation:
bahtarīn.

5. CONJUNCTIONS.

(a) Co-ordinating: *aur, yā, phir* etc.
(b) Negating: *lekin, magar*
(c) Subordinating: *agar, kyonki, ki, is liye*

6. DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

yah, vuh,
yahī, vuhī

Emphatic forms;

TABLE 7.1.
(Continued.)

BASIC	HIGHER.
<p>Inflected forms: <i>is, us, in, un.</i> Contracted inflected forms: <i>ise, use, inheñ, unheñ</i></p>	
<p>7. INDEFINITES. e.g. <i>kučh, kaī, kam, bahut se,</i></p>	
<p>8. INTERROGATIVES. Word order. <i>kyā, kyoñ, kahāñ, kab, kaise, kis liye, kitnā</i></p>	
<p>9. NOUNS. Gender, singular, plural. e.g. <i>laṛkā- laṛke, laṛkī- laṛkīāñ</i> <i>bhāī, bahyn- bahyneñ.</i> Inflected forms after postpositions: e.g. <i>laṛkā-laṛke ko, laṛkīāñ- laṛkīoñ ko</i> Irregular form: <i>vāḷiden.</i> (R)</p>	<p>Understanding of certain Arabic plurals, e.g. <i>xaiyālāt, asātizā</i> (R)</p>
<p>10. NUMBERS, QUANTITY, TIME. (a) Numbers: Cardinal: up to and including <i>hazār</i> <i>ādhā, ḡeṛh, ḡhāī, paune, paun, savā</i> Ordinal: <i>pahlā, dūsarā, tīsrā.</i> Agreement.</p>	<p>Up to and including <i>lākh, kṛoṛ</i> Up to and including <i>dasvāñ</i></p>
<p>(b) Quantity: General: <i>kučh, kaī, kam, bahut, thoṛā sā, aur,</i> Specific: <i>pauñḡ, kīlo, fuṭ, gaz, mīl, etc.</i> Nouns expressing quantity, e.g. <i>ek darjan</i></p>	
<p>(c) Dates and Time: Days of the week, dates, times. <i>mīnaṭ, ghanṭā, dīn, rāt, roz, subh, dopahr, šām</i> <i>haftā, mahīnā, sāl.</i> <i>paun bajā, savā bajā, ḡeṛh bajā, paune do baje,</i> <i>savā do baje, ḡhāī baje, etc.</i> <i>āj, kal, parsoñ, kab, kitne baje.</i></p>	<p>Years, e.g. <i>unnīs sau ikānve</i></p>
<p>11. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Direct forms: <i>maiñ, ham, tum, āp, yah, vuh.</i> Inflected forms: <i>mujh ko, is ko, us ko, in ko, un ko.</i> Contracted forms: <i>mujhe, hameñ, ise, use, inheñ, unheñ.</i> Special forms used with <i>ne</i>: <i>inhoñ ne, unhoñ ne</i> Reflexive pronoun: <i>apnā</i> (R)?</p>	
<p>12. POSSESSION. Possessive adjectives and pronouns: Agreement where appropriate. <i>merā, hamārā, tumhārā, āp kā, is kā, us kā,</i> <i>in kā, un kā</i></p>	

TABLE 7.1.
(Continued.)

BASIC	HIGHER.
Possession expressed with <i>kā, kī, ke</i> Inflection of preceding word.	
13. POSTPOSITIONS.	
<i>ko, se, par, tak, meñ,</i> <i>ke liye, ke sāth, ke nīche, ke ūpar, ke āge, ke pīche,</i> <i>se pahle, ke b'ād,</i>	
14. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.	
<i>jo, jis ko, jis kā, jin ko, jin kā</i> Contracted forms: <i>jise, jinheñ</i> Special form with <i>ne</i> ; <i>jinhoñ ne(R)</i>	Correlatives. <i>itnā...jitnā</i> <i>aisā...jaisā</i>
15. VERBS.	
(a) Active Voice.	Passive voice
First, second and third persons singular, First, second and third persons plural,	
Agreement of verb with number and gender of subject. Agreement of verb with number and gender of object with verbs taking <i>ne</i> in tenses formed from perfect participle. Non-agreement of verb with object if expressed with <i>ko</i>	
Irregular verbs e. g. <i>honā</i> Verbs with irregular past participle forms e. g. <i>karnā/kīyā, denā/dīyā, lenā/liyā, jānā/gayā,</i>	
Use of Auxiliary verbs <i>honā, rahnā</i>	
Compound verb forms: e. g. <i>kar denā, pakṛ lenā (R)</i>	
Modal auxiliary verbs. <i>saknā, čuknā, lagnā</i>	<i>denā</i>
(b) Indicative mood.	
TENSES.	TENSES.
Habitual Present; <i>pītā hai, uḡhtā hai</i> Progressive Present; <i>pī rahā hai, uḡh rahā hai</i> Future; <i>pīegā, uḡhegā</i> Progressive Past; <i>pī rahā thā, uḡh rahā thā</i> Habitual Past; <i>pītā thā, uḡhtā thā</i>	Future Perfect; <i>ne piyā hogā,</i> <i>uḡhā hogā</i> Frequentative forms; e. g. <i>pītā rahtā hai (R)</i> <i>piyā kartā hai (R)</i>
Simple Past; <i>ne piyā, uḡhā</i> Perfect; <i>ne piyā hai, uḡhā hai</i> Pluperfect; <i>ne piyā thā, uḡhā thā</i>	
(c) Subjunctive mood.	
TENSES.	
Present subjunctive; <i>pīe, uḡhe</i>	Past subjunctive; <i>pītā, uḡhtā</i>

TABLE 7.1.
(Continued.)

BASIC	HIGHER.
(d) Imperative mood. Informal: <i>pīo, uṭho</i> Formal: <i>pījiye, uṭhiye</i>	Extra formal; <i>pījiyegā</i> (R) <i>uṭhiyegā</i> (R)
(e) Non finite forms. Infinitive and verbal noun: <i>pīnā, uṭhnā</i> Present Participle: <i>pītā (hūā), uṭhtā (hūā)</i> (R) e.g. <i>maiñ ne use pīte hūe dekhā</i> (R) Past Participle: <i>pīyā (hūā), uṭhā (hūā)</i> (R) Except for special use of <i>baiṭhā, pahynnā</i> only. e.g. <i>maiñ kursī par baiṭhā kām kar rahā thā</i>	
(f) Special constructions. Expressing wants with <i>čāhiye</i> e.g. <i>mujhe dūdh čāhiye</i>	
Expressing obligation with infinitive + <i>čāhiye</i> e.g. <i>mujhe paṛhnā čāhiye</i>	
Expressing obligation with infinitive + <i>honā, paṛnā</i> e.g. <i>mujhe jānā hai, mujhe baiṭhnā paṛā</i>	
Impersonal constructions. e.g. <i>mujhe bhūk lagī, āp ko m'alūm hai.</i>	

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