

T
693

THE APPLICATION OF LADO'S FORMULA OF CULTURAL
ANALYSIS TO PROBLEMS OF TEACHING LITERATURE
IN PAKISTAN

By

THERESA A. DASS

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in the Depart-
ment of Education, American
University of Beirut.

May 1965

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am most grateful to Prof. Richard Yorkey, Chairman of my Thesis Committee, for his assistance in the completion of this study, and for his unreserved cooperation, guidance, healthy criticism, and useful suggestions, at all stages of this work. My gratitude to him is deep and sincere.

I am much obliged to Prof. Louis P. Cajoleas, Chairman, Department of Education, American University of Beirut, whose course in International Education helped me to formulate the idea for this study, and his help which he invariably extended at all times.

To Prof. Marcus Smith, I owe a deep sense of gratitude for extending his valuable help and time ungrudgingly whenever he was requested, and for agreeing to be a member of my Thesis Committee.

I am indebted to Miss Linda Smith, a student in the Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, who very kindly agreed to be an informant in order to explain the behavioral patterns of the American culture relevant to this study.

To Mr. Abdul-Majid Majid, I owe my thanks for helping me confirm my analysis of the Pakistani culture and giving his valuable time to type this thesis.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance extended to me by the Bursary Students Office, American University of Beirut, and the Staff of Regional Training Office, US/AID, Beirut. My special thanks are due to Mr. Abdo I. Ba'aklini, Academic Counselor, Regional Training Office, US/AID, Beirut, for extending his sympathetic consideration and help which made the completion of my studies at the American University of Beirut possible.

THERESA A. DASS

Beirut
May 1965.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
 Chapters	
I. TEACHING LITERATURE IN PAKISTAN.....	1
A. Aims and Objectives of Literature Teaching According to the Various Reports on National Education in Pakistan	
B. Prescribed Syllabus	
C. Problems of Teaching Literature in English	
1. Commonwealth Countries	
2. Pakistan	
D. Aims of the Study	
E. Purpose of the Study	
F. Significance of the Study	
G. Method of the Study	
II. EVOLUTION OF THE FORMULA $U = M D$ BY PIKE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION BY LADO.....	15
A. The Units of Behavior	
B. The Characteristics of the Units	
C. The Functioning of these Units as seen in the various viewpoints they present	
E. Analysis of a Unit of Activity	
F. Comments on Pike's Theory	
G. Lado's Formula of Cultural Comparison	
1. Lado's formula compared to Pike's	
2. Analysis of situations to show the workings of Lado's formula	
III. APPLICATION AND RESULTS OF LADO'S FORMULA...	36
IV. CONCLUSION.....	52
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	59

CHAPTER I

TEACHING LITERATURE IN PAKISTAN

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF LITERATURE TEACHING ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS REPORTS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

The Ministry of Education in Pakistan set up a Commission on National Education to assess its educational system and suggest changes to help modernize education in the country. From January to August 1959, this Commission discussed problems of education in the country and submitted its "Report"¹ in the form of suggestions. This Report was then scrutinized by the curriculum committee and later by the Board of Secondary Education which implemented the suggestions and prescribed books and syllabi for the schools.

The Report said the aims and objectives of all literature teaching should be the following considerations and goals.

1. Literature mirrors the spiritual, intellectual and emotional life of a people and for many reasons must be regarded as the most important part of her cultural heritage. With the written word as its medium, literature is the memory of the human race, spanning the centuries as the most permanent of records of mankind.²

¹Government of Pakistan, The Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi: The Manager of Publications, n.d.).

²Ibid., p. 221.

2. The nation's literature, her arts . . . are a part of her cultural heritage.¹

3. Great literature promotes universal values Which create idealism, surmount sectional and sectarian interests, and inspire the individual to make sacrifices for the ideals he holds dear.²

These definitions state what must be kept in mind when preparing a program of literature in any language, and these objectives will be the basis of this study, also, because it is about teaching literature in English in Pakistan. Nowhere in the various Reports on Education is language and literature teaching separated into two distinctive fields of study, although the objectives of language and literature teaching are separately mentioned. The curriculum committee felt that this lack of differentiation was a serious drawback in the English teaching programs.

The Report of the Curriculum Committee for secondary education says that, "the text books that are in use are not well graded and do not aim at teaching the language for its practical utility," because "the element of literature in our text books is more than it should be. English literature is conducive to the development of thought and its study is no doubt, useful. At the secondary stage, however, the emphasis should be on the learning of the language functionally."³

¹Ibid., p. 221.

²Ibid., p. 222.

³The Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (Rawalpindi: Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan), Manager of Publications, 1960. p. 29.

If this statement is correct, then the English studies program needs revision and until this is done literature will be used to teach language, whereas language should be used to teach literature.

Because of the lack of both trained personnel and the proper kinds of books (in language and literature), the Committee felt that replacing these books would somewhat ease the difficulty. "At this stage it would be worthwhile adapting to Pakistani conditions one such series [of books] prepared for countries where English is not the mother tongue and using it in our educational institutions."¹ Also "The texts should read as straightforward modern prose and should include topics from all fields of arts and culture."²

Both the Reports (of the Commission on National Education and the curriculum committee) are long range objectives, which will take some time to be wholly worked into the educational system of the country.

PREScribed SYLLABUS

The present prescribed syllabus shows what books are being used for English teaching in the secondary schools in Pakistan.

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Ibid., p. 282.

In 1962, the curriculum and syllabi for secondary school examinations consisted of the following books. These were to be used from 1963 onwards and are being used in the schools today.

1. Secondary Level

- a. A book of 12 poems (totalling 300 to 400 lines)
- b. Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days in Stories Told and Retold, Oxford University Press.

or

L.M. Alcott, Little Women in Tales Retold for Easy Reading, Oxford University Press.

- c. H.G. Wells, Seven Stories.¹

2. Higher Secondary Level

- a. A. Conan Doyle, The Hound of the Baskervilles.

or

Morley Roberts, Western Avenues.

- b. Terence Rattigan, The Winslow Boy.
- c. Margaret Flower, (ed.), A Book of Modern Prose.
- d. 24 Poems to be selected from some anthology.²

¹Curriculum and Syllabi for the Secondary School Certificate Examination (Karachi: Board of Intermediate and Secondary School Examination, 1962), p. 14.

²Curriculum and Syllabi - Higher Secondary Stage (Karachi: Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, 1962), p. 89.

This syllabus does not distinguish between teaching English as a language or as literature. The need for functional English is stressed by the committees, but books prescribed are literary. These books are difficult not only for their language but also present a non-Pakistani way of life and behavior. This behavior, or "culture" as it is called, poses serious problems of understanding for the Pakistani student who has to tackle problems of language and culture at the same time.

PROBLEMS OF TEACHING
LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

Commonwealth Countries

Problems of teaching literature in a foreign language are numerous and each needs to be studied by itself, but there are general problems which must be considered before tackling specific ones. The Teaching of English Literature Overseas¹ is a useful discussion of these general problems. This book is the result of a conference of English teachers from the commonwealth countries.

The difficulties of English, both as a language and literature, were discussed at this Conference and various suggestions were made about overcoming them.

¹John Press (ed.), The Teaching of English Literature Overseas, "Extracts from the Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College, Cambridge," (London: Methuen and Co., 1963).

It was generally felt that the problem of English teaching in the Commonwealth countries was an acute one. The participants gave very useful remarks and suggestions on the subject, as most of them had wide experience in this field. For one thing, the direct impact of the British system of education on schools overseas showed two main approaches to the teaching of English literature.

- a. British tradition [has been] exported, [and is] prominent in Commonwealth countries, both in schools and universities. It is largely a reflection of past and sometimes present attitudes to the subject in England, reinforced by British type examinations and syllabuses. . . . Generally it presupposes that English literature is taught in English and in schools forms part of a British-style curriculum.
- b. Secondly, [there is] the continental tradition of studying English literature as evidence of a distinctively foreign civilization of culture.¹

It is the second approach which we must use if the interest of the students in English literature is to be maintained. Previously "the whole concept of English education in India was intimately bound up with an expressed belief in the value of English literature for the Indians."²

¹G.E. Perren, "Historical Notes and Present Instances," John Press (ed.), Ibid., p. 10.

²Ibid.

"The function of English in Imperial education was frequently seen as comparable to that traditionally assigned to Greek and Latin in Europe....It was a concept of Western culture and civilization expressed in English rather than English literature in the terms of set books."¹

The study of books thus was an instrument for learning both language and literature in English. The students were taught nothing of the culture of the people they read about and were often unable to understand and therefore appreciate literature. This situation extends to the present day in Pakistan and if it is allowed to continue in schools, literature in English may degenerate to the same position as Greek and Latin in European and English schools today.

Pakistan

Pakistan, like India, is a multilingual country, and to facilitate the workings of the government, English has been maintained as the official working language until the proposed national languages, Urdu and Bengali, can take over. As the examinations and curriculum follow the British type, to this day many schools prepare students for both the local matriculation and London GCE examinations. English is the medium of instruction at the higher levels of education. Very few books in Urdu or Bengali are available

¹Ibid., p. 14.

and these cannot meet the needs of the students. Therefore, English has a direct impact on all forms of communication in the country.

The question then arises whether it is English literature or literature in the English language that we should be teaching. This needs some clarification because "English" tends to get confused. In Pakistan, broadly speaking, English literature would mean all that is written in the English language, yet it is liable to get confused with 'British' literature. Mr. Cawson, a teacher of English literature in Ghana and Pakistan, felt this to be a problem and questioned the difference between English literature and literature in English. He said, "We talk about English literature but it seems to me that one ought really to extend this and, instead of talking about English literature, talk about literature in English and perhaps extend it further and talk about writing in English."¹

During the British rule, English was practically the 'lingua franca' of the educated people because it brought social prestige. With independence came the demand for a national language which would take the place of English, and today at the elementary school level English is steadily losing ground.

¹F.H. Cawson, "Syllabus and Examinations in Education," John Press (ed.), op. cit., p. 91.

The Conference at King's College, Cambridge, thought that English literature in Europe does not have the major educational purpose assigned to it in Commonwealth countries. The advantage of the Europeans is that they feel no literature can be understood or enjoyed without a proper study of its background and civilization. The Conference agreed that to fully understand literature one must have some knowledge of the civilization, culture and language of the literature.

Therefore, this thesis tries to find out what sort of cultural problems affect the teaching of literature in English in Pakistan. Of the two trends described above, the European one seems more suitable to Pakistan, because the patterns of behavior in literature in English are either not understood or are misunderstood by the Pakistani students who see them in the light of their own cultural background, social customs and attitudes.

Cultural elements that are similar will, of course, be easily understood. Others, less similar but not totally alien will be partially understood. But cultural patterns either not existing at all in Pakistani culture, or conflicting with it, will not be understood by the Pakistani student. Robert Lado realized this when making his study of cultural analysis. He said:

....because human personality has evolved a variety of ways to live, ways we call cultures, we constantly misinterpret each other across cultures. If we ignore these cultural differences we will misjudge our cul-

tural neighbours _ as we constantly do at present _ for a form of behavior that to them has one meaning, may have another one for us. And if we do not know the difference in meaning we will ascribe to our neighbors the intention that the same behavior would imply for us, and would pass on them the same judgment as our confreres. In fact, I am afraid we do exactly the same in most cases at present.¹

Developing countries, such as Pakistan, face problems of comprehending their own cultural growth and development, and tend to use the developed countries (i.e. the West, primarily) as standards of cultural comparison. One of these standards is literature in English, particularly because of Pakistan's colonial heritage. Cross-cultural measuring, for the reasons described above, is often inaccurate because the tools of comparison have not been fully developed. This thesis, therefore, agrees with, and has for its premise, Sapir's belief that "all cultural behavior is patterned."² If this is true, then it is possible to speak of culture, as Lado does, as the "ways of a people," for "ways" then are, in theory at least, describable patterns.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to detect, identify

¹Robert L. Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 8.

²Edward Sapir, "The Status of Linguistics as a Science," David G. Mandelbaum, (ed.), Selected Writings of Edward Sapir (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 546.

and analyse problems of cultural interference which Pakistani students face when studying literature in the English language.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Teachers of literature in English know how difficult it is to teach students whose native language and culture differ from the one they are to study. They must also be aware of the obstacles that prevent proper understanding and appreciation of a literary piece. By using Lado's formula of cultural analysis and applying it to items of cultural differences, chosen from a short story, it is perhaps possible to develop an index showing what aspect of a cultural pattern of behavior is more difficult or easy to understand by a Pakistani, and to prepare explanations and material aids accordingly to supplement classroom teaching. Lado says, "The most important new thing in the preparation of teaching materials is the comparison of native and foreign language and culture in order to find the hurdles that must be surmounted in the teaching."¹

It would also help "to study problems connected with the study of English literature from the standpoint of cultural tradition and continuity and to see problems connected with this study as an introduction to the structure and conditions of a modern

¹Robert Lado, op.cit., p. 3.

society."¹ As Louise Rosenblatt writes in "Literature as an Exploration," "the vicarious participation in different ways of life may have ... a broadly social liberating influence."² Vicarious participation aids in a closer understanding of the reason why people behave differently, and an identification and sense of empathy is developed. Such a participation brings a better understanding and a sharing of common joys and sorrow. "One forte of literature is, that it can translate the intangibles of experience ... into specific feelings and actions of human beings like ourselves."³

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of such a study is that literature, like other subjects, can be a powerful tool in the hands of the teacher for promoting better cultural understanding between the learner and his subject. By explaining difficulties of cultural interference, teachers are able to remove prejudices because it has often been remarked that natives learn in order to enjoy the original text, but, "the non-English speaking student simply wants to find out what he can about English literature, in order to reach

¹John Hollaway, "Aspects of the Study of English Literature in Afro-Asian Countries," John Press, op.cit., p. 24.

²Dwight L. Burton, Literature Studies in High Schools (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1963), p. 82.

³Ibid., p. 82.

a better understanding of English life, character and thought."¹

If one agrees with this statement, then literature would mean nothing more than material for providing sociological data; but "one of the chief values of a foreign literature is that it brings a new experience of life in a different society and tradition. Literature should never be used as sociological material, but its social and cultural assumptions have to be shared for a proper understanding."²

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This thesis will be limited to the analysis of problems of cultural interference that are likely to arise during the study of a short story in English, because its aim is to discover cultural interference that a Pakistani student has when studying literature in the English language.

METHOD OF STUDY

The method is based on Lado's method of cultural analysis described in Linguistics Across Cultures. This formula presupposes that all human behavior is patterned and has "form, meaning and distribution."³

¹Dorothy Hayes-De Humeas, "The Teaching of English Literature," English Language Teaching, Vol. X, No. 1, Oct-Dec. 1955 (London: The British Council), p. 4.

²Bruce Pattison, "Some Notes on the Teaching of Literature," English Language Teaching, op.cit., Spring 1954, p. 76.

³Robert Lado, op.cit., p. 110.

This is derived from Kenneth L. Pike's study of Language in Relation to a Unified Study of Human Behavior. Lado follows Pike's study of the units of activity which are composed of modes, called "feature, manifestation and distribution,"¹ which correspond — with slight modification — to Lado's form, meaning and distribution. Both formulae are discussed at length in the next chapter.

The Gift of the Magi by O'Henry, is used as a model to illustrate the workings of the formula. Each item chosen for analysis is divided into the three elements of activity (form, meaning and distribution) to show how the meaning of the story differs for an American and a Pakistani. In this way a measure in the order of the understanding of the story by a Pakistani student can be made and proper remedies suggested.

The broadest implications of this kind of analysis is that a methodology, derived from an index of cultural interference, could be set up to aid the teaching of the literature of any foreign language, where cultural differences are major obstacles to understanding.

¹Kenneth L. Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of Human Behavior, Part I, (California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954), p. 29.

CHAPTER II

EVOLUTION OF THE FORMULA $U = \frac{F}{M} D$ BY PIKE
AND
ITS DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION BY LADO

Kenneth L. Pike in his study, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior,¹ presupposes Sapir's definition (mentioned in chapter I) that "all human behavior is patterned." This assumption implies that the behavior of human beings is not haphazard but conforms to patterns. These patterns are determined by society. Sapir says, "Culture may be defined as what a society does and thinks. Language is the particular how of thought."² Thus patterned human behavior is called 'culture'.

One's own set of values establishes the standards by which all cultures are measured. Nevertheless, anthropologists have learned that ". . . it is only by acquiring the ability to see another culture in its own terms that one can learn to comprehend the actions and ideas of people in other societies"³.

¹Ibid.

²Edward Sapir, Language (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1921), p. 233.

³Culture in Language Learning, Reports of Working Committees, North East Conference on Teaching of Foreign Languages, (New Brunswick, N.J.: The State University, 1960), p. 20.

Pike, quoting Höyer, says that, "Language may no longer be viewed as something entirely distinct from other cultural systems, but must be viewed as part of the whole and functionally related to it."¹ And Michael West says that, "language is a form of behavior: it is the reaction of the organism as a whole to a social environment."² Literature reflects the culture and lives of people in a certain society, in whose language the literature is written. The subject under study in this chapter is how Pike developed the formula
$$U = \frac{F}{M} D$$
 for analyzing the patterns of human behavior called cultures, and how later Lado used it as a basis for the contrastive analysis of cultures.

THE UNITS OF BEHAVIOR

Pike maintains that "there are two standpoints from which a human observer can describe human behavior, each of them valuable for certain specific purposes."³ The two are derived from the linguistic terms, phonetic and phonemic. Using these units as basic standpoints, Pike proceeds to study human behavior and uses them for collecting data about it.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNITS

1. An etic approach deals with generalized statements about

¹Kenneth L. Pike, op.cit., p. 6.

²Michael West, "English Behavior," English Language Teaching, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Oct-Dec. 1960), p. 3.

³Kenneth L. Pike, op.cit., p. 8.

the collection of data. It classifies systematically the comparable data of all languages and cultures available into a single system and provides some kind of criteria for the classification of this data, organizing it into types. It also identifies any new data that may be relevant to this system.

2. The emic approach is valid for only one language or one set of integrated behavioral patterns of a culture at a time. It can be used to discover and describe the pattern of a particular language or culture by seeing the various elements that are integrated with each other, and how these function within a system of behavior. "It is a structural approach in which the investigator assumes that human behavior is patterned."¹ The emic approach is intended "to discover and describe that behavioral system with its structural units and structural classes of such units."²

"The etic approach is comprised of a complex of goals and procedures."³ They can be non-structural or classificatory, in the sense that selection is made without specific reference to the structure of any particular languages. Divisions and sub-divisions can therefore be made into types and combination of types. This can be done by starting on any set of criteria without reference to any

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

set emic systems or, the criteria can be applied to units selected from various emic systems but without referring to the emic systems from which the units of activity were derived. The units can be classified with reference to their physical characteristics only. The units of behavior selected must be drawn from purposive human behavior in order that the elements of meaning or purpose provide for criteria for etic classification.

The second major use of the etic approach is that it must be applicable, in the early stages, to an emic approach or investigation of a previous etic classification, of one of ". . . the preceding types to a particular language or cultural system",¹ and in this way it becomes pre-structural and serves as a step towards ". . . an analysis of the emic structure of a language or cultural system."²

THE FUNCTIONING OF THESE UNITS SEEN IN THE VARIOUS VIEWPOINTS THEY PRESENT

1. The emic analytical viewpoint is an "internal or domestic"³ one, since it classifies behavior in reference to the system of behavior of which it is a vital or immediate part. This approach

¹Ibid., p. 9.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 10.

must concern itself with the entire language, since an emic analysis of a part depends on its relation to the whole. So if it deals with parts, these parts should be of larger wholes to which they are either related or from which they obtain their ultimate significance. It must also have direct or indirect reference to the distributional characteristics of an event. Thus emic units are manifested by physical events. Every such unit must, therefore, be studied with reference to its distribution and its verbal or non-verbal behavior, because just as verbal responses of a speaker help determine meanings of the elements of communication, so do the non-verbal ones.

2. The etic analytical viewpoint is said to be an "external or alien"¹ one since in it the analyst is on the outside of some particular events in which he sees similarities and differences when two cultures are compared. This approach deals with some comparable characteristic of many languages or cultures without referring to the entire data of languages or cultures. It draws events from their contexts in order to group them on a wide scale without particular reference to any special language or culture. It also focuses attention on the physical aspect of an event without reference to the response it may elicit regarding its purpose,

¹Ibid.

meaning or use.

The criteria of sameness for the two standpoints differ. For an emic purpose the criterion has to be re-established for each study of language or culture and is dependent on the response and the activity it is dealing with. For the etic purpose what is needed is "more of relativity, with sameness of activity determined in reference to a particular system of activity."¹

The value of the two points is different. The emic study leads to the understanding of the way in which a language or culture stands as a working whole. This helps towards the understanding of a language or culture and also the "attitudes, motives, conflicts, personality development"² of individuals. This approach provides a basis for "a predictive science of behavior."³

The etic viewpoint, from the standpoint of an analyst, is important because it gives an idea of the kinds of behavior that are occurring in the world and recognizes the different kinds of events and the differences and similarities in events that appear similar. A technique can be obtained in this way for recording such events in a culture, but until an analyst has etically obtained data in terms of his own culture, he is not able to complete any

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

analysis. It is a flat viewpoint. If it is not possible to make a detailed study of each local dialect or culture, an etic comparison may be used with intensive studies made of strategically located areas. Sapir says "every typical human action has a certain range of variations and properly speaking, no such reaction can be understood except as a series of variants distributed about a normal type."¹ Etic procedures and reports of a particular phase or component of behavior -- in any culture -- are never the same or uniform, since nothing repeated will ever yield an identical result. So etic systems are classifications created by analysts for handling data before emic systems can be discovered.

The emic viewpoint is three dimensional. Within a culture there are many events which on the surface appear to be similar but in reality function very differently, e.g. killing animals in the East and the West. Legal procedures which differentiate between events etically similar but emically different, prescribe sharply different penalties, e.g. did the thief carry arms when he entered or broke into a house or was he empty handed? etc.

Emic reports of a particular phase or component of behavior are nevertheless more uniform than etic ones. Emic procedures help observers to report from internally structured viewpoints. Emic units are units of activity which are discovered, not created, by

¹Sapir, op.cit., p. 13.

an analyst to suit a particular need for some culture or language.

ANALYSIS OF A UNIT OF ACTIVITY.

Pike has used a church service to illustrate how his units of behavior work. The sermon is the nucleus of the various segments that form the whole service. Changes occur within the whole activity. These segments sometimes overlap each other, as there are many activities going on simultaneously which, when integrated, form the larger whole. A detailed complex of activity cannot be described or analyzed until it is borne in mind that there is in behavior a "Hierarchical structure"¹ referred to as an activity having "wheels within wheels".² One church service, in spite of its being a complete unit in itself, is a part of a series of church activities. The focus of the participants during service is constantly shifting up and down to include larger or shorter spans of time. What is needed - in spite of this indeterminacy of focus - is to find the essential wholes within the behavior of the church service. Even a child recognizes from the actions of the participants when a unit of activity starts and ends, e.g. a sermon or a hymn. Although the focus is not constant, cultural units of activity can be found which have a beginning and an end and are a part of

¹Ibid., p. 32.

²Ibid.

our experience. The church goer sees the church service as a unit.

This is further emphasized by the contrast of the joint integrated activity within the church to the noncoordinated activity outside the church when the service is over, which, due to lack of integration, cannot be called a unit of activity. Specifically such wholes as sermon, etc., are culturally marked as having a beginning and end and this Pike calls a "closure",¹ e.g. some people do not feel the church is over until the final Amen is sung. At each level of focus in the church service classes of segments occur and are determined by the "spots"² they fill, e.g. hymns, sermons, benediction and Amen, and accordingly the reactions of the participants are determined. Individual and group behavior varies and differs from individual to individual and group to group and this creates a difficulty in understanding the behavior of one by the other.

So far the exposition has been of the units of behavior. Emic units were seen as chunks of an activity. These units are further divided on any level of focus and each emic unit of activity is broken down structurally into three specific kinds of complex structures. Pike calls these the "Modes" of an activity. Each of these modes covers some physical data with simultaneous structuring in the following ways.

¹Ibid., p. 34.

²Ibid.

Each of these modes can be discovered only in reference to a system that embraces all three in such a way that the unit of each enters into a network of units, characterized by their relationship to the entire system of modes and units and of modes of which they are a part.

- (1) The feature mode of an emic unit of activity will, in general, be viewed as comprised of simultaneously occurring identificational-contrastive components, with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to stimulus-response features (including purpose or lexical meaning, where relevant).¹

The difference between one church service and another is easily recognized by informed onlookers, e.g. difference between the junior and senior church service. These can be called contrastive features. From a slightly different analytical point of view these items show the identificational features of the unit under attention. Identificational-contrastive features are present within every emic unit of behavior and on every level of focus they are the components of these units. Among these identificational-contrastive components there exist some features that are related to the meaning and purpose in human activity and provide data about the significant segmentation of the activity. The analyst must never be totally dependent on the informant's meaning of words, because the informant is not always able to express in words the

¹Ibid., p. 36.

definition he wishes to convey. All information must be supplemented with a more objective tool, which is the study of the 'spots' in which the activity occurs.

- (2) The manifestation mode of an emic unit of activity will often be viewed as comprised of non-simultaneously occurring physical variants (or non-simultaneous components) with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to the hierarchy of the mechanisms of its physical production.¹

The church service is an emic activity not limited to hymn singing only, but is a composite of all such occurrences. If the same hymn were sung elsewhere the unit would still be a single emic unit in spite of the different organ, singers and the church. The manifestation mode would be the same, the difference would be in the distribution mode.

No emic unit can be completely described without reference to its manifestation mode. Pike says, "In other words we never, in my view, completely 'abstract' a behavioral emic unit out of and away from the actual physical action which constitutes the specific manifested substance of behavior."²

- (3) The distribution mode of an emic unit of activity will be seen comprised of relational components, including its class membership and its spot function, with its internal segmentation analyzed in reference to its spot distribution (including reference to choice of emic alternatives wherever relevant).³

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²Ibid., p. 38.

³Ibid., p. 36.

Its chief complex is its "spot-class correlation." The church service is "... a spot within a larger behavioral unit (a complex of religious activities of the week)"¹. "Thus the distribution mode includes a relationship to past and present occurrence and future probability of occurrence acceptable to the actors within a certain emic spot or set of spots."² The distribution mode of hymn singing is a composite of all the distributional characteristics. It has the potential of occurrence in all spots and classes wherever religious activity takes place.

It is not always possible for the analyst to clearly separate the modal components of a unit, but the presence of the three elements, feature, manifestation and distribution, is necessary in every emic unit of activity.

The modal formula defining these units of activity can thus be symbolized as, U = unit; F = feature; M = manifestation; D = distribution; and as such each emic unit of activity can be represented as $U = \frac{F}{M} D$.

This formula applies not only to emic units which are chunks of activity, but also to all special kinds of emic units such as emic classes. It is this fact which the theory suggests -- is at the heart of the nature of the structure of behavior (and perhaps of many kinds

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²Ibid.

of structure as well) and leads to its characteristic hierarchical appearance.¹

Pike's contention is that all human behavior can be analyzed as consisting of "modes". He says that an adequate description of a behavioral unit of activity cannot be reached by using any theoretical foundation in which less than three modes are present. Empirically, he continues, three are sufficient to obtain data for his study.²

COMMENTS ON PIKE'S THEORY

Nadel, an anthropologist, is quoted by Pike as saying,

If scientific insight is insight into an order of things, observation must be directed towards the breaking up of the continuum of data into units - units which can be manipulated and ordered in a fashion more systematic than the ambiguous and fortuitous ordering inherent in naive observation.³

It is necessary to have a systematic study of human behavior in order to analyze behavioral patterns.

Such an analysis, for a systematic theory for the study of human behavior is therefore necessary to deal with problems arising out

¹Ibid., p. 40.

²Pike has been criticized for deriving his tri-modal theory from the Christian concept of the Trinity. Because he is a Christian missionary, it is probable that this criticism is accurate.

³Ibid., p. 41.

of misunderstandings between people of different cultures. Pike says that the more one knows about two contemporary but different systems of activity, the easier it is to predict the kinds of difficulties that a learner will face.

The concern of this study is the difficulties a learner studying in a foreign language encounters, and how best they can be removed. To a suggestion that translations are adequate for teaching foreign languages, Fries objected, saying, that "a single 'model' with a translation for a variety of languages will not do."¹ He feels that for every language situation a newly designed book is necessary. It can be asked that if it is only the English language which has to be taught why go through all the trouble to make differences? The reply would be obvious: not only do vocabulary, grammar, and sounds differ in languages, but so also do items of activity differ in each language and culture. Such units of activity vary a great deal and require separate treatment.

These comments reinforce Pike's contention that there is a vital need for the study of the theory of human behavior.

LADO'S FORMULA OF CULTURAL COMPARISON

1. Compared to Pike's Formula. Pike based his study on the assumption that all human behavior is patterned. These behavioral patterns he categorized as Étic and Emic units of activity and devel-

¹Ibid. p. 19.

oped his formula $U = \frac{FD}{M}$. Lado in Linguistics Across Cultures developed Pike's concept further by showing how people misunderstand one another if they are not acquainted with the meaning of certain acts. Fries, in writing the 'Forward' to the above mentioned book, stresses the point that the whole range of "social-cultural features" can become "blind spots" to learning if not properly overcome by a cultural analysis. He says that a "sound intercultural understanding" should be the "fundamental objective of all language learning."¹

Lado in his "Preface" says that his method of cultural analysis aimed at helping teachers to identify problems of cultural interference during the course of a study and to prepare suitable material aids. This would help them achieve a better understanding of the behavior of people from cultures different than their own.

The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe patterns that will cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with that of the native language and culture of the student.²

About the proposed field of his study Lado says:

Even though this is virtually a virgin field, we have already been able to describe specific patterns of behavior in a given culture and through comparison with the native culture of the students we have discovered that there are certain misunderstandings that take place again and again. Good experimental

¹Lado, op.cit.

²Ibid., p. vii.

test items have been worked from the information yielded by that partial comparison of cultural behavior, and we have every reason to believe that much more complete testing of cultural understanding can be carried out by present tools.¹

He also expresses the hope that,

By using the results of linguistic and cultural comparison of native and foreign languages and cultures, we can pinpoint our research problems, and individuals can carry on highly significant and sorely needed experiments single-handed.²

The object of this study is to choose items of cultural interference from a literary piece, in this case a short story called The Gift of the Magi by O'Henry. These items are obstacles to the proper understanding of the story because of differences in the behavioral patterns of the Pakistanis and the Americans (Americans because O'Henry is an American writer and the setting of the story is New York).

Both Pike and Lado take human behavior as a basic unit of activity for their analysis. They presuppose that human behavior is patterned into units of activity called cultures. Although each unit of activity is unique "yet in every culture certain acts which in physical terms are thus different are nevertheless accepted as same."³

Y

¹Ibid., p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 111.

Lado uses Pike's formula, $U = \frac{F}{M} D$, with slight modifications, as the basis for his comparative cultural analysis. He divides the units of human behavior, "which constitute the designs that are each culture"¹ and says that each unit of behavioral activity consists of form, meaning, and distribution. These three elements appear in all units of activity and are distributed in patterned ways. The pattern into which these activities fall can be used as the functioning units of behavior in that particular culture.

In a footnote to his chapter on cultural analysis, Lado compared his own formula to that of Pike. His formula, he says, includes the manifestation and feature modes of Pike's formula and his distribution element coincides with Pike's distribution mode. The difference between the two lies in what Lado calls the 'meaning'. Pike does not consider the meaning a "co-equal" element, but does not reject it. Lado mentions it separately, whereas Pike does not.

"The forms of these patterns of culture are identified functionally on inspection by the members of that culture."² Simple every day behavior, such as eating, dressing, gestures, etc., reflects the culture of a group of people. These acts are relevant insofar as they have a meaning.

¹Ibid., p. 112.

²Ibid., p. 113.

"The meanings, like forms, are culturally determined or modified. They represent an analysis of the universe as grasped in a culture."¹ A particular form may have various meanings for various people. It may show class and social identification, national or religious significance. "In short, any of the distinctions and groupings of a culture may be part of the meaning of a particular form unit."² Meaning, therefore, presupposes form.

"Distribution. All these meaningful units of form are distributed in patterned ways"³ which involve time cycles, place locations and their position in relation to other units. Eating, for example, shows time, space and location distribution, e.g. breakfast, lunch, supper, etc., which can be distributed before and after other units of behavior. "Meaningful forms always occur in patterned distribution."⁴

Form, meaning, and distribution do not exist independent of each other in any unit of activity in any culture. Analysts prefer to speak of them as separate elements of a unit of activity, in order to facilitate their analysis, although the three are always interdependent for the functioning of a unit of behavior.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 114.

2. Examples to Illustrate the Working of Lado's Formula.

The next step is to apply Lado's formula to see how it works because he says "by comparing two cultural systems we can predict what the trouble spots will be."¹

a. Same Form, Different Meaning, Same Distribution

We see things as they appear in form, but to each of us the meaning differs according to what the form would mean in our own culture. An Arab and an Indian both ask a question. The answer is given by the lifting of an eye-brow. Both the Arab and the Indian see the same answer form but the Arab thinks that it means 'No' and the Indian thinks it means 'Yes'. Both interpret the gesture in the light of their own cultural behavior. The misunderstanding is heightened if both feel that only they are right.

b. Same Meaning, Different Form, Same Distribution

A trouble spot can be detected when the same meaning in two different cultures is associated with two different forms. For example, tea drinking in India and Japan has the same meaning. Tea is a beverage which stimulates and refreshes. In both countries much tea is drunk, but whereas the Indian would brew it in any pot and drink it in a glass, mug, or cup, standing or sitting in any convenient place, the Japanese would go through an elaborate ceremony and have special cups, teapots and ways of sitting while drinking

¹Ibid.

tea. Problems would arise when both the Indian and the Japanese feel that their way is right and the other's way is wrong.

c. Same Form, Same Meaning, Different Distribution

The observer of a foreign culture assumes that the distribution of a pattern of behavior in another culture is the same as in his own culture. Preconceived notions, prejudices, and misinformation about the ways of other people are serious obstacles to the understanding of the modes of behavior of others. If there occur distribution differences within a culture, the members of that culture are likely to think that this holds true for all cultures. The same is true when distribution patterns are uniform. The wearing of black apparel has the same form and meaning but the distribution pattern may differ. It is a sophisticated evening color, and a color for mourning. It is the color for the apparel for certain tribes in Pakistan and determines the difference between one tribe and another.

Lado's method of cultural analysis is an extension of the work done by West and Fries in the field of the teaching and learning of English as a foreign Language.

Michael West based his approach on reading but realized that vocabulary was the chief difficulty. He compiled and edited a "word list,"¹ which enabled him to control vocabulary items for beginners. Similarly, Fries worked on the control of "sentence structures."² He identified a set of basic structures from which he proceeded to more difficult sentences.

¹Michael West (ed.), General Service List of Words, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953).

²Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952).

Lado realized that culture could also be an obstacle to a student learning English as a foreign language. He researched the problems of cultural differences in order to establish some kind of cultural control. Working on Pike's assumption that human behavior is patterned into units, he produced the formula $U = F M D$, for the purpose of cultural analysis. In the next chapter this formula is applied to instances of cultural interference which a Pakistani student may come across during the study of a short story in the English Language.

CHAPTER III

APPLICATION OF LADO'S FORMULA

To test Lado's method and formula of cultural analysis, instances of cultural interference from O'Henry's short story, The Gift of the Magi, have been chosen for this study. These items are difficult for a Pakistani to understand because of the difference between Pakistani and American cultures.

This story has been selected because it represents to some extent the life led by people in large cities in the United States of America. It has been taken from a collection of short stories called O'Henry's New York, selected by J. Donald Adams.

In the introduction Adams praises O'Henry's portrayal of life, as lived by the New Yorker, because "of the nearly three hundred stories he wrote, more than a third came out of life as he observed it in New York."¹ He expresses a wide range of human conduct which he gathered from park benches, sales-girls in department stores, simple homes and cops on their beat. He prowled around hotels and eating places, Coney Island and Haymarket, Broadway

¹O'Henry's New York (Greenwich: Fawcett Publication, 1962), p. ix.

and Fifth Avenue, in order to gain an insight into all walks of life in the city. "He wrote about men and women whose lives were passed in the great world,"¹ but were simple and ordinary men and women. Adams says "O'Henry left us almost the only fictional record we have - certainly the only ones still read today - that deal with more ordinary lives."²

The last consideration taken when selecting this story for a model is my own experience as a teacher of literature in English in secondary classes in Pakistan. Quizzes and tests, in comprehension and explanation with reference to the context, showed that most of the students had missed the meaning of the story. The items chosen for analysis are the ones that were difficult for every new set of students. It was difficult for me to elicit the correct responses because the students did not understand certain behavioral patterns in the story.

A synopsis of the story is as follows:

Jim and Della Dillingham were a newly married American couple. Their financial condition was far from being good and they could barely make both ends meet. Della tried her best to save a few dimes out of her housekeeping money every week to be able to buy a Christmas present for her husband. The situation became acute

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

when on Christmas Eve Della found that her efforts at saving had resulted in no more than a dollar and eighty-five cents, hardly enough to buy a decent present.

Now there were two things greatly prized by the Dillinghams. One was Della's beautiful long hair and the other Jim's gold watch. Della decided to sell her hair to buy a watch chain for Jim, but to her dismay he had sold his watch to buy her a pair of combs for her long hair.

O'Henry feels that the behavior of these two would appear foolish, but justifies it by calling them the Magi. The Magi according to the "GOSPELS"¹ were wise men from the East who followed a star which signaled the birth of a great king. The star stood still over the manger where the 'Babe' - who was Christ - lay. They brought for this Babe valuable gifts, and "opening their treasures they offered unto him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh".² The gifts were not of much use to a child born in a manger but they held within themselves a world of sentiment inexpressible in words, so were the gifts of Jim and Della which, though useless, stood as silent eloquence of their love for each other. The title of the story itself is not an easy one to understand. The 'gift' is the pivot about which the story revolves. Giving and receiving gifts has the same form but differs widely in its meaning and distribution from culture to culture. The other word is 'Magi', which must be explained with contextual reference

¹Mathew., Verse 1-10.

²Ibid., Verse 11.

in order to have a meaning. Therefore the questions most likely to arise would be: Who were the Magi? Who was the Babe in the manger? Why and what did they bring as gifts to the Babe?

When such questions have been successfully dealt with, the student will understand the religious and festive significance of Christmas and the giving of gifts at this period. It will be clear that because it is a Christian festival, such a custom — exchange of gifts at Christmas — must be prevalent in countries where Christians live.

The following nine items have been selected from The Gift of the Magi and a cultural comparison made of the Pakistani and American understanding of certain patterns of behavior. These items have been divided into the three elements of form, meaning, and distribution, and a comparison drawn so as to find out which element is more difficult to comprehend. In the end an index can be made to show how easy or difficult such a learning, or transfer, is likely to be.

Item 1

"There was clearly nothing to do but flop down on the shabby little couch and howl."

When Della found that all her savings amounted to \$ 1.85, she felt that it was too little to buy a present for her husband Jim. She felt helpless and the only way to express herself was to sit on the couch and howl.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Women don't cry loudly. They are expected to weep very slowly without being heard.	Crying loudly not wrong.	Different
Meaning	The state of helplessness expressed through tears.	Same	Same
Distribution	Crying in the house and when alone.	Women don't usually howl in public.	Same

Explanation:

Della dropped herself on the couch and howled loudly because she felt she was unable to do anything to improve the situation. A woman in Pakistan is not supposed to be heard when she cries and that is why the howling of Della is not an acceptable form of behavior in the Pakistani culture. The meaning and distribution of the activity will be the same in both cultures and not difficult to understand.

Item 2

"A furnished flat at \$ 8.00 per week."

Living in a furnished flat costs \$ 8.00 a week.

	Pakistan	American	Comparison
Form	Living in flats in the cities.	Same	Same
Meaning	Poor people do not live in flats, especially furnished ones.	Furnished flats show the financial status of the owner.	Different
Distribution	\$ 8.00 converted into rupees is Rs.40 per week which is just about the monthly income of a family. *\$ 55.00 per annum is per capita income of a Pakistani. ¹	Cost of living much higher in the States.	Different

Explanation

The per capita per annum income of a Pakistani is \$ 55.00. and only the rich can afford flats. A flat that costs \$ 8.00 per week would mean Rs. 40, which not even a higher middle class family can afford. This would make a Pakistani think that Jim and Della were not so poor as the author makes them out to be. The meaning would, therefore, be dependent on the explanation that the cost of living in the United States is much higher than in Pakistan. The financial status of the person can be seen not as compared to Pakistanis, but as Americans living in cities like New York.

¹Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (Karachi: Planning Commission, 1960), p. 14.

Item 3

"Della finished her cry and attended to her cheeks with the powder rag."

Della finds a solution to her problem. Before going out she tries to remove the traces of tears from her face by applying some powder.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Powder not commonly used. Black in the eyes would be used to remove traces of tears.	Powder most commonly used of all cosmetics.	Different
Meaning	Removal of traces of tears.	Same	Same
Distribution	In conservative families cosmetics are very little used and in liberal ones, more.	No hard and fast rules.	Different

Explanation

The meaning of such an activity is the same, women like to beautify themselves. The form such an activity would take would differ. In Pakistan the using of black in the eyes is a common cosmetic and can be used to explain the use of powder by Della. The distribution in Pakistan would vary from conservative to more liberal groups. In America the use of powder, would not give any indication whether the user has a conservative or a liberal attitude.

Item 4

"Will you buy my hair?" asked Della.
 "Twenty Dollars," said Madame lifting the mass
 with a practised hand."
 "Give it to me quick," said Della.

Della cuts her hair and sells it.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Long hair is an asset to beauty and not usually cut.	No rigid rules, depends upon the individual.	Different
Meaning	Cutting of hair is looked down upon. Never done except on special ground.	Depends on individual like or dislike.	Different
Distribution	Haircut when girls are young and later starting to grow in the teens.	Depends on the mode or fashion of the time, usually long when young and cut when older.	Different

Explanation

The cutting and selling of hair would be a deplorable act both in form and meaning in Pakistan. In distribution it would be socially unacceptable. In American society the current fashions, to a large extent, determine such activities. In this particular instance the fact must be brought home to the reader that the motivation of such an activity was not fashion but love. Both Jim and Della liked long hair but Della was ready to sell it because she loved Jim more. She sold it in order to buy him a present for Christmas.

Items 5

"She looked at her reflection in the mirror...
I look like a Coney Island chorus girl."

After cutting her hair Della surveys herself in the mirror and finds that she looks so different that she compares herself to a Coney Island chorus girl.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	A chorus girl is the same as a prostitute.	Comparison only	Different
Meaning	Such a comparison justified only in the case of immorality.	Not considered as wrong or immoral.	Different
Distribution	Socially unacceptable.	Acceptable	Different

Explanation

Chorus girls would be the same as singing girls and prostitutes in Pakistan. They constitute a social class by themselves. In Pakistan a chorus girl would not be socially acceptable as a wife and mother, neither would the girl of a respectable family join the singing and dancing girls. In America a woman can work as a chorus girl and still be socially accepted as a wife and mother. Della's comparing herself to a chorus girl emphasises the difference the cutting of hair has made in her appearance and is not a reflection on her morals.

Item 6

"At 7 O'clock the coffee was made."

Della prepares coffee for supper.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Same Prepared and served with or without cream and sugar.	Same	Same
Meaning	Because it is expensive only rich people use it.	Served with most meals especially breakfast and dinner.	Different
Distribu- tion	Usually served to guests.	Differs with time and meals. With breakfast and af- ter supper. Does not show financial status.	Different

Explanation

To a Pakistani coffee for supper would mean that Americans are rich. Coffee in Pakistan is a luxury item and if Jim and Della can afford it they cannot really be poor. Coffee is a part of the American meal just as tea in winter and butter milk in summer would be to a Pakistani. It does not reflect poverty or wealth in any way. It has become a part of the eating and drinking habits of the Americans.

Item 7

"Maybe the hairs on my head were numbered."

Della justifies her cutting of her hair by quoting a reference from the Bible.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Justification through a religious reference.	Same	Same
Meaning	Religious reference not lightly used	acceptable	Different
Distribution	Depends on the occasion and importance of the situation where comparison is made.	Justified if it explains the purpose for which used.	Different

Explanation

To justify the cutting of her hair by using a religious reference would be difficult for a Pakistani to accept, because the cutting of hair itself is not a commendable activity. Religious references are used only when other means of justification prove ineffective. This activity would, therefore, have to be understood in the light of Della's use of it. As all things happen with the Will of God, Della feels that it was destined that she cut her hair and as such the blame is not hers but destiny's.

Item 8

"The Magi brought valuable gifts to the Babe
in the manger."

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	Gift giving on <u>Idd</u>	Same as Christmas	Same
Meaning	No religious origin	Origin religious	Different
Distribu- tion	The activity is not the same in Muslim countries.	A custom prevalent in Christian coun- tries.	Different

Explanation

The form of gift giving is the same because it is given on a religious feast day. In this item the understanding of the activity would rest on the reference to the context of the custom of giving gifts at Christmas; the meaning of giving valuable gifts to a baby in the manger would be understood by Pakistanis. It would also explain why Jim and Eella were so anxious to give gifts to each other at Christmas.

Item 9

"Of all who give and receive gifts, such as they
are the wisest. Everywhere they are wisest.
They are the magi."

The activity of gift giving is further elaborated by the author by calling Jim and Della and all who exchange gifts the

wisest of people and the Magi.

	Pakistani	American	Comparison
Form	There is very little exchange of gifts. Elders gives gifts to youngers.	Gifts exchanged among people of all ages.	Different
Meaning	Depends upon the financial condition of the giver.	Financial condition, mainly.	Same
Distribution	Varies with the occasion and the people to whom it is given. On Idd elders give youngsters money. Gifts given at marriage. Marriages and births and depend on the social custom.	Cash not much given. Gifts usually in kind and varies with the occasion when the gift is given.	Different

Explanation

In Pakistan money is usually given as gifts. Gifts in kind are not often exchanged. Customarily at occasions such as Idd, marriages, and births, money is given. It is, therefore, difficult to understand why Jim and Della who bought gifts which were useless are called as wise as the magi by the author. The explanation would be that each one sacrificed what they loved best to buy gifts for each other. The gifts turned out be useless, but the fact still remained that both Jim and Della were able to express

their love for each other by the exchange these gifts. In this way they were as wise as the Magi.

RESULTS

Items	Same	Different
1	M, D	F
2	F	M, D
3	M	F, D
4	-	F, M, D
5	-	F, M, D
6	F	M, D
7	F	M, D
8	F	M, D
9	M	F, D

The above score shows that the greatest difficulty in understanding and transfer of learning takes place in the distribution element of an activity. "Distribution is a source [sic] of a great many problems,"¹ says Lado on whose model of cultural analysis this study is based. Next on the list is 'meaning'. This is because many times meaning depends on distribution and vice versa as in items 1 and 2. Forms of activities are easier to understand as compared to the other elements of an activity.

¹Lado,, Linguistics Across Cultures, p. 119.

	Same	Different
Results of the analysis	4 F	8 D
	3 M	6 M
	1 D	5 F

As in language learning one starts from similar sounds in both languages (of the learner and the one to be learned) and then goes on to the sounds that are different, so we find that in cultural analysis it is the 'sames' that have to be dealt with first. In order of difficulty in understanding and learning the items analysed would be as follows:-

	Least Difficult	Difficult	Most Difficult
Items Nos.	1	2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.	4, 5.

When the difference is only in one element of the activity, the transfer of learning is the least difficult. In item 1, the student is already aware of the F and M of the activity, and only the D remains to be learned. When the difference is in two elements of the activity, the transfer of learning is more difficult. The teacher can use the element similar to both cultures as a starting point and then proceed to the ones that are different. When all

the three elements of the activity are different, transfer of learning is most difficult. This arises due to the absence of such an activity in the learner's culture.

An analysis such as this directs teachers to the best approach to teaching students the literature of a foreign language. At the beginner's level, the 'differents' should be kept to a minimum and stories should be selected with a maximum number of "sames". Later, more difficult materials can be introduced. This will probably result in effective learning and better understanding of the literature of a foreign language.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

While reviewing Lado's study of cultural analysis, Marckwardt remarks:

The treatment of cultural traits is welcome, particularly since the topic is seldom dealt with in this connection, but the chapter is regrettably brief. It would have been helpful to go into the matter of national stereotype more fully; their involvement here is greater than one would gather from this book. . . . Nevertheless, this is the beginning and if hints given here are followed up, the profession should be able to look forward to a greater degree of cultural sophistication in teaching and testing materials.¹

This shows one limitation Lado's approach is likely to have, although Marckwardt is optimistic that more research may yield fruitful results.

An analysis, based on Lado's formula, however, does not deal with all difficulties that are likely to arise during the course of a study. Because Lado's formula is the beginning of a new approach, the results of the present study of cultural interference are short and partial. More research is needed for a better methodology.

¹Albert H. Marckwardt, "Review of Linguistics Across Cultures", Language Learning, Vol. VII, Nos 3 and 4, (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1957), pp. 136-37.

Lado's formula, $U = F M D$, has several limitations and loopholes, which either did not become evident during Lado's research or else Lado chose only those particular instances, such as bull fighting, which fit his analysis.

The Limitations of Lado's formula are present in all the three elements of a unit. Simple items are not difficult to analyse, but when problems within each element occur, there seems to be no way of solving them by using Lado's method of cultural comparison.

1. A difficulty arises when the activity is distributed in several different ways even though the form in both cultures is similar. In such an instance meaning depends upon the distribution of the activity. In Item 6, for example, coffee drinking has the same form in the Pakistani and American cultures, but the meaning depends on the distribution in time and place of the activity of coffee drinking. With his breakfast, an American drinks coffee at the kitchen table or at the dining room table, but with dinner he drinks coffee after the meal, at the dining table, or in the living room. Sometimes the cups and tables are also different. The meal in the kitchen is informal and the meal in the dining room is formal.

2. Lado's formula also does not provide for analysis of differences in behavior arising from the difference in social class.

3. The formula does not take into consideration the different meanings of different units within the same culture at different periods of time.

4. No mention is made of differences arising out of sub-cultural patterns of behavior. Sub-cultures in America arise from the different ethnic groups which have brought with them some of their traditions, e.g. Italian, Spanish, Germans, etc. In Pakistan subcultures would mainly be the effect of differences in religion. Most Hindus are vegetarians. Those Hindus who do eat meat abstain from beef for religious reasons. Muslims do not eat pork. Christians eat both beef and pork. This creates differences in eating habits.

5. The meaning of giving gifts varies with the age of the giver and the receiver. In Pakistan when an older person gives a gift to a younger person, the nature of the gift depends mainly on the occasion upon which it is given.

On Idd (Muslim festival), the gifts are usually in cash, given by the older members of a family to the younger. Younger people seldom, or never, give gifts to their elders. The meaning, therefore, will depend on both the nature of the gift and occasion on which it is given.

6. The application of powder on the cheeks is part of a much larger activity which takes various forms in both the Pakistani and the American culture. A lady's toilet in both cultures, has different forms, although the meaning, i.e. a lady's beautifying herself, remains the same.

7. There is no scale to measure precisely how much difficulty each item of analysis presents. Also, it cannot be said that the informant has detected all problems of cultural interference in the story. This will depend on how knowledgeable the informant himself is about his own culture. No way of measuring this is as yet available.

Further research is needed to find out whether an American studying Pakistani literature would encounter the same problems of cultural interference which a Pakistani would encounter on reading literature in English.

These limitations show that Lado's formula is applicable only to certain situations. It breaks up the unit into its elements but provides no means by which to measure each one in order of difficulty. It is useful as long as the situations are simple in form, meaning, and distribution, but makes no provision for difficulties within each element of the unit.

In the present study certain loopholes within the theory itself were detected. This was because of the interference of linguistic factors. Slang, clichés and idioms, have both cultural and linguistic implications. For example, in the Gift of the Magi, the term "mendicancy squad" is used. The meaning the dictionary gives will not be sufficient for a foreign student to understand what its social implications are. Idiomatic phrases such as, "Jim stood as immovable as a setter on the scent of quail", must be

explained with reference to their use in the context before the student can understand the social impact of the idiom. A man is never compared to a dog in the Pakistani culture.

Social and cultural ambiguity exists when one reads a poem in a foreign language. One views a poem in the light of his own literary and cultural background. This ambiguity cannot be removed by cultural analysis alone.¹

Fries says that, "every language is thus inextricably bound up with the whole life experience of the native users of that language;"² this emphasizes the point that language is culture bound and is a cultural system. Literature is the written counterpart of a language, and its understanding cannot take place in a vacuum. "Literature must be taught with the cultural framework in which its meanings are identified."³

Pakistani students are unable to directly observe foreign patterns of cultural behavior. They see the culture of the English

¹Louis C. Rus, "Structural Ambiguity," Language Learning, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 2, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955), p. 63.

²Charles C. Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 57.

³Robert Lado, "Linguistic Science and the Teacher", Language Learning, special issue, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 34.

speaking people only through the English language. Literature becomes the mode of indirect observation of the people about whom they read. Although in some instances in the present analysis the formula works well, it does not remove all difficulties of cultural interference.

The teaching potential of such a study would, therefore, be partial, and needs to be supplemented by vocabulary and structure control which enable the teacher to keep student difficulties at a minimum. A solution might be to integrate cultural information with the literature of the English speaking people. Bryce Van Syoc comments on such a procedure, saying,

We cannot teach the linguistic aspect of a language in a vacuum, of course, so we must perforce do something about providing a medium in which the individual seeds of language can take root and grow. We must endeavor to find just the right type and right amount of cultural feeding through which the maximum amount of growth can take place.¹

The best solution to all the problems would be to prepare text books for beginners which have cultural information integrated into language study. This will give the student a firmer base on which to lay his study of literature, and would prove a useful directive for the student of literature in the English language.

¹W. Bryce Van Syoc, "The Scheduling of Cultural Materials in Language Lessons," Virginia French Allen (ed.), On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964), p. 125.

As there does not exist in Pakistan a program of English language teaching for beginners, the students have to depend for their language study on literature in English. The Commission on National Education, mentioned in chapter I, has stated clearly that the element of literature in Pakistani English teaching programs is much more than is needed, and emphasis on functional English is suggested. As long as these suggestions are not implemented, the next best approach for the teacher would be to prepare material aids based on a cultural analysis, vocabulary, and structure control. These material aids can be used along with the prescribed textbooks and will help the Pakistani students to overcome cultural and language difficulties. The study of literature in English would then make possible a better understanding of the behavioral patterns of the English speaking people. This presumably will result in greater enjoyment of a literary piece and help remove prejudices and misunderstandings-existing or created - by the difference in behavior between the Pakistani and English speaking people. Through such an approach students would become aware of the attitudes and times of the society in which the story is laid. Literature can thus be the vehicle of better understanding of the culture of the speakers of English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, L.G. Poetry and Prose Appreciation for Overseas Students. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1963.
- Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. New York: Mentor Books, 1963.
- Brown, I.C. Understanding Other Cultures. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1963.
- Burton, Dwight L. Literature Study in the High Schools. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- Evans, Bertrand and Lynch, J. James. Dialogues on the Teaching of Literature. Connecticut: College and University Press, 1960.
- Fries, Charles C.. Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- _____. The Structure of English. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959.
- _____. The Teaching of English. Ann Arbor: The George Wahr Publishing Co., 1949.
- Hall, Edward T. The Silent Language. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1961.
- Lado, Robert. Linguistics Across Cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
- Lerner, Laurence D. English Literature: An Interpretation For Students Abroad. Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Nida, Eugene A. Customs and Cultures. New York: Harper and Row, 1954.
- Pike, Kenneth L. Language: A Study of a Unified Theory of Behavior. Part I. California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954.

Press, John. (ed.) The Teaching of English Overseas. Extracts from the Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, in 1962, under the auspices of the British Council. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1963.

Sapir, Edward. Language. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1921.

_____. Culture, Language and Personality. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956.

_____. "The Status of Linguistics as a Science". David G. Mandelbaum (ed.) Selected Writings of Edward Sapir. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

West, Michael. General Service List of English Words. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1953.

Reports

The Report of the Commission on National Education. Ministry of Education: Govt. of Pakistan, Jan-Aug. 1959. Karachi: Manager of Publications, n.d.

The Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education. Ministry of Education, Govt. of Pakistan, Rawalpindi: Manager of Publications, 1960.

Curriculum and Syllabi for the Secondary School Certificate Examination. Karachi: Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, 1962.

Curriculum and Syllabi - Higher Secondary Stage. Karachi: Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, 1962.

Culture in Language Teaching. Reports of Working Committees, North East Conference on Teaching of Foreign Languages. New Brunswick, N.J.: The State University, 1960.

Journals and Articles

Abercrombie, D. "The Social Basis of Language," English Language Teaching. Vol. III, No. 1 (Sept. 1948), London: The British Council).

- Hayes De Huneas, Dorothy. "The Teaching of English Literature," English Language Teaching. Vol. X, No. 1 (London: October-December, 1955).
- Lado, Robert. "Linguistic Science and the Teacher," Language Learning. Special issue. (Ann Arbor: March 1961).
- Marckwardt, Albert H. Review of Linguistics Across Cultures by R. Lado, Language Learning, Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4. (Ann Arbor: 1956-57).
- Pattison, Bruce. "Some Notes on the Teaching of Literature," English Language Teaching. (London: Spring, 1954).
- Phelps, Gilbert. "English Idiom and English Culture," English Language Teaching. Vol. III, No. 7. (London: 1949).
- Rus, Louis C. "Structural Ambiguity," Language Learning. Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 2. (Ann Arbor: 1955).
- Van Syoc, Bryce. "The Scheduling of Cultural Materials in Language Lessons," Virginia French Allen (ed.), On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. Series I. (Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964).
- Wells, H.G. The Contemporary Novel Monthly. Vol. 109, n.d.
- West, Michael, "English as Behavior," English Language Teaching. Vol. XV, No. 1. (London: December 1960).

Unpublished Material

- Notes from "Teaching of English as Foreign Language" (Courses No. Ed. 221-222 E), Department of Education, American University of Beirut.
- Notes from "International Education" (Course No. Ed. 328), Department of Education, American University of Beirut.