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ABSTRACT

Suggesting that America should strive for linguistic and cultural pluralism, this special issue gathers in one place the latest thoughts of scholars on topics related to the concept of cultural pluralism, i.e., English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) and standard English to speakers of a nonstandard dialect (SESOD). Kenneth Croft, James Nay, John Fisher, Mary Finocchiaro, among others, contributed articles to the ESOL section, which groups materials into three categories--Cultural Differences, Bilingualism, and Curricular Innovations. The SESOD section, however, groups materials under Attitudes, The Historical Perspective, and Contrastive Dialectology. Contributors to the SESOD section included Robert Cromack, Ralph Fasold, Kenneth Goodman, J. L. Dillard, and William Stewart. Both sections urge the teacher to explore the cultural background of students, to accept their language or dialect as a valid linguistic system, and to see in their diversity the strength of American society. Ralph Fasold's review of "Language and Poverty" by Frederick Williams concludes the anthology and stresses once more the adequacy of the difference model, a position held by the authors whose articles appear in this issue. (HS)

NEW YORK STATE ENGLISH COUNCIL  
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Studies

in



ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF  
OTHER LANGUAGES

&

STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS  
OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT

RODOLFO JACOBSON

1

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Monograph Number Fourteen

New York State English Council

Studies in

ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

and

STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A

NON-STANDARD DIALECT

Edited by

Rodolfo Jacobson

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# the english RECORD

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## EDITORIAL

### LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

#### An Introduction to Papers on Bilingualism and Bidialectalism

An unusual problem seems to confront the English teacher in America: her students are the product of different cultures and speak different languages or dialects and yet all are usually treated alike and taught English as if these children were all culturally and linguistically homogeneous. Her teaching is geared to a majority, the middle-class child whose native dialect is Standard English, and she expects the children of our minority groups, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican-American, the American Indian, the Chinese, the Negro (belonging to the low socio-economic class), to perform as efficiently as the child for whom the school program is actually intended. The result has therefore been discouraging. Whereas the middle-class child usually ranges in his performance from average to good or excellent, the other children perform, as a general rule, very poorly and often become dropouts. Their poor performance in school tasks correlates closely with our policy of underdifferentiated teaching. To mold a uniform type of American, we have ignored the individual differences of our students and have educated merely a part of our entire school population, permitting the rest to drop out or to drift off. It has become necessary, therefore, to modify our earlier objective of seeking uniformity and focus instead our attention on the individual in light of his cultural and linguistic background. In other words, we must stop ignoring the differences, so that we may explore the cultural background of our students, accept their language or dialect as a valid linguistic system and see in their diversity the strength of American Society. Rather than considering herself the "melting pot" of our various cultures, America should strive for linguistic and cultural pluralism.

In view of such a goal, the Editor of *The English Record* approached several noted anthropologists, linguists, educationists and educational administrators and invited them to submit a research or position paper in those areas of English instruction that are most closely related to the concept of "cultural pluralism," i.e., *English to Speakers of Other Languages* and *Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect*, in order to gather together, in one special issue of the journal, the latest thoughts of American scholars on topics related to these two fields. The response to our

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plea for papers has surpassed by far our expectations and therefore we are now in the position of publishing the present anthology issue, a collection of articles on bilingualism and bidialectalism, as evidence of America's growing concern for language in its social context.

The anthology has been structured on the basis of the material submitted. The articles in *English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)* are gathered in three categories, i.e., *Cultural Differences, Bilingualism, and Curricular Innovations*. Kenneth Croft and James W. Ney have explored in their articles the nature of cultural differences and discussed the need of assessing objectively the way how individuals categorize their experience and how such knowledge can be channeled into a viable program (Section 1). John C. Fisher, Thomas R. Hopkins and Jeris E. Strain have described several programs in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages here and overseas (Section 2). These programs have achieved varying degrees of success but there seems to be little evidence so far that the students involved in these programs are becoming truly bilingual, either because some of them are losing fluency in their native language or because they are acquiring the expected native speaker proficiency. One may therefore question the fact whether bilingualism can be enforced at all and, if so, whether our students have been motivated sufficiently to achieve best results. On the other hand, curricular innovations also contribute to more successful teaching (Section 3). Robert B. Kaplan and Norman C. Stageberg have made specific suggestions as to how advanced composition and suprasegmentals should be taught to speakers of other languages, whereas R. H. Hendrickson and Jay Wissot have considered ESOL Program innovations on a broader scale. Mary Finocchiaro, in identifying ESOL problems and assigning priorities for their solution, has recognized several shortcomings in ESOL practices and has stated her own position regarding these practices in an inventory of "beliefs" and "disbeliefs."

The contributions to the field of *Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect* (also: *Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects*; hence, *SESOD*) are also grouped in three categories, i.e., *Attitudes, The Historical Perspective and Contrastive Dialectology*. The question of "attitudes" becomes very important in *SESOD*. Evidently, nobody questions the fact that Spanish, French, Persian or Cree are linguistic systems in their own right. What, however, is the status of a non-standard dialect in relation to the standard or prestige dialect with which it shares many features? (Section 4)? Does the speaker of a social dialect, say, Black English, speak the way he does because his grammar is different from a Standard English grammar or is his speech merely "careless," "sloppy" or even indicative of cognitive and verbal deficiency? Robert E. Cromack, Ralph W. Fasold, Kenneth S. Goodman, Melvin J. Hoffman, Jean Malmstrom and the joint authors Frederick Williams and Jack L. Whitehead have all addressed themselves to this issue—as well as to others—and have reached almost identical conclusions by accepting the difference model over the deficiency model. An argument often becomes less vulnerable if it can be justified historically. As a matter of fact, the individual who questions the status of Black English as a complete linguistic system will object to this argument much less, if he is made aware of the historical development of the dialect in question. J. L. Dillard and William A. Stewart, in presenting several historical aspects of Black English, have added this new perspective to the study of social dialects, a perspective which is indeed difficult to refute (Section 5). If it can be proven that the so-called "sloppy" features of Black English are in reality survivals from Creole or even African languages, then it becomes quite clear that this "sloppiness" is merely the

evidence of reflexes of earlier features. One of the arguments against the implementation of programs geared toward the teaching of Standard English as a second dialect has been the fact that we still know too little about the way how non-standard dialects function. This may be true to some extent. On the other hand, we are continuously increasing our knowledge in social dialectology as the papers included in *Contrastive Dialectology* (Section 6) can tell. The work of Kenneth R. Johnson, Richard L. Light, Davenport M. Plumer, Robert L. Politzer and Roger W. Shuy shows that contrastive data are gathered and interpreted, a fact that tends to invalidate the stand taken recently by opponents of what is known as "functional bidialectalism." (Cf. M. J. Hoffman, "Bi-dialectalism . . .," p. 95.) At first sight, the study in Haitian Creole and Standard English by R. M. R. and Beatrice Hall seems not to belong to this section, since the speaker of Haitian Creole is obviously a speaker of another language. On the other hand, the identification of Creole features and their confrontation with Standard English features is of special interest to the Student of Black English. In view of the latter consideration, "A Contrastive Haitian Creole-English Checklist" pertains to this Section.

Ralph W. Fasold's review of Frederick Williams' book *Language and Poverty* concludes the anthology. This book review\* serves, in addition to the review per se, the purpose of stressing once more the adequacy of the difference model, a position held by the authors whose articles appear in this issue. In fact, it is interesting to note that none of our contributors chose to defend the deficiency model. This preference of the difference model seems to suggest that a fundamental change in our appraisal of cultures and dialects is already under way. The change, we hope, will ultimately help us redefine our society as a pluralistic system and, as a by-product, help us gain greater competency in the teaching of English to those who are culturally and linguistically different.

Rodolfo Jacobson  
Guest-Editor

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\* The book review only appears in *The English Record* but not in the NYSEC Monograph volume. Readers of Monograph volume 14, interested in the review, may obtain ten sheets of the article from *The English Record* office at SIC Ontario, Ontario, N. Y., 13820.



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## A. ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

### Section I: Cultural Interference

#### LANGUAGE AND CATEGORIES: SOME NOTES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS <sup>1</sup>

Kenneth Croft

Some of you have probably had the experience of trying to make your way around in a foreign country where the metric system was used for weights and measures, and temperature was measured in centigrade units. In addition, you probably had to deal with a different monetary system; perhaps the units were not entirely unfamiliar in relation to each other, but they were different in terms of the buying power of American dollars and cents. Assuming you had a good command of the language of the country—even a very good command of it—you still might have encountered some interference in using it at times because the measuring units differed in value from those you were accustomed to using.

#### Categories of Measurement

On three occasions I was a resident in Mexico City: the first time for about eleven months, the second time for about eight months, and the third time for about thirteen months. Each time I went to Mexico I had to go through a period of adjustment to the metric system in regard to distances, liquid measures, weights, the Celsius temperature scale, etc. I learned a few approximate equivalents to American measuring units once and did not have to relearn them later. For example, I found out that a kilogram was equal to approximately 2.2 pounds, so when I wanted to buy something like a pound of meat, I asked for half a kilo. I learned that a liter was a little more than a quart, and gasoline was sold by the liter; so instead of asking for ten gallons of gas, I asked for 40 liters. (This gave me about ten and a half gallons.)

Distances and temperature equivalents were not quite as simple, and they did require a certain amount of relearning. A meter, I discovered, was a little longer than a yard (one meter = 39.37 inches); this helped me with calculations of short distances. But a kilometer (1000 meters) is equal to .621 miles—somewhat more than half a mile. Nevertheless, I often found myself thinking of a kilometer as approximately half a mile in making

<sup>1</sup> Notes, for the most part, used in talking with groups of teachers of English to speakers of other languages during the summer of 1969 at the University of Southern California, the University of Illinois, and the California Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo.

*Dr. Kenneth Croft is at present Professor of English and Anthropology at San Francisco State College. Prior to his appointment in California, he was head of Material's Development Program of the American Language Institute at Georgetown University. Dr. Croft has published widely in the areas of linguistics, anthropology and English as a Second Language. His publications show a marked interest, not only in the theoretical aspects of these fields but also in the application of linguistic and anthropological concepts to the teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages.*

quick, rough calculations of distance to certain places and also in judging the speed limit—a certain number of kilometers per hour. People who were able to make mental calculations by using fractions, I noticed, came up with more accurate equivalents; one kilometer equals approximately  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a mile.

As any former student of chemistry or physics knows, the Fahrenheit temperature scale is convertible to the Celsius (Centigrade) scale and vice versa by a formula. However, relatively few people go around making this kind of conversion quickly without using pencil and paper. A couple of reference points are good to remember, namely that  $0^{\circ}$  C equals  $32^{\circ}$  F—the point at which water freezes—and  $100^{\circ}$  C equals  $212^{\circ}$  F—the point at which water boils. Once in a while the temperature in Mexico City goes down to zero— $0^{\circ}$  C, that is, not  $0^{\circ}$  F. It gave me a start when I heard, for the first time, that the temperature might drop to zero during the night. When you want to convert Fahrenheit to Centigrade, you subtract 32 and then multiply by  $\frac{5}{9}$ .  $70^{\circ}$  F, my favorite temperature during the day, is about  $21^{\circ}$  C.

I became fairly expert in money conversion, perhaps because of necessity. My income was in dollars, and these had to be converted into Mexican pesos. Then everything was paid for in pesos. I noticed that inflation was taking place, faster than I've ever noticed it in the States, and I had to be careful that I didn't spend money at a faster rate than I received it. In terms of American money, the peso was worth about 17 cents at first; then it dropped to a little more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents; later it dropped further to about 8 cents. What happened may be described in two ways: we say the peso was devalued on two occasions, but from another point of view—expressed by some Mexicans—the Americans raised the price of the dollar.

#### Interference from Language Categories

A great deal has been written and said about interference in language learning—interference from one's native language while learning a foreign language. We read and hear mostly about interference in phonology (sound structure), interference in morphology (word structure), and interference in syntax (sentence structure). The kind of interference noted above might be called interference in vocabulary, but I think it is more precise to call it interference from language categories—the structuring of the way that people habitually think about and understand phenomena they deal with in their everyday lives.

In regard to units of measure, you might say that I lived in a world of approximations; for me there were no exact equivalents—that is, not any I could arrive at simply. Certainly the Mexican's analysis and understanding of distance, weight, temperature, and monetary values were quite different from mine. His thoughts concerning "how long" or "how far" were in terms of centimeters, meters, kilometers, and the like, whereas my thoughts were in terms of inches, feet, yards and miles. Similarly, his notion of weight was in terms of grams, kilograms, and metric tons; my notion of weight, on the other hand, was in terms of ounces, pounds, and "short" tons—categories somewhat differently graded. At a stand near the entrance to a movie one time I noticed that the price of candy was given as so much per 100 grams; I didn't know then, but I know now, that 100 grams equals  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ounces.

Learning the vocabulary of the metric system presents no great problem; actually, it is rather simple. The fundamental units are the meter and the gram. Designations of multiples and subdivisions of any unit can be arrived at by combining with the name of the unit the prefix *deka-*, *hecto-*, and *kilo-*, meaning, respectively, 10, 100, and 1000 and *deci-*, *centi-*, and

milli-, meaning, respectively one-tenth, one-hundredth, and one-thousandth. It may be pointed out perhaps that the measuring units of the metric system are not native categories of any natural language. Nevertheless, they are very *real* categories in most European languages, and these categories provide a set of "grooves" for thinking about distance, weight, etc.—quite different from our set of "grooves."

The examples noted above demonstrate the kind of interference that may result when phenomena are categorized and viewed differently by the speakers of different languages. Whether formal linguistic categories or semantic categories, they still influence the thinking of the people who speak the language. According to Edward Sapir, ". . . the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group . . ." <sup>2</sup>

#### The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

There are many statements in the writings of Edward Sapir <sup>3</sup> and Benjamin Lee Whorf <sup>4</sup> to the effect that our thoughts, our ideas, and our views of the universe are shaped considerably by our language—including, of course, the formal and semantic categories of our language. Some of these statements have been cited hundreds of times in linguistic and anthropological literature and have, in a sense, become classic statements; the notions contained in them have been designated as the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis" (of linguistic relativity). Whorf states that "We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way—an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language." <sup>5</sup>

Both Sapir and Whorf say there is relatively little if any awareness of the intricate workings of the language on the part of the speaker while he is speaking his native language. Whorf states ". . . that the phenomena of a language are to its speakers largely of a background character and outside the critical consciousness and control of the speaker. . . ." <sup>6</sup>

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis has been restated, explicated, and elaborated in various ways by social scientists, sometimes with evidence that tends to support it and sometimes with evidence that tends to refute it. After many years of research, however, there still appears to be insufficient evidence to prove anything conclusively about the S-W Hypothesis; it remains pretty much controversial. In 1953 Harry Hoijer stated the central idea of the S-W Hypothesis in this way: "Each language has its own peculiar and favorite devices, lexical and grammatical, which are employed in reporting, analyzing, and categorizing experience." <sup>7</sup>

Whorf's notion was that language directed the perceptions of its speakers besides providing habitual modes of analyzing experience into significant categories. But Hoijer was more conservative; he stated that "Languages . . . do not so much determine the perceptual and other faculties vis-à-vis experience as they influence and direct these faculties into pre-

<sup>2</sup> "The Status of Linguistics as a Science." In *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. by David G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-166, passim.

<sup>4</sup> *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. by John B. Carroll. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1956. Passim.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup> "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis." In *Language in Culture: Conference on the Interrelations of Language and Other Aspects of Culture*, ed. by Harry Hoijer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 95.

scribed channels."<sup>8</sup> This more conservative position seems to be favored by linguists and anthropologists today. I think John B. Carroll's restatement of the S-W Hypothesis, in the light of recent relativity theories, is not untypical: "Insofar as languages differ in the ways they encode experience, language users tend to sort out and distinguish experience differently according to the categories provided by their respective languages. These cognitions will tend to have certain effects on behavior."<sup>9</sup>

#### Number Categories

Those of you who teach English to orientals will be familiar with this situation: There is a huge class of English nouns which we often refer to as "count nouns" or "countable nouns." These for the most part have different forms for the SINGULAR (one) and PLURAL (more than one). The choice of the singular or plural affects the syntax; for example, we use *this*, *that*, and *is* with the singular and *these*, *those*, and *are* with the plural. But even after studying English for eight or ten years, many of my oriental students are still unable to make this singular-plural distinction consistently—that is, in the way that native speakers make it. Their tendency is to ignore the fact that English has separate categories denoting *one* and *more than one* and use only the former.

The speaker of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean is not forced by the conventions of his language to specify one or more than one when he talks about certain objects in the world and, consequently, is not compelled to think of them in such terms. In other words, singular and plural are not grammatical categories in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, as they are in English and many other languages. Oriental languages have ways of expressing the difference between one and more than one, but if this difference is not particularly important in what the speaker is saying, he does not habitually express it. The English speaker, on the other hand, is forced by the conventions of his language to express this difference, whether it is important or not. I imagine the average native speaker of English would be hard put to find examples in which he considered the singular-plural distinction unnecessary, whereas the oriental, I imagine, would not be able to come up with a plentiful number of cases in his language in which he considered the distinction to be necessary. Here we see two separate ways of categorizing and reporting information about objects: indifference in regard to number on the one hand, and a compulsory distinction between one and more than one on the other.

#### Pronoun Systems

In doing their analytical work, linguists map out the grammatical categories they find in a language. A linguist, for example, might show his analysis of the subject forms of English personal pronouns as in Figure 1.

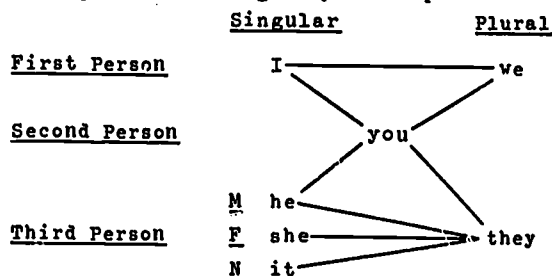


Figure 1

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 94.  
<sup>9</sup>"Linguistic Relativity, Contrastive Linguistics, and Language Learning." International Review of Applied Linguistics 1.1-20 (1963), p. 12.

He would then point out that a gender distinction (masculine, feminine, and neuter) is found only in the third person singular, "you" is nonspecific as to number (singular or plural), and "we" means "I and one or more others."

Traditionally we show these pronouns as six points on a chart (see Figure 2), perhaps because the pronouns of other European languages generally pattern out this way.

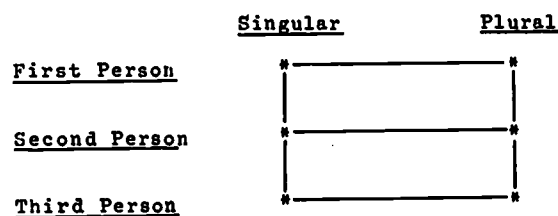


Figure 2

If we now examine pronominal reference in Samoan similarly, we come out with a fairly different chart. (Compare Figure 3 with Figure 2.) In-

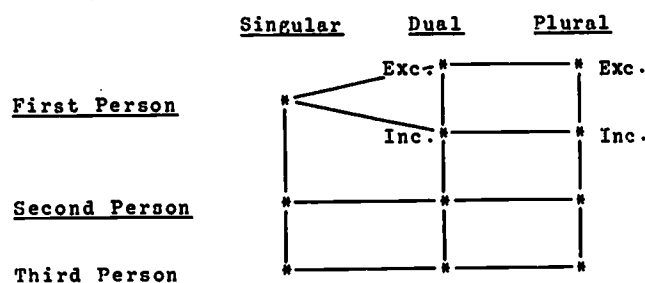


Figure 3

stead of the English two-way number system (singular and plural), we have a three-way number system: singular (one), dual (two), and plural (more than two). The notion of singular in all persons compares well in both languages, except that the English gender distinction in the third-person singular is not found in Samoan. On the other hand, we find much more elaboration in Samoan when we compare the notion of "more than one" in the two languages. The Samoan dual appears to carry with it a good deal of the time something like the English idea of "couple."

People with only a European-language orientation generally find the dual requires at least a minor adjustment of habit: the notions of "you-more-than-one" and "they," for example, have to be redistributed as "you-couple," "you-more-than-two," and "they-couple," "they-more-than-two." More than just a minor adjustment is necessary for the notion of "we," for we find the inclusive and exclusive in both the first-person dual and first-person plural. There's a four-way system in Samoan, all translated into English as *we*: "you (singular)-and-I" (inclusive), "I-and-one-other-but-not-you" (exclusive) and "you (singular)-and-I-and-one-or-more-others" (inclusive), "I-and-others-but-not-including-you" (exclusive).

Use of person-number contrasts for indicating pronominal reference, as shown in the English and Samoan examples above, may be less efficient sometimes than other kinds of contrast. Harold Conklin's componential analysis of Hanunoo pronouns is a good example of this, and I think he

comes closer to a conceptual code in his kind of treatment.<sup>10</sup> Note first the traditional charting of Hanunoo pronouns in Figure 4. Conklin saw there

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>First Person</u>	kuh	tah	mih (exclusive) tam (inclusive)
<u>Second Person</u>	muh	-	yuh
<u>Third Person</u>	yah	-	dah

Figure 4

were eight terms here in an asymmetrical arrangement and suggested there might be an underlying scheme of components other than the usual ones for person and number. The ones he extracted from his data were: inclusion of the speaker (S) or exclusion of the speaker ( $\bar{S}$ ), inclusion of the hearer (H) or exclusion of the hearer ( $\bar{H}$ ), and minimal membership (M) or nonminimal membership ( $\bar{M}$ ).<sup>11</sup> He then constructed a box with a pronoun at each corner, the location representing an intersection of these three dimensions of contrast. (See Figure 5.) All the pronouns on the front

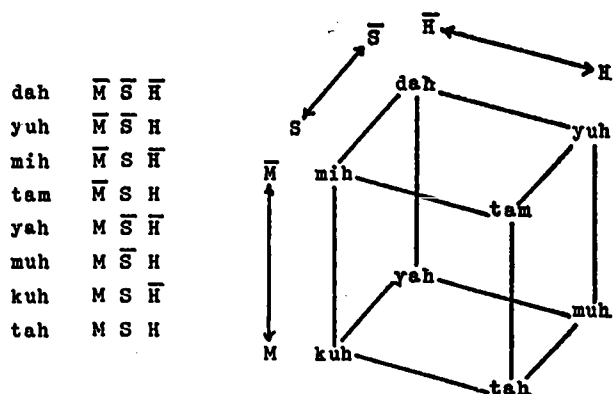


Figure 5

of the box include the speaker, and those on the back exclude the speaker; the pronouns on the right include the hearer, and those on the left exclude the hearer; the pronouns at the bottom show minimal membership, and those at the top nonminimal membership.

#### Paradigms

The kind of chart just described is sometimes called a *paradigm*, defined by Lounsbury as "any set of linguistic forms wherein: (a) the meaning of every form has a feature in common with the meanings of all the other forms of the set, and (b) the meaning of every form differs from

<sup>10</sup> "Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies." In *Problems in Lexicography*, ed. by Fred W. Householder and Sol Saporta. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 1962. pp. 134-135.

<sup>11</sup> "Minimal membership" seems to be roughly equivalent to "finite number," and "nonminimal membership" to "indefinite number."

that of every other form of the set by one or more additional features."<sup>12</sup> The charts representing English and Samoan pronouns may be called paradigms, too, since they meet the criteria noted in (a) and (b). Conklin's paradigm of Hanunoo pronouns is reminiscent of the Prague School charts indicating distinctive phonological features. For example, the phonological components of Turkish vowels (eight altogether) might be shown by a box with a vowel at each corner, indicating three dimensions of contrast: high versus low, front versus nonfront, and rounded versus unrounded. We would not ordinarily call this a paradigm, however, because phonological features, rather than features of meaning, would be represented.

The paradigm is a componential analysis device which shows systematically the intersection of semantic features. Grammarians have used this device for a long time in the representation of grammatical meanings of linguistic forms—the representation of grammatical categories. More recently linguistic anthropologists have made use of the paradigm to sort out semantic components of other terminological systems, in an attempt to classify (categorize) cultural phenomena as viewed by native speakers of a given language. A notable example of this is the terminology of kinship systems,<sup>13</sup> but other *domains* (sets of semantically related terms), or at least parts of domains, seem to lend themselves to paradigmatic analysis, too. For instance, in the following arrangement of terms dealing with livestock we can clearly see the intersection of semantic components:<sup>14</sup>

sheep	ram	ewe	lamb
hogs	boar	sow	pig
horses	stallion	mare	colt
cattle	bull	cow	calf
chickens	rooster	hen	chick

#### Taxonomies

Another componential analysis device used by linguistic anthropologists for similar purposes (actually more widely used than the paradigm) is the *taxonomy*. Instead of showing intersections of semantic components, the taxonomy is a hierarchical arrangement of terms showing inclusion and contrast. In a simple taxonomy of, say, American money we could list coins—penny, nickel, dime, quarter, etc.—and bills—\$1, \$5, \$10, \$20, etc. We note these on a branching diagram in Figure 6. At the first level we

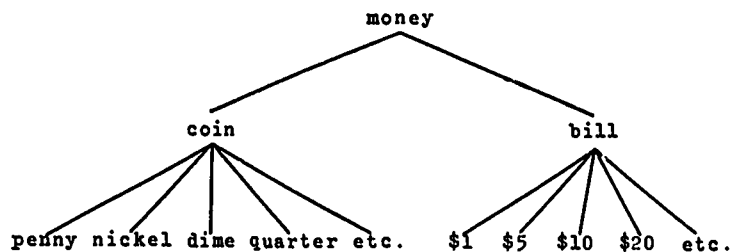


Figure 6

<sup>12</sup> "The Structural Analysis of Kinship Semantics." In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964.

<sup>13</sup> A number of kinship studies on this model have been reprinted in *Cognitive Anthropology*, ed. by Stephen A. Tyler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10. See also "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," by Edmund Leach. In *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. by Eric H. Lenneberg. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964. p. 48.



have the domain label "money." At the second level, "coin" and "bill" contrast but are included in the first-level term "money." At the third level, "penny, nickel, dime, quarter, etc." contrast but are included in the term "coin"; similarly, "\$1, \$5, \$10, \$20, etc." contrast but are included in the term "bill." In a taxonomic arrangement, items at a lower level are kinds of items in higher levels.

The structure of domains may differ slightly to considerably from language to language. (Even the domains themselves may show a good deal of overlap from language to language.) Color categories provide a good illustration of how people throughout the world divide the color spectrum variously,<sup>15</sup> and they provide further examples of taxonomic arrangement. For English we might list eleven "basic" color terms: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, pink, purple, orange, and gray. At the next lower level we might, in turn, list the kinds of "red, green, brown, etc." As kinds of red we could list "maroon, scarlet, crimson, cock's comb, turkey red," and the like. Such terms as the latter are in my passive vocabulary, but I seldom use them in daily activities.

Conklin's list of Hanunoo color classes, on the other hand, is quite different:<sup>16</sup>

(*ma*)*lagti*?—white, light tints of other colors and mixtures.

(*ma*)*biru*—black, violet, indigo, blue, dark green, dark gray, and deep shades of other colors.

(*ma*)*rara*?—maroon, red, orange, yellow, mixtures in which these qualities seem to predominate.

(*ma*)*latuy*—light green, mixtures of green, yellow, and light brown.

Ordinarily, the meanings of color categories are expressed in terms of hue, saturation, and brightness. Conklin notes, however, that certain other components, namely dryness or desiccation and wetness or freshness (succulence), are relevant semantic features in Hanunoo color terms.<sup>17</sup> He also points out that a lower-level terminology can be applied when greater color specification is required.<sup>18</sup>

Like the paradigm, the taxonomy attempts to show how the native speakers of a given language slice up reality into named categories. There is good evidence, I believe, that conceptual patterns and systems in lexicography can be discovered and mapped out by means of these devices. The methodology of linguistic anthropologists in this regard, described in several places, is rigorous and exacting.<sup>19</sup> Before leaving the matter of taxonomies, I want to mention that only a few extensive ones have ever been worked out in depth, and fewer still have ever been published.

Figure 7 gives a partial taxonomy of the Navaho animal kingdom.<sup>20</sup> We can make a few inferences from this chart and check them with a more

<sup>15</sup> An excellent detailed treatment of color categories can be found in *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*, by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

<sup>16</sup> "Hanunoo Color Categories." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11:339-344 (1955).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343. A question is sometimes raised about color perception when a given language contains fewer color terms than we have. Actually, color categories of different languages reflect a different division of the spectrum: these categories may be less finely graded than ours or perhaps more finely graded in some cases. The fact that the same term in a particular language applies to what we call "blue" and "green" doesn't mean that the speaker of the language can't see the difference between these two "colors." If the need arises to make a distinction between the two, he has a way of doing it. But habitually he labels what we call "blue" and "green" in the same way.

<sup>19</sup> See Tyler's (op. cit.) Introduction, Parts I and II, particularly "Notes on Queries in Ethnography" by Charles O. Frake and "Eliciting Folk Taxonomy in Ojibwa" by Mary B. Black. Note also the bibliographical references accompanying these two papers.

<sup>20</sup> "Navaho Systems of Classification: Some Implications for Ethnoscience," by Norma Perchonock and Oswald Werner. *Ethnology* 8:229-242 (1969).

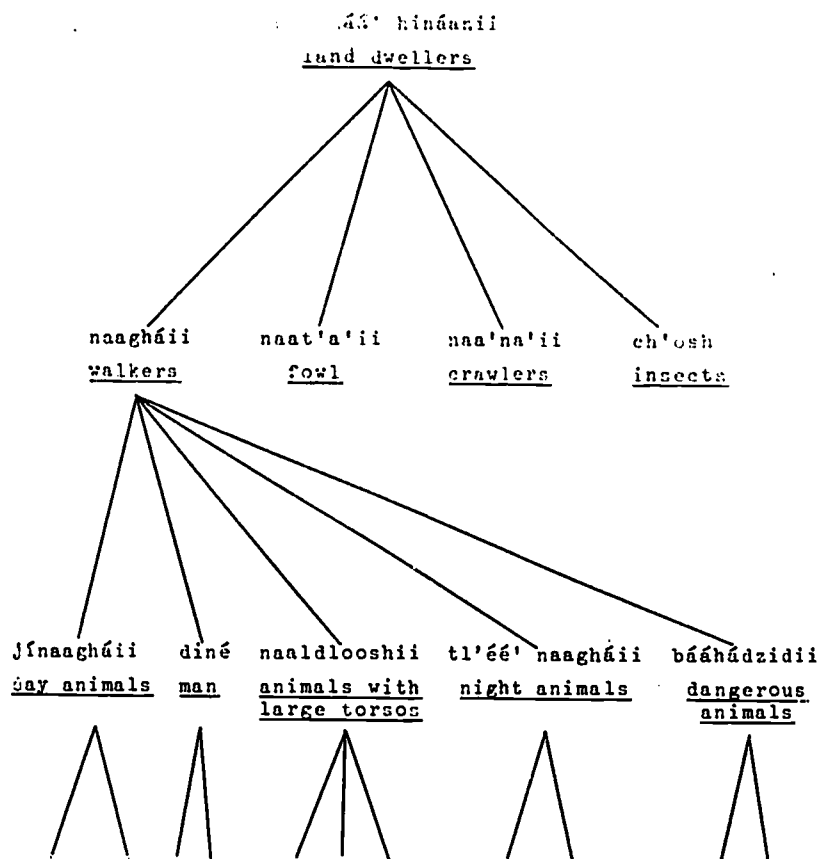


Figure 7

complete set of data. "Land dwellers" at level one possibly contrasts with a term for "water creatures," and it may be that the two are included in some higher-level term. In an English-language classification we might discriminate the two similarly—"land creatures" and "water creatures"—but we would also have an "intermediate" class of "amphibious creatures." At level two, we might guess that "walkers, fowl, crawlers, and insects" overlap our English categories "animals (including 'human animals'), birds, reptiles, and insects" pretty well. But at level three we would not consider "man" as one among several classes of animals; except in some kind of scientific zoological classification, this would seem un-English. Also the classes "day animals, animals with large torsos, night animals, and dangerous animals" are unfamiliar. In English, I imagine we would classify animals as tame or wild at this level, then tame animals as pets or livestock at the next lower level, and then animal names at the following level—something like that. In regard to wild animals, we might distinguish game animals from non-game animals at the next lower level, and give animal names at the following level. This classification in English is all impressionistic and, I suppose, "folk."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Partial taxonomies appear here and there in anthropological and linguistic literature, and many of them seem to be concerned with demonstration of method rather than providing taxonomic information. Now that a number of ethnographers have incorporated taxonomic mapping into their field procedures, we can expect to see an abundance of taxonomic studies in the future. Some ethnographers are even using computers to aid them in sorting and arranging their field data.

#### Distributional Analysis

Paradigms and taxonomies are neat and orderly. But efforts in componential analysis at time produce only lists of terms and (sometimes) subclasses of these terms. Charting them seems to reveal nothing of particular significance. Nevertheless, the domains and categories under investigation are presumably no less important than others, so they must be treated in some fashion. Listing may be the most efficient means of presentation.

Nouns in many languages fall into classes we call *gender*. In English we use the labels "masculine, feminine, and neuter" and determine the gender of nouns by the pronouns used to substitute for them. These labels lack precision, but they are meaningful in most cases—less arbitrary than the gender labels for Spanish and French. In addition to formal grammatical distinctions in the English gender system, there are also semantic distinctions. And these distinctions influence our thinking about objects in the universe.

Gender classes in the Algonquian languages are labeled "animate" and "inanimate." These labels lack complete precision, too, in terms of Western science, but the two classes tend to force Algonquian speakers to make a mental separation between living and nonliving things. Navaho has an elaborate gender system—something like twelve gender classes—which appear to be based in part on shapes of objects.

Landar and Berlin have made studies of the eating vocabulary of Navaho and Tzeltal respectively.<sup>22</sup> Both languages contain seven verbs which we translate into English as "eat." One is a general verb for eating used, for example, in questions. The others divide all foodstuffs into six classes. Navaho categories, given by Landar, are (1) "eating in general," (2) "hard or chewy object," (3) "long, stringy object," (4) "meat," (5) "one round object," (6) "mushy matter," and (7) "separable objects." Tzeltal categories given by Berlin, are similar: (1) "eating in general," (2) "chewy object with pulp expectorated," (3) "meat," (4) "mushy or gelatin-like objects," (5) "individuated, hardish objects," (6) "breadstuffs," and (7) "foods which dissolve in the mouth with little mastication."

Berlin notes that "chili pepper" and "mushroom" are included in the category labeled "meat," and Tzeltal speakers readily offer folk theories to account for this. The documentation of his field experience in gathering and classifying food terms clearly shows that these categories have cultural significance to speakers of the language. But the food categories of both Navaho and Tzeltal are grammatical categories (as are the gender classes noted above); a particular food item governs the choice of verb. Landar and Berlin give descriptive labels in English to these categories based on something the class-members have in common. There may or may not be corresponding labels in Navaho and Tzeltal—probably not.

A taxonomic arrangement, as mentioned earlier, is an arrangement of semantic categories based on inclusion: items at a lower level are kinds of

<sup>22</sup> "Seven Navaho Verbs for Eating," by Herbert Landar. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 30:94-96 (1964). "Categories of Eating in Tzeltal and Navaho," by Brent Berlin. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 33:1-6 (1967).

items at higher levels. Other semantic categories may be based on use or function or some other means of classification. Metzger and Williams have made a study of Tzeltal firewood using distributional analysis of linguistic contexts.<sup>23</sup> Their field methodology, involving the formulation of frames and eliciting of responses, lead to the establishment of categories along various lines of cultural organization. Additional studies using this or similar techniques have been made of weddings, curers, diseases, deities, law, and perhaps other domains.<sup>24</sup>

#### Conclusion

As a high-school student of Spanish many years ago, I remember that my teacher and others told me I should learn to "think in the language." They assured me that when I reached that goal I would no longer speak Spanish hesitantly or haltingly; my responses would be automatic and "natural." My notion of "thinking in the language," I know, was pretty vague at that time. I probably considered my task as learning to put words together as the native speaker did, and this could be accomplished by learning a lot of words and the rules for putting them together. I wonder if the people who advised "learning to think in a foreign language" really understood the implications of that expression; I doubt it. My notion of that expression certainly changed later on when I became an English teacher in Mexico and started gaining some familiarity with native languages spoken in that country.

As of now, I'm not sure that "learning to think in a foreign language" means anything. If it does mean something, it's certainly something much more ambitious than I previously realized. A language student would not only internalize the native speakers' patterned habits in regard to phonology, morphology, and syntax, he would also internalize the native speakers' collective view of the universe and the behavior patterns appropriate to and consistent with this view—both linguistic and nonlinguistic. It is inconceivable to me that linguistic and nonlinguistic behavior can be separated; even if we make such a separation (artificially), we still have to learn about the latter through language.

We don't know (and perhaps will never know) everything that underlies language behavior. Language categories—grammatical and lexical—certainly play a significant role in what we call the native speakers' world view and the patterned habits and responses that accompany such a view. This paper has dealt in part with interference from language categories in language learning. Traditionally, linguists have mapped out and described grammatical categories. In recent years, linguistic anthropologists have been busy mapping out categories of (other) cultural phenomena utilizing theories, research methods, and analytical devices which are similar to those of the linguist.

The other part of this paper has dealt with the methodology of linguistic anthropologists in discovering and describing language categories which lack the formal characteristics of grammatical categories; this

<sup>23</sup> "Some Procedures and Results in the Study of Native Categories: Tzeltal 'Firewood'." *American Anthropologist* 68:389-407 (1966).

<sup>24</sup> "A Formal Ethnographic Analysis of Tenejapa Ladino Weddings," by Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams. *American Anthropologist* 65:1076-1101 (1963). "Tenejapa Medicine I: the Curer," by Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19:216-234 (1963). "The Diagnosis of Disease among the Subanon of Mindanao," by Charles O. Frake. *American Anthropologist* 63:113-132 (1961). "Ethnographic Description and the Study of Law," by Mury Black and Duane Metzger. *American Anthropologist* 66 (Part 2, Special Publication):141-165 (1965). "A Structural Description of Subanon Religious Behavior," by Charles O. Frake. In *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. by W. H. Goodenough. New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1964.

amounts to analysis of semantic components. The devices include the paradigm, the taxonomy, and distributional analysis for identifying and mapping semantic categories of a language—categories which reflect a system of knowledge built up around a people's view of what the world is like. As an approach to ethnography, these procedures, descriptions, etc. are called *ethnoscience*, *ethnographic semantics*, or simply *componential analysis*.

My emphasis is on the fact that semantic (or lexical) categories are discoverable and describable by means of componential analysis. And when these categories are known, they can be learned by language students, just as grammatical categories are learned—perhaps with ease, perhaps with difficulty. I think it largely depends on how readily the student comes to accept the idea of diversity in the classification of cultural phenomena. We all know from experience that learning to accept the notion that one's own grammatical categories are not universal is no simple matter. Learning lexical categories may be a step higher in sophistication, but these categories should receive systematic treatment and be brought under the student's control on his route toward natively like fluency in a foreign language.

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### PREDATOR OR PEDAGOGUE?: THE TEACHER OF THE BILINGUAL CHILD

James W. Ney

The teacher of the child whose native language is not English must confront daily a child who is not only linguistically different but also culturally different. Thus the teaching situation takes on a complexity which extends far beyond the frustrating barrier of mutual linguistic unintelligibility. The dominant culture so often represented by the teacher permeates the classroom making teaching difficult for the instructor and learning well nigh impossible for the student. Just how that dominant, mainstream culture views at times the culturally different, or culturally disadvantaged child is demonstrated in Mark Twain's, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. At one point in the story, Huck is constructing a tale on how he came up the Mississippi on a steam boat. Supposedly, the boat had grounded making Huck late. At this point Huck says:

"It warn't the grounding—that didn't keep us back but a little. We blowed out a cylinder-head."

"Good gracious! Anybody hurt?"

"No'm. Killed a nigger."

"Well, it's lucky; because sometimes people do get hurt."<sup>1</sup>

Now, I'm quite sure that Samuel Clemens was not trying to promulgate his own ideas about the status of negroes. He was merely mirroring the

<sup>1</sup> Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: P. J. Collier and Son, 1912), p. 306.

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ideas of the society about which he wrote; somehow in this society, blacks, as representatives of the culturally and linguistically different peoples, were not even accorded the status of human beings.

Among those of us involved in the process of education, it is very unlikely that the culturally different, for us, would be excluded from the race of human kind. But, nevertheless, for many of us, who through years of education have been steeped into the cultural tradition of the English speaking peoples especially through intensive study in British and American literature, subtle, more insidious and invidious forms of discrimination creep into our thinking making us predators during the times in which we should be pedagogues. For instance, in the report of the NCTE "Task Force" on *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, the statement is made that "without the experience of literature, the individual is denied the very dignity that makes him human."<sup>2</sup> (Undoubtedly, since the task force was sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English, the literature referred to is English literature if not in explicit statement yet still in actual practice.) Even the term, *culturally disadvantaged*, clearly signals that those who use the term are the possessors of "culture" and that they will maintain their superiority by dispensing this culture to those who do not have it. It probably is no exaggeration to say that every culture and sub-culture known to man has had the attitude: "No doubt, we are the people and knowledge perishes with us."<sup>3</sup>

Not long ago, a graduate student who is also a teacher of Mexican-American children submitted a paper to me in which she suggested that "people new to the language or culture should not be made to look any less equal than they are . . ." In another instance reported to me, a professional teacher referred to the members of a non-Anglo-Saxon segment of the community as being "disorganized." Now, what all of these statements mean, of course, is that given middle-class white American concepts of culture, members of other cultures seem "disadvantaged," "less equal" or "disorganized." Within themselves, these cultures are in no sense disorganized, less equal or disadvantaged. Most cultures known to man are quite capable of dealing with the environment in which they are found. By objective standards, such as the incidence of peptic ulcers or mental diseases among the members of the culture, some cultures are superior to the white middle class American culture.

Nevertheless, if the teacher of the bilingual student carries into his or her classroom the attitudes of the cultural group of which he or she is a member, the learning of the students can quite easily be impaired. If a child is to learn well, he must have a positive self-concept. Martin Deutsch states this quite clearly when he says that

the self-image is vital to learning. School experiences can either reinforce invidious self-concepts acquired from the environment, or help to develop—or even induce—a negative self-concept. Conversely, they can effect positive self-feelings by providing for concrete achievements and opportunities to function with competence, although initially these experiences must be in the most limited and restricted areas.<sup>4</sup>

These positive school experiences are important because, as Ketcham

<sup>2</sup> Muriel Crosby et al., *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* (Champaign, Ill.: The National Council of Teachers of English, 1966), p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Job 12:2.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Deutsch, "Some Psychological Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged," in John M. Beck and Richard Saxe, *Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965), p. 54.

and Morse have pointed out, "an improvement in children's self image and self esteem will make them easier to teach."<sup>5</sup>

Consider the plight of the so-called bilingual child. On the playground he is often surrounded with playmates who through their ethnocentric attitudes denigrate his cultural background and destroy whatever positive self-concept he might have. This same student goes into the classroom and that same classroom exudes the same kind of cultural ethnocentricity that the playground has. The teacher quite likely has not yet learned that as Spaulding points out "the self-concepts of elementary school children were apt to be higher and more positive in classrooms in which the teacher was 'socially integrative' and 'learner supportive.'"<sup>6</sup> And the results of this are tragic. Knowlton has very pointedly asserted that some Southwestern school districts "have the honor of graduating students who are functionally illiterate in two languages."<sup>7</sup>

If this is so, the question then arises "How can the role of the teacher be changed from that of a predator, preying upon students from a position of cultural egocentricity, to that of a pedagogue, aiding the student through learner supportive and socially integrative practices and procedures?" One possible answer to this question lies in the adoption of a truly bidimensional bilingual program, a program which requires the English speaking child to become bilingual as well as the non-English speaking child. It is bidimensional because the bilingualism moves in two directions: the English speakers learn Spanish, for instance, and the Spanish speakers learn English. The highest expression of bidimensional bilingualism is the bilingual school in which the English speakers study mathematics and the history of Latin America in Spanish and the Spanish speakers study science and the history of the USA in English. In such a program, the sociological context of the non-English speaking child is altered so that he is no longer one of the cultural have-nots; he is suddenly the possessor of a very important skill which his monolingual English speaking peers would very much like to have and which they can gain only with some difficulty. In other words, if Peter is required to learn the Spanish language and if he is expected to pursue the study of academic disciplines in that language, his attitude towards Pedro is going to be changed. To Peter, Pedro becomes a linguistic genius who can utter hard-to-pronounce sounds with the greatest of facility. Pedro is also seen as the possessor of cultural artifacts which often appear quite exotic to the culture-bound Anglo-American. Peter's attitude towards Pedro, the teacher's interest in Pedro's culture and the difficulty that Peter has in mastering Pedro's language all help to give him a more positive self-concept and a better chance to learn.

Strangely enough, opposition to bidimensional bilingual programs does not come merely from politicians, school administrators and citizens who suffer from xenophobia or similar maladies. Some descendants of foreign born Americans who have attained upward mobility through total immersion in the Anglo-American community feel that their progeny must succeed by travelling the same path even to complete denial of their cultural and linguistic heritage. Although this method of cultural and linguistic assimilation, a sink or swim method, has succeeded for some in the past, it has not necessarily been effective for large segments of the population.

<sup>5</sup> Warren A. Ketcham and William C. Morse, "Dimensions of Children's Social and Psychological Development Related to School Achievement" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan, Cooperative Research Project No. 1286, 1965), p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Don E. Hammeck, "What Research Tells us about the Characteristics of Good and Bad Teachers," *Human Dynamics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> C. S. Knowlton, "Bilingualism—A Problem or an Asset," ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 010 744, December, 1965.

There have always been those among the cultural minorities who have failed to learn English as a second language or they have learned it very badly. These have clung to their social and linguistic past because of the difficulties incumbent in the total assimilation with the help-of-heaven-and-a-long-spoon approach. There is, however, at least one other approach. Experiments such as the bidimensional bilingual program at Coral Way elementary school in Miami have demonstrated that the system of public education can help members of cultural and linguistic minorities in their struggle for acceptance in the cultural mainstream. Evidence for this assertion comes from the parents of children involved in the project. Some parents who kept their children out of the bilingual program at Coral Way for the first year insisted that their children be placed in the program during subsequent years.

But what of the school districts and systems which will not permit bidimensional bilingual programs? What can the teacher do if he or she is in a school system which is unwilling to institute a bilingual program? Teachers in such schools can always adopt a token bilingual program in the classroom as long as the teacher is master of the classroom. Pedro can be requested to introduce his English speaking fellow students to the strangeness of Spanish greeting formulas such as *buenos dias* or *adios* and to the word games and puzzles which occur in many languages such as *ere con ere sigarro*. With a little bit of ingenuity and some training, the teacher can have the class doing pattern exercises with Pedro or Juan as the informant. In fact, token bidimensional bilingualism may be the only possibility in situations where one of the two languages involved in the teaching situation does not have an extensive literature in published form. It might be rather hard to find a textbook for third graders on Navaho history written in the Navaho language for beginning students of Navaho although for the French, or Spanish, or German students there should be no such difficulty.

Teachers of the bilingual child can also help to give the non-English speaking child a more positive self-concept by acquainting themselves and their students with certain facets of the cultures which are represented by many of their students. Consider, for instance, the difference in outlook of the Anglo-American and the Indian-American.

In the American way of life, those of us who are carried along in its social stream are future oriented. We think in terms of what is ahead. In contrast, those whose lives are governed by the values of the Indian life are oriented to the present.—“the exultation of the now.” The non-Indian life is one of “conquest over nature” as against the Indian way of “harmony in nature.” Another way of comparing them is to describe the former as existing in a state of anticipation, while the latter finds nothing to look forward to and feels that the essence of living is found in the present timelessness.<sup>8</sup>

It is impossible, of course, to say that one way of looking at life is better than another. It may be that the Indian way might lead to less mental ill-health or that the Anglo-American way leads to greater material prosperity. But until such time as an absolute standard of *good* or *bad* is established in evaluating cultural world views, teachers and students alike should treat the members of culturally different minorities with deference and thus aid them in their adjustment to the mainstream culture.

<sup>8</sup> Hildegard Thompson, *Education for Cross Cultural Enrichment* (Washington, D. C.: US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1964), p. 14.



Nor should anyone forget that the first inhabitants of this land were thrifty, industrious and quite capable of living orderly lives within the time cycle that was important to them. It may be true that they have lost these characteristics after their initial contacts with certain elements of the Anglo-American culture. It certainly is true that third cultural traits have developed universally when two cultures come in contact with each other. Nevertheless, as Brody and Aberle point out, the Indian American is not going to be helped by the kind of thinking that insists that "assimilation" of Indian Americans to the Anglo-American culture "can be achieved merely through the Indians' adopting certain attitudes to their white neighbors. For example, it is said that all that is necessary is for the Indians to be thrifty, to acquire habits of diligence, and to learn the importance of punctuality. . . . Yet by the standards and needs of their own culture, the Indians historically have been economical, hard working and appreciative of time."<sup>9</sup> And the same might be said of the members of other sub-cultures in American society. For all of the students, the teacher, to be a true pedagogue, needs to be "integrative" and socially "supportive" from the basis of a knowledge and understanding of the native language and culture. Furthermore, an egalitarian attitude should be manifested by the teacher in all contacts with students.

One other hard-to-recognize problem forces the teacher of the bilingual child into the role of predator. This problem can most easily be labeled: *Failure to recognize the existence of a problem.* Many teachers conclude after talking with a student for a few minutes that he has no language problem. They neglect to reckon with the fact that a student's language problem may not be immediately observable. More than a few students whose native language is not English pick up "playground English" from their fellow students.<sup>10</sup> They then have adequate facility in the language to communicate readily with a teacher on mundane, everyday matters. But they are in no way equipped to deal with the academic English of textbooks and written compositions.\* Dropout rates for some schools may, perhaps, give some indication of the truth of this proposition. For instance, the dropout rate for one school in the Phoenix area was as follows for the year 1969:

TABLE I: DROPOUT RATE BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Anglo-American	Spanish Surname	Indian American
ETHNIC GROUPING OF DROPOUTS	60%	37%	3%
ETHNIC GROUPING OF ALL STUDENTS	92%	7%	.3%

A careful reading of Table I raises questions such as the following: Why is it that although students with Spanish surnames constitute only 7% of the student body, 37% of the dropouts have Spanish surnames? Similarly, why is it that although Indian Americans made up only .3% of the student body, 3% of the dropouts are Indian Americans? Supposedly, if there were no ethnic imbalance in the dropout rate, since 92% of the students are Anglo-Americans (and others) 92% of the dropouts would be Anglo American. Similarly, if 7% of the students have Spanish surnames, only

<sup>9</sup> William A. Brody and Sophie D. Aberle, *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business*, (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> This idea was first suggested to me by Mrs. Grace Blossom, President of the Arizona Bilingual Council, 1969.

\*Cf. also R. Kaplan, "A Teacher's Guide to Connected Paragraph Construction for Advanced Level Foreign Students," pp. 60-61, below. [Note of the Editor]

7% of the dropouts should have Spanish surnames. But it is not so, and one of the reasons might be that a great number of students with Spanish surnames have second language problems.

Another way of looking at a similar set of statistics but for different schools is as follows:

TABLE II: THE RELATION OF ETHNIC GROUPING TO DROPOUT RATE

Percentage of Drop Out Students	Anglo-American and Others*	Spanish Surname
School 1	2%	22%
School 2	8%	12%
School 3	9%	13%

Again, for each of the schools reporting, persons having Spanish surnames dropped out of high school at a greater rate than those who do not have Spanish surnames. For this group, it is quite possible that second language problems contribute to the greater dropout rate of the students having Spanish surnames.

Recognizing the existence of a problem, however, is only the first step to take towards a solution. Finding the tools to use in moving towards a solution can be an important second step. For this step, unfortunately, most teaching materials currently in use are not completely adequate. In the past decade or two, materials have been developed for the foreign students entering American universities. Furthermore, series developed for the public schools have concentrated on raising the non-native speaker of English to the linguistic level of a 12-year-old-native at best. In addition, these materials concentrate largely on oral language. Even if these texts are supplemented by series such as the Miami Linguistic Readers, the student is still not raised to a level of proficiency equivalent to that of his Anglo-American peers in the higher grades. Textbooks modelled on the Inamura-Ney *Audio Lingual Literary Series* (Ginn/Blaisdell 1969) could be used in the high schools to great advantage. These texts present a unified approach to the teaching of reading, written composition, and oral language skills. They do this for the non-native speakers of English by tying language exercises into literary texts and readings. For instance, one of the texts uses an article from the *Saturday Review* on the subject of automation. Students read the article both in and out of class and then perform exercises in pronunciation, grammar and writing together with reading comprehension, using the language patterns and forms from the article which they have just read. Similar texts to these, incorporating recent advances in the study of linguistics and psychology, could be of great help to the teacher of the non-native speaker of English in the schools.

Besides these, instruments of measurement need to be used in the public school situation to determine whether or not students are partially bilingual or whether one linguistic system is stronger than another. Wallace E. Lambert and his associates at McGill University have developed tests which identify linguistic dominance or the extent of bilingual balance. One of these tests, the word association test, measures the speed at which students associate words with cues in each of the linguistic system that they command. The rapidity with which they make associations and the number of associations that they make in either of their linguistic sys-

\*In schools numbered 2 and 3, other minorities heavily influenced the dropout rate in this column.

tems gives some indication of the strength of the system. Tests like these should be used quite widely in the public schools.

So then, in the current situation, at least three areas merit the special attention of the teacher of the bilingual child. These are (1) the development of bidimensional bilingual schools and classes, (2) an increasing understanding of the non-Anglo-American cultures in this country coupled with a use of this understanding in the classroom, and (3) a recognition of the fact that students with a grasp of "playground English" cannot be expected to cope with the problems created by the use of academic English in the classroom. Materials and teaching methods must be developed to aid the student in his attempt to grapple with the kind of English used in the textbooks and by the teachers in the classroom.

## Section 2: Bilingualism

### BILINGUALISM IN PUERTO RICO: A HISTORY OF FRUSTRATION

John C. Fisher

The Treaty of Paris, which concluded the Spanish-American War, saw the United States, for the first time, with territorial lands which were culturally different and geographically distant. Congress's Foraker Act of 1900, which replaced Puerto Rico's military occupation with a civil legislature partly provided by Presidential appointment, allowed limited Puerto Rican participation in its own government. In 1917, a new Organic Act, the Jones Act, increased island participation in its own affairs, offered U. S. citizenship to those Puerto Rican inhabitants who wished to have it, and gave a bill of rights to the island. It was not until 1947, however, that the people of Puerto Rico elected their own governor who was now given the power to appoint all executive heads of departments, including a Commissioner of Public Instruction.

The history of English teaching and bilingualism in that fifty-year period, and since, has been in large measure the history of public education itself. And it has been a history of frustration. There seems to be little doubt that until 1947 each Commissioner of Education was appointed to the island primarily because of his stand on the role of English in the schools. At the time of his appointment each Commissioner seems to have felt that English should be the medium of instruction for at least a majority of the school years. Many soon gave in, however, to the difficulties of teaching in a language foreign to the native Spanish of the students. Before and since 1947, the teaching of English has been an important issue in Island politics and "the most controversial subject of the curriculum."<sup>1</sup>

When M. G. Brumbaugh was appointed Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico by President McKinley in 1900, it was already policy to teach in English whenever possible. Brumbaugh found, however, that with few English speaking teachers available it was best to teach in Spanish through the first eight grades, and in English in the secondary schools. As realistic as this system was, it was not sanctioned by a U. S. government that seemed committed to assimilating Puerto Rico into its North American culture. By 1903 political pressures called for English to be the medium of instruction in all grades and President Theodore Roosevelt's new appointee, Roland Falkner, complied. For the next fourteen years the use of English made steady but controversial progress. Many students in the elementary grades found understanding to be difficult or impossible, and learned neither Spanish nor English well. Although the situation was hardly the decisive factor in the Puerto Rican politics of the time, it undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of the pro-independence Unionista party, which went undefeated from 1904 to 1924.

<sup>1</sup> Juan José Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico*. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1948. p. 415.

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In 1917 Spanish was reinstated as the medium of instruction for the first four grades, since this was the terminating grade for most students. In the early 1930's, however, Commissioner José Padín fostered a study which bore out his suspicion that instruction in English was detrimental to learning. He noted that Puerto Ricans "were paying an enormous price in the acquisition of . . . knowledge . . . for the doubtful advantage of enabling our students to practice English through their Geography and History lessons."<sup>2</sup> By 1934 all subjects, except English, were taught in Spanish in the first eight grades.

In 1934, with the appointment of President Franklin Roosevelt of Blanton S. Winship to the governorship of Puerto Rico, Americanization was reaffirmed and English again became the language of instruction in all grades. Two years later Padín resigned. In a letter to José Gallardo, his new Commissioner, Roosevelt, perhaps without intending to, summarized the Puerto Rican English language problem, past, present and future:

Puerto Rico came under the American flag 38 years ago. Nearly 20 years ago Congress extended American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. It is regrettable that today hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have little and often virtually no knowledge of the English language. . . . It is an indispensable part of the American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with complete facility in the English tongue. It is the language of our Nation. . . .

Puerto Rico is a densely populated Island. Many of its sons and daughters will desire to seek economic opportunity on the mainland. . . . They will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English . . . . Clearly there is no desire or purpose to diminish the enjoyment or the usefulness of the rich Spanish cultural legacy of the people of Puerto Rico. What is necessary, however, is that the American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from their unique geographical situation . . . by becoming bilingual. But bilingualism will be achieved . . . only if the teaching of English . . . is entered into at once with vigor, purposefulness, and devotion, and with the understanding that English is the official language of our country."<sup>3</sup>

Gallardo, in spite of strong opposition by popular political leaders of the island to making English the official language of the schools, attempted for several years to implement Roosevelt's attitude. But in 1911 the experience of several years caused him, like others before him, to restrict English as the medium of instruction to the secondary schools. Roosevelt had not told him how to achieve his goal, and school officials lacked the money, the expertise, and even the inclination, to enter into bilingualism with "vigor, purposefulness, and devotion."

The political dimension of the English language continues to this day. In 1948, soon after the governor was able to choose his own Commissioner of Education, Spanish became the medium of instruction in all grades, with English taught for one period a day. With double sessions—and only three total hours of instruction—in many of the schools, the period has often been only thirty minutes long. The resulting change in the English proficiency of the population is striking. As one goes about the cities and towns of Puerto Rico today, one notes that those people who were graduated from the secondary schools before the 1950's are among the best speakers of English. Their proficiency level is hardly native, and those who went on to study in the States note that they had minor difficulties "for three or four months";

<sup>2</sup> José Padín, "English in Puerto Rico," *Puerto Rico School Review*, San Juan, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> April 8, 1937, as quoted in Osuna, pp. 376-7.

but among the sixty or seventy Puerto Rican business and professional men of this writer's acquaintance, the comprehension proficiency seems to average out at about ninety percent, with production at about eighty percent. They are generally agreed that studying secondary school subjects in English did not prove to be a detriment.

Those people who have been graduated within recent years are obviously much less proficient in English. In at least one university in Puerto Rico, seventy-five percent of the entering freshmen are unable to carry on a simple conversation in English, in spite of the fact that the texts being used throughout the elementary grades dictate an oral approach. That same university, until the present time, has taught more than fifty percent of its classes in English. Because this now causes an undue hardship on students, it will soon begin a three-track curriculum. Upon entrance a student may choose a program which will be offered only in English, only in Spanish, or in a combination of both. It is expected that only the English Department will offer all courses in English, and that most other departments will offer their courses in Spanish.

The question of whether or not it is necessary for Puerto Ricans to learn English is no less pertinent—and aggravating—today than it was in Roosevelt's day, and it is without doubt a part of the greater question of the future status of Puerto Rico. By common consent of Congress and the people of the island, the present Commonwealth could become either an independent nation or the fifty-first state. It may also retain its present political status. Supporters of the Commonwealth claim that there is harmony between the valuable qualities of the U. S. with its social and economic progress, and Puerto Rico with its agrarian and ethnic traditions. Puerto Ricans, too, accept the principles of democracy. Spanish is the language of instruction in the schools, they say, but there is a period of English instruction each day. There are English language radio and television stations, and one English language newspaper. These are offered as evidence of Puerto Rico's bilingualism. The evidence, however, can be compared with the reverse situation in New York City, which offers Spanish-language mass communication to the Spanish-speaking community. One can hardly think of New York City as bilingual. Both Spanish and English are spoken there, but the overwhelming majority of people speak only one language with ease.

Statehood, according to the United States-Puerto Rican Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, "would necessarily involve a cultural and language accommodation to the rest of the federated States of the Union. . . . This does not require the surrender of the Spanish language nor the abandonment of a rich cultural heritage."<sup>4</sup> The suggestion is obvious. In order for Congress to allow statehood, the people of Puerto Rico would have to achieve a higher degree of bilingualism than presently exists. In his supplemental views, Senator Henry M. Jackson noted that "The unity of our Federal-State structure requires a common tongue. . . . Surely, at a time when we are trying to eliminate ghettos of all kinds, we should not establish within our Federal-State system a 'language ghetto.' . . . The continuance of Spanish as a second language would not be inconsistent with this requirement."<sup>5</sup>

Some independence advocates claim that their agrarian and ethnic traditions can flourish only if they are freed from the influence of the United States. But the movement is not the most popular one in Puerto Rico. It has claimed no more than ten percent of the voters in recent years. In 1967, when

<sup>4</sup> United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, *Status of Puerto Rico*, 1966, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Status of Puerto Rico*, p. 22.

a revitalized pro-independence element in the Department of Public Instruction attempted further to restrict the teaching of English to two periods a week, the opposition was heard throughout the island. An overwhelming majority of people in Puerto Rico seem satisfied with Commonwealth status, and the present Governor, Luis Ferre, and his party tend to view statehood as inevitable. Although the Governor won his election in 1968 with less than a simple majority, he has nevertheless been able since then to work quietly and efficiently to bring the dream of his statehood party to fruition.

The Puerto Rican people are indeed homogenous. They share a common religion and a common Hispanic language and heritage, and because of their insular situation they are likely to retain their culture even better than mainland subcultures like the Pennsylvania Dutch. The fact remains, however, that the Puerto Rican society is rapidly undergoing a change from agrarian to U. S.-oriented urban. Puerto Rico remains politically and economically linked, as it has for over seventy years, with the United States.

The frustration of the seventy-year-old bilingual movement now rises as a spectre, not only on the island, but also in the urban areas of the Atlantic Seaboard where Puerto Ricans gather to make new lives. The first eight months of 1970 saw the heaviest emigration of Puerto Ricans to the U. S. since 1950. More than 90,000 left home in that period.<sup>6</sup> In the past ten years the number of islanders in the States has more than doubled. Over a million reside in New York City alone, which now has a total Spanish-speaking population estimated at nearly two million—22% of the city's residents. As a result, Manuel A. Casiano Jr., director of the New York City office of the Commonwealth Migration Division claimed last fall that housing, employment, and educational opportunities for New York City's Puerto Ricans have dwindled. A product himself of the city schools, Casiano noted that an unprepared educational system has contributed to the deplorable situation: "When I was a youngster, maybe we had 5 Spanish-speaking children in a class of 40. . . . Today, in many city schools, the situation is reversed. . . . In a situation like that it's almost impossible to help the Spanish-speaking children get by." He sees a broad bilingual system as the only solution.<sup>7</sup>

In the same month Casiano spoke, November 1970, New York City made another substantial move in its constant attempt to overcome the monumental language problem. It began bilingual programs in 113 schools. Both Spanish and English are being taught to native children and to children of Puerto Rican origin. The effectiveness of the program was questioned, however, before it began. At a November 23 Senate committee hearing, Antonia Pantoja, founder of *Aspira*, a nationwide Puerto Rican community organization, claimed that the mainland's two million Puerto Ricans were "the poorest silent minority" in the nation, "incapable of participating in American society and facing total alienation from it." Severely criticizing the federal government and the nation's schools, she suggested that the only solution may be to create an educational system that would especially tend to the needs of Puerto Rican children who "do not speak English." She noted that 50% of Puerto Rican children in the States do not finish school, and called the bilingual programs "pitiful." "To people who have failed in teaching English the federal government is giving several millions so they can now fail in teaching two languages, Spanish and English." She warned the committee that "Puerto Rican youth is becoming more militant as a result of its feeling of desperation."<sup>8</sup> There is some indication, then, that government may still be unable to deal with the problem.

If bilingualism fails in New York City and if it continues to fail in Puerto Rico, the immediate cause may be what it likely has been since 1898.

<sup>6</sup> San Juan Star, October 25, 1970, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> San Juan Star, November 6, 1970, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> San Juan Star, November 24, 1970, p. 3.

As in Brumbaugh's day, qualified English teachers are at a premium. Most teachers in Puerto Rico and in the States—including teachers of English—are not prepared to teach a language. Daniel Portelles, director of bilingual programs in Brooklyn's District 14 pointed to this problem in San Juan during a recent Department of Public Instruction-supported conference on educating Puerto Rican children who live on the mainland. He stated that many of the island's children arrive in New York with "a poor understanding of the Spanish language and practically no knowledge whatsoever of English. . . . Many of the children are illiterate in both languages." He noted that 75% of Puerto Rican teachers who apply for positions in New York City fail to pass the qualifying examinations.<sup>9</sup> The cause of this may be that in some districts of the island most elementary school teachers have only a provisional certificate. They teach without even a normal school degree. And their pay scale is so low they have little opportunity to take course work toward a bachelor's degree.

It seems imperative that Puerto Rican teachers have some training on the mainland, if only to acquire a standard English pronunciation. One recently retired Puerto Rican district supervisor of English, of this writer's acquaintance, estimates that over ninety percent of those responsible for teaching English have too little acquaintance with the language. Many cannot read the teacher's guide in their English textbooks. Their only experience has been the thirty to fifty minutes a day in the elementary and secondary schools. These teachers have never engaged in a conversation with a native speaker of English. Elementary school teachers, after all, do not major in English in college; and most secondary school teachers who do, never leave the island.

In spite of generally good texts, written especially for Puerto Rico with the consultation of the late Charles Fries, little English is being taught. In an unofficial test conducted in one school district several years ago, third graders were examined at the end of the year to determine the extent of their reading ability. The third grade English text is designed to teach beginning reading. The results showed that approximately fifty percent of the children could not read a single word of English, and twenty-five percent recognized only several words. Only the remaining twenty-five percent read at grade level. The following year, after the teachers had been encouraged to use the materials provided for them, and had been visited periodically, seventy-five percent of the third graders read English at their grade level. Much of the language problem, then, seems to be perpetuated by teachers who still lack the "vigor, purposefulness, and devotion," mentioned by Roosevelt.

The situation in the States is hardly better. Most teachers of Spanish-speaking students are not qualified to treat the problem. Although New York City now certifies elementary and secondary school teachers in English as a Second Language, relatively few qualify. There are signs, however, that the problem is at least—and at last—being attended to, in both Puerto Rico and the United States. The Puerto Rican Department of Public Instruction, under the direction of Commissioner Ramón Mellado, is granting aid to 425 men and women to improve the teaching of English. Many of them who have lived in the States, and who are bilingual, are being prepared to teach English in the elementary grades, where the need is presently the greatest. These young people teach in the schools while they are enrolled in undergraduate linguistics programs that will provide them with degrees in teaching English as a second language.

Universities that train teachers are also beginning to recognize the need for undergraduate and graduate programs that will prepare their students

<sup>9</sup> San Juan Star, October 21, 1970, p. 6.



to teach English in Spanish-speaking areas. The State University of New York, while it has lagged behind Columbia and New York University, promises now to move forward in both graduate and undergraduate study. The units at Albany and Cortland are preparing teachers of English as a second language in graduate programs. Cortland, with its emphasis on sociolinguistics, is especially suited to train people for the urban areas. These two graduate programs are supplemented by undergraduate programs in linguistics offered by Stony Brook, the University at Buffalo, Binghamton, and Oswego. While most programs offer only limited work in applied linguistics, Oswego's is designed so that the student who wishes to teach English as a second language may do much of his work in that area.

The future, then, may be less bleak than the past. Better days may come with better teachers in the classrooms. This writer is reminded of his high school teacher's solution for the world's problems: "Take a little Latin!" The answer to our social problems is not, unfortunately, "Take a lot of English." Prejudice and poverty will have their way. Perhaps, however, with more difficulty, if language is no barrier to a person's making his way in the world.

A story is going around Puerto Rico and New York about the New York City college senior, Mike, who was mugged near the campus last fall by three young Puerto Ricans. Mike gave up all he had—a nickel. Questioning his muggers, he found that they needed money to help a friend. So he took them to the dormitory where he was able to collect \$10 for them. In conversation with José, the one who had held the gun, Mike found that the young Puerto Rican had dropped out of school and hoping to get into the Marines had failed the English test. Mike offered to coach José and subsequently met his whole family in their South Bronx tenement. It was there that he readied José for the examination. By spring José will be in the Marines, and Mike will be back at his demonstrations for peace.

The story is true.

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## TEACHING ENGLISH TO AMERICAN INDIANS

Thomas R. Hopkins

It is a curious occasion when predominantly English speaking North American peoples discover, as has occurred during the 1960's and on into the 1970's, that language diversity might be a source of societal strength. In a sense, this is a sad discovery for the language diversity of twenty, forty and seventy years back no longer exists, at least not with American Indian languages. English is the lingua franca of most American Indian tribes today and indications are that the shift in this direction will continue until tribal speakers will be rare and unique. When this does occur, and in the opinion of this writer it is only a matter of time until it does, our current linguistic sadness will turn to linguistic despair. Even though their languages

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may be sacrificed in the process, it can be hoped that the dignity of American Indians so frequently portrayed will be assimilated into the American fabric so we can all lay claim to having sprung forth from the loins of North American soil and heritage—something to which only the Indian can now attest.

Be that as it is, the purpose of this discussion is to briefly outline English language instruction in schools for American Indians up to the 1970's.

Christian missionaries were the first Europeans to work extensively to establish and conduct schools for American Indians (Adams, 1946; Berry, 1968). Their hold over the schools continued down to the conclusion of the 19th century. The language policy of missionary groups was to teach English to the Indians in order to Christianize them. Exceptions to this policy were to be found among the Spanish missions in Mexico, the French missions of Canada, and the Russian schools for Alaskan natives. In this respect, Spanish, French, and Russian were the second languages. At the close of the 19th century English was the language of instruction in the majority of schools in the continental United States and the Territory of Alaska. This policy looked upon tribal languages as inferior and as a threat to the purpose of the school. It should be realized that most early missionaries to American Indians erected schools as soon as possible after having established themselves among the natives (Hopkins, 1970). Hence, schools (and consequently English) have from the beginning of the relationship between non-Indians and Indians been a symbol and an institution representing non-Indian behavior, and have been considered by Indians as existing for the express purpose of changing behavior of the young from Indian to non-Indian.

When the Federal Government assumed total control for the education of Indians it adopted the missionary language policy but for different reasons. The Government wanted to "civilize" the Indian and employed punishment to stamp out tribal languages. The various histories discussing early Indian schools are replete with expressions of this general approach.

The anti-tribal language policy existed until it was effectively disposed of by the famed Meriam Report (1928). This was followed closely by the New Deal and the creative policies of Commissioner John Collier. From 1932-1952 the policy of the Government was to encourage tribal languages and at the same time to develop special approaches to teaching English.

The language policy from 1952 to the present has been to recognize tribal languages as an intimate aspect of the child's behavior but to concentrate on teaching English (Bauer, 1968). Recently, during the past three years, bilingual programs which use both the tribal language and English in the primary years have again been started (Bauer, 1969).

In summary, until 1932 the English language policy in schools for American Indians was one that was more anti-tribal language than pro-English. The long-range effect of this, even though it was reversed in 1932, has been detrimental, to say the least.

Nineteenth century curricula for Indian children were the same as those for other common schools of the day. However, there were instances of creativity. One curriculum guide of 1904 sounds very modern in its suggestions concerning content selection in English, good pronunciation and plenty of practice until the children learn it (U. S., BIA, 1904).

The New Deal ushered in a group of innovators headed by Willard Beatty, who brought about linguistic studies and specialized instruction in English (Beatty, 1944, 1953). Robert Young, William Morgan, and Ed Kennard did basic linguistic work in tribal languages (Young and Morgan, 1945; Kennard, 1948), that was used in education programs. Hildegard Thompson, fresh from an experience in the Philippine Islands, developed manuals for

teaching English to Navajos that anticipated audio-lingual techniques. In fact, Thompson has written prolifically in English language pedagogy for American Indians (Thompson, 1962, 1965) and most all of it is practical and still pertinent.

The culmination of the twenty years, 1932-52, was the development of a set of curriculum guides called "Minimum Essential Goals for Indian Children." These were first published in 1952-55 and revised again in 1964 (U. S. BIA, 1953). A comparison analysis of the English language pedagogy and the "Minimal Essential Goals" found a fair degree of correlation between them and Robert Lado's 17 scientific principles of language teaching (Hopkins, 1964).

Special mention should be made of the 1960's as a decade of unusual significance in the English education of American Indians. First, most activity was centered on the very large (the largest) Indian reservation, Navajo. Early in the decade linguistic knowledge began to be incorporated into the curriculum. The American English Series was the first to be used and adapted to elementary children. Teachers participated in excellent summer training programs made available through the NDEA and EPDA programs.

Special curriculum development projects have been made possible through ESEA Title I and Title III. Currently, most teachers in Federally operated schools are at least knowledgeable of English linguistic structure and acquainted with basic ESL methodology. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) also conducts workshops in modern ESL pedagogy and did so before the NDEA and EPDA programs added their vital contributions.

Movements in English language education for Indian America have frequently been known by the individuals who have fought doggedly for them. Wayne Holm (1964), Dr. Elizabeth Willink (1965), and Ruth Werner (1966) are three who have done much to foster modern ESL pedagogy throughout Indian lands—starting in 1957 in Shiprock, New Mexico. All, of course, are under the influence and leadership of Dr. William J. Benham (1966), a Creek Indian.

There has also been significant activity in curriculum development, ESL testing and, more recently, research. Curriculum development is restricted mostly to the Navajo tribe. Adaptation of the American English Series has gone ahead and is still widely used. New interdisciplinary ESL materials are also being attempted. These are being done by Dr. Robert Wilson (1969) of UCLA and English Language Consultants.

No discussion of English for American Indians would be complete without mention of the assessment made by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1967 (Ohannessian). This report has been followed rather closely and many of the recommendations have been implemented. To name one, the newsletter, *English for American Indians* (U. S. BIA, 1970) was started in the school year 1968-69 and is being continued. The research study in Reading in Navajo, being conducted by Dr. Bernard Spolsky (1969), University of New Mexico, is another recommendation of the CAL study.

ESL testing has progressed as never before. Dr. Elizabeth Willink (1969) conducted a project in ESL testing and produced one of the early prototypes for American Indian children. Dr. Eugene Briere (1970) of USC has done extensive ESL testing of American Indian children and is due to complete a special English language proficiency test for elementary school children during the school year 1970-71. His work has involved five language groups and has ranged from the Eskimo of the Arctic slope to the Choctaw of Mississippi, to the Hopi and Navajo of Arizona. Using preliminary data from Dr. Briere's test it is estimated that 63 percent of the children enrolled

in schools operated by the BIA speak English as a second language. Additionally, TOEFL has been administered to several groups of Indian high school students and all tend to reflect the same pattern reported by Hopkins (1967) which pertained to Fort Wingate High School on the Navajo reservation. There are numerous reports of conventional achievement test scores that have been compiled especially during the past five years. So far they all reflect the same pattern reported by Coombs (1958).

Other developments in Indian education in the United States include the creative writing project sponsored by the BIA through ESEA Title I program. T. D. Allen (U. S. BIA, 1969, Curriculum Bulletin #2), a well-known author in the Southwest and a very gifted teacher, has teamed with John Povey of UCLA to develop a creative writing project in high schools operated by the BIA. The project produced one book of student writings at the conclusion of the first year and a teacher's manual to assist teachers in the classroom. This is one of the very creative approaches to the secondary English language problems of American Indian students.

The Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) professional organization was contracted by the Navajo Area of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to evaluate their English as a second language program. The report has been finalized and submitted to the BIA. Five recommendations have been made and deal with teacher training, relationship between ESL and the regular English language arts program, student attitudes, flexibility in the adoption and use of materials, and employment of language specialists (Harris, 1970). It should also be noted that teachers from Indian schools are very involved in professional activities in the English language arts and have been consistent contributors to professional journals for at least the last 25 to 30 years.

Bilingual education, mentioned briefly above, has emerged during the past four years with, again, major efforts being made on the Navajo reservation. Rough Rock Demonstration School (Johnson, 1968) run by a Navajo school board, has done much to foster bilingual schooling. The BIA has also started another Navajo bilingual program at the kindergarten level that was conducted during the school year 1969-70 in six kindergarten classrooms. This program will be expanded to include the first grade during the 1970-71 school year. The BIA in Alaska is also mounting a bilingual program in isolated day schools in the Bethel (lower Kuskokwim and Yukon River region) area of Alaska. This project is dealing primarily with the Yuk dialect of Eskimo.\* All the bilingual programs have been well planned, involving community consent and approval along with cooperation between educators and linguists.

As most specialists in bilingual education have pointed out, non-linguistic factors are more frequently than not the crucial issues in the success of a program. This has been the case in those which have been started during the past three years by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Careful planning has accompanied each (Ohannessian, 1968). In fact, current bilingual programs have benefited from community involvement, cooperation of linguists and educationists as well as from a general popularity as a desirable method of schooling culturally different children. Yet, they have at times almost floundered due, in the opinion of this writer, to the fact that Indian and Alaskan native peoples have been taught over the decades that their native languages have little utility in a school setting. Many times it is the community people who have questioned the efficacy of bilingual programs. This is a sad but nonetheless a true occurrence. In this respect, Indian people have almost passed the readiness stage for bilingual programs and it is problematic that those currently starting will ever reap the benefits that could have accrued

\* It is too early for published documents describing these two projects.

had those started thirty years ago not been interrupted by the Second World War.

It should be recognized that the content of this discussion pertains primarily to those American Indian children who attend Federal schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This represents about one-third of the total estimated national population of Indian children. Bureau of Indian Affairs schools enroll approximately 50,000 children and youth, ages 5-21 (U. S. BIA Statistics, 1969). The remainder attend public and mission schools with the vast majority being enrolled in public schools. It is difficult to isolate data on Indian children and youth who attend public schools. The policy of "Termination" which was followed during the 1950's and on into the 60's sought to turn operations over to public schools as soon as possible. For several years no data were kept on the children other than a mere head count. However, recent concern for Indian children in public schools has been expressed and some studies have been conducted to determine school drop-out and achievement. The studies report that Federal schools have better holding power for Indians than do the public schools but that achievement of Indian students in public schools is higher. It is hypothesized that the higher achievement is reflected as the poor achiever drops out or transfers to the Federal school which has a greater toleration for his Indianness (Aurbach, 1970).

A brief comment on Canadian Indian education shows that they too are experiencing vigorous developmental activities. Education of Canadian Indians and Eskimos started in earnest during the 1950's. Previous to this time education among the Indians was confined to the reserves in the more populated provinces with only limited opportunities available for children in Northern Territories. The Indian Affairs Branch of the Dominion Government had primary responsibility and the basic approach was to finance school operations to institutionalized Christian churches. The policy of church-controlled operations is only now experiencing change and, rather than shifting to the Dominion Government, the shift is to provincial control of Indian education (Northian, 1969-70).

The language policy for Canadian Indian education had more variety than that of the United States. Canadian Indians in schools operated by the Indian Affairs Branch had English as a second language and French as a second language options. Rose Colliou (1958) (Singleterry, 1969), Language Arts Specialist, of the Indian Affairs Branch, developed a set of ESL materials for Canadian Indian children that, among teachers in that system, was (is) very popular. It should also be noted the Colliou materials are popular with the teachers of Alaskan natives in isolated day schools where English is a second language.

Perhaps the most comprehensive survey of the conditions of Canada is given in the Hawthorn Report (1967) which treats almost every side of Indian life. The recommendations pertaining to the language situation in Canadian Indian education are presented under the general subtitle, "Special Educational Services." Of the six recommendations under this section, the first four pertain to the language situation. It calls for special courses in ESL pedagogy for teachers of Indian children, the use of linguistic studies (linguistic knowledge) in teacher training programs, remedial courses in Indian schools and curriculum guides and materials on Indian languages. These recommendations are similar to those made regarding the American Indian education situation.

The shift from Federal to provincial control of Canadian Indian education is surrounded by much politics and at times it becomes very heated. Often linguistic policy is at the heart of political moves. The Quebec Eskimo language project represents an effort by the province to teach school in the first four years in Eskimo, then, giving the community the option of English or

French as a second language starting in the fourth grade. They have developed Eskimo language instructional materials and have started implementation (MacGregor, 1969). The Northern Territories section of the Dominion Government was developing Eskimo language instructional materials and has an orthography that is based on sound linguistic knowledge (Indian Affairs Branch, 1967).

The Ford Foundation, The Arctic Institute of North America, along with the support of some of the governments involved, sponsored a first conference in August of 1969 in Montreal. The meeting was called, "Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North," and included an international group of educators, natives, linguists, and government officials all involved with education at the top of the world.

Though not intended, informal comparisons made during the conference indicated that those countries using bilingual education for the longest period of time had a more viable school situation than those which did not. Countries represented at the conference were Canada, United States, USSR, Sweden, Norway, France, Finland, and Denmark. A report on the conference is to be published sometime in 1970-71.

In closing, it can be seen from the above that the field of teaching English to American Indians has been very active over a considerable span of years. In fact, the role of language in the schooling of Indian children and youth has always been emotionally laden and somewhat of a fulcrum for success. It is unfortunate that bilingual education has not been a basic assumption in the process as it reflects more than language instruction in a native tongue—it carries and ascribes dignity to the child. Closing on a bilingual note might seem strange for an English language journal. However, experience has shown that bilingual education might be an effective avenue to English fluency for American Indian children and youth.

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## ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN IRAN

Jeris E. Strain

A characteristic description of the person who is the product of overseas language instruction is that his speech is often unintelligible due to poor and incorrect pronunciation, what he hears is not clearly understood and must be repeated several times, his writing reflects confused syntactic patterns, unlearned grammatical concepts, and misused lexical items, and his reading is not only painstakingly slow, it also lacks comprehension.

All of this the individual achieves in approximately four hours of English language instruction per week often over a period of some six years. Such a wasteful squandering of good intentions, time, effort, money and potential is seldom if ever matched in other fields of education.

Paradoxically the English language has steadily gained itself a stronger and firmer foothold in many nations during recent decades, thanks to such factors as an American or British presence, economic and status incentives closely related to business, medicine, and higher education, the search for technological progress, and the availability of English language films, music and literature.

And all of this comes together in the form of an ever increasing demand for English language instruction, scattered flurries of activity, and individual instances of dedication. Very rarely is there a positive and systematic effort of sufficient magnitude to establish quality instruction or if improvements are introduced, to maintain them until they become viable institutional practices.

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Iran as a nation has included bilingualism in the objectives of its educational system, particularly at the higher education level; moreover, it has and is taking measures to insure that this objective is attained. Implementation of the measures, however, has been very slow to take form and even more difficult to maintain, especially since inertia and tradition have merged with a rapidly increasing demand for instruction, a demand which is itself hamstrung by a lack of quality teachers, by a lack of quality teaching materials, and by misunderstandings about the essentials of second language teaching and learning.

From the standpoint of linguistics English should not be an overly difficult language for a speaker of Persian to learn. The phonology of the two languages is fairly similar: Persian has a six vowel system whereas English has an eleven vowel system, there are two diphthongs to be mastered, (*cow*, *boy*), and the consonant system of English contains only three major elements to be mastered (*we*, *thin*, *this*), three that are basically articulatory learning tasks.<sup>1</sup> The morphology and syntax of English present a somewhat different range of learning tasks for speakers of Persian than they do for speakers of other Indo-European languages; however, in the main these also appear less complex than those characteristic of speakers of Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages. The Arabic element in Persian does introduce complexities; however, these appear to be largely lexical in nature.<sup>2</sup> Learning the English alphabet, on the other hand, not to mention English spelling requires a great deal of effort on the part of the Iranian, both in terms of learning a new system of symbols to represent sounds and of learning a writing system that extends from left to right rather than right to left. Finally, while one may question the present adequacy of Persian as a language for communication within the matrices of science and technology, the language has long been recognized as a highly developed literary medium, particularly in the realm of poetry.

Be that as it may, English language instruction in Iran is weak. The Iranian student's six years of time, interest, and effort, not to mention that of the teacher, result with relatively few exceptions in actual language abilities which range from poor to mediocre. Conversely, the same students placed in intensive English courses outside Iran often excel in *apparent* language ability, a situation that unfortunately too often contributes to diminished efforts on the part of the student and to a seeming but largely superficial command of English.

While teaching-learning conditions in Iran may not be dissimilar from those in other parts of the world, they are much more extreme than Modern Language teaching conditions in the United States. Motivation, for example, is very high; more than 90% of the students elect to take English in preference to other foreign languages. Class size, teacher preparation, adequate textbooks and teaching materials, on the other hand, are very serious: class size often approaches seventy, a large percentage of the English teachers do not know English, and teaching methods and materials tend to be outdated or not understood.

#### *American Efforts*

American efforts to officially participate in the improvement of English language instruction in Iran date back to the establishment of the Iran American Society (IAS) in 1950.<sup>3</sup> Two years later the English teaching sec-

<sup>1</sup> These learning tasks differ sharply from the mastery of such complex distinctions as /r-/l/ among Japanese and medial /d-/ð/ among Spanish speakers.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, M. A. Jazayeri, "The Arabic Element in Persian Grammar," *Iran. Journal of Persian Studies*, Vol. VIII, pages 115-124.

<sup>3</sup> Nye-Dorry, G., Memo to Pence Corps Director—Iran, October 6, 1964, 4 pages.

tion of the IAS had attracted a student body of three to four hundred students and by 1959 the number of students taking English courses had risen to nearly 4000. Today approximately 5000 students are taught English at the Iran American Society each day, an annual total of approximately 10,000 individual students.

Fulbright activities also began in 1950 and up until 1959<sup>4</sup> consisted of providing a few English literature professors for various universities, study grants for Iranian English teachers to go to the United States for training in English and in TEFL methodology, and partial support for one three-week summer seminar for Iranian returnee English teachers and selected English teachers who had not yet been abroad.

In 1959 the Fulbright program emphasized the teaching of English in Iranian secondary schools and five American English teachers were assigned to the secondary school system. Under the able direction of Dr. Nye-Dorry, a Michigan trained linguist who had been actively involved in the IAS programs, these teachers visited schools and gave seminar classes for the Iranian English teachers in the cities where they were stationed. The following two years, 1960 and 1961, the Iranian Ministry of Education provided an Iranian returnee counterpart for each of the five American teachers and these teams traveled from town to town giving seminar classes which ranged from a few days in small towns to a month to six weeks in large cities. During the 1960-61 academic year alone these teams reached over 800 teachers of English in 52 locations.

Notwithstanding achievements such as this the program was discontinued in 1962, just as it had become known and had demonstrated its potential effectiveness but before it could prove itself. Instead of secondary school assignments, the 1962-63 Fulbright English teachers were sent to different universities. Since then due to Congressional action the Fulbright English program has shrunk to its present low of providing one American literature professor to one university—Tehran University.<sup>5</sup>

The Peace Corps initiated its English language program in Iran in 1962, the same year that the Fulbright program shifted its emphasis from the secondary school system to the university system, and it also responded to the needs of higher education by giving university assignments to its first group of TEFL Volunteers. Two years later, after considerable effort by Dr. Nye-Dorry, who was instrumental in developing this English program also, secondary school assignments were given to a group of fifteen TEFL Volunteers, most of whom reported to the chiefs of educational offices as special assistants in English teaching. In 1967 this activity expanded to a total of 135 English teachers concentrated mainly in the secondary school system. Since then it also has shrunk; moreover, two-thirds of the 65 TEFL Volunteers who now have secondary assignments will terminate by the Summer of 1971.

It was also in 1962 that the Point IV program, later USAID, expanded its activities to include a contract between Pahlavi University in Shiraz and the University of Pennsylvania. The goal of this relationship was the establishment of a modern institution of higher learning which would emphasize western science and technology, be bilingual and international, with English the second language, and attract to it many of the highly trained Iranian specialists who resided in the United States and England.

The primary role of the University of Pennsylvania has been to recruit Iranians in the United States for faculty positions at Pahlavi University and to recruit University of Pennsylvania faculty members for temporary

<sup>4</sup>The Fulbright program was supplemented by the Smith-Mundt Act from 1958 to 1958.

<sup>5</sup>A second American Literature professor transferred to Iran as a result of hostilities in Jordan.

appointments in priority fields at Pahlavi. Over the past four years these activities have led to appointments being offered by Pahlavi to 150 applicants out of 400 and this year alone there are twelve Penn faculty members teaching and working at Pahlavi. More recently the development of student and faculty exchange programs has been emphasized and there are now some twenty students and junior faculty members pursuing advanced degrees at Penn. Due to achievements such as these, a second five-year contract, financed entirely by Iran, was signed in 1967, when the USAID contract ended.

With regard to the Pahlavi English program, the goal of having a student body that is proficient in English as well as Persian remains a key objective of the university; in fact, it has become a goal of other Iranian universities as well. The textbooks used at Pahlavi, and in some of the other Iranian universities, are generally the same as those regularly used in American universities; the one main exception is Persian literature, history and culture. The assistance provided by the University of Pennsylvania in this field has consisted of a visiting applied linguist for 1965-1968 and the active recruitment of Direct Hire English teachers since 1967.

It is predictable when several agencies are involved in one type of activity that duplication of effort, confusion and potential if not actual politicking will take place, and in this respect Iran has been no exception. One brief example will suggest the nature of this problem for English language instruction. The same year that one university rejected a Fulbright grantee in favor of three Peace Corps TEFL Volunteers, another university had an English staff which consisted of a Fulbright Lecturer, a visiting professor from an American university, an Iranian professor just back from the United States, two instructors recruited by the British Council, several Peace Corps Volunteer instructors, one direct hire American instructor, and several Iranian instructors and assistant instructors.

#### *Past Problems and Recommendations*

Linguistic insights into effective language instruction have been and are available in Iran and numerous efforts have been and are being made; still, little if any improvement or progress seem to be taking place. The number of students studying English steadily rises, the number of English teachers gradually increases, new teaching materials appear from time to time, and official support for the learning of English continues; but instruction seems largely unchanged, at times worse. To break a lockstep where does one begin?

In the opinion of a Director General of Education in one province, eight factors have been at the root of the inadequate and unsatisfactory attainment of English language skills among Iranian students:

1. Overcrowded classes have prevented the teacher from attending to the individual needs of the students.
2. Most of the teachers, especially in beginning classes, have not possessed adequate knowledge of English nor skill to teach efficiently and effectively.
3. Some teachers have not been familiar with modern techniques of foreign language teaching.
4. Other teachers have not been able to make use of their training in the overcrowded classrooms.
5. Audio-visual aids have been insufficient and impossible to use with overcrowded classes.
6. The syllabus prescribed for the school has not been covered.

7. Students have lost interest because regulations have permitted them to graduate with a score of 0.25 (out of 20) in English if they receive a passing average in other subjects.
8. The misuse of textbooks has created inconsistencies and a lack of continuity in the English program.<sup>6</sup>

The opinion of a university English language teacher who has had to re-teach graduated students so that they could take university coursework in English or use English textbooks gives additional perspective:

1. The number of high schools has mushroomed but the supply of teachers to man them has fallen far behind the need.
2. Leniency has characterized academic degree programs and ad hoc teachers have been given teaching positions.
3. Inadequately prepared and uncertain teachers have passed this state of mind on to students.
4. Some teachers have stuck to a single textbook and a line by line translation, have had a very poor pronunciation, have taught some traditional grammar, or have refrained from giving written assignments which take time and knowledge to correct.
5. Students have not been taught to organize a composition, to spell the most common words, to punctuate a sentence, to express themselves in writing, let alone speaking, or even to write legibly.<sup>7</sup>

To remedy the situation, two objectives have generally been agreed upon as the most critical: raising the language skills of the teachers and acquainting them with modern techniques of foreign language teaching. The recommendations of the Director General were as follows:

1. Establishment of graduate programs at the universities for English teachers.
2. Reducing the number of students per class.
3. Frequent seminars for teachers during the year.
4. Study abroad scholarships for the better teachers.
5. Two- or three-month Summer Camps aimed at training teachers and providing them with an English language environment.
6. Simplified texts for high school students to use.
7. Audio-visual facilities for high schools.
8. Visits to high school classes by university teachers.
9. Communication between university teachers and high school teachers regarding university requirements and classwork.
10. Discussions with the authorities regarding the graduation examination regulations.
11. Consideration of whether four periods of English per week under overcrowded conditions are sufficient.<sup>8</sup>

The teacher's recommendations for improving the language ability and teaching skills of teachers were the following:

1. Revision of the curriculum of the older universities and the recruitment of more up-to-date professors.

<sup>6</sup> Habibi, Bahman, "The Difficulties of Teaching and Learning English in Iranian High Schools," paper presented at the 1966 Pahlavi University Conference on the teaching of English in Iranian universities.

<sup>7</sup> Motamed Fereydoun, "The Crisis of the Foreign Language Teachers in Iran," *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Habibi, B., *op. cit.*

2. Increased enrollments for prospective language teachers and a more flexible time limit for completing academic requirements, but without sacrificing the quality of instruction.
3. A minimum command of 20,000 words for language teachers plus training in linguistics.
4. A minimum of one year of study abroad plus active participation in language clubs.
5. Coursework in the history of Western Civilization plus direct contact with the customs, manners, and cultural patterns of a given people.
6. Literary texts edited for the particular needs of Iranian students with footnotes on idiomatic expressions and mythological, biblical and historical references.
7. Discouraging the scholastic method of learning and encouraging surveys, narratives and essays based on personal experiences and opinions.
8. Rewarding merit with promotions related to student success in competitive examinations.<sup>9</sup>

Although both views agree to a great extent on several points, their basic concerns are clearly different, as they should be. Both address the university community and look to it for assistance in meeting common problems, rather than for criticism and academic critiques.<sup>10</sup> While a few of their recommendations represent long range ideals, some controversial, others, particularly those of the Education Department, lend themselves to immediate implementation and reflect previous or ongoing efforts.

An example of an ongoing activity, one which illustrates several of the above points, is the Summer School sponsored annually by the Ministry of Education and the British Council. In 1969 this summer school was held in Mashad and had two basic aims: to improve the command of English of the participants, particularly their spoken English, and to improve their understanding and especially their use of modern methods of teaching English to first and second year classes. One hundred and forty lower secondary teachers of English were enrolled in the summer school and were given seven hours of classwork each day for three weeks. Their program consisted of remedial English, speech practice, demonstration lessons, lesson planning, teaching practice, methodology, and classroom skills and emphasized practical performance rather than formal lectures. Each class was limited to about fifteen persons.

At the beginning of the course roughly one-third of the students had a high level of fluency in English. A similar proportion had too low a level of English to allow them to profit from instruction in English and as a result were taught methodology in Farsi the second and third week. In addition, their remedial English program was increased and at the end of the program their English attainment reflected a 13-18% average raw score improvement over their initial performance, with some individuals reportedly attaining as much as a 25% improvement.

Improvement in teaching performance was difficult to evaluate; however, an indication of their achievement was demonstrated very effectively by teachers who at the beginning of the course had maintained that it would be impossible for Iranian teachers to use the methods and techniques advocated. Their statements were based on three basic classroom problems, two

<sup>9</sup> Motamed, F., *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> See also J. E. Strain, "Picking Out the Thorns," *Kayhan International*, June 26, 1966.

of which were mentioned earlier: that secondary English classes often consisted of up to 70 pupils and that the pass mark for language examinations was so low that it served as a disincentive to both pupils and teachers. The third problem was that the four hours of English per week were divided into one period each for translation, dictation, reading and composition, which made it impossible to implement a predominantly oral approach. Their practice teaching demonstrations at the end of the course disproved these arguments.

At the end of the summer school several recommendations were made regarding the problems to be faced by the teachers after they returned to their respective classrooms and found themselves confronted by attitudes of traditionalism among their colleagues, by teaching problems not dealt with in the summer school, and possibly by feelings of insecurity in their own classrooms. These recommendations consisted of a call for well-trained classroom inspectors, short refresher courses in regional centers, and future summer courses for participants from specific areas.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Present Possibilities*

To attempt a statement on the current state of English language instruction in Iran is to tread on quicksand, for the balance between teaching needs and responses to those needs is very fluid. Nevertheless, a degree of progress may be taking form. Compared to a decade ago more universities are emphasizing English language programs for their incoming students; in addition to Pahlavi University one can now count Mashad University, Arya Mehr University and Tehran University, the largest university in Iran, as having made major teaching commitments to what is being referred to as "service English." Moreover, new institutions of higher education are emphasizing English in their curriculum; for example, the School of Commerce, the Iranian College of Management, which opened this fall, and two Electronics Technicians Schools, which are scheduled to open their doors early next year.

Efforts to cope with the problem of staffing now consist of a graduate program at Pahlavi University for secondary English teachers, an undergraduate TESL program in the Faculty of Education at Tehran University, which unfortunately seems to be being phased out even though it just began, and eleven regional teacher training centers which are to provide two years of training for prospective English teachers. These are in addition to the Teacher Training College in Tehran which now has a group of sixty third-year students in their English program, the University of Tehran which offers a graduate program in English literature, and the undergraduate English literature programs of several universities.

At the secondary level three developments have or are taking place. First, the examination regulation for high school graduation has been revised to a minimum score of 7 out of 20 in place of the 0.25 score previously permitted. Second, the high school program is being changed from a 6-3-3 system (elementary-lower secondary-higher secondary) to a 5-3-4 system (elementary-guidance school-high school), which will add an additional year of English instruction to the existing six. And third, a new series of English textbooks is being published by the Ministry of Education, a series that is to be more relevant to the instructional needs of Iranian students than the previously used British series (E. V. Gatenby, *Direct Method*).

While English language instruction in Iran has received support from many quarters, both official and private, its most valuable resource appears

<sup>11</sup> These illustrations are drawn from a British Council report prepared by their English Language Officer R. E. Wright. "1969 Summer School for English Teachers—Mashad," July 27, 1969, 6 pages.

to have been the wealth of scientific and technological knowledge that now exists in English. To nations which, like Iran, have set their sights on industrialization and the economic and social benefits that industrialization represents, this particular knowledge is prized very highly. Thus it is little wonder that the Shah of Iran has given personal leadership to the development of means by which this wealth can be made readily available to his people. Nevertheless, implementation takes time, especially when established attitudes are deep set and more or less antagonistic to change, and when rapidly increasing demands for education outpace both the supply and the training of qualified teachers.

With this as background, one may be permitted to conclude that English language instruction abroad, though obviously different, often appears both as complex and as compelling as the language itself.

### Section 3: Curricular Innovations

#### TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES: PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

Mary Finocchiaro

(Adapted from the address given recently by TESOL President Professor Mary Finocchiaro at the first meeting of the new NEW YORK TESOL Affiliate [New York City, 11-11-1970])

The most challenging problem facing schools in every sector of New York State today is that of determining how best to help linguistically handicapped youngsters learn English well enough to function in a regular school program with profit to themselves and to their peers. The school's responsibility does not end there however. While its primary goal—in cooperation with other social and educational agencies—may be that of helping learners become well-adjusted participating school and community members it must also prepare the learners for their future roles as citizens, parents and workers.

On the surface, this may seem like a simple task. In reality it is fraught with frustration, feelings of failure and fear on the part of concerned school personnel and community leaders. There exists an urgent need to view the situation more realistically than we have done in the past lest another generation of learners become school "drop-outs" or "push-outs." In the following discussions I plan to concentrate on the elementary and secondary schools where problems are most acute. I shall not touch on programs for literate, motivated foreign students at the college level or those for adults-literate or illiterate—who are generally highly motivated.

Before discussing some of the factors that contribute to the retardation of a quick or easy solution to a complex, emotionally charged problem, I should like to take a few moments to recall and comment upon a few highlights of my own experience as an English as a Second Language teacher. You will thus realize that many of the factors impeding progress today have their roots in decades of inflexible dogma which has been allowed to go unquestioned by concerned teachers and parents; you will realize, too, that cultural and/or parent-school conflicts of fifty years ago find numerous parallels today.

When I started teaching English as a second language, the supervisor asked me to use the Basic English method. I remember receiving a poor teaching evaluation because I had had the temerity to teach the word "mirror" and I had compounded the felony by taking a pocket mirror out of my purse to use as a visual aid! When I was forced to translate Blood, Sweat and Tears to "red water from the body," etc. I thought "there must be another way" and began searching for it. It took a lot of soul searching and trials and errors to realize, of course, that there is *not just one other way*.

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Then came the period of the "mimicry and memorization" of long dialogues; of the priority of habit formation; and of thinking that meaning and vocabulary were secondary or even comparatively unimportant. The teaching emphasis was primarily on helping students learn the signals and develop habits of using the sounds and structural signals of English.

With the "New Key" enthusiasts of the late fifties, listening and speaking skills assumed priority and reading was deferred for *one hundred hours!* Teaching grammar rules was considered comparable to breaking one of the commandments; translation was not to be mentioned under any circumstances.

In the middle sixties, some scholars began to think that language acquisition had nothing to do with habit formation and that a cognitive-code theory of language acquisition should *replace* the habit formation theory. The late nineteen sixties found staunch supporters of either one or the other learning theory; of those who believed more in communication than in manipulation; of those who preferred a transformational generative grammatical analysis to a structural one. There is a proliferation of articles and books about renewed emphasis on meaning and about an *unstructured, free* choice of learning experiences on the part of learners because they possess their own built-in "capacities and strategies." The teacher has become the "facilitator" of learning rather than the "model" or "dispenser" of learning. She is the creator of a climate "in which learning can flourish." I could add countless new clichés but the result would be the same. Many conscientious teachers today are not only confused about their role but they also continue to feel unhappy about having to select one school or the other of linguistics or psychology. Their major concern remains that of doing an effective job of teaching English to speakers of other languages.

I have over-simplified shamefully but the fact remains that despite the heat generated by the thousands of arguments, experiments and claims, few people have been really happy about the outcomes of most of the programs in English as a second language. Despite carefully written "performance objectives," attention to "cultural immersion," "manipulation" and "communication goals," I think it is fair to say that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the results achieved in the past. Is it because we have not defined terms carefully or is it because we have accepted—without questioning—some of the "findings" of psychologists, sociologists or "educators" related to learning and teaching? In my opinion, it is a little of both.

I think it is also fair to say that 99.9% of all teachers of English as a second language want to fulfill their responsibilities to learners in terms of helping them to communicate and to achieve their aspirations and of making them well-integrated, well-adjusted human beings. Teachers want to be responsive to the needs and goals of the communities which they serve.

What stands in the way of establishing programs of excellence? Where do the problems lie? Some stem from the attitudes of the pupils themselves, of their parents and of some ill-informed teachers; some can be laid at the door of linguists, sociologists, anthropologists who have either allowed distortions of their principles to continue to flourish uncorrected or, worse still, have published "research findings" based on inadequate experimentation. A large measure of responsibility for failure must also be ascribed to educators and supervisors who have found it "useful" to make statements which, while giving parents and community leaders false hopes, give conscientious teachers feelings of insecurity; to wit, a youngster (no matter at what age he was admitted to school) needed only a few weeks in the school—in a regular classroom—to become fully "integrated"; reading grades jumped four years after use of this or that piece of equipment or technique.

Important though they are, I shall not touch upon pupil and parent attitudes and motivation. I am convinced that a good English program which gives students the skills they need to become part of the mainstream of the school, which strengthens their assurance that what they are learning is useful to them *now* and not just at some vague future time, is intrinsically motivating. And it would be the unnatural parent who were not caught up in the enthusiasm engendered by the feeling of success and achievement which he notes in his offspring.

Allow me to examine briefly instead some of the labels or statements which have done learners and their teachers no little harm. As I mention them in random order, I shall also note some obvious implications. Let me start with those things in which *I do not believe*.

1. *I do not believe*, for example that any learner is "culturally deprived."

All human beings have culture. All youngsters come to school with two priceless assets—their native language and their culture. I do not even believe that people are as culturally "different" as some would have us think. Teachers, curriculum planners and textbook writers should emphasize the universality of human values and should point out the role of geographical and historical factors in the development of cultural differences—if these do, in fact, exist.

2. *I do not believe* that children of low socio-economic status come to school without language and without concepts. It may take a longer time for the language they know to be brought to the surface but it can be done because *language is there*. Moreover, whether or not parents can "reinforce" the school's language activities, teachers still have the major responsibility for reviewing and "re-entering" the English that has been taught as often as feasible in varied experiences which will require the use of utterances of increasing complexity.

3. *I do not believe* that English can be acquired by osmosis. Even very young children need systematic language development unless they live in a predominantly English-speaking community where they interact constantly with their English-speaking peers. The mere sitting in the same classroom with English-speaking children is generally valueless (as far as language acquisition is concerned) without a carefully planned language program in which all the features of English pronunciation, morphology and syntax are presented and practiced intensively in activities appropriate to the maturity level of the learners.

4. *I do not believe* that the learners growth will be stunted if—at an early age—and with a sympathetic, skilled teacher—he is encouraged and helped to use a "standard" English pronunciation and grammar. *The majority of parents want this for their children.*

5. *I do not feel* that the judicious use of the learner's native language—by the teacher, a paraprofessional or a student "buddy" will have a harmful effect on him. The native language—used sparingly of course in ESL classes—will clarify needed directions or concepts, will orient the newcomer and more especially, will enable him to establish a more immediate rapport with some other human being in the strange classroom.

6. *I do not believe* that a contrastive analysis of English and the student's native language alone should determine the selection and gradation of the linguistic material to be taught. The items for initial presentation should not necessarily be those which contrast with those in the learner's native tongue. Not only may the learning of possible parallel features give him a greater feeling of security but there are, in addition, two other major considerations:

a) When English is taught as a *second* language; that is, for immediate use in the surrounding community, the items needed to help the learner function in the situation must be given priority.

b) Often the interference between the learner's native language and English may not be as serious as that caused by a partially learned feature of the English language and segments of the feature not yet presented or practiced. Learners often make false analogies because they try to apply partially or incompletely assimilated material to other contexts.

7. *I do not believe* that all teachers, particularly those in service for many years, should be required to learn the native language of their students particularly when they teach English to more than one ethnic group. I think it would be most desirable if all teachers learned to use expressions of greeting and concern and some of the requests and formulas useful in facilitating classroom management. The learners would be the losers, however, if teachers were made to feel inadequate in their task of teaching English and if their morale were lowered by such an unrealistic demand.

I would urge, nonetheless, that teachers gain some knowledge not only of the broad features of pronunciation or grammar which will cause problems in their students' acquisition of English but also of possible cognates in the two languages.

Prospective teachers *can* be expected to study a foreign language intensively, particularly the dominant foreign language of the community in which they plan to teach. Colleges serving community schools have a grave responsibility in pre-service training programs for teachers. They should introduce strong relevant courses in those foreign languages spoken by the minority groups in the community and should make these *required* courses for the Bachelors degree.

While we cannot expect teachers without previous extensive experience in foreign language to become bilingual enough to use the students' native language in teaching ESL, or teach curriculum areas in the students' native tongue, we should insist that *all* teachers become *bi-cultural*. It is imperative that all teachers of ESL gain a deep insight into the life styles and cultures of their learners, even when more than one ethnic group is involved.

8. *I do not believe* that learners should be required to speak only about *English* culture in English.

It would be a great source of pride for them if they could talk about their culture in the target language. Such a procedure would serve another valuable purpose: that of enabling learners to perceive that English can be an instrument of communication in just the same way as is their native tongue. The insistence on "cultural immersion" as it has been advocated up to now is totally unrealistic, ignoring as it does, basic psychological principles of human learning.

9. *I do not believe* that units written for English language learners should concentrate primarily on aspects of slums or ghettos, where the non-English newcomers may be living temporarily. While I consider it important to start with children where they are in terms of ability, background, environment, etc., it is disheartening to see entire units in the English language devoted to vocabulary and concepts related to slum living. These might *occasionally* be used by a teacher whom learners consider empathetic as a point of departure for the introduction of language material. The emphasis in the curriculum (used in the broadest sense of the word) should be (a) making pupils and their parents aware that the learning of English may be one way of moving out of the slums; (b) giving them the skills and tools which are indispensable to further their education and (3) ini-

tiating projects with other agencies in the community which can serve not only to improve conditions but also to enable learners to use English which is meaningful and relevant to them.

I also question the advisability of books for young children written in so-called Black English. To begin with, not all black children speak Black English! Moreover, I am not convinced that this intermediate step of reading in the second *dialect* before reading in the standard dialect is necessary. Much more experimentation and discussion with concerned parents is needed before teachers are allowed to make widespread use of such books in their classrooms. Not enough has been written and said about the time and manner of making the transition to the reading in the standard dialect. Furthermore, English dialect speakers understand "standard" English when spoken or read aloud. We should not confuse the learning problems of the non-English speaker and the dialect speaker although some teaching techniques may be similar for both groups.

10. *I do not believe* that group IQ tests should be used as a basis for placing learners into any level or grade of an English program. All of us are aware that (a) most IQ tests are not culture free; (b) they do not test many of the facets of intelligence which should be included under the term of "general aptitude" (c) they should be studied with all other factors or records concerning the learner; and (d) results are often interpreted incorrectly. In any case, in an English speaking community, English *must* be taught to *all* normal pupils.

11. *I do not believe* that with the majority of learners above the ages of twelve or thirteen the ESL curriculum should require—as intermediate or terminal behavior—a mastery of all features of pronunciation. Any improvement in pronunciation at that age level will generally be gradual and not dramatic. The goal should be comprehensibility at all times but not necessarily allophonic perfection. With many learners, the inordinate amount of time spent on "drilling out" an accent which does not impede comprehension, could be more profitably used in other productive learning activities.

12. *I do not believe* that *functionally illiterate* students admitted to schools and placed with their age peers in the upper junior high schools or in the secondary schools can close the five-or-more-year gap without an intensive, specially designed program in English and in their native tongue.

And now let me turn to some facets of the ESL programs in which I have come to believe after several decades of teaching at all levels, observation of many classrooms and talks with teachers, supervisors and concerned parents.

Despite the extravagant claims made by some language schools, learning one's first language and one's second language are not the same. Every normal child learning his first language has an innate capacity for doing so but in learning the new language such factors as age, the duration of the learning period, the opportunity for using the new language, linguistic interference and attitudes require quite different approaches and techniques and may force schools to write quite different performance objectives as well as to modify terminal goals.

Professional leaders in our field and community resource persons must become increasingly aware of the fact that it is asking superhuman efforts of teachers to expect them to work with English-speaking children and language learners within the same classroom. The former may be reading at different "grade" levels; the latter may be at various levels of literacy not only in their native tongue but also in English. Each learner will be on a

different point on the continua of the English communication skills (listening with understanding, speaking, reading and writing).

Homogeneous grouping of English language learners for intensive English instruction for a flexible period of time; with a teacher well-trained in teaching ESL; with specially designed instructional materials; and with continuous evaluation of the learners' progress and of the program is the only viable organizational pattern at the present time. Even in this pattern, I am assuming, of course, that the ESL learners will spend at least two hours each day with native English-speaking youngsters in art, music, physical education classes and in other activities where a language deficiency is not a serious handicap.

Temporary homogeneous grouping which will accelerate the learners' admission to the regular school program should not be equated with segregation. I have seen ESL learners seated in classrooms with native English speakers but not involved in any way with the learning activities. That, in my mind, constitutes the worse kind of segregation.

"Pull-out" programs in which ESL learners come together from various classrooms for English instruction—unless carefully planned—do not provide long enough periods of intensive help; do not ensure continuity of instruction for the learners; and generally, do not make it possible for them to integrate the English they have learned in the special English class with that needed in the other curriculum areas.

Provision must be made for individualized instruction but it is essential that Boards of Education and other agencies assist teachers in the herculean task of preparing material which will enable learners to acquire the essential features of English phonology, grammar and lexicon and culture so that they can encode and decode language. While the material must be individualized according to need, blocks of material should be presented to the entire class whether the class is composed both of native and non-native English speakers or of ESL learners alone. This is necessary if the learners are to be given the feeling that they are part of a group and that they are capable of sharing experiences with their peers.

Emphasis in teacher education programs should be placed on the values of grouping and the techniques of group dynamics. Diagnosing individual pupil needs, identifying possible experiences to be shared, preparing materials and evaluating progress so that pupils can be moved in or out of groups as needed should all be included among the skills which a teacher should acquire.

The discrete items within the English program (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, cultural facts) should be presented and practiced within two major contexts: the every day authentic situations needed for living in the community and, as quickly as possible thereafter or *concurrently*, the basic vocabulary, forms and patterns required for effective participation in all the curriculum areas offered by the school for learners of that age level.

There should be no one inflexible approach or method for teaching English espoused by a teacher, school, education board or community member. Since we do not really know how people learn, the approach should be eclectic and should make provision for the possible different learning styles of pupils. For example, reading should not be deferred for a specific number of hours. All the pupil factors of age, literacy, need and motivation must be considered before determining the number of hours of possible deferment.

To illustrate further, grammar should be taught to pupils over the age of ten or eleven—not the traditional grammar rules but generalizations

based on numerous examples of the item being presented. It is naive of educators to keep discussing habit formation versus cognitive code theory. Both are necessary if students are to attain a desirable level of competence and performance in English.

Teachers should be permitted to discard or to modify techniques which they find basically counter-productive. To cite one example, asking students to memorize long dialogues without the further, judicious exploitation of the dialogue does not contribute enough to the growth of language ability and especially to the free, spontaneous use of English.

Colleges or other training agencies must help teachers acquire an understanding of and practice in: (1) helping students acquire reading skill at all levels; (2) adapting texts in all the curriculum areas for at least two or three levels of literacy and (3) exploiting happenings and relevant school-community situations which, "discussed" in English, will be motivating to learners.

We should study more fully and apply to programs in the United States the comparatively unfamiliar concept of registers which has gained currency in England and in many other countries. After a basic corpus of materials has been presented—adequate for functioning in the school and community—the language items selected for inclusion should depend, wherever possible, on the "felt" needs and aspirations of the learners. Since needs and aspiration change, however, learners must be taught *how to learn* so that they can continue their study of additional "registers" after leaving the school program.

After a thorough study of all the components which should be considered before instituting *any* program, a bilingual-bicultural program should be designed by all schools which will enable the ESL learner (1) to develop his native language not only for self-realization but also—with learners past primary school age—as a vehicle for learning basic concepts of living in the school and in the unfamiliar community; (2) to gain a deeper understanding of his cultural heritage as a source of pride and enhanced self-concept and as a means of accelerating his integration into the English culture; (3) to understand, speak, read and write English well enough to communicate with his English speaking neighbors; (4) to avail himself of all educational opportunities and to become part of the movement for upward mobility which our country offers.

Scholars in all areas related to the teaching and learning of ESL should be held accountable for specificity and clarity in reporting the results of their experimentation. Such factors as the numbers of persons involved in the experiment and the conditions under which it was performed should be carefully stated. Cautions or undesirable "side effects" should also be set forth. Too many educators or community leaders in the desire to be "innovative" rush to make use of the results of reported experiments without realizing that what may have worked with a small group or with one type of pupil population, with all the resources that are generally poured into an experiment, cannot be duplicated in their communities where the variables are not comparable.

Since a characteristic of many in-migrations is a high degree of mobility (due to such community factors as inadequate housing or poor vocational opportunities) leaders in the ESL field should cooperate in the preparation of a basic corpus of materials in English. This would make possible better placement for the learner as well as continuity of instruction and it would facilitate the conscientious teacher's task who must know "where learners are." (A proficiency test—while valuable—would not serve the same purpose.) Needless repetition of learned material could be avoided

when the need for newcomers is to move ahead as quickly as feasible. By the same token, the large gaps between what the teacher thinks the learner should know in grammar etc. and what the learner has actually been taught would be lessened.

Two comments should be added: (1) The basic corpus would have to be supplemented or modified depending upon the ESL and school program to which the learner seeks admission; (2) Forms for reporting the points on the corpus which the learner had reached as well as the degree of competence and performance in each of the features or skills would also have to be devised cooperatively and disseminated on a nation-wide basis.

Last but not least, while I am convinced that well-planned bilingual education programs should be expanded and that more efforts should be made within them to make native English speakers bilingual and bicultural, I should like to express other concerns. Some confusion seems to exist at the present time about the terminal goals of many programs; about the ESL component; about our obligation to other minority groups such as Turks, Poles, Italians or French who are coming to the United States in greater numbers.

If we believe honestly that bilingual programs have merit—and of course they do—and if we believe that every learner should have the benefit of equal educational opportunities, we cannot justify the exclusion of any groups.

Moreover, we should ask ourselves in this educational endeavor as in any other, questions such as, *Who is the learner we are considering?* (How old is he?; How literate is he in his native tongue?; How much previous schooling has he had? etc.), What is the dominant language of the community?, What human resources do we have to implement the program?, What will be the role of teachers and of paraprofessionals?, When do we start a bilingual education program? (For what age group, for example?) What curriculum areas should be studied in the learner's native language?, which in English?, When will the transition be made from the dominant language to English in the curriculum areas?, How do all the members of the community feel about the introduction of the program?, How can we ensure that a strong English component will be introduced and maintained? (After all, the learner is living in an English-speaking community.) How can we make sure that the learner's native language will be developed to his greatest potential?

Numerous other questions come to mind. There is no one right answer to any question but some answers may be considered undesirable because they have been borrowed from other communities without adaptation or, worse still, they have been born out of political expediency or community pressures.

In conclusion, let me talk briefly about the priorities mentioned in the title of this paper. Some are implicit in much of what I have said but I should like to single out four of them which in my judgment require immediate discussion and action:

1. The need for community orientation and involvement. For example, English speaking parents will want to understand why in some classes some of their children may not have a full day's instruction with the teacher because she will have to spend time to teach English to language learners. Parents of language learners will want to understand why their children are (or are not) placed in special classes; what the grading system means; what opportunities their children will have to enter college, etc. etc.

2. The need for viable language learning "centers" where English as a or in any building where large numbers of newcomers make such a center second language can be taught intensively. The center can be within a

school, within a community (children might have to be bussed to a community center), within an agency but under board of education supervision desirable. All the safeguards for the learners of continuous evaluation, special curriculum, opportunities for shared experiences with English-speakers and others noted throughout this paper must be guaranteed.

3. The need for special programs for the older functional illiterate for whom the junior or senior high school may be the terminal point of instruction.

4. Most important, the need for colleges and other agencies to develop teachers and other personnel both at the pre-service and in-service levels who possess the skills, knowledge, insights and attitudes required in teaching English as a second language. It must be obvious by now that:

Being a native English speaker is not enough.

Loving the children is not enough.

Knowing the structure of the English language is not enough.

Becoming familiar with methods of teaching ESL is not enough.

All of these qualifications are essential but, more, much more is needed to teach a group of human beings English as a second language.

Our responsibilities in this area are grave and, as can be noted, multifaceted. The best thinking of many persons of good will *working together* is needed if the non-English speakers in our midst are to become bilingual and bicultural. For persons living in an English speaking community, a command of English is still the key to personal-social adjustment, to integration and to upward mobility.

We cannot afford to lose another generation of children. More than ever, our nation needs all its human resources functioning at top capacity. Teachers of English as a second language have a crucial role to play in helping our country to achieve its goal, and more important, in enabling the tapestry which is America to become enriched and more colorful by the contributions which newcomers can, and will make to it, if given the opportunities.

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### ESL—WHO NEEDS IT?

R. H. Hendrickson

My title is not meant to be a rhetorical question (as in "another faculty meeting—who needs it?") but a real one, and one which has not, I think, been asked often enough. On the one hand, there are a lot of students who need instruction in English as a second language but aren't getting it. It's true that the thousands of young Americans who don't speak English (or at any rate don't speak it very well) are finally getting some of the attention they deserve, and that the growing interest in ESL and related matters may justify some cautious optimism. But it is also true that many schools which should have ESL programs still don't have them, and that many others have only token programs which recognize the need without going

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very far towards meeting it. On the other hand, as ESL programs become more widespread, increasing numbers of students are getting ESL instruction who don't need it, and it is this problem that chiefly concerns me here, both because it has gone largely unrecognized and because it seems likely to grow more prevalent.

Let me cite a few examples. In a small town with a large Mexican-American population, an ambitious elementary school ESL program was recently announced. Only after it was well launched, with considerable fanfare and a sizeable commitment of Title I money, was it discovered that just two children in the entire school could not speak reasonably fluent English. In another elementary school, a first grade girl of Portuguese descent was sent to the ESL class after several weeks of near-silence, acute embarrassment, and other apparent evidence of an inability to use English. Several days later, the ESL teacher (who knew no Portuguese) was still wondering how to attack the girl's language problem when a trivial incident in class suddenly started her talking volubly—in perfectly intelligible English. In an urban high school, the ESL teacher sought to involve a particularly sullen and uncooperative Mexican-American student in a class discussion by pressing him to explain the meaning of a common Spanish idiom. Finally the student snapped (quite truthfully, as it turned out) "How should I know? I can't speak Spanish!" Other teachers, it seems, were using referrals to ESL as the shortest way to get Mexican-American "troublemakers" out of their classes.

While these cases are hardly typical, neither are they especially uncommon. I can report several other, though less dramatic, instances where the wrong students have been placed in ESL classes for the wrong reasons, and I assume that such instances are not confined to schools and school districts I happen to know something about. Sometimes, as in the high school mentioned above, ESL programs are misused knowingly and cynically, a practice about which little needs to be said; no one, I hope, needs me to tell them that this kind of thing is irresponsible and unprofessional. For the most part, however, students are wrongly assigned to ESL classes with the best of intentions. It's not that they're the victims of prejudice or callous manipulation; it's just that a lot of educators seem to be rather vague about what ESL instruction is supposed to accomplish and how to distinguish the students who need it from the ones who don't.

It is easy to understand why many teachers and school administrators are confused about ESL. Much of what they need to know to get their heads straight is buried in the literature of emerging disciplines like psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, whose very existence may come as news to them. Then, too, as a doctor I know once observed, teachers tend to be strong on remedies but weak on diagnosis. Confronted with the conflicting demands of a society that is increasingly unsure about what education ought to be and do but wants the results retroactive to last year, they have an understandable weakness for catch-all "solutions" to problems they haven't had time to analyze very carefully. And the temptation to oversimplify in educating students from minority sub-cultures is particularly strong, since the reasons for their difficulties in school are especially perplexing and many are beyond the teacher's control. In this context, ESL is an educator's dream. An ESL program provides tangible evidence of a concern for the needs of minority students without posing any threat to the middle-class majority. ESL materials are readily available, and their use involves no fundamental shift in existing school routines. And at a time when the educational establishment is obsessed with "accountability," ESL is one kind of English instruction whose results are immediately visible, meaningful, and measurable. Small wonder, then, that ESL programs have

sometimes been embraced with more enthusiasm than discretion. But the trouble is that when ESL is used as a cure-all, it may wind up not curing much of anything. Indiscriminate assignment of students to an ESL program not only wastes their time and obscures the real nature of their language learning needs but blurs the focus of the program and blunts its effectiveness.

In defining the aims and limitations of ESL, it is well to begin with the obvious: regardless of whether or not a student comes from a "foreign language" background—that is, from a sub-culture where some language other than English is widely used—he only needs ESL instruction if he doesn't know English. And many such students do, in fact, know English, as demonstrated by their ability to use the language more or less freely in communicating with other people; that the kind of English they know may not be acceptable in school is beside the point. Some are natively bilingual. Others, especially among second and third generation Americans, have only a passive and fragmentary acquaintance with the language of their parents and grandparents, and thus for practical purposes speak only English. Even students who do not know English natively have often learned some form of the language by the time they get to school, though they may be more at home in their native tongue. And self-evident though it may seem, the difference between knowing some kind of English and not knowing any is worth insisting on, for its significance has not always been fully understood.

Implicit in the methods commonly employed by language teachers (including many teachers of ESL) is the idea that languages are learned gradually, bit by bit. If a student is trying to master French, for instance, his task is assumed to be essentially the same whether he knows only a little French or quite a lot: to increase the inventory of French words and forms he is able to use and understand. In fact, as the transformationalists have conclusively shown, this is very far from being the case. Someone who may be able to produce on cue even a very large repertoire of French utterances still cannot be said to know French so long as his use of the language is limited to the list of words and phrases he has learned. To know a language is to have the capacity for spontaneously combining its elements in an infinite variety of different (and often novel) ways. To gain this capacity is to internalize its underlying system, its grammar—in transformational terms, its generative rules.<sup>1</sup> And while control over the system of a language does not come instantaneously, in a kind of miraculous vision, neither is it merely a matter of degree. Rather, the shift from knowing a language as an inventory of forms, the way beginning students usually do, to knowing it as a generative system constitutes a kind of quantum leap forward in the student's progress toward competence in the language.

This fact about the nature of language acquisition has an important bearing on the design and administration of ESL programs. For it follows that the language learning needs of someone who has not internalized the generative system of English are very different from those of someone who has, regardless of how limited the latter's stylistic range may be. The primary need of those who have yet to gain control over the generative rules is to do so as soon as possible, and promoting this process should be

<sup>1</sup> Since teachers have sometimes confused knowing the grammar of a language with knowing how to talk about it, perhaps it should be stressed that the one is not dependent on the other. The key word here is internalized; while every speaker of a language knows its rules, relatively few can even begin to explain what they are, transformationally or in any other way. And even the most sophisticated grammars fall far short of accounting for all the details of the system.

the main objective of ESL instruction.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, the task of students who already know the underlying system of English is to refine and extend their control over the details of the system, and this is true (though in greatly varying degree) regardless of their native language, the dialect they happen to speak, or the social and situational variants they happen to know. If their English differs widely from cultivated usage or is heavily influenced by borrowing from another language, the generative rules they know may be somewhat different from those known to their teachers, say, or to members of the local bar association. But except in the most extreme cases, the differences will be confined to what transformationalists call the surface structure rather than the deep structure of the language, which is to say that they will be relatively trivial. For these students, then, learning to speak more like teachers or lawyers will very seldom involve major alterations in the generative system of the language as they know it, though it may mean learning the details of a markedly different dialect.

Unfortunately, the fundamental difference between learning a second language and learning alternative forms of the same language has tended to be obscured by certain developments in the teaching of standard English as a second dialect. In the early sixties, it was found that techniques borrowed from second-language teaching, notably pattern drills, produced striking results when used in teaching standard English to speakers of non-standard dialects.<sup>3</sup> This discovery has led many educators to conclude that, for practical purposes, nonstandard dialects are the same as foreign languages and present the same kinds of pedagogical problems. This notion has seemed especially credible when the nonstandard dialects are associated with and influenced by foreign language communities. Thus, I have heard school administrators argue in all seriousness that whether a student speaks Spanish or a Spanish-influenced dialect of English, it amounts to the same thing and the same "remediation" is called for. Lately, such gross oversimplifications have prompted strong dissent from some of the most vigorous advocates of second-language methods in second-dialect instruction. For example, Virginia French Allen has recently written that "to anyone who uses English of any sort for everyday communication, English is not a foreign language" and that "teachers in second-dialect programs had better remember that."<sup>4</sup> To which it may be added that ESL teachers had better remember it, too.

Ironically, part of the confusion probably arises from the fact that such devices as pattern drills are generally much better suited to teaching second dialects than second languages. Where the aim is to replace a limited number of nonstandard forms with standard ones, exercises in the standard patterns, though depressingly mechanical, may do the trick (always provided, of course, that the students want to learn standard English in the first place). But such exercises, while they continue to be widely used in second-language instruction, are too narrow in focus to be of much value in learning the underlying system of an unfamiliar language unless they are sequenced to impart such knowledge inductively, and this has not often

<sup>2</sup> How to go about doing this is not part of my subject, but readers who are interested in the application of transformational theory to language teaching methods and materials will find it discussed in several essays by Leonard Newmark, David A. Reibel, and Leon Jakobovits which are reprinted in Mark Lester's *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> The most significant experiments along this line are described in Sun-su C. Lin, *Pattern Practice in the Teaching of Standard English to Students with a Nonstandard Dialect* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> "A Second Dialect Is Not a Foreign Language," in *Report of the Twentieth Annual Roundtable Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*, ed. James E. Alatis (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), p. 191.

been the case. In any event, learning a second language and learning a second dialect are emphatically not the same thing, regardless of how many teaching techniques may usefully apply to both. And there is certainly no reason to think both can be taught in the same class at the same time. Hence it is a matter of some importance that ESL programs be limited to teaching students English who don't already know it. Other students from foreign language backgrounds who do know English but don't know as much of it as they need should not be ignored, of course. But they should be able to get help with standard English as an alternative dialect or with reading or with written composition somewhere else.

The problem remains of determining whether students who come from non-English-speaking sub-cultures do in fact know English, and what kind of English they know, and how well they know it. Teachers often seem rather naive about the difficulties of assessing their students' language capability, tending to confuse knowledge of English with the ability to use standard English in school situations. Thus, if Puerto-Rican or Mexican-American students say little or nothing in class, their silence is often taken as prima-facie evidence that they know little or no English.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, if they do talk, any conspicuous use of nonstandard forms is likely to be regarded as showing how little English they really know, rather than how much. Either way, their command of the language is apt to be seriously underestimated. So I would like to conclude by emphasizing the difference between what linguists call *competence* and *performance* and the significance of that difference in deciding what kind of language instruction students need.

Without getting technical about it, a person's linguistic competence is roughly equivalent to his language-making potential, to what he is capable of doing with the language when all systems are go. Performance obviously depends on competence, but because the human language-making faculty seldom operates at 100% efficiency, performance usually falls short of competence in some degree. How far short depends on a great many extralinguistic variables. For example, a speaker's performance may be noticeably affected if he is sick, drunk, stoned, tired, angry, frightened, euphoric, or any one of a number of other things, singly or in combination. It may also be influenced in various ways by unfamiliar or uncomfortable or threatening social situations. In the extreme case—stage fright, for instance—otherwise highly articulate people may literally be struck dumb. Now, the ultimate aim of language instruction is to improve competence rather than performance. For while performance varies widely, competence determines the upper limits of its effectiveness, and improvement in competence usually leads to overall improvement in performance. The trouble is that competence can be measured only indirectly, through actual performance, the unpredictability of which makes it an unreliable index at best.

The picture is further complicated by the difference between what Rudolph Troike has called *receptive competence* and *productive competence*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Some educators, unable to elicit much more than monosyllables from Negro children, have even reached the astonishing conclusion that they scarcely know any language at all. For an instructive account of the reasons for the children's unresponsiveness and the educators' misinterpretation of it, see William Labov, "The Logic of Non-Standard English," in *Alatis*, Op. Cit., pp. 1-43 and also in Alfred C. Aronson, et. al., *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*, a special anthology issue of the *Florida FL Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1969), pp. 60 ff. Though Labov's account is confined to the language of the black ghetto, much of what he says applies equally well to the dialects of other racial and ethnic minorities.

<sup>6</sup> "Receptive Competence, Productive Competence, and Performance," in *Alatis*, Op. Cit., pp. 63-73.

At the simplest level, this distinction is a commonplace of everyone's linguistic experience. We all understand the meanings of utterances we can't produce ourselves. To cite only one example, we comprehend without much difficulty the speech of people whose dialects are quite different from our own and whose pronunciation we can't begin to duplicate. Yet the myth persists in educational circles that a student who can't speak standard English can't read it, and that if he is unable to talk back he doesn't understand what he's hearing. Should he read a written text aloud in his own nonstandard dialect, his teacher may well assume that he has read it "incorrectly," whereas his ability to translate into his own brand of English, rather than merely parroting the forms on the page, is in fact the clearest kind of evidence that he knows what he's reading. Unfortunately, receptive competence not only can't be measured directly but is often exceedingly difficult to assess indirectly. Still, it is a salient part of what it means to "know" a language, and shouldn't be disregarded. Most of us, after all, have—and need—vastly more receptive than productive competence, whatever our linguistic background may be, and language would be a far more limited and less effective means of communication if this were not so. Then, too, receptive competence is the first step towards acquiring productive competence; without it, language instruction is unlikely to get very far.

Having pointed out some of the difficulties teachers face in evaluating the linguistic competence of their students, I wish I could offer some easy way around them. Regrettably, I don't know any. All I can do is to suggest extreme caution and an acute awareness of the many influences that may inhibit language performance in the classroom, particularly if the speaker comes from a minority sub-culture. For many such students, school is an alien and hostile environment where they are made to feel uncomfortable and insecure, and teachers are strange beings whose language and behavior are frequently quite unaccountable. Furthermore, the school is an agency of a majority culture which constantly puts them down for being who they are and for acting and speaking the way they do. And most of them are well aware that there is a special variety of English appropriate to the classroom but that little in their experience prepares them to use it with anything approaching ease and confidence.<sup>7</sup> Is it any wonder that their language performance in class commonly reveals more about their alienation and intimidation than about their English? In many cases, it is only in unguarded moments in the hall or on the playground, or even away from school entirely, that such students will begin to reveal the real extent of their ability to use English.

As happens with discouraging frequency when language scholars address educators, the main burden of my argument seems to be that the subject is a lot more complicated than has generally been recognized. Indeed, there are many complications I haven't touched on at all. I wish it were otherwise, but the complexity is there and must somehow be dealt with. Just knowing about it and trying to deal honestly with it is bound to help in making ESL programs more successful. And perhaps my remarks will at least discourage some teacher somewhere from packing a student off to the ESL class just because his name is Pedro and he stares at the floor and scuffs his toe every time he's called on to speak in class.

<sup>7</sup> On this point, see Susnn B. Houston, "A Sociolinguistic Consideration of the Black English of Children in Northern Florida," *Language*, Vol. 45 (1969), pp. 599-606. Though her work is, like Labov's cited earlier, confined to the language of Negro students, it seems obvious that the distinction she observes between what she terms the school and child "registers" of English is not restricted to the black community.

**COMPOSITION AT THE ADVANCED ESL LEVEL: A TEACHER'S GUIDE  
TO CONNECTED PARAGRAPH CONSTRUCTION FOR  
ADVANCED-LEVEL FOREIGN STUDENTS**

Robert B. Kaplan

The literature in English as a second language has expanded at an incredible rate over the past twenty years; indeed, annual bibliographies like those published by the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language run to approximately one thousand items a year in 1966 and 1967,<sup>1</sup> and the volume has increased since then. The great bulk of this production unfortunately still focuses on the elementary and intermediate levels and still allows greatest attention to spoken language and to grammar. Relatively little has been done with reading and even less with composition. The advanced level has largely existed in a vacuum, because it is difficult to define and because it exists in a grey area where the traditional pedagogy of freshman English seems viable.

It has long been my contention that advanced level composition constitutes a critical area: one which cannot be ignored nor left to the pedagogy of freshman composition. It goes without saying that the problems of a non-native speaker are quite different from those of a native speaker who is to some degree illiterate. In no sense is any ESL course "remedial" since remediation implies correction or counteraction of an existing evil, the cure of an ill, the corrective measures, applied in supplying omissions. The non-native speaker does not need remediation in English any more than the native English speaker may be considered to receive remediation when he studies French or Spanish. His problem is not that he has been taught his native language imperfectly, but rather that he is being asked to acquire a second language (whether he has been taught that imperfectly or not).

Perhaps it is necessary to point out briefly what is involved in the acquisition of a second language. If a language may be defined as the ideal means for the community of its speakers to relate themselves to the phenomenological world in which they live, then the acquisition of a second language really requires the simultaneous acquisition of a whole new universe and a whole new way of looking at it. This activity cannot be defined as remedial, nor does it lend itself to the pedagogy of traditional composition instruction. (There is even some question whether traditional pedagogy in composition accomplishes anything even for the native speaker.)

Obviously, no single pedagogy will suffice for all populations in all circumstances. It is clearly important for given instructors dealing with specific populations in unique circumstances to devise objectives appro-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliography of Materials for Teachers of English as a Second Language. Prepared under the Auspices of the Field Service of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs and the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language: Los Angeles, 1966, 1967.

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appropriate to the population and the circumstances. For the purposes of this discussion, it may be assumed that the population consists of non-English speaking individuals of heterogeneous linguistic and national backgrounds, politically distinguished as "foreign" by visa status, who have chosen to attend an institution of higher learning in the United States. These individuals will probably range in age from about eighteen to the mid-forties, but the mean age is probably in the mid-twenties. They will be largely males, and they will range across the whole academic spectrum both in class standing and in major field of study. These circumstances obviate the possibility of a rigorously contrastive approach or of an approach tied specifically to an academic discipline in content.

In terms of proficiency, the members of the population probably have relatively large general vocabularies, very large vocabularies in the restricted codes of their respective academic disciplines, and typically larger receptive than productive vocabularies in both areas. They probably control the syntax to the point at which they may be considered "fluent speakers of a non-standard." Specifically, they control basic word order and basic sentence patterns well, although they still probably make frequent mistakes with articles, prepositions, and semantic restrictional rules. Nevertheless, they clearly do not need additional intensive instruction in spoken language or in grammar *per se*.

The members of this population probably have already undergone anywhere from six to fifteen years of formal instruction in English as a foreign language prior to coming to the United States. In addition, they have probably undergone anywhere from six to twelve months of intensive formal instruction in English as a second language after arrival in the United States. They are likely to enter the advanced level either in the second academic semester or in the second academic year after arrival. This fact tends to lessen the significance of culture shock as a factor in advanced level instruction and further tends to obviate the need for the inclusion of orientation in the curriculum. Thus, the curriculum may be considered semi-intensive, and the members of the population may be encouraged to undertake other academic work for credit simultaneously. However, the other academic work must be encouraged intelligently. It would be unwise to start another foreign language concurrently, for example. Probably the concurrent work should be generally limited to those disciplines commonly considered to require lower-level language proficiency like mathematics, physics, engineering, chemistry, and physical education. (The concept that certain disciplines require lower level language proficiency is a bit of folk linguistics; what the concept really means is that the student can operate within a clearly and rigidly restricted linguistic code and that the instructors in those courses—for whatever reasons—are likely to demand less in terms of linguistic ability; i.e., as long as the student can solve a given numerical problem, he need not be able to explain in words how he arrived at the solution, or as long as he possesses a certain dexterity and can demonstrate it by means of a specific skill, he need not be able to verbalize it. Obviously, symbolic logic and the mathematics derived from it are very closely language-related, but that appears irrelevant in the designation of particular courses in mathematics and physics as essentially "non-verbal.")

The objectives of such a course are to enable the members of the population to write acceptable compositions for a variety of academic purposes; e.g., to pass required courses in English, to write essay examinations in humanities and social studies classes, to write theses and dissertations, etc. This objective necessitates the use of an essentially expository style and generally precludes the use of "literature" in the English Department

sense. (Writing about literature indeed constitutes the use of a special restricted code in exactly the same sense that writing about chemicals does. It is only in the minds of those who write about literature that this particular restricted code assumes some sort of hierarchical advantage above all other restricted codes.)

It has already been pointed out that the members of this population control syntactic structure adequately. That means they can write an isolated sentence which is relatively free of "errors" in agreement, in tense sequence, in word order, and in semantic choice. It does not mean that the sentences are "native" in any sense. More importantly, it does not mean that the individual is capable of linking two or more sentences into anything greater than a compound sentence. The linking of individual syntactic units into longer units of discourse—whether written or oral—involves entirely different kinds of skills. The questions of coherence, unity, and rhetorical form, and style—which are so blithely reiterated in rhetoric textbooks—are linguistically and culturally coded in exactly the same way that phonological, morphological, syntactic, and rhetorical choices are arbitrary but rule governed in any given language. It is not necessary to argue for or against a universal logic at this point; it is only necessary to recognize that rhetorical and stylistic preferences are culturally conditioned and vary widely from language to language. In other words, the ways in which sentences are related to each other in larger lumps of language constitutes something to be taught, not something to be assumed to exist universally across language and culture barriers. (The difficulty that native speakers have in acquiring a sensitivity to those preferences should serve as ample demonstration of the validity of the argument.)

The theoretical basis for these contentions has been developed elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> but there are a number of other considerations appropriate to this discussion. Two thorny problems, indeed, remain; one is purely pedagogical and the other is practical. In the reverse order, composition has to have some content. It has already been stated that no single academic discipline may constitute the content core and that "literature" is unsatisfactory both for the reasons stated before and for the reason that literature is the highest linguistic development of a language, often complicated by moral and philosophical implications, to say nothing of the fact that it exists in a cultural frame which even a native speaker may not fully share. On the other hand, even an experienced teacher probably does not share to any significant degree the cultural frames of a linguistically heterogeneous class. The traditional freshman English topics simply will not do. The non-native speaker needs much more limited topics generally within much more prescriptive limits. There is no point in allowing him to reiterate improperly controlled syntactic structures over a content which he really does not understand. Since the content may be regarded principally as a vehicle to teach grammar and rhetoric, and thus is in no sense sacrosanct, it may be most profitable to derive the content from the learner. Since the advanced level student may be considered a "fluent speaker of non-standard," it is possible to explain to the advanced class that they are going to write ten or fifteen compositions during the course of the term and that the

<sup>2</sup>"A Contrastive Rhetoric Approach to Reading and Writing," in Selected Conference Papers of the Association of Teachers of English As A Second Language, Los Angeles: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1966, pp. 85-93; "Contrastive Grammar: Teaching Composition to the Chinese Student," *Journal of English as a Second Language*, 1 (1968), pp. 1-13; "Contrastive Rhetoric and the Teaching of Composition," *TESOL Quarterly*, 1, 4 (December 1967), pp. 16-16; "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education," *Language Learning*, XVI, 1-2 (1966), pp. 1-20; "Notes Toward an Applied Rhetoric," *Preparing the EFL Teacher: A Projection for the '70's* (Language and the Teacher, 7), Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, Inc., 1970; "401301625162541253661," *Journal of English as a Second Language*, IV, 1 (Spring 1969), pp. 7-18.



teacher would prefer to have them suggest the topics. Certain restrictions must be imposed—the topics must be agreeable to a clear majority; they must be sufficiently broad so that everyone in the class can be assumed to know something about them, they must not include *purely* emotional issues, and they must be sufficiently limited so that the compositions can be written in a class-hour.

The initial generation of ideas may be less than satisfactory for writing purposes, although of course it enables the teacher to make a number of comments about differences between *topics* and mere ideas. An actual class produced, among others, the following initial suggestions:

1. American Football
2. Please explain your daily life
3. The Role of Western's Aid in Developing Countries
4. Air Pollution Problems and Their Solutions
5. Is the Racial Problem Likely to be Solved in the US?
6. Drugs
7. The Younger Generation
8. News
9. English: The Universal Language
10. Honesty is the Best Policy
11. The Most Interesting Person I Have Ever Met
12. Hobby

All of these items tend to be much too big for a class-hour assignment. Items like 3-9 are both likely to require considerable research and likely not to be of particular interest to a clear majority of the class. Items like 2 and 10-12 would be likely to develop a lot of clichés but not much thought. Item 1 has possibilities, but not without some research and certainly not for every member of the class. One class period may be spent in going over an inadequate list and in explaining why it is inadequate.

The second generation of ideas (or the third if necessary) may be more productive. The actual class cited above, after spending an hour reviewing its inappropriate recommendations, generated the following second list:

1. A Letter to my family describing my present life style
2. Foreign Student problems during the first few days at  
[school] University
3. My experience in studying English
4. Los Angeles: Image and Reality
5. U. S. Students as I See Them
6. Compare US Immediate Family Unit with that in My  
Country
7. Compare [school] Campus Life with that in My  
Country
8. Life Without a Car in [city]
9. My Problems in Adapting to Life in [city]
10. My first class at/in [school/academic discipline]

While these topics are less than startling, they were agreed upon by the majority of the class members, they are manageable within a class-hour, and they are within the assumed knowledge of all members of the class.

It remains for the teacher only to order these titles into some sort of sequence. Chronology will impose one kind of sequence; clearly, items like

2, 9, and 10 should be written relatively early in the term while an item like 4 may well serve as a terminal contrast with 9. In the particular class being used as an example here, the text *Advanced Reading and Writing*<sup>3</sup> is employed as a reader. That text suggests a possible sequence based on rhetorical structures, so that basically descriptive writing may precede comparison and contrast, which in turn may precede analytic writing. Such a structure avoids any unconscious tendency toward pure narration, toward argumentation, or toward polemic. (No conscious attempt was made to delete controversial topics from the list; rather the students realized that they didn't know enough to write about them.) Further, if some sort of grammar text is employed, or if grammar is taught in any formal sense, a grammatical sequence may be imposed as well. Descriptive writing lends itself to some such restriction as the dominant use of past tenses; comparison lends itself to comparative embeddings, and so on. Item 3, for example, was assigned in the 8th week, after discussion of the essay "Queer Sounds, Strange Grammar, and Unexpected Meanings" by Nida (from the reader). The statement of assignment became:

Write a careful analysis of your experience in learning English with particular attention to contrasts between your native language and English. Do not concern yourself with problems of time or of teachers. Remember that quality is more important than quantity. Write a clear topic sentence. Use dominantly past tense on the theory that all your problems occurred in the past and that you no longer have them.

This statement of assignment suggests a rhetorical frame, a grammatical frame, and a specific limitation. It precludes complaints about the present class (not that such complaints are inherently undesirable but rather on the theory that this particular exercise is not the place for such complaints) or about prior classes or teachers, and thus forces a certain amount of objectivity. Any one of the listed topics can be similarly limited, and such limitation is desirable in the kind of course under discussion.

All of the process described so far is really only concerned with providing a content for composition. It is high time to discuss structure. As has already been noted, the non-native speaker has great difficulty in organizing sentences into larger units of discourse because he is likely to attempt to do so in terms of the stylistic preferences and rhetorical forms consistent with his native language. The choice of such forms is likely to violate the expectations of the native English speaking reader and to cause ambiguity and confusion. The student needs to learn that English implicitly contains certain choices, that these choices are backed by the grammatical system, and that the selection and arrangement of the available choices is an important part of any writer's task.

The grammatical embedding rules of English allow only the development of very specific kinds of relationships among syntactic units within a structure, and the range of available choices is exactly reflected in the rhetoric. Logically, it cannot be otherwise; it is impossible for a language to express relationships which do not exist in the language or which have no reality for its speakers. English embedding rules allow the substitution of one item for another—as in the case of the noun clause—or the insertion of one item as either subordinate, coordinate, or superordinate to another. For example, in the pair of sentences:

The boy was here.  
The boy drank the milk.

<sup>3</sup> Dennis Brumwell and Robert L. Saltz, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

it doesn't matter which becomes the matrix sentence. That is a matter of arbitrary choice somewhat controlled by context. Thus,

The boy who was here drank the milk.  
The boy who drank the milk was here.

In this instance, one or the other of the statements is made subordinate, and the other superordinate. It is also possible to link these items coordinately:

The boy was here; consequently, he drank the milk.  
The boy was here, and he drank the milk.  
The boy was here; *he* drank the milk.

While it is true that semantic differences are implicit in the different constructions, and that those semantic differences would be actualized with different phonological (suprasegmental) patterns, these differences are likely to be somewhat blurred for the non-native speaker. The point is that the same kinds of relationships expressed in the conjoining of two sentence structures also exist significantly at the larger levels of discourse, although the signals which control them are often less clear (e.g., pronominal sequences, semantically causal conjunctive adverbs, "topics," etc.).

It is not only the syntactic signals but also the permissible sequences which need to be taught. Most of the signals can be taught through a somewhat expanded grammar. The permissible sequences perhaps can be taught most expeditiously through outlining. The whole concept of outlining may be new to the non-native speaker. Few cultures spend as much time and effort in assuring (or trying to assure) control of the native language as this one does. Therefore, it is first necessary to demonstrate what an outline does, then to convince the student that it is a useful tool, and finally to teach him to use it. The demonstration is relatively simple and should come out of the reading quite naturally. The teacher needs to be careful only to the extent of choosing a demonstration essay with a clear skeletal structure and the teacher, of course, needs to work it all out in advance. The overhead projector with overlay plates is most helpful. In the reader used in the demonstration class, the essay "Processes of Culture Change" has a suitable structure for the purpose. Once the demonstration has been conducted, the next step is to convince the student of the value of the technique; that is, to motivate the student to want to learn it. While this is apparently the most difficult step, it is impractical to talk about it. The means employed depend so much on the personality of the teacher that no generalizations can be offered. However, the practical advantages of more successful performance in other classes should be apparent to everyone.

Teaching the student how to work the outline is enormously time consuming, but well worth the time if he learns. It may be wise to work through the entire procedure in logical steps with the class. For this exercise it is best to choose a topic not on the list. This topic has to be one with which the instructor can work easily, but still one which is within the capabilities of all the students. For purposes of this demonstration, "US Television" was chosen.

The first step consists in determining the audience for the proposed topic, since the determination of audience involves a number of decisions about basic assumptions. In the demonstration group, it was decided that the audience would be a general audience of US college students. This decision permitted the assumption that the proposed audience was rather sophisticated about the subject, that the proposed audience consisted of peers, and that the peer group permitted the use of an essentially informal

level of address. Some time was taken to define and discuss levels of address. For purposes of instruction, the informal level in writing was assumed to allow common contractions but otherwise to require correct agreement, little use of colloquial expression, and the normal conventions of grammaticality and spelling.

Next, the students were asked to list all the facts in their possession which were pertinent to the subject. Time was taken to discuss the differences between facts and opinions, and in the final collective listing of facts in class, each item was challenged to be sure that it was indeed a fact and not an opinion. The facts were elicited by having each individual in the class state (and perhaps amend after discussion) one fact, and the process was continued until the entire available fund of information had been catalogued on the board. For purposes of demonstration, only about one third of the available facts will be used. The following facts were generated without benefit of outside research or special reading assignments:

1. In 1939 NBC started regularly scheduled public television broadcasting with an experimental station.
2. TV is a method of communication whereby the transmission and reproduction of a picture or scene by conversion of light rays into electrical signals is accomplished.
3. Most of the typical programs depend upon advertising.
4. A TV set has complex electrical circuits.
5. A TV picture tube is operated by a beam of electrons.
6. The invention of videotape helped the TV producer to prepare programs more quickly and more cheaply.
7. TV programs include comedy, drama, weather broadcasts, serials, news, games, sports, adventures, mysteries, reports, and advertising.
8. TV may sometimes be used as a method of education.
9. The color picture tube provides a new dimension.
10. TV may be harmful to the human body because it emits dangerous radiation.
11. There is some difficulty in transmitting TV waves over long distances because of the curvature of the earth; therefore, satellites in space are employed for long-distance transmission.
12. There are 7 VHF channels in the Los Angeles area.
13. There are many commercial manufacturers of TV equipment, and many of the components are imported.
14. The frequency range of TV can be divided into UHF and VHF.
15. The majority of TV broadcasts are supported by commercial advertising.
16. In the US, TV is operated by private enterprise while in many countries TV is operated solely by the government.
17. TV producers earn income through advertising.
18. In the US, the majority of broadcasts are presented in standard English.
19. Color TV sets are more expensive than black-and-white sets.
20. TV has an impact on the learning and learning-style of children.
21. Another use of TV closed-circuit operation does not involve normal broadcast patterns (e.g., security device, information storage and retrieval, etc.)

This list demonstrates the obvious interests of the heterogeneous group; that is, the engineering majors brought out technical facts like 2, 5, etc., while item 20 came from an education major. In the initial collection of facts, no attempt was made to screen out trivial or obvious facts, nor was any attempt made to modify the grammatical structure. The facts were dictated to the teacher who merely wrote them legibly on the board. (Undoubtedly, he probably functioned to correct spelling.)

The next logical step, derived from discussion, necessitated grouping related facts into categories. The class perceived six categories:

- A. Facts related to the electronic processes involved.
- B. Facts having to do with advertising and commercial interests.
- C. Definitions
- D. Facts concerned with actual production and broadcasting.
- E. Facts concerned with the viewer.
- F. Facts concerned with special uses of TV.

It was then a simple matter to group the facts into each category:

- A. 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14
- B. 3, 13, 15, 16, 17
- C. 1
- D. 6, 7, 8, 12, 18, 20
- E. 19
- F. 21

However, while this procedure places related facts together, it does not indicate any sort of priority among the facts themselves nor among categories of facts. The following step, then, is to determine whether any categories should be discarded or expanded, to determine priorities within categories, and to determine at least temporary priority among categories. The class ultimately decided to discard all of category A on the basis that the majority of the class did not know enough to handle that aspect of the subject. The group also decided to discard category C and category E on the basis that each contained only one fact. Category F, containing only one fact too, was felt to need expansion. Further, it was agreed that item 3 in category B duplicated the better statement in item 15; therefore 3 was dropped. It was also agreed that category D really included two categories; therefore, item 8 was moved out, and four new facts were added to it to constitute a new category G:

- 22. TV is a means of mass communication.
- 23. TV may be used for security and other purposes [old fact 21].
- 24. As a mass communication media, TV may be used to inform, to educate, or to propagandize.
- 25. TV differs in impact from other mass media.

Finally, the facts were ordered within the categories, and the categories were ordered in respect to each other; thus, the final configuration became:

- I. 7, 18, 12, 20
  - II. 22, 24, 25, 23, 8
  - III. 13, 15, 17, 16
- [Thus, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19 were put into a reserve bank of items to be used if needed.]

Now, as homework, the students attempted to write summary sentences for each of the categories. This is a particularly difficult step and therefore requires appropriate class time. It is not helpful to recapitulate the

bad sentences generated. Ultimate agreement was reached on the following three sentences:

- I. TV has a variety of programs which affects the learning and learning style of children, and the majority of broadcasts in the US are in standard English while LA has 7 VHF channels. [PROGRAM]
- II. TV differs in impact from other mass media, and as a means of mass communication it has many uses: to inform, to educate, to propagandize, and to grant security. [USES]
- III. In the US, TV is largely produced by commercial interests who derive their income from advertising and in part from the manufacture and sale of TV equipment; thus, unlike the situation in many other countries, in the US the government plays a negligible part in TV production. [ADVERTISING]

These sentences are largely additive; that is, the parts have simply been strung together in basically coordinate structures. But, at least some structuring has occurred. Now it becomes possible, working from these somewhat summary sentences, to try to develop a topic sentence.

In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media, because it is so flexible, and as a result of its wide use, it not only serves the public and produces certain predictable results as a purveyor of information and education, but also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.

The sentence is unduly long and clumsy, but it is grammatical and it does contain all the basic elements in an ordered fashion. Having generated this sentence, the students again took the work home—over a weekend—and tried to complete an outline, working from the topic sentence and the available facts. The following outline was the most thorough (not all were so successful):

- I. In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media because of its flexibility and its wide use.
  - A. In terms of flexibility, it offers programs for every taste.
    1. Serious programs commonly include news, political programs, reports, weather broadcasts, etc.
    2. Entertainment programs usually include games, serials, sports, mysteries, dramas, comedies, adventures, etc.
  - B. In terms of its wide use, it employs standard English as its means of contact with the broadest audience in human history and in turn has a significant impact on what children learn and how they learn it.
    1. Because English is so widely used, non-English speaking persons are largely left out.
    2. The learning and learning styles of children are widely affected.

- II. Thus, television serves a certain very large public and produces predictable results as a purveyor of information and education to that audience.
  - A. Television educates.
  - B. Television informs.
  - C. Television propagandizes.
  - D. Television has other uses.
- III. Television also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.
  - A. Television is produced by many commercial manufacturers.
  - B. Television offers income through advertising.
  - C. Television programs are supported by commercial advertising.
- IV. [Conclusion] As an important mass media, purveyor of information and education, and an important factor in the national economy, television has a very close relationship with man and his society.
  - A. It keeps the details of current events current.
  - B. It is more appealing than any other media.
  - C. Thus, it cannot be ignored.

[This outline was written by a second semester graduate student in education from Indonesia. It has been corrected for grammar.]

The final step in the process consists of the writing of a composition from the outline. Since the students developed individual outlines, the themes are not really comparable with each other but only with the outline. Obviously, the quality of the individual themes in the exercise ranged in direct proportion to the quality of the outline and to the degree to which the writer used the outline in the theme. For purposes of comparison, the composition written by the student who developed the above outline is presented. It was not the best work in the class, but it was better than average.

Television is such a common commodity nowadays that everybody does know something about it.

In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media because it is so flexible, and as a result of its wide use, it not only serves the public and produces certain predictable results as a purveyor of information and education, but also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.

One of the most important aspects of television is its programming. Television differs from other mass media such as radio magazines, newspapers, . . . because in addition to the serial or fact, it has both the sound and motion that one or the other mass media does not have.

As a flexible mass media, it offers program for every taste. Its serious programs commonly include news, political programs, . . . that attract mainly its adolescent and adult audience, whereas its entertainment programs attract the majority, especially the children and the housewives.

Besides entertaining and informing, television has an impact

in education. It affects the learning and the learning style of children. While children have the tendency to learn or to copy television motion, they lack the ability to tell what they should learn and what they should not learn. How to learn is another problem involved. They either learn it by copying the exact action from television or by grabbing the ideas from it.

The language that television reporters use is mainly based on the specific country or area they are in. In the United States most of the programs broadcast are in standard English style; thus, non-English speaking persons are largely left out.

Besides entertaining and informing and educating, television also propagandizes and serves other various uses.

Due to its variety of usage, television acquires for itself an important position in the economy. Since many commercial manufacturers produce television sets, it also plays an important role in national economy concerning its production, distribution, and support.

As one of the most effective way in advertising, television program is largely supported by commercial advertising.

Being a means of mass communication, television has a close relationship with man and his society. Despite its importance in information, education, entertainment, and political influence, television is after all an advancement in scientific invention and in the civilization of man itself.

[This paper was written in a 50 minute class-hour. It has not been corrected in any way.]

Once the student has been taught how to use the outline, a certain amount of practice must be provided. The student may be required to outline his reading assignments, to prepare outlines for his own writing, to derive outlines from his own prior writing, or to outline lectures in other disciplines. Confidence in the operation of the device will tend to encourage its use. In this demonstration, all items—from initial facts down to the final outline—were required to be stated in predications. This is a disciplinary feature which may be gradually relaxed as the ability of the student improves. Indeed, the student should ultimately be encouraged to work back and forth among the three entities—facts, outline, and composition—revising each as he moves toward completion.

The problems of content and form have been approached. The problem of practice remains. Most teachers of writing maintain that there is a necessary practice factor. But the poor teacher burdened with many classes of many students cannot always provide adequate practice. One device which can be used is the "writing laboratory." In such a situation, the instructor receives and marks compositions in advance by whatever system he chooses (being careful not to frighten through over-correction). In the laboratory, students are assigned in teams, attempting to balance ability. Marked papers are returned, and the students help each other to understand and accomplish corrections. If the students do not complete the task in class, they may take the papers home. Corrected papers are returned and marked again. Papers are not accepted until *all* corrections have been accomplished. Although a grade is assigned in the first marking, that grade is not recorded until all corrections are accomplished, and subsequent re-writing receives no credit (except in the sense that if it isn't done the missing paper is considered failing).

Here are no panaceas. But the devices and principles discussed in this brief paper have worked for its author and for other teachers. These



devices have been fairly carefully tested on the kinds of populations described, and they do produce rather startling effects on something more than fifty per cent of such populations. That figure, while it is far from ideal, is also far from the rather smaller effect implicit in some other approaches. A pedagogy is not all the answer, but it may help. The problem of the advanced level student in need of composition training is a complex one. Much more needs to be done, but it is possible that the guidelines set out here may point the direction in which that work needs to be done. Students will probably continue to "write with an accent," but perhaps without violating all of the expectations of their English speaking readers. Perhaps it is not the time to seek perfection; perhaps an operational solution will suffice.

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## STRUCTURAL AMBIGUITY AND THE SUPRASEGMENTALS

Norman C. Stageberg

The patterns of intonation and stress suffer neglect in ESOL teaching. Although a few textbooks present them systematically, by means of schemata and numbers, numerous textbooks make little or no mention of them, leaving these suprasegmentals to be learned by imitation, from the teacher or from tapes. Yet the student must attain a reasonably good command of them, not only because they aid ready comprehension but because they play an important role in the expression and control of meaning in spoken language. It is their absence in written language that is one of the sources of ambiguity.

Many structural ambiguities lurk on the printed page solely because a given sentence can take two suprasegmental patterns, each conveying a different meaning. For example, in

What are we going to do then?

the "... do then" can be spoken as "... dô thên" or as "... dô thên ... ." The former means "do in that case," and the latter "do at that time."

Another example, taken from a Texas newspaper, shows how a slight change in the suprasegmentals can give a ludicrous turn to the meaning:

She manages Courtney, 3 months, and Todd, 5 years, and the family dog, Sanka, does the cooking and cleaning in addition to entertaining at their home.

The *New Yorker*, which picked up this gaffe, commented as follows: "His salads are on the hairy side, but he's a wonderful host."

Thus, after teaching the basic suprasegmental patterns, an ESOL teacher can profitably continue with those other patterns which are useful in distinguishing meanings and whose absence on the printed page will

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sometimes result in double meaning. A number of such patterns are definitely established, relatively simple, and easily taught. From among these I will present ten, through the ambigial grammatical situations in which they participate.

Situation: Adjective + noun + noun head

Example 1. Ahmed worked in a dirty language lab.

This ambiguity is caused by the overlap of two stress patterns. One stress pattern is secondary + primary stress, signaling a modifier + noun combination, as in *dirty language*, *spécial éducation*, and *mâin stréss*. The second is primary + tertiary stress, signaling a compound noun, as in *lánguage lab*, *éducation supplément*, and *stréss rúle*. This adjective-noun-noun pattern is of high frequency and may be illustrated by countless cases, such as

2. *Special education supplement* (NY Times),
3. *Main stress rule* (Chomsky),
4. *Inferior child care*,
5. *Japanese language expert*,
6. *Liberal college president*,
7. *Radical police talk*.

Situation 2: Separable verb, or verb + prep phrase

8. Roger slipped on his shoe.

If *on* is given secondary stress, then the sentence contains a separable verb *slipped on* and could be reworded as "Roger slipped his shoe on." But if *on* is spoken with tertiary or weak stress, then *on* is a preposition, and the sentence tells us where Roger slipped, namely, *on his shoe*. This situation may be further exemplified by

9. Wanted: capable woman to live in and care for house on large estate.
10. Nixon swore in his new cabinet.
11. Father will flip over this new reversible belt.
12. Sandy looked over her bare shoulder.

A more complex illustration of Situation 2 occurs in this sentence:

13. The thesis was passed on.

Let us begin with the active form of this sentence. The separable verb is seen in these two forms of the sentence: "The committee passed *on* the thesis" and "The committee passed the thesis *on*." These sentences, when turned into the passive, read "The thesis was passed *on*," meaning that the thesis was given to someone else. Now, back to the active form of the sentence with a change in the stresses: "The committee *passed on* the thesis." Here the verb is *passed*, not *passed on*, and the predicate means "decided about the thesis." The passive of this sentence is "The thesis was *passed on*."

Situation 3: Grouping by sustained terminal juncture (→)

14. Secretary about to be married urgently needs apartment.

A linear sequence of words may have more than one meaning, depending on how the words are grouped together. To group words, we must orally indicate divisions points or breaks, between groups. These points are known

technically as terminal junctures. One much-used terminal juncture is the sustained terminal juncture. It is symbolized by a level arrow (→). This kind of division is achieved acoustically in a simple way: one gives greater length to the preceding syllable that has primary stress. Thus, in example 14, a juncture after *urgently* is shown by greater length on the *ur*. A different grouping would be shown by a juncture after *married*, indicated by extra length on the first syllable of *married*. Each of the next three examples, you will note, has two meanings, depending on where you place the sustained terminal juncture.

15. His work was drawn on largely by later dictionary makers.
16. Do you know what good clean fun is?
17. Smoking chief cause of fire deaths here. (headline)

The next example can be read three ways, depending on whether one places the sustained terminal after *Arab*, or after *deputy*, or after *chief*. And if no sustained terminal at all is employed, there is a fourth reading.

18. The Israeli city fathers appointed an Arab deputy chief engineer in charge of roads.

Situation 4: "More" + adjective + noun head (mass or plural)

19. The Republic of China has more modern planes and better pilots than the Communists.

In Situation 4, when the stress pattern is tertiary + secondary, e.g., *mòre mōdern*, the *more* modifies the adjective. But when *more* has the extra length characteristic of secondary stress, e.g., *mòre mōdcrn*, then the *more* modifies the noun head. Examples of this situation are many, e.g.,

20. More famous people than you have walked these narrow streets.
21. We want more scholarly manuscripts.
22. *All* gives you more active cleaning power.

With *less* the situation is the same except that cases are not so abundant:

23. Their major concern was how to get less obsolete military equipment from the federal government.

Situation 5: Noun or adjective, + noun head

24. Have you read Conrad's *The Secret Sharer*?

Here again the stresses channel the meaning. With secondary + primary stress—*sècret shàrer*—the order is adjective + noun, and the phrase means "sharer who is secret." But if the stresses are changed to primary + tertiary—*sècret shàrer*—the order is noun + noun, and the meaning changes to "sharer of a secret." Further cases:

25. A uniform assessment was levied on all the waiters.
26. After a year of hard work and many mistakes, Herzog became a patient counselor.
27. Obesity pills are often prescribed by fat doctors.

Situation 6: "Had" + past participle

28. Jack had built a long sturdy bookcase with movable shelves along the south wall of the room.

*Have* is often an auxiliary, as in "Professor Throttleham had built a tool shed." It can also be a causative main verb, as in "Jack had a bookcase built," meaning that he caused a bookcase to be built. In the latter sentence,

we note, the past participle *built* is positioned after the object *bookcase*. But when the object is long, this postposition of the past participle is avoided; that is, we would not say "Jack had a long sturdy bookcase with movable shelves along the south wall of the room built." Instead, we would place the past participle *built* right after the causative *had*, as in example 28. Now then we have two structures represented by the words *had built* in example 28. In speech, there are kept apart by stress: the pattern *həd bɪlt* is used for the auxiliary + verb, and the pattern *həd bɪlt* is used for the causative. Two more examples:

29. The Jamoskis had removed the large wide-branched oak tree that used to shade the entire back yard.

30. The world situation which makes this possible is that the United States government seems willing to have passed along to it the onus and the burden in the non-European world which Britain no longer feels she can afford. (Here the contrast makes have passed the probable interpretation.)

Situation 7: "Since"—after or because

30. I haven't seen my brother since he moved away.

If the first clause is read with the normal sentence intonation of 2 3 1 ↓ and a primary stress on *brother*, producing a sentence break after *brother*, the *since* means "because." But if this intonation covers the entire sentence, with no break after *brother* and the primary stress on *away*, then *since* means "after."

Situation 8: "There"—expletive or adverbial

31. There are two girls you should consider dating.

In a context like this, when *there* is read with weak or tertiary stress, the word is an expletive. But when it is given secondary or primary stress, it is an adverbial of place.

Situation 9: Stress for restrictiveness

32. The industrious Chinese → dominate the economy of Asia.

In a sentence like this the adjective can be either restrictive or non-restrictive, depending on its stress in the noun phrase. With *industrious Chinese* we have the normal modifier + noun stresses, and *industrious* is therefore a non-restrictive modifier, so that the sentence means something like "The Chinese are industrious and they dominate the economy of Europe." But if *industrious* is spoken with a stronger stress than Chinese, then *industrious* becomes restrictive and the sentence means "Those Chinese who are industrious dominate the economy of Europe." Likewise:

31. The quarrelsome Arabs want another war.

Situation 10: -Self pronouns

33. One of the things I shall have to teach myself is not to be ashamed of manual labor.

The *-self* pronouns have several uses, two of which we shall consider here. One use is to intensify a noun or pronoun, as in "I myself will teach the lesson." Here the *-self* morpheme carries primary stress. In this use the *-self* pronoun can be placed later in the sentence, and when this is done, it carries with it the primary stress, thus: "I will teach the lesson myself."

A second use of the *-self* pronouns is to serve as a complement of the verb, as in "I taught myself a lesson." This is known as the reflexive use. *-Self* pronouns used reflexively carry a stress lower than primary, often a secondary stress. Ambiguity will occur in the written form of English

when the reader cannot tell whether a given use is intensive or reflexive, as in example 33 above. But in the spoken form of English the two meanings are kept apart by stress. In example 33, for instance, *myself* with a primary stress is intensive but with a secondary stress is reflexive.

A knowledge of the suprasegmentals used in the above ten situations, and in other situations as well, can help students to speak and write with greater accuracy and then to read and listen with better comprehension.

The difficulty in teaching these suprasegmental patterns will depend in part on the native language of the learner. For example, a native speaker of Japanese, which has phonemic stress, will have less difficulty, *ceteris paribus*, than a speaker of Amharic, a language of level stress.

Once the learner has made an initial acquaintance with American stress, pitch, and juncture, he can be given several kinds of exercises, such as these.

A. Imitation. Oral imitation of the teacher's pronunciation, or of taped utterances. Care must be taken here to link a given pronunciation with the meaning it conveys.

B. Recognition of contrasting utterances. For instance, a pair of contrasting sentences like

His brown coat → particularly needs pressing,  
His brown coat particularly → needs pressing,

can be randomly dispersed in an exercise and be presented for recognition.

C. Production of contrasting patterns. The written form of a sentence can be presented, with instructions to say it so as to produce a particular meaning. For example:

His brown coat particularly needs pressing.

"Read aloud to express the idea that it is his coat but not necessarily his trousers that needs pressing."

"Read aloud so as to express the ideas that his coat needs pressing but may not need cleaning."

Experimental evidence seems to indicate that production enhances recognition; thus the general practice of teaching recognition before production need not be followed.

## HESL AND MESL\*: THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND MATH AS COMPONENTS OF AN ENGLISH AS A SECOND ENGLISH PROGRAM

Jay Wissot

The education of foreign-born students has recently been receiving increased attention throughout the public and private school systems of this nation. Much of this new founded sentiment is motivated out of a genuine concern for correcting past injustices and providing a program of instruction that is founded on sound psychological and linguistic principles.

\*HESL—History For English as a Second Language  
MESL—Math For English as a Second Language

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Towards these ends some schools have adopted modified programs of study or individual courses under such description headings as *English As A Second Language*, or *English For the Foreign-born*, or *Orientation To the English Language* etc. . . . Irrespective of nomenclature, what all these courses/programs have in common is that they isolate, for varying periods of time, the second language learner from his English speaking counterparts in order to provide some form of specialized instruction.

These programs based on a linguistic foundation introduce listening and speaking practice as direct antecedents to the teaching of reading and writing. Other programs exist really as remedial reading courses with some attention being paid to the fact that these youngsters cannot communicate well orally in English, a fact which, by the way, contributes in no small measure to their status as non-readers. A third program type provides instruction of a rather limited nature for periods ranging from six to twelve weeks and then proclaims that the "orientation" process to English has been completed and the youngster is fully prepared to assume a place in standard academic classes.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to assess the relative merits of the just described program types, although my own preferences certainly lean heavily in the direction of those programs which foster a basic regard for *linguistic* learning principles. Instead, this paper will reflect upon the somewhat larger and less easily answerable question of: What should the curriculum in Math, History and other content areas be for non-native speakers? Tangentially related to this larger question and also needed to be dealt with are the following questions:

- 1) Isn't a specialized English course for foreign-born students enough to reasonably insure a relative measure of success in academic subject classes?
- 2) Shouldn't the academic class work be held in abeyance until the student has satisfactorily reached a level of language learning necessary to convince both himself and his instructors that he is sufficiently prepared?
- 3) What part can bilingual instruction (subject area instruction in the student's native language) play in the total second language program design?

HESL and MESL are really two components of a larger English as a Second Language program design originating in the Hackensack, New Jersey, public school system three years ago. For the past two years, Math and History have been taught in grades 6-12 as an addition and complement to the already established English as a Second Language classes. Although the idea for combining English, Math and History instruction under one coordinated banner was neither conceived nor developed first in Hackensack, it has attained a fully recognized equivalent curriculum status on both the local and state levels. Foreign-born students successfully completing course requirements in HESL and MESL are not obligated to repeat similar History and Mathematics courses taken by the remainder of the student body.

The HESL component of the program consists of both beginning and intermediate classes. A student enrolled in a beginning ESL class would also receive daily an hour of History instruction commensurate with the limited oral skills of the youngsters and coordinated to the English grammatical structures and vocabulary being taught in the second language class. The exact same format would be used for students enrolled in an intermediate

ESL class with here both the existing *oral* and *written* language realities of the participants being taken into strict account.

All History classes are taught by the same persons who teach the students ESL. These are trained second language teachers with an educational background in History though not necessarily with a certified degree or teaching license. What they lack in technical History skills is compensated for by their awareness of each individual youngster's language achievement record and past performance level in the ESL class. Assisted ably by regular members of the History department who provide source materials and invaluable background charts, it must be pointed out, that the ESL-HESL teachers are not presenting "watered down" versions of the departmental curriculum but rather a partly adapted, partly different creation of their own design. The students are not being cheated out of enrichment but rather being given an opportunity to progress from a point that is more linguistically in tune with their individual language level than could possibly be the case in a regular History class.

To speak more specifically, what the ESL-HESL teacher would do would be to lift the basic historical principles and concepts of, let's say, an American History curriculum and adapt them to the needs and levels of his students. Detailed facts necessary to the making of an intelligent historical interpretation would be presented to the students in a revised version faithful to both spirit of the historical period and the syntactical and vocabulary levels of the students. Standard textbooks prove inapplicable because the students aren't to be expected to go home and read long-winded sentences which at this point in their linguistic development would prove only frustratingly incomprehensible. It would be far better to have the living spirit of ideas and value judgments occupying the course's time and not the mere memorizing of recorded facts and data.

Oral teaching approaches which lend credence to this statement include: dialogues with famous people inserts, taped radio news reports and musical recordings from different historical eras. Concept building techniques include: problem solving forms on topical issues, comparative analyses discussions between important events as presently being reported by the media and historical events that have already occurred, categorizing of the differences between the history and development of this country and that of the students native countries.

Visual reinforcement and supplementation on both planes (oral and conceptual) is achieved through drawings, pictures, maps, filmstrips, slides and experiential field trips to readily available historical sites (local, state).

The MESL component operates in much the same manner: One teacher for ESL and MESL, the offering equivalent curriculum credit, the coordination of syntactical and vocabulary structures with the ESL class, a stated policy of not trying to exactly duplicate nor "water down" the school's mathematics course of study.

The only significant difference between the two components is the added variable of mathematical ability in the placement of students for the MESL program. It is entirely possible that a youngster who would be in a first level or beginning ESL and HESL class might possess a rich mathematical background from his native school and would have to be considered too advanced for the first level course offering. MESL I is mainly concerned with the basic computational skills; addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and with the vocabulary necessary to perform relatively simplistic operations. The youngster in question, hypothetically, would probably find such a class exceedingly boring. In that event, he would be placed in a

MESL II class. Here he would be exposed to the rudiments of factoring algebraic equations. Additional time would be spent on linguistically connected areas such as word problems.

In actual practice, the MESL I and II techniques parallel much of the emphasis on the oral and visual found in the History component. Card games, dice, batting average percentages, racing form sheet adaptations, mathematically oriented dialogues, stock market reports on television and shopping visits to consumer agencies like the supermarket are all comprised in a curriculum format which is as potentially stimulating as it is ostensibly baroque.

Why have HESL and MESL components? Or, to pose the question as it was stated before: Isn't a specialized English course for foreign-born students enough to reasonably insure a relative measure of success in academic subject classes? The questions can be answered on both practical and linguistic grounds. From a practical perspective, most foreign-born students refuse to participate in classes with native English speakers. They are conscious of their accents, aware that mispronunciation may lead to the frustrations of being misunderstood, unsure of how they will be accepted by their native-speaking classmates and fearful of making a mistake lest their American peers judge them to be wholly ignorant. Consequently, they say nothing, and lead the teacher to believe they are very bright by nodding all the time or very stupid by staring blankly and uttering nothing when called upon to answer a question. There is little the teacher can do beyond developing extra assignments and offering supplemental tutoring after school. He or she is responsible to perhaps 25 or 30 other youngsters and cannot feasibly take time out from classroom instruction to individually assist foreign-born students. More importantly, the classroom teacher has had very little exposure to the adaptation of existing materials for ESL, HESL or MESL use. To be considered also is the fact that it takes a basic understanding of the language process to evaluate a student's progress in behavioral terms over an extended period of time. The more one works with second language programming, the more abundantly clear it becomes that it is easier to train ESL teachers for content area assignments than it is to train subject matter teachers for ESL assignments.

The linguistic arguments for providing courses in HESL and MESL run a lot deeper than the practical reasons. Basically, the issue or issues center around the different levels of communication and relative abilities in specific skill areas (speaking, reading, writing) of the ESL students. These issues really constitute separate topics for discourse and could best be answered in a wholly separate article. A brief condensation of the contributing facts can perhaps be managed here.

By separating the linguistic abilities of ESL students into three levels of proficiency, it becomes easier to understand why all students receiving specialized language instruction cannot be expected to make transferable use of those skills in the subject area classroom.

The first level can best be termed *Functioning In English*. This level is roughly equivalent to the language abilities of students in a beginning ESL class. For these students communication is entirely oral. They have not yet reached the developmental stage where they can begin utilizing language forms independent of their teacher or an assisting fellow student. What little oral English they have internalized is largely oriented around the classroom environment and non-transferable to any great extent in the larger school/community environment. Communication at this level is largely a matter of a highly controlled stimulus-response interaction between the student and teacher. The teacher provides the stimulus in the form of a well



practiced question calling for a specific answer or perhaps in the form of an illustrative visual towards which the student has been trained there are a limiting number of possible response choices. Once removed from the safe haven of the classroom itself, however, the student is confronted with an assortment of uncontrolled stimuli and unfamiliar oral models. The wider diversity of possible stimulus inducers and the potentially great differences in dialects between persons of the same speech community place untold burdens upon a youngster for whom communication was just becoming a fathomable maze. To expect such a youngster to achieve measurable success in native-English speaking subject classes is loosely equivalent to expecting a person who has just barely learned to swim a few splashing strokes to enter a one mile endurance contest. Mastery of a skill cannot be assumed simply because a person has begun *functioning* in the skill area.

By the time a student reaches the second level of communication, *Performing in English*, he is no longer solely dependent upon the classroom environment, a restricted number of stimuli nor a conveniently familiar speech model. Being able to perform in English involves the more sophisticated forms of language communication; reading, writing and expansive cultural experiences. Without these first two elements, reading and writing skills, the student could be hopelessly lost in a standard academic environment. He would be hard pressed to fulfill even the minimal course prerequisites of completing homework assignments, succeeding on quizzes and unit exams, and doing expected research papers. The often less discernable elements of critical thinking: analyzing, interpreting, synthesizing and communicating abstractions, while formatively developed in the native speakers but unconscious over the years must be consciously practiced by the foreign-born student before assimilation into his linguistic repertoire takes place.

The richness and multi-leveled meanings which native-speakers can attach to cultural experiences is often missed by foreign-born students who are striving for surface or concrete understanding. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by a specific example. Both the native and non-native speaker can give a semantical definition for the English word, *baseball*. The difference lies in the connotative richness of meaning which the word holds for native speakers which it does not hold for non-native speakers who are limited to the narrow perspective of comprehending the word as no more than a favorite sport of the American people. Ask any ten year old boy to engage in a free association of word experiences related to baseball and the response is likely to run the spectrum of grand slam, pop fly, triple play, seventh inning stretch, etc. The problem is not that the ESL student possesses no advanced linguistic abilities and cultural experiences but that the gap between what he knows and has experienced is so great when compared to what the native speaker of average ability already knows and has experienced.

The ESL, HESL and MESL classes should only be discontinued when the student has advanced to the point where *Competing in English* with native speakers is a plausible reality. Competing in English incorporates both the oral communication level of the functioning stage and the more advanced linguistic and cultural entities of the performing stage.

The second question asked at this paper's outset was: Should the academic class work be held in abeyance until the student has satisfactorily reached a level of language learning necessary to convince both himself and his instructors that he is sufficiently prepared?

Conceding the fact that such a level of satisfaction could be amenably agreed upon by student and teachers, holding course work in abeyance is still a poor educational policy to follow. The student's potential for intellectual growth and experiential advancement would be seriously curtailed.

The possibility exists that the student will interpret his lightened schedule as a reflection upon his inferior mental capacities not his linguistic handicaps, especially since he was in all probability able to succeed in academic subjects when taken in his native language. From an administrative vantage point, the removal of content subjects from the student's program will necessitate the devising of half day schedules. Foreign-born students would arrive at or leave at a different time than the rest of the school, thereby negatively accentuating his differentness from American students and depriving him of much needed linguistic exposure and cultural contact. Lastly, experience has shown that effective interdisciplinary approaches to education reinforce one another and develop strong learning ties. The whole concept of component extensions to an ESL program is rooted in the notion that there must be a decisive inter-relationship between educational parts if meaningful learning is to be derived.

What part can bilingual instruction play in the total second language program design? A most definite and instrumental part indeed. In fact, in those school systems where more than 50% of the student population is comprised of students representing a second language group, the ESL program should submerge its identity and defer its dominant role to become itself a smaller component in a larger whole; the bilingual program.

However, in those school systems where the percentages for any one language group is less than 50%; in those school systems where a multi-lingual speech communities reside; in those school systems where an ESL course of study and classes have already been established and a bilingual course of study and classes have not; and in those school systems where local boards or state education department decrees demand that academic credit be given only to those subjects taught entirely in English, a personal recommendation is hereby made that the administrators seriously consider the adoption of an extended ESL program incorporating the History and Math disciplines and perhaps the area of science within its organizational framework.

The advocacy of an extended ESL program should not be viewed as a plea for the permanent dismemberment of existing established curriculums but rather for the creation of a "temporary" spot on the education continuum whose subsequent accountability will be measured by its eventual demise.

## B. STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT

### Section 4. Attitudes

#### THE FUNCTIONAL NATURE OF SOCIAL DIALECTS: SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE TEACHING OF BLACK ENGLISH

Robert E. Cromack

##### 1. Introduction

Part of the problem of social change that our country is currently facing is a linguistic one. When a minority group, speaking a minority language, tries to take its rightful place in the structure of our society, the majority strongly resists it. This has happened to the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Swedes, and to the Jewish people. And now it is happening to the Black people, especially in an urban setting. Their rejection is partly because of language: as with the other groups, so-called "adequate English" becomes "a symbol of full citizenship" (Margaret Mead).

And yet, do we know what adequate English is? With time people change, social institutions change, whole cultures change. This change is natural. It is not decay, generally, but a constant attempt to adapt to the present situation and to maintain a balanced set of systems. A language, as one system in a culture, also changes. It adapts itself to the needs of the people who use it. If these people form groups within a larger society, then the language molds itself to match these groups. It could even be said that there is a separate English language for every speaker of English, for every group of people, and for every culturally relevant situation. The purist might say that we should speak the language of the classroom all the time; but many English "languages" have developed, each one appropriate to a different situation. Real language, then, has many jobs to do as it functions in a society.

In this sense all natural languages are adequate. They are all unique systems which function to meet the needs of the speech community which they serve. Only a natural language "allows for the whole range of human intelligence and responsiveness" (Mead). Furthermore, each dialect of our English language is adequate English. It can convey any message, whether of content or affect. And this includes all social dialects, but specifically

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the language varieties of the urban, working class Black people, the varieties which are the subject of our present discussion.

Non-industrial societies and cultures have traditionally been studied by American anthropologists. They have learned much about these societies and some have applied this knowledge to bring about social change with as little disruption as possible. Now these scientists are turning their attention to the more complex societies of our industrial civilizations, applying what they learned elsewhere to the situations where there are societies within societies. Much recent study has centered on the Black communities, especially in the area of sociolinguistics. I would like to suggest that some of these findings have direct application to the teacher of so-called "standard" English to the speakers of Black varieties of "non-standard" English. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is to suggest one area of study, the functional nature of social dialects, and certain principles of anthropology as they are applied to social and cultural change, which may prove of some use to the teacher.

## *2. Functions of language in culture*

The philosopher, Charles Morris, spoke of three kinds of language function: semiotic, syntactic, and pragmatic. The first involves the organization of denotational and connotational meaning in the vocabulary of a language; the second has to do strictly with the formal capacities of a language or dialect. We can not be concerned with these two for lack of space. The pragmatic function, on the other hand, is language as an effective tool. In this view language is adaptive in the cultural sense. It is used to get goods and services, to elicit some kind of response, to provide some kind of release for the speaker. There are, then, essentially three pragmatic functions of language in communicative interaction: manipulative, expressive, and informative. These functions are characterized in the chart following.

THE FUNCTIONAL NATURE OF SOCIAL DIALECTS

Functional categories*	Center of focus				Code capacity**		
	Context	Source (speaker) ↑	Receptor (hearer) →	Source and Receptor ↔	Topic	Elaborated	Restricted
<b>I. MANIPULATIVE*</b>							
<b>A. Emotive</b>							
1. Persuasive			x			x	
2. Scornful			x			x	
3. Provocative			x			x	
4. Pleasing			x			x	
5. Entertaining			x			x	
6. Fearful			x			x	
7. Accommodating			x			x	
8. Concealing			x			x	
<b>B. Imperative</b>			x		x		x
<b>C. Conversative</b>							
1. Contactive	x		x				x
2. Maintaining	x		x				x
3. Dominating	x		x				x
<b>D. Phatic</b>	x			x		x	x
<b>E. Identificational</b>				x	x	x	
<b>II. EXPRESSIVE*</b>							
A. Expressive		x				x	x
B. Impulsive	x	x					x
C. Evaluative		x			x	x	
<b>III. INFORMATIVE*</b>							
A. Informative					x	x	
B. Instructive					x	x	x

BLACK ENGLISH [Data from Kochman]

- "Rapping" = IE, IIA                      "Signifying" = IA3  
 "Playing the dozens" = IA3, IIA        "Shucking" = IA8  
 "Toasts" = IA5                            "Gripping" = IA6  
 "Run it down" = IIIA                    "Copping a plea" = IA6  
 "Whopping" = IE, IA2

\* Data from Nidn. Williams & Naremore, and Cromack  
 \*\* Classifications from Bernstein

This notion of language function in a behavioral sense is not new. Something of what may be involved is described quite satisfactorily by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son in 1751 concerning an attempt to persuade parliament to adopt the Gregorian calendar:

For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Slavonian [!] to them, as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well: so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them. I gave them, therefore, only a historical account of calendars, from the Egyptian down to the Gregorian, amusing them now and then with little episodes; but I was particularly attentive to the choice of my words, to the harmony and roundness of my periods, and to my elocution, to my action. This succeeded, and ever will succeed; they thought I informed, because I pleased them; and many of them said that I had made the whole very clear to them; when, God knows, I had not even attempted it.

Recently, Dell Hymes and other ethno-linguists have pointed out more rigorously that there is structure and pattern in the way a language functions in its matrix culture. There are behavioral norms and conventions which specify when it is appropriate to use language and when not, and what level of language usage is appropriate to a specific communicative situation. Pragmatic functions at one point or another involve all the constituent elements of the communicative act—its situational context, the speaker and hearer, the message, the code, and the vehicle. Yet the different types vary according to which elements are dominant in the interaction and according to the elaborateness of the code used. Manipulation by emotion, for example, invariably has the recipient of the message in focus, rather than the message or the speaker; and it uses an elaborated code, with a large repertoire of devices.

There is room to present just a few of the pragmatic functions outlined in the chart. The imperative function is directive in nature, giving commands. It involves the topic and the receiver primarily. Three functions are applicable to conversational settings: speech to initiate the conversation, to keep the conversation going, and to dominate the conversation. These forms have the receiver and the context in focus, rather than the topic, and they tend to have a restricted code. Phatic communication is manipulative in the sense that it controls the attitudes and interactions of participants by establishing or dissolving rapport; it involves both the speaker and the hearer, as well as the context; it uses either elaborated or restricted code. It is exemplified by cocktail party behavior in which a neutral topic, such as the weather or sports, allows the participants to find out the social status and current mental state of each other and to adjust their behavior accordingly. Expressive language tends to focus on the speaker; its function is to give the speaker verbal release from tension; it can range in richness from the "ouch" or "damn, damn, damn" of an immediate situation to the outer reaches of poetic language. Finally, there are informative functions in language, as well as the expressive and manipulative ones. They focus on the topic of the message, and can involve either an elaborated code or a restricted one.

The rich variety of language styles recognized by the Black community as being functional in their personal interactions has been noted by several educators and socio-linguistic researchers. Kochman (1969:26, 31), for example, enumerates and defines a large number of them from the Chicago ghettos:

"Rapping," "shucking," "jiving," "running it down," "gripping," "copping a plea," "signifying," and "sounding" are all part of the Black ghetto idiom and describe different kinds of talking. Each has its own distinguishing features of

form, style, and function; each is influenced by, and influences the speaker, setting, and audience; and each sheds light on the black perspective and the black condition—on those orienting values and attitudes that will cause a speaker to speak or perform in his own way within the social context of the black community. . . .

"Running it down" is the term used by speakers in the ghetto when it is their intention to give information, either by explanation, narrative, or giving advice.

Other modes of Black speech, according to Kochman, are mostly manipulative and expressive. In one usage, "rapping" is essentially persuasive and expressive. It involves projecting one's personality in animated speech. "Playing the dozens," or "capping," or "sounding" is a highly valued use of language. It is a game of verbal insult which may function to relieve tensions. To "whup the game" on a "trick" or "lame" is to try to get goods or services from someone who looks like he can be swindled. "Shucking it" is a form of language behavior practiced by the Black when confronting "the Man," in which real feelings are concealed behind a mask of innocence, ignorance, childishness, obedience, humility, or deference. It is a language of concealment. Finally, "toasts" are long, rhymed, witty, narrative stories, which demonstrate, Kochman says, that ability with words is apparently as highly valued as physical strength.

These examples will suffice to demonstrate the broad range of functional speech styles recognized by speakers of Black English. There are, of course, many others not explicitly recognized by them but alive and well in their midst. As you may surmise, there is a growing body of information of this kind available to the educator who is interested in understanding the culture, society and native dialect of the Black. Similar patterns can be found in all dialects of English, as well. This information can prove invaluable to a teacher in a second dialect program. In addition to this, however, there are other areas of information from anthropology which the teacher must be ready to use. They have to do with the teacher's awareness and attitudes.

### 3. *The teacher's awareness and attitudes*

While no one has all the answers to our social problems in relation to language, some suggestions to the teacher of Black students can be made. Applied anthropologists have found that the agent of change—which, in essence, the teacher is—must be aware of certain factors in his teaching situation and must have certain attitudes toward the language and people with whom he is working.

#### *The importance of language*

Perhaps the most important criterion for the teacher who is committed to bringing about social change in the most effective way is an awareness of the centrality of language to the sociocultural context in which he is operating. As with all human beings, he is working with people whose language is an integral part of them as individuals within a society and culture. A person's language is important to him; by it he interprets himself and his values. The teacher can attack Black English, and by this means attack the individual, his society and culture; or, the teacher can value this language and work through it.

As I am using the term "Black English," it is not a put-down. It is

not an evaluation, but rather a designation, a technical term for a full-fledged dialect of English. Sometimes from the disciplines of sociology and psychology, and even of education, comes the evaluative belief that the economically disadvantaged speakers of Black English are essentially incapable of "doing better." The impression is given that not only is their language deficient, but the speakers themselves are deficient. We have seen from the earlier sketchy presentation of the variety of speech styles that this is not the case. The sociolinguist replaces this *deficiency* model with a *difference* model (Baratz, 1968).

And yet, the teacher must also be aware that it is natural to feel that, because someone is different in some way, he is probably not quite as good. This attitude has been observed by many ethnographers and given various labels, one of which is "linguistic ethnocentrism." It says that "my language is best and all others are different and probably, surely, not as good as mine." It reflects a fact of social attitude and interaction rather than of language or personal capacity. We all tend to be ethnocentric in most areas of culture. The Cashinawas, a Tropical Forest people of South America with whom I lived for a few years, call themselves the Real People, their language the Real Tongue, and anything foreign is looked down upon.

It must be remembered, however, that while language may function to reinforce these divisions already present in a macro-society, it is also a tool to break down these same barriers. Members of minority groups, or any permanent group for that matter, do find satisfaction, protection, and solidarity because they speak a language common to them alone and to their speech community. It is like the high school students who invariably establish their own private language and must change it as soon as outsiders begin to learn it. Even if the outsider may think he is "in," he is "out"—by weeks or months. This private language functions to protect and please its speakers and to mark them as belonging.

If the teacher begins to learn the language of the Black students whom he is trying to reach, he may find that the language is quicksilver, slipping through his fingers. But this can only be in certain, almost superficial ways, such as the vocabulary of the moment; the basic structure and world-view remain the same. He will also find from this willingness to learn the language, that, while the language unites its speakers and may leave him out, still he has opened an avenue of contact with them. He has begun to understand their view of life and can communicate with them in ways they understand. Eventually, with demonstrated trustworthiness and identification on the part of the teacher with his students, rapport will be established and the barriers will come down.

The teacher should be aware from another perspective that the attitudes of the Black students enter into this matter of breaking down barriers. As we have seen, part of the majority's self-defense is keeping out anything different, in maintaining things as they are. And this includes language. Many Black people have recognized that one of the tools of upward mobilization which has great power for them is the very language of Whitey. They have either learned his language or realize that somehow it would help them to learn it. The white-built barriers *can* be breached and the young people know it.

#### *Bilingual or bidialectal education?*

There should be no problem of motivation for the student of standard English who really wants to go someplace—and most do. The hesitations may be due to the attitudes of teacher or peer. The teacher must be aware



that the individual values his language and does not want to lose it. People learning a second language realize how intimately one's identity is linked with his language. Sociologists and the learning psychologists talk of "anomic," of the feeling of not belonging which comes upon people at certain stages of foreign language learning. The student wants to run back to his own people; his identity is being threatened. So it is with the speakers of one social dialect who begin to learn a second dialect. The student must be made aware at the outset that the teacher's aim is not to destroy his "native" dialect, the language he uses most of the time, the language he uses with his friends, his mother, in his most intimate times. This is the language by which he knows who he is, by which he identifies himself and others and views the world in which he lives. He should be made aware that what the teacher wants to do is add a second dialect—just like bilingual speakers have added a second language to their mother tongue.

This second dialect will be appropriately used in the situations he will find himself when he enters Whitey's world. He will be able to communicate and to project the "educated" image which will serve him there. You and I know that his education in the streets may have equipped him to survive within the urban jungle. I will again draw the parallel to the Cashinawas, who are not educated in one sense, but who know more about the flora and fauna of the tropical forest and about the times and seasons and how to live there than any modern educator. But both the educator and the Black student should realize that what is needed is the instrumental language, that of the dominant society, as a tool for upward mobility. Teaching a second language or a second dialect is a form of social and cultural change. Rather than erasing the first dialect, this type of change adds something—another language code, a new set of options available to the speaker so he can take on more promising roles in the society.

The teacher should also be aware that learning a second dialect is different in some ways from learning a second language, although there are some parallels. In learning a foreign language the student expects to assimilate a different world-view along with the language. This is not a threat to him—after the first bouts with culture shock—because he realizes that this is precisely a different culture, society and language, and his own remains intact. It cannot be touched, so he cannot. It is compartmentalized. Where learning a second, social dialect is concerned, however, there can be long-range traumatic effects. In this situation the world-views of speakers of Whitey's English and Black English overlap in some areas, but with vital core differences. These differences are conspicuous to the dominant society and they put on pressure to conform to their norms. There is long-term contact between the two dialects, with interference in both directions. There is a tug-of-war between them with regard to the language loyalty of the bidialectal speakers, the situations in which the dialects will be used, and the code-switching capacity of the speakers.

#### *Rapport, richness, and rightness*

From an awareness of these forces at work, a teacher should take certain attitudes toward his students who are going to be learning standard English as a second dialect. We all know that there are teachers who "put the fear" into their students, who dominate and tend to repress a student who in other circumstances is verbal and articulate. In the case of Black students there may enter an unconscious, or conscious, racism on the part of the teacher. The child is already in an alien world and his added confusion is put down to stupidity or a deficiency in the language itself, as

we have seen. In contrast to this, let me reinforce just a few of the attitudes which are necessary for the successful teacher and agent of social, cultural, and linguistic change.

The successful agent of change works with individuals by establishing rapport with them. He adapts himself to them as much as possible and identifies with them. In some aspects we are all minority speakers or members of a subculture. We should face our own minority experience, understand that of others, and perhaps empathize with them, identifying ourselves with the students who are members of racial minorities. The teacher, then, should neither be sycophantic, nor patronizing, nor terrorizing. The attitude of the teacher could help in some respects to keep the chip off the Black student's shoulder and prevent his scorn or fear or conning of the teacher.

The successful agent of change also has an attitude of respect for the richness of the language and culture of the people with whom he works. He realizes that, while the "non-standard" dialect is different, it is not inferior. It is rich in its repertoire both of forms and of usage. The teacher does not "knock" Black English to its speakers but encourages a genuine bi-dialectalism.

Finally, the teacher takes the attitude that there is no dichotomy "right or wrong," "correct or incorrect" to parallel that of "standard-nonstandard." Rather there is a complementary set of norms, of expectable patterns of behavior in a given social situation and the corresponding appropriate style of speech to match, adequate to meet the communicative needs of content or affect.

#### 4. Conclusions

It is clear, then, that the teacher of English as a second dialect has more to do than deal with only a list of phonological and grammatical differences between such dialects as "standard" English and Black English. He must also be aware of the ways in which individuals and their language are involved in society and culture. Any social dialect, since it is part of a natural language, is adequate to meet the communicative needs of its speakers; Black English has a repertoire of verbal styles appropriate to the situations of society and culture met in the Black community. Adding a second dialect offers a means to a broader range of roles within the larger society. The teacher can encourage such change—or prevent it—depending on his attitude toward his students and their language. He has the responsibility to add to his fund of knowledge concerning the functional nature of social dialects and the methods of effective agents of change.

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### WHAT CAN AN ENGLISH TEACHER DO ABOUT NONSTANDARD DIALECT?

Ralph W. Fasold

In order to get the problem of what an English teacher can do about nonstandard dialects<sup>1</sup> into perspective, we should ask what English teachers hope to accomplish in the classroom. It may be that there are as many objectives as there are teachers, but I have little doubt that almost every teacher wants all of her pupils to be able to read well and to use correct English in both speech and writing. It will be my contention that reaching the objective in reading and writing may well involve some highly unorthodox procedures for children who speak nonstandard English. I am further going to suggest that trying to teach all students to speak correct English may not even be a reasonable objective.

What it means to read well is relatively clear. We expect every educated person to be able to read and understand any written material he is likely to use. But it is a good deal less clear just what it means to "use correct English in speech and writing." The whole issue hangs on the notion of "correct English." Contrary to the opinion of some teachers, there is no single set of rules which defines what is correct in language at every time and in every place. What is correct English for one person might be very incorrect for another, and vice-versa. This assertion is not new; linguists have been making statements of this kind for years. An analogy from mathematics is sometimes used as a counterargument. Just because

<sup>1</sup>There are numerous notions of the term "dialect" within and outside of the linguistics profession. The concept used in this paper is that a dialect is to a language as a piece of pie is to the whole pie. Just as one cannot bite into a pie which has been cut into pieces without biting into one of its pieces, so one cannot speak a language without speaking one of its dialects. Some of these dialects are accepted as standard, other are not so accepted and are considered nonstandard.

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a child has always thought that  $2 + 2 = 5$  does not mean that his arithmetic teacher should allow him to continue to think so. Similarly, the argument runs, just because a child has always said "I ain't got none" does not mean his English teacher should allow him to continue to use this construction. But the analogy is a mistaken one. Relations in arithmetic have inherent truth values. The sum of 2 and 2 must be 4; it could not conceivably be anything else. Grammar rules do not determine something which is *inherently* correct. If grammar rules are properly formulated and understood, they are descriptions of how people happen to use language to communicate with each other. A grammar rule is correct only so long as it accurately predicts how sentences are actually used in a certain speech community. The same grammar rule becomes incorrect if the members of the speech community cease using the kind of sentences it predicts. A rule which is correct for one speech community becomes incorrect if it is applied to the speech of a different community in which the sentences it predicts are not used. A grammar rule which says that present-day English speakers use sentences like "Thou goest well" would be incorrect since it predicts sentences that are no longer used. In the same way, rules which disallow the use of "ain't" and the use of two negatives in the same sentence are incorrect for communities of speakers of nonstandard English. These rules would predict that a sentence like "I ain't got none" do not occur, but the simple fact is that they do occur. From another angle, the correct grammar for the same nonstandard English speaking community would not allow the sentence "I haven't any" since this kind of sentence does not occur. The most useful notion of "correct English grammar" is that a correct English grammar accurately describes how English is used by a community of its speakers. This implies that there are as many correct grammars as there are communities of speakers.

Many teachers, even if they come to accept the linguist's notion of correct, will still object that nonstandard dialect should be eliminated because it keeps its speakers from thinking logically. But linguists have found that logical thinking can be expressed in *any* grammatical system which has so far been investigated. Many linguistic scientists would agree that the ability to express logic is a property of *all* human language. If we examine what is objectionable in nonstandard English, we find from the point of view of logic, that much of it is very trivial. "He go to school" expresses the same concept as "He goes to school." The absence of the suffix spelled *es* does not obscure the meaning of the sentence; nor does it make it illogical in any sense. Most standard English speakers prefer the second version of the sentence simply because it is customary for educated people to use "goes" with subjects like "he."

Other sentences which follow nonstandard grammar rules instead of standard English rules strike some observers as defective. Sentences with double negatives, for example, are said to be illogical since "two negatives make a positive." But if we return to our concept of language as a communicative tool, we see the problem disappear. When a speaker of nonstandard English utters a sentence like "He didn't do nothing" he means "He didn't do anything" and his meaning is perfectly well understood by other nonstandard English speakers and—let us be honest—by standard English speakers as well. If a child who uses nonstandard English intends a negative sentence and his intention is understood, then there is no problem of logic, no matter how many negative words he puts into the sentence to emphasize its meaning. We cannot claim that there is something inherently illogical about sentences with double negatives unless we are prepared to claim that all French speakers, for example, think

illogically. French is one of several languages which *require* two negative words in common kinds of negative sentences.

A similar kind of reasoning applies to the use of nonstandard sentences in which the speaker "leaves out the verb," as in "They bad kids." It would be serious indeed if there were speakers who left out any verb indiscriminately, but it turns out that the verb "left out" by nonstandard English speakers is always "is" or "are." As in the case of double negatives, we find here that the predication relationship, which must be expressed by a form of "to be" in standard English, is perfectly well understood by anyone who speaks the dialect and by most standard English speakers. A look at the languages of the world reveals that there are several in which words for "to be" can be omitted without misunderstanding: Hebrew, Russian and Siamese being only three examples. There are also other points in which nonstandard grammar might be said to inhibit logical reasoning, but these examples are sufficient to indicate the futility of this line of inquiry.

Some distinctions seem to be made somewhat more readily in standard dialects of English than in some nonstandard ones. The distinction between "can" and "could" is one which some black nonstandard speaking children do not seem to control, at least in the same way the distinction is made in standard English. These youngsters tend to use "could" in sentences like "I could ride a bicycle" where "can" would be expected in standard English. On the other hand, there are other subtle distinctions which are easy to make in a nonstandard dialect which can only be made periphrastically in standard English. When a speaker of one black nonstandard variety of English says "I been done learned that," far from simply torturing English grammar, he is making an emphatic statement which cannot be made by using "I've learned that" or the like. The meaning here is that the speaker has learned the item in question thoroughly some time ago and it is superfluous to suggest he learn it again. The nearest equivalent in standard English would be something like "I learned that a lo-o-ng time ago" where a time adverb and intonation must be used to cover an area which is handily covered by the resources of the nonstandard grammar. On balance, there are probably about the same number of subtle distinctions which are possible in each dialect of English; they are just different distinctions.

The problem of language *use* is another issue which should be kept separate from questions of inherent language ability. It is quite likely that there are syntactic constructions present in a child's grammar which he is not accustomed to use in ways necessary for functioning in school. Carl Bereiter provides a classic example of this (Bereiter 1965: 200) although he mistakenly gives it as an example of language disability. Bereiter observed that some disadvantaged four-year-old black children cannot perform "simple 'if-then' deductions." He gives the following example:

The child is presented a diagram containing big squares and little squares. All the big squares are red, but the little squares are of various other colors. "If the square is big, what do you know about it?" "It's red."

The child cannot make the correct response, therefore he is incompetent in using if-then constructions. But Bereiter himself goes on to admit:

This use of *if* should not be confused with the antecedent-consequent use that appears in such expressions as, "If you do that again, I'm going to hit you," and which the child may already be able to understand.

In other words, even Bereiter would not deny that the child has the grammatical skill to at least interpret if-then constructions. One could even go further and show that a child who doesn't even use the word "if" still has still mastered the if-then logic. A sentence like "You don't stop messin' wif me, I'ma hit you upside you head" demonstrates mastery of if-then logic just as surely as "If you should continue to annoy me, then I shall beat you about the head." What Bereiter is calling a language disability is a question of use. The children he is referring to may be perfectly well able to use if-then logic. Their difficulty comes in applying it to Bereiter's problem concerning the colored squares. Incidentally, his problem strikes me as a formidable test of *any* four-year-old's ability.

In the light of these considerations, we can return to our consideration of what might be reasonable objectives for English teachers in dealing with nonstandard dialect. There are four areas of language skill traditionally discussed by applied linguists: hearing, speaking, reading and writing. We will consider possible objectives in terms of each of these four areas.

Although any teacher could probably relate isolated anecdotes about children who do not understand spoken standard English, it is likely that hearing is the area in which there are the fewest problems related to dialect differences. Even children who are most severely restricted to ghettos come into contact with standard English from earliest childhood through television and radio. As a result, they gain considerable competence in understanding standard dialects, which are, after all, closely related to their non-standard variety of English.

Dr. Joan Baratz (1969) has performed an interesting experiment which serves to illustrate this very point. In part of the experiment, she asked black children who spoke nonstandard English to repeat sentences in standard English. Many of these children did not repeat the sentences exactly but gave the nonstandard equivalent. What does this mean? It does not mean that the youngsters were so linguistically handicapped that they could not even repeat a simple sentence; in fact, a similar group of middle-class white youngsters were equally incapable of repeating sentences given them in nonstandard English. What these children had done was to decode the standard English sentence correctly and recode it in more familiar patterns. These results demonstrate clearly the fact that children who do not speak standard English still may be able to understand it.

Research which indicates that some children are poor at "auditory discrimination" (Wepman 1960) is received by linguists with some uneasiness for two reasons. First, it is a well-known fact that people are good at discriminating only those phonetic contrasts which are used to differentiate words in their own language. An English speaker for this reason would have considerable difficulty distinguishing the Siamese word *pit* 'to close' from the word *bit* 'twist' because of the special phonetic qualities of the Siamese *p*. In his turn, the Siamese speaker will have trouble distinguishing the English word *rip* and *lip* since *r* and *l* do not differentiate Siamese words. Similarly, there are certain sounds which distinguish words in standard English which do not have this function in some non-standard dialects. Giving youngsters who speak such dialects an "auditory discrimination test" based on standard English is rather like giving an English speaker a test based on Siamese phonetic distinctions. A poor showing would not necessarily indicate difficulty in auditory discrimination in either case.

Another reason for poor performance on such tests is difficulty with the instructions, as pointed out by Marion Blank (1968). She sees these difficulties as indicating deficiencies in cognitive development, but they

are better understood as the result of culture conflict. Unlike the middle class child, the lower class child does not come to school expecting to play this kind of game with words, although as Thomas Kochman points out (1969) black ghetto youngsters are, or come to be, proficient in other kinds of verbal skills the middle class child knows nothing about. In general there is nothing the English teacher need worry about with regard to hearing in most cases.

The second major area has to do with speech. It is perfectly clear that proficiency in understanding standard dialects of English does not imply proficiency in speaking standard English. Proficiency in speaking standard English, then could be proposed as a goal for an English teacher to set for her nonstandard English speaking pupils. We have already indicated that there are two poor reasons for setting this goal. The desire to teach absolutely correct English is a poor reason because no variety of any language is ultimately and inherently "correct" in the sense that mathematical relationships are. Teaching standard English for the purpose of giving the children a basis for cognitive development is a poor reason because nonstandard syntax is equally capable of providing such a base. Nevertheless, another reason might be advanced for teaching standard English linguistic forms. Even if the contention that nonstandard English is correct for a child in some situations is accepted; even if there is agreement on the adequacy of nonstandard English for cognitive development, there is still the question of social acceptability. The use of a socially unacceptable dialect may well place a person at a social and economic disadvantage. No one would hire a young woman as a receptionist and switchboard operator if her grammar is nonstandard; and no one would hire a young man as an automobile salesman if his English is not acceptable to potential customers. This argument has considerably more merit than the other two, and is, in fact, the position taken by myself and Roger Shuy in the introduction to *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* (Fasold and Shuy 1970). Nevertheless, I have more recently come to the conclusion that even this argument has a very serious flaw. To a large degree, what the English teacher does in the classroom with regard to spoken standard English is irrelevant. Speakers who start out speaking nonstandard English but find that they need to learn standard English will learn it, and those who do not will not, almost independently of what their English teachers do. The reason is that learning spoken language is unlike any other kind of learning. Spoken language cannot be taught only with the methods, materials and motivational strategies used to teach other subjects. I have serious doubts that one very necessary factor in learning new spoken skills, whether a new dialect or a whole new language, even *can* be supplied in the classroom. It is crucial that there be a viable expectation and desire on the part of the learner to become a member of the group represented by the speakers of the new language, dialect or style. If this factor is present, other methods and motivations may also contribute to successful learning of new spoken language skills. But if it is missing, nothing that goes on in the classroom can make up for its absence.

Psychologists and others interested in second language acquisition—which is different in degree but not in kind from second dialect acquisition—have realized the crucial importance of group reference to successful language learning. Discussing the learning of Hebrew by immigrants to Israel, Professor Simon Herman (1961: 162-163) states:

If, as our analysis would indicate, group references play an important part in the choice of a language, it would follow that the readiness of a person to learn and use a second language may depend in part on the measure of his willingness

to identify with the group with which the language is associated—or, at any rate, on his desire to reduce the social distances between himself and that group.

Whyte and Homberg (1956:13) found that this factor sometimes outweighed even inborn language-learning ability in predicting the success of U.S. businessmen in learning a second language in Latin America:

A strong psychological identification with the other people and culture may more than make up for below average learning ability whereas a man of superior language ability may fail to make the necessary psychological identification and make poor progress.

John Gunperz (1966) gives an example which illustrates that absence of this group reference factor can nullify the tendency for people to learn the speech habits of those who have superior social status. There are three tribes in South India who have lived together for hundreds of years. Two of these tribes occupy a socially inferior position to the third. Yet members of these tribes do not learn the prestige language of the third tribe because the caste-like social system precludes the possibility that they will ever be accepted as members of the higher group.

If similar studies of second dialect learning were available, I am sure the same observations would be made. Without an expectation of acceptance on the part of the learner, there is small hope of success in language or dialect teaching. If this expectation is present, the new language or dialect is likely to be learned, even in the absence of formal teaching. Some nonstandard English speakers have such an expectation with respect to the standard English speaking community; others do not. I know of no really effective way that it can be provided in the classroom for those who do not.

I suspect that almost any English speaker can provide himself with a feel for the sort of rejection of prestige speech which is involved here. There are certain points of grammar which are taught as correct, and most standard English speakers will admit that they "should" use them, yet they don't. Some examples of these appear in the table below.

<i>Rule</i>	<i>One "should" say</i>	<i>One often says</i>
Use nominative forms of pronouns when they are the subjects of understood verbs.	He is human, just like you or I.	He is human, just like you or me.
<i>Rule</i>	<i>One "should" say</i>	<i>One often says</i>
Never end a clause with a preposition.	The slot in which it goes.	The slot it goes in.
Use "may" to request permission.	May I have another piece of pie?	Can I have another piece of pie?
Use "whom" as direct object.	Whom did you meet?	Who did you meet?
Make the <i>t</i> sound distinct from the <i>d</i> sound between vowels.	bet-ter	bedder

Most English speakers who have been through elementary school will recognize these rules as some of those which govern correct English. Yet I am sure that honest reflection will reveal that some or all of these rules are usually ignored in ordinary conversation. This poses an interesting dilemma. Why do so many educated speakers fail to use what they would