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ABSTRACT

Three hundred and forty-two students of English, engineering, and commerce in India were surveyed to obtain data on five major topics: (1) their English language background, (2) their present and planned future use of English, (3) their reasons for studying English, (4) the English skills they desired, and (5) their attitudes toward English. All groups, especially the English majors, had been encouraged by parents to study English. While all expressed a desire to have speaking as their best skill, they reported reading to be currently higher than other skills. English majors reported the highest current frequency of English use; the other two groups reported a higher increase in expected future use. The two most common reasons for studying English were for use in future work and out of compliance with the system. All expressed a desire to be able to speak with native English speakers. Integration, however, was low on the list of motivation. All said they would try to learn English if it were not taught in the schools. English majors felt the British standard of English should be the one learned, while the other students preferred the variety of English unique to India. Finally, all said the variety unique to India was the English spoken by educated people of India. (PJM)

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English and the Indian Student

Willard D. Shaw

The following report details the results of a survey undertaken among college students in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, with the assistance of the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages and the Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Centre. The survey was also concluded in Bangkok, Thailand and the Republic of Singapore. (Shaw, 1979). The instrument used was an English language questionnaire. The collected data dealt with five major topics: (1) the English language backgrounds of the respondents; (2) the pattern of their present and future use of English; (3) their reasons for studying English; (4) the English skills they desired; and (5) their general attitude towards English.

The Respondents

The respondents were 342 final year bachelor degree students attending six colleges in Hyderabad. In order to obtain a diversity of views, the subjects were selected from three departments; (1) English (75); (2) Engineering (162); and (3) Commerce (105). Seventy-three percent of the English majors, 34% of the commerce majors, and 0.6% of the engineering majors were women. Over 90% of the English majors had attended English medium high schools as compared to 72% in the commerce group and 53% of the engineers. There were also other striking differences. Sixty-three percent of the English majors said that English had been used at home when they were children. Only 35% in commerce and 29% in engineering reported so. The English majors estimated that English had been used at home 30% of the time. The commerce students thought it had been used 12% of the time while the average for the engineers was less than 7%.

A majority in every field felt that their parents had encouraged them to study English. The figures were 80% for the English majors, 74% for the commerce people, and 63% for the engineers. This was similar to the distribution of people who named English as the language they now knew best: English majors - 68%; commerce majors - 52%; and engineering majors - 33%. An additional 13% of the English majors thought that they

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were bilingual in English and another language. Around 4% of the other two groups felt that way also.

The English majors ranked the highest in all of these measures of English language background. They were more likely to have been to an English medium school, to have had English used at home, to have received encouragement for the study of English from their parents, and to regard English as the language they now knew the best. The commerce majors ranked second in each of these categories while the engineers were clearly last in all areas.

In order to gain an idea of how the students viewed their own English language abilities, they were asked to rank the four skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in terms of their personal proficiency. The final rankings are given in Table I.

Table I: The Ranking of the Four Skills According to Personal Proficiency:

<i>Major</i>	<i>Best</i>	<i>Second Best</i>	<i>Third Best</i>	<i>Worst</i>
English	Reading	Listening	Speaking	Writing
Engineering	Reading	Listening	Writing	Speaking
Commerce	Reading	Listening	Writing	Speaking

Nearly 70% of every group rated reading as their best skill while only about 50% of each group picked listening. The only difference in the ranking of the skills occurred among the English majors who placed their speaking ability above their writing ability although a plurality named both speaking (44%) and writing (52%) as their worst skills. Among the engineers and commerce students speaking was clearly their weakest skill. Seventy percent of the engineers and 51% of the commerce people picked it as their worst skill. It must be remembered that these rankings are not necessarily accurate measurements of the students' abilities. However, they do reflect their confidence in those abilities.

Following this self-evaluation, the students were asked to choose the one skill that they would want to be their best. A majority in each group named speaking as that skill. Table II shows the main responses.

Table II: The Skill I Want to Be My Best

	<i>%English</i>	<i>%Engineering</i>	<i>%Commerce</i>
Speaking	52.9*	69.1	66.3
Writing	19.1*	15.4	16.8
Reading	8.8	7.4	7.9
Listening	2.9	3.4	3.0

*an additional 10.3% gave both speaking and writing as their choice.

The results to these two questions raise some interesting points. On the one hand, the students are saying that their receptive skills of reading and listening are generally much better than their active skills of writing and speaking. Almost 59% of the total group thought that speaking was their worst skill. On the other hand, 63% of the entire group designated speaking as the skill they wanted to be their best. Perhaps the students were emphasizing their desire for high proficiency in speaking and writing based on the fact that most of them already felt fairly comfortable with their abilities in listening and reading. It may simply be a case of wanting something they didn't have. However, it could also mean that they felt that the educational system was not giving them the skills that they desired. Whether or not those desires should be legitimate goals of the system is another question, but the figures may indicate a possible point of conflict between learners and educators.

This situation is somewhat clarified by the answers given to a question regarding the division of English class time among the four skills. Given the choice, the students in the three disciplines thought that they would divide that class time in the following manner:

Table III : Percentage of English Class Time Allotted To Each Skill

	<i>English</i>	<i>Engineering</i>	<i>Commerce</i>
Reading	31.0	28.5	27.9
Writing	25.0	23.0	22.3
Speaking	25.0	26.7	29.5
Listening	19.0	21.8	20.3

It is obvious from the results shown in Table III that the students are not advocating a radical bias towards developing speaking ability in the classroom at the expense of the other skills. The distribution of time is fairly even. The heaviest emphasis is placed on reading by the English and engineering people while the commerce students favour slightly more time spent on speaking. Since the survey was not meant to be evaluative, no data were collected on the actual distribution of class time in the classes attended by the students. Therefore there is no way of comparing the students' opinions with the realities of their classrooms. However, it seems that they may feel that the schools have not given them enough preparation in the active skills of speaking and writing.

Present Use of English

Presented with a list of categories of people, the respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they spoke English with those people during an average span of two months. Table IV contains the results to this question.

Table IV : Frequency of Use of Spoken English

	English	Engineering	Commerce	
Countrymen :				
English teachers	1.1	1.5	1.7	1-Many times daily
Fellow students	1.2	1.9	1.6	2-At least once/day
Friends	1.2	2.1	1.4	3-At least once/week
Other teachers	1.4	1.7	1.8	4-Very rarely
Family members	2.1	3.6	3.0	5-Never
Govt. officials	2.3	2.8	2.8	
Fellow countrymen*	2.3	3.0	2.5	
Businessmen	2.7	3.5	3.4	
Average	1.8	2.5	2.3	
Foreigners :				
Native speakers	2.7	3.5	3.5	
Non-native speakers**	2.9	3.5	3.6	
Average	2.8	3.5	3.5	

*Fellow countrymen whose language you don't know.

**Other foreigners who speak English.

In every case the English majors reported a higher frequency of use. This could be due to a greater confidence in their ability leading to a greater propensity to use the language. As we saw earlier, most of the English majors had heard English at home when they were children, had gone to English medium high schools, and presently thought that English was the language they knew best.

As could be expected, the main centre for the speaking of English at present is the college environment. All of these groups speak English primarily with students, teachers, and friends - many of whom, presumably, are also students. Because of the phrasing of the question it is impossible to say if the low frequency of use with some of the other fellow countrymen is due to the use of some other language or merely to a lack of contact with those people.

Future Use of English

To see how the pattern of the use of English might change once the students were graduated and working, they were given a similar list of categories and asked to make an estimate of their future use of English. Table V details these results.

Table V : Frequency of Use of Spoken English in the Future

	English	Engineering	Commerce	
Countrymen :				
Friends	1.1	1.6	1.5	1- Many times
Supervisors	1.3	1.3	1.5	daily
Teachers	1.3	1.6	1.9	2- At least
Fellow workers	1.4	1.5	1.7	once/day
Govt. officials	1.7	1.5	1.9	3- At least
Businessmen	2.1	2.4	2.4	once/week
Family members	2.1	3.3	2.8	4- Very rarely
Fellow countrymen*	2.3	2.4	2.2	5- never
Average	1.7	1.9	2.0	
Foreigners :				
Native speakers	2.2	2.5	2.7	
Non-native speakers**	2.6	2.9	2.9	
Average	2.4	2.7	2.8	

*Fellow countrymen whose language you don't know.

**Other foreigners who speak English.

Both the engineers and the commerce majors estimated that their future use of English would increase in every instance with the engineers reporting the greatest overall increase in use. While not foreseeing an increase in the frequency of use with every group, the English majors still reported the highest average amount of use. However, while the English majors led significantly in all categories for their present use of English, the differences between groups were much less in their estimations of their future use. The engineers even reported the highest future use of English with government officials and the commerce students projected the highest rate for use with fellow countrymen who had a different first language. This could be a reflection of the types of careers these people were considering. Engineers would probably have a great deal of contact with government personnel while those in the field of commerce and business would probably meet people from different language groups in the course of their work. All three groups felt that there would be an increase in their use of English with people from other countries. The English majors continued to report a much higher frequency of use within the family.

Much of the foreseen increase in the use of English may indicate a greater frequency of contact rather than a switch from one language to

another. This seems especially likely to explain the great increases in usage with government officials, businessmen, and foreigners. The increases foreseen with family and friends are much less. It can be assumed, that in these cases the frequency of contact will remain about the same and that any increase in use will be directly related to the students' own preference for English.

Reasons for Studying English

Given a list of twenty-five possible reasons for studying English, the three groups were asked to indicate the extent to which those reasons were representative of their own feelings. All three groups were unanimous in their choices for the two most common reasons. Those reasons and the percentages of respondents picking or rejecting them as personal reasons for the study of English are given below.

- a. I studied English because I will need it for my work.
 English : 93/4 Engineering : 95/3 Commerce : 94/4
- b. I studied English primarily because it is required in our system.
 English : 85/10 Engineering : 78/16 Commerce : 79/10

Of the ten reasons listed by each group as best reflecting their own feelings, seven were the same for each group although they received varying amounts of support. The rest of those reasons are listed below using the same format as above.

- c. I studied English so I could talk to people in my own country whose language is unknown to me.
 English : 82/12 Engineering : 78/18 Commerce : 83/11
- d. I studied English so I could talk to native speakers of English for business/educational reasons.
 English : 76/14 Engineering : 73/17 Commerce : 73/14
- e. I studied English because I believe that a knowledge of another language will make me a better person.
 English : 69/8 Engineering : 72/19 Commerce : 71/15
- f. I studied English so that I could get a good job in my country.
 English : 67/23 Engineering : 61/29 Commerce : 70/18
- g. I studied English so that I could talk to other foreigners for business/educational reasons.
 English : 62/20 Engineering : 71/19 Commerce : 62/25

Other reasons received positive ratings by all groups although every group did not rank them in its top ten. For instance, over 64% of each group felt that the receipt of social recognition was one of their reasons for studying English. Talking to native speakers of English about general things as opposed to business/educational matters was a valid reason for the commerce majors (65/17) and engineers (55/32) but received its greatest support from the English majors (72/17). Similarly, the English majors (81/16) gave significantly more support to the reading of English literature for pleasure than did either the commerce (55/30) or engineering (53/39) students. However, the engineers (64/21) rated talking to other foreigners about general things higher than the English (58/24) or commerce (57/6) majors did. They may or may not have discerned the distinction made between "native speakers" and "other foreigners."

Stronger differences appeared between the engineers and the other two groups. Many engineers (65/24) reported that they learned English so that they would be able to study in a foreign country. A majority of the commerce (23/55) and English (33/52) majors rejected this as one of their reasons. Half of the engineers (51/37) studied English so that they could get a job in a foreign country. Half of the English (36/50) and commerce (23/58) students did not think that this reason reflected their own attitude. Fifty-two percent of the engineers (52/28) studied English because they thought they might have to travel to foreign countries for work purposes. The number of English (28/43) and commerce (28/49) students citing this as a personal reason was much less. On the other hand, many English (66/19) and commerce (60/31) people said they studied English because they enjoyed studying languages while the engineers (45/47) were much less likely to identify that as one of their reasons.

There was general agreement on many of the reasons that were not applicable. Among those that were rejected by a plurality in each group were the following :

- a. I studied English because it will help me to think and behave as English speakers do.
 English : 24/65 Engineering : 28/60 Commerce : 35/52
- b. I studied English because I like the people who are native speakers of English.
 English : 32/53 Engineering : 30/57 Commerce : 28/55
- c. I studied English because I like the countries in which English is spoken.
 English : 31/49 Engineering : 32/53 Commerce : 35/52

- d. I studied English because I plan to travel to an English speaking country for pleasure.

English : 38/45 Engineering : 30/47 Commerce : 25/54

Most of these reasons are those which are usually mentioned as indicators of an integrative type of motivation stemming from a desire to join or be like a group of native speakers. While an average of 58% of the students in each group felt that studying English would help them "to better understand English speakers and their way of life," it doesn't seem that these students are particularly interested in changing themselves so that they are more like native speakers. Given the intranational status of English in India, it is probably more likely that these students would see English ability as giving them entry into an English speaking Indian peer group rather than a native speaker group.

In looking at the types of reasons receiving the greatest amount of support from the students, it appears that English is mainly studied for instrumental purposes. It is studied because of the necessities of the system and career goals, in order to get a good job and some social recognition, and to talk to native and non-native speakers of English about business and educational matters. All groups recognize its importance as a link language in India.

English Language Skills

Given a list of fifteen language skills, the respondents were asked to rate their importance on a five-point scale from "extremely important" to "extremely unimportant". All of the skills listed received a positive rating from every group. Among the five top-ranked skills for each group, four were the same. They are listed below along with the percentages of students who thought those skills were important or unimportant. The percentages for the neutral answer are not given.

- a. Being able to read textbooks, reports, articles, etc., in English.
English : 96/1 Engineering : 97/0.6 Commerce : 92/3
- b. Being able to write papers, reports, and business letters in English.
English : 87/0 Engineering : 91/3 Commerce : 88/2
- c. Being able to talk with native speakers of English in work situations.
English : 80/0 Engineering : 86/6 Commerce : 80/7
- d. Being able to read foreign newspapers, magazines, etc., in English for pleasure.
English : 81/3 Engineering : 74/6 Commerce : 84/6

It is interesting to note here that the skills felt to be the most important ones involve reading, writing, and speaking. While all groups earlier expressed a desire to have speaking as their best skill, they all recognize the importance of developing competence in all four skills as they showed when allocating English class time in Table III.

Several interesting differences also appeared in the attitudes of the three groups. While 89% of the English majors thought that reading English literature for pleasure was important, only 69% of the commerce students and 56% of the engineers felt so. The ability to write stories and articles was also more highly valued by English majors (77/46) than by commerce (64/14) or engineering majors (56/14). The engineers (78/8) placed much more importance on the ability to write personal letters to foreigners than did the English (67/6) or commerce (66/15) majors.

In measuring the importance of these skills, the students generally gave stronger support to the utilitarian skills. All three groups reported that the use of English with native speakers, non-native speakers from other countries, and fellow countrymen in work situations was more important to them than in social situations. However, the application of English language skills was not limited to work situations. Each of the groups appears to gain enjoyment through the use of English in letter writing and the reading of English literature, magazines, and newspapers.

Attitudes towards English

Given India's colonial legacy, it could be expected that these students would show mixed feelings towards their former colonial language. On the other hand, these students were born and raised in free India where British imperialism was a historical fact and not a living reality. To discover more about their personal feelings towards the English language, the respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with a number of statements representative of certain attitudes towards English.

- a. If English were NOT taught in our schools, I would NOT try to learn it.

	% Agree	% Disagree	% Neutral
English	13	67	20
Engineering	26	60	14
Commerce	24	54	22

- b. I don't really like English, but I speak it because it is useful.

	% Agree	% Disagree	% Neutral
English	7	80	13
Engineering	24	62	14
Commerce	15	70	15

- c. Of all the foreign languages I could study, I like English the best.

	% Agree	% Disagree	% Neutral
English	79	3	18
Engineering	73	10	17
Commerce	72	11	17

The responses to these statements illustrate a number of points. Although the status of English as a compulsory subject was often cited as a major reason for studying it, a majority of students in each field felt that they would try to learn English even if it were not a required subject. This expressed desire to learn English is not solely because of its utilitarian value. A large majority in each group is unwilling to say that they are learning English only for its usefulness. It appears that most of them have a very positive attitude towards the language. This certainly indicates that they do not view English as a burden of colonialism that they would prefer to avoid. Neither does it seem that they look at it simply as a linguistic code valuable only for its utility. This positive orientation towards English is undoubtedly the result of the interaction of social, economic, and personal factors that vary with each individual. It is apparent that there has been a "decolonization" of the English language in India. It remains to be seen if this positive orientation is due to the processes of indigenization or internationalization. Is English looked upon more favourably today because it is now regarded as a bona fide language of India or because of its status as a world language or both?

Given their responses to other statements it is apparent that a portion of this positive attitude may be related to a sanguine view of the future of English as a world language. Although a majority in each group felt that English became important because of the economic and social power of the United States and Great Britain, much larger majorities felt that English would continue to be important even if those countries lost that power. Seventy-six percent of the engineers, 75% of the English majors, and 69% of the commerce students believed that English would continue to be a world language even if its two largest native-speaking populations lost much of their worldwide influence. Perhaps they feel that the position of English in India and other countries is strong enough to make English continue as a

world language even after the collapse of the supports that made it so widespread initially.

The place of English among this segment of India's population at least does not show signs of declining. Overwhelming majorities in the English (93/0), engineering (89/4), and commerce (87/2) groups indicated that they would try to make sure that their children learned English well. While this attitude greatly reflects the status of English in India today, it may also be due to the highly optimistic view most of these students hold towards the future of English in the world. This view is summarized by the responses to the following statement: "In the distant future, most people in the world will know English".

	% Agree	% Disagree	% Neutral
English	76	3	21
Engineering	69	9	22
Commerce	69	12	19

These students evidently foresee a great increase in the number of speakers of English and the establishment of English as the premier world language. Such an increase has to come among non-native speakers of English. If this spread of English is to be achieved, however, a number of difficult questions will have to be answered by each country seeking to expand its aggregate competence in English. One of the most important will revolve around the variety of English that is to be taught.

To get an understanding of how these students viewed the present English language situation in India vis-a-vis varieties in use, they were given a list of five varieties and asked to choose the one that was generally spoken by educated people. The five choices were: (1) British English; (2) American English; (3) Australian English; (4) unique to my country; and (5) like educated non-native speakers from other countries. The percentages of students choosing each variety are presented in Table VI.

Table VI : The Variety of English Presently Spoken by Educated Speakers in my Country

Varieties	% English	% Engineering	% Commerce
British	28.0	24.7	31.1
American	1.3	6.2	0.0
Australian	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unique	40.0	53.7	53.4
Other	30.7	15.4	15.5

Most of the students seemed to feel that a form of English unique to India was spoken by educated people. A quarter of each group thought that British English was the variety used by most educated speakers. A substantial percentage of the English majors felt that educated Indians spoke English like non-native speakers from other countries. The responses to this question were very similar to those reported by Kachru (1976). Twenty-nine percent of his respondents (graduate students in English) chose British English, 3% chose American English, and 56% picked Indian English when asked to describe the variety of English they themselves used.

The high percentage received by a unique form of English indicates that these college students are well aware of the existence of something called Indian English. There was extensive agreement among the students in English (88/8), engineering (78/12), and commerce (82/11) with the statement that "in this country we have our own variety of English which is different from American, British, and Australian English." Despite this difference, however, a large majority of the English (69/4), engineering (72/8), and commerce (75/4) majors felt that "the variety of English spoken in this country can be easily understood by foreigners."

With opinion divided over the variety of English commonly used by educated speakers at present, it is not surprising that there was also disagreement over which variety should serve as the model for schools and society. Sixty-four percent of the engineers and commerce students believed that an educated form of local English should be taught in their schools with only 21% and 16% opposed to that idea. The English majors (45/34) were much more divided on this. A plurality of them (40/27) were in favour of teaching a native variety, but the engineers (39/35) and commerce (38/33) students were much less supportive of this idea. To clarify the stand of the respondents a little more, they were asked to choose one of the previously mentioned five varieties of English as the model that "we should learn to speak." The results are enumerated in Table VII.

Table VII : The Variety We Should Learn to Speak

Variety	% English	% Engineering	% Commerce
British	54.0	17.2	27.9
American	4.1	21.0	3.8
Australian	1.4	0.0	0.0
Our own way	31.0	48.8	56.7
Other*	9.5	13.0	11.6

* like educated non-native speakers from other countries.

If we compare these statistics with those in Table VI, we see some significant differences. The English majors would like to see a change in the status quo towards the promotion of the British model. It appears that a majority of them still feel that a native variety is superior to local ones. This was also the case with the graduate students in English surveyed by Kachru in 1974 (Kachru, 1976). When asked to rank three varieties of English in order of preference, 68% ranked British English as their preferred model. Five per cent chose American English and 23% named Indian English. Although there are a number of factors which could explain the minor differences between Kachru's figures and these present ones, these differences do serve to illustrate one trend in attitudes towards English. There seems to be a growing acceptance of local standards as opposed to native models. English is increasingly becoming a world language belonging to all who use it. The emphasis on the native speaker as the final arbiter of correctness is declining. The support for local varieties as instructional models is increasing. This may be happening in India.

Among the engineers there was a strong minority advocating an American variety. This may have something to do with a view of the United States as a leader in engineering and other forms of technology. The commerce students seem to be more satisfied with the status quo. There were only minor differences between the way in which they saw the present situation and the type of English situation they would like to see in the future.

An interesting point to note is that the engineering and commerce students are much more in favour of a non-native standard (either a local or a vague international one) than a native-speaker model. The English majors, on the other hand, are more in favour of a native-speaker standard, particularly a British one. Given the fact that many of the English majors will enter the teaching profession, there is the possibility that there may be a clash between their standards and the standards of many of the parents and students. The realities of the classroom will undoubtedly modify their opinions, but at this pre-career stage many apparently hold a much different opinion regarding the model for English teaching than their counterparts in other fields.

In addition, there is an even greater difference of opinion over the role of culture in language teaching. Sixty percent of the engineers and 48% of the commerce students agreed that "we should learn English without paying attention to the cultures of the English speaking countries." Only 22% and 31% respectively reported disagreement with that feeling. Forty-seven percent of the English majors, however, expressed disagreement while only 35% of them agreed. Once again it is obvious that the English majors

regard English as being more closely intertwined with the native speaking cultures than do their peers in other fields. One can speculate that this represents a more traditional view of the English language. During the colonial era English was inseparable from the culture that spawned it. It was viewed totally as the language of a nation-state. In the post-colonial era, however, with the rapid decline of the British Empire, the increased influence of the United States, and the tremendous advances in global communication, international travel, and cross-national contacts, English came to fill much of the need for a worldwide lingua franca. Along with this internationalization of English there was also a trend towards the indigenization of the language. Former colonies like India came to terms with the pervasive presence of English in many sectors of their society. As its association with imperialism declined, people recognized the usefulness of English for intranational as well as international communication and gradually began to view it less as a foreign language and more as a local or second language. The proof of this trend in India lies with the rankings given to four groups of people with whom the students might use English. The respondents were asked to rank these groups in order of importance from one to four. Table VIII details these results.

Table VIII: Ranking of Target Groups for the Use of English

	It is important for me to speak English so that I can talk to :		
	<i>English</i>	<i>Engineering</i>	<i>Commerce</i>
a. my fellow countrymen in specific social or business situations	1.7	1.8	1.7
b. fellow countrymen who do not know my first language	1.9	1.9	1.8
c. native English speakers	2.8	2.5	2.9
d. non-native English speakers from other countries	3.6	3.5	3.5

All groups felt that it was most important for them to know English so that they could talk with their fellow countrymen. The next most important group was native speakers while the less identifiable group of non-native speakers from other countries was ranked fourth by the students in all three disciplines. Given the language situation in India, the students appear to be saying that the use of English for intranational communication is more important than for international communication. Certainly for most of these students the intranational need is much more real and immediate than

the international need. Almost all recognize that they will be using it with their own compatriots. Its value in the international sphere will depend upon the future of individuals and the amount of interaction they will have with foreign nationals:

Postscript

It is always somewhat dangerous and a little presumptuous for an "outsider" to undertake the task of measuring, analyzing, and explaining the attitudes of a group of people to which he does not belong. However, I do feel that the sample taken was a solid one and that the information presented in this paper is an accurate portrayal of the attitudes of those participating groups in Hyderabad. Given the great diversity of India it is impossible to predict the extent to which these results can be generalized to cover other parts of the country. Although there may be some errors in the data or in its interpretation, I do hope that this report will serve to generate some discussion among those in English language education as to how student attitudes may properly be examined and then taken into account during the planning of English language programmes. This study will have been a success if it has stimulated others into making similar and, hopefully, better studies. The students in Hyderabad proffered their help with the understanding that they would be heard. I hope that I have done my duty well in interpreting those voices and making them clear and strong.

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