

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE :
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
CULTURAL - PEDAGOGICAL
IMPLICATIONS

DR . ABDUL-MOFEZ A. MOSTAFA

ABSTRACT

This investigation into the relationship between Culture and Language is based on the premise that all experience is culturally conditioned and that no two cultures are alike. Although it is acknowledged that the network of cultural patterns of a social group is indexed in the language which expresses that social identity, there has been a tendency in the past to neglect the cultural dimension in language teaching. Part one is an attempt to give a brief outline of the earlier approaches to this interdependent relationship.

Part two is concerned with the pedagogical implications of cultural mapping. We place the focus on culture in a teaching context, then focus is placed on language.

Dr. ABDUL MOEZ A. MOSTAFA

Currently teaches English at the Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Al- Ahsaa. His previous teaching experience in Egypt includes several years of teaching English in the Egyptian State schools, then he served as an instructor of English Methodology at the Faculty of Education, of Al- Azhar University. He obtained his Diploma in Applied Linguistics from Reading Iniversity and his Ph. D. in Applied Linguistics from London University. His main interests are Taxonomies, Second Language Acquisition, Language and Culture, English Methodology and Phonetics. Before coming to the Kingdom. Dr. Mostafa was a reader of English at Tanta Unviersity where he taught phonetics and grammar and essay to specialists. He taught also for some time at the American University in Cairo.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

This piece of work runs in two main parts. The first highlights the earlier approaches to the relationship between language and culture. The second part touches upon some cultural- pedagogical implications of cultural mapping with stress being partially placed on culture in teaching context; then we focus on language.

PART ONE

1.0 EARLIER APPROACHES TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

1.1 Introduction

The essential relationship between language and culture is perhaps most strikingly stated in the writings of Benjamin Lee whorf. To him, language is cardinal to rearing human young, in organising human communication and in handing down the culture from generation to generation (de Cecco, 1967: 68-74).

The Greeks took it for granted that language was a universal uncontaminated essence of reason, shared by all men, at least by all thinkers. Words, they believed, were but the medium in which this deeper radiance found expression. It followed that a line of thought expressed in any language could be translated without loss of meaning into any other language. This view had persisted for 2500 years until flatly challenged by whorf in his second major hypothesis. "A change in language", he says, "can transform our appreciation of the Cosmos". (Whorf, 1956:). The day-to-day experience of skilled translators at the United Nations goes a long way to support him in the weaker form of his hypothesis. The stronger version, holding that the analysis of a language is immediately relevant to the study and description of the cognitive makeup of its speakers (Weltanschauung), has not been accepted uncritically by cognitive psychologists such as Lenneberg, Brown, Vigotsky and Freud (Saporta, 1961). Lenneberg, however, gives whorf full credit for stimulating thought in many disciplines. "Few working in this area today can deny their indebtedness to these men, Cassirer and Whorf, whether they accept their ideas or not". (Saporta, op. cit., p. 493). It is the great merit of Benjamin Lee Whorf that by the enthusiasm and persuasiveness with which he presents his point of view he has become the major factor in arousing a widespread and growing interest in some of the most significant problems in the relation between linguistic and non linguistic phenomena (Greenberg, 1948/1964: 468).

No one would deny, least of all whorf himself, the influence that sapir, his

mentor and teacher had over him. Whorf's principle of relativity, the weaker form of his hypothesis, is parallel to Sapir's line of thought in the relationship between language and culture; while the stronger form, i.e. "that different languages direct their speakers towards different modes of thought and that there are always elements more readily, more easily and more naturally expressed in one language than another" (Whorf, 1967: 68-74) would seem an extension or exaggeration of the Sapir theory combined with an outright challenge to Greek philosophy on language, reason and thought up to that time.

1.2 Sapir, Field: Analysis of Texts

Sapir (1921: 207) defines culture as "the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determine the texture of our lives". He was one of the earliest American anthropologists to see language as a major means of acculturation inducting the child into ways of his culture and as an indexed network of the cultural patterns of a civilization, consequently an essential guide to the scientific study of a given culture. Sapir asks (1921: 216), "Is it not conceivable that the particular collective qualities of mind that have fashioned a culture are not precisely the same as were responsible for the growth of a particular linguistic morphology?" He maintains that every cultural pattern and every single act of social behaviour involves communication in either an implicit or explicit sense and sees language as a guide to social reality:

"Human beings do not live in an objective world alone nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood but are very much at the mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of expression for his society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that this real world is to a large extent built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see, hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation". (Sapir, 1949: 69).

In similar vein,

"Meanings are not so much discovered in experience as imposed upon

it because of the tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon our orientation in the world". (Sapir, 1931: 578).

Conscious as he is of the constant interplay between language and experience and the overpowering influence, this verbalism, i.e. language, has on our lives, at no time does he extend this view to claim this influence is responsible for moulding our thoughts or determining the courses our cognitive processes take. Sapir does not stipulate any causal relationships between Language and Culture but he does consider both as developing along parallel lines and claims that the vocabulary of a language more or less reflects the culture whose purposes it serves:

"Language moves down in time in a current of its own making. It has drift. Nothing is perfectly static. Every word, every grammatical element, every locution, every sound and accent is a slowly changing configuration moulded by the invisible and impersonal drift that is the life of language". (Sapir, 1921: 150- 171).

Thus vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people and changes of meaning, loss of old words and borrowing of new ones are all dependent on the history of culture itself. Languages differ widely in the nature of their vocabularies. Distributions which may seem inevitable to us may be utterly ignored in languages which reflect different types of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but unintelligible to us. These differences in vocabulary go far beyond name of cultural objects. They apply just as well to the mental world, enabling the expression of the distinction which we feel between "to kill" and "to murder" since linguistic philosophy, which determines our use of words, does not seem natural to all societies (Sapir, 1949: 36). Therefore language is a perfect symbolic system and the content of every culture is expressible in its language. "New cultural experiences", Sapir argues.

"Make it necessary to enlarge the resources of a language but such enlargement is never an arbitrary addition to the materials and forms already present: it is merely a further application of principles already in use and in many areas a little more than a metaphorical extension of old terms and meanings". (op. cit., p. 6)

"A society that has no knowledge of theosophy need have no name for it, but should the need arise to vocabulary of the language will adapt to fulfil that need". (Sapir, 1912: 219).

Sapir envisaged the real world of a community as the total language habits of the group, perceived and experienced according to predisposed choices of interpretation inherited by the community.

1.3 Boas. The Unconscious Character of Linguistic Phenomena

In a study of the interrelationship between Language and Culture the arguments of Boas have had a profound influence on Sapir, Whorf, Bloomfield and others. Bloomfield regards Boas as the pioneer master and teacher of all those involved in the study of American languages.

Research carried out by Boas progresses far beyond discovering the structure of a language by analysis of texts and this must be regarded as a fortuitous outcome since he claims,

"Even if we did not know how to derive any further knowledge from the record of language, we should feel a powerful and distinctive urge to record all those forms of speech much as archaeologists study ancient civilizations or astronomers the distant bodies of the sky". (Boas, 1939: 105-6).

To Boas, purely linguistic enquiry is part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world. He stresses the definite link between ethnology- the science dealing with the mental phenomena of the lives of the peoples of the world- and human language, one of the most important manifestations of mental life. Although Boas is primarily concerned with the relationship between language and thought, subsequent research resulted in his attaching much greater importance to the relationship between the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena and the more conscious ethnological phenomena since the former proves to be an invaluable guide to latter. This important positive relationship cannot be underrated:

"In all languages, certain classifications of concepts occur. We find objects classified according to sex or as animate and inanimate or according to forms. The behaviour of primitive man makes it perfectly clear that all these concepts, although they are in constant use, have never risen into consciousness, and that consequently their origins must be sought, not in rational but in entirely unconscious, we may perhaps say instinctive processes of the mind. They must be due to a grouping of

sense impressions and of concepts which is not, in any sense of the term, voluntary but which develops from quite different psychological causes. It would seem that the essential difference between linguistic phenomena and other ethnological phenomena is that the linguistic classification never rise into the consciousness, while in other ethnological phenomena; although the same unconscious origin prevails, these often rise into consciousness and thus give rise to secondary reasoning and reinterpretations". (Boas, 1911/ 1964 : 19).

Boas stresses the automatic use of language, in which opportunities for the fundamental notions to emerge into consciousness never arise. This is borne out when contrasted with the study of phenomena relating to religion, ethics and social custom, where the unconscious origin is difficult to define or prove since these phenomena are the outcome of thought and are subject to secondary explanation. It is not difficult to illustrate that certain groups of activities, whatever the history of their early development may have been, develop in each individual and in the whole people entirely subconsciously, but nevertheless are most potent in the formation of our opinions. Concepts of what is proper or improper is a case in point in relation to "table manners" which is a good example of secondary explanation: when a new kind of food is presented and the proper manner of eating is unknown, practically any habit which is not in absolute conflict with the common habits may readily establish itself.

Therefore the phenomena of language seem to form a subject apart from other subjects in the field of ethnological science. It would seem that this is largely due to the fact that the laws of language remain entirely unknown to the speakers and it is the study of this unconscious patterning which has formed the basis of much of Boas's work. The importance of these views is reiterated by Sapir (1927), Jakobson (1944), Levi- Strauss (1963) and Whorf (1956), among others. Levi- Strauss claims that in the history of structural thought Boas may be credited for having introduced the distinction between the conscious character of models of empirical reality.

In the relationship between language and thought, Boas is in agreement with those who claim that the conciseness and clearness of thought of a people depend to a great extent upon their language. He draws an interesting comparison between modern European languages- in which wide abstract ideas are expressed in a single term and wide generalizations are cast into the frame of a simple sentence thus setting up conditions for the clarity of concepts, logical force of thought and precision with which we eliminate irrelevant details- and

Indian languages- which are most concrete in formative expression. However, he maintains that the device for generalized expression is present in all languages but the opportunity for its application arises rarely or perhaps never. The fact that generalized forms are not used does not prove inability to form them; rather, what it does prove is that the mode of life of the people is such that the forms are not required but should the demand for such forms arise, the language would accommodate them into its system. Boas and Sapir maintain that the vocabulary of any language will adjust to give expression to new concepts as they are needed. "Some languages, it is true, may be more fully adapted to a technologically advanced society but all languages are capable of being modified to such changing conditions". (Todd, 1974: 1).

Thus it would seem that the obstacles to generalized thought inherent in the form of language are of minor importance only and that a language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to more generalized forms of thinking if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; that is, under such conditions language would "be moulded by the state of the culture" (Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

While Boas and Sapir stress the interdependence of a language and the culture of which it is a medium of expression, the Whorfian thesis is an investigation involving the structure of a language as a symbolic system and the mental functions and cognitive structures of its users. Theories concerned with this relationship are known as theories of linguistic relativity, which relate two extreme points of view. On the one hand, there is the theory that mental operations are carried out independently of language; in other words, language is merely a system for voicing ideas. By contrast, there is the theory that mental functions are wholly determined by language, that language is the shaper of ideas. This latter point of view is known as the whorfian hypothesis. In a series of papers published in 1952 regarding the relation of thought and behaviour to language, whorf violently disagrees with the commonly held notion that the cognitive processes of all human beings possess a common logical structure which operates prior to and independently of language. Hymes (1964: Introduction, xxvii) draws attention to two terms used by Sapir, "hindrance" and "help", in dealing with this language- culture relationship. "One may look at language as making thought possible or one may look at it as moulding and hence restricting thought".

1.4 Whorf. Linguistic Relativity

Whorf's principle of linguistic relativity, or more strictly the Sapir- Whorf hypothesis, has attracted a great deal of attention. Whorf expresses the extreme view that different languages direct their speakers towards different modes of thought and that there are always elements more readily, more and more naturally expressed in one language rather than another. The weaker form holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar and can in some way be calibrated. Because linguistic patterns vary, world views vary. Linguistic determinism then, very simply, states that language controls thought.

The validity of the linguistic relativity has not been sufficiently demonstrated nor has it been flatly refused. It seems to be agreed that languages differ in many strange and striking ways but it is a moot point whether such differences in language structure are associated with actual differences in ways of perceiving and conceiving the world (Whorf, 1956: 28).

Since the Sapir- Whorf hypothesis is in disagreement with theories of natural logic, a brief outline will contribute towards an understanding of the implications of the dichotomous relationship between language and thought, namely, does language control thought or does thought control language?

Natural logic claims that different languages are essentially parallel methods for expressing the one and same rationale of thought and hence differ really in but minor ways (Whorf, 1956: 207). Thought in this view does not depend on grammar but on laws of logic or reason which are supposed to be the same for all observers of the universe, to represent a rationale in the universe that can be found independently by all intelligent observers irrespective of the language they speak. According to natural logic the fact that every person has talked fluently since infancy makes every man his own authority on the process by which he formulates (thinks) or communicates. He has merely consult a common substratum of logic or reason which he and everyone else are supposed to possess. Talking is thus merely an incidental process concerned strictly with communication and not with formulation of ideas. Language is supposed to express only what is already formulated non linguistically via- perception and logic. Formulation is an independent process called "Thought or Thinking" and is supposed to be largely indifferent to the nature of particular languages. Languages have grammars which are assumed to be merely norms of conventional or social cor-

rectness, but the use of language is supposed to be guided not so much by them as by correct rational or intelligent thinking (Whorf, 1956/ 1973).

Whorf (*op. cit.* p. 105) claims that natural logic contains two fallacies; (i) it does not see that the phenomena of language are to its own speakers largely of a background character and so are outside the critical consciousness of the speaker who is expounding natural logic. Hence when anyone who is talking about reason, logic and the laws of correct thinking, he is apt to be simply marching in step with purely grammatical facts, that have somewhat of a background character in his own language, but are by no means universal in all languages and in no sense a common substratum of reason; (ii) natural logic confuses agreement about subject matter through the use of language with the knowledge of the linguistic process, i.e. the grammar by which agreement is attained. Two fluent speakers quickly reach a point of assent about the subject matter of their speech.

When linguists became able to examine critically and objectively a large number of languages of widely different patterns, their base of reference was expanded. They experienced an interpretation of phenomena hitherto held universal. Whorf (1956: 212- 214) interprets the outcome as follows:

"It was found that the background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, the programme and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock-in-trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is a part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native language. The categories and types that we isolate from the world phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face: on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organised by our minds. We cut nature up, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do because we are parties to an agreement to organise it in this way- an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is of course an unstated and implicit one but its terms are absolutely obligatory. We cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organisation and classification of data which the agreement decrees.

This fact is very significant in modern science for it means that no individual is free to describe nature with absolute impartiality but is constrained to certain ways of interpretation even while he thinks himself most free. The person most free in such respects would be a linguist familiar with very many different systems".

1.5 Levi- Strauss. Psychological Universals

Critics of Whorf are numerous and varied, representing the fields of cognitive psychology and social anthropology. No one is more outright in criticism than Levi- Strauss, who disagrees with Whorf's attempt to establish a correlation between certain linguistic structures and certain cultural structures. Levi- Strauss emphasizes the importance of distinguishing the relationship between language and culture from the relationship between a language and a culture. He accuses Whorf of having a crude empirical view of a particular culture and of attempting to correlate phenomena which belong to entirely different levels. In contrast the hypothesis which stresses different world views as a result of cultures finding expression through their own intrinsic symbolic systems, Levi- Strauss sees **Language** and **Culture** as correlates of the human mind. "Since all cultures are the product of human brains, there be somewhere beneath the surface, features that are common to all". (Leach, 1973: 26). The search for psychological universals across cultures and the patterning which links together sets of human behaviours yield information and insights of much greater significance than study of simple cultural items as isolates.

Levi- Strauss central preoccupation is to explore the unique position of **Man**, the product of **Nature** and **Culture**, and the relationship between the latter and language. He asks, "Is it **Language** which influences **Culture** or is it **Culture** which influences **Language** since both have taken thousands of years to develop side by side under the influence of the same human minds?" (Levi- Strauss, 1964). Since **Man**, the animal and **Homo Sapiens**, is related to both **Culture** and **Nature**, the question arises as to where **Culture** divides off from **Nature**. Echoing Rousseau ("Qui dit homme, dit langage, et qui dit langage dit Societe", quoted in Leach, 1970: 37), he offers the explanation: "It is language which makes **Man** different".

The special marker of symbolic thought is the existence of spoken language, in which words stand to signify things out there (Leach, 1970: 43). Language can be said to be a result of **Culture** but it is one of the many things which make

up a culture. From a much more theoretical point of view it can be a condition of culture because the material out of which language is built is the same type as the material out of which culture is built: logical relations, opposition, and correlation (Levi- Strauss, 1963: 68). Levi-strauss regarded culture as the sum of all codes, linguistic and paralinguistic.

1.6 Malinowski / Firth. Context of Situation

A new dimension in the relationship between language and culture is introduced by Malinowski and Firth, who represent the British point of view in which the relationship is seen as one of

"interdependence between different aspects the same event or social action. Language itself is seen as primarily an activity and its engagement in social context as a necessary part of its description. Its use in communication tends to be seen primarily in terms of the function of controlling and influencing action". (Hymes, 1964: 5).

In his study of primitive mentality, culture and language, Malinowski was driven into the field of semantics when he tried to translate his texts - magical formulae, items of folklore, narratives, fragments of conversation and informants' statements. He was faced with the fundamental differences in vocabulary and grammar- situations in which the "next best word" was not the approach to adopt in scientific translation. Grammatical structure, abstraction, use of metaphor and generalization- all these features baffle any attempt at simple and direct translation. The psychological problem of meaning involves conveying the deep yet subtle difference of language and of mental attitudes which lie behind it and is expressed through it. Malinowski quotes a translation text for the purpose of emphasizing how important it is to be informed about the situation in which words are spoken (Ogden and Richards, 1949). A statement spoken in real life is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered. Utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the "context of situation" is indispensable for the understanding of the words. Thus we are introduced to a new focus on language as a mode of action, not as a countersign of thought. The context of situation must be idealized within the context of culture since the whole world of things to be expressed changes with the level of culture. In consequence the meaning of a word must be derived from the analysis of its functions with reference to a given culture. Malinowski

(1935: 52) clearly argues the view that pragmatic functions stand very near the heart of language in use; indeed, it is the pragmatic use of speech within the context of situation that has shaped its structure.

The concept context of situation is a technique also adopted by Firth but he chooses to expand and develop it as he considers it excessively realist in approach and too concrete in application. To Malinowski, context of situation is a part of the social process in which the speech event is central- a concrete situation in which the utterance is directly embedded. By contrast, Firth's "context of culture" is used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events and a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories but rather of the same abstract nature.

A context of situation for linguistic analysis brings into relation the following categories:

- (A) The relevant features of participants: persons and personalities.
 - (i) the verbal action of the participants.
 - (ii) the nonverbal action of the participants.
- (B) The relevant objects.
- (C) The effect of the verbal actions.

Contexts of situation and types of language function can then be grouped and classified. It is a convenient abstraction at the social level of analysis and forms the basis of the hierarchy of techniques for the statement of meanings. The statement of meaning cannot be achieved by one analysis, at one swoop. Having made the first abstraction and having treated the social process of speaking by applying the above mentioned set of categories grouped in the context of situation, descriptive linguistics treats language as a process.

"What we may call the systematics of phonetics and phonology, of grammatical categories and semantics are ordered schematic constructs, frames of reference, a sort of scaffolding for the handling of events". (Firth, 1957/1973: 15).

Firth does not, however, develop Malinowski's "context of culture" since he prefers to study the generalized patterns of actual behaviour which constitute the "system", that is, a set of options that is specified within a given environment. His central concept of the whole of semantics is considered in his context

of situation - in that context are the human participant or participants, what they say and what is going on. "And if you want to bring in the cultural background, you have the contexts of experience of the participants. Every man carries his culture and much of his social reality about with him wherever he goes". (Firth, 1957/1964: 66).

"Everyone of us starts life with two simple roles of sleeping and feeding, but from the time we begin to be socially active, at about two months old, we gradually accumulate social roles. Throughout the period of growth we are progressively incorporated into our social organisation and the chief condition and means of that incorporation is learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances.... Conversation is much of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think. Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free just to say what you please.... Every social person is a bundle of roles or personae".

In the accumulation of social roles,

"... the grown man has to play many parts and unless he knows his lines as well as his role he is no use in the play. If you do not know your part and your lines there are no cues for the other fellow and therefore no place or excuse for his lines either". (Firth, op. cit., p. 67).

"Language is fundamentally a way of behaving and making others behave". (Firth, 1957). Speech is very largely vocal action in control of things and people including oneself, action in relation to adjustment to surroundings and situation. We establish ourselves on speaking terms with our environment, and our words serve our familiarity of it. We are born into a vast potential cultural heritage, but we can only hope to succeed to a very small part of the total heritage and then only in stages (Firth, 1957/ 1964: 66).

1.7 Halliday. The Functional Approach

Malinowsky's context of situation, made explicit and modified by Firth to represent a generalized situation type or social context, and his context of culture influenced Halliday, Who adopts a functional approach to language. Halliday defines the functional approach as an investigation into the ways in which language is used,

"... trying to, most of all, find out what are the purposes that language serves for us, and how we are able to achieve those purposes through speaking and listening, reading and writing. It means seeking to explain the nature of language in functional terms: seeing whether language itself has been shaped by use, and if so, in what ways, how the form of language has been determined by the functions it has evolved to serve". (Halliday, 1973: 7).

To Halliday,

"... learning one's mother tongue is learning the uses of language, and the meanings, or rather the meaning potential associated with them. The structures, the words, and the sounds are the realisation of this meaning potential. Learning a language is 'learning how to mean'". (Halliday, 1973: 24).

He stresses the process of acculturation that accompanies language learning and regards the latter as the primary means of transmission of culture from one generation to the next:

"By taking a functional viewpoint we can gain some idea how it is that the ordinary language in its everyday uses can so effectively transmit to the child the deepest patterns of the culture". (Halliday, op. cit., p. 8).

"The learning of language and the learning of culture are obviously two different things. At the same time they are closely interdependent. The linguistic system is part of the social system, neither can be learnt without the other". (Halliday, 1975: 120).

Halliday adopts the view of

"... the social system as a semiotic, a system of meanings that is realised through (inter alia) the linguistic system" ... in the process of building up the social semiotic- the network of meanings that constitutes the culture- the child is becoming a member of the species 'social man'. Social man is, effectively, 'sociosemiotic man', man as a repository of social meanings". (Halliday, op. cit., p. 121).

"Language from this point of view is a range of possibilities, an ope-

nended set of options in behaviour that are available to the individual in his existence as social man. The context of the culture is the environment of the total set of options, while the context of the situation is the environment for any particular selection that is made from within them". (Halliday, 1973: 49).

It is the social context that defines the limits of the options available, the behavioural alternatives are to this extent context specific.

Alternatively, language may be regarded as meaning potential where the context of the culture represents the potential of the whole semantic system of language and the context of situation represents meaning potential in the form of a set of options that are specific to a given situation type.

Halliday cites a typical actual situation to illustrate how language is embedded in culture:

"If a child learns the culture from ordinary everyday linguistic interaction, as he certainly does, we must suppose not only that he decodes what he hears correctly in a way that is specifically relevant to the context of situation but also that he interprets it correctly in the way it is generally relevant to the context of his culture. In other words, if his mother tells him off he knows he is being told off, but he also learns something in the process about the value system of the culture he is participating in. This presupposes that the linguistic system must be coherent not only within itself but also with the culture". (Halliday, 1975: 129).

The social system is therefore not so much an external condition for the learning of meanings as a generator of the meanings that are learnt.

Broughton (1977) argues yet another cultural dimension to language function in the area of lexis. "Cultural and conceptual norms reflect the social patterns in which language is used- the way which British vocabulary reflects a basic Christian industrialized democratic sophisticated though insular society. Living in a temperate climate goes a considerable distance towards sapir's claim that the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds. Many cultural features encapsulated in British English like our close ties with the sea (taking the wind out of somebody's sails), or industry (at the coal face), or sport

(knocking somebody for six), or turning the blind eye (association with Nelson) reveal areas of idiom and metaphor which are more transparent to foreign learners than to native speakers". Hornby (1972) agrees: "Culture goes deep- even those not interested know what is implied by batting on a sticky wicket".

In similar vein but at a deeper level, Lyons (1977) speaks of cultural salience. Every

"language is integrated with the culture in which it operates, and its lexical structure (as well as part of its grammatical structure) reflects those distinctions which are (or have been) important in the culture. The parenthetical (or have been) is included to cover the possibility that languages may preserve, and perhaps for a considerable time, lexical and grammatical distinctions which no longer correlate with cultural distinctions, although they once did. By being brought up in a certain culture and as part of the process of acculturation, the child becomes aware of the culturally salient feature of his environment". (p. 248).

This interdependence of language and culture in the field of language learning is summarized by Cripser and Widdowson (1975):

"If one is to learn language behaviour one has to learn cultural behaviour and to see the world in a different light". (p. 177).

1.8 Summary

An attempt has been made here to outline the relationship between language and culture as discussed by the American, French and British tradition of linguistic anthropology.

Boas regarded linguistic enquiry as part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world and although primarily concerned with the relation between language and thought he later attached much greater importance to the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena whose origins must be sought in the instinctive processes of the mind.

Sapir's views on the tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon our orientation of the world influenced Whorf, whose principle of linguistic relativity ex-

presses the extreme view language moulds thought and shapes ideas rather than is shaped by them.

Levi- Strauss's quest is for psychological universals rather than a study of single cultures as isolates. To him the relationship between language and culture is one of congruence between two- parallel systems since both are products of the human mind. Language is seen primarily as a shared social inherited system the use of which in communication tends to be seen primarily in terms of the cognitive function of distinguishing or expressing meanings. The underlying factor is the mind.

The British viewpoint presents an interesting contrast. For Firth and Malinowski emphasis is on the relationship between meaning and form, focusing on language as a mode of action, not a countersign of thought. Its use in communication tends to be seen primarily in terms of controlling and influencing action. The underlying factor in this relationship is the event.

The relationship between meaning and form influenced Halliday, whose functional approach is an investigation into the ways in which language is used. Learning a language is Learning How to Mean, the semantic system represents the total meaning potential of the context of the culture.

The cultural dimension in language learning is reflected in the lexis. Lyons adopts the term "salience" when referring to the way in which culture and conceptual norms reflect the social patterns in which language is used.

PART TWO

2.0 CULTURAL- PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS.

2.1. Introduction

We have seen that Language and Culture are indissoluble and interdependent. Therefore the culture dimension is one which the language teacher and learner cannot avoid. Broughton (1977) points out that the language teaching situation is one in which little more than a surface scratching of the cultural dimension has been achieved. This applies in a greater degree in situations in which the target language and culture have very little in common with the mother tongue of the learner. English and Japanese are typical examples. Lado (1957: 110) maintains.

"We are rather helpless to interpret ourselves accurately and to describe what we do because we have grown up doing it and much of what we do we do through habit, almost unnoticed from our elders and our cultural environment. Our inability to describe our cultural ways is parallel to our inability to describe our language unless we have made a special study of it".

Further, in the previous part, it was implied that in teaching any particular variety of English, whether we like it or not, we are teaching a particular world view influenced by the culture of that variety. Culture being such a wide and varied phenomenon, it is arguable that in the sphere of language teaching both teachers and learners can aim to do little more than scratch the surface of the culture of the target language.

NOTE:

It is of great importance to mention here that the main example being quoted and employed in this context is about "animalness". However, it is an attempt to highlight the significance of "animalness" in British culture by drawing tentative comparisons with concepts of animalness in other cultures, the fact which becomes more apparent is the one made by Lado (1957) that meanings in which

we classify our experience are culturally determined or modified and they vary considerably from culture to culture. (See Mostafa, 1980); (See also appendix I and II).

2.2 Teaching Implications : Focus on Culture

The relevance of an article of this nature is to increase an awareness in teachers and learners, of the increasing importance of the cultural dimension in teaching English as a foreign language. This part relates to the various ways in which this dimension may be woven into actual learning contexts. It has touched upon two main areas. In the first the emphasis is on the cultural teaching implications and in the second, the pedagogical teaching implications.

2.2.1. Cultural Teaching Implications

In a vague sort of way most people learning a foreign language believe that cultural insight should contribute to language mastery. Lado warns of the dangers of misinterpretation which are the outcome of ignoring cultural differences-errors of misjudgement and ascribing meanings which were never intended. Considered as a fabric, the warp strands of human culture tend to be the same the world over. It is the crossing threads of the woof that give colour, variety, and difference (Brooks, 1969). The lucky learners are those who have opportunity to live and participate in the actual context of situation where actual achievement is not so much the availability of extensive and varied practice as the tremendous motivation created by the necessity to communicate with people. Nida (1954), an experienced linguist in the missionary field, quotes an Indian who had been trying very hard to teach someone his language with limited success: "I do not know what to do," the Indian declared,

"I have been teaching this missionary for a long time but she just sits and studies and seems to learn nothing. Why, a Spanish girl married one of the Indians in our village and now in one year's time she talks very well. Why is the missionary so ignorant?".

Nida diagnoses the problem: it is not that the missionary is ignorant but rather that she has isolated herself from the culture and by so doing has failed to expose herself to situations in which the language is spoken and heard. In similar vein Fries emphasises the learners need to experience the situations that give language its meanings. Every language is inextricably bound up with the whole life experience of the native users of that language (Fries, 1945: 57). That is why

understanding the cultural contexts should be the language learner's goal.

2.2.2 Word Meanings and Functions.

We are of the opinion that denotative meanings of words do not provide insights into culture. Lado points out the significant differences in connotative meaning in the case of such words like "cruelty" and "animal" in English and in Spanish. But there are many simpler words which are equally complex: bread, home, father, brother and family convey contrastingly different meanings and relationships in Indian, French, African and Western cultures. Thus cultural problems in language teaching sometimes arise because of this infrastructure of preconceived and hidebound notions.

Yet another area of difficulty arises when "what we describe as a grammatical function of a sentence is not necessarily the same as its utterance function" (Wilkins, 1972: 147). The imperative form fulfills other functions apart from giving orders and it would be overambitious to assume that a learner who has mastered the form grammatically would be able to use it in the variety of other communicative situations in which it is manifested, that is, to suggest, to threaten, to give instructions, to warn and to invite. Conversely, the native speaker may use a variety of utterances which have the effect of imposing the will of the speaker on the hearer and none of them need conform to the pattern of the grammatical imperative form, e. g. "You're not planning to borrow my car, are you?" "or" "If you don't write that letter, you'll be in trouble". One can imagine difficulties experienced by the advanced learner who wishes to be able to select the utterance that best suits what he wants to convey in a particular communicative context. Widdowson envisages the cultural difficulties which parallel the linguistic difficulties by pointing out that

"communicative acts may not be universal even within one speech community and certainly it seems that people in different communities will have different notions to express, that a promise or advice or recommendation in our culture may have no exact analogue in another" (Widdowson, 1973).

2.2.3 The Role of Literature

There are many arguments in favour of including literature as an essential component of an E.F.L. course. English literature is informative about the

English way of life by way of revealing social conventions, manners, modes of communication, implicit attitudes, assumptions, in addition to the strengths and weaknesses of the British character, all expressed in the complexity of human experience which is essentially British. While it is possible to analyse syntactic and lexical usage, as well as such features as idiom, colloquialism and dialect without using literary texts,

"The study of linguistic elements can be made livelier and more meaningful when they are seen to be incorporated in the texture of a work of literary value- in the texture, particularly, of a representation of human life". (Hawes, 1977).

However, the degree to which understanding a language contributes towards the understanding of national characteristics and values is open to question. A student unfamiliar with the cultural context can misread an entire passage of prose even though he "knows" virtually all the grammar and vocabulary involved. Allen (1969) cites a typical situation in which a class of advanced foreign students learning English completely missed the point made by the author in the following extract:

"I was born... into the trying position of being the eldest of the family, so that the full force of my mother's theories about education were brought to bear upon me; and it fell to me to blaze a path to freedom for my juniors, through the forest of her good intentions".

The general consensus of the students was that the author considered herself fortunate indeed to be blessed with a mother who was not only well intentioned but well educated. It was obvious that these students were reasoning within the content of their own cultural premises: mothers are good, education is good, good intentions are good. Naturally, then, anyone who receives the full force of goodness must feel fortunate:

"In order to recognise irony in a target language one needs to know a good deal about the life and thought of the cultural group for whom the author is writing". (Allen, op. cit.).

Literature, then, while demonstrating language in action, widening vocabulary and idiom, increasing points of syntax and style and developing oral skills, has a more limited function in presenting and elucidating English cultural values. It is essential to bear in mind Fries's emphasis on the learner's needs to "experience the situations" that give a language its meanings.

2.2.4 Paralinguistic Communication

The unconscious differences are ones which interfere most in communication and they happen to be the ones which are the most difficult to perceive, analyse, teach and learn. Native speakers, in detecting phonological irregularities in the speech of foreign learners, will expect them to be accompanied by irregularities in grammar and the semantic system. The foreign verbal elements which are most likely to raise the hackles of the native listener are those with cultural ties such as the use of the familiar second person pronoun form or first name address by a stranger speaking French, German, Italian or Spanish. Use of non verbal patterns which are incompatible with the culture concerned causes uneasiness in the native listener and interfere with successful interaction. The misunderstanding of paralinguistic signals ranging from proximity and kissing to the more remote gestures and hand signalling can generate feelings of unfriendliness, mistrust and rebuke. Even smiles are culturally patterned and thereby subject to misinterpretation by members of other cultures. The contrasts between greetings become even more marked when comparisons are drawn between Arabic, African and Western cultures than between two different types within Western culture, say the Latin and Anglosaxon contrast. Communication, then is to a large extent a cultural ritual of which the verbal element is only a part. Birdwhistell (1970) emphasises the importance of various non verbal channels and goes as far as predicting that probably no more than 30 - 35 % of the social meaning of a conversation is carried by words.

2.2.5 The Role of The Teacher

In so many learning situations the teacher is the learner's main personal contact with the culture of the target language. Therefore the role of the teacher in all aspects of the learning process, ranging from good teacher- student relationship, relaxed classroom atmosphere, selection and presentation of materials and the techniques of teaching involved, cannot be underestimated. Learners can benefit enormously from a model through whom they can identify themselves with the target culture ways of thinking, feeling, speaking and conveying information paralinguistically. Cooke (1973) draws attention to the fact that while teachers are in control of the atmosphere within their own classrooms and how language is studied there they have absolutely no control over the areas where ethnic attitudes develop, that is, the home, the peer group, and society. Learners may have their own highly subjective motives and personally defined goals but they are most likely determined by the culture that has shaped them

prior to their study of any foreign language. Many foreign learners have difficulty in breaking the ethnocentric veneer which is the result of the all embracing effect of culture and they develop what Gladstone (1969) calls cultural and linguistic blindspot. The task of the language teacher is not that of developing attitudes but of changing them in the long term. The degree and rate of attitude change which accompanies second language acquisition will be determined by the manner in which teacher and students relate and the atmosphere of the learning situation. Cooke advocates the avoidance of an authoritarian approach during any stage in language learning since, once established, it is difficult to change to a more relaxed atmosphere during those periods when cultural and attitudinal activities become part of the learning process. A consistently permissive atmosphere in which discussion should be non directive, with many topics and ideas coming from the learner will be productive in bridging cultural differences.

Lado maintains that the key to ease or difficulty in foreign language learning lies in the teacher's ability to draw linguistic comparisons between the target language and the native language of the students. Such knowledge will provide linguistic insights into the problems and will equip the teacher to deal with them. However, knowledge of the forms and meanings and their distribution across cultures is essential since

"individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture - both productively when attempting to speak and act in the culture and receptively when attempting to grasp the language and the culture as practiced by natives". (Lado, 1957: 2).

The teacher's knowledge of evaluation, selection, preparation and supplementation of language teaching materials is of paramount importance. The ability to compare the two languages linguistically will enable him to assess books and materials on the basis of how they present the language and cultural patterns that form the system to be studied and how they give due emphasis to those patterns that are difficult because they are different from the native language.

The ways in which the native culture value system may conflict or conform with the target culture must be given careful consideration. Both hostility and misunderstanding may be engendered by ill-considered choice of cross cultural

material, therefore it is important to bear in mind that if the sympathy and goodwill of the students are to be maintained their point of view must be taken into account in introducing them to the new cultural framework.

Thus it would seem that the greater contrast between the learners own culture and the culture of the target language, the greater emphasis must be laid on content and presentation of materials and on the motivation techniques which should cater for the interim as well as terminal goals in learning. Interim goals are essential to appeal to the students need of achievement and to promote a sense of constant progress towards the final purpose. Progress, in this sense, refers to the ability to use the language they know in a communicative context.

2.2.6 Culture and Motivation

Lambert *et al.* (1963) have drawn attention to the major importance of what they call integrative motivation to the learning of foreign languages. They suggest there are two types of motivation, the instrumental and the integrative and that the presence of the integrative motivation is necessary to successful mastery of the higher levels of proficiency signalled by the development of native-like accent and the ability to think like a native speaker. Reasons are considered instrumental if they suggest the language is being used for such purposes as to fulfil an educational requirement, to get a better position, to read material in the language, and are considered integrative when they suggest the desire to communicate with, to interact with, or to become a part of the language community speaking the language. In a real life situation an individual is a member of the group speaking his native language but when he is placed in a second language learning situation he may choose speakers of his own language or the speakers of the second language as his reference group. Integrative motivation is related to a choice of the second language group. Spolsky relates his examples to a study of English - speaking Montreal high school students and their learning of French.

Gardner and Smythe, who were members of the research team on the Montreal project, assessed the effects of incentive programmes designed to affect changes in the integrative motive. French Days, bicultural excursions and bilingual immersion experiences and the like were devised to make the language come alive and make the course something more than just another school subject. A bicultural excursion involved a four-day stay in Quebec City, where students stayed together in one hotel and visited various sites in groups. This rath-

er minimal bicultural experience exhibited significantly more favourable attitudes towards French Canadians and a significantly greater interest in learning French for integrative reasons. Other situations can have an equal if not greater motivating effect than the Montreal situation. If everyone in a cultural community learns a second language, as in Malaysia, and if it is expected that everyone should be bilingual, there exists a strong motivating pressure on individuals to learn. This situation takes second place to the one referred to earlier in this part in which sheer necessity to communicate within a foreign context motivates interaction. However, the vast majority of learning situations are within the classroom, where the integrative motive must be contrived to promote second language proficiency. The integrative motive, therefore, is a complex interplay of attitudinal and motivational variables and determines not only how well the student accomplishes interim goals in learning but also his terminal behaviour which hopefully would involve a desire to further his contacts with the language and the culture.

Catford (1969) emphasises a third type of motivation, that which arises from an interest in language both in the language being learned and the language in general. "It is an important fact," he states, "that whereas the student of most subjects is interested in the subject itself, the student of a language is not at all interested in the subject which is language". He maintains that conscious attention to linguistic relativity, while imposing some difficulties, could also be a source of interest to the learner. To learn the grammar of French or Finnish is to learn to conceptualise grammatically like a Frenchman or a Finn. This reflects the thinking of Gardiner and Smythe, who affirm that the vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation have a meaning over and above that which the teacher is trying to present - they are representations of another cultural group and the students' attitudes toward that group will affect the extent to which they can incorporate the behaviour patterns of that culture group.

2.3 Teaching Implications: Focus on Language

Broughton (1978), in postulating that it is neither possible nor desirable for the majority of foreign learners to acquire total N.S.I., further argues that by establishing norms of N.S.I. and working towards a definition of N.S.T.I. it would be possible to clarify problems of linguistic selection and sequencing, refine teaching materials and techniques, identify potential problem areas and eventually propose a theory of language teaching.

2.3.1 The Cultural Map: Selection and Grading

When we learn our first language we automatically make our own selection. We learn words as we need them and the more we need them, the more we use them. This so called principle of "natural selection" has been applied to the teaching of second languages. Although it is possible for a teacher to attempt to apply to the second language the same principles used to learn the first, it is not possible for a method to do so in so far as it must present its material in some form to the learner in textbooks, films, recordings, etc. (Mackay, 1965). This consideration of method leads to the cardinal issue that teaching material must be constructed round an inventory of teaching items and that preparation involves delimitation and arranging content in appropriate sequence.

However the criterion of frequency based on availability not only helps to decide whether a particular item is selected for inclusion at all, but it also helps to decide the sequence in which content items are taught. (Mostafa, 1980).

2.3.2 The Cultural Map: Vocabulary Learning

It is axiomatic that items to be taught are more easily learned if grouped with other items which are naturally associated with them. Thus association of words is justified on both linguistic and pedagogical grounds since the more links there are between words, the more can be said with them. For example ten words from the same context give more possibilities than one word from each of ten different contexts. It follows then that animal names presented in lexical and semantic categories can be more easily learned than if mixed up with other items. Native speakers possess an intuitive "feel" or awareness of the animals which form the nucleus of each particular category. For example, "dog" and "cow" are most likely to be nuclei of the pet and domestic categories, respectively. Therefore by sequencing the teaching of the items in relation to their location in different areas of the cultural map, foreign learners be encouraged to acquire the cultural "feel" of the nucleus item of each category, and consequently, the other items in relation to the nucleus item. In Keeping with the line of argument precedence should be given to those animals with whom the native speakers share closest relationship since are likely to be those with whom foreign learners are most likely to establish contact in a British cultural environment. (See Mostafa, 1980).

This would suggest teaching the smaller and, as it happens, most important categories, that is, "farm and field" categories, in their entirety and reduced

sets of the larger categories. An obvious starting point is the British "home" context featuring dog, cat, rabbit and possibly hamster, to represent adult and children's pets. This concept of context of situation is significant if our aim is to achieve native speaker's type of associations in the minds of non native speakers by implanting the type of categorical associations native speakers have revealed in their binary and selectional features. Additionally, it is extremely unlikely that foreign learners would establish contact with these native creatures in real life, with the exception of fox, deer or stag in a hunting context. After the initial presentation of the animals as members of their semantico-cultural categories in their corresponding contexts they could be sequenced to reappear as members of different semantic sets in other contexts in follow-up lessons, for example, the domestic house pet "cat" could reappear ten lessons later as a member of a much larger exotic "cat" category which includes the carnivores lion, tiger, leopard, puma and cheetah. Similarly, horse could be regrouped with a cross cultural set of "rideable" animals: camel, ox, buffalo and yak. Other various semantic groupings across cultures are possible, for example, food-providing animals: whale, turtle, goat, horse and cow in a food context; natural resource providing animals: camel, sheep, leopard in a clothing context; and fox, hare, shrew and badger could be encountered in text to illustrate cultural attitudes revealed in figurative use of language. The purpose of cross cultural and semantic sequencing is twofold in that it increases the range of words taught while keeping the learning load light. Aware of the fact that semantic sequencing is not translatable from one language to another due to the pragmatic use of language, this approach could, at a later stage, be a means of introducing overt discussion in which comparison of contexts of situation could attempt to bridge the cultural gap between the source and target languages. "Camel" to an Egyptian, "dog" to a Malay and "buffalo" to a Thai are entirely different concepts from their counterparts in British culture. It follows that when teaching "dog" to Malay or Chinese students, "pig" to an Egyptian, "horse" to the French and "cow" to the Indian Hindu, the desired aim is to encourage those foreign learners to reorganise their categories in their own cultural maps and adapt to the categories of the target language map. To adopt this pedagogical cultural approach to language study would encourage "a deeper understanding of another culture and a wider tolerance of different ideas and patterns of behaviour". (Rivers, 1968: 26).

An intuitive impression that some words are more closely related to others is compelling. Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976: 247) postulate that the relative frequency with which a particular word is given in response to a particular sti-

mulus is regarded as a measure, or at least a strength of association between these words and a reasonable prediction of the rates of learning: verbal materials have been based on the hypothesis that the frequency of spontaneous association can be used to estimate the degree of transfer from previous learning experience to a present learning task. Miller (1968) refers to two interrelated concepts, lexical and conceptual field, the former being an outward manifestation of the latter. Psychologically, the association of words helps us remember them. But these associations are not the same for all languages and for all persons speaking the same language.

"Yet the majority of persons speaking one language may have one predominant set of associations, for example, in English, more than half of the speakers of the language associate the word "chair" with table, seat, furniture or sit". (Mackay, 1965: 209).

Associations, being many and varied, are revealed in collocation, connotation, predication, coordination, contrastive sets, selectional restrictions and figurative language. It will be apparent that those animals with very stable and tightly knit associations, e.g. panda, lion, Fox and beaver will be less productive lexically in "exercise" terms than animals like dog, cat, cow and horse, which have revealed unstable and variable associations due to their roles in varied contexts in British culture.

These cultural demands that are being made on English language teaching procedures are not always of primary consideration and must be viewed as one of the threads of the general fabric of English language teaching. The cultural dimension is one of many which includes the lexical, phonological, grammatical and semantic dimensions in course book and syllabus design and as such will be compounded with these other criteria. The practical examples which follow are essentially structural, notional or communicative. The ideal course book and syllabus will be one which is based on language use and as such will combine functional elements, that is, the communicative and notional, within a progressive structural framework.

2.3.3 Practical Examples

The present argument involves the desirability of weaving the lexico-cultural component into a suitably structured teaching point.

Example 1

Practice with the simple present could be combined with the edibility or rideability concept.

In Britain they eat beef but they do not eat horse.

pork

dog.

lamb

goat.

Example 2

Practice with the passive.

Are horses ridden in Thailand?

No, Thais ride buffalo.

buffalo

Tibet?

No, Tibetans ride yak.

donkeys

Britain?

Yes, as a matter of fact They are and they ride ponies and horses too.

OR

A natural resource concept may be combined with "is used to" in a clothing context.

In Britain wool from sheep is used to make clothing.

pelts

mink are

fur coats.

leather

cows is

shoes and bags.

horns

deer are

trophies.

Example 3

Selectional restrictions. It is essential to reveal the semantic relationship between verbs and nouns and nouns and adjectives. Certain verbs denote certain situations and restrict the range of subject and objects in that particular situation. For example

Dogs bark . . .

The barking of the dogs.

Horses neigh . . .

The neighing of the horses.

A : Can you imagine anyone eating a tortoise?

B : Heavens, No! Wherever do they do that?

A : Don't you know tortoises are a delicacy in China?

As a matter of fact they eat dogs too.

B : As an Englishman, the very idea horrifies me. These creatures are pets and the thought of killing them is unthinkable, never mind eating them.

OR

In a discussion on the use of natural fibres as opposed to synthetic materials:

A : The latest fashion in Britain is to wear synthetic furs rather than the real thing.

B : Why, can't fashionable women afford the genuine article?

A : Yes, of course they can, but modern opinion states firmly that leopard skins look better on leopards and seal skin on seals.

B : I can see your point - why should animals have to die to provide wealthy women with furs.

5.2.4 Conclusions

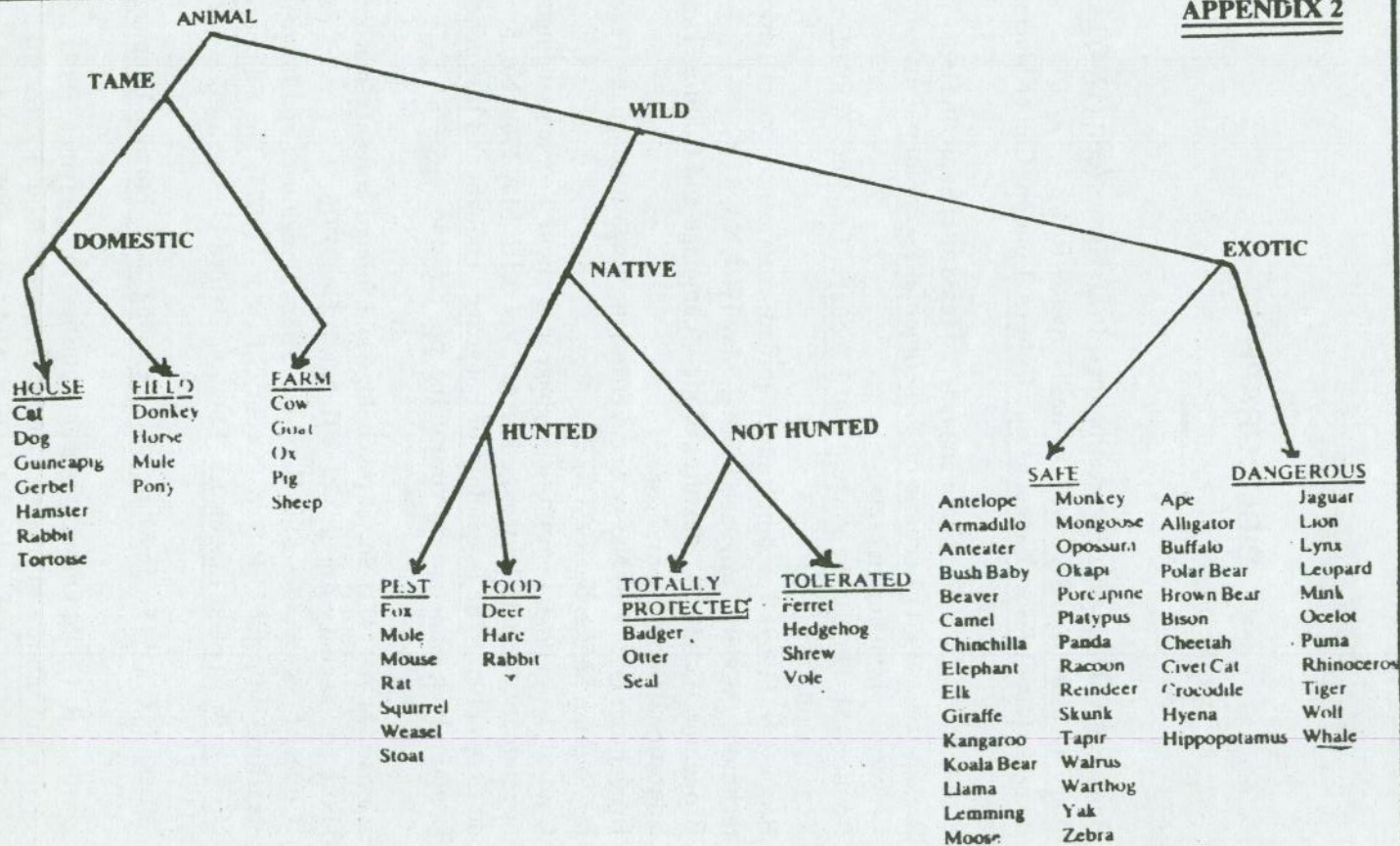
From these exercises it is clear that the theoretical implications of cultural mapping are of utmost importance to the practical teacher.



APPENDIX 1**CULTURE MAP - REFERENCE**

- | | |
|----|--------------------|
| 1 | Animal |
| 2 | Tame |
| 3 | Wild |
| 4 | Domestic |
| 5 | Field |
| 6 | Wild / Native |
| 7 | Wild / Exotic |
| 8 | House |
| 9 | Farm |
| 10 | Hunted |
| 11 | Not Hunted |
| 12 | Exotic / Safe |
| 13 | Exotic / Dangerous |
| 14 | Pest |
| 15 | food |
| 16 | Totally Protected |
| 17 | Tolerated |

APPENDIX 2



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1) Boas, F. (1911) Linguistics and ethnology. In D. Hymes (ed.) (1964) Language in culture and Society. London: Harper & Row.
- (2) Boas, F. (1966) Race, Language and Culture. London: Collier Macmillan.
- (3) Birdwhistell, R.L. (1961) Paralanguage: 25 years after Sapir. In Henry W. Breslin (ed.) (1961) Lectures on Experimental Psychology. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- (4) Boulton, M. (1959) The Anatomy of Language. London: Routledge & Kegan, Paul.
- (5) Brooks, N. (1969) Teaching culture abroad: from concept to classroom technique. *Modern Language Journal*, May 1969, No. 5.
- (6) Broughton, G. (1977) "Textures of life", *Language and Culture*. *Times Educational Supplement*, 12. 8. 77.
- (7) Broughton, G. (1978) Native Speaker Insight. *English Language Teaching Journal*, September 1978.
- (8) Catford, J.C. (1969) Learning a language in the field: Problems of linguistic relativity. *Modern Language Journal*, Vol. LIII, May 1969, No. 5.
- (9) de Cecco (1967) The Psychology of Language, Thought and Instruction. London, Holt, Rinehart & Winston Inc. pp, 126 -146.
- (10) Cooke, M.A (1973) Social psychology and foreign language teaching. *Foreign Language Annals*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Dec. 1973.
- (11) Criper, C. & Widdowson, H.G. (1975) Sociolinguistics and language teaching. In Allen, J.P.B. & Corder, S.P. (eds.) (1975) The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics. London: Oxford University Press, PP. 155 -217.
- (12) Fries, C.C (1945) Teaching and Learning as a Foreign Language. U.S.A.: Arbor.
- (13) Firth, J.R. (1935) On sociological linguistics. In D. Hymes (1964) Language in Culture and Society. London: Harper & Row, PP. 66 - 70).
- (14) Gardner, R.C. & Smythe, P.C. (1975) Motivation and second language acquisition. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, March 1975.

- (15) Gladstone, J.R. (1969) Language and culture. English Language Teaching Journal, Vol. XXIII, Jan. 1969, PP. 114 - 117.
- (16) Greenberg, J.H. (1948 / 1964) Linguistics and ethnology. In D. Hymes (ed.) (1964) Language in Culture and Society. London: Harper & Row, PP. 27 - 35.
- (17) Halliday, M.A.K. (1973) Explorations in the Functions of Language. London: Arnold.
- (18) Halliday, M.A.K. (1975) Learning How to Mean. London: Arnold.
- (19) Halliday, M.A.K. McIntosh, A., & Stevens, P. (1964) The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. London: Longmans.
- (20) Hawes, D (1977) English literature and the teaching of E.F.L. The Incorporated Linguist, Vol. 16, No. 4.
- (21) Hoijer, H. (ed.) (1954) Language in Culture. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- (22) Lado, R. (1957) Linguistics Across Cultures. U.S.A.: University of Michigan Press.
- (23) Lambert, W.E. et al. (1963) Attitudinal and cognitive aspects of intensive study of a second language. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 66, 358 - 389.
- (24) Leach, E. (1976) Culture and Communication. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (25) Leach, E. (1973) Levi - Strauss. Glasgow Fontana / Collins.
- (26) Lenneberg, E.H. & Roberts, J.M. (1956 / 1961) The language of experience. In S. Saporta (ed) (1961) Psycholinguistics. U.S.A. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. PP. 493 - 499.
- (27) Levi- Strauss, C. (1958 /1964) Structural analysis in linguistics and in anthropology. In D. Hymes (ed.) (1964) Language in Culture and Society. London: Harper & Row, PP. 40 - 51.
- (28) Levi - Strauss, C. 1963) Structural Anthropology. Translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. Penguin.
- (29) Lyons, J. (1977) Semantics. London: Cambridge University Press.
- (30) Mackey, W.F. (1965) Language Teaching Analysis. London: Longmans.
- (31) Malinowski, B. (undated) The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C.K. Ogden & I.A. Richards (1969) The Meaning of Meaning. 10th edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, PP. 296 - 336.
- (32) Miller, G.A. & Johnson- Laird, P.N. (1976) Language and Perception. London: Cambridge University Press.
- (33) Mostafa, A.M.A.L. Ph.D. An empirical Study of Taxonomic norms of

- English and Arabic native speakers, and their relevance to E.F.L. Teaching in Egyptian state schools. London, 1980.
- (34) Nida, E. (1954) Customs and Culture. New York: Harper & Brothers.
 - (35) Ogden, G.K. & Richards, I.A. (1949) The Meaning of Meaning. Tenth Edition (1969). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
 - (36) Rivers, W. (1968) Teaching Foreign- Language Skills. U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.
 - (37) Sapir, E. (1949) Culture, Language and Personality, Selected Essays. U.S.A. University of California Press.
 - (38) Sapir, E. (1921) Language. London, Aylesbury: Compton Printing, LTD.
 - (39) Todd, J. (1974) Pidgins and Creoles. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
 - (40) Vigotsky, L.S. (1934 / 1961) Thought and Speech. In S.Saporta (ed.) (1961) Psycholinguistics. U.S.A.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., PP. 509 - 535.
 - (41) Weinreich, U. (1953) Languages in Contact. New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York.
 - (42) Widdowson, H.G. (1973) An applied linguistic approach to discourse analysis. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.
 - (43) Wilkins, D.A (1972) Linguistics in Language Teaching. London: Arnold.
 - (44) Wilkins, D.A. (1974) Second- Language Learning and Teaching. London: Arnold.
 - (45) Wilkins, D.A., Notional Syllabuses: A Taxonomy and its Relevance to Foreign Language Curriculum Development. Oxford: Oxford University press, 1976.
 - (46) Whorf, B.L. Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Edited by John B. Carroll, New York: Wiley, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. press, 1956.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اللغة والثقافة

د. عبدالمعز عبد الله مصطفى

استاذ اللغة الانجليزية المساعد

دكتوراه في اللغويات التطبيقية - جامعة لندن

نما لاشك فيه ان هناك علاقة بين الثقافة واللغة . . ولكن أختلف المهتمون بهذا المجال على تحديد طبيعة هذه العلاقة . .

وفي هذا البحث يتناول الباحث طبيعة العلاقة بين اللغة والثقافة . . وقد بنى على فرضية ان خبرة الإنسان تكون غالبا مشروطة أو مقترنة ثقافيا . . وانه ليست هناك ثقافتان متماثلتان تماما .

والجدير بالذكر ان المهتمين بهذا الامر بالرغم من انهم يقرون ان انماط الثقافة لجماعة اجتماعية موجودة في اللغة التي تعبر عن هذه الهوية الاجتماعية إلا أن الاتجاه في الماضي كان يهمل البعد الثقافي في تدريس اللغة .

الجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة محاولة لابرار وتلخيص اراء ووجهات نظر المدارس المختلفة في دراسة طبيعة العلاقة المتبادلة بين اللغة والثقافة .

اما الجزء الثانى فيعنى بالمتضمنات التربوية للخريطة الثقافية ولقد تناول الباحث هذه النقطة من زاويتين مختلفتين . . الأولى يركز فيها على الثقافة فى موقف تدريسى . . ثم يعنى بعد ذلك باللغة نفسها .

ونود هنا أن نقول ان العلاقة الاساسية بين اللغة والثقافة . . . ظهرت بوضوح فى كتابات «بنيامين لى وورف» وبالرغم من ان وورف ليس أول من تناول هذا الموضوع بالبحث إلا أن فرضيته اثار ثائرة المشتغلين والمهتمين بهذا المجال . . وفجرت الكثير من القضايا والجدل حول هذا الموضوع . . ويرى وورف ان اللغة ركيزة اساسية فى تنشئة الفرد وفى تنظيم الاتصال بين البشر وكذلك فهى اداة نقل الثقافة من جيل الى جيل .

ولذلك فقد رأى الباحث ان يتبع ويلقى الضوء على العلاقة بين اللغة والثقافة بدءا بالإغريق . . وحتى المدارس الحديثة . وكان الإغريق ينظرون الى اللغة على انها شئ عام يشترك فيه كل الناس حتى على الأقل المفكرين . . والكلمات بالنسبة لهم لم تكن سوى وسيلة يجد من خلالها هذا الاشعاع العميق طريقة . . للتعبير ولذلك فان نظرية الاغريق فى اللغة كانت تنادى بأن أى خط فكري فى أى لغة يمكن ترجمته الى لغة اخرى دون فقدان للمعنى ولقد ساد هذا الرأى ولمدة ٢٥٠ عام حتى جاء وورف وتحدى هذا الرأى وهدم هذه النظرية بفرضيته الشهيرة . . والتى مؤداها اننا نرى عالمنا من خلال اللغة واللغة نتاج الثقافة . . واى تغير فى الثقافة يعتبر بالتالى تغيرا فى اللغة نفسها . . وطبقا لهذه الفرضية تصبح الترجمة من لغة الى أخرى شبه مستحيلة وهذا غير حقيقى حيث اننا نستطيع الترجمة وفهم اللغات الاخرى بالرغم من اختلاف ثقافة المجتمع الذى يتحدث هذه اللغة . . وذلك كثيرا ما يحدث فى المحافل الدولية .

والبحث كما اشرنا من قبل يلقي الضوء على مدارس فكرية مختلفة اهتم اصحابها

بطبيعة العلاقة بين اللغة والثقافة مثل - سابير، بواس - وورف - ليفي استراوس -
مالينوسكى - فيراث وهاليداي .

ولقد حاول الباحث هنا ان يربط بين هذه الآراء وبما يجرى في مجال تدريس اللغة
الانجليزية كلغة اجنبية . . . وخلصنا الى نتيجة معينة مؤداها انه في المواقف التدريسية
سواء قبلنا بذلك أو رفضنا . . . فإننا ندرس وجهة نظر معينة قد تأثرت بثقافة هذه
اللغة .

ونظرا لأن الثقافة تعتبر ظاهرة واسعة ومتعددة الجوانب فإن كل ما يفعله المدرس
والدارس معا ليس - سوى خدش في سطح ثقافة اللغة التي تدرس .

وتبقى الحقيقة والتي اشار اليها «لادو» ان المعانى التي نصنف خبراتنا طبقا لها . .
تحددها الثقافة . . . وان هذه المعانى والخبرات تختلف من ثقافة لأخرى .

والجدير بالذكر ان هناك اتجاهها حاليا ينادى بضرورة تدريس ثقافة اللغة التي
تدرس . . . والتعرض لثقافة هذه اللغة ليس معناه التأثير بها . . بل التعرف عليها فقط
لفهم الكلمات في اطار ثقافى صحيح . . وثبت من الدراسات التي اجريت على هذا
الموضوع ان الدارس عندما يتعرض لمفهوم معين ليس في لغته الاصلية فان مهمته في
التعليم تكون اصعب عن لو كانت مهمة الدارس لغوية فقط . لان ذلك يتطلب من
معرفتها لغويا وثقافيا .

وخلاصة القول أن هناك علاقة متبادلة بين اللغة والثقافة وهناك مدارس مختلفة
في تحديد طبيعة هذه العلاقة وقوتها . . . ومهما قيل فسيبقى الجدل دائرا . . .