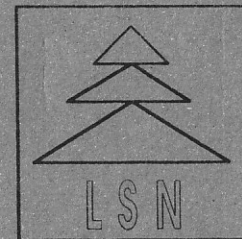


NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 13

NOVEMBER 1996



Linguistic Society of Nepal
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

For membership enquires and copies of the
Nepalese Linguistics write to:
President or Secretary, Linguistic Society of Nepal
Central Department of English,
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur
NEPAL

For the last 35 years the Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University has been running language courses in Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Russian and Spanish exclusively for Nepali students and Nepali, Sanskrit and Tibetan for international students.

At present over 500 native and international students are enrolled at the Campus.

The following language courses are specially designed for international students:

Nepali	2 year course	(4- semesters)
Sanskrit	2 year course	(4- semesters)
Tibetan	2 year course	(4- semesters)

Apply before March 1, 1997 to :

The Campus Chief

Campus of International Languages

Tribhuvan University

Exhibition Road

Kathmandu, Nepal

Tel: 226713

Application forms are available at the Campus.

Typesetting and Printed at:

Naveen Press

Dugambahil, New Road, Kathmandu, Ph. 223359, 220427

NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 13

NOVEMBER 1996

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Mr. Simon Gautam

Dr. Balaram Aryal

Mr. Amma Raj Joshi

Contents

Articles	Page
Language Planning and Modernization in Nepal - <i>Tej R. Kansakar</i>	1
Language Problem in South Asia: A Study in Historical Perspective - <i>Krishna Chandra Mishra</i>	14
The Apprenticeship Approach to Writing Instruction - <i>Moti Nissani</i>	26
Reading College Textbooks Written in English: Case Studies in Nepal - <i>David L. Red</i>	55
The Mirrored Self — Reading The Reader's Response - <i>Wayne Amtzis</i>	73
LSN Newsletter 1995-96	85

Language Planning and Modernization in Nepal

Tej R. Kansakar *

1. Introduction

Several Nepalese scholars have contributed papers and research materials on Sociolinguistics and Language Planning in Nepal. These include Subba et al (1994-77), Malla (1989), S.K. Yadav (1990), Toba (1992), and the 1993 Seminar papers by Bandhu, Pokharel and Y. Yadava on Language Policy, Language Planning and Language Development in Nepal. Kansakar (1994) is a brief overview of the topic, also in the Nepalese context. The present paper is basically a plea for conscious language planning in Nepal as an important factor in the country's modernization and development. Nepal as a developing country does not yet have a clearly defined language policy nor has the Government implemented any consistent program of language planning in the country. The need for a national language policy is all the greater in view of Nepal's complex linguistic and cultural diversity. The Census Report 1991 tabulates statistics for 60 different ethnic groups or castes and a distribution of over 70 languages spoken within the country's present day political boundaries. There are at least four distinct language families/genetic stocks to which these languages are associated, namely Tibeto-Burman (56 languages), Indo-Aryan (14 languages), Austro-Asiatic/Munda (1) and Dravidian (1) together with one controversial language isolate Kusunda. Despite the genetic affiliation of these languages, the channels of communication between or among groups of speakers are not ideal due to natural and social barriers of caste/professions. Nepali, the national language which claims 58.4% speakers is the dominant language in the country and is widely used for official purposes, education, law, commerce and mass media. Among the major languages of Nepal, Sanskrit, Nepali, Maithili (11.1%); Tibetan, Newari (3.7%) and one or two Kiranti languages (e.g. Limbu) have a long

* Professor of English, Central Department, TU, Kathmandu.

history of written literature and a variety of linguistic descriptions (grammars, dictionaries and teaching materials). It is against this background that we need to determine what kind of language planning can be appropriate for the country and how it can be carried out for the benefit of the under-privileged and economically backward minority language communities in particular.

2. Language Planning and Methodology

Language planning seeks to develop the uses of the country's national languages for purposes of education, management and technology. Ideally, language planning at the national or local levels needs to be based on a consistent language policy, the codification or description of these languages through standardization and modernization, or graphization in case of unwritten languages. In Nepal the process of implementing a language plan requires careful analyses of the official language policy on the languages of the country, the role of the mother-tongue in education, and the effective social functions of various languages. The task of language planning in Nepal is a challenging one and would require a great deal of information of the structure and the functional roles that can be assigned to each language. Although language planning is an activity undertaken by the government, it has very often been the case that government-authorized agencies or other competent bodies such as research centres on bringing about the most desirable changes in the language behaviour of a group of people. Cooper (1989) and others before him have mentioned three areas of language planning, namely **corpus planning**, **status planning**, and **acquisition planning**. It might be relevant here to examine briefly what they represent and what applications they may have in the Nepalese context.

2.1 Corpus Planning

Corpus Planning is directed towards reform within the language structure. It may be concerned with several linguistic areas such as the creation of a new script, reform in existing spelling, modification or selection of old forms, or choosing alternative forms in a spoken or written code. Such exercises which Haugen (1969:701) refers to as "language cultivation, reform and standardization" are specified by Gorman (1973:73) as "coordinated measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language." Corpus planning in this respect would apply to most languages spoken in Nepal. For example, following the restoration of

democracy in 1990 the new Constitution recognizes all indigenous languages of Nepal as 'national languages' and proposes to introduce them as media of instruction at primary level (i.e. primary education in the mother-tongue). But this is a remote possibility for most minority languages which lack teaching materials, functional script and written literature. The national language Nepali itself lacks a comprehensive and authoritative grammar, and languages with rich literary traditions such as Maithili, Newari and the Kiranti languages still lag behind in standardization. The standardization of the Nepali language has also been a painfully slow process. A few British scholars such as J.A. Ayton in 1820 and Sir Ralph Turner in 1931 began the standardizing process by producing grammar and Dictionaries of Nepali. Some Nepali scholars, notably Virendra Keshari Aryal, Hemraj and Somnath Sharma, Paras Mani Pradhan and a few others working on language, but disputes on points of grammar and usage are quite common. Today the controversy centers on increasing Sanskritization of Nepali vocabulary. The fact that Nepali relies on Sanskrit roots for learned, abstract and technical vocabulary is seen by Malla (1989) to have significantly influenced the cultural process at work in Nepal's contemporary history. The government agencies, the University, the press and publication have all contributed to this process. All these of course imply that corpus planning for the individual languages should be a part of our initial efforts before language planning can be tackled at the national level.

2.2 Status Planning

The object of status planning is to get the national government to recognize the importance or position of one language in relation to others. More specifically, the term also refers to the development of functional uses of languages or language varieties as media of instruction in education, written and spoken social discourse, and as vehicles of mass communication. The use of a language in literacy programs and mass media (such as radio/TV broadcasting or publications) serves to upgrade the status of a language, both socially and politically. The efforts so far made by the recent democratic governments in Nepal to promote the uses of certain regional languages must be seen as steps in the right direction.

There is however a close interdependence between corpus and status planning. The decision to use a minority language such as Magar as a medium of instruction at the primary level would require decisions about the script, an extensive elaboration of Magar vocabulary to provide terms for modern schools subjects like mathematics, science, social studies etc.

Further, there will be questions about what forms of vocabulary or grammar are to be chosen for the preparation of teaching materials or what dialect variety would represent the standard form of the language. All these obviously are corpus planning factors related to status planning. There will be further examples or the relationship between different levels of planning in our subsequent discussions.

2.3 Acquisition Planning

The scope of acquisition planning covers language teaching. Many linguists however are a little reluctant to view language acquisition as a factor in language planning as they wish to distinguish language planning from applied linguistics, of which language teaching is a primary concern. It can however be argued that language planning cannot be distinguished entirely from Applied linguistics. If corpus and status planning change the form and functions of a language, acquisition planning seeks to increase the number of users - speakers, writers, listeners, or readers. When learners and speakers increase, a language also tends to develop new uses, thus extending its communicative functions as they arise in a modern state. "Communication for development" has been the slogan for many developing nations including Nepal but without an integrated approach to language policy and language planning, these goals cannot be fulfilled. Language must be seen not only as a key medium of communication but also as an instrument of social change and human development. Many sociolinguists have in fact argued that language planning is never attempted for its own sake, rather it is carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as national integration, economic progress, mobilizing and development of human resources, political control, upliftment of minority groups, creation of new elites etc. The definition of language as the solution of language problems is therefore misleading because language planning is invariably both a macro and micro-sociological activity and not exclusively linguistic.

2.4 Research Methodology

This would bring us to the question of appropriate methodology in language planning. Research into any form of human behavior is subject to the problems of validity and reliability. How do we obtain reliable and valid information from language planning activities? If our approach is prescriptive, we seek to determine what kinds of activity will give us the results we want within a given time-frame and at a given cost. But if our goal is purely descriptive case studies, we can operate without a sociolinguistic theory or frame of reference. Ideally, scholars of language planning seek to understand its formulation, implementation, and outcome,

as these relate to one another and to its social setting. The research techniques which scholars of language planning employ, such as interviews, questionnaires, rating scales, tests secondary analyses of census data, content analyses, structural analyses of texts, quasi-experiments, and unobtrusive observations, are employed by other social scientists as well. Cooper (1989:42) in fact concludes that "scholars have not developed research techniques peculiar to the study of language planning."

In Nepal, task is obviously a different one. Apart from the 3-part **Studies in Bilingualism** (Subba et.al 1974-77), there has not been any sociolinguistic research in the country. It is not certain at this time whether the comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of Nepal proposed by Hale (1993) will really get off the ground. In 1979 the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) published a monograph entitled **The Use and Misue of Social Science Research in Nepal**. Which was designed to correct the practice of using Western methods without consideration of their appropriateness to the Nepalese context. It was thus felt that development planning in Nepal is often based on superficial and inaccurate social science data. Regarding research on language use in society, we do not yet have a basis for an assessment of this kind. The linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) produced excellent descriptive works on numerous languages of Nepal during their ten-year affiliation to Tribhuvan University in 1966-76. A number of Nepalese and foreign scholars since then have also produced significant works on Nepalese languages including the publication of standard reference grammars, the report on the Linguistic Survey of Eastern Nepal conducted under Prof. W. Winter and A.K. Weidert; and the contributions of George Van Driem's on-going Himalayan languages project of Leiden University. However, there has not been any follow-up research on the sociology of individual languages, and sooner or later we will have to take up studies on literacy, problems of communication and language attitudes between and among various language groups. In Nepal where languages attitudes between and among various language groups. In Nepal languages enter into dominant versus minority relationships, it is important that language issues are not politicized like in India, e.g. Hindi - Urdu or Regional language - English controversy; or Tamil - Sinhalese conflict in Sri Lanka arising mainly from the issue of language use (Pattanayak: 1976:17). Above all, we need to realize that language, politics and planning are intimately connected, and language planning as a study of language use in society is all the more relevant in the face of Nepal's linguistic and ethnic diversity.

3. Minority Languages and Language Planning

A consistent, well-organized language planning is also very urgent in the face of Nepal's many minority languages which are rapidly degenerating and dying out for lack of opportunity to use them. Some foreign observers and local scholars have recognized the Nepalese situation as a crisis in language survival. Apart from a regional survey of the Rai languages in eastern Nepal conducted by the German Research Council (Hanson 1991), there have been very little attempts at the national or regional level to preserve and maintain the endangered languages. Of particular concern are languages like Chepang, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Newari, Majhi, Tharu and a few others which, according to the 1991 Census Report, record an alarming decline in the number of active speakers, as can be seen in the following Table:

National Population Census 1991 - Population by Mother Tongue and by Caste/Ethnic Groups

SN	Mother Tongue		Caste (T)	Difference
1.	Abadhi	374638		
2.	Bengali	27712	7909	19803
3.	Bhojppuri	1379717		
4.	Byanshi	1314		
5.	Chepang	25097	36656	-11559
6.	Danuwar	23721	50754	-27033
7.	Darai	6520	10759	-4239
8.	Dhimal	15014	16781	-1767
9.	English	2784		
10.	Gurung	227918	449189	-221271
11.	Hindi	170997		
12.	Jhangar	15175		
13.	Jirel	4229	4889	-660
14.	Kumhale	254088	297186	-43098
15.	Limbu	254088	297186	-43098

16.	Magar	430264	1339308	-909044
17.	Maithili	2191900		
18.	Majhi	11322	55050	-43728
19.	Marwadi	16514	29173	-12659
20.	Nepali	9302880		
21.	Newari	690007	1041090	-351083
22.	Other Foreign Languages	495862		
23.	Other Local Languages	8309		
24.	Others	9157		
25.	Rai/Kirati	439312	525551	-86239
26.	Rajbansi	85558	82177	3381
27.	Raji	2959	3274	-315
28.	Santhal	8030		
29.	Satar	25302		
30.	Sherpa	121819	110358	11461
31.	Tamang	904456	1018252	-113796
32.	Thakali	7113	13731	-6618
33.	Thami	14400	19103	-4703
34.	Tharu	993388	1194224	-200836
35.	Urdu	202208		
	Total	18491097	6305414	

SN	Caste/Ethnic Groups	
1.	Banja	101868
2.	Bhote	12463
3.	Bote	6718
*4.	Brahman (Hill)	2388455
5.	Brahman (Terai)	162886
6.	Chamar	203919

*7.	Chhetri	2968082
8.	Churoute	1778
*9.	Damai	367989
10.	Dhanuk	136944
*11.	Dhobi	76594
12.	Dhusadh	93242
*13.	Gaine	4484
14.	Gangain	22526
15.	Haluwai	44417
*16.	Kami	963655
17.	Kanu	70634
18.	Kayastha	53545
19.	Kewat	101482
20.	Khatway	66612
21.	Kumal	76635
22.	Kumhar	72008
23.	Kurmi	166718
24.	Kushwha	205797
25.	Lepcha	4826
26.	Mallah	110413
27.	Musahar	141980
28.	Muslim	653055
29.	No Caste (Foreigners)	2951
30.	Not Stated	4858
31.	Others (Hill)	184216

32.	Others (Mountain)	1741
33.	Others (Terai)	627514
34.	Rajhar	33433
35.	Rajput	55712
36.	Raute	2878
37.	Sanyasi	181726
*38.	Sarki	276224
39.	Shikh	9292
40.	Sudhi, Kalwar	162046
41.	Sunuwar	40943
42.	Teli	250732
*43.	Thakuri	299473
44.	Wadi	7082
45.	Yadav, Ahir	765137
	Total (Caste + Caste (T))	12185683
	* The Main Nepali speaking castes	

This decline can be attributed primarily to lack of language loyalty, thus preventing language spread and maintenance, and a shift from mother-tongue to the national language Nepali. The factor that has contributed to this process may be economic or professional rather than deliberate attempts to downgrade any minority language. The culture or lifestyle of a people can be decisive in language survival if minority groups are determined *not* to be caught in a rapidly changing national culture that does little to preserve their linguistic or cultural identity. In many developing countries of South-Asia, the spread of education has created a society of new elites who are indifferent to the advantages or disadvantages of being bilinguals. While the growth of Nepali from a regional language and lingua-franca to a national language has promoted bilingualism, the spread

of education has unfortunately resulted in the neglect of minority languages by the speakers themselves. Williamson (1991: 135-36) points out several realities associated with the decline of the minority languages. Among them the following seem to be applicable to the current social climate in Nepal:

- (1) National and cross-national socio-economic processes have grown, thus encouraging social mobility and social change.
- (2) The strength of the national language is increased by its overwhelming use in education, administration and mass media.
- (3) Education in the mother-tongues is beset by problems of relevant curriculum, shortage of qualified teachers and budgetary restrictions.
- (4) Aspiration towards upward social mobility is all-important and the national language is perceived as the way to success.

Williamson also goes on to point out that "the ultimate test of efforts for maintenance or change rest with the people themselves". In other words, where ethnic commitment or social integration is strong, the chances are that the minority language will survive. There are therefore two opposing directions in the campaign for maintenance of the minority languages: one, the desire to preserve a rich heritage of a language and the culture of its speakers; and two, the realities of a world moving to ever wider grouping of social, political and economic associations of which SAARC and ASEAN in Asia and EEC in Europe are typical examples of this trend.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to take the view that whatever the status of the individual languages, sociolinguistic surveys are usually necessary in order to determine the language situation - both abilities and attitudes - of each target group. For example, what are the learning experiences of a bilingual person from a deprived community? the tendency to equate bilinguals to low socioeconomic status is quite common, and this apparently arises from the assumption that one language (usually the first) is inferior to the second language. This assumption has not been to the advantage of the minority speakers who constitute about 49% of the total population in Nepal. The present tendency to disfavour the use of the minority language has produced a growing number of unstable bilinguals whose competence in the two languages are clearly unequal. The linguistic situation in this country being a very complex one requires a comprehensive survey like the one proposed by Hale (1993) as well as specific field research on the following areas:

- (1) What language policy decisions have been made by the government so far? What is the official policy on the national language Nepali and the other languages of Nepal? What is the status of a foreign language such as English? We need reliable information to these questions.
- (2) It will also be helpful to have statistical data on the use of languages in education, administration, press and publications (including curriculum and educational materials, books and journalistic writings), commerce and industries, and research. In other words, which languages are being used for these purposes, to what extent are they used, and where are they used?
- (3) Area-wise surveys of the sociology of language use and the attitude of a speech community towards the standard language can be very revealing. Similarly, the study of the impact of language on social, political and educational fields can also provide essential input to language policy and its implementation.
- (4) The study of how languages change can provide valuable insights into social and cultural changes. Such insights and information can be of great value to government planners, education officers and administrators who need to formulate various policies on management of human resources.
- (5) Linguistic and language teachers must take the initiative to develop individual languages through basic descriptions (lexicon and grammars) and prepare materials for basic literacy. Language standardization however is a long-term process and the problems involved cannot be resolved immediately. It is for example much more difficult to bring changes in the written language than its spoken form.

Finally, I would also like to suggest that the government should take steps to establish a National Institute of Nepalese Languages for training, preparation of materials for bilingual education and practical research on the languages of Nepal. The long term benefits of operating such an Institute are likely to be immense, but in a developing country like Nepal a project of this kind is not going to figure in the priority list in the foreseeable future. Many people here tend to feel that political and economic questions are the only ones that are relevant for the development of the country. Let us not ignore that fact that linguistic and cultural questions are of equal importance.

References

- Bandhu, Chudamani. 1993. "Language Planning in the Nepalese context." A paper presented to the National Language Policy Symposium, Kathmandu. In Nepali.
- Campbell, J. Gabriel, Ramesh Shrestha & Linda Stone. 1979. **The Use and Misuse of Social Science Research in Nepal**. Tribhuvan University: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Cooper, Robert L. (Ed.). 1982. **Language Planning and Social Change**. Cambridge University Press.
- Gorman, Thomas P. 1973. "Language allocation and language planning in a developing nation." In Joan Rubin & Roger Shuy (Eds.), **Language Planning: Current issues and research**. Washington: Georgetown University Press pp. 72-82.
- Hale, Austin. 1993. "Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal: A Proposal" Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies / Tribhuvan University - Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hanson, Gerd. 1991. **The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping**. Findings of the Linguistics Survey of Nepal. Edited with an Introduction by Werner Winter. Kathmandu: Linguistic survey of Nepal - Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- Haugen, Einar. 1969. "Language Planning, theory and practice" In A. Graur (Ed.), **Actes du Xe Congres International des Linguistes**. Bucarest: Editions de L'Academic de la Roumanie. Vol. I, pp. 701-711.
- Jernudd, Bjorn H. and Jyotirindra Das Gupta. 1971. "Towards a theory of language planning." In Joan Rubin and Bjorn H. Jernudd (Eds.) **Can Language be planned?: Sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations**. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 195-215.
- Kansakar, Tej R. 1992. *Primary Education in the Mother-tongue: some Theoretical considerations.* A work paper presented to the Symposium on Mother-tongue education sponsored by Chetana Samaj, September 1992.
- Kansakar, Tej R. 1993. "The Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal: A General Survey." **Contributions to the Nepalese Studies**, Vol. 20:2, 165-173.
- Kansakar, Tej R. "Language Policy and Language Planning in Nepal." **The Rising Nepal**, January 7, 1994.
- Malla, Kamal P. 1989. "Language and Society in Nepal." In K. P. Malla (Ed.) **Nepal Perspectives on Continuity and Change**. Kirtipur: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, pp. 445-466.
- Pattanayak, D.P. 1976. "Sociolinguistics and Language planning." **Seminar Papers in Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives in Linguistic Studies**. Tribhuvan University: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Pokharel, Madhav P. 1993. "Language Policy and Language Planning that need to be adopted in Nepal." A Paper presented to the National Language Policy Symposium, Kathmandu. In Nepali.
- Subba Subhadra et.al 1974-77. **Studies in Bilingualism**, Part I, II, III. Tribhuvan University: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Toba Sueyoshi 1992. **Language Issues in Nepal** Kathmandu: Samdan Books and Stationers.
- Troyer, Les. 1974. "Linguistics and Development in Nepal." **Contributions to Nepalese Studies I: 2**, 107-118.
- Williamson, Robert C. 1991. **Minority Languages and Bilingualism: Case studies in maintenance and shift**. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Yadav, Shree Krishna. 1990. "Language Planning in Nepal: An Assessment and Proposal for Reform." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Rajasthan, Jayapur.
- Yadava, Yogendra P. 1993. "Language Development in Nepal." A Paper presented to the National Language Policy Symposium, Kathmandu. In Nepali.

Language Problem in South Asia A Study in Historical Perspective

– Krishna Chandra Mishra *

Language problem, in this paper signifies the problems related to the recognition of a language (speech form) by a group, nation or state for specific purposes. Although the problems of standardisation, vocabulary, technical terms etc. come under linguistics the debate pivots on the selection and recommendation of a speech form from a family of languages or dialects for use by a community, nation or state. Almost all the states in South Asia face this problem. It is in this context that one is forced to observe that modern linguistics has, so far, succeeded in establishing its effectiveness in a limited portion of the broader category of the language problem. Addressing an international gathering of linguists, Prof. S. Takdir of Malaya University spoke of the "failure of modern linguists in the face of linguistic problems of the twentieth century with which the new nations of Asia and Africa are threatened in their advance" (Fisherman, 1974: 56). In fact, the problem involves extra-linguistic factors of historical and socio-political origin, which the linguists have so far, tried to escape. Nevertheless, the problem of selecting a language for official, educational, commercial and other social uses in these countries is the crux of all disputes in planning for development. "It cannot be left unsolved for indefinite period with a hope that time will manage it. The essentials of cultural renaissance and the root of nationalism in this region depend on it" (Sharma R.V. 1978, 1).

II

Before we describe the current problem, in the Indian subcontinent, particularly India and Nepal, it will be proper to have a backlash into its historical perspective.

* Late Dr. Krishna Chandra Mishra, was Professor and Head, Central Department of Hindi, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. This paper was presented at the XVIth LSN annual conference.

Observation goes, in the past, South Asia in general and India in particular had a very rich tradition of language study facilitating the evolution of the modern scientific study of languages and the science of philology in the west.

Ancient India is universally applauded for its finest achievements in the science of language covering all its branches from phonetics to stylistics.

But, there was little scope for consideration of the problem of language selection. Though communities were much unified and homogeneous, there existed different dialects since the earliest Vedic period. The Atharva Veda (xii - 1 - 45) describes this country (Matabhumi) as inhabited by people who spoke different tongues - "Ianam Bibhratio Vahud hā Vivācasam." The etymologist Yaska (circa 700 BC) noticed some regional differences in the language. Other Brahmanic texts speak of linguistic disputes among the priests of different regions. Hitch continued for long on the point 'which regional form of speech (Sanskrit)' should be recognised as standard one. In this context Kausitaki Brahmana (Upanisad, vii - 6) quotes a general saying which glorifies the status of North-Western speech.^A Panini himself belonged to this region, though he along with some other grammarians is said to have traversed as far east as Pataliputra (modern Patna) for the test of their superior skill in linguistics.^B

Panini intended to end controversy about the superior and inferior form of speech. His immortal work Discipline of Words ('Sabdanus' Asanam) consisting eight chapters (*Astadhyayi*) reflects an attempt for planning the language by standardisation. Paninian grammar leaves little room for alternative forms of pronunciation and spelling and 'Sanskrit' or 'grammatically correct language' of Panini was so planned that it acquired universal recognition. He also noticed the tendency of 'diglossia' and described the historical layers of language as 'chhandas' and "Loka' or 'Bhasa'. The older vedic form of speech did not remain a colloquial during Panini's time, yet it was used for metric composition till late age.^C Balmiki is said to be the first poet, who started metric composition in the "Loka (Bhasa) form of speech. The very first stanza of his Ramayan bears the

A 'तस्माद्दीच्या प्रजाततरा वागुद्यते । उदञ्च उ ये यन्ति वाचम् ।..... "

B श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकार परीक्षा । अत्रोपवर्ष वर्षाविद् व्याडिडह पाणिनिः इह पतञ्जलिः ।
राजशेखर, काव्यमीमांसा, १-१०

C Vide: Kalidasa: Sakuntala, Act. IV Verse - 6

influence of the archaic form of the vedic speech. That the older vedic language was gradually being unintelligible in this period is also evident from some statements by Yaska (circa 700 BC) in his *Nirukta*, which is the oldest vedic work on lexicon. Then Sanskrit was really a colloquial language and did not claim to be a divine speech. This appellation of dignity (Debavani, Amaravani) for Sanskrit is a later eulogistic expression. Balmiki and Patanjali have called it a human and not a 'divine' speech.^D

The form of speech standardised by Panini and his successors like Katyanjan and Patanjali enjoyed monopoly as the only standard language, vis-a-vis all other contemporary dialects. Patanjali (1.1) rejected dialectal differences in Sanskrit and enlisted them in the category of 'Apasabda' vis-a-vis 'Sabda' which alone were considerable for grammatical analysis.^E This policy to acknowledge only one form of speech continued smoothly until the advent of Buddhism because there was no imperative situation: ethnic, regional or religious.

The first motivated and organised movement for a language change, is seen in the resistance of Sanskrit by the Buddha and Mahabir Jaina. They openly rejected the idea of unavoidable character of 'Sanskrit' and more or less propagated the use of contemporary dialects which certainly had become stereotyped in various regional forms of Prakrit. Buddhism found its mighty patron in Ashoka who ruthlessly dethroned Sanskrit from its position of official language and issued all his proclamations, edicts etc. in the contemporary Prakrit dialects. Like-wise many other kings who had been initiated in Jainism taught by Mahabir had also adopted Prakrit for their religious and official purposes. But this boycott of Sanskrit had very short lived. Soon after the downfall of Ashokan empire, Sanskrit had regained strength in the royal courts and intellectual chambers. Moreover, revival of Sanskrit was started and sped up by the neo-Buddhists themselves. The great Mahayana philosophers and poets like Nagarjuna Dinnaga and Aswaghosa adopted Sanskrit as the powerful medium of expression for their high thinking, for which the downright Prakrit or popular dialects could never suffice. Later, Jaina Scholars followed them.

D १. यदिवाचं प्रदास्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम् ।"

२. "तुरीयं वार्चं मनुष्या वदन्ति ।" - महाभाष्य - १-१

E "शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम् । किं शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः आहोस्विदप शब्दोपदेशः आहोस्विदुभयोपदेशः इति ? लघुत्वाच्छब्दोपदेशः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावीगोणी गीता, गोपोतलिका ।"

The golden age of Sanskrit literature came after the victory of Sanskritists over Prakrit supporters or populist reformers. Sanskrit showed its magical power of refining or Sanskritising any type of vocabulary and many Prakrit of derived (Tadbhaba) words from Sanskrit re-appeared in new Sanskrit form.^F But the Prakrit language in its various regional dialect forms was recognised as a popular medium and even the greatest of Sanskrit poets like Kalidasa, not only used them in the dramatic dialogues but also emphasised the use of these two forms of speech, the standardised Sanskrit and popular Prakrit in the office, rituals and other appropriate contexts (Kumar Sambhava vii. 8).^G Literary and some scientific writings too progressed in the Prakrit medium and at a time there was sense of competition in these two forms of languages. Gradually the designation 'Bhāṣā' (earlier used for non-Vedic Sanskrit) shifted to these Prakrit dialect vis-a-vis classical Sanskrit

We should note that in India and Nepal, the appellation 'Bhāṣā' was used for different languages in different ages, e.g.

1. For Sanskrit (classical vis-a-vis Sanskrit).
2. For Prakrit and Apabhraṅja vis-a-vis Sanskrit.
3. For modern Indo-Aryan languages vis-a-vis Sanskrit, in the Middle Ages.
4. For a recognised literary or standardised language vis-a-vis a dialect in present age.

In early ages language dispute or movement, if any, was confined to the question of adopting Sanskrit or the derived dialects. Languages came in prominence for literacy or official use by royal decree also.

Though Sanskrit always retained its superiority by virtue of being only medium in educated and elite circle, the popular Prakrit was also favoured by many kings for royal edicts and literary composition in historical periods. Brihat Katha a voluminous anthology of stories was composed in the Paisaci dialect of Prakrit in the early Christian era by poet Gunadhaya. Bana Bhatta, the great Sanskrit writer and biographer of King Harsabardhana, himself a great Sanskrit dramatist, refers to some

F वृष > रूख > रूक्ष ; गोमेन्द्र > गव्विन्द > गोविन्द, मादृश > मारिर > मारिष etc.

G "विधा प्रयुक्तेन च बाङ्गमयेन सरस्वती तन्मिथुनं नुनाव ।
संस्कारपूतेन वरं वरेण्यं बधूं सुखग्राह्यं निबन्धनेन ।"

'Bhāṣākavi' equally honoured in royal courts. 'Deshi bhasa' poets were recognised as royal bard by the kings of Kannuja, uiz. Jayachandra and Prithwiraja. We should note that 'Des' a' – or regional variation was recognised as a factor for the independent existence of a language in post-Paninian or Prakrit period.

Patanjali (2nd century B.C.) has noted some instances of 'Des' a' or regional variation in the names of Kamboja, Surastra, Prācyā etc.^H But there is no evidence of the recognition of these dialects of Sanskrit which as a standard Indo-Aryan language was one and remained one for ever. It is only in the age of Prakrits that the regional names of languages such as Mahārāstri, Sauraseni, Magadhi etc. came in vogue. Their number increased subsequently. Later in the age of Apabhramsh many scholars boasted to be the experts in fourteen and sometimes eighteen languages. Attempt for language planning by standardization of some lingua franca among many Prakrits was not quite absent. Thus, Mahārāstri and moreover 'Sauraseni of the Middle land (Madhyadesa) with its descendent Nāgar Apabhramsha was recognized as language par excellence for literary composition (Chatterji, 1960).

It was at this period (circa 1000 AD) that the modern Indo-Aryan languages were emerging as popular media of expression. The Prakrit and Apabhramsha had become stereotyped by the puritanical boycott of Sanskrit vocabulary, which after all remained in considerable use by even the illiterate commoners. At this time literary Prakrit and Apabhramsha were on the verge of decay and the new forms of Des' bhasas were adopting common Sanskrit vocabulary for their development. Vidyapati, (poet) appears as the pioneer of this linguistic change. Himself a great Sanskrit scholar and the most popular poet of Deshabhasa (Maithili), he possessed high acumen in selecting a language. He spoke three or four types of Indo-Aryan languages used in literature and popular circle in his time. They were:

1. Sanskrit (in learned circle)
2. Prakrit (now almost rejected)
3. Abahattha (Apabhramsha used by bareds)

^H "शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कास्वोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति,
हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु ।"

4. Des'hil Bayana (Des' a Bhasa M.I.A. e.g. popular Maithili of the songs of Vidyapati).^I

A careful perusal of the language of Vidyapati in his Kirtilata and his Desi songs proves that the literary Prakrit, which used only the derived forms of Sanskrit words was gradually being abandoned and new forms of MIA languages were emerging where simple Sanskrit vocabulary was included in abundance. So Prakrit and Apabhramsha of Middle Indo-Aryan stage had come to a virtual end whereas Sanskrit retained its existence by absorbing a major portion of vocabulary in modern Indo-Aryan and even Dravidian languages in India. Still the question of Sanskrit versus Bhāṣā (which now invariably meant modern Indian languages) remained a burning problem throughout the Middle Ages. Radicals like Santa Kavir eloquently decried the use of Sanskrit which he compared with the water of a deep well in the face of a flowing river of Bhāṣā (modern language). On the other hand, some great scholar poets like Keshava Das were repentant to use the inferior 'Bhāṣā' for their literature. However, the greatest man of medieval age, Tulasidasa has shown a golden way of synthesizing the Bhasa with Sanskrit in a planned way. So both Bhāṣā and Sanskrit remained in progress in the official and literary use in the hands of Hindu saints, scholars and administrators, throughout the middle ages.

But a remarkable change in language policy, in India, came in the late Middle Ages when the Muslim occupation of the country was almost complete. For the first time in history the rulers imposed an alien language (Persian or Arabic) for official purpose and people were forced to learn it for getting job in the royal court. Thus the national languages, whether 'Bhasa' or Sanskrit were eventually demoted from the official circle of the powerful central Government in north India while they managed to sustain their position in some independent Hindu states.

This situation resulted in a queer linguistic phenomenon of the hybridisation of languages which produced 'Urdu' a heterogeneous type of lingua franca. It is grammatically based on and originated from the Indo-Aryan family but laden with the vocabulary of the alien Persian and Arabic. It is to be noted that Urdu originated in the Muslim courts as a royal style of 'Jawāne Hind' or Hindavi' which earlier meant 'Sanskrit' or

^I "सकय' बानी बृहजन भावई 'पाउडा' रसको मम्मन पावई ।
'देसिल वयना' सवजन मिहा तै तइसन जम्मओ 'अवहइठ' ।"

the lingua franca used in north India. The name Hindi historically indicates different dialects used as lingua franca in north India at different times. At that time it was represented by Rajasthani and Dehavi, Then by Brajabhasa, Abadhi and Maithili (Brajaboli) and finally by Khariboli (Dehlabi). There was a long struggle for recognition as a standard form among its three varieties Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani (Chatterji, 1960).

The language policy of the Muhammadan rulers was followed in some way by the British colonialists in South Asia. They imposed English language on their subjects, for their own convenience. They knew well that the people of South Asia could never adopt totally a distant foreign language like English. But they had to enact their policy of education which aimed to produce, a class of Babus with "white mind in black bodies" (Macaulay) to gear up their administrative machinery. Sanskrit was declared useless and other indigenous languages were termed abusively as "Vernacular" which bred a sense of inferiority complex in the mind of their speakers. Thanks to the rise of new national consciousness and cultural renaissance in the 19th-20th century, the people soon realised the fact, that real progress is impossible without thinking in their own natural speech. A strong movement to re-establish their own languages started with the advance of freedom struggle in South Asia, and the "Vernaculars" of the colonist rulers became the national languages of the new emerging nations in South Asia with a hope to replace English as official language in due course.

But the post-independence scenario in language affairs, in South Asia presents a bizarre picture of the state. Here we enter a real age of language conflict which is marked by the intra-family feud and sometimes bloody struggles among the speakers of Des' Bhāṣās. It has also resulted in the reorganisation of states in India and the division off Pakistan. It should be noted that population in almost all the countries in South Asia, whether big or small, is multi lingual. It has shown its worst in this age of post-colonial democratic exercises, rejecting any solution by language planners. In this situation 'politics of language' often joined with ethnic and communal features has often threatened the root of national integration in these developing or undeveloped nations, still convalescing from the coma of colonialism and feudalism. In the past disputes between the speakers of Bengali-Assami, Hindi-Panjabi-Tamil-Telugu (to count only a few) in India, Sindhi-Urdu in Pakistan, Sinhali-Tamil in Sri Lanka, Lepcha-Nepali, in Bhutan are only a few burning instances of language conflict. The situation has worsened due to mishandling by petty politicians as language loyalty has proved a powerful instrument for vote-collection. All this has

gone in favour of strengthening the root of English language in official, academic and business circles and has almost shattered the dream of developing a 'National language' in these countries. Now they are almost helpless to depend on English for unlimited period in future.

IV

The Scene in Nepal:

Nepal had almost the same type of diglossic-condition of Sanskrit, Prakrit or Deshabhasa throughout the history. Sanskrit retained its supreme position in the religious official and academic field in ancient times. The use of 'Desha-bhasa' or old Nepali and Newari is evidenced from the edicts in the Middle Ages. However written records particularly the enormous dramatic literature in the time of Malla rulers of Kathmandu exhibit a healthy co-existence of Sanskrit with various Desha-bhasas like Maithili, Newari, Hindi and Bangla. Nepali or Gorkhali was adopted as official language since the Gorakha king Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Nepal valley and the country got its expanded form subsequently. The Shah and Rana rulers also used the local languages including Hindi in their correspondence. Hindi also was used as medium of instruction in some academic institutions then there is no evidence of any resistance to the official language whether Sanskrit or Nepali before the advent of modern democratic era. Signs of language dispute in Nepal appeared only after the end of Rana autocracy in B.S. 2007. In that open political atmosphere non-Nepali speaking community of Terai area began to raise their voice for the recognition of Hindi as second official language. It is to be noted that Hindi was recognised as a medium of education and also for news broadcast in Radio Nepal till the year 2022 B.S. Hindi had been used as a lingua franca in the plains of Nepal and has traditionally served as a link language between the natives of hill and Terai areas. But the seeds of discord were shown by some educated ultra patriots in Nepal by rejecting it as a foreign language in the post democratic days. Curiously enough the first man to declare Hindi as 'foreign' and Sanskrit as 'dead' language in Nepal was not a Nepali but an American expert of education (H. Hood) who had been entrusted to frame out a new system of education for Nepal. (Mishra K.C., 1995). His unwise remarks provoked the sentiments of the people. A 'save Hindi' agitation was launched Terai area of Nepal. The Prime Minister of Nepal had to pacify them saying that Mr. Hood was not well acquainted and well versed to say so. But ironically, Mr. Hood is now remembered as the founder of new education system in Nepal. Despite this linguistic

conflict, Hindi remained in use in Nepal as before and the language problem was solved smoothly during the first democratic government headed by Late B.P. Koirala. But with the ushering in of Panchayat system the linguistic conservatism continued. They maneuvered for the banishment of Hindi from Nepal but succeeded only a little by imposing ban on using it as a medium of education. The use of Hindi as a link language, medium of entertainment (cinema etc.), mass media and business affairs has continued as before has continued as before. It has rather increased due to some upsurge in business, tourism and educational activities under Indian co-operation. Thus growing use of Hindi in public affair but persistent denial of its due share in the institutional activities is sowing the seeds of discords in society.

After the re-establishment of democracy in 2046 B.S. the language problem in Nepal has aggravated, with more and more languages coming daily for state approval and aid for their development. Already in the Panchayat period demand for state recognition of Newari, spoken by the powerful Newar community in Nepal valley was raised by their organisation "Mankakhalah". Similarly demand for Maithili, spoken in some eastern districts of Terai began in the wake of Panchayat ultra-nationalism because Hindi was branded as foreign and even 'anti-national' in that atmosphere. Both these languages (Newari and Maithili) have good considerable literature and possess historical tradition in Nepal valley. But after the re-establishment of democracy many such languages which have not yet crossed the stage of a dialect, being used mostly in the domestic affairs only or are spoken by a small number of ethnic groups, have stepped forward with an urge to be treated on equal footing in state affairs. The Census reports in Nepal dealing with the languages have also made a mess of things in this context being handled by unskilled personnel. Language movement by various ethnic and religious minority groups has resulted in almost a feud for recognition. About a dozen languages have secured five minutes time in daily news broadcast by Radio Nepal and probably a dozen more are on the waiting list. The constitutional guarantee of imparting primary education in mother tongue has incited the speakers of many such languages but, which do not possess any alphabet or grammar or even a word-list for imparting education. Here we may note that an opinion collection in this context, recently conducted by the Ministry of Education, HMG Nepal, endorsed the view, that Hindi was still a language spoken by a good number of people in Nepal numbering second only to Nepali. Equally a good number of people wish to make it medium of

education with Nepali and English together.* But no sincere attempt for language planning in Nepal by recognising some link languages or lingua franca has appeared as yet. This unskillful and scrupulous handling of the multilingual condition may tell upon the future development of the country.

Epilogue

Above, we have tried to sketch briefly the historical perspective of the language problem in South Asia. Description of the past situation was deliberately prolonged to find out parallelism, if any, with the present dilemma. Foregoing discussion reveals the truth that bilingualism or multilingualism is not the new situation in this region. Instead, it continues since thousands of years ago. But the problem had no such serious effect in its long history as to turn into the 'conflict of language' observed today. Below are presented some conclusions:

1. Bi- or multi-lingualism has been a deep rooted feature of the South Asian Society from the earliest period.
2. Ancient Grammarians had tried to solve it on 'Loka-Veda' principle.
3. They considered 'language' a priory a social object and not simply an object of grammatical analysis.**
4. Considering the possibility of multi ethnic-social and class diversities they tried to limit the difference by adopting a method of billectal or polillectal description of the language.
5. Forced imposition of any language by royal or political will was not successful (as in the case of Prakrit imposed by Asoka).
6. Similarly imposition of a foreign language by a ruler however mighty he could not gain popular support. Sanskrit and other Indian languages remained in vogue in the Islamic period of history in South Asia and the finest creative literature of the period was composed in these languages, in spite of Persian being imposed as official language.
7. The spread of language in this region has always been caused by social mobilisation. The religious leaders and business persons played a vital role in this work. They recognised the multilayered

* A survey report prepared by the department of Curriculum Development, Ministry of Education, HMG Nepal 2052 B.S.

** cp. Patanjali: Maha bhāṣya (1.1) — "सिद्धे शब्दार्थ सम्बन्धे ।... कथं पुनर्जायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति ? 'लोकतः न ब्रूमोऽस्मामिरप्रयुक्ता (शब्दा) इति, किं तर्हि ? लोके प्रयुक्तः । ननु च भवानम्यनारो लोके । अम्यन्तरोऽहं लोके, नत्वहं लोकः ।"

functional use of language for official, domestic, commercial and intellectual purposes and the problem of language was solved smoothly without any political interference.

8. The first break in this mutually acceptable functional use of the multilingual circumstance— is observed after the imposition of powerful English language by colonist rulers. Now the imposed language has become a source of social control and the unfortunate condition of ethnic and communal diversity was cunningly exploited to support the unavoidableness of English. In spite of post-independence claim for recognition and development of national language, English has remained a language endowed with power and prestige. In south Asia the English language is recognised as the only authoritative expression in official and elite circles. Eventually it is not only the necessity for international contact but its capacity of being a powerful instrument for social control has made the English language compulsory. The awe and lure for power attached to English has compelled even poor people to rush their children to any costly "English medium teaching shops" that are growing like mushrooms in the streets.
9. A socio-linguistic consideration reveals the fact that the root of the present language conflict in South Asia lies in the share of power and wealth gained by the speakers of an officially recognised language. The minority speakers come forward with a popular instrument of the recognition of an individual's right of freedom for their pet speech. They shut eye towards any consideration of hardships in developing these undeveloped languages.
10. In the past, the problem of multilingualism was smoothly solved by the functional use of speech forms at domestic regional, national and high-academic levels. But the same problem has done worse in the hands of petty politicians playing foul with the language controversy. It is also fanned by a flourishing global trade in language (English in South Asia.)

So the problem of interlanguage planning is vital one for the sociolinguist of South Asia. It is to be noted that the linguistic approach to language problem, is only one category of the broader aspect of the treatment of a language. "When a common language has to be chosen or recognised among several speech varieties of a territory, many factors, besides linguistics, eg. numerical strength of speakers, importance of the functional use of their language, political and cultural dominance etc. also

matter for it. Even linguistic point of view only the speech form which is most efficient and easy to learn is preferred" (Fisherman 1974). Early Sanskrit grammarians (Patanjali 1.1) had adopted this methodology for selecting a 'Sabda' (or speech).

Indeed the problem has become much more complicated than it was in past, with the growing complexity of the society. What looks imperative is that the modern linguists engaged in South Asian study should not escape from their social responsibility by confining themselves in the phonetic labs and the research libraries. To make modern linguistics socially meaningful science, they should work for the advancement of this branch of sociolinguistics with courage, impartiality and erudition, inspired by the rich heritage of linguistic studies in this part of the world.

References

- Chatterji SK. 1968. *Indo Aryan and Hindi* (2nd revised ed) Calcutta.
- Dimock, Kachru, Krishnamurti (ed.) 1991. *Dimensions of Sociolinguistics in South Asia*, Delhi.
- Fisherman IA. (ed.) 1974. *Advance in Language Planning*. Mouton, the Hague, Paris.
- Karat Prakash. 1993. *Language and Nationality Politics in India*. Orient Longmans.
- Mishra KC. *Nepal me Hindi* (in Hindi) 1995, Delhi.
- Sharma R.V. *Bharat Ki Shasasamasyāyen* (in Hindi) 1989, Delhi.
- Shrivastava RN. 1994. *Bhasa, Samajika Amila our Rastriya Ekikaran* in "*Hindi Bhasa Ki Samajik Samrachana*" ed. by Tivari B.N., Delhi.

The Apprenticeship Approach to Writing Instruction

– Moti Nissani*

Introduction

This essay begins by reviewing the nature of apprenticeship in non-writing contexts. It then describes, distinguishes, and illustrates the apprenticeship, traditional, and process approaches to writing instruction. After surveying evidence that apprenticeship provides a more promising model of writing instruction than any other contemporary approach, this essay concludes that apprenticeship comes closer than other contemporary models to providing an overarching paradigm of writing instruction. The apprenticeship model is consistent with much of what we know about both language and learning; it promises to make writing instruction more enjoyable and fruitful to both learners and teachers; it resolves such perennial controversies as the place of literature, explicit teaching, grammar, and self-awareness in the composition classroom; and it assimilates the best features of traditional and process instruction while avoiding most of their pitfalls.

"Now don't you see the difference? It wasn't anything but a wind reef. The wind does that."

"So I see. But it is exactly like a bluff reef. How am I ever going to tell them apart?"

"I can't tell you. It is an instinct. By and by you will just naturally know one from the other, but you never will be able to explain why or how you know them apart."

Mark Twain (Life on the Mississippi; Chapter IX)

Traditional approaches to composition pedagogy seek to explicate writing principles. *Process* approaches encourage self-conscious reflections on writing activities, on features of written discourse, and on

* Professor Nissani was visiting fulbright professor at TU Central Department of English during 1995-96.

the writing context. While recognizing the potential usefulness of these approaches, this essay advocates their partial replacement with the *apprenticeship* approach (cf. Krashen, 1993; Coles, 1978; Miller, 1972).

This essay largely draws upon confirmatory theoretical and experimental evidence. A more detailed discussion of seemingly contradictory theories, empirical findings, and practices (e.g., Rosenshine & Meister, 1994; Fahnestock, 1993; Williams & Colómb, 1993; Adams, 1990; Flower, 1989; Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1987; Christensen, 1967), would require a book-length manuscript and cannot be undertaken here.

This essay focuses on just three approaches of writing instruction—traditional, process, and apprenticeship. At best, this tripartite division only approximates classroom realities (where these approaches may merge with each other or be supplemented by other approaches). This essay also overlooks the distinct possibility that different learners, or the same learner at different developmental stages, may benefit from different instructional approaches. These and similar unavoidable oversimplifications will have to be addressed at a later date.

By highlighting conflicting conceptual frameworks, this essay points to new research directions. In particular, it makes verifiable predictions about the comparative merits of alternative approaches to writing instruction.

The Fundamental Question of Contemporary Composition Pedagogy

Composition instructors "do not have a unified theory to guide [their] work" (Lindemann 1993:316). As a result, there is little agreement in the professional literature, and in actual practice, about fundamental question: Should we, for example, teach grammar (Hartwell, 1985)? Has literature a place in the composition classroom (Lindemann, 1993; Tate, 1993)? In modeling essays and fiction, should we try to explicitly distill the rhetorical devices which made writing powerful (Axelrod & Cooper, 1944; Hacker, 1994), or should we focus on the content of those pieces and let students tacitly imbibe the stylistic features of good writing (Smith, 1988)? Should we encourage writers to spend much time reflecting on the process of writing, or should we keep their attention riveted on the emerging text (Applebee, 1986)? Should we teach good writing in general, or should we teach students to write like lawyers, doctors, or advertisers (Freedman, 1993)?

Many such controversies could be resolved by answering the single question: Which instructional paradigm can best guide writing instruction? Before attempting to cast apprenticeship in that role, we need to be clear about the nature of apprenticeship in non-writing contexts.

Apprenticeship¹

Many skills are only partially amenable to explicit instruction. According to Michael Polanyi (1962):

A skillful performance is achieved by the observance of a set of rules which are not known as such to the person following them. For example ... the swimmer keeps himself afloat by ... [regulating] his respiration; he keeps his buoyancy at an increased level by refraining from emptying his lungs when breathing out and by inflating them more than usual when breathing in: yet this is not generally known to swimmers Again [does] ... the rule observed by the cyclist ... tell(s) us exactly how to ride a bicycle? No. You obviously cannot adjust the curvature of your bicycle's path in proportion to the ratio of your unbalance over the square of your speed Rules of art can be useful, but they do not determine the practice of an art

An art which cannot be specified in detail cannot be transmitted by prescription, since no prescription for it exists. It can be passed on only by example from master to apprentice.... It follows that an art which has fallen into disuse for the period of a generation is altogether lost It is pathetic to watch the endless efforts—equipped with microscopy and chemistry, with mathematics and electronics—to reproduce a single violin of the kind the half-literate Stradivarius turned out as a matter of routine more than 200 years ago. To learn by example is to submit to authority By watching the master ... the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art, including those which are not explicitly known to the master himself

In deciding a case today the [British] Courts will follow the example of other courts which have decided similar cases in the past, for in these actions they see embodied the rules of the law. This procedure recognizes the principle of all traditionalism that practical wisdom is more truly embodied in action than expressed in rules of action The judge's action is considered more authentic than what he said he was doing

When we use a hammer to drive in a nail, we attend to both nail and hammer, but in a different way I have a subsidiary awareness of the feeling in the palm of my hand which is merged into my focal awareness of my driving in the nail Subsidiary awareness and focal awareness are mutually exclusive. If a pianist shifts his attention from the piece he is playing to the observation of what he is doing with his fingers while playing it, he gets confused and may have to stop The kind of clumsiness which is

due to the fact that focal attention is directed to the subsidiary elements of an action is commonly known as self-consciousness. A serious and sometimes incurable form of it is "stage-fright" ... *It is interesting to recall that when we use words in speech or writing we are aware of them only in a subsidiary manner* (pp. 49-57; italics added).

"And how easily and comfortably the [Mississippi River] Pilot's memory does its work;" says Mark Twain, "how placidly effortless is its way; how *unconsciously* it lays up its vast stores, hour by hour, day by day, and never loses or mislays a single valuable package of them all!" (1883, Chapter XIII).

Similarly, Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that apprentices learn by performing, not through abstract lectures. These writers cite, for instance, the training of quartermasters on a transport ship. Before setting eye on either ship or helm, some trainees attend specialized schools where they learn basic terminology and concepts. Other trainees begin learning their craft on board a ship. Paradoxically, masters often prefer novices with no prior, abstract, training.

Despite popular conceptions of science as a realm of explicit rules and computer-like precision, many commentators feel that the tacit component is the distinguishing feature of actual scientific investigations. Speaking from first-hand experiences, Polanyi (1962:53) holds that scientific research is "an unspecifiable art". Philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend (1993) goes farther. In his view, doing creative science in different settings does not involve one unspecifiable art, but many:

The events, procedures and results that constitute the sciences have no common structure; there are no elements that occur in every scientific investigation but are missing elsewhere. Concrete developments ... have distinct features and we can often explain why and how these features led to success. But not every discovery can be accounted for in the same manner, and procedures that paid off in the past may create havoc when imposed on the future. Successful research does not obey general standards; it relies now on one trick, now on another; the moves that advance it and the standards that define what counts as an advance are not always known to the movers.... A theory of science that devises standards and structural elements for all scientific activities ... may impress outsiders— but it is much too crude an instrument for the people on the spot, that is, for scientists facing some concrete research problem There is only one principle that can be defended under all circumstances and in all stages of human development. It is the principle: anything goes (pp. 1, 18-19).

Autobiographies bear out this provocative view, or, at any rate, Polanyi's more moderate view that scientific discoveries involve an unspecifiable art. The recollections of a person who became a practitioner of "the art of scientific investigation" (Beveridge, 1950) after an in-depth study of philosophy of science are of particular interest:

I majored in philosophy, with a concentration in the philosophy of science. By the time I received a B.A., I knew a great deal about the likes of hypotheses and observation statements, and almost nothing about such things as gravity, black holes, or genes. Later, upon switching fields and becoming a natural scientist, I instinctively compartmentalized my scientific work from my abstract knowledge of the nature of science and of the process of scientific discovery. In particular, I never felt that my knowledge of the philosophy of science gave me the slightest advantage over colleagues who have never heard the names of Feynman, Kuhn, or Popper.²

As we have seen, mastery of an art presupposes naturalness. A good violin teacher tries to make her students as unselfconscious as she can; she avoids any advice that would put them at risk of permanently riveting their attention from the music they are playing to bystanders or to their audience, fingers, bow or shoulder. Her advice is of the kind: "Wouldn't that gavotte sound better if played a bit faster?" Or "This F was a bit too flat, try it again!" It is rarely of the kind: "Play in front of a mirror!" Nor: "Write an essay about your fingering technique!" Her students are told to listen to the masters, watch them, and practice alone or in company. They are rarely given take-home assignments like this:

What happens when you replay or rethink a melody? This assignment will give you a new window on your own thinking and ask you to write a short analysis of your own process Talk to the tape ... At the end of playing have one final interview with yourself and try to describe the key points in your process as you remember it, the problems you encountered, and the playing strategies you used. These check-in interviews are very important because you will be surprised to discover how much players—absorbed in the act of playing—forget about their own process even minutes later.... In this assignment, we would like you to explore your own process and describe some of the thinking/playing strategies you used ... There is a lot to discover about how you work as a violin player, and this evidence will help you.

In some cases, it is possible to master a complex art by intently watching a master, absent actual practice. "By watching the master... the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art, including those which are not explicitly known to the master himself" (Polanyi, 1962:53). "Learners often need do nothing in order to learn" (Smith, 1988:194; see

also Lave & Wenger, 1991). Apprenticeship in a weaving factory in Guatemala consists in observing a skilled footloom weaver for a few weeks. Apprentices never weave, they do not ask questions, and they receive little or no explicit instruction. Yet, simply by intently watching a craftsman at work, in a few weeks they master the craft (Nash, cited in Rogoff, 1990:129). It is not surprising therefore that "one Japanese term for apprentice is *minarai*, literally one who learns by observation" (Singleton, 1989:14).

Feedback in context is often crucial to the acquisition of an art: masters serve not only as models but also as coaches. The most useful advice is often given explicitly in response to the learner's actual performance. The advice may appeal to such things as the apprentice's aesthetic judgment or instincts. At times, it invokes an experiences. This occasional usefulness of explicit rules could be illustrated by citing Mark Twain again, written recollections of other apprentices, or countless literary episodes, but let me instead relate two homelier childhood experiences of my own. By imitating others, I taught myself the crawl stroke, but I couldn't swim as far or as fast as some of my companions. The turning point came two summers later, and only when a knowledgeable observer told me: "blow bubbles when your face is in the water." Similarly, I played harmonica for months, picked many tunes by ear, but these merely made the neighborhood's crows sound like gifted musicians. Again, the eureka moment came shortly after a better player gave me a rule: "harmonica players use their tongues."

The Grammar of Apprenticeship

No doubt there are vast differences between learning to play harmonica, ride a bicycle, or carry out a creative genetics experiment; nonetheless, such activities do have common, overlapping features. At this point, we need to tentatively distill a few features of apprenticeship:

1. As in most learning situations, motivation, perceived relevance, feelings, attitudes towards the learning environment, social context, self-confidence (e.g., Pajares & Johnson, 1994), prior learning experiences, aptitudes, and learning style, affect the rate of progress and final mastery of the art (Freedman, 1993:247; Pintrich et al., 1993).
2. For the most part, decontextualized expositions about performance of an art are of limited, if any, value. No one can learn to coordinate a car's clutch, gas pedal, and gearshift from lectures. One masters a

craft gradually, by observing and imitating others, by comparing one's performance to those of others, by learning from one's mistakes, and by being coached.

3. One learns through performing an art in a natural setting; a would-be driver must spend time behind the wheel.
4. Much learning can occur passively, by intently watching others perform.
5. Excessive self-consciousness must be avoided at all costs. We can only do one of three things: rivet our attention on the task at hand, on our actions, or on our audience. "If a pianist shifts his attention from the piece he is playing to the observation of what he is doing with his fingers while playing it, he gets confused" (Polanyi, 1962, p. 53). Similarly, some people have an excellent sense of rhythm but are too concerned with their own movements, or with the impression they make on others, to dance well.
6. Explicit coaching — when doled out sparingly, in context, to meet the learner's developmental needs — often plays a crucial role in the acquisition of an art.
7. A good coach is a master-teacher. Through such things as intuition, experience, and caring, a good violin teacher must have *tacitly* acquired not only the art of playing the violin, but the art of teaching. She must, in other words, be a practitioner of something like the six features above. She motivates her students and places musical performances in a meaningful and supportive social context. She models expert performances and expert-solving strategies. She sets appropriate, engaging, tasks. She builds up her students' self-confidence in themselves as human beings and musicians. She does not endlessly verbalize the techniques of the masters. Her students learn by performing, and by hearing, seeing, and interacting with, better performers. She fosters naturalness. When her students practice, she does not inundate them with corrections, abstractions, and strategies, but fits the advice to the circumstances, to what, she feels, a student can assimilate at that point.

Decontextualized Learning

Not everything can be taught through adherence to these seven, tentative, features of apprenticeship. Some skills benefit from, or even require, abstract instruction which is separate in time or place from

practical experience. Thus, although many children master tic-tac-toe by playing the game, almost everyone can become a tic-tac-toe grandmaster through explicit instruction and vigilant application of rules.

As another example, consider the knottier case of backgammon. Although backgammon mastery requires a long apprenticeship, certain features of this game can be best acquired through decontextualized instruction and metareflections.

Let us imagine a single game being played for \$ 1. Under certain conditions, a player may propose doubling the stakes. Also, sometimes a player knows the exact odds of winning a game. Let us say that Black is permitted to double, knows that her odds of winning are 72%, and proceeds to double. White can decline the double, forfeit the game and one dollar, and hope for better luck next game. Or white can accept the double, proceed to play for \$2, knowing that, by the rules of the game, Black cannot re-double the stakes. Obviously, White is caught between a rock and hard place. Should he decline and cut his losses, or should he keep hope alive by agreeing to double the stakes?

Neither common sense nor experience are reliable guides to such dilemmas. We have observed the behavior of over one hundred people under similar conditions, and found that, as in so many similar cases (see Edwards, 1968; Kahneman et al., 1982), our statistical intuition is a broken reed. A few people do eventually adopt the correct rule (always accepting a double when there is a 72% chance of losing the game) either through a priori reasoning or through watching, or playing with, an expert. Many play a lifetime yet fail to consistently execute the correct move.

In backgammon, then, correct reactions to doubles can be best learned through out-of-context instruction (for example, from a book). So, in this game, apprenticeship is best supplemented with abstract study of a few statistical rules and their concrete application. Moreover, until these rules are assimilated, players must self-consciously monitor their performance.

To sum up. Human beings can learn limited skills like tic-tac-toe in an abstract fashion. Likewise, abstract instruction is essential when people must acquire counterintuitive rules which are not readily refuted by experience. And, no doubt abstract teaching of complex tasks can accomplish much in teaching computers. In contrast, there is no evidence that humans can learn complex tasks through decontextualized exposure to explicit rules and strategies, or through frequently stepping back and reflecting upon their performance. There is no substitute for apprenticeship, and no royal road to mastering an art.

Contemporary Approaches to Composition Pedagogy

Writing, according to the apprenticeship view, is an art. A writer need not be conscious of rules embodied in well-written texts, nor of her strategies for generating and editing such texts. A writer should, according to this view, focus her attention on the task at hand, not on her audience or on her way of accomplishing this task. A liberal dose of abstractions and self-consciousness may be useful on the therapist's couch, but it just as damaging to writers as it is to speakers, pianists, scientists, antebellum Mississippi River pilots, or contemporary quartermasters. To be sure, good writers possess metacognitive skills, but these skills can be best acquired tacitly through apprenticeship, through reading and writing instructors abide by something like the seven features of apprenticeship mentioned earlier.

In contrast, most instruction "is based on the simple assumption that we can specify a curriculum by studying what experts do and teaching out students to do likewise" (Applebee, 1986:106). In other words, despite the vast differences between them, both traditional and process approaches reject the apprenticeship model of writing. They may teach grammar, not in context (see below), but as a set of abstract rules which writers are supposed to acquire and apply to their own writing and editing. They may analyze at length the characteristics which supposedly contribute to the readability of well-written essays, then urge students to try to consciously emulate these characteristics in their own writings. Or they may urge students to reflect on their own processes as a gateway to good writing.

These approaches are based in part on the notion that the rules that "you don't know won't help you" (Williams & Colomb, 1993). Likewise, one practitioner of the process approach is puzzled by the irony "that anyone in higher education would bother to question the usefulness of conscious, reflective thought" (Flower, 1989:185). At the core of these approaches there is this highly persuasive argument: well-written texts embody rules of grammar, style, and syntax. Experts employ well-defined strategies when they produce such texts. Once these rules and strategies have been unearthed by meticulous research, they can be gainfully passed on to novices. And, since such rules and strategies cannot be automatically assimilated, learners must now and then stand back and divert their attention from the writing task to their own writing strategies. By and by, this process becomes second nature and a novice is transformed into an expert.

The following quotes give the flavor of both approaches. College freshmen are told: "Master the essentials of the sentence as an aid to clear thinking and effective writing." "Adjective clauses or phrases are nonrestrictive when they describe (rather than limit the meaning of) the noun or pronoun they modify; set off by commas, they are nonessential parenthetical elements that may be omitted (Hodges, 1990:134-5; see also Zuber & Reed, 1993, on the importance of handbooks in writing instruction). A typical freshman composition program combines "regular instruction with a parallel set of assignments that both 'invite' and help the student reflect upon his or her own thinking and learning." For instance, students are asked at one point: "How did you use?" (Flower, 1989:210, 208). "Methods to encourage reflection might consist of recording students as they think out loud and then replaying the tape for comparison with the thinking of experts and other students (Collins, Brown, * Newman, 1989:483; see also Elbow, 1973:144; Rose, 1984:88-9).

The difference between traditional instruction and apprenticeship can perhaps be captured through a specific example. A widely-used handbook dedicates twenty-seven pages to the comma. This discussion begins by explaining why commas are needed. To satisfy these needs, ten rules have evolved. This handbook then describes, explains, and illustrates these rules. It then clarifies and illustrates important exceptions to these rules, and provides exercises for the application of these newly-acquired rules.

The first of these rules states: "Use a comma before a coordinating conjunction joining independent clauses." This is followed by definitions of "independent clauses" and "coordinating conjunctions." Students are then advised that a comma "tells readers that one independent clause has come to a close and that another is about to begin." This is followed by an exception, stated as a rule and then illustrated. Readers are then cautioned not to use a comma to "separate coordinate word groups that are not independent clauses." This last statement is then concretely exemplified.

After similar treatises on the remaining nine rules, readers are told that "many common misuses of comma result from an incomplete understanding" of these self-same ten rules. "Writers often form misconceptions about" these rules, either extending them inappropriately or misinterpreting them. Such misconceptions can lead to errors. There are also other misuses of the comma. These errors and misuses require, in their turn, an extended discussion of fourteen points. The first in that new series is: "Do not use a comma between compound elements that are not

independent clauses," a point which is then expounded and illustrated. Following a similar discussion of the next thirteen points, the discussion concludes with a touch of the process approach: readers are advised to look at themselves as writers and to consider some common causes and cures for any difficulty they may have with commas.

Apprenticeship advocates readily concede the verisimilitude of all these rules. They admire the painstaking research which has gone into explicating this astonishing variety of points and counterpoints. When faced with a concrete writing problem, or when they must send their manuscript to a particularly hard-nosed editor, they may even look up a couple of concrete illustrations in such handbooks.

In short, apprenticeship practitioners think such rules admirable teaching tools—for classes in linguistics (supposing linguists have no better use for their time). As these practitioners see it, such fine rules are virtually useless for writers. It will never occur to these practitioners to tell their students that the use of comma is governed by rules, let alone to explicate these rules. In the first place, they may question the naive assumption that rules—either explicit or implicit—are involved in the writing process (cf. Bereiter, 1991). In the second place, even if they concede this point, and even if they can explicate these rules, they do their best to forget them, or at least, as in the case of philosophically-trained scientists, to compartmentalize this knowledge from their writing and teaching. They believe that such rules are no handier to a writer than the rule "that curvature of the path must be in proportion to the ratio of imbalance over the square of speed" is to a cyclist. Their students are innocent of such things as rules and exceptions on how to use and not to use commas. Their students learn to use commas from reading the works of master-writers, from reading aloud their own words, from intuitively correcting typical comma errors in their own papers or in exercise books, and from expert guidance in concrete writing situations (see below).

In sum, in sharp contrast to the apprenticeship approach to writing instruction, the traditional and process approaches agree that writing is fundamentally unlike playing piano. Writing, they imply, is simple enough, or counterintuitive enough, to require (1) abstract explication of rules and strategies, and/or (2) moving back and forth from creating a text to reflections upon how the text is created. Given their popularity, one might expect that these approaches are based upon something a bit more solid than common sense and unsubstantiated theories. We shall now see that they are not.

Evidence for the Apprenticeship Approach to Writing Instruction

A Weaker Theoretical Basis for the Teaching of Rules

The apprenticeship approach insists that the analogy between old-time apprenticeship and learning to write is not partial (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989), but complete. It thus wholeheartedly joins the Rousseauistic "strain of educational thought opposed to the classical, rule-based view of learning and cognition,... a strain of thought [that] has given rise to many worthwhile developments in education." It dismisses, on admittedly utilitarian and intuitive grounds, "the family of instructional theories in which rules, definitions, logical operations, explicit procedures, and the like are treated as central." In doing so, apprenticeship is in entire agreement with the connectionist view that "this family of instructional theories has produced an abundance of technology on an *illusory psychological foundation* (Bereiter, 1991:15; italics added).

Rules and Strategies of Writing are too Complex and Imperfectly Known to Serve as Guides to Writers on the Spot

Many scholars have noted that language is too complex to be deliberately and consciously learned one rule at a time. This argument has been made for the acquisition of grammar, spelling, phonics, writing style, and vocabulary (Krashen, 1993:14)

Not only can we recognize 50,000 words on sight—and also, of course, by sound—we can usually make sense of all these words. Where have learned all the conventions of language through using language, by speaking it, reading it, and making sense of it. What we know about language is largely implicit, just like our knowledge of cars and dogs. So little of our knowledge of language is actually taught, we underestimate how much of language we have learned (Smith, 1988, 182).

The speech of young children, and the untutored writing of people of all ages, clearly show that people know many rules implicitly (or not at all). Even competent grammarians help themselves to rules they don't fully know:

I have asked members of a number of different group ... to give me the rule for ordering adjectives of nationality, age, and number in English. The response is always the same: 'We don't know the rule.' Yet when I ask these groups to perform an active language task, they show productive control over the rule they have denied knowing.... So [the grammar in our heads] is eminently usable knowledge—the way we make our life through language—but it is not accessible knowledge; in a profound sense, we do not know that have it (Hartwell, 1985:111; see also Ellis, 1990:185; Smith, 1988:182)

After decades of effort by linguists, later joined by AI specialists working on language understanding systems, no one has yet succeeded in working out a complete and valid set of grammatical rules for any language. If the rules are actually in our mind and if we all know them, is this failure to uncover the rules not remarkable? (Bereiter, 1991:10)

Writing Instruction is neither Sufficient nor Necessary for Good Writing

Some great writers have never taken a single composition course while some mediocre writers have taken many. Mark Lester believes that "there simply appears to be no correlation between a writer's study of language and his ability to write" (Lester, cited in Hartwell, 1985:115). More recently, Krashen presented "abundant evidence that literacy development can occur without formal instruction" (Krashen, 1993:15, additional evidence is given in Freedman, 1993:226-7)

It goes without saying that this fact cannot be reconciled with the beliefs that decontextualized mastery of myriad rules and strategies, or that an acquired sense of self-consciousness, are needed for good writing. In contrast, those who see writing as an art have no problems accounting for Plato's or Robert Burns' masterful writing, nor for the stale writing of some fifth-year composition students.

Writer's Block

Writer's block presents another embarrassment for proponents of traditional or process teaching. In fact, the etiology of writer's block is reminiscent of stage fright. Blocked writers, like rule-bound, self-conscious dancers, are immobilized by rules:

One of the most dramatic differences between... high-and low-blockers is ... the presence or absence of rigid rules. The teaching... of writing has too often and too zealously been reduced by English professionals and the larger culture alike to the teaching and evoking of rules And the problem occurs not simply with grammar and style. The composing process itself is often reduced and simplified in textbooks because it is too complex a process to be presented in its multifaceted richness (Rose, 1984:89-90).

Freewriting

In a directive reminiscent of free association in psychoanalyses, freewriters are told: "Never stop to ... think about what you are doing" (Elbow, 1973:1). Some research supports the seemingly "surrealist position, that often enough a student's freewriting, compared to rehearsed writing, turns out more coherent, better organized, or more fluid" (Haswell, 1991:60; see also Marsella & Hilgers, 1991:97).

The explanations offered for the effectiveness of freewriting and related approaches are again reminiscent of psychotherapy: Invisible writing "is intended as a way of reducing self-consciousness and relieving a writer of some of the constraints that might distract his thinking while he composes" (Blau, 1991:291), "Freewriting does seem to ... keep the generating activities clearly separated from the analytical or editorial.... [through] "what Elbow terms 'transparency,' of being able to escape the inhibiting self-consciousness that can interfere while material is being generated—or immediately afterward" (Mullin, 1991:146). "Free and invisible writing ... are precisely the sort of therapy that is called for to assist basic writers in overcoming their insistently premature and counterproductive focus on their readers and on the surface features of their discourse" (Blau, 1991:296).

Thus, freewriting rightly expends much elbow grease against acquired inhibitions. It goes without saying, however, that lifelong apprentices—those lucky enough to have never been overburdened with rules, strategies, and self-consciousness—can direct their energies to more productive and rewarding tasks.

Preoccupation with Audience

As we have seen, apprentices focus on the task at hand, not on spectators. The available evidence supports this feature of apprenticeship. Thus, Perl (1983) found that preoccupation with audience tends to impair writing. Often, writers who "focus on what they think others want them to write... do not establish a living connection between themselves and their topic" (p.49).

The Teaching of Grammar

Grammar instruction has been fashionable for ages. After all, doesn't it make sense to teach writing by drilling into learners the rules of language? However, the apprenticeship approach predicts the wastefulness of grammar instruction, and, as may be expected by now, the apprenticeship approach is right:

We need to attempt some massive dislocation of our traditional thinking, to shuck off our hyperliterate perception of the value of formal rules, and to regain the confidence in the tacit power of unconscious knowledge... Hoyt, in a 1906 experiment, found... no "relationship between a knowledge of technical grammar and the ability to use English and to interpret language."... In a 1959 article...John J. DeBoer noted [that] "the results have been consistently negative so far as the value of grammar in the improvement of language expression is concerned." In 1960 Ingrid M. Strom, reviewing more

than fifty experimental studies, came to a similarly strong and unqualified conclusion.... For me the grammar issue was settled with [the unqualified conclusion of a 1963 survey]: "the teaching of formal grammar has a negligible or... even a harmful effect on improvement in writing" (Hartwell, 1985, 121, 126, 105). A series of studies ... confirm that grammar instruction has no impact on reading and writing (Krashen, 1993, 22).

The Effect of Reading on Writing

Practitioners of decontextualized and process instruction put themselves, and their students, through much dour work, forgetting all the while that there is a far more effective—and fun—way of understudying writing: reading. A survey of the literature led Stotsky (1983) to this remarkable conclusion:

Studies that sought to improve writing by providing reading experiences in place of grammar study or additional writing practice found that these experiences were as beneficial as, of more beneficial than, grammar study or extra writing practice (p. 637).

Others go even farther:

It is only through reading that anyone can learn to write. The only possible way to learn all the conventions of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, even grammar, and style, is through reading. Authors teach readers about writing (Smith, 1988:177). Reading is the only way ... we become good readers, develop a good writing style, an adequate vocabulary, advanced grammar, and the only what we become good spellers" (Krashen, 1993, p.23).

According to this view, writing competence "is acquired subconsciously; readers are unaware they are acquiring writing competence while they are reading" (Krashen, cited in Freedman, 1993:230). Moreover, besides modeling good writing, reading serves another vital function. Writers need

to project themselves into the role of the reader.... to attempt to become readers and to imagine what someone other than themselves will need before the writer's particular piece of writing can become intelligible and compelling. To do so, writers must have the experience of being readers. They cannot call up a felt sense of a reader unless they themselves have experienced what it means to be lost in a piece of writing or to be excited by it (Perl, 1983, p. 50).

It would appear then that reading for pleasure is a necessary, and almost- sufficient, condition for a good writing style (but see, e.g., Crowhurst, 1991). This fact forcefully argues for the apprenticeship approach to writing.

An Argument by Analogy: Learning to Read

Certain arts closely resemble writing. Showing that such kindred arts can be best acquired through apprenticeship would strengthen the case for apprenticeship in writing. To provide that additional support, we shall now direct our attention, in that order, to learning artificial languages.

Many researchers and practitioners are convinced that reading can be best learned through apprenticeship:

Learning to read does not require the memorization of letter names, or phonic rules, or a large vocabulary, all of which are in fact taken care of in the course of learning or read ... Nor is learning to read a matter of application to all manner of exercises and drills, which can only distract and perhaps even discourage a child from the business of learning to read. And finally, learning to read is not a matter of a child relying upon instruction, because the essential skills of reading... cannot be explicitly taught. But they can be demonstrated to the child.... learning to read is like learning spoken language... Children easily learn about spoken language when they are involved in its use, when it has the possibility of making sense to them. And in the same way children will try to understand written language by being involved in its use. Concepts that scientists have found useful as hypothetical constructs in their attempt to understand their discipline have become, with little justification something a child must learn as a prerequisite for learning to read. (How children learned to read before these concepts were devised is not explained.) It is not clear that [metalinguistic] awareness plays an important role in learning, or indeed, that such awareness can take place until after learning has occurred.... Many people able to converse fluently cannot say what the difference is between nouns and verbs... Nevertheless, some theorists not only feel that metalinguistic understanding is essential for learning to read, but they define learning to read in terms of such understanding (Smith, 1988:198-9, 210,303).

[The learner is] an active and already partly competent sharer in the task of learning to read. Here the model is apprenticeship to craftsman.... the learner first undertakes the simplest parts of the job, then gradually more complex ones, increasing the share he can cope with and all the time working alongside, under the control of and with the help of, the craftsman. The apprentice does not sit passively with his mouth open; he works actively with the tools of his trade in his hand.... After all, how do little children learn everything they do before school; to speak, to play, even to walk or eat? (Waterland, 1985:6).... Children should be allowed to behave like apprentices- to be active partners in the task with the adult leading, not driving (p.9).... In many ways the acquisition of written language is comparable with that of spoken language... the perfect example of pure apprenticeship.... Reading cannot be taught in a formal sequenced way any

more than speech can be (pp. 10-11)... I began to ... turn theory into practice... Within a term, so successful was the children's response that colleagues in the rest of the school began using the apprenticeship approach with their classes (p.17) ... This response from children is the greatest success of the apprenticeship approach to reading and its greatest justification. Teachers who are now committed to what is still, in many eyes, a revolutionary idea have a responsibility to share experiences.... I believe that the potential for this approach to learning has hardly begun to be explored.... What about approaching writing like this ? (pp. 47-48)

The teaching of reading can be compared to teaching a child to ride a bicycle. We don't break the bicycle-riding process down into each discrete skill. Emerging bike riders are not told to practice pushing down on their right leg while lifting up their left leg. Instead we place the child on the bike, hold on, and run alongside him. It is the same with reading. We need to put students into books and support them in the process. If the child learning to ride the bicycle rides into a tree when he needs to stop, we take him off the bike and give him more explicit instruction in how to use his brakes. Our skill teaching is far more relevant when the child has "the need to know." Likewise in reading, the *teachable* moment for much of the skill instruction that the child needs comes when some aspect of the reading process has broken down. Because we have a more holistic view of the reading process, we know that practice in the subskills without relevant application in reading the whole text will not result in comprehension (Hyde & Bizar, 1989:59-60).

An Argument by Analogy: Learning to Speak a First Language

No one, to our knowledge, disputes the fact that speaking is acquired tacitly and unselfconsciously. This bolsters the apprenticeship model of writing instruction. After all, historically, writing originated as a means of recording speech. Also, writing still closely resembles speaking, and some of the greatest masters of the written word (e.g., Bertrand Russell) often dictated their books.

An Argument by Analogy: Learning a Foreign Language

Foreign writers (e.g., Conrad, Koestler, Nabokov, Polanyi, Popper, Rand in English; Iskander in Russian; Bialik in Hebrew) sometimes reach the pinnacle of their profession. They often fail to master the sounds of their adopted language, but their writing is accent-free. For the most part, their mastery of the written word is not achieved through explicit, self-conscious, instruction. Thus, Freedman (1993) cites evidence that "nearly all second language learning entails ... the subconscious inferring of the rules of language use on the basis of comprehensible examples of the target language during the process of authentic language tasks" (p. 230).

As we have seen, although apprenticeship involves for the most part tacit learning, it does contain an explicit component: unlike decontextualized abstract rules, explicitness can be of immense value—when it is use sparingly, when it accompanies and echoes practical experiences, and when it is tailored to the developmental needs of the learner. Some research that foreign language instruction as its best relies on a similar mix of authentic tacit and explicit components (Ellis, 1990).

An Argument by Analogy: Artificial Language

Psychologists have studied the ability of subjects to learn artificial languages, usually constructed of nonsense syllables or letter strings.... mere exposure to grammatical sentences produced tacit learning ... [but] subjects given the "rules of the language" do much less well in acquiring the features than do subjects not given the rules. Indeed, even telling subjects that they are to induce the rules of an artificial language degrades performance (Hartwell, 1985:117).

A Sampler of Instructional Implications

There is, thus, overwhelming evidence in favor of the apprenticeship approach to writing instruction. We have already explicated a few tentative rules of apprenticeship, but these only provide a broad philosophical framework. Tacit mastery of this framework is essential to good teaching, but it does not yet tell us how this framework can be applied in settings as disparate as dancing, carrying out a scientific experiment, and writing.

This framework, to begin with, points to the importance of motivational, social, and affective factors—all too often set aside in the traditional classroom. It tells us that writing can be best mastered by students who feel that it is relevant to their own lives and concerns. It suggests that certain practices, despite their popularity, seeming reasonableness, and many defenders, must be avoided at all costs. These shunned practices include out-of-context excessive teaching of rules and strategies and paralyzing novices with over-attention to themselves or to their audience. Instead, writers should focus almost exclusively on generating and editing a text. Explicit instruction and reflections must be used sparingly, appropriately, and in context.

One can readily come up with many more concrete implications of apprenticeship to writing, implications which no doubt depend on such variables as imagination, language of instruction, and location. Here, we should like to further illustrate this approach through a few practices

which worked well in our setting: teaching English composition to older-than-average freshmen.

Practice Makes Perfect

In the apprenticeship classroom, grammar, abstract rules and strategies, and metareflections are kept at arm's length. apprentices focus on what they want to say, not on their audience or on how they are going to say it. They revise their texts by relying on common sense and intuition, not on an inaccessible and confusing multitude of explicit rules and strategies. When apprentices commit glaring errors, instructors or peers bring such errors to their attention, but again, the appeal in such cases is to common sense, to usage, to aesthetics, or to parsimony, not to formal rules. Apprentices don't waste their time studying rules, and exceptions thereof, for the proper use of punctuation marks. They are neither taught, nor tested on, the spelling of such words as "concede" and "quibble." They are guided towards improvement of their texts, and the texts of others, in the same way that a sculpture apprentice is taught to chisel a statue. Whenever possible, they are coached in small groups and in one-on-one conferences.

Overcoming Misconceptions

According to Mike Rose (1984), "many of our students have developed narrow or distorted conceptions of the writing process.... our students' misconceptions profoundly affect their growth as writers" (pp.87-8). This problem afflicts all writing classrooms, but it is particularly acute for practitioners of the apprenticeship approach. Before coming to our classroom, writers have often been urged to apply an unmanageable horde of abstract rules, to consciously employ expert strategies, and to incessantly reflect on their own writing. They may feel uncomfortable in a writing class which spends much time on the reading of contemporary short stories and little time on grammar. For the foreseeable future, then, practitioners of the apprenticeship model must clarify their educational philosophy to their students. They must also take the persistence of misconceptions into account, and rely on conceptual change strategies to overcome them (Posner et al., 1982)

Here is one simplified illustration of the application of insights from apprenticeship and conceptual change instruction to a frequently writing problem (see authors' unpublished manuscript):

Consider that strange animal — the comma-riddled text. We can edit it and request a revision: we can refer our students to handbooks which explicate the proper use of commas; or we can lecture on the subject, lucidly explaining and illustrating why a comma helps readers in some cases and

distracts them in others. All these approaches may be valuable, but misconceptions research points to a better way. It tells us that students are unlikely to permanently relinquish any time-honored practice just because *we* are dissatisfied with it. Somehow, they must come around to being just as unhappy with unnecessary commas as we are. We can help them reach this unhappy state by asking them to read their text aloud and by insisting that, in so doing, they give every comma its due. This is likely to foster the desired malaise, because reading aloud is known to help writers detect redundant punctuations marks (Hartwell, 1985, p. 121). Next, we can guide such writers to a more nearly correct use of commas, again not through lectures but through a Socratic dialogue. We must take our time and make sure that they understand our alternative conception, for instance, by pointing out parallels between pauses in speaking and writing. We need to make sure that this conception makes sense to them, for instance, by reading aloud texts in which commas are not overused. Above all, the new conception must be shown to be fruitful, for instance, by reading aloud the revised text and showing that it reads better than its comatose predecessor. Finally, we need to apply a variety of conceptual change strategies, not just one. Knowing that people are disinclined to let go of discredited convictions, we need to revisit the subject of superfluous commas a few times until the alternative conception takes hold in the writer's mind. Instead of repeating ourselves on students the writers text of a speech from which all commas have been removed, playing that speech on a tape-recorder, and asking students to insert commas in the text while listening to the tape. In principle, computer-assisted instruction could also be useful tackling this problem.

Guided Discovery

If writing is an art, if misconceptions about writing are indeed resistant to change (Nissani, 1994; Rose, 1984; Tobias, 1992), and if the essence of learning can be "best captured by the metaphor of embryological development, not by that of the stepwise construction of brick walls" (Nissani & Hoefler - Nissani, 1992:110), then learners "should be told as little as possible, and induced to *discover* as much as possible" (Spencer, 1864). For instance, errors can be circled but not corrected (cf. Hartwell, 1985:121). Or, as we have just seen, students can detect mispunctuations by reading aloud their texts (Hartwell, 1985, p. 121).

Situated Learning

Old-time apprenticeship is successful, in part, because apprentices often wish to acquire an art. Their economic future, standing in the community, and professional pride may hinge on successful completion of their training. They need not be cajoled into acquiring the art; in Japan, for

instance, learning traditional arts is often described as "stealing the master's secrets" (Singleton, 1989).

Writing novices should likewise view writing, and writing instruction, as useful, relevant, and empowering. The common practice of providing a real audience helps achieve this goal. Here, students' writings are read aloud in class, shared in small groups, or placed in class publications. Instruction can also make use of writing tasks students encounter in real life; students can write and edit letters to family and friends, papers for other classes, or work-related writings. Another approach involves team-teaching arrangements between a writing instructor and an instructor in another discipline. For instance, in a combined biology/writing class, learners write about biology and receive, in this context of an actual writing task, instruction and feedback from both instructors.

Rule-Free Grammar Instruction

Instead of learning an unmanageable plethora of abstract rules, apprentices often edit ungrammatical or inelegant sentences. Throughout the process, no appeal is made to explicit rules. Some of the sentences are verbose, and apprentices discover on their own, or recognize, the superiority of more concise version. Dangling modifiers are explained by analogies to situations where such modifiers make no sense or by appealing to apprentices' linguistic intuition. Other key problems are similarly worked out on the intuitive level, without mentioning once such terms as "subjects" or "prepositions." In a portion of the final test, apprentices can be asked to edit a "short story" which is an amalgamation of most of the errors they have encountered throughout the term.

Instead of dry, abstract, and largely irrelevant recitation of rules, this problem-solving activity is productive and enjoyable. This activity can, as well as, be easily converted into a competitive game. Indeed, one of the best ways, in our experience, to gain converts to the apprenticeship approach of writing instruction is precisely through this engaging rule-free activity of learning to recognize stylistic errors.

Reading

As we have seen, "writing style is not consciously learned, but is largely absorbed, or subconsciously acquired, from reading" (Krashen, 1993:73). The implications of this for composition apprenticeship are profound. A writing class ought to be, in part, a reading class. And the goal is not only to have students read for our class, but to foster a habit of

lifelong reading (cf. Stotsky, 1983:637). Needless to add, reading instruction at its best follows the apprenticeship approach (e.g., Smith, 1988; Stanek, 1993; Waterland, 1985, 1989).

Besides providing invaluable models of good writing (Smith, 1988), and besides providing invaluable insights into readers' needs (Perl, 1983), the readings we choose can be used as springboards for the students' own writing. For example, students can summarize a reading or respond to it.

To develop a keener appetite for reading well-written essays and literary works, the readings accompanying a writing class must be captivating (see Pintrich et al., 1993). They must include pieces the instructor is excited about, for students will be more impressed by the instructor's genuine enthusiasm than by anything else she does or says. impressed by the instructor's genuine enthusiasm than by anything else she does or says. The ideal collection of readings must serve as an excellent prototype of written language. It must be flexible—allowing instructors to learn from experience and add or delete material from term to term.

These goals can be best served by one collection—the coursepack instructors put together on their own. Ideal collection might include appealing short stories, light poems, and essays (cf. Stolarek, 1994). For instance, a coursepack for African-American women might include a couple of short stories from Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place*. Perceptive love pieces always work well. Because students are interested in their immediate surroundings, the ideal collection features local, contemporary writers and journalists. A couple of short pieces by another local person of their acquaintance—their instructor—work particularly well (instructors more than make up for their shortcomings as writers by being on the spot).

To judge by current practices, many writing instructors share the view that the freshman composition class is "no place for literature" (Lindemann, 1993). Indeed, four out of five freshman composition programs in the U.S. include no novels, short stories, drama, or poetry (Tate, 1993:317). From the apprenticeship standpoint, this is lamentable. Because literature tends to be more emotionally gripping and engaging than essays, and because reading is essential to good writing, appropriate literature firmly belongs in *every* writing class. Gary Tate perceptively says: "The discipline of composition studies ... has erred seriously ... by elevating nonfiction prose and the discourses of the various disciplines to sacred heights, in the meantime ignoring enormously rich body of literature... [Only with] a vision that excludes no texts ... can we end the self-imposed

mentorship that for more than two decades has denied us the use of literature in our writing classes" (p. 321; see also Scharer, 1992).

Modeling Writing as a Process

Besides exposure to well-crafted products and performances, an apprentice needs to know how these products and performances are generated and improved. Similarly, besides reading fine texts, writing students benefit from seeing accomplished writers at work, and from these writers' retrospective reflections. Students may benefit from examining successive revisions of short stories, essays, or poems. They may benefit from autobiographical portraits in which writers describe critical turning points in the acquisition of their art (cf. Eshleman, 1989). They benefit from seeing their instructor at work. For instance, by using a laptop computer and an overhead projector, a writing instructor can provide an immediate model of the process of writing and editing. As before, the goal here is neither to distill rules nor metareflections, but to provide a living model of a craftsman at work.

Role of Explicitness and Metareflections

As we have seen, the apprenticeship approach does not banish explicit teaching and metareflections from the composition classroom. Explicit rules are sometimes vital in an authentic context (Ellis, 1990; Freedman, 1993), or when they make writers aware of rules which they have failed to tacitly acquire. Advanced writers, in particular, may benefit from some explicit knowledge of rules and strategies of their art, and from a modicum of self-reflection.

For instance, the injunction to avoid the passive voice in one's writing is too abstract, too devoid of context, too plagued by exceptions "for the people on the spot, that is for writers facing some concrete writing problem" (to paraphrase Feyerabend). But when given as editorial feedback on an actual text, and when the change can be readily implemented and shown to improve that text, this injunction is probably useful.

Conclusion

Williams and Colomb (1993) write:

Nothing challenges our professional worth more than the charge that we are failing our students, perhaps even doing them harm. Aviva Freedman offers the sobering hypothesis that at best we do students no good when we try to teach them to write by teaching them explicit features, rules, or principles of specific genres. At stake in her claim, however, is more than our self-worth

Were such a claim true, it would challenge how we structure curricula, write textbooks, train teachers, do research (p. 252).

On this point — that the future of composition hinges on the outcome of such debates — there is a rare consensus:

It is not surprising that we call each other names: those of us who question the value of teaching grammar are in fact shanking the whole elaborate edifice of traditional composition instruction (Hartwell, 1985), 1985:109).

This essay has argued that controversies about such issues as explicitness, genres, grammar, and metacognitions can be resolved by returning to apprenticeship as the overarching paradigm of writing instruction. One can imagine countless reasons for not embracing apprenticeship, including vested interests, the difficulty of seeing time-honored practices in a new light, the apprenticeship model's counterintuitive emphasis on contextual learning, and the effectiveness of alternative models. Nonetheless, the apprenticeship model offers a unified theory of writing instruction. It is consistent with much of what we know about both language and learning. It promises to make writing instruction more enjoyable and fruitful to both learners and teachers. It assimilates the best features of traditional and process instruction while avoiding most of their pitfalls. For these reasons, it may one day prevail.

Notes

1. Throughout this paper, *apprenticeship* refers to traditional methods of learning crafts, and to modern methods of acquiring complex arts like playing piano or investigating a scientific problem. The meaning of *apprenticeship* in this paper is best captured by the text's extensive Polanyi's (1962) quote. Similar educational philosophies can be found in Feyerabend (1993), Smith (e.g., 1988), Krashen (e.g., 1993), and Waterland (1985, 1989). As used in this paper, *apprenticeship* is also akin to Rogoff's (1990) *guided participation* and to Lave and Wenger's (1991) *legitimate peripheral participation*. *Apprenticeship*, as it is understood in this paper, has very little in common with *cognitive apprenticeship* (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989; Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991), the central concept in an educational model which, despite its name, embodies too few features of apprenticeship and far too many features of 1980s' cognitive psychology. In contrast to Collins, Brown, and Newman's (1987) emphasis on "how cognitive apprenticeship goes beyond the techniques of traditional apprenticeship," (p.2) this essay argues that apprenticeship — by itself — provides the best model of writing

instruction. To put it differently, for Collins apprenticeship is a mere metaphor for an elaborate cognitive approach; for us, it is the real thing.

2. an anonymous personal communication.
3. This is a paraphrase of an actual assignment in a freshman composition program.
4. Besides common sense, this assumption is traceable to uncritical acceptance of fashionable trends in cognitive psychology: "A major direction in current cognitive research is to attempt to formulate explicitly the strategies and skills underlying expert practice, to make them a legitimate focus to teaching in schools and other learning environment (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989:480).
5. Bereiter valiantly sets out to save as much of his old paradigm as he can by insisting that rule-bound cognitive psychology and connectionism can be united. But such a reconciliation is as likely to bear fruit as was Tycho Brahe's attempt to unite geocentrism and heliocentrism.

References:

- Adams, M.J. (1990). *Beginning to Read*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Applebee, A.N. (1986). Problems in process approaches: toward a reconceptualization of process instruction. In A. Petrosky & D. Bartholomae (Eds.), *The teaching of writing* (pp. 95-113). Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education.
- Axelrod, R.B. & Cooper, C.R. (1994). *The St. Martin's guide to writing* (4th ed.). New York: St. Martin's.
- Bereiter, C. (1991). Implications of connectionism for thinking about rules. *Educational Researcher*, 20 (3), 10-16.
- Beveridge, W.I.B. (1950). *The art of scientific investigation*. New York: Norton.
- Blau, S. (1991). Thinking and the liberation of attention: the uses of free and invisible writing. In P. Belanoff, P. Elbow, & S.I. Fontaine (Eds.), *Nothing begins with N* (pp. 283-299). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Christensen, F. (1967). *Notes towards a new rhetoric*. New York: Harper.
- Coles, W.E. (1978). *The plural I*. New York: Holt.

- Collins, A., Brown, J.S., & Newman, S.E. (1987). *Cognitive apprenticeship: teaching the crafts of reading writing, and mathematics*. Center for the Study of Reading. Technical Report No. 403.
- Collins, A., Brown, J.S., & Newman, S.E. (1987). *Cognitive apprenticeship: teaching the crafts of reading writing and mathematics*. In L.B. Resnick (Ed.) *Knowing, learning and instruction* (pp. 453-494). Hillsdale (NJ): Erlbaum.
- Collins, a., Hawkins, J. & Carver, S.M. (1991). *A cognitive apprenticeship for disadvantaged students*. Washington (DC): U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center (microfiche).
- Crowhurst, M. (1991). Interrelationships between reading and writing persuasive discourse. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 25, 314-338.
- Edwards, W. (1968). Conservation in human information processing. In B. Kleinmuntz (Ed.), *Formal representation of human judgement* (pp. 17-52). New York: Wiley.
- Elbow, P. (1973). *Writing without teachers*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Ellis, R. (1990). *Instructed second language acquisition: learning in the classroom*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Eshleman, C. (1989). *Novices: A Study of Apprenticeship*. Los Angeles: Mercer.
- Fanhnestock, J. (1993). Genre and rhetorical craft. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 27, 265-271.
- Feyerabend, P. (1993). *Against method* (3rd. ed.). London: NLB.
- Flower, L. (1989). Taking thought: the role of conscious processing in the making of meaning. In E.P. Maimon, B.F. Nodine, & F.W. O'Connor (Eds.), *Thinking, reasoning and writing* (pp. 185-212). New York: Longman.
- Freedman, A. (1993). Show and tell? The role of explicit teaching in the learning of new genres. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 27, 222-251.
- Hacker, D. (1994). *The Bedford handbook for writers* (4th ed.). Boston: St. Martin's.
- Hartwell, P. (1985). Grammar, grammars, and the teaching of grammar. *College English*, 47, 105-127.

- Haswell, R.H. (1991). Round Forms in freewriting: the issue of organization. In P. Belanoff, P. Elbow, & S. I. Fontaine (Eds.), *Nothing begins with N* (pp. 32-70). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Hodges, J.G. et al. (1990). *Harbrace college handbook* (11th ed.). New York: Harcourt.
- Hyde, A. A. & Bizar, M. (1989), *Thinking in context*. New York: Longman.
- Kahneman, D. et al. (1982). *Judgement under uncertainty: heuristics and biases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Krashen, S. (1993). *The power of reading*. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited.
- Kuhn. T.S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (rev. ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Lave. J. & Wenger. E. (1991). *Situated learning*. New York: Cambridge University.
- Lindemann, E. (1993). Freshman composition: no place for English. *College English*, 55, 311-316.
- Macrorie, K. (1991). The freewriting relationship. In P. Belanoff, P. Elbow, & S.I. Fontaine (Eds.), *Nothing begins with N* (pp. 173-188). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Marsella. J. & Hilgers, T.L. (1991). Exploring the potential of freewriting. In P. Belanoff, P. Elbow, & S.I. Fontaine (Eds.), *Nothing begins with N* (pp. 93-110). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Millar, J.E. (1972). *Word, self, reality*. New York: Dodd Mead.
- Mullin, A.F. (1991). Freewriting in the classroom: good for what? In P. Belanoff, P. Elbow, & S.I. Fontaine (Eds.), *Nothing begins with N* (Pp. 139-147). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Nissani, M. (1994). Conceptual conservation: an understated variable in human affairs? *Social Science Journal*, 31, 307-318.
- Nissani, M. & Hoefler-Nissani, D.M. (1992). Experimental studies of belief-dependence of observations and of resistance to conceptual change. *Cognition and Instruction*, 9, 97-111.
- Parajares, F. & Johnson, M.J. (1994). Confidence and competence in writing: The role of self-efficacy, outcome expectancy, and apprehension, *Research in the Teaching of English*, 28, 313-331.

The three students in this report exhibited a sophisticated knowledge of what worked for them, and what made them successful. One male student was in commerce, and one male and one female were in science; all were in the first year of their bachelors program. The commerce student, an intermediate English student at the Institute, was from Biratnagar and had attended a government high school there. The science students were from Kathmandu and had attended private high schools. The female student was in a high beginning English class at the Institute, and the science student in a high intermediate class.

All three students told me they had been successful students through school and the first two years of college, so were assured that their study habits were effective. My own observations convinced me they were quite aware of their successful behaviors, so I have chosen them as the primary subjects of this paper. My hope is that by analyzing their behaviors, I can distill their successful behaviors into strategies that students can use to improve their studying, and teachers can use to provide explicit strategy information to their students.

Observations

The following are the major behaviors I observed during the case studies with the three students during the study sessions and learned from them in discussion:

1. Multiple readings of their textbooks
2. Writing fair copy notebooks combining rough copy notes of the teacher's lecture with rough copy notes made from books
3. Writing fair copy notebooks in their own words, and without looking back at notes and books
4. Writing frequently throughout the entire course and the study time before exams
5. Consulting several books on the class subject in the process of studying
6. Isolating important information and focusing on it in writing
7. Using text structure to guide the formation of the fair copy
8. Linking diagrams, pictures and other visual representations to prose in the fair copy

9. Learning from the classroom teacher, taking tuition, and studying with friends

I elaborate on these items separately below and then discuss their implications.

Discussion

Multiple readings of the textbook. Research on the reading process suggests that fluent reading is a result of an effective interaction of several components. These components are (1) automatic recognition skills, (2) vocabulary and structural knowledge, (3) formal discourse structure knowledge, (4) content/world background knowledge, (5) synthesis and evaluation skills/strategies, and (6) metacognitive knowledge and skills monitoring (Grabe, 1991.) The first two categories are lower-level, data-driven, bottom-up processes, and the latter four are higher-level, concept-driven, top-down processes.

Word recognition is an essential feature of the first component of automatic recognition skills, and the second feature of vocabulary. Indeed "word recognition is the foundation of the reading process" (Gough, 1984:225). Word recognition has been the subject of many first language studies (Adams, 1994; Ehri, 1991; Ehri, 1994; Gough, 1984; Perfetti, 1985; Stanovich, 1991a). Ehri (1991) explained word recognition and its importance in this way:

The ability to read words rapidly is thought to be highly important for text comprehension, the explanation being the faster and more automatically that words can be recognized, the more space in memory is made available for the execution of higher-level comprehension processes. (p. 387)

A convenient model for understanding the operation of automatic word recognition in fluent reading is Stanovich's (1991a, 1992) explanation of the role of modularity. Modular processes are encapsulated, that is they occur rapidly and without attention and are not influenced by prior knowledge structures stored in long-term memory. Readers who have efficient modular processes in word recognition utilize little of the processing capacity of working memory, and are able to concentrate on the higher level process of constructing meaning for the text (Daneman, 1991; Perfetti, 1985; Stanovich, 1992).

"Word recognition becomes increasingly encapsulated with skill development. Thus, the structure of processing becomes more modularized at the higher levels of reading ability" (Stanovich, 1991a, p. 443). The more

often that a reader has encountered a word in pattern, the stronger and more complete will be the recognition, and the resulting fluency of reading. When readers' word recognition processes are not modularized due to lack of familiarity with vocabulary, they need to use the sentence and textual context to comprehend a word. Directing their attention to this lower level process is an efficient compensatory mechanism, but one that draws attention away from higher level processes (Stanovich, 1980; Stanovich, 1991b). Reading is not automatic, and readers are unable to concentrate on the global meaning of the text. As reading skill develops, readers' word recognition is less affected by context, and they can direct their attention to text integration.

By repeated readings of text, readers can improve their automatic skills and focus on constructing a global meaning for the text (Eskey, 1988; Samuels, 1994; Samuels, Schermer, & Reinking, 1992; Segalowitz, et al., 1991). The repeated readings of the text books that the students in this study reported served to improve their automatic recognition skills and allow them to construct a global meaning for the text. Likewise, reading reference books on the same subject was another method of repeated readings. Evidence of the value of repeated readings the students provided in their reports was their admission that they understood little of their texts until they had read them more than once.

Rough copies to fair copies. The students reported that when they wrote their fair copies, they incorporated notes from the teacher's lecture with ideas they acquired from reading the textbook and reference books. The process of combining notes and ideas from several sources is an example of intertextuality—the process by which "readers transpose texts into other texts, absorb one text into another, and build a mosaic of intersecting texts" (Hartman, 1994, p. 617). The notion of intertextuality suggests that readers generate interconnections between texts and create a "web of meaning" (p. 617). Consulting several texts and incorporating their ideas into one mental representation is another example of how readers construct intertextuality.

The process of creating a fair copy from the textbook, the "text" of the teacher's lecture, and other supplemental reading sources, is a prime example of the facilitative effect of intertextuality exhibited by the three students. These students, by their combinatory writing, were constructing a meaning that resonated in them. They created this meaning by assembling "textual fragments by generating intertextual links between the fragments to fit a particular context. The reader's 'databank' becomes a

multidimensional, heterarchical network of textual resources" (Hartman, 1994, pp. 617-618).

Writing fair copy notebooks in their own words. The students reported that they wrote their fair copy texts in their own words, and did not refer back to their rough copy or texts during the writing process, if possible. By using this procedure, the students were demonstrating active construction of meaning. They were composing an "inner text" (Tierney & Pearson, 1985), and using writing as the medium for solidifying their thoughts. Tierney and Pearson's (1985) model of the reading process best explains this process the students were using to construct meaning. The model is a "Composing Model of Reading," in which the composing processes of readers and writers are seen as complementary. The five components of the model are planning, revising, drafting, aligning, and monitoring.

Readers and writers both engage in planning, which involves goal setting and knowledge mobilization. The students in this study had clear goals in mind—enhancing their knowledge of the subject and passing the exam—and they mobilized their knowledge by reading, attending lectures, and by writing. They used reading and writing as complementary processes to create in their mind the knowledge base they needed for the test, and the form the base would take.

Revision involves engaging in re-examination and redevelopment. Readers and writers "must examine their developing interpretations and view the models they build as draft-like in quality—subject of revision" (p. 73). The students' multiple reading of texts and notes exemplifies how they as readers were revising their model of the subject matter.

In the process of writing in their fair copies, the students were drafting, the next component of the model. In the drafting process, readers and writers are selecting and instantiating schema, their organized knowledge of the world (Adams & Collins, 1979; Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Schallert, 1982). In selecting schema, readers and writers search for a lead statement or introduction to the text they are creating in which they prescribe the ideas that introduce or define the topic. In instantiating schema, they expand on the initial lead statements and refine the information.

The students demonstrated the behaviors of schema selection and instantiation both as readers and writers. Their initial contact with the text and/or the teacher's lecture helped them to select a schema. They instantiated the schema by thinking about the texts and the lectures and

creating a scenario for the form they would give the knowledge they had. Using the process of writing to solidify this knowledge reinforced the claim Tierney and Pearson make that reading and writing are complementary processes.

Both reading and writing activities have the same goal—to achieve coherence. The alignment the reader or writer adopts affects the ability to achieve this coherence. Alignment consists of readers and writers both adopting a stance toward their audience, and assuming a role as they proceed in their task.

The students in the study read from the stance of test takers and learners, and this stance gave their reading and listening to the lecture coherence. The role they assumed as readers and listeners was as a student learning something new and important. As writers, they were authors addressing the potential graders of the tests they would take. Both activities provided a coherence to their actions, with the goal clearly in sight. As Tierney and Pearson suggest, "Adopting an alignment is akin to achieving a foothold from which meaning can be more readily negotiated" (p. 69).

Monitoring is the final and overarching feature of both reading and writing (Baker & Brown, 1984; Biggs, 1984; Dansereau, 1978; Garner, 1987). Monitoring here means stepping back from the text the students are reading or writing and evaluating their progress. As readers, the students mentioned that they were aware when they were understanding or not understanding, and took action to remedy the situation when they were not understanding. The evaluation process in which they engaged gave them insight into their constructing of meaning, and remedial avenues when necessary.

As writers, they evaluated their understanding during the process of writing. They said that they were aware of whether they were remembering facts and writing processes, they were negotiating meaning with what Tierney and Pearson refer to as the "inner reader ... who continually reacts to what the writer has written, is writing, and will write—or what the reader has read, is reading, and will read" (p. 75).

Isolating importance information and focusing on it in writing. Throughout the process of reading and writing, the students were able to isolate what they considered to be important information. Differentiating important information from unimportant information is a critical study strategy. Effective use of study strategies is metacognition, or monitoring of cognition (Garner, 1994).

One researcher (Snowman, 1986) defined three elements related to strategy use. The first element is the learning strategy, "a general plan one formulates for determining how to best achieve a set of academic objectives prior to dealing with the learning task itself" (p. 244). The students in this study demonstrated the effectiveness of their learning strategies by having clear plans for assembling the information and skills necessary for reaching their goal of academic achievement.

The second element is the learning tactic, "a specific technique one uses in the service of the strategy while confronted with the task" (p. 244). The student's use of multiple texts, lectures, and writing in fair copies are specific learning tactics they employed to help them reach their goals.

The third element is metacognitive knowledge, which "involves being aware of how one thinks and knowing how to appropriately use one's thought processes in order to achieve the learning goal" (p. 245). Again, our students' awareness of their strengths and weaknesses, and understandings and misunderstandings, and what they did to compensate when they did not understand, are all testament to their sophisticated metacognitive knowledge.

Further, researchers have discussed metacognition as it specifically relates to studying (Wade, Trathen, & Schraw, 1990). When successful learners

read for the purpose of learning the material in the text, they are aware of whether they are comprehending and learning the material. When they realize that they are failing to comprehend or remember, they adjust their tactics or select new ones. Conversely, if they are not experiencing problems, they are less likely to shift to new tactics. Thus, the Good Strategy User is one who is able to use a variety of tactics and is flexible and purposeful in their use. (p. 149)

The students in this study were clearly "Good Strategy Users." One theory of studying and learning posits that a student must first demonstrate metacognition before any other mental activities can be effective (Reynolds & Shirey, 1988). Metacognition allows learners to focus on important elements in the text and important elements they must learn. They then focus their attention on those elements, as our students did in their reading, listening to lectures, and in their preparation of fair copies. Learning is the outcome of the combination of metacognition, importance, and attention. The students in this study were learning the material they needed for the upcoming tests because of a successful balance of the three elements.

Knowing what was important for the test is an example of knowing the criterion task, a critical study skill. Researchers (Anderson & Armbruster, 1984) have suggested that "when the criterion task is made explicit to the students before they read the text, students will learn more from studying than when the criterion task remains vague" (p. 658).

The students consistently mentioned that they used former exam papers and their own experiences from former exams to guide their reading and writing. Their teachers also informed them about information likely to be tested. The students were acutely aware of the criterion task and tailored their studying to fit their knowledge.

Knowledge of the criterion task "must lead the students to believe that if they modify studying behavior in accordance with the expected outcomes of the studying session, they will do better on the criterion task" (Anderson & Armbruster, 1984, p. 660). The three students in this study knew exactly what they needed to learn, and what they wanted to accomplish from studying, and as a result performed better than students who did not demonstrate this exact knowledge.

Using text structure to guide formation of fair copy. Having a knowledge of text features and structures is an example of formal schema (Carrell, 1984; Carrell, 1987; Meyer & Freedle, 1984; Meyer & Rice, 1984). Carrell, (1984) defined formal schema as "Background knowledge of the rhetorical structures of different types of texts" (p. 89). She found that when readers who were reading English as a second language possessed the formal schema in which the text was written and utilized that formal schema in their recall of the text, they were able to retrieve more information from the text.

Indeed, "text structure specifies the logical connections among ideas as well as subordination of some ideas to others" (Meyer & Rice, 1984, p. 319). The students in this study were sensitive to the logical connections in the text, and use the structure of the text to guide their studying. They frequently mentioned knowing by the text organization that some ideas were more important than others, and concentrated on remembering these more important ideas in their followup studying. For example, one student mentioned using the headings and titles to alert him to what was important. All of them said that they were aware the information in a text was presented in a hierarchical form of major ideas presented before related lesser details, and they concentrated on learning the major ideas first. When they read, they were looking for that hierarchy. In addition, they retained these features in their mind when writing their fair copies. They

also used underlining and color coding in their fair copies to alert them to important items for later studying.

Linking diagrams, pictures, and other visual representations to prose in fair copy. A theory useful for understanding the role of nonverbal representations, or imagery, in comprehension and recall is Dual-Coding Theory (Sadowski & Paivio, 1994). An essential tenet of Dual-Coding Theory is that "All mental representations retain some of the concrete, original qualities of the external experiences from which they derive. These experiences can be linguistic or nonlinguistic" (p. 584). The theory hypothesizes two separate mental systems, one for representing and processing language (the verbal system), and the other that processes information about nonlinguistic objects and events (the nonverbal system). The nonverbal system is also referred to as the imagery system because the individual generates and analyzes mental images based on sensory information.

The two systems, verbal and nonverbal, are separate and can function either independently or together. Nonverbal information is holistic in nature, and appears as clusters of information units available to the individual simultaneously. The activation of one system or the other can occur in either direction. Sadoski and Paivio suggest that "language can referentially evoke nonverbal images, and images can evoke verbal referents" (p. 586). When both verbal and nonverbal referents are evoked together, the resulting comprehension is more thorough and deeper than when only one channel is evoked.

Imagery also "serves as a mental peg, or natural mnemonic, on which related information is hung" (p. 595). Thus, the individual is able to retain in memory much more information when imagery and language are working together, because the imagery serves as a place-holder for individual information, allowing individuals to continue constructing a mental model of the text.

The students' discussion of their ability to relate pictures, graphs, and diagrams to the written word demonstrates the facilitative effect of using linguistic and nonlinguistic associations. One student said, "Picture helps writing, writing helps picture." This overt relationship between linguistic and imagery messages obviously helped the students to construct deeper meanings for their fair copy texts, and their later recall. All of the students reported holding pictures in their mind from the text, or from the teachers' lectures, while writing. For example, the accounting student used graphs and other visual representations to remember the various steps of complex

problems. The science students commented that they held in their mind the diagrams and visual representations of life systems and chemical reactions when writing their fair copies. In both examples, the image served as a conceptual peg for the students to organize and drive their thoughts while writing.

In addition, the accounting student said he often visualized himself as an accountant in a Nepalese firm while working problems. He also put the problems into figures with which he was familiar (rupees), and into situations he had experienced. Both actions made learning and problem-solving easier for him.

Learning from the classroom teacher, taking tuition and studying with friends. In recent discussions on reading and learning, much has been made of the social nature of the learning process (Forman & Cazden, 1994; Freire, 1992; Grabe, 1991; Hartman, 1994; Nunan, 1992; Ruddell & Unrau, 1994). A recent model of reading refers to reading as a meaning-construction process consisting of the interaction among the reader, the text, and the teacher (Ruddell & Unrau, 1994). The text part of the model includes the classroom and greater social context, which comprises the learning environment in which the meaning-negotiation process takes place.

In this model, both student and teacher interact to negotiate purpose and plans and to draw on background knowledge with the goal of forming text and instructional representations both. In this Study, I did not observe classrooms, so was not able to learn first-hand what teachers did. The reports of the students, however, gave me some insight into the role the teacher played in their learning.

Interestingly, students felt their teachers were not interested in them and did not care about their job. Yet the students all said that without the lecture of the teachers, they would not have been able to fully exploit the contents of the textbook. Repeatedly, the students said that while writing their fair copy, they thought of things from the teacher's lecture that they had forgotten, and ultimately gauged their understanding of the text according to how much it coincided with what the teacher had said.

Students turned to tuition teachers when they felt the classroom teacher was inadequate. Usually the classroom teacher was unable to finish lecturing on the entire syllabus, so the students sought help in completing the syllabus from the tuition teacher. The tuition teacher usually took the time to check their fair copies, something the classroom teacher was unable to do during class time.

Interaction with peers also formed a part of the student's studying routine. One student took tuition with the financial help of two students, whom he thereupon tutored himself. Another student spoke of his routine of meeting with three other friends and sharing their fair copies. All four of them commented on each other's fair copies, and discussed issues arising in their study. The result of this peer interaction and collaboration was a product, that is, understanding and learning, at which the students could not have arrived alone.

The current model of knowledge as something nonstatic in fragments that must be constructed into a multidimensional whole by the individual, coupled with the concept that this knowledge is mediated by social interaction and discussion suggests that the students' interaction with their teachers and peers had facilitative effects on their learning (Forman & Cazden, 1994; Hartman, 1994). They were engaging in collaborative learning, in which they worked together to achieve common learning goals (Nunan, 1992).

Implications

Students. The data in this study suggest that students should be encouraged to read their textbooks several times, with clear purpose in reading each time. The students in this study said they made a cursory reading the first time, and a more thorough reading the second time. They then read over the text to make notes. Keeping in mind exam questions and the teacher's admonition of what is important information would also help the students to read better, and the repeated reading would help them develop automaticity in reading.

Students need to consult as many books as possible on the subject along with their core text. These books need not be in English. In fact, getting initial information through Nepali or Hindi, if such books were available, would facilitate the reading of English books. The students in this study mentioned that they bought reference books, sought them out at college libraries, and utilized the British Council library. Reading intensively in one subject builds both a knowledge base and a vocabulary base.

The need for students to write much and frequently can not be stressed enough. The complementary processes of reading and writing are reinforced each time the student writes. Likewise, the writing process helps the students' memory for the text, the lecture, and visual representations. The students in this study wrote daily and credited the

process with helping them to remember their teachers' lectures and what was important to learn. One student commented that when he went too long without writing, he really forgot information, and found the task of studying much more difficult.

In connection with writing, I would encourage students to form weekly discussion groups in which they share the information in their fair copies, as one student in the study did. The value of collaborative learning in the construction of knowledge is immense, and dedicated discussion sessions among serious students would help them to cope with their tasks better.

Students should be overtly aware of the structure of the texts they are reading, and use the structure to guide their writing. Doing so, they would also be more attuned to what is important information because of the way the text is ordered. The other structural cues in the text, such as titles, subheadings, and tables of contents are also valuable. These features guided the students in this study in their learning process.

Students should also be encouraged to visualize for themselves the context of what they are studying. Dual-coding theory suggests that this type of activity can have real benefit for the students, because it allows both verbal and imagery channels to operate in tandem. As the students in this study did, they should keep in mind graphs, charts and pictures, and visualize themselves in concrete, realistic situations in which they would use the information.

Teachers. Teachers can be a primary source for relaying to students recommendations for studying. The students in this study said their better teachers offered them advice on what was important for the test, what they should focus on in the text, and what reference books would be helpful. Good teachers are already doing this, and other teachers should be encouraged to do so as well.

Beyond these activities, teachers should also tell students how to study (Schallert, Alexander, & Goetz, 1988). Many teachers were successful students, so telling their students how they maneuvered through the system can be invaluable to their own students. They should tell students both how to use the textbook and how to prepare their fair copies, because these activities are integral to success. They should also include instruction on how to link representations with language to enhance the power of imagery.

Teacher training. Many lecturers at college were not students of education. They therefore lecture about the subject, but often do not discuss studying behaviours with their students. As part of a college training program, a workshop for new lecturers on helping their students would be very helpful. Just suggesting that they call attention to important information, suggest how to use the textbook and other reading sources, and suggest how students prepare fair copies would add tremendously to their teaching. The class lecturer is the best one to do the study strategy training, because isolated study strategy classes have been shown to have little value to students (Bernhardt, 1991a; Bernhardt, 1991b; Garner, 1987; Paris & Myers, 1981; Schallert, et al., 1988; Statman, 1987). Calling attention to specific facilitative study behaviors using the actual material the students are studying is the best method for imparting strategy instruction to students.

Directions for Future Research

My study only looked at students and texts. I was unable to attend class lectures or group study sessions. Longitudinal, qualitative studies of teachers' lectures and student discussions would add greatly to our knowledge of the overall study process of students in Nepalese colleges. Investigating effective teachers would give us guidance in teacher training programs. Learning the nature of discussion among students would give us information we could pass on to students about the nature of discussion they should have.

I did not compare the students' writing with the textbooks they used and the rough copy notes they made. I accepted their statements that they were writing in their own words. I believe a study of the written material the students produce from their other written materials, coupled with a study of the teacher's lecture would provide us with valuable insight into the cognitive processes of students and the role of social interaction. I would recommend following one class of the learning process. We would also need to obtain the students' test papers to look at their writing and what marks they received.

I have avoided the question of the English language skills of the students. Clearly, the students in this study had crossed some threshold where they could use English enough to be successful students. What is this threshold? Can we facilitate this threshold in less successful students? What is the exact nature of the type of English required for academic achievement? These are questions that additional research could help us to answer.

Another question related to English is how the compulsory English courses that students take at college relate to their use of English in content subjects. A parallel study of students attending English classes and content classes at the same time would give us information that could help designers of both courses produce more effective classes for students. Several students in the interviews mentioned that they had had English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses in college, but felt that they had not helped them prepare for the task of reading content textbooks in English, nor of understanding teachers' lectures in English. An investigation of the ESP courses using the same qualitative, long-term methodology recommended above would also reveal their link with the content courses.

As any study should do, mine has raised more questions than it has answered. I feel I have taken a very narrow glimpse into the academic world of the students, and it is only the first step of which I hope are many more. We must continue to conduct research on the educational process in Nepal to help the upcoming students take their place in the nation as fully-prepared and flourishing members of the new society.

Bibliography

- Adams, M.J. (1994). Modeling the connections between word recognition and reading. In R. B. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) (pp. 838-863). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Adams, M.J., & Colins, A. (1979). A schema-theoretic view of reading. In R. O. Freedle (Ed.), *New directions in discourse processing* (pp. 1-22). Norwood: Ablex.
- Alderson, J.C. (1984). Reading in a foreign language: A reading problem or a language problem? In J.C. Alderson & A.H. Urquhart (Eds.), *Reading in a foreign language* (pp. 1-27). London: Longman.
- Anderson, R.C., & Pearson, P.D. (1984). A schema-theoretic view of basic processes in reading comprehension. In P.D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (pp. 657-679). New York: Longman.
- Anderson, T.H., & Armbruster, B. B. (1984). Studying. In P.D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (pp. 657-679). New York: Longman.
- Baker, L., & Brown, A. L. (1984). Metacognitive skills and reading. In P. D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (pp. 353-394). New York: Longman.
- Bernhardt, E. B. (1991a). *Reading development in a second language: Theoretical, empirical, and classroom perspectives*. Norwood: Ablex.

- Bernhardt, E.B. (1991b). A psycholinguistic perspective on second language literacy. *AILA Review*, **3**, 31-44.
- Biggs, J. B. (1984). Learning strategies, student motivation patterns, and subjectively perceived success. In J. R. Kirby (Ed.), *Cognitive strategies and educational performance* (pp. 111-134). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Carrell, P.L. (1984). Evidence of a formal schema in second language comprehension. *Language Learning*, **34**, 87-112.
- Carrell, P. L. (1987). Content and formal schemata in ESL reading. *TESOL Quarterly*, **21**, 461-481.
- Daneman, M. (1991). Individual differences in reading skills. In R. Barr, M. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, & D. Pearson (Eds.), *Handbook of reading research: Volume II* (pp. 512-538). New York: Longman.
- Dansereau, D. (1978). The development of a learning strategies curriculum. In J. H. F. O'Neil (Ed.), *Learning strategies* (pp. 1-29). New York: Academic Press.
- Ehri, L. C. (1994). Development of the ability to read words: Update. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) (pp. 323-358). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Eskey, D.E. (1988). Holding in the bottom: An interactive approach to the language problems of second language readers. In P. L. Carrell, J. Devine, & D. Eskey (Eds.), *Interactive approaches to second language reading* (pp. 93-100). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Forman, E. A., & Cazden, C. B. (1994). Exploring Vygotskian perspectives in education: The cognitive value of peer interaction. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading*, (4th ed) (pp. 155-178). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Freire, P. (1992). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Ramos, M. B., Trans.). New York: Continuum.
- Garner, R. (1987). *Metacognition and reading comprehension*. Norwood: Ablex.
- Garner, R. (1994). Metacognition and executive control. In R.B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) (pp. 715-732). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

- Gough, P.B. (1984). Word recognition. In P. D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (pp. 225-253). New York: Longman.
- Grabe, W. (1991). Current developments in second language reading research. *TESOL Quarterly*, **25**, 375-406.
- Hartman, D. K. (1994). The intertextual links of readers using multiple passages: A postmodern/semiotic/cognitive view of meaning making. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading*, (4th ed.) (pp. 616-636). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Meyer, B. J. F. & Freedle, R. O. (1984). Effects on discourse type on recall. *American Educational Research Journal*, **21**, 121-143.
- Meyer, B. J. F. & Rice, G. E. (1984). The structure of text. In P. D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (pp. 319k-352). New York: Longman.
- Nunan, D. (Ed.). (1992). *Collaborative language learning and teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Omanson, R. C. (1985). Knowing words and understanding texts. In T. H. Carr (Ed.), *The development of reading skills* (pp. 35-53). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Paris, S. G., & Myers II, M. M. (1981). Comprehension monitoring, memory, and study strategies of good and poor readers. *Journal of Reading Behavior*, **13**, 5-22.
- Perfetti, C. A. (1985). *Reading ability*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Red, D. L. (1989) *Reading academic texts in a foreign language: A case studies in Nepal*.
- Reynolds, R. E. & Shirey, L. L. (1988). The role of attention in studying and learning. In C. E. Weinstein, E. T. Goetz, & P. A. Alexander (Eds.), *Learning and study strategies: Issues in assessment, instruction, and evaluation* (pp. 77-100). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Ruddell, R. B. & Unrau, N.J. (1994). Reading as a meaning construction process: The reader, the text, and the teacher. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading*, (4th ed.) (pp. 996-1056). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Sadowski, M., & Paivio, A. (1994). A dual coding view of imagery and verbal processes in reading comprehension. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.) *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) (pp. 582-601). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

- Samuels, S. J. (1994). Word recognition. In R. B. Ruddell, M. R. Ruddell, & H. Singer (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (4th ed.) pp. 359-380). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Samuels, S. J., Schermer, N., & Reinking, D. (1992). Reading fluency: Techniques for making decoding automatic. In S. J. Samuels & A. E. Farstrup (Eds.), *What research has to say about reading instruction* (pp. 124-144). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Schallert, D. L. (1982). The Significance of knowledge: A synthesis of research related to schema theory. In W. Otto & S. White (Eds.), *Reading expository material* (pp. 13-48). New York: Academic Press.
- Schallert, D. L., Alexander, P.A., & Geotz, E. T. (1988). Implicit Instruction of strategies for learning from text. In C. E. Weinstein, E. T. Goetz, & P.A. Alexander (Eds.), *Learning and study strategies: Issues in assessment, instruction, and evaluation* (pp. 193-214). San Deigo: Academic Press.
- Segalowitz, N., Poulsen, C, & Komeda, M. (1991). Lower level components or reading skill in higher level bilinguals: Implications for reading instruction. *AILA Review*, 8, 15-30.
- Snowman, J. (1986). Learning tactics and strategies. In *Cognitive classroom learning: Understanding, thinking, and problem solving* (pp. 243-275). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Stanovich, K. E. (1980). Toward an interactive-compensatory model of individual differences in the development of reading fluency. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 16, 32-71.
- Stanovich, K. E. (1991a). Word recognition: Changing perspectives. In R. Barr, M. L. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, & P.D. Pearson (Eds.), *Handbook of reading research: Volume II* (pp. 418-452). White Plains: Longman.
- Stanovich, K. E. (1991b). Changing models of reading and reading acquisition. In L. Reiben & C. A. Perfetti (Eds.), *Learning to read: Basic research and its implications* (pp. 19-31). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stateman, S. (1987). Obstacles to access: An investigation into the perceptual strategies of the non-native learner of English. *System*, 15, 289-301.
- Tierney, R. J., & Pearson, P.D. (1985). Toward a composing model of reading. In C. N. Hedley & A. N. Baratta (Eds.), *Contexts of reading* (pp. 63-78). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Wade, S., Trathen, W. & Schraw, G. (1990). An Analysis of spontaneous study strategies. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 25, 147-166.

The Mirrored Self – Reading The Reader's Response

– Wayne Amtzis*

In this paper I will present an original poem, THE HOURGLASS, and three reader responses to that poem (by the critic and poet Abhi Subedi, the short story writer and poet Manju Kanchuli, and the poet Manjul). I will look at the poem from the perspectives they provide and consider the nature and bases of their particular responses. Then I will offer my own (privileged) reading of HOURGLASS, examining the nature and basis for that response as well. In the course of this presentation I will discuss the significance of the words and images used and the relationship of the title to the poem.

Abhi Subedi and Manjul responded within the context of their relationship with me and their previous reading of my poems. Manju Kanchuli, although familiar with my writing, took an impersonal approach, one assuming no prior knowledge of the poet or his work. For Abhi, HOURGLASS capsulizes my "poetic response to the Nepali milieu." For Manjul it represents a characteristic mode of writing, that of "painting ideas in words." For Manju Kanchuli the poem stands before the poet, but it reveals him -- "in his inner and outer worlds." All three recognize "the man in the painting," "the lovers," and "the workers" as motifs that from the body of "THE HOUR." All three identify snow and snow falling as a key image. Yet what they make off the interplay of these motifs and images varies as does the tone and direction of their readings.

For Abhi and for Manju HOURGLASS is a poem of "time and experience"; for Manjul the central motif is that of the interplay of consciousness and death. Abhi's approach is structural; Manju Kanchuli's psychoanalytic; and Manjul's symbolic.

Within the distance set by an impersonal vantage point, Manju Kanchuli considers the poet as well as the poem. The hourglass is seen by

* Mr. Amtzis is a poet and language teacher.

her as "a symbol of the organ for libidinal instinct and its subconscious innate desire." According to the psychoanalytical interpretation she proposes "the poem represents the interplay of Id (man and woman entwined) Ego (these words I seem so fond of) and Superego (turns and turns and turns). The image of snow falling is identified as "a memory of childhood and youth" and "the word freezing," she asserts "signified unhappiness felt at the present time." However, she goes on to say that the dominant mood in the poem is that of empathy and equilibrium maintained by a philosophical stance and the logical interplay of images carrying the poem forwards its resolution.

"As a poet" herself, Manju Kanchuli says she "was trying to find 'the poet' in the poem directly, since it has been my personal desire to feel the poet's nerves through his written words. I could catch the innate feelings of the poet in my apprehension nowhere so explicitly as in the following lines:

"till snowballing
like these words I seem so fond of
fill freezing"

Yet Ms Kanchuli does not tell us what she makes of these lines. She does tell us that the poet uses language to make his way in the world and specifically in this poem to come to terms with the "urge that something happen," and of course it does, quite logically, as she has pointed out: "The images lead in a certain direction from beginning to end" where "the poet shifts from a physical (lover's copulate) to a metaphysical (turn and turn and turn)," "ending in a anticlimactic falling tone and philosophic mood." The conflict she identifies between "a materialistic voluptuousness (the lovers turn in their sleep)" and "a spiritual omnipotence (the buddha himself raises his hand)" resolved by the acceptance (the buddha himself raises his hand)" resolved by the acceptance of time's inexorable workings.

"Like a genuine poet" she says "he aspires for nothing in this materialistic world except 'words' as his own entity," meaning, I suppose, embodiment. With words mediating the poet's encounter with the world, "adding life to time," and interpreting inner feelings. However, she does not tend to the words and phrasing of the poem as Freud would, nor does she identify the id as a working force within the evolving poem. Although a psychoanalytic approach is introduced, it is not used as a tool for laying bare the poem's hidden working or the poet's submerged feelings.¹ Instead of

¹ In addition, a key motif, that pertaining to the workers, their situation and their actions, although seen as representing the poet's sympathetic attitude, plays no part in her analysis.

a poet, a man with a particular dilemma and an idiosyncratic way of resolving it, the reader is left with the universal idea of poet -- one that readily fits into a Freudian typology.

Abhi Subedi sees THE HOURGLASS as "a structure of consciousness," as structuring his consciousness and as "a description of a complex painting. The primary datum of the poem are "scenes," "mobility," and "drama."² The human action complemented by the movement of the snow and the hourglass provide a "kinesis," a mobility which he compares to "the movement of the visible lines of a painting," with "color being the sound of the words in motion."

Abhi reads the poem as if he were viewing a painting, running our eyes over the surface with him, we feel the movement of words. The words, it seems, do not move referentially towards an outer world identified by the poet, but inferentially towards an inner experience had by the reader.³ A comparison is made not by what the lines of the poem point to, but what they are like, a comparison through resemblance based on form, not through a leap based on content. It's true, words read this way don't stand forth like stones one can leap to and from; they float with the current. They are more like barges carrying cargo. That the cargo's meaning is unimportant. What matters is movement itself; not the cargo, but the transport. For how would we value the cargo? The barges, or the high speed boats they've become, nosing in and out -- see how they veer, how they change lanes, the oil trailing blends with the dark waters and frothing waves. Thus the poem is a painting, the letters, brushstrokes quickly drawn distorting and almost concealing the figures sinking within.

Having isolated the structure of the poem and its interrelated motifs and having codified them under "scenes" and "drama," all under "the interplay of time and experience," Abhi, tending not to the semantics of these relationships, nor to the unfolding of the drama, resolves his reading through the simile of painting. The experience described is primarily aesthetic. Abhi makes no attempt to enter into world of the poem itself, to unravel the drama that he identifies. What is potentially a parable of time, has become an enigma of space. The structural analysis he initiated provides the potential

² The poem engendering mobility within itself, with the "drama -- of hands holding and acting, the buddha raising his hand in the *sunya* of experience, the lovers turning in their sleep, the workers stamping their feet."

³ "There is so much warmth, so much life in this poem that it, to me, breaks the limits of (its) structure and enters my experience. But the poem's movement creates a structure within my mind as well -- the structure of my experience."

for appreciating and for deciphering the poem. Caught up in the kinesis of his own response, Abhi fails to feel the chill, the slowing down (of time) beneath the piling up (off words) that stands momentarily still with the climactic word 'freezing.' Where words do not mean, but simply function as aesthetic impulses, the poem hangs as a perpetuum mobile in an idealist's sky.

Abhi finds motion essential, yet he fails to see that motion itself is at stake within the poem. Manju Kanchuli sees the poet as embodying himself and giving meaning to time through words, yet she fails to register the poet's attitude toward the process of writing itself.

snow rises from the floor
piles up

at the feet of the workers
piles up like a mountain that cannot be seen
till too late

till snowballing
like these words I seem so fond of
till freezing

unless

The poet is the fourth force within THE HOURGLASS, as his language is its unspoken motif, but the liberating acts (hoped for/anticipated) are embodied acts, physical not verbal, and their embodiment lies outside the poem as acts not words. For both Abhi and Manju Kanchuli the words of the poem do not point towards the world and action in the world, but towards the poem and the creative act. Both Abhi and Manju Kanchuli fail to register the judgment the poet renders against the blinding and inhibiting force of the language he uses and against the constraint of time marked by that language because they have idealized the creative process and its expression. Abhi experiences the poem as an object of art; Manju, the poet as artist.⁴ That idealization is a turning away from meaning, a blind spot in their reading.

⁴ For Manju Kanchuli THE HOURGLASS is also an artefact. It's as if THE HOURGLASS were simply a (de)vice to heighten the poet's sense of reality. Not simply for the release of sexual energy (in words), but to (dis)embody the poet's inner world.

Only Manjul clearly recognizes what is at stake in the poem, and he does this by simply following and clarifying the narrative line to himself, and by rendering a personal judgment as to the meaning of the word "snow." For Manjul snow represents death. "If the workers will not stamp their feet, if the lovers will not copulate, if the hourglass will not shatter, or if it is not turned again and again, if there is no action there will be the reign of snow and that means there will be death everywhere." In THE HOURGLASS snow reigns, it becomes the given, and unless action is taken, time will stop for the protagonists, or it will repeat itself, always and forever offering the same choices for breaking free. His finger on the pulse of the poem, the prescription Manjul offers is consciousness. Consciousness, not overwhelming drives or sudden decisive action, stands against death. Moreover, he says "if there is consciousness even the painting will change shape." The form of the painting on the wall depends on consciousness. What the poem offers Manjul is a bipolarization of death-in-life, or fate, and consciousness capable of any possible transformation. Manjul's faith in the power of consciousness seems far greater than that of the author of THE HOURGLASS. Although the poem changed shape as I wrote it, the world remained as it was. As it is, Doesn't it ?

Let's look at THE HOURGLASS as Manjul did, at the separate scenes depicted within, at the protagonists, at the writer, and the words he uses, to answer this question.

The title tells us that a device for telling time bears some relationship to the poem.⁵ The first sentence, the first stanza:

The painting on the wall
above the man and woman entwined
change shape

within their consciousness

tells us that a man and woman lie together in a room; and though they are not looking at the painting on the wall above them (perhaps they are asleep or otherwise involved), the painting is tangential to them, it's fixed in their minds, it's changing shape there.

⁵ hourglass, n. an instrument having two compartments connected by a narrow neck through which a quantity of sand or other substance requires just an hour to run from the upper to the lower part: similar devices measure any other period of time desired.

The workers slumped
against the statue of the fourfaced buddha
lean on each other

Shirts torn at the elbow,
streaked with dirt The buddha's forehead
on all four sides

smear'd with vermilion

Although no apparent relationship exists between the man and woman in the room and the workers on the street, the scenes are depicted in a similar way. The man and woman and the workers among themselves are in physical contact. and the fourfaced buddha stand in counterpoint to them.

Rain falls on the street striking
the window striking the lovers deep within
In the hourglass it's day or night

depending on the hands that hold it
Hands of the workers Hands of the lovers
From the ceiling of the hourglass

Against the muted action of painting impressing itself on the man and woman, and that of the workers leaning on each other, rain falls. The workers feel this rain directly; the lover deep within themselves. The street scene and the room now linked by the rain, are linked as well by the hourglass. The time and place depicted or experienced depends upon who holds the hourglass, and thus, by implication, the lovers and workers may have some say in the working out of their fate.

The closing lines of each three line stanza are incomplete sentences, leading to the next stanza for a resolution of meaning. If the hourglass were in our hands we would need turn it to see...

snow falls. Inhaling warmth
as they draw closer
to each other, inhaling exhaust...

In the way what the gestures of the painting change shape within the consciousness of the lovers, the rain that falls outside falls as snow with the

hourglass. In the room and the street that can now be seen as separate compartments of the hourglass, our protagonists draw closer to each other. The lovers are comforted, the workers suffering increases.

the man in the painting
a buddha himself, raises his hands in gestures
clear to one who wakes

The painting is for the first time described; it is of a buddha. In both scenes, in each compartment of the hourglass, there is a figure of a buddha. Enlivened he raises his hands in gestures that can be seen by one who is awake.

But the lovers turn in their sleep
Snow rises from the floor
piles up

at the feet of the workers
piles up like a mountain that cannot be seen
till too late

The buddha's gestures are not seen by the lovers. Snow piles upon the floor on the street. Piles up as sand would an hourglass, till too late, for without being noticed time has run out.

fill snowballing
like these words I seem so fond of
till freezing

Here the poet explicitly enters the poem. The already written words that he seems so fond of have piled up unnoticed like sand in an hourglass, like a ball of snow gathering momentum,⁶ and freezing as they fall, the snow freezing, the words that overran the writer running out. The cold clarity of the words freezing these images in place. The contradiction within language as it is used, within life as it is lived, of movement and stasis, stated but left unresolved fill the next stanzas turnings.

unless the workers
stamp their feet
or the lovers copulate

⁶ snowball, v.i. to increase or accumulate rapidly like a rolling ball of snow.

or the hourglass
shatters, or simply held
in the hand of the man in the painting
turns and turns and turns

The action of the poem has come to a standstill. In an hourglass sand fails marking time. In the poem rain falls initiating action. The lovers and the workers drew closer to each other. Inhaling the warmth of their concern and the exhaust of the world's unconcern, inhaling with them, the man in the painting speaks with his hands. These gestures are futile. The lovers sleep, the workers cannot see till too late that confronts them. The writer too fond of his words is carried away, or struck dumb.

There are three ways to break through this stasis depending upon who holds the hourglass, and a fourth moving with the flow of the poem that overrides it. Sudden forceful action, sudden waking, the uniting of the workers, or the lovers, in the action that would redefine them. Or the shattering of the hourglass -- language itself frozen, shattering, the poet breaking free of the poem. Each of these choices overcoming inertia, reordering time. And the fourth, a different kind of awakening, as the buddha turns, in his hands, the hourglass, the vajra, time itself. Time running out, changing from night to day, from winter to spring, inside to outside, to inside, repeating itself in endless turnings.

The last line of the poem asserts that movement in time is cyclical and reoccurring. Read that way the poem was already in motion it began, the lovers themselves dimly aware of it. Although the images used, including the conceit of the hourglass, were already in my consciousness and there in the world to be taken up at any time, the poem, in fact, began with a dream and evolved in the course of its writing with the fortuitous discovery of snow, of snow falling. No snow fell in the dream, and how ever often the lovers entwined and the workers leaned on the fourfaced statue, no snow feel there. Perhaps, as Manju Kanchuli suggested, the snow is a recollection, a memory wakened by the rain falling in the street, the slight shudder as well feel the rain, by the rain striking the window drawing the lovers towards each other, into dream. From the dream which I cannot recall woke to write:

The painting on the wall
above the man and woman entwined
changes shape

within their consciousness

Or the snow is the pristine from of the rain that falls in the street. Whether it precedes, follows from, or parallels the falling of the rain I cannot say. Images passing through the hourglass change shape. Time passes in two ways -- inside the hourglass, outside in the world. In this way the hourglass can be read as consciousness.

The conceit of the hourglass emerged from a poem I had previously written entitled THE SUITCASE. There I had drawn two separate images together, two separate experiences, mirroring each in their portrayal. It seemed to me the images were telescoped onto each other as if through the funnel of an hourglass, and so I called it an hourglass poem, and began thinking to write another such hourglass poem.

The hourglass, however is not simply a device for transposing of images; it's a device for marking time. And whoever has that device in hand influences the passage of time, the turn of events, the shape of the world they find themselves in. Or the hourglass is the poem itself, the mirrored stanzas the record of its turnings.

Why does snow fall in the hourglass and not sand ? Sand falls and buries. I cannot breathe beneath sand, beneath the weight of the final falling grain that covers my eyes...

When rain falls in Manjul's poems, pain is felt pain closes the poet down, it stills him, till consciousness makes its move

Rain wakens here, it's what draws the lovers and the workers closer together, it strikes the lovers deep within

Time is inexorable, within the hourglass, not sand, but snow, we are not covered by time, we are stilled by its passage

No Manju the hourglass is not phallic, it is not a plaything for the hand, it's more likely the union of the two. See how the sand - the snow - funnels through and fills, how they rock back and forth

The hourglass is the Tao. The seed of day within night, night within day, turning, the world without, the world within

It is two triangles touching at their apex, slipping into each other's realm, a six pointed star, worlds merging, an emblem of love

Hourglass. Our glass. Do we look into it or drink out of it ? At a Jewish Wedding we drain the glass and then smash it beneath our feet. Feet of the workers, feast of the workers, wedding of the world

The Hourglass is now an artifact, these fallen words a semblance of time

Postscript

Abhi, of course, is right: the poem is in motion, motility is its defining characteristic. The words follow and fall one from the other, they spill down the page, the word "freezing" merely one word passed over by others, without stopping the flow,⁷ till the poem comes to full closure, as Manju Kanchuli has emphasized, containing its destructive urges, its contradictions within its form. Were the poet truly interested in breaking open the form, were he unable to contain himself within the poem, with the word "shattered," hourglass in hand, blood pouring down his palm he would have smeared that canvas Abhi speaks of, trailing his fingerprints across its snow white surface, pitting the canvas with glass fragments, with unspoken pain.

THE HOURGLASS, however, is a merely a poem; its images contained within; its outer form, an idea, and like all ideas, at best transparent, but in the right hands, not those of the poet, incendiary. It would be, not an hourglass, then, a Molotov cocktail -- stopped with a poem.⁸ The image of a Molotov cocktail stopped with a poem joins the judgment against language with that against the constraints of time -- language stonewalls and ignites. If we could compress this contradiction into a single moment, if saying and meaning were one, we would no longer be taken in by eloquence. THE HOURGLASS, shattered and whole, identifying the poet by his stutter, by his dependence on words, as he who stammers, he who lisps.

When saying outpaces meaning, when words like high speed boats race ever faster till they seem not to move, the painting on the wall, a mass of whirling color and line becomes no more than a flat expanse. Were meaning not so easily overlooked, the poet's words might clue us in to the reading of the poem, key images and phrases would ground us, and the bridging of contradictions would take us that much closer to having discovered what is at stake within the drama being played out on the page.

The configuration of the lovers and the man in the painting parallels that of the workers and the fourfaced buddha. The configuration is stationary within the movement of the hourglass -- time moves, the protagonists stay put. There is also a parallel between the lovers turning in their sleep (turning perhaps from each other) and the hourglass turning in the

⁷ Stop, v.t. 2. to staunch a wound, cut, etc. 7. to prevent the passage or further movement of (water, light, etc.) to block; obstruct, intercept.

⁸ stop, v.t. 4. to close (a bottle, jug, or other container) with a cork, plug, etc. 19. to keep (a person) from doing something contemplated.

buddha's hand. The gestures are unclear to the lovers. Can we say that the gestures of the buddha spoken of in this poem are unclear to him? That they are empty gestures, rituals without meaning, shall we speak of the sleep of the buddha, the empty passage of time?

The most assertive act in the poem is that natural but unforeseeable act of rain striking against the street and window and the lovers deep within. Manjul suggests that this prevents the workers from working, and thus in effect initiates a withdrawal from action that brings on the reign of death. But what if the action were imitated? What if the forgotten protagonists of the poem struck back, went on strike? If the hourglass were in the hands of those who would take their lives "in hand," "if it were truly "our glass," would we shatter it, would we break through the constraint of a time and a history that are not ours? Would it be that the reign of death were overthrown? Would it be.

The Hourglass

The painting on the wall
above the man and woman entwined
change shape
within their consciousness
The workers slumped
against the statue of the fourfaced buddha
lean on each other
Shirts torn at the elbow,
streaked with dirt The buddha's forehead
on all four sides
smeared with vermilion
Rain falls on the street striking
the window striking the lovers deep within
In the hourglass it's or night
depending on the hands that hold it
Hands of the workers Hands of the lovers
From the ceiling of the hourglass

snow falls. Inhaling warmth
as they draw closer
to each other, inhaling exhaust...

the man in the painting
a buddha himself, raises his hands in gestures
clear to one who wakes

But the lovers turn in their sleep
Snow rises from the floor
piles up

at the feet of the workers
piles up like a mountain that cannot be seen
till too late

till snowballing
like these words I seem so fond of
till freezing

unless the workers
stamp their feet
or the lovers copulate

or the hourglass
shatters, or simply held
in the hand of the man in the painting
turns and turns and turns

Activities

1. Central Department of Linguistics (CDL), TU : A case of Linguists' Pride

A paradise for linguists is one of the outstanding characteristics of a country of Mt. Everest, Nepal. True to this, through a long hazardous travel, finally there comes in existence the Central Department of Linguistics under the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, TU, in May 1996. Taking this opportunity, we would like to share our sense of gratitude with you all for having brought us energetically to this day of pride and would expect your insight to turn this Department into a paradise of linguistic learning for our generation and the generations to come.

2. Highlights of the 16th Annual Conference 1995

As usual, LSN held its 16th Annual Conference at CEDA/TU auditorium, Kathmandu on its usual date 26-27 Nov. 1995. About a hundred members comprising life and ordinary from home and abroad, participated the conference.

Tribhuvan University Vice-Chancellor Dr. Kamal K. Joshi inaugurated the conference and said that the work for establishing Central Department of Linguistics at TU was in progress. LSN President Mr. Chandra P. Sharma addressed the gathering (the full text follows).

The inaugural session chairman Prof. Dr. Chuda M. Bandhu thanked the TU Vice-chancellor for his personal keen interest in pushing the matter towards establishing a Central Department of Linguistics at TU in the near future and hoped the linguists and other professionals' cherished dream would soon be realized.

The LSN Secretary - Treasurer Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay welcomed the guests, participants and reported on the Society's activities.

Finally, LSN journal *Nepalese Linguistics* editor Mr. Simon Gautam presented the copies of journal Vol. 12 to the chief guest and others.

The following papers were presented at the conference.

Session I : Syntax and Phonology.

Chairman : Professor Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar

1. Dr. Madhav P. Pokharel : Patterns of Split Ergativity in Nepali
2. Dr. Boyd Michailovsky : /r/ and /l/ in Limbu Language
3. Dr. R. K. Sprig : A tonal Analysis of Gurung (Read by Ms. Gita Khadka)
4. Devi P. Gautam : The PRO in Nepali

Session II : Language Planning

Chairman : Dr. Ramawatar Yadav

1. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar : Language Planning and Modernization in Nepal
2. Dr. Ananta Raj Poudyal : Language policy and National Integration of Nepal
3. Dr. K. C. Mishra : Language Problems in South Asia

Session III : Stylistics and ELT.

Chairman : Professor Dr. Abhi Narayan Subedi

1. Mr. Shiva Raj Upadhyay : Construction of Dialogue in Narrative Discourse
2. Mr. Wayne Amtzis : The Mirrored Self-Reading: The Reader's Response
3. Dr. Moti Nissani : Apprenticeship Approach to Writing Instruction
4. Dr. David L. Red : Reading College Textbooks Written in English: Case Studies in Nepal

Session IV : Sociolinguistics

Chairman : Professor Dr. Moti Nissani

1. Mr. S. J. Bartram : Sociolinguistic Issues In Dolpa
2. Mr. Bryan Varenkamp : From Salle to Syabru: An Update on the Sociolinguistic Research Among Speakers of Eastern Tamang

3. Mr. Webster Jeffrey : Dialect Intelligibility in Limbu

Valedictory Session:

Chairman : Professor Dr. Durga Prasad Bhandari

- Speakers :** Mr. Bairagi Kainla
Ms. Brigitte Merz
Ms. Geeta Khadka
Dr. David L. Red

Vote of Thanks : Betsy Devi Chhetry

Address from Chairman : Prof. D.P. Bhandari

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE
SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL AT CEDA
AUDITORIUM KIRTIPUR ON NOVEMBER
26, 1995**

Chandra P. Sharma
President, LSN

O, rose, thou art sick!
The invisible worm
That flies in the night,
In the howling storm,

Has found out thy bed
of crimson joy:
And his dark secret love
Does thy life destroy.

- William Blake

So oft in theologic
The disputants, I ween
Rail on in utter ignorance
of what each other mean,
And prate about an Elephant
Not one of them have seen!

-John Godfrey Saxe

Mr. Chairman
Honourable Chief guest T.U. Vice Chancellor,
Ladies and gentlemen

On behalf of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, I extend to all of you present here, from Nepal and abroad my heart felt warm welcome on the auspicious occasion of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Society. I

also expect your active and vigorous participation to make this conference a success.

This year we had a plan to focus on the " language problems" faced by the SAARC countries. We do have some scholarly papers on this topic presented from different perspectives but, I am sorry to say, than we have not been able to invite scholars from SAARC countries due to shortage of fund. But we are not discouraged. We have initiated it and hope that our successors will continue to work in this line and will be rewarded with more success.

Language, according to Otto Jespersen, a pioneer linguist of this century, was possibly invented to present the emotions of the love in song form (the finest and the subtlest use of language). From this beginning other emotions brought forth similar chants reflecting strong feelings. And from these songs finally came the speech. But in the present day world, it seems, we have forgotten to use it for love, for development of understanding and for the betterment of human civilization. Language, now, has become a tool, a battering ram in the hands of ambitious politicians who use it not to develop understanding but to propagate hate and misunderstanding. They use it sometimes for unification purpose but most of the times for disintegration and fragmentation. A burning example is the referendum held in Canada populated with two major and diverse language communities- English and French.

Language is also considered to be a vehicle of thought. And we find it to be used very thoughtfully to initiate provocations, agitations and demonstrations. It is hardly used as a means of enlightening talk. The philosophers of today's Yugoslavia do not believe in the principle of co-existence and universal brotherhood but are guided by a very concrete idea of disintegration and are using language to its optimum for propagating the fragmentation of the country. This is a paradox of the modern world which has become one small globe placed on a table because of technological development in the fields of communication and transportation engineering. Possibly the "invisible worm" of self-interest has entered to destroy the communal harmony that was safeguarded by the philosophic thinking of the past.

Language, according to Transformational Grammarians, is an innate faculty in human beings. They maintain that a child-Chinese, or Nepali, or English does not have any predisposition towards any particular language. He /She learns a particular language in the available linguistic environment. That is, a Chinese child living with a Nepali family will

learn Nepali not Chinese. Similarly, a Nepali child brought up in a Chinese family will without any problem learn Chinese. So a language is an acquired ability of habit. But which language or languages are to be taught is a matter of political and economic decisions. A language policy is usually formulated according to the social needs and economic ability of a nation. And here lies the crux of the problem. Different linguistic communities strive to get their languages patronised by the state without taking into account the problems that their country will have to face. People look at the problem as six blind men looked at the elephant without recognising its magnanimity and considering it either a fan, or a rope, or a snake, or a wall, or a tree, or a spear, whatever part of the body they touched. Language policy is a very sensitive issue. It has to be handled very carefully. It should not be used as a weapon to destroy but as an instrument to link; to develop love, peace and understanding among the people living on this planet. To me the people of USA present the best example to the world. This vast country is populated with many ethnic groups with their own languages, cultures and creeds. Yet the diversity in the USA is developing in the context of one common language, English. Different communities act and think differently but when they come together they talk and argue with each other peacefully as members of a single language community and in a literate English which helped them to remain one nation with the motto: "E pleribus unum—out of many one." Unity, love and understanding should be the motto of the modern world and the language planners. The steering wheel is in their hands so they must take a good road with less bumps and potholes.

Thank you all.

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Honorary Members

1. Late Ralph L. Turner
2. Prof. Kenneth L. Pike
3. Prof. R.K. Sprigg
4. Prof. Werner Winter
5. Prof. Bernhard Koelver

Life Members

1. Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
2. Prof. Dr. Kamal Prakash Malla, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
3. Dr. Chandra Devi Shakya, Institute of Education, Kirtipur
4. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadava, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
5. Dr. M.S. Ningomba, Manipur University, Imphal, India.
6. Dr. Bernhard Koelver, University of Kiel, Germany.
7. Dr. Ulrike Koelver, Germany.
8. Mr. Shailendra Kumar Singh, P.K. Campus, Kathmandu.
9. Dr. Burkhard Schottendreyer, Spartado Aereo 100388, Colombia.
10. Mr. Tika B. Karki, American Peace Corps, Kathmandu.
11. Dr. Richard R. Smith, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu.
12. Dr. Horst Brinkhaus, University of Kiel, Germany.
13. Mr. John P. Ritchott, American Culture Centre, Kathmandu.
14. Dr. Subhadra Subba, CNAS, Kathmandu.
15. Dr. Ross C. Caughly, Australian National University, Canberra.
16. Rev. James J. Donnelly, St. Xavier's School, Kathmandu.
17. Dr. Nishi Yoshio, College of Liberal Arts, University of Kyoto, Japan.
18. Prof. Dr. Shreedhar P. Lohani, Central Department of English, Kirtipur
19. Mr. Tika P. Sharma, Institute of Education, Tahachal.
20. Dr. Roland Bielmeier, University of Bern, Switzerland.
21. Mr. Ian Alsop, Panipokhari, Kathmandu.
22. Prof. Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.

23. Dr. Colin S. Barron, c/o British Council, Kathmandu.
24. Prof. Dr. Sishir Kumar Sthapit, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
25. Prof. Dr. Chuda Mani Bandhu, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
26. Prof. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
27. Prof. Dr. Rameshwar P. Adhikari, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
28. Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, CNAS, Kirtipur.
29. Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
30. Dr. Beverly Hartford, Indiana University, USA.
31. Lt. Col. J.P. Cross, Pokhara, Nepal.
32. Dr. Marashall Lewis, Indiana University, USA.
33. Dr. K.V. Subbarao, Dept. of Linguistics, Delhi University, India.
34. Mr. Devi P. Gautam, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
35. Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Central Dept. of English. Kirtipur.
36. Prof. Werner Winter, Germany.
37. Dr. Baidyanath Jha, R.R.M., Campus, Janakpur.
38. Dr. Satya Ranjan Banarjee, Calcutta University, India.
39. Dr. Georg van Driem. P.O. Box 991. Kathmandu.
40. Mr. Birendra Pandey, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
41. Ms. Kalpana Pandey, C/O Mr. Birendra Pandey.
42. Mr. Chandreshwar Mishra, Institute of Education, Sanothimi.
43. Ms. Rudra Laksmi Shrestha, Patan Campus, Patan.
44. Mr. Khagendra K.C., Patan Campus, Patan.
45. Mr. Shambhu Acharya, Patan Campus, Patan.
46. Prof. Dr. Durga P. Bhandari, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
47. Mr. Rajendra P. Chaudhari, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
48. Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav, S.S.M.Y. Multiple Campus, Siraha.
49. Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
50. Dr. Novel K. Rai, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
51. Dr. Padma P. Devakota, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
52. Mr. Manfred G. Treu, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
53. Ms. Gautami Sharma. Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
54. Ms. Sangita Raymajhi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
55. Ms. Bhuvan Dhungana, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
56. Mr. Baidya Nath Mishra, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
57. Ms. Krishna Pradhan, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
58. Mr. K.B. Maharjan, Pulchowk Campus, IOE, Patan.
59. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus Kathmandu.

60. Ms. Nayan Tara Amatya, Ratna Rajya Campus, Kathmandu.
61. Mr. Sueyoshi Toba. P.O. Box 991, Kathmandu.
62. Mr. Sanjeev K. Uprety, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
63. Mr. Anand P. Shrestha, CNAS, Kirtipur.
64. Mr. Bishnu Raj Pandey, Public Youth Campus, Kathmandu.
65. Mr. Mohan P. Banskota, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
66. Ms. Rupa Joshi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
67. Mr. Keshab Gautam, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
68. Mr. Krishna Kumar Basnet, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
69. Ms. Nirmala Regmi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
70. Dr. Jyoti Tuladhar, Kathmandu.
71. Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, ASCOL, Kathmandu.
72. Prof. Dr. Shanti Basnet, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
73. Dr. Madhav P. Pokharel, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
74. Prof. Dr. Ramchandra Lamsal, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
75. Mr. Arun Kumar Prasad, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
76. Mr. Sajag S. Rana, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
77. Dr. Balaram Aryal, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
78. Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
79. Mr. Bed P. Giri, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
80. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
81. Mr. Parshuram Paudyal, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
82. Dr. Martin W. Gaenzle, Univ. of Heidelberg, South Asia Institute.
83. Ms. Maya Devi Manandhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
84. Mr. Pradeep M. Tuladhar, Birendra Sainik Campus, Bhaktapur.
85. Mr. Megha Raj Sharma, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
86. Mr. Mohan Sitaula, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
87. Mr. Anand Sharma, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus, Kathmandu.
88. Mr. Nanda Kishor Sinha, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
89. Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati, Patan Campus, Patan.
90. Mr. Punya Prasad Dhakal, M.A. Eng. Programme, R.R. Campus.
91. Mr. Narayan P. Gautam, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
92. Mr. Mahendra Jib Tuladhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
93. Mr. Govinda Raj Bhattarai, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
94. Mr. Balthasar Bickel, Max-Planck Institute, The Netherlands.
95. Mr. Bhusan Prasad Shrestha, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
96. Dr. Anuradha Sudharsan, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.

97. Mr Bert van den Hoek, University of Leiden, The Netherlands.
98. Mr. Harihar Raj Johsi, P.O. Box 2531, Kathmandu.
99. Ms. Pramila Rai, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
100. Mr. Ram Ashis Giri, Faculty of Education, Kirtipur.
101. Dr. Tulsi P. Bhattarai, Sajha Prakashan, Lalitpur.
102. Mr. Tika P. Uprety, Devkota Memorial School, Biratnagar-2.
103. Dr. Mohan Himanshu Thapa, Central Dept. of Nepali, Kirtipur.
104. Ms. Anusuya Manandhar, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
105. Dr. Austin Hale, Huebli 3636 Wald, Switzerland
106. Mr. Larry L. Seaward, c/o American Embassy, Kathmandu.
107. Mr. Sashidhar Khanal, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
108. Mr. Boyd Michailovsky, LACITO/CNRS, France.
109. Mr. Mazaudon Mastine, LACITO/CNRS, France.
110. Mr. Tsetan Chonjore, University of Wisconsin Program in Nepal.
111. Mrs. Sushma Regmi, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
112. Mr. Swayam Prakash Sharma, P.G. Eng. Program, Dharan Campus
113. Ms. Anjana Bhattarai, Faculty of Education.
114. Ms Nivedita Mishra, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu
115. Mr. Gunjeshwari Basyal, Palpa Campus.
116. Mr. Philip Pierce, Nepal Research Centre, New baneshwor.
117. Mr. Binay Jha, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
118. Mr. Mukunda Raj Pathak, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu
119. Ms. Laxmi Sharma, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
120. Mr. Bhekha Raj Shivakoti, Campus of International Languages, KTM.
121. Ms. Siddhi Laxmi Baidya, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
122. Ms. Sulochana Dhital, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
123. Mr. Simon Gautam, Bhaktapur Campus.
124. Ms. Geeta Khadka, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Estd. 1979

Office Bearer For 1996-1997

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma | President |
| 2. | Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha | Vice President |
| 3. | Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay | Secretary / Treasurer |
| 4. | Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati | Joint Secretary |
| 5. | Ms. Betsie Devi Chhetri | Joint Secretary |
| 6. | Ms. Usha Adhikari | Member |
| 7. | Mr. Keshav Gautam | Member |
| 8. | Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar | Member |

Price Rs. 200/-

97. Mr Bert van den Hoek, University of Leiden, The Netherlands.
98. Mr. Harihar Raj Johsi, P.O. Box 2531, Kathmandu.
99. Ms. Pramila Rai, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
100. Mr. Ram Ashis Giri, Faculty of Education, Kirtipur.
101. Dr. Tulsi P. Bhattarai, Sajha Prakashan, Lalitpur.
102. Mr. Tika P. Uprety, Devkota Memorial School, Biratnagar-2.
103. Dr. Mohan Himanshu Thapa, Central Dept. of Nepali, Kirtipur.
104. Ms. Anusuya Manandhar, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
105. Dr. Austin Hale, Huebli 3636 Wald, Switzerland
106. Mr. Larry L. Seaward, c/o American Embassy, Kathmandu.
107. Mr. Sashidhar Khanal, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
108. Mr. Boyd Michailovsky, LACITO/CNRS, France.
109. Mr. Mazaudon Mastine, LACITO/CNRS, France.
110. Mr. Tsetan Chonjore, University of Wisconsin Program in Nepal.
111. Mrs. Sushma Regmi, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
112. Mr. Swayam Prakash Sharma, P.G. Eng. Program, Dharan Campus
113. Ms. Anjana Bhattarai, Faculty of Education.
114. Ms Nivedita Mishra, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu
115. Mr. Gunjeshwari Basyal, Palpa Campus.
116. Mr. Philip Pierce, Nepal Research Centre, New baneshwor.
117. Mr. Binay Jha, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
118. Mr. Mukunda Raj Pathak, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu
119. Ms. Laxmi Sharma, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
120. Mr. Bhekha Raj Shivakoti, Campus of International Languages, KTM.
121. Ms. Siddhi Laxmi Baidya, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
122. Ms. Sulochana Dhital, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
123. Mr. Simon Gautam, Bhaktapur Campus.
124. Ms. Geeta Khadka, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Estd. 1979

Office Bearer For 1996-1997

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma | President |
| 2. | Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha | Vice President |
| 3. | Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay | Secretary / Treasurer |
| 4. | Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati | Joint Secretary |
| 5. | Ms. Betsie Devi Chhetri | Joint Secretary |
| 6. | Ms. Usha Adhikari | Member |
| 7. | Mr. Keshav Gautam | Member |
| 8. | Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar | Member |

Price Rs. 200/-

In this issue

Articles	Page
Language Planning and Modernization in Nepal	1
Language Problem in South Asia: A Study in Historical Perspective	14
The Apprenticeship Approach to Writing Instruction	26
Reading College Textbooks Written in English: Case Studies in Nepal	55
The Mirrored Self — Reading The Reader's Response	73
LSN Newsletter 1995-96	85