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AUTHOR Crymes, Ruth, Ed.; Norris, William, Ed.
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ABSTRACT

The 23 papers in this volume are classified into the following seven areas: (1) the profession, (2) the teacher, (3) the learner, (4) programs, (5) the organization of materials, (6) testing, and (7) the classroom. The papers appear here just as they were prepared for presentation at the 1974 TESOL Convention. The three papers in part 1 look at changes in English language teaching practices, the differences between British and American approaches to teaching English, and the social, cultural, and political dimensions of English language instruction. In part 2 emphasis is placed on training programs for ESL teachers. The four papers in the "focus on the learner" section stress the need for a deeper understanding of the cultural and social, as well as linguistic, background of the language learner. In "focus on programs," two papers deal with bilingual education in the U.S. and one with a short-term program for Japanese teachers visiting the U.S. The papers in part 5 deal with selecting and sequencing materials for instruction. Part 6 provides information for the test writer, the teacher, and the test-writing teacher. The final section presents three papers detailing specific classroom activities and teaching techniques. The papers by M. Finocchiaro and B. K. Taska have already been entered into the ERIC system as ED 091 948 and ED 096 812, respectively. (PMP)

ON TESOL 74

Selected Papers from the
Eighth Annual TESOL Convention
Denver, Colorado
March 5–10, 1974

Co-Editors
Ruth Crymes, University of Hawaii
William E. Norris, Georgetown University

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
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Foreword

This volume represents a coming of age for TESOL. The wheel has come full circle. The first three ad hoc conferences on teaching English to speakers of other languages held in Tucson, San Diego and New York in the spring seasons of 1964, 1965 and 1966 respectively, resulted in three volumes which came to be known as the *On Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages Series*. These volumes were, in effect, the proceedings of those conferences.

When TESOL became an organization in its own right in March of 1966, it was decided that selected papers from the conventions would no longer be published in single volume proceedings, but rather would constitute the core for the then fledgling *TESOL Quarterly*. We were new and struggling and for the first several years Betty Wallace Robinett relied upon papers from the conventions to fill the pages of the *Quarterly*. Today, however, the reverse is true. Editor Ruth Crymes reports that she gets more papers of high quality from sources other than the convention than she can handle in the *Quarterly* alone. Because such a backlog of good articles has developed, the Executive Committee of TESOL at its meeting in Denver on March 9, 1974, directed the Publications Committee to publish *On TESOL 74*, which would consist solely of papers selected from the Denver convention. Thus, we now have both the *Quarterly* and a special publication to accommodate our membership and its needs.

As we near our tenth year of existence as an organization, I think we can all be justifiably proud of the progress we have made as a profession and as professionals. This progress and growth is reflected, not only in our *Quarterly*, but also in publications such as this one. Among other things, they reflect the interests of members, as may be seen also in the new constitutional revision which was drawn up to include our very important special interest groups in EFL in foreign countries, EFL for foreign students in the U.S., ESL for U.S. residents in general, ESL in bilingual education, ESL in adult education, Standard English as a Second Dialect, and Applied Linguistics.

Many thanks and congratulations go to our indefatigable *Quarterly* editor, Ruth Crymes, and our equally energetic Publications Committee Chairman, William E. Norris, for the special efforts they have exerted in seeing this volume to completion in time for the Los Angeles Convention. The secret of TESOL's success lies in its membership and in the missionary-like zeal of such willing, unpaid volunteers who bring to their task a thorough professionalism and an unswerving dedication to quality.

JAMES E. ALATIS
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

Preface

Once a year the annual TESOL Convention is the forum for intensive discussion, evaluation and interchange on the many and varied concerns and activities of TESOL. Many things make up a successful convention, but the core is always the papers presented by members and guest speakers. For the 1974 Convention in Denver the Convention Chairman, Albino B. Baca, organized more than 75 speakers for the general and small group sessions. In addition there were numerous tutorial sessions, round table seminars, rap sessions, and demonstrations. Traditionally the *TESOL Quarterly* has published many of the best convention papers, but space limitations slow their timely appearance. To bring the benefits of the convention to a wider audience the Executive Committee voted in Denver to revive *On TESOL*, the series in which papers from the TESOL Conferences of 1964, '65 and '66 had been collected. The twenty-three papers selected for inclusion in *On TESOL 74* were chosen to reflect the wide-ranging interests of our membership and our profession as demonstrated through the convention. The papers appear here just as they were prepared for presentation at the convention; readers should keep in mind that the authors were not given an opportunity to make revisions before publication.

The multi-dimensional concerns of the 1974 TESOL Convention are delineated in the first three papers, which provide a FOCUS ON THE PROFESSION. Albert H. Marckwardt looks at changes in English language teaching practices through time, concentrating on the recent past; Peter Strevens looks at differences in terms of geographical space, specifically the differences between British and American approaches to teaching English; and Arthur H. King, though his title announces a British view, provides a global perspective on the social, cultural, and political dimensions of English language teaching in both EFL and ESL situations.

IN FOCUS ON THE TEACHER the first paper, by Mary Finocchiaro, surveys the current curricular and human concerns of the ESL profession within the context of a discussion of the heavy demands that are made of ESL teachers and a summary of the characteristics of the superior teacher. The next two papers describe specific teacher training programs. Suzanne Salimbene writes about a practical one-semester program developed by a Language Center in Greece to train both native and non-native speakers of English as English teachers. Betty K. Taska describes the development of longer term, large scale English teacher training programs for non-native speakers in Francophone Africa. The last paper, by Sidney Greenbaum, addresses itself to a discussion of what kind of grammar a teacher needs to study in a teacher training program.

The four papers in the FOCUS IN THE LEARNER section emphasize the need for a deeper understanding of where the language learner is when he comes to school—culturally and socially as well as linguistically. Muriel

Saville-Troike deals with the need of teachers to become aware of the cultural attitudes towards language and education that children bring to school with them. She makes a plea for teachers and schools to do their share in the child-to-school and school-to-child adaptation process. John P. Milon presents evidence of the salutory effects of placing newly arrived immigrant students with their age-mates rather than at lower grade levels. Raymond Rodrigues reports on an experiment which showed that the bilingual students which he studied were not linguistically deprived in their use of English syntax, a finding which suggests that standardized tests which indicate retardation in the language skills of bilinguals are linguistically and culturally biased.

In FOCUS ON PROGRAMS, two of the papers deal with bilingual education in the United States and one with a short-term program for Japanese teachers visiting the United States. John W. Oller suggests that the stated goals of some bilingual programs in the United States constitute promises which are paradoxically nullified by some of the methods of implementation. He argues for more careful implementation and evaluation. Di Florio describes the planning and implementation of a program in bilingual education for about 100 Spanish and Italian-speaking children in Syracuse, New York. Duque and Puhl outline the four-week summer program that they developed for Japanese teachers, which combines both structured work in the classroom and spontaneous use of language in the community.

The papers in the FOCUS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF MATERIALS section deal in one way or another with selecting and sequencing materials for instruction. Sadae Iwataki describes the rationale and development of a beginning ESL text for adult Asians, a product of a project carried out in Los Angeles. Audiolingual in approach, the text presents all the language skills in terms of the project's analysis of the learners' social, cultural, and linguistic needs. Diane E. Larsen reports on inadequacies of the various criteria used in ESL textbooks for sequencing grammatical items and suggests instead the use of frequency and usefulness as a basis for sequencing. Don L.F. Nilsen discusses sets of lexical items in terms of the concept of semantic feature. He distinguishes between semantic sets, which are denotatively related, and collocational sets, which are situationally related, and suggests ways of organizing lexical items for more effective teaching of vocabulary. Nancy Arapoff-Cramer presents a scheme for organizing instruction of writing in terms of cognitive considerations whereby writing which is organized sequentially is introduced first, then that which is organized structurally, next that which is classificatory and finally that which is evaluative.

The three papers in FOCUS ON TESTING provide useful information for the test writer, the teacher, and the test-writing teacher. Barbara K. Dobson shows student errors can be used in the construction of multiple-choice tests which are reliable and valid, and which save the test-writing

teacher a lot of work. Andrew D. Cohen provides a detailed description of how the professional test writer goes about developing a test for a new purpose, in this case distinguishing the English language problems of the recently-arrived foreign student from those of the non-so-recent immigrant or the American-born non-native speaker. Stanley F. Wanat reports that an analysis of reading readiness tests in current use shows that the tests do not take into account the stage of language development of the learner nor his language needs; the tests themselves are thus a part of the "reading problem."

The final section, FOCUS ON THE CLASSROOM, presents papers detailing some of the things that can go on in the language classroom. W. R. Lee presents a philosophy of teaching which can direct all activities that the classroom teacher devises. Jose M. Burruel, Julie Gomez and James W. Ney report an experiment in transformational sentence-combing which suggests an effective technique for language instruction. John H. Schumann presents six communication activities which he recommends as supplements to current ESL programs.

The classroom is where "the buck stops"; hence FOCUS ON THE CLASSROOM concludes this publication. The next steps must be taken by the individual readers using these articles, who, it is to be hoped, will in turn share through their own papers and articles their concerns, findings, and classroom successes.

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Acknowledgement: The editors are grateful for the assistance of members of the Publications, Research, and Testing Committees of TESOL who participated in the selection of these papers.

RC & WEN

ON TESOL 74

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FOCUS ON THE PROFESSION

English Teaching Abroad: A Survey of the Field*

Albert H. Marckwardt
University of Michigan

I feel about this title as I do about certain others, that anyone who commits himself to deal with it in something under an hour must be either an impostor or an optimist. I hope that after I finish, I shall fall into the second category rather than the first. For the present, I can only say with Chaucer, "By God, I have a wide feld to ere."

Even if we are to look at a single country or part of the world—far short of a global view—the variety, if not the complexity, of English teaching activities is imposing. There is the teaching within the state-supported educational systems, which may begin at any one of a number of points, ranging from the elementary school to the institutions of higher learning. There is the English instruction that is available to adults, at times a part of the continuing education system of the country, and at times supported by donor country resources.

How all of this is done is dependent in part upon the status of English in the host country: whether it is a second language, a foreign language, or a so-called "library language," for which I prefer the term "language of study." There should, of course, be a definite connection between the use to which the language is put and the way in which the subject is presented in the classroom. And clearly the mode of presentation bears a reciprocal relationship to the nature of the teaching materials which are available. Nor can we escape the vexing question of the national variety of English, British or American, which is to serve as the basis of instruction. Although to some of us this may seem a grossly overblown and exaggerated issue, it is a worrisome matter for thousands of teachers the world over, often heightened by the unenlightened and inflexible character of federally set, country-wide examinations. Multiply all of this by an index of educational diversity prevailing the world over, and any attempted survey becomes a hazardous undertaking indeed. The best that can be done in a short space is to outline certain general trends as they have developed over the past decade and to view them in the light of the highly varied situations in which they must operate.

The first issue which inevitably commands our attention is that of our concept of the structure or grammar of the language and its impact upon our ideas relative to the process of acquiring and of teaching a second language. You are all sufficiently familiar with these matters as to make a detailed explication superfluous. As you know, the English-teaching materials which were produced by what might be called the avant garde during

* General Session Address, 1974 TESOL Convention.

the decades of the forties and the fifties were in effect an implementation of structural linguistics and reflected the concepts of language acquisition which Bloomfieldian linguistics implied. What I am referring to here are not only the Michigan materials, the American Council of Learned Societies *English for Foreigners* series, but with respect to the learning of languages other than English, the ACLS *Intensive Language Series*, and even such school textbooks as those published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston for French, German, and Spanish. They all had important elements in common.

They all emphasized at least the beginnings of an oral command before proceeding to an introduction of the writing system. They all dealt not only with what they conceived to be the phonemically significant sound patterns of the language, but they paid considerable attention as well to such suprasegmental features as stress, intonation, and juncture. And they did so with reason, in view of the previous total neglect of any systematic presentation of matters of this kind. They depended heavily upon repetitive oral drill, but this was a dependence which developed in sophistication from an initial reliance upon mimicry to an emphasis upon pattern practice and ultimately upon pattern substitution and expansion. They were predicated upon the assumption that accuracy in the acquisition of language patterns should precede fluency of command.

All of this, of course, was in essence an implementation of the behavioristic concept of language which lay behind Bloomfield's *Language* and the work of his disciples—a view which conceived of language as habit-governed response to verbal or situational stimuli. It was rigidly objective, that is to say, non-mentalistic, empirical in opposition to rationalistic. It proceeded upon the assumption that human ingenuity might succeed, if it proceeded in a manner sufficiently rigorous and totally objective, in describing the total complex of behavior patterns, the intricate interweaving of behavior on differing levels of complexity, which constitute the incredibly varied phenomenon which we recognize as language.

For a time this approach seemed to promise a great deal. It appeared to provide an adequate description of linguistic behavior on the phonological and morphological levels. But when the highest level of complexity was reached, the syntactic, the techniques for describing the immediacy of constituent relationship proved inadequate as a descriptive and analytical device.

Nor was the teaching of English based upon this grammatical foundation, that is to say heavy doses of pattern drill, an unqualified success. It did seem to have the virtue of establishing an early but limited oral facility, which was in good part what it was striving for, since it stressed accuracy ahead of fluency. In Mexico I found it possible to conduct non-intensive courses entirely in English in the fourth semester of instruction, which is some improvement over the general record of foreign-language teaching in this country. Complaints arose, however, over the difficulties students encountered when they attempted to cope with contextual situations demand-

ing an expansion or extension of the patterns they had been drilled upon. We had paid little attention to written composition, to developing facility in extended reading, and our handling of the cultural component of language instruction often left much to be desired. In short, it might be said that we had succeeded in improving within limits the beginning stages of English teaching, but that we had made relatively little impact upon the intermediate and advanced levels. Naturally, there will be some who disagree with this assessment as being too critical and there will be others who will believe I have been far too generous. Needless to say, I consider it reasonably accurate and just.

The development of generative-transformational grammar had a dual impact. On the one hand, it challenged the views of language and language acquisition which had been held by the structuralists, and in so doing it seemed to call for a different classroom approach and for the development of quite different kinds of teaching materials.

In the first instance, the distinctions between competence and performance and between deep and surface structure seemed to add a wholly new dimension to the concept of language. For one thing, it exhumed the belief in a universal grammar, which had been summarily buried by the structuralists. In so doing, it threw into question the utility of contrastive analysis, which had acquired at least a partial credibility as a predictor of language learning problems, although a hierarchy of difficulty based upon structural contrasts had never been satisfactorily worked out. It stressed cognition as a factor in language acquisition, although the so-called "inherent linguistic propensity" which it postulates remains, it must be said, somewhat murky and mysterious, if not absolutely mystical. Ursula Bellugi and Roger Brown (1964), for example, conclude their study of the aquisition of language in two children by commenting, "We have described three processes involved in the child's acquisition of syntax. It is clear that the last of these, the induction of latent structure is by far the most complex. It looks as if this last process will put a serious strain upon any theory thus far conceived by psychology." Similarly, Susan M. Erwin (1964): "In children's early syntax, the data are still ambiguous, for it is hard to elicit and identify extension to new cases." And this extension to new cases is, of course, what foreign-language learning is all about.

In general the textbook applications of transformational grammar have followed two patterns. The early type tended to employ the kernel sentences of *Syntactic Structures* as a basis for structural grading. They overturned the structuralist commitment to accuracy before flueny by introducing a fairly heavy vocabulary load to manipulate these patterns. Then they familiarized the student with the various transformational manipulations which might be performed on the kernel sentences, both the recombination and the expansion types. Phonological accuracy, to the extent that it was stressed at all, was dealt with at a fairly late point—corresponding to its place in the general transformational model.

To those who followed Chomsky into his later work, this seemed still to be too close to the classroom practices developed by the structuralists. According to what I might call the neo-Chomskians, language acquisition has little to do directly with the mastery of or familiarity with phrase structures or any other type of syntactic pattern. It develops as a response to the challenges posed by particular contexts. Accordingly, they created specific contextual situations in which some variation in verbal response was not only possible but might well be expected. Their pedagogical strategy consists of establishing a series of these which vary only very slightly, just enough to give the student experience in adapting his language responses to these mini-differences. Later on the dialogue models are replaced by contextual clues, to which the student is expected to apply and extend his command of the resources of the language.

For the most part, one can find little to disagree with in the assessment of the situation by the editorial staff of the *English Teaching Forum* in the current issue of that journal (January–March, 1974). According to them, "It is a hopeful sign—perhaps an indication of methodological maturity—that the reaction to one dogmatic approach has not resulted in another method equally arbitrary and inflexible. Thus far the suggestions for change have been gentle, and we have not been left with a vacuum to be filled. Judging from techniques and trends of the past few years, we can see that current thinking in methodology seems to be in the direction of (a) relaxation of some of the more extreme restrictions of the audiolingual method and (b) development of techniques requiring a more active use of the student's mental powers." This is both a generous and a judicious evaluation.

With respect to emphasis upon the use of the spoken language, however, a most telling point has been made recently by J. R. Nattinger of Portland State University. Writing in the journal of the Brazilian Instituto de Idiomas Yázigi (1974), he charges that, "The 'conversational' English approved by our traditionalism is not what we use as conversation in the street. It is instead a conversation based very much on our written patterns. This is not surprising since traditional rules were formerly devised for prescribing written language. But at the same time this classroom language does not conform to *all* the rules of written English. Some of these rules are relaxed because we feel that spoken speech must be less formal than written. This language is a kind of formal English, then, that differs somewhat from writing, but also, and this is crucial, differs from what we are likely to say—it is some sort of hybrid language that exists almost entirely in a classroom and one that a student is quite unlikely to hear outside the classroom."

My collective experience of many years as a consultant for a number of textbooks published for use in foreign countries leads me to believe that Professor Nattinger is quite correct in his assessment. He could, however, have pinpointed his observation more precisely had he referred to the dis-

tinction that Martin Joos made some fifteen years ago in his book *The Five Clocks* (1961) between the consultative and casual varieties of the language. The language that Professor Nattinger is complaining about is not so much unreal as it is typical of the consultative mode but cast in situations that would normally demand casual English. But it is true that textbook conversational models still leave much to be desired.

Leaving matters of pedagogical theory and practice aside, it is comforting to observe a marked increase in the numbers and kinds of English textbooks which have been developed for use in foreign countries over the past decade. To be sure, not all of them are of the best quality, but they do show improvement. And they are sufficiently varied in purpose that it is no longer necessary to misapply teaching materials, that is to use them at levels and in types of classroom situations for which they were not intended. We are at a stage where we should not expect to find the first three volumes of the *English For Today* series, written at a level of interest appropriate to seventh, eighth, and ninth graders used in a college freshman class—and I have witnessed this—or where intensive course materials, like those developed at Michigan and by the American Council of Learned Societies, are used in non-intensive course situations.

On the other hand, despite the fact that many school systems abroad and foundation or government supported English teaching posts consider it a mark of prestige to have a language laboratory in some form or other, the use of this instructional auxiliary has left much to be desired. There are several reasons for this; two of the most obvious being the failure to recognize that every laboratory should have not only a technician but a continuing budget item for replacement, and the equally catastrophic neglect of including instruction in the use and potential of audio and visual equipment in teacher preparation programs. The eighteen minute gap in the Watergate tapes is but a minor mishap compared with what has occurred in the language laboratories around the world at one time or another. Moreover, we have continued far too long to proceed on the assumption that the student, once he places his own speech on the tape alongside of the model, will be able to detect the significant differences between the two, and that even if he manages this, he will be able to remedy his own faults. We have paid little or no attention to the monitoring process, and even more fundamental than this, few directors of courses or curricula where a laboratory is in use, have seriously considered whether it is to function chiefly as a reinforcement or as an extension of the learning that goes on in the classroom. This, of course, has implications for the kinds of materials that are to be put on the tapes and films. Although the cassette recorder has been with us for some years now, I have encountered little evidence of its use as an instructional auxiliary, and what I have seen has consisted chiefly of transferring ordinary textbook material to the tapes, a practice which seems to me to fall far short of recognizing the potential that is there.

Notable, too, is the amount of English instruction available on radio and

television. It is a rare country that does not offer a number of programs of this nature. This is a field, however, which appears to defy the normal academic means of collecting and classifying information and pooling experience. As a consequence, we are quite unable to identify the programs in either medium which have been outstandingly successful and to account for the factors which led to their success.

On the optimistic side, it is a pleasure to be able to report that there has been a marked gain in the diversification of instruction according to the specific needs of the learners. This has been particularly true of the teaching of scientific and technical English. The problems in comprehending this special variety of the language and in training students to cope with it was the subject of a well-planned and fruitful seminar held some three years ago in Chile. A number of American scholars, in particular a team from the University of Washington, have worked on this. It is one of the primary foci of a Ford Foundation supported program in Thailand. Research on the matter is currently going on in Poland. Within the past decade there have been at least nine textbooks for advanced reading instruction produced in this country alone, not to mention those produced in England and elsewhere.

To some extent what has been said of the advances in the teaching of reading applies also to the teaching of composition, although here we have been rather more adept at recognizing the nature of the problem than in coping with it. The difficulty arises from the circumstance that rhetoric is by no means universal, but varies from culture to culture, and even from time to time within a given culture. To a degree, at least, it may be supposed that the advanced foreign student is being trained to compose and express his thoughts in a manner that will not turn out to be a distraction to a culturally naive native English reader. Yet in certain situations where English has a second rather than a foreign language status, as in the Philippines, it is the native rhetoric which is expected to prevail in English garb. We have barely begun to study the rhetorical patterns of other cultures, at least in the sense in which it affects our own activities. There was an excellent section devoted to this at the 1973 TESOL meeting, but the field is in need of much more extensive study and application.

With respect to the purpose and place of literature in the EFL and ESL curriculum, we seem to be in the position of not being able to see the forest for the trees. One may find numerous suggestions for teaching this or that literary work effectively, and for the most part the advice is excellent, the techniques are ingenious, the selections are well chosen. But all of this fails to furnish answers to the underlying questions. The issue was squarly joined in a recent number of the newsletter published by the Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center in Hawaii, with Professor Charles Blatchford taking the position that in most instances the study of literature was not especially fruitful in terms of the student's purpose, nor was there time for it. There are many others, of course, who would be reluctant to dispense with it so readily. But even those who favor its retention are un-

clear as to whether British and American literature should be taught together or separately, to say nothing of other literatures in English, what genres should be taught and in what order, the principles determining not only the order of genres but of selections within the genre, whether only contemporary selections should be included, the amount of attention to be given to minute detail, and most important of all, whether for students in other countries we can assume, as we do in the United States that the primary aim is the realization of a literary experience rather than the accumulation of data about the author's life and the kind of ancillary detail which is often interred in footnotes.

In order to be able to consider this problem intelligently we need to know much more than we now do about the way in which the native literatures are taught in the schools of the countries where this is a matter of concern. In my opinion it would be idle to assume that we could impose a whole new set of pedagogical purposes and values for the teaching of a foreign literature (that is to say, ours) where they do not exist for the teaching of the native literature. Or, if this assumption is too sweeping, the kind of study I am recommending would at least give us a sound base on which to proceed.

One difficulty which invariably arises in connection with the teaching of literature is the cultural factor. Some of the problems this creates may be illustrated by Willa Cather's *The Sculptor's Funeral*, which appears in at least one anthology intended for foreign use. It was the author's intention that the excessive display of grief on the part of the mother should revolt the reader, or at least affect him unpleasantly, recognizing it as a hypocritical and conventional mode of behavior, with no genuine feeling behind it. But for how many cultures, for whom the maintenance of reserve in the presence of death is no virtue, would this intended effect be realized?

The reactions John Povey reports (1967) to his teaching of *Rip Van Winkle* constitute another case in point. He reports, "'Is Rip a typical American man?' I asked. Opinions in the class divided in a way that revealingly exposed the accepted stereotypes. 'Yes, Rip is typical because all men are henpecked by their wives in this country.' One student felt so strongly about this that he went so unreasonably far to insist, 'And his dog is an American dog, for it too is frightened of a woman.' Others thought that Rip was hardly the conventional American since by definition all Americans work hard to gain the material comforts of this society, and Rip is indifferent to keeping up with the Joneses." Yet, in terms of Irving's approach to his material and the effect he intended to produce upon the reader, one wonders if the question should have been asked at all.

We must not underestimate the commitment, on the part of university professors of English in foreign countries, to traditional ways of teaching literature, ways which have become outmoded in both English and American universities. *Explication de texte* is so firmly rooted in Japan that an

entire semester is often given to a single play by Shakespeare; two will be covered at the very most. When I asked a retired professor of English of my acquaintance, who had just received a temporary appointment in a Japanese women's college, what he was planning to teach, he replied that he had just decided on a seminar in *Piers Plowman*, which did seem somewhat esoteric for the purpose. A few years ago, in talking with a group of college instructors in India, who were complaining of their difficulties in teaching Shelley and Keats, I suggested that they substitute in place of the Romantic poets some of the contemporary Indian writers, arguing that this would be a convincing demonstration that literature could deal with aspects of life familiar to their students. My suggestion was brushed aside as being unworthy of serious consideration. Contemporary African and West Indian writers tend to meet the same fate in their respective countries.

Our approach to the cultural component in language instruction suffers from the same kind of shortcoming which characterizes our treatment of literature: we have not yet progressed from the anecdotal stage to a consideration of principle. We willingly accept the notion of cultural relativity, when the differences in behavior are perceived at a level of consciousness which permits us to rationalize them, as in the following instance cited by Lawrence Stessin (1973): "American companies which have opened branch offices in Germany have had to act as arbiters of clashes between U.S. executives and German managers over the issue of the 'closed door vs. the open door.' Americans keep their doors open; Germans solidly shut. A whole generation of American business men has grown up in the tradition that 'the open door' is a democratic virtue. To Germans, open doors are sloppy and disorderly and reflect an unbusinesslike air, where to the Americans the closed door conveys a conspiratorial atmosphere."

All of this is very fine, because in this instance the cultural filter is performed at the conscious level, but this does not help us to identify or predict the cultural blind spots which are a consequence of the filter operating subconsciously, as was the case when an American manager installed a tea-vending machine with plastic cups in an English factory. A wildcat strike and riots ensued. Even after the offending mechanism was hauled out, workers boycotted the company, and it finally closed down.

If we were to avoid egregious misunderstandings in our teaching of language and literature, we must develop tools which will lead to systematic observation of other cultures, the determination of what in their patterns of behavior is significant, and ultimately a model for the systematic comparison of cultures. With respect to this goal, we have scarcely progressed beyond the conclusions reached by the Interdisciplinary Seminar in Language and Culture, held in Ann Arbor during the summer of 1953. In fact, we have generally failed to carry out the recommendations relative to language teaching which emanated from that six week session, nor have the foreign-language teachers in the United States done any better.

In one broad area it is possible to see a positive growth in cultural sophistication, namely in a more realistic adaptation of English instruction to host-country needs. After all, U.S. government sponsorship of English teaching developed first in Latin America, later spreading to other parts of the world, as a reaction to the activities of our World War II enemies. No doubt the strained international atmosphere of the time did lead us into excesses of linguistic chauvinism, which in more relaxed moments we would be quite willing to modify. The exuberance of the time affected even our hosts. "Science and culture are now marching in English," was the statement of a Latin-American minister of education in 1943. The gung-ho spirit of the moment was sometimes extended to justify a preference for American over British English, regardless of where or how the learner was to use the language. Nor was the situation aided by the understandable desire on the part of some to make the English classroom and the English textbook a vehicle for the justification of the American concept of democracy, and beyond that, American attitudes and actions in the sphere of international relations.

At all events, current attitudes have become much more sane, much more realistic. In at least some countries the blanket requirement that a particular language be taught to every pupil enrolled at a particular educational level is being altered, either by the introduction of alternative languages or reduced in its application to particular groups of students. Which specific language is affected by these changes, whether it be Russian in Rumania or English in Peru, is immaterial. The net result is undoubtedly a gain, not only in effectiveness in teaching but in the degree of realism with which the educational process is viewed.

Still, there is much more to be done. It is no help to the cause of English as a foreign language nor to those to teach it when, after six years of secondary schooling, students begin with an elementary textbook in their university freshman year, and this is still a commonplace in far too many countries in almost every part of the world except Europe. English as "a window to the world," a phrase which appears to have been first used by Nehru, is an ego-fulfilling thought for those of us who speak the language natively, but we need to be reminded that a window is useful primarily when someone wants to look through it. And we need to remind ourselves that any language of wider communication constitutes another window, not to precisely the same world but at least to a culture that will be shared by tens of millions. I have long felt, for example, that the unrivalled place which English enjoys in the Japanese educational system is not necessarily in the best interests of that country, from a long-term point of view.

There are signs of improvement, however, for which we owe much to the discipline of sociolinguists, which has provided us with a fairly sophisticated tool for assessing language use and language needs. This has been shown particularly in the recent survey of a number of African countries and in the work that has gone on in various places in Southeast Asia.

American educational consultants have learned that their responsibilities go far deeper than urging the strengthening of English in the educational system, and the foundations are becoming increasingly interested in helping emergent nations meet all of their language problems whatever they may be, rather than limiting their support merely to English as a foreign or second language.

This does not necessarily spell the doom of English teaching in the countries concerned. It merely puts it on a more realistic and more realizable basis. Moreover, a situation has arisen where the foreign countries may have to assume more rather than less responsibility for English instruction, namely in connection with the language preparation of those who plan to study in English-speaking countries. The current financial plight of American institutions of higher learning has resulted in a sharp curtailment in aid to foreign students. Karen J. Winkler has reported (1973) that the State University of New York at Albany, with one of the highest concentrations of foreign students in the country, faces a 47 percent decline in foreign student aid. At the University of Minnesota this past year, financial aid applications from needy foreign students doubled, a significant proportion of which could not be approved.

As a result of all this, a number of changes are bound to occur. One of these is a sharp drop in the number of students coming here, and as an index of that, it is worth pointing out in the California State College system, 39 foreign-student advisor positions were eliminated during the summer of 1971 alone. Some will continue to come, of course, but in the interest of economy, there will be strong pressures upon them to acquire a mastery of English at home rather than paying the going tuition rates at special institutes in this country. Others will choose to go to other English-speaking countries, but will be subject there to many of the same conditions I have already described. And finally, there may well be more instruction in English at the graduate and professional levels in their home countries. In any event, the responsibility of the native educational system and the demand upon donor countries for the teaching of English at that particular level and for that clientele is more than likely to increase.

All of this comes about at a time when American government support for English-teaching activities is beset by budgetary problems. This is not a wholly new situation, but it has become aggravated over the past several years to a point where apprehensions over the future effectiveness of our efforts in this direction are bound to arise. Dwindling support for the teaching of English abroad has not been confined to this country, however. Equally apparent is the diminution of the British effort in various parts of the world. It is scarcely necessary to document the details of this sad recession. Rather more to the point is some mention of the counter-measures which have developed as a consequence.

The first of these is increased cooperation and communication among the donor nations—for a long time chiefly England and the United States,

but with Canada and Australia coming to play increasingly more significant roles. Much of this has gone on through inter-agency groups at the host country level, but it was also the overriding theme of an international conference held at Ditchley Manor early in 1971. Certainly one of the inescapable conclusions arising from any consideration of the problem was that generalized instructional support would have to be curtailed in favor of those activities which lend themselves to a multiplier effect. For the most part this has taken the form of programs which will improve the effectiveness of teachers, trainers of teachers, and supervisors of instruction.

Notable as an instance of this kind of concentrated and cooperative effort is the Regional English Language Centre at Singapore, which provides a research and training base for the Southeast Asian countries. The projects and investigations undertaken by those who have studied there are impressive, both for the kinds of problems which have been investigated and the ingenuity and care with which they have been pursued. English teaching is also one of the concerns of the Culture Learning Institute, which functions as a part of the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West in Hawaii, supported by the U.S. Department of State. The seminars of several months' duration which are offered every year for teacher trainers, for language program supervisors and administrators, and most recently for those interested in bi-lingual education, are able to take advantage of the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic resources of the nation's fiftieth state and to draw upon the expertise of the University of Hawaii in these various fields.

An activity of a different nature but with the same end in view as the institute for teachers of English held in Egypt in the summer of 1973, with British and American government cooperation as well as Ford Foundation support. Although this was a short-term operation rather than an on-going activity, there are plans to repeat it in the same area of the world and to extend the clientele to representatives of a number of Near Eastern countries. English teaching has been one of the concerns of an inter-American conference on linguistics for a number of years.

This census of regional activities is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to indicate the kinds and nature of the operations that are being undertaken on a regional basis. Another encouraging sign is to be found in the professional organizations of English teachers which have come into existence in various parts of the world. Not all of them have been so fortunate as to have a counterpart of the indomitable Alatis at the helm, but most of them have prospered to a degree at least, and I have heard of none that has disbanded. They do run into certain kinds of problems. In some countries there is a tendency to cast them in the image of trade unions rather than professional organizations, with more attention being paid to conditions of work than its quality—not without some justification, perhaps, in terms of the teaching situations that one often encounters. In addition, there is a tendency toward elitism which manifests itself in two

ways. In some, there is an unfortunate division between university and secondary school teachers, which may extend to the point of rivalry and mutual distrust. In others, the provisions for membership are so couched as to bar from the organization the very individuals who might profit the most from it—the provisionally certified and the substitute teachers. Nevertheless a number of these organizations have built up an enviable record of activity, holding annual meetings which have both organization and substance, publishing journals which serve admirably as a professional forum, and, as in the case of the JACET organization in Japan, organizing an annual summer institute.

Another cementing force within the profession consists of the journals published in both England and America, which have a world-wide circulation. Since I can speak with first-hand knowledge of the American venture in this field, *The English Teaching Forum*, published by the U.S. Information Agency and edited by Miss Elizabeth Sadler, I shall confine my attention to it, without any intended reflection upon its trans-Atlantic counterpart. In short, it has been an unqualified success, concentrating for the most part upon the practical considerations that appeal and are helpful to the teacher in service, and at the same time, as its title indicates, providing a place where those very teachers, distributed over the five continents, can communicate with each other. The current issue, January–March, 1974, has articles by teachers from Iran and Jordan, letters from teachers in India, Spain, and Turkey.

The best index to the success of this venture is to be found in the fact that the excessive demand for it has constituted a budgetary embarrassment to the various foreign service posts, who must pay for the copies they distribute from their local funds. The journal is now in its twelfth volume, and as a recent letter to the editor suggests, early issues are becoming a collector's item.

As we have seen, the picture world-wide has both its encouraging and its discouraging aspects, its areas of confusion and its points of clarity. In this, it can scarcely be said to differ from any of the other so-called domains of this organization. The emergence of a new theory of language has resulted in a thoughtful reappraisal of classroom practices, with less heated controversy that might have been expected. Textbooks are more varied and more readily available than in the past. Such unresolved problems as the place of literature in the curriculum and the handling of the cultural component are being attacked though less energetically than one might wish. In general instruction has become more diversified and more responsive to country needs. The diminution of foundation and government support for English teaching abroad is clearly a matter of concern, but it has brought in its wake a greater degree of cooperation and a concentration upon those activities which will ultimately affect the largest possible number of students. Communication within the profession has improved, both within the several countries and internationally.

One can scarcely conclude this report without asking what of the future? Naturally, one would hope for a successful resolution of those problems which have not yet been dealt with to our satisfaction. In addition, there are several areas where increased British-American cooperation would be helpful. One of these is bibliography. We are in some danger of being overwhelmed by the textbooks and research articles which appear in ever-increasing numbers, and a consolidation of effort here would be most helpful.

We are still in need of country surveys of English teaching comparable to Brownell's excellent account of English teaching in Japan. I am happy to note that such an account of English teaching in Columbia has just been written as a doctoral dissertation by Charles W. Stansfield (1973), and I trust that this is a harbinger of others to come. Further readjustment of English curricula to specific country needs calls for more sociolinguistic surveys in critical areas.

What we can least afford to overlook is the professional image and the professional future of those of our students who are preparing themselves to enter this field. Despite all of the shrinkages incident to the momentarily stringent situation, the place of English as a world language is not going to vanish overnight. The educational needs which this imposes may have to be met during the next two decades in ways quite different from the past, but the need will still be there, and meeting it will require people to do the work. Fortunately, we are still a young profession, possessing the flexibility that goes with youth. Fortunately we have leaders of excellent quality, as the membership roll of this oranization clearly attests, many of whom have their most productive years still ahead of them. What is to become of the profession in the next two decades constitutes a challenge to their sensitivity, their wisdom, and their vision.

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A Fresh Look at the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, or "What Are the British Putting in Place of the Audio-Lingual Method"*

Peter Strevens
East-West Center

The purpose of this paper is to present an outline of British views and practices in the field of English language teaching, to indicate some of the contrasts between them and their American counterparts, and to relate both sets of views to an imminent critical stage in American and British aid to world English.

First, we need to sort out our divergent terminologies. The American terms TEFL, TESL, TESOL, TESOLD have no precise counterparts in British usage. The principal British cover term is *English language teaching* (ELT), which normally excludes English as the mother tongue. Within ELT we make a distinction between *English as a foreign language* (EFL) and *English as a second language* (ESL), and this distinction reflects important differences in the ELT situation, and hence in the methods and techniques most commonly used. We shall return to this distinction shortly.

The professional affiliations of ELT have changed in the past twenty-five years. Originally, teachers of English overseas (because it was overseas, not in Britain, that the great majority of ELT took place) felt themselves akin to teachers of English as the mother tongue, and especially to teachers of English literature. Most British teachers engaged overseas had a degree in English literature and few had any specialist training as teachers of English language. Nowadays there is a well-established ELT profession, both in Britain and overseas but dependent on British support; this profession includes high-level specialist training courses which treats English

* In preparing this paper, I received great assistance from many friends, all of them language teaching specialists, who sent me their reactions to a draft of the summary of current British practice and methods. Many of them will recognize changes in the present text which reflects their comments. Imperfections remain, and these are my responsibility: for their help in avoiding the worst errors and exaggerations I express my sincere personal thanks to the following: Louis Alexander, Patrick Allen, W. Stannard Allen, Richard Allwright, Frank Bell, Geoffrey Broughton, Frank Brosnahan, Christopher Candlin, Guy Capelle, William Currie, June Derrick, Alan Davies, Richard Evans, Walter Graunberg, Michael Halliday, Richard Handscombe, David Harper, Eric Hawkins, Nicholas Hawkes, Roland Hindmarsh, A. S. Hornby, Arthur King, W. R. Lee, William F. Mackey, Ronald Mackin, Matthew Macmillan, Alan Moller, Ken Moody, Simon Murison-Bowie, Sirarpi Ohannessian, George Perren, John Spencer, David Stern, Gillian Sturtridge, Ray Tongue, John Webb, David Wilkins.

not as the mother tongue but as a subsequently-acquired language. Thus the affiliations of ELT are now more with *foreign language teaching* (FLT) of which ELT is seen as a special case.

Within British ELT it is a basic assumption that the nature of learning and teaching in any given teaching situation is affected by a great number of variables, and that in consequence a different choice among a wide range of possible procedures and methods will turn out to be appropriate in different teaching/learning situations. The notion of a single "best" method, one which would claim to be equally effective in all circumstances, has always been rejected by British (and European) ELT, partly on what seem intuitively to be obvious practical grounds (i.e. "it doesn't work like that") and partly because on a more intellectual plane British and European thought generally takes a "pluralist" view of the truth: students are encouraged not to seek the unique "right" view of the truth, but rather to recognize that the truth exists in many guises and in many 'right' views. The student seeks aspects of the truth wherever he can find it and is skeptical of any view which claims to have a monopoly of the truth.

Turning from that may be a philosophical difference between American TEFL and British ELT to our differing historical experiences, the British ELT profession has been concerned especially with training and supplying British teachers to overseas countries, and with giving training in Britain to teachers from overseas countries, both of the EFL and the ESL type. In addition, there is a long and powerful tradition of supporting teacher training colleges overseas by supplying and training expatriate and local staff. This has been especially the case in former British territories, most of which are or were ESL areas, and where in many cases the school syllabuses and coursebooks are written either by British authors or at least modelled on this tradition. There is also a sizeable and growing British effort in EFL countries also, notably in Europe and the Arabic-speaking countries of the Middle East. American experience has more often been located inside the United States, teaching adult immigrants or foreign students; when the effort has been directed overseas it has generally been more in the foreign language than in the second language situation—though there are some major exceptions to this observation, e.g. in the Philippines and American Samoa.

There is indeed an important exception to the assumption about differences between American and British practice upon which this paper is founded. There exists within the U.S. tradition a group of institutions and individuals who have been centrally concerned with children and with teacher training, and whose outlook and practices are very close to those current in Britain. The team at UCLA which includes Dr. Clifford Prator, Dr. Lois McIntosh, Dr. Donald Bowen, Dr. Russell Campbell; much of the work at Teacher's College, Columbia University; some of the work of the Hawaiian English Project under Dr. Gerald Dykstra, Dr. Francis C. Johnson and their colleagues; the writings and teaching of Dr. Mary

Finocchiaro and Dr. Virginia French Allen—these are examples, personally known to the author, of that section of the American TEFL profession which is felt by British specialists to be closely similar in outlook to British ESL views.

Accepting that generalizations are inaccurate and may be unfair to individual cases on both sides of the Atlantic, I would sum up the respective activities and their degree of similarity in the following way: (i) the British and the Americans each possess a strong "second language" component of overseas work with children and in teacher training, which is closely similar on both sides and includes many personal Anglo-American links; (ii) the "foreign language" components, on the other hand, exhibit considerable differences, partly in that American TEFL has been principally concerned with teaching adults within the United States while British EFL has been more often engaged in teaching in schools and colleges in "foreign language" countries, and partly in the principles and practices that each side projects.

One further geo-linguistic observation: British activity has followed a path of continuous development, without major change, through from the nineteen-twenties, in the tradition of Sweet, Jespersen, Palmer, Hornby. American TEFL, too, often acknowledges roots in Sweet, Jespersen and Palmer, but it has additionally been through a period of massive change. During this period of domination by Bloomfieldian linguistics and Skinnerian psychology the attitudes of American teachers towards methodology became very different from the attitudes of the British colleagues, in several important respects. And during this same period there were carried out a number of important American projects for assisting overseas countries in establishing or modernizing the English language programmes followed in their school systems. Now that American TEFL opinion is moving away from its structuralist-behaviorist principles, two effects can be seen: first, the outlook of teachers on both sides of the Atlantic seems once again to be converging a good deal; but second, the structuralist-behaviorist syllabuses established in many countries during the audio-lingual era are being left high and dry, without—as it were—philosophical support. And this is happening just at the time when the syllabuses in many countries are coming up for revision and reform.

Now perhaps the difficulty posed by the apparently simple question in my title will be clear: in one sense, to ask "What are the British putting in the place of the audio-lingual method?" is a non-question, because British ELT did not travel down that road. In another sense, if someone from the British tradition is asked in a given country overseas to advise on replacing earlier structuralist-behaviorist methods and syllabuses, the answer is that he would be likely to put in their place a current version of British approaches, methods and materials. What are these approaches and methods? The main aim of this paper is to attempt an overview of current British thought in this field.

It is necessary first to identify the professional groups whose views I am attempting to summarize. Chiefly, the summary relates to teachers of English as a *second* language, both teachers from Britain working in ESL areas and teachers from such areas who have been trained in the British tradition. The summary is largely true also of British teachers of English as a *foreign* language, with the reservation that EFL teachers are on the whole more strongly grounded in theory, and are perhaps also less free to be pedagogically inventive than their ESL colleagues.

This difference stems largely from the different circumstances of ESL and EFL teaching. When English is a *second* language, it generally has an important role in education (often it is the medium of instruction in some sectors of the school system) in the law courts, in business; the common-sense utility of learning English is obvious even to the boy or girl at school, so that motivation for achievement is higher; general public levels of fluency in English are higher; there is often a British-based educational system, and even more often the pupils work towards a British-based final examination; at the same time there are often local restricted varieties of English (pidgins, local dialects, frequently local accents) which pose special problems for the ESL teacher. But when English is a *foreign* language, it is no more important or prominent than other foreign languages; there is no obvious reason for learning it, so that motivation is low; there is little exposure to English outside the classroom; the teacher of English as one among several foreign languages exposes it to the pedagogical customs of the country concerned—as for example in Germany, where English is required to be taught "for understanding the Anglo-Saxon mind"—and this dilutes the effectiveness of the British teaching traditions we are concerned with in this paper; only native-like performance is acceptable as the EFL target, and this often seems to the learner to be remote and difficult to achieve. Differences in outlook are inevitable as between ESL and EFL; the summary which follows is more closely aligned with the second language situation, though it is not vastly inaccurate for the foreign language situation.

A Summary of Current British ELT Practice

1. Approach (i.e. commitment to positions of principle, theory, methodology).

The approach is *pragmatic*, not *dogmatic*. The primary test of excellence is "Does it work?" not "Is it theoretically justifiable?" Teachers are of course aware of principles and theories: postgraduate courses in particular provide excellent teaching of theory. But teachers in Britain are by and large hostile to the view that practice is just the application of theory, and they regard most current theories in linguistics, psychology and psycholinguistics as being pedagogically naive and therefore largely irrelevant. A theory of language-teaching, now, with well-motivated links to specific areas of linguistics and psychology—that might be more attractive. In the mean

time, British teachers retain a considerable skepticism about any single school of theoretical linguistics and psychology as an adequate guide to language teaching, and many of them now make use of a mix of elements taken from e.g. structural linguistics, transformational theory, behaviorist and cognitive psychology, Chomskyan psycho-linguistics, Hallidayan systemic and functional theory, Firthian ideas on varieties and on "context of situation," socio-linguistics, and so on.

The teacher is believed to have a role in the management of learning, but again this role is not seen in relation to any particular established theory of linguistics or psychology. Many teachers, especially in ESL, regard themselves as educators, not simply as instructors; the teacher ideally has a function in the total intellectual and moral development of the learner, not just in his learning of a language.

2. Aims (i.e. targets of achievement for the learner)

These are increasingly tailored to what is realistically capable of being achieved, and to locally-agreed targets for the learner and his community. Newly-independent nations in the ESL condition (Zambia is an example) and other countries, too, are often willing to reconsider the terminal aims that are proper to their capabilities and needs. As a rule, aims are stated in terms of the so-called "skills" of language: understanding, speaking, reading and writing. But many people now feel that these labels are too gross and that a more delicate analysis is needed, to show what the learner is to be able to *do* with his language: e.g. "aural comprehension for rapid gathering of important facts in a face-to-face encounter," as a sub-division of *understanding*. All these "skills" are likely to be specified for inclusion, in differing proportions in different countries. In general, targets for writing tend to be lower, targets for reading tend to be valued more highly, than before.

In most ESL countries, the aims in practice are generally focussed on public examinations, either actually administered from Britain or modelled on our example. For thirty years, the consuming importance to the learner of passing the exam (because if you don't pass in English you don't get a job, or go to college) has perverted the teaching of English. Now there are signs that countries and examiners realize that more enlightened examining brings about more enlightened teaching.

3. English in the Total Curriculum

English has normally been taught as a part of a broad general education, oriented towards the humanities. It used to be linked with and often incorporated an introduction to the study and appreciation of English literature, and this constituted the principal justification for teaching the language. However, over the past twenty-five years the strength of this justification has evaporated; nowadays a much stronger justification for learning English is provided by the evident usefulness of having a practical,

communicative command of the language. In some areas as a result English literature has been largely or completely dropped from the curriculum, or has been replaced by "literature *in* English," so as to bring into the educational area works such as those by African or Indian writers, and also literature translated into English.

A further change in the justification for teaching English is taking place in some localities: there is emerging the concept of teaching only such selections of English as are needed for vocational needs or other special purposes, e.g. for studying science, technology or business. The outstanding example of this trend is the Singapore Primary Integrated Materials Pilot Project, in which English is taught through and for science, at the beginning level.

There is also developing a feeling that henceforth the educated citizen needs to be multilingual, with English an obvious choice for one of his languages. So from the opinion that the education of foreign children must include English literature educators have swung to the opinion that the education of all children must include an international language, *for use*. The deliberate use of English for certain school subjects (as in Swaziland and Kenya) and the proliferation of multilingual schooling (e.g. the "International" schools in Europe) are all examples of this. Among this change, literature retains a place, but henceforward it will be provided in greater depth, for fewer but more advanced, arts-oriented students.

4. Speech/Writing

English is taught in both spoken and written form. Oral-only syllabuses are not found except for a few specialized purposes. The teaching of speech runs ahead of teaching the written equivalent by a variable amount in the early stages. Thereafter it is not dogmatic beliefs about the primacy of one medium or the other that determines the relative proportions of speech and writing in the teaching, it is rather the effects of practical conditions and problems, such as for example weakness in the teacher's personal command of spoken language in some countries, or the existence of psychomechanical difficulties in teaching roman script to children who have already learned Arabic script, and so on.

5. The Syllabus

The teacher's activity is guided by the *syllabus*, a statement of content, sequence, and (often) recommended teaching techniques. (Sometimes the syllabus consists of an ordered list of grammatical items, together with a minimum vocabulary.) The choice of content for inclusion in the syllabus, and its arrangement, are exercised by the twin operations of *selection* and *grading*. Both are nowadays carried out with more flexibility than in the past. A prior selection of language items to be taught is generally arrived at first, then this is integrated with an inventory of topics, roles, contexts and situations. In the most recent work, communicative abilities and even

"notional" categories of a semantico-grammatical kind are being included as determinants of the syllabus—but the more numerous the variables the more complex and difficult the job becomes. That which is selected for teaching is regarded as a minimum, not a maximum, and is expected to be supplemented by much additional, unspecified and relatively uncontrolled material which the learner will meet in his reading and listening. Vocabulary lists and lists of word-frequencies are somtimes required (by educational authorities, not by the teachers) to be used, but they are regarded as e.g. checklists in the preparation of materials, not as rigid guidelines. Similarly, principles of grading have become looser. It is no longer believed that one would or should devise a sequence in which every teaching item had its immutable place. Rather it is believed that there are only a fairly small number of items (mostly grammatical) where it makes much difference whether you teach them early or late, or before or after other particular items; these sensitive items (which are often indicated by the common difficulties experienced by speakers of a particular language) are inserted in the sequence as required, but all other items are ideally allowed to occur at whatever point in sequence the topics, situations, etc. seem to suggest. This relaxed attitude to selection and grading provides much greater freedom in designing materials of interest and realism. It is an ideal which most forward-looking ESL authorities strive for, not least because it chimes with the imaginative experimentalism which teachers are encouraged to undertake. But it must be acknowledged that the older, more rigid attitudes to the syllabus are still widespread. As the newer, more flexible approach gains ground teachers find that it gives them relative independence in selecting content and interpreting the syllabus. The competent, confident, well-trained teacher welcomes this: the inadequate teacher fears it.

6. Active and Passive Command

From an early stage, a distinction is made between material (lexical or grammatical) which is taught for active command, to be recalled and used by the learner with facility and accuracy, and material which is to be recognized and understood when it is encountered but is not intended to be mastered. Recognition vocabulary is relatively uncontrolled, and stems from the imaginative use by the teacher or materials-writer of material designed to sustain and arouse the learner's interest. It can lie outside the confines of controlled vocabulary, grammar, etc., as long as the learner understands it when he meets it (even including apparent nonsense like Fee-fie-fo-fum or Rubadubdub or Jabberwocky. They, too, can be shown to be "meaningful.") More recent thought develops this receptive/productive distinction to embrace a distinction between *form* and *function*, so that it is not just the meaning of a sentence that is taught, but its value as an utterance. The absorption of substantial quantities of passive vocabulary is often achieved through quite ambitious, well-planned schemes

of reading. On the productive side, a great deal of written work is set by the teacher, often as *homework*, which plays a big part (many would say, unfortunately) in British teaching.

7. Techniques of Presentation

All class presentation is required to be *meaningful.* That is, the drilling of sentences regardless of whether they are understood or not is never attempted. (The term "mim-mem" is known and rejected in EFL; it is not generally known or understood in ESL.) Meaningful presentation is achieved by a mixture of techniques, especially these:

i) *contextualization*—suiting the action to the word, putting a word into a longer sentence, making clear the circumstances of its use, etc.;

ii) *explanation*—in either English or the mother tongue, including the occasional use of translation where this facilitates learning;

iii) *situational teaching*—the evocation of an event or a transaction (larger in scale than simple contextualization) in which the utterances are appropriate, e.g. by role-playing, playlets, puppet dialogues, games, and other contrived parallels to real-life situations.

Language material, meaningful and at least partly contextual, is presented under close control: *control* here means that the choice and timing of the piece of language concerned has been deliberately chosen, even though this control may increasingly encourage the learner to encounter spoken or written language beyond that which he has mastered. Initially, the control is complete; the learner is completely spoon-fed by either the teacher or the materials. Later, both controlled and "natural" material are presented. By the time the learner reaches the advanced stage he receives great quantities of natural (or only slightly-edited) language material. The control at that stage concentrates on areas of deficiency in the learner's knowledge, on forgetting, on error, or on deliberately-chosen new material. It is worth noting that in presenting material to the learner the teacher is trained to keep up the *pace* of learning. The watchword is, "Don't just satisfy the learner, *stretch* him!"

8. Grammar

In British ELT, "grammar" means not theoretical linguistics but part of the description of spoken and written English: it will be remembered that we have an exceptionally rich tradition of such studies. (The new and magnificent *Grammar of Contemporary English* by Quirk, Greenbaum, Svartvik and Leech, exemplifies this tradition.) The approach used in ELT generally follows the descriptive systems of Jespersen, Palmer and Hornby. Grammar is often referred to as *functional*, by which is meant that the statements we make are statements about the semantic and communicative

significance of particular points of grammar, about how language is *used*, about the conveying of meaning or the maintenance of personal relations or the organization of discourse—about a number of inexplicit though relevant concepts of this kind.

Grammar is taught explicitly only if it is helpful to do so (for example, some learners *demand* to be taught grammar) and not as a dogma that good teaching does, or does not require grammar to be made explicit. At the same time, grammar is not deliberately avoided. The amount of grammar taught depends on the age and previous experience of the learner, the stage of proficiency reached, the grammatical understanding of the teacher, and so on. There is a widespread use of inductive grammar teaching, in which sets of sentences are presented which embody a pattern and lead both to its accurate use and to its cognitive perception by the learner.

There is currently a wave of activity directed towards the revision of the treatment of grammar in syllabuses. This new work uses ideas about semantically-significant grammatical categories, communicative skills, functional and notional categories. It is likely that the results of this work, when it reaches teacher training courses, will considerably influence attitudes and practices.

9. The Teaching of Reading and Writing

Reading is regarded as a skill of great importance to the learner, because (a) it provides him with access to a great quantity of further experience of the language, and (b) it gives him a window onto the normal means of continuing his personal education. Reading for content (i.e. for comprehension and to recover factual information) tends to be taught first; then comes reading for the deeper understanding of complex ideas, which is intellectual training as well as language practice; "reading with one's ears" (e.g. for poetry) is also regarded as important by some teachers. A distinction is commonly made between *intensive* and *extensive* reading. Techniques for teaching the early stages of reading include both a *phonic* approach (in which the common phonetic values of letters are taught) and *look-and-say* methods (in which words are taught to be recognized by their total lexical shape).

As the learner progresses, he is generally introduced to structurally and lexically graded readers, which provide practice in reading and extend the learner's experience of the language without baffling him, and so turning off his learning, by too much lexical and stylistic unfamiliarity. It is regarded as important to get the young learner into the habit of reading as a normal part of his everyday life.

Writing, too, receives a great deal of attention. The teaching of writing entails at the outset control over elegant sequences of visual symbols. Here we are particularly proud of techniques based on the work of Marion Richardson, and we have developed ways of dealing with special problems where the learner has already learned a quite different script (Arabic,

Devanagiri, Japanese, etc.). Then comes the production of ever longer and more intellectually complex sentences and texts: a graded progression from *tight control* through *guidance* to *free expression.*

Writing is taught at least partly for educational, rather than solely linguistic, reasons. By the time he reaches the advanced stages of learning English, the learner is exercising his powers of expression, persuasion, imagination, rhetoric, and using correct English as a vehicle for these achievements rather than as an end in itself. He is thus receiving, in his English teaching, "training for judgment," as William Currie expresses it.

10. Pronunciation

The acquisition of an acceptable pronunciation is deliberately taught. Segmental sounds, (phonemes in Daniel Jones' sense rather than Bloomfield's) stress, rhythm and intonation are all included. Indeed, intonation is regarded as of high importance. There are several excellent textbooks which teach the main patterns of British intonation. Three main techniques are employed in the teaching of pronunciation:

(i) in the simplest and commonest cases, *pronunciation teaching* is by imitation and exhortation;

(ii) at a somewhat higher level, and more rarely, *speech training* makes use of exercises and games based on selected sounds, features or contrasts;

(iii) occasionally, with advanced learners and well-trained teachers, *practical phonetics* may be used (i.e. using phonetic transcription, articulation diagrams, ear training, technical exercises in the controlled production of sounds, etc.).

The standards of pronunciation aimed at are flexible. Although the target towards which progress is assumed to lead is generally a non-regional accent of British English, in areas of the world where the educated community has developed an identifiably different yet compatible accent (e.g. Educated West African accent) this is generally used as the aim and model. Intelligibility and communicative ability are the criteria (difficult though these are to define) rather than native-like quality.

There is virtually no bias in the British ELT profession against American, Australian and other native-language forms of English from outside Britain. Where there is an area of difficulty is when teachers with different forms of English teach the same class, or even teach in the same school. This problem has been made more obvious by the wide dispersion of Peace Corps volunteers in mainly British-English areas and British Voluntary Service Overseas personnel in mainly American-English areas. Even more serious is the low standard of spoken English among local teachers in some areas. Where money allows, this can be partly compensated for by the use of recordings. But in some areas it has become a serious question

whether many teachers in fact have sufficient command of English to teach the spoken language at all.

11. Practice Material

Exercises and drills of many kinds are used to fix the materials presented and to achieve accurate, fluent, unhesitating command of the language. Their design and use is strictly pragmatic: they are not usually intended to demonstrate a psychological principle or to embody a theoretical concept for its own sake. They are intended to re-teach material already presented until the learner has already learned it: no more than that. For example, teachers are not governed by the principle that it is sufficient to concentrate on differences thrown up by contrastive analysis, leaving the similarities to look after themselves, and contrastive exercises or drills of such a kind play little part in British ESL teaching. The notion of "overlearning" is generally rejected as a principle in the design of materials, at least in ESL. These attitudes reflect the kind of psychology commonly included in teacher training. Skinnerian behaviorist theory is known but little followed; Lovell, Burt, and above all Piaget, probably have greater influence.

Exercises are not devised in relation to a theory of language acquisition: teachers rarely have any organized view of such a theory, or if they do, they relate it to infants acquiring their mother tongue, not to teaching and learning a foreign language. (Acquisition—without a teacher—is currently often distinguished from learning—with a teacher.)

Exercises and drills are deliberately given the widest possible variety. A single technique is rarely assigned special prominence (e.g. pattern practice, substitution tables, etc.) though these techniques are used among others. The offering of a wide range of different types of exercise is regarded as a virtue, and as a contribution to maintaining interest and fighting boredom. Mindless, boring drills are avoided.

12. The Search for Interest

Humor, variety, interesting material, demonstrably *relevant* material, involvement of the learner—especially relating the English course to the world of the learner outside the classroom—these are qualities deliberately sought because they are believed to improve both the rate of learning and the learner's continued commitment to the task.

13. The Teacher as an Overseer of the Learner's Learning

Teachers are trained in the belief that the learner should be regarded as the centre and focus of the entire teaching activity—though it must be admitted that many teachers frequently forget this. The learner's learning is to be continually assessed by the teacher, by informal and formal testing, by correcting exercises, by making homework and by other means. The learner's communicative ability, the acceptability of his performance,

the degree of his approximation to the appropriate model of language—these are criteria which the teacher spends a great deal of time and care in overseeing and assessing.

14. The Task of the Teacher

Though subsidiary to the learner, the teacher, too, is central to the language-teaching process. The teacher is relied upon for: (a) the presentation of material in an optimal manner; (b) the continuous, personal, long-term encouragement of the learner; (c) plugging the gaps in the learner's learning; (d) monitoring the learner's progress; (e) remedial teaching, where this is necessary; (f) the selection and possibly the creation of materials supplementary to those centrally used by the class.

In achieving these aids, the teacher disposes of a wide array of teaching techniques among which he or she selects as the circumstances require. Ideally, the teacher is encouraged to slide along the scale between full-class techniques, group techniques, individual techniques.

The teacher faces a class: the class is composed of individuals: the individuals cluster as groups. The teacher's teaching techniques are intended from moment to moment to approach the ideal of helping each individual, as closely and as often as possible. The organization of group-work within a large class is a feature of British classroom practice which is particularly valuable in ESL countries suffering, as many of them are in the wake of massive educational expansion, from very large classes. Perhaps this is why the American trend towards individualization has little counterpart among British teachers—although Francis Johnson's innovatory new JILAP materials may well bring about changes in this respect. Alternatively, the lack of interest among British teachers may reflect that fact that in ESL and EFL situations overseas normally face classes that are much more homogeneous in nature than is the usual TEFL class in the United States.

Techniques are accepted if they give results, rejected if they don't. Thus, the *language laboratory* is seen as a potential aid to the teacher, given that (a) he possesses technical services to keep the equipment operational; (b) he has an understanding of its advantages and (particularly) its limitations; (c) he can obtain or produce suitable materials of use in the lab; and (d) he integrates lab work in some appropriate way into his courses as a whole, e.g. by pre- and post-lab sessions. Failing any of these pre-requisites, teachers tend to reject language labs as a waste of money. But at the same time, a good deal of thought is currently being given to ways of making lab work more interesting and effective.

The results of full contrastive analyses are not often sought, but some help is obtained from the fairly superficial study of common errors—a source of help that will be drawn on more systematically in the future. On the other hand, the teacher's experience is expected to lead him to identify and devise treatment for those learning difficulties that seem to stem from

the learner's particular mother tongue, and also to be aware of different strategies employed by the learner, and to capitalize on these whenever possible.

15. Teaching Materials

Teaching materials are relied on as aids to the teacher, not as panaceas or as ways of replacing the teacher. The best teachers use the materials as a general guide, but they take pride in transcending those materials—cannibalizing them, improving on them, re-writing them, circumventing them, re-ordering or even omitting them—in the belief that the nub of the learning-teaching process lies in the moment-by-moment relationship between a competent teacher and a willing learner.

Equally, other aids such as flash cards, flannelgraphs, glove puppets, wall charts, pictures, slides, filmstrips, tapes, radio, television, films, language labs, etc., are regarded simply as *aids*. As Louis Alexander says, "Aids are there to aid the teacher, though the teacher also aids the aids." They are to be exploited by the teacher in the pursuit of excellence of learning, as and when they are available and relevant. They are not to be imposed upon the teacher or the learner, for reasons of dogma.

It should be clear that the foregoing summary is far from being an apology. On the contrary, the British ELT tradition has considerable virtues: its flexibility and dislike of dogma helps the teacher to avoid transient fashions and violent swings of approach; its *pedagogical professionalism* gives the teacher a profound and valuable conception of the teaching process and of the teacher's role. Without claiming spectacular achievements the British ELT tradition nevertheless has a long record of steady reasonable success, above all in teaching pupils overseas up to age 17 or 18. It seems to many British ELT specialists that the American approach, with its virtues of greater *disciplinary professionalism* and its stricter methodology, has been especially successful in teaching young adults.

For some twenty years the British and American ELT professions have each separately provided support and training for overseas countries, including (as we noted earlier) a wave of syllabus-building in the nineteen-fifties and sixties. As a result of the normal processes of educational change and modernization, many of these syllabuses are becoming due for reform and replacement. Yet just at the moment when this is taking place and great new opportunities are presenting themselves, the weight of American aid seems to have diminished. The ELT assistance which overseas countries now need is beyond the resources of either Britain or the United States alone, while the time we live in make earlier trans-Atlantic rivalries seem old-fashioned and irrelevant. What is needed in the late nineteen-seventies and the eighties is a great new effort in which the complementary strengths of the American TEFL and the British ELT professions are brought into collaboration, in the service of the world aid to English.

TEFL/TESL/TSE: A British Point of View*

Arthur H. King
Brigham Young University

The field can readily be divided into two: (a) the international, the external, the foreign use of English, and (b) the internal use of English in countries in which it is a second language; this includes the United States, in which English is also a second language. Under the "internal" heading comes conveniently also the teaching of English as a second dialect or the teaching of standard English (if that is what it can be called).

The teaching of English as a foreign language continues to be effectively undertaken in the countries of Northern and Central Europe. Its effectivity has increased in countries of Western and Southern Europe, in the Middle East and in Latin America. There remain pedagogical problems, but one may expect a steady improvement in the teaching of English as a foreign language world-wide as its position as the major international language of the world becomes clear and established.

Above all, it is important to note that the position of English is established in Europe: four times as many students of English as of French in Germany, and four times as many students of English as of German in France.

Something has been said about the danger of the corruption of English by its use internationally. The idea that its vulgarization implies also its becoming less precise and less sensitive has been canvassed. The analogy of Medieval Latin would seem to show that a language can adapt internationally to a great variety of uses without losing either precision or sensitivity, for Medieval Latin is clearly more varied than Classical Latin and very effective for all that it needs, including the requirements of Medieval scholasticism. However, it does remain a fact that Medieval Latin was used by educated persons in the Middle Ages, and that English is used internationally not only by the educated but also by others. Moreover, the identity between being educated and writing or speaking adequately no longer exists.

It may well be that the deeper danger to English is that a corrupt society corrupts its language and a language is corrupted in particular by apathy and indifference. This is how culture decays, and language reflects that kind of decay. We may bear in mind the history of the Moslem world up to the fifteenth century and thereafter; at the same time contrast the modern development in Japan.

Turning to the *internal situations*, we may take the problem of the

* General Session Address, 1974 TESOL Convention.

United States (and other similar countries) with dialect differences tending to be identified with racial differences, and with language minorities. Does the United States imagine itself as proceeding towards a multilingual society? Is it thought of as traveling towards a combination of bilingual regions (e.g. Spanish in the Southwest)? Is it prepared to accept the development of Creole enclaves?

A suggestion was made at the conference that there might be a Navajo language state. This is of course a small matter comparatively speaking, although important for the inhabitants concerned; but we might bear in mind the current fate of India, which has been prepared to allow its state boundaries also to be language boundaries, and to be that much deeper and clear-cut in consequence.

Is there a proper moral distinction to be made between the demand by indigenous linguistic minorities to be able to maintain and develop their culture in the indigenous language (e.g. Chicanos and Navajos) and the demand by immigrants that their children should be brought up with a knowledge of their language and their culture? One has normally thought of an immigrant hitherto as one who is prepared to be absorbed into the majority culture of his chosen nation. Is that still so? It is understood that recently there has been a demand for Sikh education in the United Kingdom. It may be argued with immigrants as of indigenous minorities that the children will develop better if they develop with a sense of pride in their own culture and some knowledge of their own language and its cultural background.

Is it perhaps thought in the United States that the language and dialect minorities are small enough to be readily contained within an English-language nation?

There is a great deal said about *bilingual education*, but how successful has bilingualism normally been? Even in Switzerland, there was a report issued in Berne in 1930 which indicated that children who learned German in the secondary school in French-speaking Switzerland did not retain it unless they had reason to use it, and the same was true of French learners in German Switzerland. The situation in German and French Switzerland is different therefore from what it is in a truly bilingual area like Freiburg/Fribourg. The situation in Zurich or Geneva is not bilingual in this sense at all. Bilingualism is surely limited to situations in which there is a local need for both languages.

A further point is that bilingual states so called co-exist in prosperity but have difficulty in adversity. A good example is Belgium with the Walloons and the Flemings. We cannot by linguistic action reconcile the stresses of economic and religious man.

How far can the right of all to grow up and live their lives in their own language or *dialect* be preserved? In Sweden seven dialects are accepted, but each of these dialects can be spoken by an educated or an uneducated person; and although all seven dialects may on the whole be accepted, it

is the educated pronunciation of these dialects that is accepted and not the uneducated pronunciation (if one may speak of that). We have also the survival of prejudice (possibly of a snobbish type) in the difference between shall we say the Scots of Glasgow and of Edinburgh and between Irish English and Welsh English. There was a court in Edinburgh and in Dublin; not in Glasgow or Cardiff. Then there are the questions of stereotyped judgments which prompt such a question as whether it is possible to be tragic in Cockney. Is it possible to think of J. M. Synge in Cockney?

This internal field is one in which there are dangerous sentimentalities and linguistic misapprehensions or ignorance.

The other group of *English as a second language countries* is that of the former imperial world (including the Philippines). There is a tendency here for the position of English to continue to decline. The decline set in originally for political reasons. It is possible that it is continuing not only for political but also for economic and pedagogical reasons.

Wherever English is a second language, it finds itself in conflict. People will prefer to have both their private and public lives in the same language, and for patriotic motives they may want their own language as the language of the country concerned. At the same time they want themselves and their children to have good jobs. So we get political conflict on the socio-economic advantages and disadvantages of English.

There is the situation where there is more than one local language. In such a situation English as a second language would be a disadvantage to all, but the adoption of one of the local languages would be an advantage to those that speak that language as a native language and a disadvantage to those who speak other languages as their native language. Thus, in India, English is a disadvantage to all, but Hindi an advantage only to some. Therefore English might be thought to be a better political bet than Hindi. There are similar situations with Tagalog in the Philippines and Malay in Malaysia.

Most important of all is perhaps the economic infeasibility of teaching everybody English, or democratic as opposed to oligarchic English. In the Dravidian states of Southern India, English has seemed to be a protection against Hindi, a defensive umbrella under which the local languages can develop. There was, for example, in the early sixties a scheme called the "Madras Snowball" (training secondary-school teachers of English to train elementary-school teachers to teach English). In simple terms, it meant trying to teach all the eight-year-olds of the state English in order that out of every 100 so taught four or five would go to college at the age of fifteen. A country in the economic situation of India cannot allow itself the luxury of such a procedure.

Another aspect is provided everywhere but perhaps most noteworthily in the East or West African contrast between a school in a capital city and a school in the bush. Politicians and administrators see to it that there are adequate schools in the large cities for their own children, but in the rural

areas it is impossible to maintain English at an adequate level. A situation like this develops political opposition based on disappointment: parents realize that their children aren't really getting English and the students themselves realize it; they then take the political view that if their children don't get English and therefore don't get the advantage of English, other people's children should not have that advantage over them.

These factors work chiefly by inertia to produce a trend. The trend is clear enough in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma—it is to the gradual recognition in those countries that English is a foreign language and not a second language. Now Southeast Asia seems to be going much the same way towards a situation rather like that in Indonesia. East Africa may well follow, and Swahili might be considered to be a *lingua franca* adequate to replace English. Swahili is after all not a native language, but a genuine *lingua franca*. Its adoption would not raise the same kind of difficulty as the adoption of Hindi in India.

Finally, in West and Central Africa, where English is frequently the language of national unity, as it is in Malawi, Zambia, Nigeria, and Ghana, we can hardly expect whole populations to acquire English. The most likely situation is one in which those who have been to universities speak a more or less internationally comprehensible English, those who have been to secondary school speak a nationally comprehensible English, and those who have been to neither will develop a pidgin or a creole for use in the marketplace and elsewhere.

It is useful to look back to the Makerere Conference of 1961, which was a conference on English as a second language in the Commonwealth, and remember what was hoped for then that has not been fulfilled. In those days we were expecting a scale of support by developed countries like Britain and the United States much larger than actually developed. We did not realize how difficult it would be to raise the standard of existing teachers. We did not foresee how rapidly standards of English would decline; alternatively, we did not realize how bad they already were. Above all, we did not realize sufficiently the challenge to make English a democratic instead of an oligarchic language. We now have to reconcile ourselves to something other and much less than we then expected.

In some ways the position of English will improve: where it is taught for specialist purposes and not on a large scale, it is likely to be fairly effective even in second-language countries. It is likely to be more effective in a small country like Jordan than in an enormous country like India. But where English is the language of the administration, the law courts, and the armed services, it is likely that its standards will decline to the point at which it becomes ineffective, and there will be pressure for something else to take its place. What that can be in countries where English is the language of national unity, it is more difficult to say; but in the long run it may well be that the present artificial boundaries in for example West Africa will give way to more natural linguistic and tribal boundaries, and

that this language problem will be solved by rearrangement of frontiers.

In the meantime, in the so-called English as a foreign language field, there are certain tendencies for English to develop second-language functions, for example in the Middle East, in Latin America, and above all in Europe. English will increasingly be the language of research at the senior level, since there is no time for all the work produced to be translated before it is already out-of-date. English is the language of the library, the language of a window on the world, the language of television, of internationally used computer linkups, of aviation.

We have found it useful to divide up the subject for the consideration of dialect difference, of English as a foreign language, and of English as a second language; but I think we can see that the problems of each of these lead into the problems of the other. We find it possible to use language to reflect these problems, to express these problems; we do not find it possible to solve them, for solutions of language problems are normally extralinguistic: economic, religious and political factors determine the solution of linguistic situations.

FOCUS ON THE TEACHER

Training English Language Teachers Abroad:

The Deree College Language Center Approach

Suzanne Salimbene
Deree College Language Center, Athens, Greece

BACKGROUND

The Deree College Language Center was established in October, 1972, to provide a model for English language teaching in Greece. Although the Language Center is a division of Deree-Pierce Colleges, an American sponsored four year college and high school, it was forced to establish a policy of local hire because of the large number of teachers needed and the fact that the program is funded solely through tuition charges.

The language teaching conditions in Greece are very similar to those existing in most foreign countries. The level of instruction is extremely poor. Greek teachers of English are weak in English themselves, and more than 90% are totally untrained in language teaching techniques. Only the few who have graduated from the University English Department have taken one course in linguistics and one theoretical course in methodology. Greek secondary teachers must have university degrees but teachers who teach in language institutes need only a Michigan or Cambridge Proficiency Certificate in English. Foreign teachers of English (native speakers) are severely limited by the government. They may only be hired by large private high schools such as Deree-Pierce College, Athens College or Anatolia College and may be hired by institutes only from abroad on a ratio of one foreigner to every three Greek nationals. However, native speakers of English are often hired illegally by many language institutes because Athens contains large numbers of foreigners who want to remain in Greece and who have no other means of livelihood besides language teaching. Rarely do any of these people have training.

THE DEREE COLLEGE LANGUAGE CENTER

When the Deree College Language Center opened, it made it known that it was searching for qualified English and American teachers of English, and was flooded with applicants. However, only a handful of these applicants had ever had any specific training in teaching EFL. We were faced with a dilemma: Many of the applicants were very anxious to learn how to teach but we couldn't very well tell them to return to England or America for further study and there was no teacher-training program in Greece. It therefore seemed that the only way to find trained teachers of EFL was to train them ourselves. We organized a short intensive teacher-

training program for the job applicants. They were told that the best of the participants in the course would be hired but would be expected to attend additional training meetings throughout the school year. This solution was quite successful because we were very careful to hire only those people whom we felt had a genuine desire and ability to master modern language teaching techniques and because the school was small enough to allow for constant observation and guidance of teachers. However, we were faced with the problem of providing for future teaching needs for a growing institution.

It was decided that Deree College Language Center would establish Greece's first Teacher-Training Program to be open to the general public. Our primary aim was to provide the Center with a source of new teachers trained in modern techniques of teaching EFL. We designed the course for native speakers of English because our teaching staff is comprised only of native speakers. However, non-native speakers are also accepted in the program if their English is sufficient for them to follow the course without difficulty. All applicants for the course must have an interview with the teacher-trainer or the Director. The purpose of the interview is to determine (a) the applicants' pre-conceived ideas about language learning (i.e., Would this person be open to accept audio-lingual teaching techniques?); (b) the applicants' purpose in taking the course; and (c) if a non-native speaker, his fluency in English.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The requirements of the course are non-academic. It has been our experience that neither a B.A., M.A. or Ph.D. in any subject (including English) helps someone to become a proficient language teacher. Intelligence, a lively personality, and a willingness to try new techniques are more important. We have also noted that amateur acting training or experience is very helpful. Some artistic abilities are also useful.

THE PROGRAM

The training program at the language center is extremely short. It consists of a one semester methodology course and one semester practice-teaching course. Most students take only the methodology seminar because it also includes a great deal of practice teaching, but people new to teaching are encouraged to take the practice teaching course in order to have more supervised classroom practice. However, we have found even a one semester methods course to be extremely effective. The course has increased in size every semester and several very promising teachers have come out of each class. It has created such an interest in TEFL, that I have been approached by several of the participants to try to arrange for an American University to offer an M.A. in Greece under our auspices.

Most methodology courses tend to be devoted primarily to the teaching of modern language teaching theory. This may be fine in a university pro-

gram because students have the opportunity to observe and practice teaching later on an their training. In a non-university situation, however, participants rarely attend more than one course. This course must be entirely practical in nature and must offer the participant an opportunity to put the theory into practice.

The content of the Language Center's course is much the same as most practical methods courses. It includes a brief introduction to basic linguistics; instructions in writing and conducting drills; dialogues, teaching and testing pronunciation; structure; reading; composition; etc. However, we have structured the course to give the student the opportunity to observe and practice the techniques he is learning. The course consists of 84 hours of course work but the student is encouraged to observe as many language classes as he can in addition to this. The class meets three times per week for two hours, for a period of 14 weeks. During this time, the student has the opportunity to observe, peer teach and practice teach beginning, intermediate and advanced language level classes.

COURSE BREAKDOWN

Week I: Introduction to audio-lingual techniques

Class 1 What is meant by the audio-lingual method, comparison with other methods
Class 2 Pattern drills: what they are and how and why they are used
Class 3 Introduction to the teaching of pronunciatior

During the first week the students are asked to read Finocchiaro's *Teaching English as a second language: from theory to practice.* They are also given a teaching manual and a manual on teaching pronunciation prepared by our staff. They are required to purchase a reference book of English grammar.

As part of the introduction to the audio-lingual technique, the students are taught a lesson in a foreign language which none of them know in order to demonstrate the techniques being discussed. This makes them more aware of the learning process being employed and demonstrates the fact that one can teach a foreign language to beginners without having to use the students' foreign language.

The remaining weeks of the course are all organized in the same basic way:

Weeks 2–13

Class 1 Lecture-discussion of a particular technique or the teaching of a particular structure at a particular level
Class 2 A demonstration lesson of the above structure
Class 3 Peer or practice teaching

In order to get the students away from thinking of grammar in tradi-

tional terms they are given lists of common errors made by beginning level language students, intermediate level language students, and advanced level language students. In the first class of the week, a particular technique of teaching is discussed by the teacher-trainer. Then, a particular structure for which that technique might be used is discussed. Instead of saying "Now we're going to use this technique to teach use of the simple present tense," the methodology students are asked to analyze a sentence such as "I'm going to school everyday." They're asked to tell

a) what the error is
b) why the student has made the error

After that, the class discusses what kind of a lesson could be prepared to correct the error.

The second class of each week is devoted to an actual demonstration lesson of the structure point and technique discussed. Usually, this demonstration is given by the teacher-trainer, using one of our regular language classes but sometimes the classroom teacher gives the demonstration. The methodology students are given a copy of the teacher's lesson plan and a list of points to consider. The teacher-trainer discusses the lesson beforehand, saying how and why she has chosen that technique. After the lesson, the methods students are asked to comment on what they saw and to describe another approach that they might use to teach the same structure. For homework, they must develop a presentation and write drills for some aspect of the structure they have seen.

In the third lesson of the week, the methodology students are broken up into two groups, either for peer teaching or for practice teaching. They are asked to peer teach until it is felt that they are ready to teach before a class. Some students may show this readiness after only a few weeks, while others need a much longer period. The methodology course is always given at an hour when several language classes at different levels are in session. Language students are asked to remain after class or come before class for the methodology students to practice teach. Regular language class time is not used until the end of the methodology course, when, and if, the methodology students are proficient enough to teach a class which will be beneficial to the language students.

Since the courses at the Language Center are taught only by native speakers and the teacher training program is open to non-active speakers, a provision had to be made for teaching practice of non-natives. At the moment, the Language Center offers only English and a small, experimental, 4-semester Greek course written by a member of our staff. Greek participants in the Methodology Seminar work with the Greek teachers and do their practice teaching in that program. A provision is then made for participants of language backgrounds other than Greek or English to teach their native language to students in the methodology class. This puts the non-native speakers of English in a more realistic teaching situation. They

are not embarrassed in front of native speakers by their inadequacies in English and get an opportunity to teach in a realistic situation. Throughout the course, the adaptability of the audio-lingual technique to the teaching of all languages is stressed.

Both peer and teacher criticism are an essential part of the course and the class atmosphere is an important element. Participants must be made to feel relaxed both with each other and with the teacher-trainer. The teacher-trainer must train the class in what to look out for. When commenting on a practice lesson he or she must be careful to point out the good aspects of the lesson first and give one constructive criticism. We encourage the practice teacher to criticize his/her own lesson before asking the class for suggesions of offering our own criticisms.

Traditionally, methods courses are broken down into the teaching of skills as follows:

Teaching Pronunciation
Teaching Structure
Teaching Reading
Teaching Composition
Testing
Audio-visual aids

Most of the above usually are demonstrated or discussed in terms of the teaching of beginners. Most methodology students never get the opportunity to practice teach above the beginners' level. The Deree College Language Center course is divided into three parts: The first four weeks are concerned with the teaching of beginners, the next four weeks with the teaching of intermediate students, and the final four weeks with the teaching of advanced students. The advantage of this is that the methodology students are gives the opportunity to observe the techniques used to teach language skills at different levels. They also have practice in teaching different levels and given the opportunity to carefully examine the textbooks and supplementary materials available at each level. The students learn to present structures in an interesting manner, use the textbooks creatively, use the blackboard effectively, teach a reading passage, teach composition, use supplementary materials and make use of a variety of visual aids for all language classes.

Week 14 of the methodology course is devoted to review of materials and an essay examination. The students are asked to write a pronunciation lesson on a given problem. Several errors are also given. The student must analyze the problem and explain how to correct the error. Next, they must write a presentation, drills, and develop a written class or homework assignment for that teaching structure.

Upon completion of the course, a graded certificate is awarded. The students are rated: 1. outstanding, 2. good, 3. needs additional training.

They are graded both on the test, and on the following aspects of their teaching practice:

Presentation
Oral Reinforcement
Use of Visual Aids
Achievement of Teaching Aim
General Teaching Ability

PRACTICE TEACHING COURSE

Those students who need further teaching practice are advised to take the practice teaching course. The practice teaching course involves individualized instruction. The participants must observe a minimum of 35 hours of language classes. Fifteen to twenty of these hours must be of all levels while the remainder is with the teacher the practice teacher has chosen to work under. Each observations must be written up. The notes must describe what was done and comment on the degree of success the teacher had using the method applied. Weekly meetings are then held with the teacher trainer to discuss what was seen and get the practice teacher to formalize in his mind how he would teach the same classes. It is best to let the practice teacher choose the teacher with whom he wishes to work because this choice usually coincides with the person's own teaching personality. The practice teacher then observes the progression and development of language skills in one class. He goes over the aims and techniques of each lesson with the class teacher. Gradually he takes over parts of the class under supervision of the teacher. First he teaches a verb review drill, then he teaches drills the teacher has prepared, and gradually works up to teaching one hour of the two hour class.

The emphasis of the teacher training program is on learning how to teach creatively. Since our teacher-trainer is from International House School in London, we are very influenced by their approach. All teaching is "situationalized." If the textbook does not provide a situation which is meaningful to the students, the teacher is trained to provide one that is, either through a story, a dialogue or pictures. Students in the methodology course are encouraged to try new ways of presenting materials. The drills which follow the presentation must move from carefully controlled to a free stage. The preparation of role-playing situations as well as the development of one's own visual aids are also an integral part of the teacher training program.

RESULTS OF THE PROGRAM

The program began in June, 1973, one semester after the opening of the Language Center. During the first semester, the majority of the participants were our own teachers, all of whom had asked to be allowed to take the course in order to improve their own teaching techniques. By January, 1974, the entire staff of the language center had completed the

methodology course. Instead of practice teaching, they exchanged class levels with each other so the entire teaching staff had the opportunity to teach and be observed in classes of all language levels.

The course was considered so beneficial by the teachers at the Deree College Language Center that they have voted to make it the main criteria for hiring new teachers. The past semester, all the participants in the course were from the general public. So many of them have completed the course successfully that both the high school and the language center have been able to fill their teaching vacancies from participants in the teacher-training program.

Grammar and the Foreign Language Teacher

Sidney Greenbaum
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

In a paper published about a decade ago with the intriguing title "Syntax and the Consumer,"[1] the British linguist Michael Halliday argued that there is no one best description of a language; we can evaluate a description only in the light of the purpose for which it is made. If Halliday is right, and I believe he is, what would be the best description of English for the teacher of English as a foreign language?

It is probably presumptuous of me to act as a Consumer's Guide. Perhaps I am rash enough to do so because I am still under the influence of a trip abroad. I spent the last academic year in Jerusalem as a Visiting Professor in the English Department of the Hebrew University, where I taught language courses to prospective teachers. I also observed English teaching in a number of high schools and discussed problems of teaching English with teachers and administrators.

The question I am addressing has to be more precisely defined. In the first place, I am thinking of a description for the teacher, not for the students. The amount of explicit teaching and explanation of grammar in the classroom is a pedagogic question; decisions depend partly on views about how a second language is best learned, and partly on the particular set of students in the classroom. Secondly, my question concerns the grammar that the teacher will use when he has left college. The teacher needs a systematic guide to which he can refer for generalizations about the language and for exceptions to the generalizations. He can apply the information in teaching grammar explicitly, in preparing and grading teaching material, and in correcting the mistakes of his students. If he is a non-native speaker of the language, he will perhaps want to use the grammar to improve his proficiency in English.

You may have noticed that I have slipped into substituting *grammar* for *description*. *Grammar* is a slippery word, and indeed it is sometimes applied to a description of all facets of a language. I am restricting it to one long-established use—the description of syntax and morphology. I am further thinking of *grammar* as a tangible product for the consumer, something he can buy. That is to say, I am using *grammar* to mean a modification of grammar, a description of grammar that is embedded in a book.

What then do I suggest we look for in a grammar for the teacher?

First of all, the grammar should convey information about the English

[1] Reprinted in *Georgetown University Round Table Selected Papers on Linguistics 1961–1965*, R. J. O'Brien (Ed.), Georgetown University Press, 1968, pp. 189–202.

language rather than about theoretical linguistics. During his training period the teacher ought to be made aware of current linguistic theories, but for his teaching career he needs an applied description. Perhaps I ought to explain what I mean.

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of description—the theoretical and the applied—and they represent differences of overall purpose on the part of the authors. A theoretical description is intended to develop a particular model for the description of language in general. The particular language examined in the description is not chosen for its own sake, but for reasons of convenience: perhaps it is the linguist's native language, or the language understood by the totality of the audiences he is trying to reach. The success of such a description lies in its argumentation, in its demonstration of the power of the theory to characterize or explain language phenomena that the theory is intended to characterize or explain. If there are competing formulations of the theory, then they will be evaluated according to their ability to account for the particular language data cited in the discussion. Since the author is not primarily interested in the specific language as such, he is not unduly worried about gaps in the description. He is satisfied if he brings sufficient evidence from the language to back his arguments.

An applied description, on the other hand, is primarily intended to describe a particular language. The difference needs to be insisted upon for this audience because in the last couple of decades English has commonly been used as the language of exemplification for theoretical descriptions. The success of an applied description depends on the extent of its accuracy and comprehensiveness, as well as on the insights it displays. Inevitably, it has to be theoretically eclectic, since no theory is sufficiently developed to cope with the full range of information about English language data that is already known—and that has been codified to some extent in the standard reference grammars. Furthermore, current theories are constantly changing, and it is unwise to confine a description of this kind to a version of a theory that will be dated before it reaches print. Even linguists working within a similar theoretical framework have serious differences over fundamental questions. The instability of linguistic theories is not to be deplored. It is a sign of the vitality of theoretical linguistics and of the large number of theoretical linguists actively engaged in research. But the lack of consensus about linguistic theory means that the specific-language linguist must sacrifice theoretical consistency if he wants to aim at comprehensiveness. I say "aim at comprehensiveness" because no applied description is anywhere near being comprehensive, even for a language as much investigated as English.

The second requirement of a teacher's grammar is that its presentation be clear and intelligible to the teacher. That should be obvious, but it can't be taken for granted. Also, the teacher should be able to extract information in a form that his students can understand without having to

learn a difficult metalanguage. (Of course, the teacher will have to adapt what he finds in his grammar to the level and needs of his students.) In a teacher's grammar, informal statement is preferable to formalization in algebraic formulae and network diagrams. In a theoretical description, economy may be a virtue; but in the teacher's grammar, clarity takes precedence. If clarity of description demands it, information should be repeated at relevant points in the grammar. That does not, of course, exclude the possibility of making the generalization at one place, perhaps with cross-referencing.

The third characteristic that I expect of a teacher's grammar derives from my general expectation that the grammar will describe language use, or to employ a current term—language performance. Among other things, a performance grammar will differentiate between the central and the peripheral in language. I want to apply the distinction to three topics: acceptability, variation range, and frequency.

Linguists attempt to state the limits of what is possible in the language, and in doing so they may include much that is only marginally acceptable. Given a fertile enough imagination, we can often contextualize sentences that at first impression are unacceptable. There is also a fuzzy area of acceptability, where individuals vary in their judgments. In writing of his work as a linguist, Bolinger has elegantly used the same spatial metaphor of central and peripheral for acceptability: "We cannot know what our language allows us to do until we stretch it to its limits, and that is only done by children and introspective linguists; everyday speakers stay comfortably most of the time in the well-furnished interior."[*] The teacher's grammar will describe the use of everyday speakers. What is marginally acceptable or of disputed acceptability will be marked as such. We might think we can take for granted that a grammar's decisions on acceptability will be accurate, but there are good reasons for believing that an author's own judgments are often unreliable. Collecting data on use and judgment is laborious, and there are problems in evaluating the data and incorporating the results into a grammar. Nevertheless, tapping the performance and judgments of nonlinguists is preferable to relying on the introspection of the linguist.

In another sense, the central is identical with what has been termed the "common core" of the language. Some variation in language depends on the region, the socio-economic class or ethnic group, and the education of the speaker. Other variation is dependent on the use to which the speaker is putting the language, for example, the medium, his attitude to his audience, and the subject matter. These categories are sometimes spoken of as if they were discrete varieties of the language, but usually the differences are in relative frequencies of certain features rather than in absolute distinctions. In any case, much of what occurs in the varieties

[*] D. Bolinger, *The phrasal verb in English*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, p. xv.

is common to all varieties (or virtually all of them), and will appear unmarked in the grammar, whereas what is distinctive or characteristic of particular varieties will be marked as such.

I imagine that most teachers will agree on the exclusion of certain kinds of variation. Presumably, students will learn a form of what is usually called Standard English, and if so, there is no need for the teacher's grammar to contain information on nonstandard variation. Of course, even within Standard English there is some regional variation, both between and within national standards. We can expect the grammar to mark variations of this kind.

Variation due to social and stylistic factors is well-known. The grammar will note variation characteristics like the following:

(1) The unattached participle, which is normally unacceptable in formal writing, is commonly used in scientific writing; the indefinite subject *one* is implied, e.g.:

> When treating patients with language retardation, the therapy consists of discussions of the patient's problems with parents and teachers.

(2) Absolute clauses are virtually restricted to formal English, particularly written English, e.g.:

> No further discussion arising, the meeting was brought to a close.

(3) In very informal English, particularly in speech, it is common to omit certain grammatical words from the beginning of the sentence, as in *Sounds fine to me, Told you so, Anything wrong?*

(4) Among other distinctive features, the language of newspaper headlines has different tense/aspect conventions. For instance, the present tense *(Heath resigns)* replaces the Present Perfect *(Heath has resigned)* in reporting an event that has just happened.

I want to bring an example of how attitude to what is being talked about motivates variation. In an experiment at the University of Oregon, 61 students were given pairs of sentences, and were asked to rate their acceptability and to rank the sentences in each pair according to preference.[3] The pairs relevant to my point have to do with number concord after the collective noun *Administration.* When presented with the pair:

1a. *At present, the Administration is on the defensive.*
b. *At present, the Administration are on the defensive.*

the students were unanimous in fully accepting only sentence (1a) with singular *is*; none fully accepted the sentence (1b) with the plural *are.* Two other pairs were given, in which the same collective appeared, but this time concord had to be with a following pronoun:

[3] For the form of Preference tests, see S. Greenbaum and R. Quirk, *Elicitation experiments in English: Linguistic studies in use and attitude.* Longman, London, and University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1970, pp. 16–17.

2a. *He wants help from the Administration, so he is trying to please it.*
b. *He wants help from the Administration, so he is trying to please them.*

3a. *He opposes the Administration, so he is trying to destroy it.*
b. *He opposes the Administration, so he is trying to destroy them.*

In (2), the majority preferred sentence (b) with plural *them:* 40 (66%) fully accepted (b) and 36 (62%) gave (b) a first preference rating, while 28 (46%) fully accepted (a) and 27 (47%) gave (a) a first preference rating. The results went the other way for the pair in (3), the majority preferring sentence (a) with singular *it:* 46 (75%) fully accepted (a) and 44 (73%) gave (a) a first preference rating, while 25 (41%) fully accepted (b) and 24 (42%) gave (b) a first preference rating. The explanation I offer for the different reactions to (2) and (3) is that the two pairs express different attitudes to the Administration. In (2) there is a favorable attitude to the Administration; the Administration is therefore more likely to be personalized—regarded as consisting of individual persons—and this is reflected grammatically in a greater tendency to use the plural pronoun. The tendency to personalize is reinforced by the requirement that the verb phrase take a personal noun phrase as direct object. On the other hand, the hostile attitude expressed in (3) is more likely to induce a recognition of the Administration as an impersonal group; and therefore the singular pronoun tends to be selected.

The same tendencies recur in the results of some informal testing on a class of ten students at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. Again the problems concerned number concord after collectives, but this time informants were asked to insert both alternatives, singular *it* and plural *them*, one for each blank space in the pair of sentences.[4] They were given two pairs of sentences requiring this task:

4a. *He supports the Administration, so he is trying to please* ____ .
b. *He opposes the Administration, so he is trying to annoy* ____ .

5a. *She dislikes the class and wants to destroy* ____ .
b. *She likes the class and wants to strengthen* ____ .

The pairs (4) and (5) separate the two variables in (2) and (3). While the sentences in both (4) and 5) contrast attitudinally, the infinitives *please* and *annoy* in (4) require a personal noun phrase as direct object but the infinitives *destroy* and *strengthen* have no such restriction. In both pairs, the majority chose *them* for the sentence expressing a favorable attitude and *it* for the sentence expressing an unfavorable attitude: (4a)—*them* 7, *it* 3; (4b)—*them* 3, *it* 7; (5a) *them* 2, *it* 8; (5b) *them* 8, *it* 2.

The procedure of filling in both blanks forces the informant to make a choice determined by differences between the two sentences. Even if in-

[4] For the use of Forced-Choice Selection tests, see R. M. Kempson and R. Quirk, Controlled activation of latent contrast, *Language* (1971) *47*, 548–572.

formants normally use only one variant, a non-random range of results indicates a factor that influences selection. In the case of pronoun concord after *Administration*, we have already seen from the Oregon experiment that informants have varied in their judgments in ways that correspond to the results in the forced-choice tests. Another forced-choice test with the same students involved number choice in the verb:

6a. *The team* ..... *going to beat us.*
b. *The team* ..... *going to beat them.*

Informants were required to insert *is* in one blank space and *are* in the other. The majority chose *are* for the sentence where the contemplated hostile action is to affect the speaker and others that he associates with himself; (6a)—*are* 2, *is* 8; (6b)—*are* 8, *is* 2. The results parallel the attitudinal differences noted for (4) and (5), though further evidence is needed to show whether the plural would be preferred if informants were given (6a) and allowed to choose between the two variants.

I expect the grammar to contain information on the factors that influence choices of this kind.

The third sense in which I use the distinction between central and peripheral concerns the relative frequency of grammatical forms and constructions. Except possibly where prescriptive prejudices interfere, native speakers have little difficulty in judging relative frequency.

I conducted some informal tests on relative frequency judgments, using as informants a class of 19 students at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. The students were asked to judge the relative frequency of sentences on a five-point scale; sentences were presented in pairs, each pair appearing on a separate page. One of the pairs was:

7a. *Some students have complained to the Chairman and they have written to the Dean.*
b. *Some students have complained to the Chairman and written to the Dean.*

The reduced form was generally given a higher rating on the scale: sixteen gave it a higher frequency, one a lower frequency, one the same frequency, and one did not respond. A teacher's grammar that related the reduced and full forms without indicating which is the more common is inadequate.

The same students were asked to judge the frequency of the following three pairs of sentences:

8a. *He was there for an hour on Monday.*
b. *He was there on Monday for an hour.*

9a. *She swims for twenty minutes every other day.*
b. *She swims every other day for twenty minutes.*

10a. *We went to the club three times last week.*
b. *We went to the club last week three times.*

The results confirmed predictions about the normal order for time adverbials at the end of the sentence:

duration—frequency—time WHEN

The normal order for each pair is shown in the (a) sentence: (8a) duration + time WHEN; (9a) duration + frequency; (10a) frequency + time WHEN. Higher frequency ratings for the (a) sentence were given by twelve students for (8) and (9), and by eighteen students for (10). Of the remaining students in each case, seven gave (8a) and (8b) the same ratings; five gave (9a) and (9b) the same ratings and two gave (9b) a higher rating; and one gave (10b) a higher rating. The alternative orders are by no means impossible; they would presumably be chosen for reasons such as balance or the relative informational prominence given to the adverbials. Notice that the adverbials are hierarchically related in time: only the superordinate adverbial—the one normally occurring finally—can be readily moved to initial position.

In another type of procedure designed to find out positional norms for adverbs, informants were presented with individual sentences and for each one they were asked to write down the sentence using a given adverb. Sharp differences emerged for some individual adverbs that are often thought to belong to the same category, for example *perhaps* and *probably*. Various groups of students at Oregon and Milwaukee (each group with at least sixty students) were given sentences which they were required to write down using *perhaps* or *probably*. The positions most commonly selected were:

11a. *Perhaps she can speak Spanish.*
b. *Perhaps he can not drive a car.*

12a. *She can probably speak Spanish.*
b. *He probably can not drive a car.*

The initial position of *perhaps* was selected by 95% for (11a) and by 96% for (11b). The pre-verb position of *probably* in (12a) was selected by 77% and the pre-auxiliary position in (12b) by 70%. Incidentally, the pre-auxiliary position of (12b) seems to be the norm in other cases where the auxiliary is used as an operator;[5] for example, where it carries emphasis:

She probably CAN speak Spanish.
She probably DID speak Spanish.

or where it is a pro-form:

She probably can.
She probably did.

A teacher's grammar will not be satisfied with enumerating all the pos-

[5] For the term *operator*, see R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik, *A grammar of contemporary English*, Longman, London, and Seminar Press, New York, 1972, 2.2.

sible positions for *perhaps* and *probably*. It will also state which are the normal positions.

There are surely other things we would want to see in a teacher's grammar. For example, it should indicate relations between constructions, connections in discourse, syntactic means of organizing the information, and various other applications of grammar to communicative function. But I have said enough to suggest that the teacher's grammar has its own specifications. Of course, we do not have the ideal grammar, but available grammars should be evaluated for their achievements. It is up to teachers to shop around for the best grammar for their purpose.

FOCUS ON THE LEARNER

Teaching English as a Second Culture*

Muriel Saville-Troike
Georgetown University

I want to talk to you this morning both as a linguist and as an anthropologist, but not from an essentially theoretical base. My own awareness of the importance of these disciplines to the educator came as a result of my own experience teaching kindergarten in a bilingual/multicultural setting in California.

I'd like to discuss their relevance to teaching English as a second language while keeping clearly in focus these children's needs and appropriate classroom practices.

The culture of a group of people includes all of the systems, techniques, and tools which make up their way of life. Many manifestations of culture can be readily seen: high rise apartment buildings, brush shelters, cars, canoes, clothes, guns, bows and arrows. These are the physical artifacts of what we call *material culture*. Manifestations of *non-material culture* are much harder to observe, but equally important for understanding a people's way of life: custom, belief, values, means for regulating interaction with other humans and with the supernatural.

Because knowledge, perception, and behavior are so strongly influenced by culture, members of different cultural groups can never live in exactly the same "real" world. Nor can so-called "basic" concepts ever be assumed to have exact correspondences across cultural boundaries. It is unlikely that the concepts labeled in English as *snow*, *blue*, *family*, or *good* can ever be equated exactly with categories in other cultures.

Language is a key component of culture. It is the primary medium for transmitting much of culture, making the process of language learning in children in part a process of enculturation. Children learning their native language are learning their own cuture; learning a second language also involves learning a second culture to varying degrees, which may have very profound psychological and social consequences for both children and adults.

The vocabulary of a language provides us with an interesting reflection of the people who speak it, an index to the way they categorize perceptions, a map to their world of experience. The category labeled *snow* in English, to use a familiar example, is divided into seven different categories with seven different verbal labels for speakers of Eskimo, both reflecting and requiring a much more detailed perception of its variant characteristics

* Plenary Session Address, 1974 TESOL Convention.

than most English-speakers would ever have. An English-speaker to whom snow is very important, such as a ski enthusiast or a meteorologist, will be able to modify *snow* to indicate variant characteristics when this is required—*wet snow, packed snow, powder snow*—but such distinctions aren't required by the language, as they are in Eskimo.

Many examples could be cited of the way language reflects a world view. Greek and some dialects of Quecha consider the future "behind" you and the past "ahead," instead of the future being "ahead" as it is in English. According to Nida, the Quechuas defend their logic by pointing out that we can "see" the past, but not the future. Since we "see" the past, it must be in front of our eyes, and the future that we cannot "see" is behind. Nor is there any logical necessity for the way English-speakers divide the color spectrum, since it is obviously a continum, and speakers of many other languages make the arbitrary points of division at quite different places along the scale. A single Navajo term includes most of the range for English *blue* and *green*, for instance, and the Muskogean languages have a single term for English *yellow, orange*, and *brown*, which translates as "earth color." The meaning of any word is arbitrary and depends on the agreement of a group of speakers as to its symbolic value.

An interesting question is asked about this relationship between language and the other aspects of culture: to what extent is the language reflecting a world view, as I have just suggested, or to what extent is language shaping and controlling the thinking of its speakers by the perceptual requirements it makes of them (the well-known Sapir-Whorf hypothesis)? Does a language which requires social distinctions to be made in order to choose the proper pronominal form (as Spanish and German) force speakers to think in terms of social "superiority" or "inferiority?" The answer to this question remains open to speculation, but we can feel quite sure that both sides contain elements of truth, that there is at least a positive correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its speakers.

A great deal of cross-cultural misunderstanding occurs when the "meanings" of words in two languages are assumed to be the same, but actually reflect differing cultural patterns. Some are humorous, as when a Turkish visitor to the United States refused to eat a *hot dog* because it was against his beliefs to eat dog meat, and when some of my students from the Dominican Republic precipitated an argument on the Texas A & M campus by referring to the Texans as *Yankees*. Some are much more serious, as when American Indian parents gave up their children for *adoption*, not knowing the word meant they would not return to their families at the end of the school year, and when a French couple on a trip to China took their pet poodle into a restaurant and requested some *dog food* for it. The dog was cooked and returned to their table on a platter. Still more instances are never recognized as linguistic misunderstandings at all, but merely add to negative stereotypes of other cultural groups. Spanish-

speakers unknowingly encounter negative attitudes from English-speakers with the common expletive *Dios Mio*, since the English translation *My God* is much stronger than the Spanish, and socially disapproved of. The common use of the name Jesús in Spanish is regarded as bordering on the blasphemous by some English-speakers, who consider it taboo (and usually change it to *Jesse* at school).

It would be completely impossible to separate language from culture, even if it were desirable to do so, because of the solid embedding of cultural information in language use and interpretation. John Lawler has pointed out that when English-speakers say *He's a truck driver*, we understand he drives a truck for a living, while few would give the same interpretation to *He's a Volkswagen driver*. The embedded cultural information is that people don't normally drive Volkswagens for a living as they do trucks, but can only own one to drive to and from another occupation.

Cultural information is also necessary to interpret *Mary is a mathematician, but she's a woman at heart* and to explain why *Mary is a secretary, but she's a woman at heart* is not a probable sentence in English. The culture-specific information required to understand these examples is that women in this culture are not normally mathematicians, but they are frequently secretaries.

Cultural embedding in language probably reaches its height in metaphor. In many cases the information required is shared by other cultures which have developed from Judeo-Christian or Graeco-Roman traditions, such as illusions to the *patience of Job* or a headline during the last presidential campaign, *Wounded Knee Is McGovern's Achilles Heel*. Even reading a sports page (such as *the Dolphins win the Super Bowl*) a great deal of cultural information is needed which is often not available to students of English as a second language, and not usually taken into account in ESL curricula.

The American educational system itself is a cultural invention. It is one which serves primarily to prepare middle-class children to participate in their own culture. Most teachers are trained to meet the educational needs of only this group of children. Children from other cultures, including the lower class, are usually perceived as *disadvantaged* or *deficient* to the degree their cultural experiences differ from the mainstream, middle-class "norms." (Our programs in compensatory education have been based largely on this rationale, to provide the middle-class cultural experiences to children who have been "deprived" of them.)

We cannot blame our educational system for attempting to transmit the dominant American culture to all its students since such enculturation is the essential purpose of education in all cultures. We *can* fault lack of provision or respect for children's culturally diverse backgrounds, however. We can ask our educational system to make aspects of the dominant culture a meaningful part of the children's experience without displacing or conflicting with the corresponding parts of their native cultures.

Teachers working with children from other groups must learn to see themselves and the school from a perspective of cultural relativity. They must learn to respect and be able to deal with the culturally different backgrounds which children bring to school. Every teacher of English as a second language is in the position of teaching a second culture as well, and every one should be able to fill the role of a cross-cultural interpreter in addition to serving as a second language instructor.

Let's take a closer look at our "disadvantaged" students.

It has long been argued, often on the basis of relatively little evidence, that language difference as such, and a lack of knowledge of English in particular, constitutes a causative factor in the low scholastic achievement of students from non-English-speaking backgrounds in American schools. The argument seems to be a very plausible one in those cases where a child must learn entirely through the medium of English. Certainly he is at a disadvantage trying to comprehend and express himself in a foreign langauge, especially when other students with whom he must compete have already mastered English. The Lau vs. Nichols case in San Francisco has recently resulted in the Supreme Court supporting this position on constitutional grounds.

We must look further than the language differences to find a cause for low scholastic achievement, however, since we suspect that competence in English at school entry does not correlate as highly with academic success as do some other social factors.

It seems clear from the information that we have about non-English-speaking children that economic depression and the social conditions associated with it do tend to interfere with second language learning and other aspects of their school achievement. Present rather than future orientation, low educational levels of parents, lack of books in the home, while cultural factors which may indeed inhibit school success, are much more closely related to social class rather than to ethnic or linguistic group membership. Poor English-speaking Blacks and Anglos have these same environmental "handicaps" when they enter school because they, too, are different from the mainstream middle-class culture for which our educational system is geared. Even such apparently "ethnic" differences as family structure, child-rearing practices, and cooperative vs. competitive coping behavior are at least partly dependent on socio-economic status.

Even more clearly affecting learning are the attitudes and motivation of children and their parents, many of which are culture-specific. Cultural attitudes and values most assuredly affect teaching as well, since educators acquire these as members of their own cultural group, learn and generally adopt those of the dominant group where it is different, and have different attitudes and expectations toward children from different minority cultures.

Man is a cultural animal—we are all in one way or another products of our culture, and much of our behavior, values, and goals are culturally determined. It is important to be aware of this, both in order to under-

stand ourselves and those we teach. While we can never hope to be culture-free in teaching and evaluating our students, we can at least attempt to be culture-fair—by perceiving our own biases and learning to recognize that cultural differences do not represent deficiencies.

There are indeed real differences between groups of people, and the answer lies in the recognition, understanding, and respect given to these real cultural differences, not in the proclamation that all people "are the same beneath the skin." This seemingly egalitarian assertion often hides an even deeper ethnocentric assumption, that all people are "like me," or that to say otherwise would be degrading them.

One area of cultural differences is in attitudes toward language and its functions. Conflicting attitudes toward language create one of the greatest problems in cross-cultural communication between teachers and children (or their parents); misunderstandings often occur for this reason. When the differences are understood, they may be used as an educational base. When they are not, they create a formidable barrier to learning.

One cultural difference in language use is the difference in voice level normally used by some Indian groups and Whites, with Indian children interpreting the White's level as anger and hostility and the Whites interpreting the Indian's level as shyness and unfriendliness.

A child who looks directly at the teacher when talking or listening is considered "honest," "direct," "straightforward" by most Anglos and as "disrespectful" by most Mexican-Americans, Blacks, and Indians. The child who averts his eyes would be considered "respectful" by the latter and "shifty" or "dishonest" by many Anglos.

The standard middle-class English speech patterns presented as a model in school are likely to be considered effeminate and thus rejected by lower-class boys approaching adolescence, especially as these patterns are used by female teachers. The English of male aides and teachers or of older boys would be much more likely to be adopted by boys wanting to establish a male identity.

Cultural notions differ on who should talk and when. The school supports the convention of talking one at a time (after raising a hand and being called on) and not interrupting; other cultures would consider that rude, a sure sign that no one was interested in what the primary speaker was saying. Some cultures feel it is inappropriate for children to talk at all in the presence of adults, and others that it is inappropriate for women to talk in the presence of men.

Mitigation techniques also differ, and children encounter many problems in our schools when they come from cultures that do not use the same ones. A mainstream middle-class child learns to avoid unpleasant assignments with such indirect excuses as *I'm tired. Can't I do it later?, Can I finish this first?*, or by non-verbal dawdling or day dreaming until the time is up. While often unsuccessful, the attempt brings no serious reproof. A child who has not learned these cultural patterns and says, *No, I won't*, or

just *No* (essentially meaning the same thing) will be considered belligerent and often threatened with the principal's office.

Conflicting attitudes toward language usually operate at an inconspicuous level, but they may cause very obvious hostility or withdrawal. One second grader in a school I visited had solidly refused to say a word of English in class, although he followed the directions given in English by his teacher when they did not require a verbal response. When I asked him (in Spanish) why he didn't want to speak English, he almost shouted, *Porque soy Mexicano.* "Because I'm Mexican."

More common are the "shy" children who try not to be noticed, and the adults who contact them in school are often not really sure if they speak English or not. Both this hostile boy and the very shy are examples of children who are threatened by English.

No complete inventory exists of different social rules for language usage or of different attitudes toward language, but we must still consider both important components of teaching English as a second language. Breaking rules of grammar in English may make it difficult for students to be understood on some occasions but breaking social rules of usage is much more serious; it will create ill will toward the speaker of English if the cultural differences are not understood. The teacher needs to be sensitive to areas where there may be differences in language use, and should make the initial assumption that a non-native speaker of English "breaks" a social rule because he doesn't know the rule, not because he is rude or insubordinate.

The teacher must also be sensitive to the feelings of parents and children in a non-English speaking community about such attitudes as the value they place on the maintenance of their native language and the acquisition of English if the home and school are to be mutually supportive, and not conflicting cultural forces in children's development.

A second major area of cultural differences within which negative feelings may develop is in learning styles and forms of education. Although our educational system most closely represents the culture of our mainstream middle-class population, it has developed some attitudes, values, and expectations in its own right which set it apart as a subculture within our society in these respects. Successful advancement in the system quite naturally requires adoption of or adaptation to these concepts. Educators must be seen from this perspective as successfully acculturated (since they must have adapted themselves to the subculture in order to complete the years of training for certification); they are transmitters of these attitudes, values, and expectations to the next generation so that it, too, may "achieve" in school. A self-perpetuating cycle.

Educators must therefore learn about their own system of learning and realize that education does not have the same ends and means for members of different social groups. Stereotypes result if we assume that other systems of education are less advanced, or the children who don't succeed in

our particular system are "deficient" in some respect. Since children learn how to learn from their families in early childhood, cultural differences are very well established by kindergarten or first grade.

It is obvious that children who learn to learn in one culture and then must learn in the modes of another must experience some confusion and dislocation in the process. They are unfamiliar with the school structure, the expectations of the teacher, and the classroom procedure. They may encounter very different values which are being considered essential for learning (i.e., cleanliness, attendance, and punctuality).

They may find values which they have been taught penalized or rejected (i.e., not asking questions, not attempting to do what you are not sure of being able to do successfully, being very concerned for correctness even on a timed test).

Now, having made the case for language and education being inseparable from culture, we are really saying that teaching English as a second language entails teaching elements of English as a second culture, as well. We should give thought to minimizing interference in the learning process, and consider the cultural content an *addition* of new concepts and behaviors to be used when appropriate (in school), and not a *replacement* of home culture.

Once we recognize and understand the cultural differences in learning styles among our own students, we have a choice to make. We may choose to adapt our educational system to the learning styles of the students, or we may choose to have children adapt their learning styles to the expectations and requirements of our educational system.

Most educators will choose the latter alternative in practice, while admitting the former would "ideally" be best. While changing the system is a desirable long-range goal, children entering school now will indeed be seriously handicapped in "achievement" if they do not learn how to operate within it.

While some degree of adaptation of children to the school culture is a reasonable expectation, it is at least equally reasonable to expect some adaptation in reverse. Even without major institutional changes, classroom teachers can help children develop bicultural competence by being understanding, accepting of differences, and flexible enough in organization and instruction to allow for different styles of learning.

In addition to learning how to learn, the early socialization of children involves learning a role. Initial role acquisition includes learning what is appropriate and expected behavior when relating to different members within the family, and then to different classes of individuals within the wider social group. As with modes of learning, most children find the new roles they assume when beginning school a rather natural extension of their earlier socialization experiences. For some, previously learned patterns of social interaction are not of value to the school situation, and they must acquire all new roles.

These behavioral variations add to the variable features of language, dress, skin hue, and economic level and form the complex unit perceived by the school as the culturally "different" child, often denominated the "culturally disadvantaged."

It is uncomfortable to be considered "different" in this categorical sense, even as we recognize that both individual and group differences are inevitable. More than that, we even recognize that "variety is the spice of life"; we would not want to all be the same.

Most of our discomfort in referring to or being identified as members of social groups is because of the stereotyping so frequently associated with such identification, and the pejorative connotations group labels may engender—including "Anglo."

Members of the dominant group think nothing of viewing oppressed minorities sterotypically—all blacks look alike, all Spanish surnames are to be retained in first grade, etc., but *they* find it offensive if *they* are not seen as individuals, but are rejected or threatened because they are white or middle class. So long as the categorization is at a distance, and not threatening, it may be viewed as merely quaintly amusing, and the information about it may have no effect in helping toward understanding. To be a minority group member, and be viewed stereotypically, and know that you are being so viewed, must be objectionable except to one who has "accepted his place."

Both adults and children have diverse attitudes about their social classification, as perceived by them or by others. Most value their own group membership. Some reject their own group and wish to change. This is always a possibility in our society, using such means as education, marriage or emigration (including just moving across town). Many may wish or need to function as members of more than one social group and be "bicultural."

These attitudes can be viewed as positive forces, and all can be compatible with learning a second language and with other school achievement, but they are often viewed in a negative light. Those who value their own group membership and don't wish to acculturate to the dominant group are treated as not "well adjusted" to our society. Those who reject their own group and wish to change are viewed as "traitors" to family and old friends. Those who wish to belong to more than one social group may be mistrusted by both, and seen as "spies."

Whatever choice is made regarding group membership, language is a key factor—an identification badge—for both self and outside perception. A famous example is Eliza Doolittle of *My Fair Lady*, who with the aid of linguist Henry Higgins moved from lower class London Cockney to a social group that mingled with kings.

The importance of language in establishing role identification and group membership is recognized (often unconsciously) even by young children. When I was teaching kindergarten in California, I assigned Spanish and

English speaking children to alternate chairs around the tables in order to maximize the children's opportunity to use the English vocabulary and structures I was teaching. One boy started speaking English with a lisp, although he did not lisp in Spanish. The answer was his English-speaking friend, who had recently lost his front teeth. The Spanish speaker was obviously identifying with a peer model, and not with his teacher. I reassigned him to sit by a boy who didn't lisp and he soon acquired a normal pronunciation. But he continued to lisp when the deviant pronunciation was appropriate—whenever he talked to his lisping friend. The second grade boy I discussed earlier who refused to use English is another example of language being tied to group membership. In this case the child wished to uniquely retain his group identity and rejected English as he rejected identification with the school culture.

Diversity of language even within a single speech community, such as English, provides a great deal of information about speakers' social identities. Speakers of English (and other languages) regularly use dialect variables as a basis for judging others' social background, prestige, and even personality characteristics. Such concepts as status and role are not permanent qualities of language itself, but abstract communication symbols which are always perceived in relation to a particular social context.

Language probably serves this function because it is the principal medium for mediating and manipulating social relationships. It is carried out in terms of culturally standardized patterns which children acquire as they learn to communicate and as part of their socialization (or enculturation). It is used to symbolize one's role in society, one's relationship with particular listeners, and even sets of attitudes and values.

As children learn their language and their culture they learn, in effect, to be a (Mexican American, Anglo, Navajo, Greek, etc.), or more accurately, a member of a small subgroup of that larger social classification.

There are many positive values in group identity, but misunderstandings in classifying people can have grave consequences in education, and they need to be corrected.

First, race has no correlation with culture. Race is determined by genetic traits, and culture by diffusional ones. People who are of the same race may belong to different cultures, and people who belong to the same culture may be of different races. Where a group has been socially isolated or has recently immigrated, there may be an identification of certain cultural traits with a particular ethnic group, but this is historically speaking, accidental and transistory.

Second, surnames should never be used as a guide to children's linguistic competence. Many schools make the mistake of assuming that any child named Sanchez must speak Spanish, and assign him to ESL or bilingual classes accordingly. In some cases, unfortunately still too common, six-year-old "Spanish-surnamed" children are automatically assigned to prefirsts, on the assumption that they won't be able to succeed in first grade

without on "extra" year of instruction. In one school, a Spanish-surnamed boy was retained while his half-brother was promoted because the latter had an Anglo name.

A surname usually indicates the ethnic origin of part of a child's ancestry, but it does not indicate language competence or present group membership.

Third, the "disadvantaged" do not constitute a homogeneous group in any respect. "Poverty" and "disadvantaged" are culturally defined, and relative only to the dominant group that does the classification. Such group identity is not a perception from within unless the typing of the dominant group is adopted. When children escape this label and succeed, they are likely to say as adults, "I didn't really know we were poor." Some minority group college students are upset to find out for the first time in education classes that they are considered "disadvantaged."

Finally, there are no culturally-based "smartness" categories. Intelligence is not a cultural phenomenon, although testing biases may systematically discriminate against certain cultural groups so that this may appear to be the case.

Assigning children to social boxes on the basis of such misunderstandings and stereotypes can be very detrimental to their education, since the expectations they generate can easily become self-fulfilling prophecies for both teachers and children.

We have already recognized that teachers and students may have different values, and that one of the *functions of education* is to transmit the attitudes and values that will enable children to "achieve" *in school.* Some of the differences in values which may create conflict in the classroom are the importance of cooperation vs. competition, of aggression vs. compliance, of anonymity vs. self-assertion: the importance of time, and of cleanliness.

This list should sound familiar, but it is an abstraction that may mean little in terms of classroom practices. Conflict of values is very real in education. Test-taking requires competition, for instance, and we consider cooperative behavior "cheating" in such contexts; asking questions or volunteering answers requires self-assertion, and we penalize students who value anonymity by not being sensitive to their unasserted needs and strengths.

A few years ago I was having difficulty keeping all the pieces for reading games in my classroom, and was obviously the victim of a six-year-old thief. When I finally saw him stuffing his pockets one day, I decided to recover the "loot" after school instead of in front of the class—and have a little talk with his mother at the same time. I valued the reading games very highly, as all teachers who have made their own material will understand, because their preparation was very time consuming; I had spent my own money on them and besides, they were nearly useless as instructional aids with pieces missing.

My "thief's" mother did not speak English, so our verbal communication was very limited, but I did understand. I was not invited inside the house, but I could see that there was no furniture at all in the living room—and two preschoolers were sitting on the bare floor *playing with my games.* Their brother had valued *their* pleasure above learning to read or my time.

This story has a happy ending because I traded some of my own children's toys for the games, but I wonder how many times I have not understood the reasons for a child's actions. Too often we condemn behavior as a simple negation of a value we hold, rather than recognizing that an alternate value may be in operation.

Our educational goals are not limited to instructional objectives, but include the enculturation or socialization of children to our values and expectations as well. This involves a weighty responsibility and requires careful thought, because, for good or ill, we often succeed.

Teachers hold a tremendously prestigious and influential position in the eyes of children, and this carries with it a responsibility which we cannot take lightly. We often win out in a conflict where their family says or does one thing and the teacher says another. When teachers tell children what they should eat for breakfast, for instance, children may feel ashamed because their family doesn't do—or can't afford to do—the "right" thing. When a child is kept home from school to care for an infant in the absence or illness of his mother, the teacher says this is "bad." The child is caught between value systems and between allegiance to home *or* school. He will have to stay home, but if the teacher is succeeding in his enculturation, he will feel very guilty about it.

Summing Up

Accepting the goal "success in school" often requires alienation from home, family, friends, and cultural heritage, and this is a terrible price to ask children to pay.

Learning English as a second language should never make this requirement of children, but the alternative is putting some rather stringent requirements on ourselves.

We should understand the *nature or language* and the socially and psychologically identifying significance of language differences.

We should be able to communicate effectively with children, understanding the languages and cultures of both home and school.

We should recognize the differences between these systems and both the potential conflicts and the opportunities they may create for children.

We should understand the rate and sequence of linguistic development in the children's first and second languages, including

1. Group and individual variations within the "normal" range.
2. The interrelationship of language development with cognitive

development and socialization, including regional and social variations in usage.

We should know methods and possess skills for adding the necessary features of school language and culture to the child's experience and understanding without endangering his concept of himself, his home, or his community.

We should implement the concept of accepting the child where he is and building on the strengths he brings to school, rather than rejecting him and trying to remake him in the school's image.

In all of this, we must keep our eye on the fact that in teaching English as a second language, we are not simply teaching an alternative set of labels for the same reality. In teaching a second language we are teaching culturally different patterns of perception, of communication, and of affect—in short, we are teaching a second culture.

We must learn to understand both the medium and the content of what we are teaching, and learn to be sensitive to the differences between what we are teaching and what the child brings to the classroom, so that our teaching becomes an aid and not a hindrance to the full realization of the child's potential as a human being.

Grade Placement of Newly Arrived Immigrant Students

John P. Milon
Hawaii Department of Education

Hawaii state law requires that all children reaching their 6th birthday in a given calendar year must be enrolled in first grade in September of that year. Unless a child has to repeat a grade (which is very unusual) he or she will enter 5th grade in September of the calendar year that he or she is 10, 6th grade in September of the calendar year that he or she is 11, and so on.

Each school year 40 to 60 newly arrived non-English speaking immigrants enter the Hawaii District public schools (island of Hawaii). Neither the *School Code* nor state law contain any reference to the grade level placement of these students. Until recently, placement had been quite arbitrary. In the absence of guidelines, individual schools had set their own policy. Most immigrants were initially placed in grade levels below their age peers, and in some instances four years below.

The two official objectives of the Hawaii District TESOL Program are first, "to provide assistance to immigrant children in their development of English language skills so that they can successfully deal with normal classroom work and procedures as quickly as possible;" and second, "to provide assistance in social adjustment within the school." We felt that both these objectives were most likely to be met if all immigrant students were assigned to classes with their age peers.

We knew that we could not measure the process of social adjustment. We could only make what we hoped was an enlightened estimate. However, we did have a means of measuring the ability to deal with normal classroom work and procedures. Despite their obvious shortcomings, report card grades are the school system's only official, supposedly objective, method of evaluating classroom performance.

Using teacher assigned report card grades, we set out to collect data necessary to answer the basic question: "Is there any difference in classroom performance if immigrant students are assigned to grade levels with their peers or if they are assigned to grade levels below them?"

The data which follow show that immigrants assigned immediately on arrival to peer grade levels did better in terms of classroom performance than immigrants placed one or more grade levels below their peers. Immigrants who were administratively jumped one year to get them to, or closer to, their age level peers did almost as well after skipping a grade as they had done before the jump.

In each of the categories discussed below, the number of students given is the total number for whom we had records as of September, 1973.

The first set of figures we collected were the report card grades for the 29 students who had been assigned to proper grade levels immediately upon entry into the schools. These figures are on Table 1. The 29 students entered between September of 1968 and January of 1973. At least one student was assigned to each grade between 3rd and 11th. They were enrolled at 15 different schools. The ethnic makeup of this group accurately reflects the ethnic makeup of the immigrant students in Hawaii District as a whole. About two-thirds of them are from the Philippines and the others from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan. The chart shows that the average GPA (grade point average) for these 29 for their

TABLE 1
Report Card Grades of Students Placed at Peer Level

Identification	Enrolled	1st Report Card Date	Grade Level	1st Report Card					1st RC + 1 Yr. Date	Grade Level	1st Report Card + 1 Yr.				
				A	B	C	D	F			A	B	C	D	F
1	10/72	1/73	11	2	2		1								
2	9/69	1/70	11	2	1	3	1		1/71	12		3	2		
3	9/72	1/73	11	5	1		1								
4	11/71	6/72	11		2	3			6/73	12	3	4			
5	9/71	1/72	10		3	3			1/73	11	1	1	3	2	
6	9/69	1/70	9		3	3	1		1/71	10	1	6			
7	5/70	1/71	9		1	1			1/72	10		3	3		
8	1/70	6/70	8	1		5	1		6/71	9	3	4			
9	9/69	1/70	7		2	4	1		1/71	8		5	1	1	
10	5/70	1/71	8	4		1			1/72	9	2	3	1		
11	2/72	6/72	6		1	2			6/73	7	1	1	2		
12	1/70	1/71	6		2	3			1/72	7	1	3	2		
13	1/71	6/71	6		5	1			6/72	7	2	3	1		
14	9/68	6/69	6		1	6			6/70	7		3	4		
15	3/70	6/70	6			6			6/71	7		2	5	1	
16	9/72	1/73	5		1	1									
17	5/70	6/71	5	1	2				6/72	6		5			
18	2/72	6/72	4		2				6/73	5	1	2	3		
19	9/72	1/73	4		1	5									
20	1/72	1/73	5		1	6									
21	3/71	6/71	4		1	4	1		6/72	5	2	1	2		
22	12/72	1/73	4		3	2									
23	9/72	1/73	3			2									
24	9/71	1/72	3		4	1			1/73	4	1	4	1		
25	1/70	6/70	3	1	2	3			6/71	4	1	3	1		
26	9/70	1/72	3			3	3		1/73	4			5	1	
27	9/70	1/72	3		3	2			1/73	4	1	3	2		
28	1/70	1/73	4		4	2									
29	1/72	1/73	3	1	1	1									
		TOTALS		17	49	73	10				20	59	38	5	0
GRADE POINT AVERAGE: 2.49													2.77		

first report card after entry was 2.49 on a four point scale. On a six subject report card this translates into combinations like three *B's* and 3 *C*'s; or one *A*, two *B*'s, two *C*'s, and a *D*.

We have report card grades for 20 of the 29 for the reporting period one year after the initial reporting period. Table 1 shows that the average GPA for the 20 one year after entry was 2.77. Since these 20 had an average GPA on the initial report card of 2.42 their average GPA increased by .35 over the one year period.

The chart shows that 10 of the 29 who were placed at grade level were placed in grade 7 or higher. These 10 had an initial GPA of 2.64—higher than the initial GPA for the group of 29 as a whole. The 8 students from grade 7 or higher for whom we have one year report cards had an average GPA at that time of 2.87. I point this out because it is sometimes claimed that peer placement won't work with students at the junior and senior high school levels.

We have initial report card grades for 46 immigrants who were placed one or more years *behind* peer grade level. Table 2 shows that their average GPA for the initial reporting period was 2.17 (versus 2.49 for the 29 placed at grade level). Forty-two of the 46 had grades for the reporting period one year later. Their average GPA was 2.30 (versus 2.73 for those at grade level).

We also have been jumping already improperly assigned immigrant students into their proper peer grade levels. Through administrative action the students skip grades and their records show that the requirements for those grades have been waived.

On Table 3 we have grades for both the reporting period immediately before and the reporting period immediately after the "jumping" of 38 students.

For the periods immediately before the administrative jumps the average GPA of the 38 was 2.43. For the reporting periods immediately after the jumps it was 2.25—a decline of .18. Seven of the 38 jumped two grades. For the 31 students who skipped only one grade the average GPA declined only .08. Only 15 of the 31 showed any decline at all in their GPA. Thus in slightly more than half the cases where a student jumped one grade the GPA did not decline at all. Furthermore, in 12 of the 31 cases of one year jumps, the student's GPA actually *rose* after the jump. Therefore almost 40% of the students moved up one grade closer to their age peers improved their grades immediately after skipping a grade.

We believe these facts are quite impressive. They are also counter-intuitive for many people and contrary to traditional wisdom about the placement of immigrant children.

There have been many objections to a policy of peer placement. The most common has been that since their language handicap makes it difficult for immigrant students to compete academically with their native English speaking peers, they will be better able to compete academically if they

TABLE 2
Report Cards of Students Placed Below Peer Level

Identification	Enrolled	1st Report Card Date	Grade Level	1st Report Card					1st RC + 1 Yr. Date	Grade Level	1st Report Card + 1 Yr.				
				A	B	C	D	F			A	B	C	D	F
30	9/70	1/71	7	..	4	3	..	..	1/72	9*	..	1	2	2	..
31	9/70	1/71	7	1	..	2	4	..	1/72	8	..	2	2	3	..
32	9/71	1/72	8	..	3	2	1	..	1/73	10*	..	2	5	1	..
34	2/69	6/69	8	..	..	4	2	..	6/70	9	1	5	..	..	..
36	10/68	1/69	5	..	..	5	1	..	1/70	6	..	..	6	..	..
37	3/69	1/70	8	1	..	2	4	..	1/71	9	..	3	2	2	..
38	9/70	1/71	8	..	5	3	..	..	1/72	9	..	7	..	..	..
39	9/68	1/69	9	..	2	5	1	..	1/70	10	..	1	5	1	..
40	5/69	1/70	9	1	5	1	..	..	1/71	10	1	3	3	..	..
41	11/70	1/71	9	..	3	3	1	..	1/72	11*	1	2	4	..	..
42	9/69	1/70	6	..	1	5	..	..	1/71	7	1	..	5	..	..
43	11/69	2/70	7	..	1	4	1	1	2/71	8	..	1	4	2	..
44	9/64	1/65	2			comments			1/66	3	..	1	5	..	..
45	10/70	1/71	7	1	5	2	..	..	1/72	10*	1	4	2	..	..
46	9/72	1/73	10	..	..	4	1	..							
47	1/71	6/71	7	..	..	5	2	..	6/72	8	1	3	2	..	..
48	9/70	1/71	7	..	1	3	1	..	1/72	8	..	1	6	..	..
49	10/67	1/68	4	..	..	2	4	..	1/69	5	..	1	3	2	..
50	9/70	1/71	7	..	..	5	2	1	1/72	8	1	1	5	..	..
51	9/69	1/70	6	..	3	3	..	..	1/71	7	..	3	3	1	..
52	12/70	6/71	7	..	4	3	..	..	6/72	8	..	4	2	..	..
53	3/68	6/68	5	..	1	4	1	..	6/69	6	..	..	6	..	..
54	11/70	1/71	7	..	4	1	..	..	1/72	8	4	3	..	..	..
55	2/70	6/70	6	..	1	5	..	..	6/71	8*	..	1	3	3	1
56	9/72	11/72	9	1	1	3	1	..							
58	2/69	11/70	7	2	1	4	..	..	11/71	8	1	1	2	2	..
59	9/70	1/71	6	3	2	1	..	..	1/72	8*	3	3	..	..	..
60	9/71	1/72	7	..	..	4	3	..	1/73	9*	..	..	5	2	..
61	11/70	1/71	6			comments			1/72	7	1	1	4	1	..
62	9/69	1/70	6	..		4	2	..	1/71	7	..	1	5	1	..
63	12/70	6/71	6	..	4	2	..	..	6/72	8*	..	1	6	1	..
64	10/71	1/72	7	..	..	3	1	..	1/73	9*	..	..	1	4	2
65	10/70	3/71	5	..	1	3	1	..	3/72	8*	..	1	3	3	..
66	3/72	6/72	6	..	3	..	..	..	6/73	9*	1	2	1	2	..
67	1/71	6/71	5	..	..	6	..	..	6/72	6	1	1	5	..	..
70	9/67	1/68	2			comments			1/69	3	..	1	5	..	..
71	9/71	1/72	5	..	2	4	..	..	1/73	8*	..	2	4	1	..
72	10/70	3/71	5	..	1	2	2	..	3/72	7*	1	2	4	..	..
73	9/72	1/73	8	2	1	3	1	..							
74	1/71	1/72	5	..	2	4	..	..	1/73	7*	1	3	3	..	..
75	10/70	1/71	4	..	1	5	..	..	1/72	6*	1	1	1	3	..
76	9/70	1/71	3	1	5	..	..	..	1/72	4	..	5	1	..	..
80	1/71	6/71	3			comments			6/72	4	1	2	1	..	..
81	9/72	1/73	5	..	..	3	3	..							
83	9/71	1/72	4	..		1	5	..	1/73	5	..	1	4	..	..
86	2/71	1/72	3	..	1	4	1	..	1/73	4	..	2	5	..	..
		TOTALS:		13	68	132	46	2	TOTALS:		22	79	137	37	3
		AVERAGE GPA:		2.17							2.30				

* When the grade level for the 1 Year Report Card has an asterisk beside it, it means that the student jumped one or more grades during the one year period. Excluding the 15 "jumpers" the average GPA for the 1 Year Report Card was 2.37.

TABLE 3
Before and After Grades of "Jumped" Students

Ident No.	Pre-Jump Report Card					GPA	Post-Jump Report Card					GPA	Change
	A	B	C	D	F		A	B	C	D	F		
30	1	2	3	1	..	2.43	..	1	2	2	..	1.8	−
31*	..	3	5	..	..	2.38	..	..	..	2	3	0.4	−
32	1	1	4	1	..	2.29	..	2	4	1	..	2.14	−
34	1	2	1	2	..	2.33	2	2	2	..	..	3.00	+
37	..	3	2	2	..	2.14	..	2	5	..	..	2.29	+
38*	2	3	1	..	..	3.17	..	1	4	1	..	2.00	−
39	2	2	3	..	..	2.86	1	2	3	..	..	2.67	−
41	..	4	..	3	..	2.14	1	2	4	..	..	2.57	+
42*	2	5	1	..	..	3.13	1	..	1	2	2	1.33	−
43	..	2	3	1	..	2.17	1	2	3	..	..	2.67	+
44	..	2	4	..	..	2.33	1	4	1	..	..	2.83	+
45	1	5	2	..	..	2.88	..	4	4	..	..	2.50	−
45	..	4	4	..	..	2.50	1	4	2	..	..	2.86	+
47	1	3	2	..	..	2.83	2	..	3	2	..	2.29	−
50	..	..	4	3	..	1.57	..	1	4	1	..	2.00	+
51	..	1	4	..	..	2.20	..	5	1	1	..	2.57	+
52	..	4	2	..	..	2.67	..	4	3	..	..	2.57	−
53	2	2	1	..	..	3.20	..	4	3	..	..	2.57	−
54	4	3	..	..	..	3.57	4	2	..	..	..	3.67	+
55	..	..	7	1	..	1.88	..	1	3	3	1	1.50	−
56	1	1	3	1	..	2.33	..	3	2	1	..	2.33	O
58	1	4	..	1	..	2.83	..	2	2	2	..	2.00	−
59	3	3	..	..	..	3.50	3	3	..	..	..	3.50	O
60	..	..	4	3	..	1.57	..	..	4	3	..	1.57	O
61	..	1	3	3	..	1.71	..	1	2	2	1	1.50	−
63	1	..	6	..	..	2.29	..	1	6	1	..	2.00	−
64	..	..	3	4	..	1.43	..	..	1	2	2	0.80	−
65*	..	1	3	1	..	2.00	..	1	4	2	..	1.86	−
66*	..	3	..	..	..	3.00	1	3	..	2	..	2.50	−
67	..	1	4	2	..	1.86	..	2	3	2	..	2.00	+
69	..	2	3	1	..	2.17	..	..	3	2	..	1.60	−
70	2	2	3	..	..	2.86	3	1	2	1	..	2.86	O
71*	..	2	4	..	..	2.33	..	2	4	1	..	2.14	−
72	..	..	3	2	..	1.60	..	2	3	2	..	2.00	+
74	..	3	3	..	..	2.50	1	3	3	..	..	2.71	+
75	..	1	5	..	..	2.17	1	1	1	3	..	2.00	−
76*	3	1	2	1	..	2.86	2	1	3	1	..	2.57	−
77	1	5	..	..	..	3.17	..	1	3	..	..	2.25	−
	29	81	102	33	0		25	70	98	42	9		TOTAL: + = 12
													O = 4
GPA: 2.43						GPA: 2.25							− = 22

* When the identification number has an asterisk beside it, it means the student jumped two years/grades between the reporting periods.

are put into grade levels below their peers. This non-sequitor founders upon the assumption that the content or subject matter of one grade will be easier than the subject matter of a higher grade. To take a specific example from the *Hawaii State Social Studies Curriculum*, the objection entails the claim that the 7th grade social studies theme, "Our Cultural

Heritage," will be academically easier for immigrant students than the 9th grade theme, "World Cultures." There is absolutely no evidence to support such an assumption.

A second common objection against peer placement is that immigrant students would learn language faster if they were at a lower grade level. This objection seems to be based on two misconceptions: (1) the lower the grade level the less sophisticated the language used, and (2) the less sophisticated the language used the easier it is for an immigrant student to learn it. There is absolutely no linguistic evidence in support of either of these beliefs. No administrator—excluding the types who routinely assign immigrant children to mentally retarded classes—would act on the logical consequences of such beliefs. They would not assign 14-year-olds to kindergarten even if their English ability were no greater than that of kindergartners. In principle it makes no more sense to place 14-year-olds in 7th grade rather than 9th grade because the language is less sophisticated and easier to learn, than it does to place them in kindergarten because that is supposedly where the least sophisticated and easiest to learn language is used.

Both continuous observation of immigrant students' progress and research we have done with young immigrant children have convinced us that students in Hawaii learn English from their companions, not from their teachers. Observation has convinced us that immigrant students also learn appropriate behavior—or whatever one wishes to call the process of assimilation to a new culture—from their companions, not their teachers. We believe then that there are no advantages to placing students at grade levels below their age peers: the subject matter is not easier; there is no reason to believe that language learning would be speeded up; and it seems likely that cultural assimilation would be retarded. For example, a 16-year-old who successfully emulates 8th grades will probably learn culturally deviant behavior. Sixteen-year-olds who exhibit the mores, values, and behavior of 8th graders are not normal for their age group.

A third objection to peer placement arises when the child has already been in school in his own country. Then the argument is made that since the child has finished only four or five years of school he or she should now be placed in the 5th or 6th grade regardless of age. This argument assumes that the American school system and the school system of the native country are quite similar, at least similar enough that the move from the 4th year of school in the native country to 5th grade in the American system is in some sense a smooth transition, whereas a move from the 4th year of school in the native country to 7th grade here would be a drastic break in continuity. It is very difficult to believe that this could be the case. We don't know for sure if the 4th year of school in the Philippines or Taiwan feeds smoothly into the 5th grade in Hawaii but we feel rather safe doubting it.

Another objection frequently voiced in discussions about peer placement is not really an argument at all. It is actually a rhetorical device

used to indicate that discussion has ended. This is some version of, "I simply want to do what is best for the child." It can be used to justify or attack any position at all. It implies that the person using it, usually a middle-class adult American male with all the cultural perceptions which that entails, *does* know what is best for a young immigrant from a totally different cultural background. But the decision-maker rarely shares either the language or the culture of the child, usually doesn't attempt to communicate with the child, and certainly does not know what effect the pressures to adapt to another culture are having on the child. Such persons could have intuitions or feelings about what is best for the child but they could hardly *know.*

A version of "What Is Best for the Child" is also used as an objection against jumping students up to peer grade level. This is the claim that, although the student is two or three years behind, he or she has adjusted well. Moving him or her away from friends might make it very difficult for the child to readjust to a new situation. However, the phrase "has adjusted well" usually means that the child is quiet, polite, doesn't cause problems, and is getting passing grades.

The response to this version is the same as the response to the original. Starting from the cultural perceptions of a middle class American male administrator, any judgment of the adjustment of young immigrant children will be necessarily superficial. In addition, almost without exception the immigrant students are well adjusted in the simplistic sense of not being problems, for the first year or two. But we find that after students who are a couple of years below grade level have been in the system three or four years, in other words long enough to adapt to the majority culture and understand their role in it, the incidence of discipline problems, failing grades, and dropping out increases dramatically.

The unstated rationalization behind the arguments against peer placement is often administrative convenience. The education system is set up to serve children who have certain predictable characteristics and who behave in certain predictable ways. It can also deal with a minority of students who—in the course of their careers (and that is an important qualification)—demonstrate other characteristics and behave in ways that, although also predictable, are deviant in terms of the majority. The education system can label and service the predictably deviant under various ancillary or satellite programs. Thus, there are always remedial reading programs because the system will always produce a certain number of students with what it chooses to call a reading problem. There will always be dropout programs because there will always be students who refuse to cooperate with the system for 12 years.

But immigrant students are very different. They have no history of participation in the system—no careers in a sense—and yet they certainly fail to demonstrate the skills and characteristics that the system considers normal. They certainly behave in what the system regards as deviant

ways. They can't read, they can't write, they can't talk and they can't understand when they are talked to. They share some of these characteristics with the non-achievers, the potential dropouts and the mentally retarded. Unfortunately, the reaction to these circumstances is not to create a new adjunct of the system which can deal with these rather common characteristics that arise from very special conditions. Instead, the tendency is to fit them into the ancillary system already existing for dealing with students with those characteristics. This is how immigrant children and non-English speaking children end up in MR classes, Special Education classes, remedial programs, dropout programs, and grades far below their age peers.

In conclusion, the data show that newly arrived immigrant students who were placed at grade levels with their peers were successful in competing academically with those native English speaking peers from the time they first entered the school system. The data also show that administratively jumping already improperly assigned immigrant students one grade level produced very little change in their average GPA—an average decrease of only .08 on a 4 point system.

A Comparison of the Written and Oral English Syntax of Mexican-American Bilingual and Anglo-American Monolingual Fourth and Ninth Grade Students (Las Vegas, New Mexico)

Raymond J. Rodrigues
The University of New Mexico

Among the many current dictums of education in the United States is one which states that if teachers are to successfully work with the language (or languages) of their students, the teachers must be aware of the dialects which those students bring to the classroom. Failure to consider the implications of different dialects may result in diminished student learnings and increased school failures.

In New Mexico, for instance, the effects of school curricula based solely upon the culture and language of the dominant middle-class English-speaking Anglo-American society are apparent. Mexican-American, or Spanish-surnamed, individuals comprise 40 percent of the population of New Mexico. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported (1971, p. 31) that 58 percent of the Mexican-American student population in New Mexico was reading below grade level in the eighth grade. New Mexico State Department of Education statistics (1973, pp. 17-34) reveal that the Mexican-American student is behind the Anglo-American student in measured test results and that the Mexican-American student is farther behind in the eighth grade than he is in the fifth grade.

One might quite easily argue that standardized tests are culturally and, therefore, linguistically biased and are, as a result, invalid as a means of determining a student's knowledge or potential for success. Nevertheless, because such tests appear to measure a student' ability to succeed in hypothetical school environment where English is the classroom language, a major question is whether the bilingual student who speaks both English and Spanish is at a disadvantage when compared with the monolingual student who speaks only English. One approach to answering such a question is to compare the English syntax of the bilingual Spanish-speaking student with the English syntax of the monolingual English-speaking student.

The primary purpose of the study which this paper reports was to describe the oral and written syntax of samples of English obtained from Mexican-American bilingual and Anglo-American monolingual fourth and

ninth grade students of Las Vegas, New Mexico, a community of approximately 15,000 population. The students who attend the schools of the Las Vegas City School District live on ranches, in small outlying communities, and in Las Vegas itself. Approximately 75 percent of them are Spanish-surnamed. As numerous researchers have noted (e.g., Spolsky, 1970), assuming a one-to-one correlation between surname and language or cultural characteristics is fallacious. The surname data are included here to add to the description of the geographical community. In fact, the study determined that only 35 percent of the student population considered Spanish to be their first language.

The English syntax that is studied here is that which is employed in a school setting. As Fishman (1968) demonstrated, a bilingual community is not one in which the members employ either language equally in all settings. A person's speech production varies according to the context in which it is used. Thus, since teachers work with students within the confines of the school and since the English spoken by those students in school is that which they would normally employ in a school setting, the domain for this study is the school itself.

The fourth grade students in the Las Vegas City School District have completed three years of bilingual education. The ninth grade students have not had bilingual education other than a Spanish language course in the middle school. It is possible that bilingual education may have influenced the results of this study.

A few basic considerations ought to be mentioned here. The study is patterned upon those of Hunt (1964), O'Donnell (1967), and Pope (1969). Hunt developed a specific syntactic unit, the T-unit or minimal terminable unit, as a basic measurement of syntactic maturity. The T-unit consists of one main clause and all subordinations which may be attached to it. It has proven to be a much more specifically identifiable unit that the sentence or clause, the definitions of which tend to be quite arbitrary.

Although the study employs a transformational-generative grammar for its analysis, that is not to imply that such a grammar should be the basis for teaching English to speakers of other dialects. In addition, the study is specifically limited to Las Vegas, New Mexico. By extension, one might assume similarities with other communities in northern New Mexico, but by no means should one consider the findings to be applicable to other speech communities throughout the United States with large Spanish-speaking populations. For instance, of the 220 ninth grade students surveyed prior to this study, only one was born in Mexico. The subjects in this study all speak English, as do all the school children in Las Vegas. Not one could be considered a speaker of Spanish alone.

Furthermore, one should not consider this or any description of syntax as an indication that syntax exists in isolation from other factors. The syntax correlates with semantic and phonological variations which are not part of this study and, perhaps even more importantly, with sociological

factors. But knowledge gained from studies such as this can be a basis for curricular decisions and for developing a rationale for such decisions.

The central question asked by this study was whether or not the Mexican-American bilingual and Anglo-American monolingual students represent the same speech population in English syntactic use.

Four groups were selected for study: (1) Mexican-American bilingual fourth grade, (2) Anglo-American monolingual fourth grade, (3) Mexican-American bilingual ninth grade, and (4) Anglo-American monolingual ninth grade. The subjects were randomly selected from the total population for each group. Each subject was taped in an interview to acquire a sample of his oral language production, and his free writings in class were used for his written production. Both the oral and written samples were divided into T-units. Twenty T-units of each language production were randomly sampled for each student and then analyzed. The data were subjected to the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test to test for central tendency, skewness, and dispersion (Siegel, 1956).

The hypotheses which directly compare the bilingual and monolingual groups are reported here. The first set of hypotheses specified that the Mexican-American bilingual and Anglo-American monolingual students in the fourth and ninth grades represent the same population in terms of average number of words per clause, average number of clauses per T-unit, and average number of words per T-unit in both the oral and written modes. Only one significant difference was determined. In the written mode, ninth grade bilingual students had significantly fewer average words per clause than ninth grade monolingual students.

The second set of hypotheses specified that the Mexican-American bilingual and Anglo-American monolingual students in the fourth and ninth grades represent the same population in terms of the total number of "sentence-embedding" transformations in headed nominal, non-headed nominal, adverbial, and coordinated structures. There was no significant difference between the bilingual and monolingual groups on any of these measures.

The third set of hypotheses specified that Mexican-American bilingual and Anglo-American monolingual students in the fourth and ninth grades represent the same population in terms of the number (per 100 words) of syntactic and morphological rule variations from "standard" English. No significant difference in either total syntactic rule variations or total morphological rule variations was found between the groups. The greatest group of syntactic errors of the bilinguals was in the variant uses of prepositions and particles. The greatest number of morphological errors occurred in the monolingual omission of the *-ly* adverb marker.

As was predicted, all syntactic maturity measures increased in quantity from fourth to ninth grade. The next set of hypotheses specified that there would be no difference in the amount of increase of those measures between the bilingual and monolingual groups. The monolinguals increased

the arithmetical amounts of the three measures--average length of clauses, average number of clauses per T-unit, and average length of T-units—more than the bilinguals did. But no attempt was made to determine whether the differences between groups were significant since the histories of the fourth and ninth grade groups are not comparable.

Generally, one can conclude that the bilingual and monolingual students, with the exception of ninth grade written average clause length, do represent the same speech population. And, if this is the case, the syntax productions do not explain why the bilingual subjects in ninth grade show an average of three years reading retardment compared to the ninth grade monolingual subjects. The study indicates that, compared to student groups in other sectors of the United States, both bilingual and monolingual ninth graders have lower syntactic maturity measures in Las Vegas. This is not the case with the fourth graders. Therefore, bilingualism cannot be shown to be a direct factor.

The fact that there is no significant difference in the distributions of syntactic and morphological rule variations indicates that basing curricula upon the concepts of contrastive analysis may be invalid. Most of the bilinguals in this study grew up speaking both English and Spanish.

To explain standardized test results, we ought to look at cultural, social, and experiential factors to explain low scores of bilinguals. We might discover that teachers who expect poor syntactic productions from bilinguals may be basing their pedagogical techniques upon faulty premises and therefore not facing the true reasons for linguistic differences between bilingual and monolingual students. Perhaps it is such expectations which contribute to the retardation of bilingual students on standardized tests.

As is often the case, this study raises more questions than it answers. Does bilingual education prevent linguistic retardation? A longitudinal study of the same subjects is needed to answer this, assuming that bilingual education continues throughout the school years with the students. What is the relationship of vocabulary and syntax? Indeed, can semantic usages be separated from syntactic usages? Is it possible to develop flexibility and frequencies of syntactic patterns before societal changes occur?

All United States teachers are teachers of English to speakers of other dialects, whatever their formal function may be. Whether they are involved in a bilingual education program or whether they are monolinguals teaching the most tradition-based English courses, they must be prepared to work with the child's language as he brings it to the classroom, not as they prejudge it to be or not to be. Ultimately, the teacher is the one who must determine what linguistic variations the child brings with him to the classroom and to use, not abuse, those variations.

Although this study was not intended to tell teachers how to teach their students, hopefully it does show that bilingual students in Las Vegas, and perhaps northern New Mexico and elswhere in the United States, are in no way linguistically deprived in their use of syntax as determined by

this study. Despite these findings, standardized measures still indicate retardation in language skills of bilinguals. Even if we grant that standardized tests are invalid because of linguistic and cultural bias, what they do measure is the child's ability to succeed in schools *as they exist now.* Even if we throw out all standardized measures, we still will not help the child until we begin to base our curricula upon more accurate knowledge of that child's language and that great envelope into which language fits, his culture.

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FOCUS ON PROGRAMS

Bilingual Education: Promises and Paradoxes

John W. Oller, Jr.
University of New Mexico

The history of response to crisis in the United States often reflects expediency rather than foresight.[1] Examples with potential for good or bad are numerous in current educational experience. The case in focus here is the rapid increase in the number of programs in bilingual education. This paper undertakes an exploration of some arguments in favor of bilingual education in addition to some important issues that I believe have been neglected. Throughout the paper, I am referring primarily to federally funded bilingual programs in the United States.

Cultural diversity in the United States and in the world is a fact no longer ignored. We are now perhaps more than ever aware of our cultural differences. The melting pot has been recognized for the myth that it is and the password in intellectual circles today is "cultural pluralism." The recent large scale implementation of programs in bilingual education is just one of the loud reports of the explosion in cultural awareness.

What are the promises offered by bilingual education, and what is the likelihood of their realization?

If, as John Dewey claimed, "Of all affairs, communication is the most wonderful . . . ," (in Hayden and Alworth, 1965, 265) surely a major objective of the schools must be to make this opportunity available to all its clientele.

Since language and culture are so vital to communication, educational systems frequently disallow minority children from its greatest benefits. Because of differences in culture, language barriers, and powerful but subtle prejudices, many children are systematically excluded from full participation. Their language has sometimes been set aside as though it were unsuited for educational pursuits. Their cultural heritage has been ignored or misrepresented. Deeply significant differences have been treated as unimportant or superficial and conversely, superficial differences of color,

[1] Several of the ideas expressed here are the result of sessions of a team of researchers at the University of New Mexico. They include Professors Gilbert Merkx (Sociology), Robert Kern (History), Roger Jenhenson (Business and Administrative Sciences), Dolores Gonzales (Elementary Education), and Margherita Henning. Although we frequently disagreed on fundamental issues, the arguments we had were productive and stimulating. In this connection, I especially owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Henning. The first sentence of this paper is a rough paraphrase of one of her fundamental theses. We disagreed on some of its consequences and possible implications, but agree at least that more careful evaluation of bilingual programs needs to be done.

dress, architecture, accent, and the like, have been treated as if they were the heart and soul of cultural diversity. For these reasons, schools seem to offer two equally undesirable alternatives to the minority child: he may either become an unwanted stepchild of an alien community, or he may identify with a misrepresentation of his own culture.

If communication is the most wonderful of human affairs, then the complete denial of participation, logically speaking, should be the most horrible. William James claimed that this is so. He said, "No more fiendish punishment could be devised even if such a thing were physically possible, than that one should be turned loose in a society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all the members thereof" (as cited by Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, 1967, 86). The testimonials of many articulate members of minority groups illustrate the emotional trauma of sudden immersion in a strange and different cultural system. In many cases, the experience recounted is not unlike the "fiendish punishment" spoken of by James.

An increasing awareness of cultural differences and of the difficulties inherent in cross-cultural communication has contributed greatly to the upsurge of programs in bilingual education. It is argued that if the child is instructed in his own language, his self-concept, his view of his own culture, and his response to the "dominant English speaking culture" (an ill-defined notion at best) will be enhanced. Moreover, it is claimed that the exposure of English speaking children to other languages at an early age will also tend to create greater acceptance of cultural differences which in turn will facilitate the development of a well balanced, culturally plural society.

There is some research evidence which tends to support such arguments, at least indirectly. Linguists and psycholinguists have demonstrated the psychological reality of internalized "grammars," in the technical sense of the term. As a child learns to participate in linguistic and cultural exchanges, he internalizes a grammar of expectancy that governs his coding of information. He not only acquires the grammatical system of a language (or possibly more than one), but he also learns a system (or systems) to govern other aspects of social interactions. It is an unavoidable fact that different cultures are characterized by different grammars of expectancy. As a result, when they come into contact in a school system, there are apt to be serious conflicts between what the child has learned to expect and what he perceives.

The old saw that "actions speak louder than words" still cuts a lot of nonsense in communication theory. In an educational setting, messages are not only coded in words, facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and the like, but also in subject matter, environment, and the social structure of the school. When expectancy grammars are radically different for people in the school system, misunderstandings of two kinds are likely to occur. First, the child and/or teacher may misinterpret the other's messages. The child may feel he is being punished when the teacher intends to reassure;

the teacher may think the child is hostile when he is really just uncertain; the teacher may think the child understands when he is actually confused; etc., *ad disastrum*. Second, there are misunderstandings that result from prejudices being communicated in a perfectly clear manner. Here the intended message is itself symptomatic of previous misunderstanding or unfair judgment.

One of the serious criticisms leveled at standardized achievement tests is the fact that they ignore cross-cultural differences in the relationship realm (Brière, 1973). Sometimes they violate powerful conventions for the coding of relationship information. What is a neutral assertion in one culture may prove to be highly marked on the relationship level for another cultural group. For instance, think for a few moments about the answer to the question, "Who discovered America?" (Banks, 1962, 269). This is just one of the many not so subtle ways that our educational system has conveniently denied the existence of the native Americans. The result is in some respects like the fiendish affliction referred to by William James. It is one thing to be shouted at, or even shot at, but still another to be completely unnoticed by the dominant members of a whole society.

A persuasive case for bilingual education is developed along these lines. If the child's language is used in the classroom; if his culture is represented in a favorable light; if there are people and contexts in the classroom that he can identify with; it seems likely that he will do better in his school work. If the child is thus enabled to achieve greater success in school, it seems reasonable that he will be better equipped to succeed in the society at large. Since the minority child is more often than not a child who comes from a lower income bracket, frequently even a poverty stricken background, better education should contribute to greater social mobility and should aid in the offensive against poverty—in particular, the poverty of minorities.

In addition to the materialistic concerns for physical needs and monetary advantages, there is the humanistic concern that cultural differences are to be valued, and systematic obliteration by a monolithic educational system seems to condone and, in fact, encourage the worst kind of prejudice. The fact that some people do succeed in becoming bilingual and bicultural suggests that greater unity and better understanding among the peoples of the world might be brought about by bilingual education. Moreover, there are some people in the world who handle more than one language system effectively and are thereby enabled to move freely in different cultural environments. Why not strive to make this liberty available to all minorities and as much as possible to the majority as well?

There are several compelling reasons that this goal is not going to be achieved easily, and it may even be paradoxical in some respects.

One of the difficulties is soon apparent if we merely think a moment about the term "bilingual-bicultural." It is a gross underestimate of the extent of cultural pluralism in this nation and in the world. In the South-

west, there are many schools where three language groups are present and some where even more are represented. There are many extant native American languages in the United States, and there are many other languages represented among the sizable immigrant populations in all our major cities. How will we decide which ones of these languages and cultures to represent in the schools? The fact that there are probably as many differences within cultures as there are across cultures suggests that there must be some cultural bias in any situation where communication takes place. (In fact, Wallace Lambert, 1974, has suggested that the differences within cultures are typically greater than the differences across cultures.) It is pure sophistry to pretend that a school or any other social institution can be perfectly free of cultural and other kinds of biases. The very notion implies a repugnantly insipid "cultureless" context. The question then becomes how to decide which biases to represent.

An obvious basis would be numbers, but this solution contains an implicit paradox. The languages that are represented by the largest minorities would thus be selected, but the line has to be drawn somewhere and the majority of minority languages and cultures will remain unrepresented in the schools. The unfortunate effect will be to discriminate in an increasingly arbitrary way against the "smaller" minorities. The attempt to be fair results in a more intense injustice to certain social groups. On the other hand, to ignore the larger minorities seems equally undesirable. Whichever solution we choose seems substantially wrong. The effect is a classical double bind. The very system itself seems pathological.

While nearly all researchers in the field of bilingual education concern themselves with the evaluation of immediate and short-term effects of bilingual programs, there is virtually no research on long-term effects. One possible source of information here is the history of bilingual education elsewhere. Although there are, admittedly, serious difficulties in attempting to generalize from historical experience, the history of bilingual education provides an important and much neglected source of data (Lewis, 1973). What has happened on the sociopolitical scene in the countries that have implemented large scale bilingual programs in the past? What were the observable social and political results? Europe, Africa, Latin America, and India, only to mention a few contexts, provide rich sources of data on the history of languages in contact in social institutions.

It seems likely that the number of people in the world who are truly effective balanced bilinguals may be much smaller than has been estimated in popular accounts. Frequently it is stated, or at least implied, that Americans are anomalies in monolingual strait jackets. But this may reflect an overestimation of the prevalence of bilingualism. Contrary to popular opinion, in India, for example, with 1,652 distinct dialects (or languages, depending on how they are defined) and fourteen major languages, it is estimated by das Gupta (1970) that only thirty million out of 439 million (that is, less than ten percent of the people) possess substantial knowledge

of more than one language (pp. 282–3).[2] Many of the people included in this ten percent have only a smattering of knowledge of more than one language.

Balanced bilingualism is apparently fairly unusual. The case of Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay is characteristic of the normal differentiation of two languages in a single sociopolitical setting. Guarani is used primarily in intimate and informal contexts and Spanish in formal ones (Rubin, 1970)[3] This kind of contextual differentiation of two languages is often referred to by the term "diglossia," invented by Charles Ferguson (1959). Although balanced bilingualism is not very common in linguistically plural contexts, diglossia, as Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971, 549) have observed, is typical rather than atypical.

If a bilingual program should aim at diglossic differentiation of the languages or language varieties it employs, as John and Horner have suggested it might (1971, 161), another curious paradox arises. In normal diglossic situations, the two languages are used in different contexts for the most part. In some bilingual programs, however, the two languages are placed in competition in the same contexts which is contrary to normal diglossia. On the other hand, to encourage diglossic differentiation as John and Horner suggest (whatever the motives may be) entails the objectionable implication that one language is more suitable than another for use in formal contexts.

According to a paper originally presented in 1971 and published in 1973, Kjolseth claimed that at the time of writing, there was not "*a single study planned to determine* [bilingual] *program effects upon community diglossia*" [his italics] (p. 23). Unforunately, even the baseline data that would be necessary for the kind of research Kjolseth was calling for is lacking. As John and Horner noted, there is scarcely any reliable information on who speaks what language, when, and to whom (p. 13). Inadequate though it may be, the data on New York City Puerto Ricans by Fishman, et al., is an encouraging exception.

There is another paradox in current approaches to bilingual education that many proponents have noted, but that no one seems to know how to handle. This is the striking discrepancy between goals and methods. The paradox arises in connection with the two-way dichotomy between models that aim at full-scale bilingual-biculturalism on the one hand and those that merely try to speed up the process of acculturation on the other.

Although the stated objectives of most programs include the perpetuation and strengthening of the nonmajority cultures and languages, the methods employed by the vast majority of the proposals that were looked at by Gaarder in 1970 were actually geared up to effect more rapid assim-

[2] I am indebted to Professor Robert Kern (Personal Communication) of the University of New Mexico for this information.

[3] This example was discussed at length in an unpublished paper by Barbara Schmider, a graduate student at the University of New Mexico.

ilation to the majority mode. As many as seventy out of seventy-six programs proposed methods that were antithetical to the stated goals of cultural pluralism. Kjolseth deplored this discrepancy and raised the perplexing question of whether bilingual programs are not in some cases really serving the interests of obliterating cultural variety.

In connection with the potential effects of bilingual programs on community attitudes, another Janus-faced problem rears its head. According to Kjolseth, Fishman, and others, community attitudes toward the use of a language other than that of the majority are usually neutral or mildly favorable until the speakers of the minority language become a noticeable percentage of the population. When this happens, the majority community attitude is apt to change from tacit acceptance to open hostility (see the footnote to Kjolseth, 1973, 7). There ought to be some careful research to monitor the effects of selected bilingual programs on community attitudes towards the use of both languages. If bilingual programs are successful in increasing the viability and the visibility of the minority language and culture, and if Fishman and Kjolseth are right, there may be a concomitant increase of intergroup hostilities. Perhaps campaigns of community education could be undertaken to forestall these possible prejudice based overreactions.

The many crucial questions concerning the goals, methods, and effects of bilingual programs that remain unanswered are disturbing, but what is more alarming is that the requisite research projects to answer many of these questions have yet to be conceived, much less funded and executed.

A recent study by Holm, Holm, and Spolsky (1973) suggests that one possible index of the effect of language contact in bilingual communities is the susceptibility of the minority and majority languages to mutual lexical borrowings. Their research shows that extended contact between English and Navajo has greatly affected the Navajo language in recent years, but not English. This development is contrary to a long history of resistance to word borrowings into the Athapaskan languages. After more than a century of extended contact, this whole family of native American languages has resisted word borrowings from Spanish and English. However, recently with changes in educational patterns, Navajo as spoken by six year old children is borrowing heavily from English. Perhaps this indicates a changing sociocultural climate which is becoming increasingly susceptible to acculturation (Holm, et al., 1973). It may be hoped that Navajo literacy and bilingual programs for Navajo children will reverse this trend. Data could be collected on this question using a design similar to the one Holm, et al. used. In fact, there are some hints in their paper about possible ways of investigating effects of bilingual programs on community diglossia.

A number of important and widely publicized studies of bilingual education and its potential effects on cognitive and linguistic development have been done by Wallace Lambert and his associates in Canada. Their

research, which is well known, has shown that in middle class communities the introduction of a curriculum in a second language (at least where that language has a supra-ordinate sociolinguistic status) does not significantly retard the student's cognitive and linguistic development over a five year term from kindergarten to fourth grade. In fact, by the time children reach the third grade, they are performing as well as children instructed in their native language. This effect has been achieved with speakers of English and French. Russell Campbell and his collaborators at U.C.L.A. have slightly altered the design in an attempt to replicate the results with English and Spanish speaking populations in Los Angeles. Preliminary reports suggest that this replication is apt to be successful, at least in the case of the English speaking children (Cohen, 1974; Campbell, 1973).

This raises an important question concerning bilingual programs in general. If at least some children can succeed equally well in a second language environment, the question arises whether language differences are the crucial hindrance to cognitive growth that some people have suggested they are. In at least two experiments with speakers of Black English compared against speakers of so-called "standard" English, the two groups of children were insignificantly different in their perception of the standard variety (Norton and Hodgson, 1973; Stevens, Ruder and Tew, 1973). There is little data to show that a group of children instructed in their own native language will do better in school than the same children instructed in a different language. There is considerable data that suggests that the language variety variable may be insignificant to cognitive growth over the long haul. A review of the literature is presented by Richards (1973).

Bruck and Rabinovitch (1974) show that even children who are slow learners are doing well in the St. Lambert experiment. Also, papers by Burruel, Gomez, and Ney (1974) and Molin (1974) similarly indicate that initial deficits in English of immigrants and barrio children, respectively, may be overcome without special treatment. If it is true that native language instruction is superior, then evidence should be forthcoming, but not without more careful evaluation of existing programs. If it is not true, surely there are other strong arguments in favor of bilingual education. Lambert (1974) presents some of them. Nevertheless, answers to questions about cognitive growth in relationship to native language instruction are clearly significant to a great many children who are being schooled in their native language. Moreover, if bilingual instruction has some of the positive effects that the research of Lambert and his collaborators seems to suggest, perhaps bilingual instruction should be provided for all of the nation's children.

Another whole complex of questions arises about the attitudes of the child who is exposed to bilingual instruction. Will they be changed? Favorable minority models in the schools are obviously desirable in themselves. It is conceivable that they will overbalance the effect of the child's own

experience of facts outside the school, but this needs to be demonstrated. In New Mexico, to take a case in point, the fact that the administrators of the school, the owners of businesses, and the people of high socio-economic status in general tend to be majority culture types while the people of lower socio-economic status like custodians and laborers are predominantly ethnic minority types, is a very loud fact that commands a lot of attention from the child and everyone else. The effort to change attitudes based on response to these sorts of realities are almost like trying to get people to stop believing in traffic accidents. There seems to be a sad element of pragmatic paradox in the statement that all cultures are equal when the visible world evidences the contradictory statement that some cultures, like Orwell's pigs, are more equal.

The most careful evaluation of the many programs now in existence and formative assessment of the many that are currently being developed is imperative. A comment by John and Horner sadly suggested that this imperative was not being met, at least in 1971. They said, "basic research, the preparation of materials, and the training of teachers lags severely behind the needs of existing and projected bilingual programs" (1971, 187). Of the nearly forty programs in bilingual education discussed in their book, fully twenty-five percent had not yet made plans for systematic evaluation, and another ten percent were using only teacher made tests with an admittedly poor experimental design.

In conclusion, perhaps the top priority of bilingual educators in the coming years should be to insure the potential good of bilingual education and to prevent it from being short-circuited by expedient design and implementation.

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How to Start and Conduct A Bilingual Program for Spanish and Italian-Speaking Children

Robert Di Florio
Syracuse City School District, Syracuse, New York

INTRODUCTION

The City of Syracuse, with approximately 197,000 people, has a diversified ethnic and cultural composition. The Bureau of Census in 1970 estimates that close to 52,300 people in Syracuse are either foreign born or have foreign or mixed parentage. This figure is slightly more than 25 percent of the city's total population. Further, of the various ethnic and cultural backgrounds present, over 15 different languages are represented as the native tongue of residents.

The various language and cultural backgrounds contribute directly to problems encountered in educational institutions. The Fleischmann Commission Report in New York reported that a conservative estimate of children with English-language difficulties amounted to over 160,000 in New York State alone. An informal survey in the Syracuse School District in October 1973 determined that over 250 children, 16 different languages, were in need of special instruction in English at that time. This survey did not take into account the numbers of children whose native language is not English and whose difficulty in comprehending English was not labeled as being "significant" enough at that time to impede successful school performance.

Children whose native language is not English often are quiet, well-behaved, and divorced from learning activities because of the lack of comprehension of the English language. Additionally, the cultural barriers can be the contributing factors to frustration, humiliation, negative attitudes toward school, racial conflicts and eventual dropping from school attendance rolls. It has been recognized that many non-native English children are termed as non-readers, or even classified as mentally retarded and placed in special education classes.

Predictions are that the City of Syracuse will continue to attract many new non-English-speaking people. This trend is evident due to a change of immigration laws in 1968 which led to increased numbers of people emigrating from Europe and the Middle East. In addition, the influx in the number of families from Puerto Rico in the last 5 years has rapidly increased the numbers of non-English speakers. Also significant is the migration phenomenon of middle class families moving to suburban communities creating pockets of ethnic and cultural regions within our city limits.

ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

A language survey conducted in May, 1973, indicated that there are 1,080 children in our public schools and 528 children in our non-public schools who spoke a language other than English at home. Of the thirty-two (32) identified languages spoken, Italian and Spanish are the languages spoken by the largest number of children who are in need of specialized instruction.

Table 1 indicates that there are 461 public school children and 315 non-public school children from Italian speaking dominant homes. The table further indicates that there are 193 public school children and 43 non-public school children from Spanish speaking dominant homes. The survey indicated that a program which emphasizes speaking, listening, writing, and reading as well as the cultural heritage of the children, was needed in our district.

To further support the notion that a bilingual program for children would be beneficial, school officials such as the principals of schools enrolling sizeable numbers of bilingual children, community agencies, such as the Liga DeAccion Hispana, faculty members, and parents have both formally and informally indicated the need to members of the Central Administration and Board of Education.

In addition, the figures listed in Table 2 lend support for such a program. Table 2 specifically illustrates the number, language, and grade level of children in the schools. It should be observed that these figures represent the number of children in need of immediate specialized instruction and does not include children with limited-English speaking backgrounds who were not judged by classroom and homeroom teachers as needing immediate specialized services.

To insure the success of developing a bilingual education program for the district, it was necessary to make arrangements to promote maximum constructive participation of all various staffs appropriate to serving children from non-English or limited English backgrounds: teachers, teacher aides, administrators and guidance personnel. In addition, to further strengthen the development of the program, the State University of New York at Cortland was invited to cooperate in the planning, implementation and involvement.

It was further decided to inform the school personnel directly involved with the program of our intentions and program objectives. Five target school administrators were briefed and questioned as to various teaching techniques, testing materials, and curriculum materials presently available. As expected, the meetings determined that the problems of non-English children were fundamentally those faced by most administrative personnel in school districts lacking bilingual education programs: lack of teachers fluent in the native tongue, little or no instructional materials, and a general lack of knowledge as to the methodologies and strategies in working with children whose native language is other than English.

TABLE 1
Bilingual Program for Spanish and Italian Speaking Children

LANGUAGE SURVEY

SPECIAL PROJECTS JUNE 1973

The following list of languages represents various countries of origin and does not include many of the known dialects or differences of languages within those countries.

TOTAL NUMBERS OF CHILDREN—PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL

Language spoken in home				Children in need of Specialized Instruction		
	Public	Parochial	Total	Public	Parochial	Total
1. African (Somali, Pula, Sotho)	4	3	7	1	3	4
2. Armenian	8	0	8	0	0	0
3. Arabic	30	21	51	11	9	20
4. Chinese	4	0	4	0	0	0
5. Czech	3	1	4	1	0	1
6. Danish	0	2	2	0	0	0
7. Filipino	10	4	14	0	0	0
8. Finnish	1	0	1	0	0	0
9. French	48	20	68	1	0	1
10. German	47	19	66	1	1	2
11. Greek	67	9	76	1	2	3
12. Hungarian	7	0	7	0	0	0
13. Indian (American)	12	5	17	0	0	0
14. Indian (Hindi, Bengali, Nepalese)	21	0	21	2	0	2
15. Italian	451	315	776	53	77	130
16. Japanese	10	0	10	0	0	0
17. Korean	10	0	10	0	0	0
18. Latvian	3	0	3	0	0	0
19. Lithuanian	1	0	1	0	0	0
20. Netherlandish (Dutch)	7	1	8	0	0	0
21. Norwegian	1	0	1	0	0	0
22. Polish	40	74	114	2	22	24
23. Portuguese	12	1	13	1	0	1
24. Rumanian	1	0	1	1	0	1
25. Russian	17	5	22	1	0	1
26. Scottish	2	2	4	0	2	2
27. Spanish	193	43	236	84	17	101
28. Swedish	1	0	1	0	0	0
29. Turkish	2	0	2	1	0	1
30. Urkanian	21	56	77	1	0	1
31. Yiddish	2	0	2	0	0	0
32. Yugoslavian	34	2	36	4	0	4
TOTALS	1,080	582	1,662	166	133	299

Existing Programs for the non-English speaking student

The Syracuse School District had, during the 1972–73 school year, three programs for the non-English speaking child operating from various funding sources. These programs in large made an attempt to provide some instructional assistance, mainly, to the child most severely in need of receiving help in English. The primary emphasis was to provide time to

TABLE 2
Children in need of Immediate Specialized Instruction: By language and grade. Figures do not include children with limited-English speaking backgrounds who might also derive benefit from specialized instruction. (May 1973)

		Public and Parochial														
	Language	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	SP	To-tal
1.	African (Somali, Pula, Sotho)		1	1	1	1										4
2.	Arabic	2	4	1	1	5	3	1		1	1		1			20
3.	Czech		1													1
4.	French							1								1
5.	German			1											1	2
6.	Greek	1								2						3
7.	Indian (Hindi, Bengali, Nepalese)	1				1										2
8.	Italian	17	17	11	10	6	15	9	20	12	2	4	5		2	130
9.	Polish	9	7	1		2	1				1	2			1	24
10.	Portuguese														1	1
11.	Rumanian								1							1
12.	Russian								1							1
13.	Scottish					1	1									2
14.	Spanish	18	12	8	10	4	8	8	14	8	2	3		4	2	101
15.	Turkish								1							1
16.	Ukranian												1			1
17.	Yugoslavian		1				1				1				1	4
	TOTALS . . .	48	43	23	22	30	29	18	27	23	7	9	7	4	8	299

teachers and teacher aides to focus primarily on the development of learning the English language. With the exception of the West Side Community Education Center, which handled approximately 40 Spanish-speaking children, little or no cross-cultural communication or cultural heritage content was provided. However, it should be noted that these programs were instructionally sound and had begun to develop the basis for the present bilingual education program for Spanish and Italian speaking children. Briefly, the programs in existence during the 1972–73 school year were:

(1) *Title I Elementary and Secondary Language Assistance Program* This program dealt with elementary and secondary school children and involved the use of teacher aides working individually or with small groups of students. Approximately two (2) hours was given to each child per week. Over 120 students were given specialized instruction during the school year. Evaluation of the programs demonstrated positive results in reading comprehension and vocabulary. The 1972–73 Title I evaluation reports showed statistical gains to merit refunding for 1973–74. Total cost of this program was $39,297.80 and cost per child was $327.48.

(2) *West Side Community Education Center Bilingual Education Component*

This program provided language and mathematics instruction in Spanish and English to approximately 40 children in grades K through 6 at Seymour Elementary School. All Spanish-speaking children were taught in both languages for part of the morning session and in Spanish in the afternoon session. Evaluation of the program demonstrated positive results in reading and mathematics achievement. Total cost of the program was $21,422.00 and cost per child was $535.55.

(3) *Syracuse City School District E.S.L. Program*
The program provided for two (2) part-time teachers to instruct small groups of students in English as a Second Language. Each teacher spent approximately four hours per week in three schools. The program serviced 25 non-English speaking children during the 1972–73 school year. Total cost of the program was $5,000. and cost per child was $200.

In summary, approximately 185 children received specialized instruction during school year 1972–73. This figure fell short of the necessary instruction needed for all the children. To completely satisfy all the present needs of children with limited English-speaking abilities, this program was found necessary to implement.

Selection of Participants

It was decided to start with approximately one-hundred Spanish and Italian speaking children. The one-hundred children to participate in this program were identified by standardized testing data, and recommendations of homeroom and classroom teachers, supportive services personnel, community workers, and administrators.

All participants were selected for the program on the basis of their educational needs as either non-English speaking or limited-English speaking children who needed to develop their proficiency in the English language, maintain and/or increase their learning about their cultural heritage, and maintain and/or increase their competency in their dominant language.

The schools, estimated number of participants at each grade level, and dominant language of the bilingual program were determined and the following were selected see Table 3).

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The objectives for the program listed below were determined mainly by the experience of school personnel and a review of other bilingual programs in existence. Fundamentally, the objectives of the programs are familiar to most educators involved with bilingual education programs. The only exception would be the involvement with the teacher training institution at Cortland, with which very few, if any, programs are affiliated. A discussion of this aspect will be forthcoming.

TABLE 3
Program Participants

School	No. of participants	Grade levels	Dominant language
Franklin School 428 South Alvord Street Syracuse, New York	14	K–6	Italian
Seymour School 108 Shonnard Street Syracuse, New York	20	K–6	Spanish
Blodgett Jr. High School 312 Oswego Street Syracuse, New York	15	7–9	Spanish
Grant Jr. High School 2400 Grant Boulevard Syracuse, New York	11	7–9	Italian
Henninger Jr. High School 600 Robinson Street Syracuse, New York	40	10–12	Italian
TOTAL	100	–	–

(1) To insure that newly arriving children from Spanish and Italian speaking countries have the opportunity to attend a bilingual program.
(2) To introduce the skills of reading, writing, speaking the dominant language.
(3) To develop positive attitudes toward self, others, and own ethnic culture.
(4) To improve relations between parents and the schools.
(5) To insure continuity of program attendance of newly arrived children from Spanish and Italian speaking countries.
(6) To insure that children participating in the project will have an immediate and continuing in-depth study in their own language, and culture.
(7) To have the school district have a continuing number of teachers aware of bilingual programs.
(8) To have the teacher training institution of the State University of New York at Cortland help plan and implement bilingual training programs. Needs in this area include (1) bilingual techniques and methodologies, (2) curriculum materials, in the dominant language and in English as in second language, (3) materials for diagnostic and evaluative testing and (4) materials for cross-cultural understanding and for appreciation of the different cultural heritages.
(9) To extend the bilingual education opportunities to other schools and to other dominant language groups in Syracuse in addition to

Spanish and Italian. The priorities for these groups will be determined in accordance with future language surveys.

PROCEDURES

As with all newly funded programs, it is necessary to substantiate the educational rationale for development and implementation. Specifically, an attempt was made to research the literature and to apply some theoretical approaches to our operational procedures. What follows is an illustration of "why" we proceeded with the various instructional approaches to our operational procedures.

(1) *Instruction will be done in both the dominant and English languages.*
"Since one of our purposes is as nearly as possible to form and educate balanced, coordinated bilinguals—children capable of thinking and feeling in either of two languages independently—instruction, we believe, should be given in both languages."[1]

(2) *Instruction will include a variety of experiences such as small group, individual, programmed materials, and audio-lingual especially for the language skills.*
"Recent changes in both audio-lingual and programmed materials toward including more elements of cognition reflect an increasing awareness of the complexity of language, language learning and the language learner . . . new terms such as 'guided learning' by Valdman and 'designed learning' by Carroll reflect an emerging awareness of the need to include as many different types of learning situations as possible in any instructional program if maximum efficiency and achievement are to be attained."[2]

(3) *Instruction will include learning to read in both the dominant and English language.*
"Children who scored significantly higher on Spanish reading tests were students participating in both a bilingual education program and Spanish reading program."

"The results also established that learning to read in Spanish was related significantly to the ability to learn to read English."

based on studies from the:

1. Houston Independent School District, Texas
2. San Antonio, Texas
3. Alice, Texas
4. Abernathy, Texas[3]

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[1] Michel, Joseph, "Tentative Guidelines for a Bilingual Curriculum," *Florida FL Reporter*, 5:3 (1967), 13–16.

[2] Chastain, Kenneth, "Behavioristic and Cognitive Approaches in Programmed Instruction," *Language Learning*, 20, (1970), 223–235.

[3] Hubert, Charles H., Jr., "Initial Reading in Spanish for Bilinguals," 1971, 19 p., Laval University, Quebec, International Center on Bilingualism.

(4) *Instruction will include learning about the cultural heritage of the dominant language(s).*
"A culture and the language used by it are inseparable . . . the native speaker also brings with him to his language a background of knowledge that is culturally based . . . ."

"Materials in a language program should take cognizance of the relationship between culture and language . . . using materials that do, the teacher will be able to effectively teach linguistic items within their cultural context . . . ."[4]

(5) *Instruction will include learning about the elements of a culture so that the child may improve his self-image.*
"The school should make provisions for the acceptance of the child's dominant language, for opportunity to increase the fluency of the mother tongue as well as the second language, and for the inclusion of identifiable elements of the cultural heritage of the child. Through these efforts, the youngster's concept of himself and of his capabilities, may be improved."[5]

(6) *Instruction will include activities which will make the child bi-cultural as well as bi-lingual.*
"An education, both in and out of school, which respects these basic principles [to gain "progressive control of both languages" and "a sympathetic understanding of both cultures], should hopefully produce after us a generation of bilinguals who really are fully bilingual as well as bicultural."[6]

An important operational procedure of our project is the utilization of student taechers from SUNY at Cortland and the collaboration with the Cortland staff on training. This training is conducted in two places, within the Syracuse school system and the Cortland campus of SUNY.

In Syracuse, four types of activity are carried out by Cortland faculty and students, in conjunction with Syracuse teachers and aides, and with community resource people. These activities include:

(a) Training in theories and methodologies of bilingual education
(b) Preparation of curricula and materials—instructional materials and and other tools for use in the native language and English speaking components of the program.
(c) Formulating, distributing, and evaluating test materials, both for diagnostic and evaluative purposes.

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[4] Gladstone, J. R., *English Language Teaching*, 23 (June 1969) 114–117.
[5] "Kindergarten Bilingual Resource Handbook." Lubbock, Texas: Lubbock Independent School District; Fort Worth, Texas: National Consortia for Bilingual Education, 1971.
[6] Anderson, Theodore, "The Bilingual in the Southwest," *Florida FL Reporter*, 5:2 (1967) 3.

(d) Developing materials for presenting each cultural heritage and for understanding aspects of cross-cultural communication.

Each of these goals is carried out in the form of workshops, student projects, and individual consultation where necessary. Administration and guidance personnel are contacted where appropriate.

The participation of SUNY at Cortland further provides the Syracuse bilingual education project with a feature which has never before been adopted by any other bilingual education project in New York State. Recruitment of high school students from the native language groups has begun in September of 1973 and continues through June, 1974 to begin preparation in September, 1974 for a B.A. program at Cortland specializing in bilingual education. Courses will be given at Cortland in the areas of foreign language education (Spanish and Italian), TESOL, bilingual education instruction, sociolinguistics and intercultural communication. The emphasis of these courses will be on the theoretical and practical aspects of bilingual education. The B.A. students will also have experience in various phases of bilingual education through student teaching in bilingual education projects (especially within Syracuse) and by visitations to schools where such projects exist. All students finishing the program will be eligible to meet the project's requirements for future certification listed for bilingual educators in New York State Department of Education. Upon completion of the program, the graduates will be encouraged to return to their native communities to begin their roles as qualified bilingual instructors. This cyclical process, unique to the Syracuse bilingual education project, offers a new concept in bilingual education.

In addition, SUNY at Cortland is planning to offer graduate programs in bilingual education and intercultural relations which can be of use to either teacher currently instructing in the bilingual education program or those desiring the preparation necessary to successfully teach bilingual education in the future.

In summary, instruction will include all activities with which we are now acquainted and any activities which we learn about from other programs which will help us achieve the objectives for the program. After all, it is children we are concerned with and the future we leave for them. In reflecting back at our past,

> "In 1943, Irving Child (1943) investigated . . . many second-generation Italians living in New England: Through early experiences they had learned that their relations with other youngsters in their community were strained whenever they displayed signs of their Italian background . . . stated in other terms, some tried to belong to one of their own groups or another, and some, because of strong pulls from both sides, were unable to belong to either.
>
> Further studies by Robert Gardner and Wallace E. Lambert (1962) state that their findings reflect . . . a new movement that has started in America in the interval between 1943 and 1962, a movement which

the American linguist Charles Hockett refers to as a 'reduction of the American melting pot.' Gardner and Wallace believe that bicultural bilinguals will be particularly helpful in perpetuating this movement. They and their children are also the ones most likely to work out a new . . . mode of social intercourse which could be of universal significance."[1]

I know that from 1962 to 1974, there has been a universal recognition of children from non-English speaking cultures.

Program Activities

Since the program began, various activities have taken place which are too numerous to mention. However, a cursory review of instructional activities for elementary and secondary children is presented.

Grades K-6—Teacher aides, and student teachers provide formal instruction in either readiness or basic skills and the acquisition or oral language. There is utilization of second-language teaching materials for the language arts. Cultural instructional materials are presented in both the dominant and English language. The materials stress cultural reinforcement by recognizing values of the student's ethnic background and heritage. Games, projects, and programs related to both cultures are introduced so that the historical contributions and cultural patterns become an integral part of the bilingual program.

Grades 7-12—Teachers, teaching aides, and student teachers, within the classroom setting, provide individualized assessment and instruction in oral skills through the use of programmed instructional media. Language arts activities in the dominant language are presented until a proficiency is acquired; i.e., oral compositions, reading and writing. Individual differences in English oral and written skills are assessed and evaluated to provide each student with an adequate level of mastery. Course work related to school activities, i.e. English, Social Studies help the students arrive at an adequate command of the English language.

Cultural and instructional materials are present in both the dominant and English language. Materials stress cultural reinforcement by recognizing values of ethnic backgrounds. Relevant contributions of identifiable ethnic leaders are integrated into the historical and geographical composition of the native country.

In addition to the aforementioned instructional areas, in-service staff training meetings are scheduled once a month. Workshops, student projects, and individual consultation for teachers and aides are carried out in the areas of bilingual methodology, materials preparation, testing and aspects of bilingual methodology, materials preparation, testing and aspects of cultural heritage and cross-cultural communication. Each workshop is designed to include someone proficient in a specialized area or a guest speaker presenting information on a culture or language.

There is also parental and community involvement. An advisory board

[1] Lambert, W. E. and Klineberg, O. *Children's view of foreign peoples: A cross-national study*. New York: Appleton, 1967, 2–3.

consisting of parents, community agencies and the school district helps in the planning, operations, and evaluation of the program. Besides our scheduled advisory board meetings, parental contacts, flyers to home in the native language, home visitations and addresses to various community boards constitute an on-going involvement with the program.

In closing, those of us involved in bilingual education programs should keep in mind that the road ahead is not paved with a gold and silver lining. The tasks that confront educators are enormous, particularly those involving the convincing of others in schools, communities and boards of education that children with English-language deficiencies are an integral part of society and life in America and do have the right to a just and recognizable education.

JIEP 1973—A Special Program for Communicative Competence

Gale S. Duque and Carol A. Puhl
Pennsylvania State University

Communicative competence is a term that has appeared in the recent literature of ESL as a conceptual basis for programs in ESL. This term seems to represent a certain priority of objectives and to lend focus to efforts to improve the English proficiency of non-native speakers of English.

During the summer of 1973 a group of 41 such non-native speakers, all teachers of English in Japanese secondary schools, spent four weeks at the Pennsylvania State University in the Japanese Intensive English Program (henceforth referred to as JIEP), which was created specially for them. Part of a larger eight-week experience in the U.S. sponsored by the Council on International Educational Exchange and the America-Japan Society, the 1973 JIEP resulted from the efforts of the director and staff[1] to find the most effective ways to help the Japanese teachers develop their communicative competence.

We have defined communicative competence for our purposes as follows: the ability to derive desired outcomes from interaction with others, using the English language and any other communicative codes. For example, if a woman wants a steak medium rare, tossed salad with bleu cheese dressing, and a side dish of steamed rice, she is communicating competently if she can manage the situation verbally and non-verbally to get these things in front of her. One way to manage is to go into a restaurant that serves them.

Communicative competence is developed by *doing* just what it defines (see Oller 1971), not by describing it or discussing it, although these may be helpful when used appropriately. Thus our task was to provide opportunities in which people could communicate; some of these were opportunities with varying degrees of structure and others provided for spontaneous interaction. This is a distinction we shall return to later.

Perhaps more explanation of our rationale would be useful. The learning of a language that emphasizes manipulation of only the verbal structures runs the risk of producing what Rivers calls "language cripples, with all the necessary muscles and sinews but unable to walk alone" (Rivers 1972: 72). Only when a language is used in a situation in which the

[1] Director, Dr. Paul D. Holtzman, Professor of Speech Communication; Assistant Director, Gale S. Duque, Instructor in ESL; Bruce Summers, Carol Ann Puhl, Michael Harrington and Donald Clement, Department of Speech Communication; Ingrid Holtzman, Social Director.

participant succeeds in accomplishing a goal meaningful to him or her can it be said to be more than a coding-decoding system and truly language. Each situation has its own communicative demands; one set of these demands is the structure of verbal demands, and a second one is the function of these verbal demands (e.g., explain, agree, verify, behave). Not only must a person know what the structures are, but one must know which ones are appropriate for which situation. For example, if someone says, "It's hot in here," it may not be just an observation, but rather a request for someone to open a window. Likewise, Americans who say "See you later" are not being hypocritical by not setting a time and place for the next meeting. In a situation, all these variables are brought together in a rather complex interplay. Only in coping with communication situations does the learner master the effective coordination of these variables.

A native speaker adapts to these contextual or situational variables automatically—largely unaware of them. This can be seen in the acquisition of both first and second languages. A child who tells Aunt Maude that she has bad breath or a foreign student who asks his American hostess how old she is are both still learning to cope effectively with the various situational demands. Communicative competence involves the ability to take these contextual variables into account so that accurate interpretations are put onto verbal structures and so that appropriate behavioral signals are sent that induce a more or less predictable response in the receiver.

To develop this communicative competence in our learners—who already had a modicum of *linguistic* competence—we attempted to provide a program that would give priority to the effective use of language skills to accomplish goals in communication situations. This JIEP of 1973 had three special aspects: its nature, its sequencing and its extension.

First, let us describe its nature. Because good pedagogy must be largely determined by knowledge about the learners, we asked ourselves, "What is this group like?" Some information was available from the participants and the sponsors, and from past experience with four such groups. All teachers of English in Japan, they certainly appeared to be motivated to study English. Because most of them had never been to an English-speaking country, they had learned their English in a Japanese setting, with emphasis on grammar and translation of written language. However, these skills had been mastered to a degree unmatched by most ESL learners in other language programs. They were coming to us for something they could not get at home: real, live communication, AURAL-ORAL communication, in English.

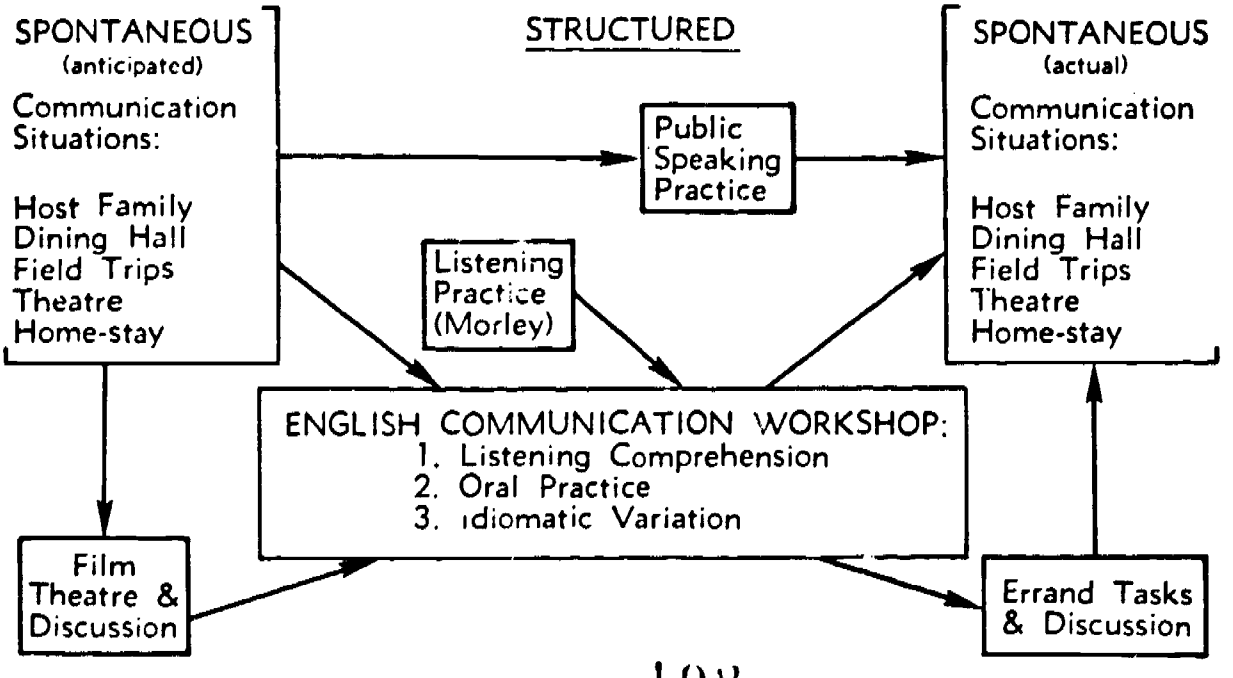
This orientation to the printed word as opposed to the spoken word has two important implications. First, it made them more comfortable with print than with speech. Thus, with all the pressures of new foreign living, it is understandable that, given a choice, they may prefer reading to listening. Evidence of this comes from a participant who, when given the Errand Task of finding out attitudes on divorce, gave Americans he en-

countered a sheet of paper and had them write down their answers. Second, prior orientation to print made it easier for them to talk than to listen. They were cognitively familiar with many structures and could often bring them to bear when they wanted to say something, but when someone addressed them, they often found it most difficult, even painful, to decode the speech sounds well enough to understand. It was as if they could communicate in THEIR terms but not in those of others.

Our group of learners, then, would probably look like this: they were coming for oral communication; they were print-oriented; they would find listening more difficult than speaking; they would have limitations of time and place; they would have expectations about what language instruction should be. We felt that the best way for the JIEP to help these learners was to maximize their experiences in the English-language environment by learning to cope in real communication situations.

As mentioned earlier, we felt it was necessary to provide two kinds of opportunities, those that were structured and those that were spontaneous. The structured opportunities were provided in the English Communication Workshop, with content based on selected communication situations, as well as other classroom-based activities. The spontaneous part of the program consisted of communication opportunities in the community for which the structured part prepared our learners. The important thing here is that no opportunity was an over-and-above cultural extra; every activity was integrated into the whole program. This integration of activities, itself a special feature, made every part of the program interrelated and therefore reinforcing. Schematically, the JIEP might look like this:

The special nature of this program, then, was that EVERYTHING WAS



ORGANIZED AROUND *REAL COMMUNICATION SITUATIONS.* This can be seen most clearly in the English Communication Workshop, the most structured aspect of our program. For this workshop, we anticipated communication situations in which the Japanese teachers would probably be involved during their month in the JIEP and in the two-week home-stay in Iowa that would follow. From a lengthy list we sifted out fifteen situations including such general activities as eating in a restaurant, buying a gift, going to the doctor and taking the local bus; and some specific activities such as dining with a host family, staying on an overnight visit with a host family, eating in the University cafeteria, and going to the University's Summer Theater. Short conversations with two or three people were written, presenting native speakers of English and sometimes the Japanese speaking as if they were native speakers in interaction, using normal spoken language for each situation. These dialogs were then recorded onto a cassette tape, with minor adaptations in the scripts made by the readers to a style more consistent with their own personal choice of grammatical structures. The nature of our instructional material, then, was not based on linguistic points, such as phonology or syntax. It was determined by the communication situations the learners would be likely to encounter and need to deal with.

The purpose of the classroom activities was to stimulate, to prepare for, to organize and to clarify experience. We did not delude ourselves into thinking that it is the setting where the major learning takes place (ask any student!). They would have many more hours of contact with native speakers and with the culture outside the classroom. So instead of adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude, we capitalized on these non-classroom experiences and structured what we did in the classroom to prepare them to take maximum advantage of the whole "community out there," which we looked on as a living language lab (to say the least). In the community they had not only a variety of native speakers as models, but models in real live communication situations in which our learners had a personal stake.

The second special feature of the 1973 JIEP was the sequencing of the material in the English Communication Workshop, the main classroom activity. Experience with other groups had shown that, if they knew a printed version of the aural material would follow, they were less likely to try to get it by listening. (Many native speakers tend to rely more on the printed word than the spoken one!) Aware that this orientation to print would be counter-productive if they wanted to improve listening and speaking skills, we planned a sequence for dealing with the material in which they would have *no* access to the content of the dialogs in written form. This sequencing had three steps: comprehension, practice, and variation. Having broken the full group of 41 teachers into smaller groups of about 14, we took one communication situation a day and presented it to each group through an elaborate morning schedule so that each group received the day's lesson in exactly the same order: listening, speaking and idiomatic

variation. This sequencing, which of course is not unlike first language learning, was given great importance and thus we felt it was worth the complications it caused in the scheduling of daily classes. To clarify further the sequencing, the class schedule of the English Communication Workshop is given below:

	GROUP I	GROUP II	GROUP III
8:00– 8:40	Listening Comp.		
8:40– 9:20	Oral Practice	Listening Comp.	
9:20–10:00	Tea break	Tea break	Listening Comp.
10:00–10:40	Idiomatic Var.	Oral Practice	Tea break
10:40–11:20		Idiomatic Var.	Oral Practice
11:20–12:00			Idiomatic Var.

Three instructors handled the Workshop, each one taking responsibility for one phase in the sequence, which was conducted in a 40-minute classroom period. The details of each phase follow:

1. Listening Comprehension. The instructor played the whole dialog from the tape for the class and then tried to ferret out how much had been understood. Since understanding was usually minimal the first time around, the tape was played again, this time sentence by sentence. Much explanation was needed along with repeated playing of the tape, and by the end of the 40 minutes, a good part of the dialog seemed to be understood.

2. Oral Practice. In this phase, the instructor's task was to get the participants speaking. The situation for the day was reviewed by the group and by two's and three's the students tried to re-create the situation, using as many phrases as possible which they had learned from the Listening Comprehension session as well as any words or phrases from their own experience. Whenever possible, a real communication situation was set up in which they could take part. As a second best solution, role playing situations were used. Once the situation was set up, they were free to handle it any way they chose. For example, in the situation "Buying a Gift," one fellow ended up "paying" $28 for a $15 pin!

3. Idiomatic Variation. In the third phase of the sequence, the instructor introduced various idiomatic expressions which might come up or be used in the situation as optional ways of saying the same things. Each student had a copy of Dixson's "Essential Idioms in English." The idiom was presented first in a sentence or in a two-line dialog. After aural comprehension, the participants looked up the expression in their books. Finally, other sentences using the same phrase were tried by the learners. This was the only use of print in the English Communication Workshop.

Added to this Workshop with its three-phase sequence, were at least four other structured learning activities: more listening experience, the Film Theater, Public Speaking Practice, and Errand Tasks. Morley's "Improving Aural Comprehension" was used two or three times a week for extra listening practice. In the Film Theater the staff showed and discussed—both before and after viewing—various short films for non-verbal

communicative behavior ("Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge"), for listening comprehension, for cultural information ("Halloween Customs in Central Pennsylvania" and Emily Post's "Table Manners"). Instruction in Public Speaking using a video trainer was given to help the Japanese teachers prepare for the speaking they would do in a high school they would visit during the Home-stay period following their Intensive English Program at Penn State.

The fourth structured activity, the Errand Tasks, was a natural transition from the controlled learning activities to those that provided spontaneous interaction. This extension of the classroom material into spontaneous situations on campus and in the community is the third special feature of the 1973 JIEP. The Errand Tasks were semi-controlled situations in which the Japanese teachers were given communication problems to solve by getting information from people through interviews or conversations. Three afternoons were set aside for "errands" and then there was a culminating event which might be called a gigantic errand—an all-day trip to Pittsburgh. The type of errand task was different each time. The first errand, selected by the teachers themselves and done in pairs, was designed to get the students into the business area of town to solve such communication problems as how to mail a package to Japan, how to buy a car, what is required to get married, and how to get to Gettysburg by bus (which information they later utilized when they organized their own trip to this historical site). The second set of errand tasks, done individually, revolved around American attitudes on politics and social issues such as racism, poverty, and the Gay Liberation movement. The Japanese teachers were urged to ask their Host Families, their dining hall friends, or anybody else, about these things. The third set of tasks dealt with the more personal side of American life. The Japanese generated their own questions about family relationships, bringing up children, dating, funeral practices, and so on, and went out in search of some answers. Thus, the specific errand tasks, assigned and reported on in a classroom period, drew on the English Communication Workshop material such as introducing themselves and asking directions. It also gave them the opportunity to develop and demonstrate their growing communicative competence in spontaneous situations.

The all-day trip to Pittsburgh illustrates a larger extension of the structured learning material into spontaneous communication situations where language facility is needed to accomplish goals (seeing interesting sights, traveling by bus, getting some dinner—maybe in a Japanese restaurant!). Although their morning and evening were planned for them (guided tours and a Pirates baseball game), the entire afternoon and the supper hour were free. They had been prepared for the trip ahead of time with maps, suggested places to visit, bus information and the like, but they had to get around completely on their own with the ultimate goal of reaching Three Rivers Stadium at the appointed hour. Of course, lack of communicative competence in getting there on time would result in its own punishment.

missing the game and/or finding transportation for the 140-mile trip home. They also had specific errand tasks for this day: to visit at least five of the suggested places and to bring back at least three free souvenirs from these places. They found such things as napkins, matchbooks, and information on opening a Gimbel's charge account; these items, besides being souvenirs, also served as stimuli for discussion the next day. No one got lost and everyone met at the right time for the baseball game, so we judged they had been communicating competently!

The Pittsburgh trip had been prepared for in other ways besides the tourist information. Many of the daily dialogs were helpful such as "In a Restaurant" and "Asking Directions." The earlier errands had, of course, given them opportunities to apply classroom material to real situations in a familiar setting—the Penn State campus and the community of State College. In these ways, an event which might appear social or extra-curricular was made a very important part of the on-going training.

Another communication situation provided for the Japanese teachers was attending, as guests of their Host Families, the University's Summer Theater production of *Damn Yankees*. This opportunity was also integrated into the program in several different ways. First of all, a dialog called "Going to the Theater" was used in the English Communication Workshop. During the week of the performance, they listened to a tape of the music from the show, and were given copies of the words. Because of time limitations, quantity of material to cover, and the special language problems in lyrics, we decided to make an exception to stressing aural comprehension over the printed word in this case. The day before the theater party, a guest lecturer from the Theater Arts Department spoke with the whole group on dramatic theory and the plot of *Damn Yankees*. This proved to be a great challenge to their listening ability, and they enjoyed and met the challenge.

The evening at the theater was integrated into the program even further through the Errand Tasks. The "errand" for that day was to attend the play and to choose the character who was the most interesting or important and be able to tell why in a discussion the next day. Follow-up to the theater experience was done through small group discussions the day after the play, and many questions were asked and many points raised concerning plot, dramatic theory and the purpose of musical comedy as well as discussion of the characters.

Thus, the communication situation of going to the theater was prepared for through the controlled English Communication Workshop and presentation of the taped music as well as through the less structured lecture and errand programs. The event itself was an opportunity for listening comprehension practice and a chance for them to test their communicative competence with their Host Families. The follow-up the next day allowed for more practice in listening and speaking. These two examples—the Pittsburgh trip and the theater experience—show how we used the com-

munity as the source of our classroom material and how we sent our learners back into the community to use the language.

The extension of the program into spontaneous situations is also exemplified by the opportunities for interaction provided by dining hall conversations and contacts with the Host Families. The Japanese teachers were encouraged to sit with Americans in the dining hall during all their meals. Urged by the staff before the very first meal on campus, the participants initiated these conversations by simply asking to join and talk with people eating in the cafeteria with them. It might be noted that perhaps a clue to success here was that striking up a dining hall conversation was established as normative behavior from the start, before other behavior patterns had a chance to develop.

The Host Family program, which has been alluded to several times, provided another special opportunity for the learners to interact spontaneously. Each Host Family had one Japanese teacher whom they included in their usual family activities during the four-week stay in State College. The teachers were invited to their Host Family's for dinner and in most cases for an overnight visit. Sometimes they went shopping together or played golf or went for a ride in the country. Various activities planned by the JIEP Social Director were also shared, such as a picnic, a square dance and the previously mentioned theater party. Preparation for some of the experiences was made in the content of the English Communication Workshop. Again, although the associations with the Host Families allowed for spontaneous interaction, the source of the structured material used in the classroom was the anticipated contact with the community. This underscores the integration and reinforcement provided for in this program.

Although we were basically satisfied with the results of this Program for Developing Communicative Competence, we of course learned many things. In the future we might make the dialogs shorter because they were rarely ever completed in the Listening Comprehension period. We also might make these tapes available in the language lab if any participant desired to work on them on his own, although the language lab was discontinued as a part of the regular program on the assumption that the community functions as a better "lab." We would like to have video-tapes of the dialogs so that non-verbal communication can be experienced along with the verbal. Although we did deal with some aspects of non-verbal communication as they arose such as the use of space, facial expressions and gestures, we would like to develop this further in the future. The tea break, to which we occasionally invited children for the Japanese teachers to converse with, is another area for future expansion.

The final evaluations by our 41 Japanese teachers indicated that the language skills which had improved the most were listening and speaking and that the activities which helped the most toward this were the Errand Tasks, dining hall conversations and the English Communication Workshop. The Workshop and Errand Tasks were also listed as the activities liked

best and recommended for future programs. Language tests including dictation and cloze procedure showed increased proficiency in aural comprehension and utilization of contextual clues. While these tests showed increased competence, the gain in self-confidence in using English as reported in the oral and written evaluations by the Japanese teachers, and as noted by the staff, was perhaps as valid an indication of the success of the program. Of the eight universities which held Intensive English Programs for Japanese teachers, Penn State was rated highest in "Language Training as a Whole" in the evaluations made by the teachers after their return to Japan.

In summary, then, the goal of our program was to develop communicative competence in our print-oriented learners who happened to be teachers of English in their native Japan. Communicative competence requires using the language and anything else at hand to cope with both structural and functional demands of a situation in a way that accomplishes one's goals. Our program was composed of opportunities for learning that were structured and those that were spontaneous. The structured learning was organized around real communication situations, the first special feature. The core of the structured learning opportunities was the English Communication Workshop, with its dialogs presented in a three-phase sequence: listening comprehension, oral practice, and idiomatic variation. This sequencing was the second special feature. The transfer of what they learned in the structured settings to spontaneous interaction was the extension of the program into real communication situations. This extension and overall integration of activities was the third special feature.

While there are specific improvements we can make for the next program, success in developing communicative competence was attested to by test scores, the staff, and the learners themselves. Perhaps it is the learners who ought to be given the last word:

"Daily dialogs were very useful for my real life."

"I liked Aural Comprehension best because our aim is to train our ears."

"I liked errands best because it was the most natural style to learn speaking and hearing. I could get many friends when I called on them."

"I expect I will return to Japan with new confidence in my use of the language."

APPENDIX

Titles of dialogs used in the English Communication Workshop:

Introductions
Invitations
In the Cafeteria
Asking Directions
At the Post Office
Dinner with Your Host Family
Making Phone Calls
Taking the Bus

Planning a Trip
In a Restaurant
Going to the Theatre
Going to Church
An Overnight Visit
Buying a Gift
Seeing the Doctor

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FOCUS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF MATERIALS

Bridging the Asian Language and Cultural Gap

Sadae Iwataki
Los Angeles Unified School District

The critical language needs of the non-English-speaking adult have only recently begun to be acknowledged by our profession. Although English classes for non-academic adults can be traced back to the last century, their professional status within the educational community has been that of neither fish nor fowl, and their teachers have been a voiceless, formless minority.

The adult ESL student is a person with an immediate and specific need—for a language that he needs to help himself survive and function in an English-speaking community. He has already internalized a language system and a cultural system that have brought him to this point in life. Through circumstances over which he may or may not have had control, he now finds himself in an environment where he is unable to cope.

Among these adult ESL students are the Asians who live in concentrated groups along the Pacific Coast and in large metropolitan areas. Pockets of Asians can also be found in towns and cities scattered throughout the country.

The Asian ESL students fall into two basic groups: (1) the older resident, representing varying degrees of assimilation and acculturation, depending on exposure to the language and culture of the land in which he has lived for many years, and (2) the newly-arrived immigrant, with language skills ranging from zero to many years of academic English classes.

The Immigration Act of 1965 changed the restrictive quota system and opened the gates into the United States for large numbers of immigrants from Asian countries. The new arrivals were non-English-speaking and encountered immediate problems in finding employment and in otherwise adjusting themselves to life in a strange new world.

Without the tools of the dominant language, these immigrants were destined to be kitchen help, farm worker, factory laborer—only working in menial jobs where a knowledge of English would not be necessary.

Out of this need was born our project, "Bridging the Asian Language and Cultural Gap," which was funded to the Adult Basic Education program of the Division of Career and Continuing Education, Los Angeles Unified School District, under the 309(b) provision of the Adult Education Act, Title III, for the 1971–72 fiscal year. It was renewed for 1972–73, then again for 1973–74.

The twofold objectives of the project were: (1) to provide ESL teach-

ers of Asian adults with information that would help them understand the needs of their students, and (2) to develop curriculum materials with special attention to these needs.

In its first year of operation, the multi-lingual, multi-cultural staff conducted a series of three highly-rated in-service sessions for district teachers on the socio-cultural, -economic, and -linguistic backgrounds of the Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean students. Resource personnel were recruited from the communities and the universities as speakers.

After two years of research, development, and field testing, *Beginning English for Adults*, a beginning text in ESL, has been completed. Its components are a lesson guide, student leaflet, evaluation guide, student evaluation form, Chinese supplement, hold-up drill pictures, and transparency masters.

In the development of the curriculum materials, our first step was the establishment of a base—a rationale. Recognizing that theories relating to second language learning are in a constant state of flux, we had to be pragmatic—we tempered theory with field experience. We asked ourselves: What kind of material would best help our non-English-speaking Asian students attain those basic language skills necessary for survival in an English-speaking world?

Given the nature of an adult education class, with its voluntary, open-enrollment, non-compulsory features, together with the situation of the adult learner, who most often is a person who goes to school after a full day's work, it is apparent that without the conditions for meaningful learning, that student may not find his class worth the effort.

What are the conditions for this meaningful learning? They are: (1) meaningful, relevant lessons in which grammar is presented with a cognitive base, and (2) learners who are motivated both through self and through the efforts of the teachers (as suggested by H. Douglas Brown in his talk at the 1972 TESOL conference).

What we were aiming for, then, were instructional materials that would be theoretically sound, yet be down to earth and really fulfill the students' language needs.

The approach in our lessons is audio-lingual and learner-oriented. Utilizing dialogues and contextualized exercises, the lessons lead the student from manipulation to communication skills. The hold-up drill pictures and the transparencies for dialogues, stories, and drills serve as contextual cues for the lessons.

The structure is sequenced and presented through listening comprehension exercises and dialogues, or, in a few instances, through short reading selections. Considerations in the sequencing included: (1) relative simplicity or complexity; (2) logical progression; (3) usefulness in everyday situations; (4) patterns of wide applicability; and (5) structures contrasting with native languages.

The intent of the Listening Comprehension exercises is to concentrate

the attention of the listener first on the content of the message rather than on the form. There is no demand for instant replay.

The presentation is always made through visual cues or through the teacher giving the message kinetically. Action, objects, and relationships are presented in such a way that culturally-conditioned misconceptions should not result.

The students are led through the stages of recognition and identification before any oral production is required of them. The final step is the oral identification.

The entire course is designed along the lines of presentation of material as a total listening experience for the student first, without the distraction of his having to regurgitate utterances without comprehension.

The dialogues are brief four-liners, evolving around some everyday situation, and fit the three qualities suggested by Earl Stevick as standards for lesson materials: "strength" (value); "lightness" (ease of handling), and "transparency" (clarity of meaning). (Stevick 1971: 45–50). Lesson dialogues are not intended for memorization, but are foundation-type sentences which are reused in manipulation exercises with variation (Rivers 1968: 174).

An "instant communication" device is built into the practice exercises, adapted from the micro-wave format described by Stevick in his text on adapting and writing language lessons (Stevick 1971: 310–15). The responses are practiced before the questions, allowing for immediate meaningful exchanges. These two-line exchanges are then combined in mini-dialogues, leading the students into free conversational exchanges.

At this beginning level, the reading is based on the oral language. The reading and writing exercises reinforce the oral work.

Data compiled and/or consulted in the development of a corpus for the materials were: (1) a list of everyday life situations which call for the use of English; (2) a survey of the grammatical items appearing in ESL textbooks in current use in the school district; (3) the course of study for ESL programs in the district; (4) a staff-developed sequence of structures; and (5) the findings of a staff-developed contrastive analysis of the phonology and structure of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Tagalog languages and of English.

Though cognizant of the limitations of contrastive analysis, we nevertheless believe that certain difficulties a student will have in learning English can be predicted, depending on his individual linguistic background, and that this information can be utilized in the lessons. Gerhard Nickel, director of the Stuttgart Project on Applied Contrastive Linguistics (PAKS), states that contrastive linguistics is "relevant to the designing of teaching material for use in all age groups," particularly in the teaching of adults, because more use can be made of their "better-developed cognitive faculties" (Nickel 1971: 6).

The contrastive analysis charts, along with their predictions of difficulty,

were distributed among a sampling of some fifteen teachers in the district for validation. A consensus was established with the findings, and the resulting predicted areas of difficulty in both phonology and syntax have been incorporated into the lessons.

A brief pronunciation segment appears in the lesson units and care has been taken to present the target sounds within a meaningful context through pictures and through phrases or sentences. Suprasegmental features which have been found to present serious problems for Asians in general are practiced in each dialogue and in each pronunciation lesson. Suprasegmentals are high priority items because of their effect on the intelligibility of the speaker.

The absence of the /æ/ sound from the Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog languages no doubt accounts for the difficulty their speakers encounter in making this sound. Furthermore, their mother tongue influences their usual substitutions: for the English word "man," the Chinese are likely to say /mɛn/ while the Japanese and Filipino may say /man/. Lesson notes in *Beginning Lessons* alert the teacher to these facts and practice is provided in making distinctions between the sounds. The lesson notes also point out that Asian /a/ hass omewhat different characteristics from the American /a/, and that the students should, therefore, be encouraged to open their mouths wide for this sound.

Staff research and field work, plus input from the teachers, reveal that the greatest syntactical problem areas of Asians in general include the uses of: prepositions, articles, "do" as an auxiliary, verb agreement, noun plurality, and "yes/no" in answering negative questions.

Those structures that fall within the scope of this beginning course are dealt with in the materials through lesson dialogues and stories, practice drills, communication exercises, and reading and writing exercises. Notes and charts in the lesson guide alert the teacher to possible interlingual interference in lessons in which selective attention is given to these features. For example, practice in using the locative prepositions "in," "on," and "at" appear in ten of the lessons.

The Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese have no equivalent to articles in their language system. This factor undoubtedly is a major cause of their difficulties with the usage of articles in English. Lesson 3 of the materials first cautions the teachers of this situation, and the articles are practiced through a lesson dealing with occupations ("He's a doctor, She's a nurse."). Subsequent lessons in the course deal with the "a/an" contrast and the omission of articles with plural nouns.

That language is an integral part of the culture of the speaker is an accepted fact. Communication, then, is carried on through a language that is culturally conditioned, and is "to a large extent a cultural ritual of which the verbal element is only a part" (Kirch 1973: 340).

Materials that purport to teach communication, then, must take into consideration the cultural factors that enter into the exchange of messages

between participants. These could be both verbal and non-verbal, and reflect meanings, attitudes, and reactions.

The bridging of the gap between the language and culture of the Asian student and the language and culture of these United States through the Asian Project materials meant that the needs of both the learner and the teacher had to be met. The "meaningful" lessons were directed to meet the students' needs, while for the teachers, the lesson notes referred to earlier were presented in the form of "Structural and Cultural Notes" to help them bridge the gap.

Cultural concepts have been integrated into *Beginning Lessons* through the situations and the dialogues. Lesson 29, for example, with "That's a Good-looking Sports Car" as its title for Section I, is ostensibly designed to help students learn to identify different types of American cars, and to trade in one car for another. But the occidental custom of accepting compliments is also written into the dialogue, which goes:

> That's a good-looking sports car.
> Thank you. We bought it last week.
> Where's your old car?
> We traded it in.

The teacher is forewarned in the Notes that humbleness is considered an important virtue by the Asians, and that they customarily reject or deny compliments to show these qualities. Furthermore, the teacher is informed that the concept of "trading in" is somewhat strange to Asians, too, as they are accustomed to making maximal use of objects, discarding them when they are too old.

In the special Chinese supplement, the Chinese student is informed in Chinese that saying "Thank you" to compliments is an accepted American custom.

Intensive and extensive field-testing was carried on in some forty classes in the district during some fifteen months of the developmental stage, and refinements made in the materials on the basis of field-teacher input and class observation. A wide variety of classes was utilized for the field-testing, ranging from the evening heterogeneous language background class, to the daytime branch school multi-level class, to the bilingual class.

Student and teacher reaction to *Beginning Lessons for Adults* has been gratifying. Student testimonials cite the realistic, relevant situations, the visuals which "tell the story," and the generously-illustrated handouts. Teachers express their enthusiasm for the detailed lesson guides with the cultural-structural notes, the visuals, the evaluation component, the ordering of structure—the apparent relevance to their adult students' needs.

And a definite plus is the finding that these lessons work not only with Asian students, but with students from other language backgrounds as well. They have even been used with success in bilingual Spanish ESL classes.

Cultural, structural, and phonological information which can be help-

ful to educators working with Asian adult students is currently being compiled for our *Handbook for Teachers of Asian Adult ESL Students.* A special component for Spanish-speaking students is being incorporated into the handbook since the majority of Asian students attend classes with students from heterogeneous language backgrounds, many of them Spanish.

Also in preparation by the staff in our third and final year of operation are a series of thirty lessons for intermediate level students and a set of pronunciation lessons. Visual aids will accompany both courses, and the intermediate lesson will also include filmstrips.

The complete set of curriculum materials will be disseminated to the state directors of adult education in the fifty states, as well as to the territories, at the conclusion of the Project in July, 1974.

A footnote worthy of mention is the fact that the project came about as a result of an actual call for help from the Asian communities in Los Angeles. The basic framework was designed by an Anglo-brown-black ABE staff.

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A Re-Evaluation of Grammatical Structure Sequencing

Diane E. Larsen
English Language Institute, University of Michigan

INTRODUCTION:

The focus of this paper lies in exploring the concept of difficulty as a component of the simple to difficult (or complex) continuum of grammatical structures, which is, through the authors' own admission, the basis upon which most ESL grammar textbooks are written. The notion of complexity is to be challenged by the contention that in labeling a structure "difficult" and therefore according it a place in the rear of a textbook, an author creates a problem for ESL students who might need that very structure in their communication efforts. This paper maintains that a definition of difficulty is at best a controversial one, depending upon a particular theoretical orientation, and also one which ignores the realities of the situations ESL students must face. In short, a plea is being made to uphold something which the ESL profession has long given lip service to, i.e., language teaching should have as its number one priority providing the language student with those skills he needs to manipulate the target language in a meaningful manner.

A typical situation is as follows: an ESL teacher has met with his/her new students for the first time. The teacher finds to his dismay (only if he's as yet uninitiated into such practices) that his class consists of beginning students with diverse language backgrounds, experiences, ages and aspirations. Furthermore, typically, most of his students will bring some knowledge of English even to a level one class, but, of course, this target language sophistication, too, differs from student to student. The ESL teacher's task, even if it is realistically self-defined rather than imposed by others, is, generally speaking, to convey and have students master as much of the English language as possible within the alloted time. On Day One, students will usually introduce themselves and as much as possible, receive initial instruction on books and the general outline of the course. Now what will happen on Day Two? If the teacher is similar to the individuals described by Masanori Higa in the "Psycholinguistic concept of difficulty," he'll conclude that he has been aware that differently organized materials have different effects on learning, but, at the same time he'll have a feeling of helplessness because the variables of learning materials are not very well known (1965: 167).

Too, he will take little comfort from an observation made by M. A. K. Halliday (1964: 207, 210) that

> Once an inventory of teaching items has been arrived at, it must be arranged in a way suitable for teaching. . . . A great many practical examples of sequencing exist in the shape of syllabi and textbooks . . . but there exist very few statements of principles for the guidance of others who wish to do likewise. In fact, for an intelligent approach to sequencing it is almost essential to have practical teaching experience with the pupils for whom a given course is intended, because here above all, the teaching programme must be sensitive to the precise needs of the pupils.

This would be ideal, but, of course, as Halliday would surely concur, having this practical teaching experience with students prior to a given course is for the most part, unrealistic.

A NEED FOR A MEASUREMENT OF SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY:

Louise Tanos writes in *TEFL* (1972):

> For the earlier elementary levels three considerations should be instrumental in helping the teacher decide what patterns to introduce:
> 1. The context should deal with material in the students' immediate environment.
> 2. The structure should be simple.
> 3. The communication should be applicable and useful to the child.

This is a nice easy formula, but herein lies its flaw. Upon what basis should the ESL teacher decide whether the material he intends to present meet the standards implied in these requirements?

Charles and Agnes Fries in their classic, *Foundations for English teaching* (1961: 7) write:

> Mere lists of structure items give even less help than do lists of vocabulary items. The usual syllabus list of selected structure gives no indication of any useful relationships among the structures themselves. Of course, certain structures are considered "hard," others much "easier." It is often suggested that the "easier" structures should come first and the "harder" ones later. Seldom is there any attempt to discover the special linguistic characteristics underlying the difficulties of the "hard" structures, in contrast with the characteristics of the "easy" ones. Most of the sequences of the structured items, not only in the syllabus, but even in the textbooks, are quite arbitrary with little or no justification.

To this, unfortunately, it can only be added that as Robert Keith Johnson (1972) observes, "There is no syntactic equivalent to a dictionary, and teachers are often unaware that a problem exists. Hence, there is a need for an objective measurement of syntactic complexity."

One final consideration before an examination of this evasive measure of complexity is entertained is that one must answer the obvious question, "Is structure sequencing so crucial that one should devote time and effort to determining it?" In answer the following quote from John Oller (1972: 100) is appropos:

> Psycholinguistic research has demonstrated that (1) verbal processing (whether we are speaking of perception, production or learning) is facili-

> tated by organization. More importantly, it has been shown repeatedly that (2) as organization increases, facilitation increases almost exponentially and (3) as the length of the study period increases, the difference in facilitatior between low levels of organization and higher ones accelerate.

Gerald Nickel (1971) feels the effort expanded in striving for a definition of difficulty

> is important for the producer of language materials because in his ordering of linguistic facts, the latter must know something about the problem of difficulty from the learner's point of view. His staging and sequencing of the material will depend upon his idea of what linguistic difficulty is.

The conclusion is, then, that an understanding of the concept of difficulty upon which so many materials are sequenced is indeed a pursuit worthy of investigation.

ANALYSIS OF EXISTING TEXTS

The authors of the current textbooks examined for this paper have apparently determined some criteria for sequencing of grammatical structures from simple to complex, but it is not clear why these criteria were chosen. To cite a few examples:

(1) Of one hundred grammatical structures sequenced in this particular grammar book, the modals, "will," "should," and "can" are introduced as part of a preliminary unit, but all other modals are not presented until the very end of the book as structures numbered ninety-one and ninety-two.
(2) Of thirty lessons in this grammar text, the conjunctions such as "and" and "but" are not taught until lesson twenty-nine, which is the last one introducing new material.
(3) In another: in lesson three the regular past tense endings are illustrated and then not until lesson eight do the irregular past tense endings occur. This might be within keeping of some difficulty definition implying regular, closed paradigms are "easier" to learn than ones which deviate from the established regularity. This seems legitimate enough except that when one pauses to consider that so many "common" verbs are irregular, one wonders if this is indeed a useful ordering which does not violate the tenet that materials should expeditiously prepare students to communicate.
(4) In Book Two of this series, lesson six deals with the structure, "What would you do if . . ." This paper will maintain that this particular structure would be of less value to the student, in general, than tne introduction of the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in lesson 11 of the same book.
(5) This text has the irregular past tense endings of verbs grouped for presentation according to the phonetic changes that take place in their

> formation. So, for example, "wrote" and "spoke" are revealed in lesson twelve, and then in lesson sixteen the verbs "saw" and "thought" are first seen.

It would be entirely presumptuous to imply that these authors did not give considerable thought to an ordering of the structures they presented. It would be of immense value no doubt for all to participate in a discussion with these authors and to hear them elucidate their reasoning for such sequencing. However, just as it is dangerous for us to cite a few isolated examples of their sequencings and question them according to our own intuitions, so the authors would have been equally at fault if they relied solely on a "feel" for the roles these structures play in everyday usage.

It is important to distinguish between what may be difficult to explain and what is difficult for the student to internalize; the two may not be the same. Nickel claims most of the interpretations of difficulties and most of the precentations of learning material are based on the teacher's and not on the learner's point of view.

It is the contention of this paper, then, that justifications for the usefulness of the language curriculum which were once accepted on faith no longer hold. In keeping with this contention, it is of paramount importance that ESL teachers achieve workable criteria for what they select to teach and how they order it.

TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS OF DIFFICULTY

It is at this point that it would behoove us to reflect upon some traditional attempts of definitions of difficulty in language learning.

(1) *Difficulty depends upon degree and type of difference between L_1 and L_2 and sequencing should be designed accordingly.*

Robert Lado, in his introduction to *English pattern practices* (1958) states, "We know that for a given native language background, the difficulty of the patterns will vary greatly. Some patterns will be quite easy while others are unbelievably difficult to master." Then Noble and Stockwell (1957: 425) found "that the 'difficulty' of a foreign word depends not so much on how it sounds as on how meaningful and familiar its translated meaning is to the learner."

Furthermore, Charles and Agnes Fries (1961: 11) seem to confirm this notion when they write:

> In building any particular set of most efficient minimum materials to teach English as a foreign language, the structure of the native language of the learner is also of prime importance. The ease or difficulty of learning any particular pattern of English rests not upon the intrinsic characteristics of the English language itself, but rather upon the structural characteristics of the native language, which the student has learned first, and now uses in his thinking.

In view of these comments, perhaps problems resulting from transfer of L_1

structures to the L_2 should be the first item in a definition of second language acquisition difficulty.

But as contrastive patterns are beginning to achieve legitimacy as a component of difficulty, one is confronted with a conflicting point of view from many others. One such opinion is from John Oller (1972: 96) who contends,

> Contrastive analysis is neither a necessary nor a sufficient basis for program design. The language teacher does not need to know how a target structure contrasts with a native structure as much as he needs to know how speakers of the target language use the structure at issue. At best contractive analysis can only predict some of the difficulties a learner will have and it does so in an unhappily vague way at that (Ota, 1971). To suggest it as the theoretical basis for language teaching is like proposing to use a list of differences between automobiles and airplanes as a means of transportation.

Lending strong empirical evidence for this contention, Dulay and Burt (1973) in their "Habit Formation vs. Creative Construction" experiment reported that only 3% of the 388 unambiguous errors (recorded in the use of 6 syntactic structure types) made by Spanish children learning English as a second language "fell into the interference category."

Nickel (1971: 320) reports on an attempt by R. P. Stockwell and J. D. Bowen in their *The sounds of English and Spanish* and in *The grammatical structures of English and Spanish*, to establish a hierarchy of difficulty according to contrastive analysis.

> The construction of their hierarchy of difficulty depends on the assumption that some correspondences are more difficult to master than others (including, as correspondences, those instances where a rule in one language finds no corresponding rule in the other, or where a category in one is unmatched by a category in the other). In the case of positive matches, we find structural correspondences as well as functional-semantic correspondences. In the hierarchicalization of phonology it was necessary to compare only categories of choice without reference to functional-semantic correspondences; here (i.e. with syntax) things become more difficult because of the presence of the semantic parameter. It is taken for granted that a construction not contained in the source language, but contained in the target language, belongs to the class of greatest difficulty. Then it is taken for granted that opinion and obligation follow each other in a sequence of difficulty. It is also taken for granted that the absence of structural correspondences makes things more difficult than the absence of functional-semantic correspondence. This has to be tested and proved yet. Moreover, the scale established is much too broad since it ignores the phenomenon of partial agreement between constructions. For instance, the German and English perfect partially agree in form and function.

At best then, contrastive analysis seems to provide less than complete answers in our search for a definition of difficulty.

(2) *Difficulty sequence should be patterned after acquisition of 1st language structure.*

Stockwell and Bowen weren't the only ones to attempt to set up a hier-

archy of difficulty. Carolyn Kessler (1971), making observations on bilingual children and language acquisition, explicates linguistic complexity for syntactic structures in terms of case relations, embeddings, and feature specifications for specific categories. Of the structures she examined, the most complex were those involving a transformation for rank shift in the hierarchy of case relations. Certain types of embeddings also produced highly complex structures. Kessler (1971: 99) writes:

> If one assumes that first and second language learning are not qualitatively different processes, the sequential order in which the child learns language structures becomes significant to the adult learner. Findings of this investigation indicate that children acquire structures in a sequential order based on linguistic complexity.

This is important counter-evidence for this paper's contention that no satisfactory ordering of structures with regards to complexity has yet been attained. However, there are three things one should keep in mind before accepting Kessler's conclusion: (1) Kessler's declaration begins with "If one assumes that first and second language learning are not qualitatively different processes . . ." This is a big assumption. (2) By her own admission (p. 94) it is significant to note that the "sequential pattern observed for the group may not necessarily hold for each individual. Prediction of a particular individual's linguistic behavior can be made only within certain limits." (3) and finally, studies by Piaget, Lenneberg, Chomsky and Fillmore do recognize an ordering of structures in the acquisition of language by the child, but this is because there is a maturation of cognitive processes that must be achieved by the child, i.e., the child must be at the appropriate developmental stage in order to acquire those structures which require more complex cognitive processes than others. Since the second language learner has developed cognitive processes, does Kessler's ordering based on children's acquisition really hold true?

As Nickel (1971: 226) writes:

> I am somewhat doubtful about the possibility of measuring difficulties mathematically as has been attempted in the recent past in the field of phonology. Until we know more about learning processes within the process of language acquisition and until we know what it means to be gifted for language learning, we will not be able to measure difficulties completely on an objective basis. While some people have no difficulty imitating even the strangest sounds, others lack the talent.

(3) *Difficulty sequencing according to a theoretical orientation.*

Ingram (1970) presents an outline for writing grammars for children. He introduces the concept of "mean transformation per utterance," (mtu) which is designed to capture formally notions of syntactic complexity. Ingram claims that an mtu score can give insights into derivational complexity previously largely intuitive.

Also Halliday (1964: 211) writes:

> There are several interesting examples of linguistic theory dictating in

> broad outline the sequence of linguistic items. Thus, teachers of English who make use of transformational grammar maintain that "kernel sentences" should always be taught before sentences regarded as involving a grammatical transformation; for example, attributive, passive, and interrogative must in this view come later than predication, active and affirmative, respectively.

But, there seems to be an inherent danger in having sequencing too theoretically bound.

As Marina Burt has pointed out to me (personal communication), when one uses transformational grammar as a model for sequencing, some very real problems could result if an investigator challenges an existing theoretical claim only to find his challenge unanswered and the rule ordering for a particular structure inadequate. Since syntactic complexity would be based upon many such untested rule orderings, sequencing would have to be reordered with each new revelation in transformational grammar.

Sydney Greenbaum, in a paper presented at the 1974 TESOL Convention, acknowledged this when he said that because grammatical theories are in a state of flux, their instability makes them unsuitable for a basic description of a grammar (as it is to be used by the teacher). Furthermore, Greenbaum notes no current theory fully explains all of the English language anyway.

(4) *Difficulty sequencing based upon the number of words in a structure.* William Slager (1973: 39) states:

> For beginning students, especially, sentences should be what Stevick has called "light" (1971:47). Lightness, as he uses the term, refers to "sheer physical characteristics," and he recommends that the writer can test for lightness by asking the question: "Does an individual line weigh heavily on the student's tongue, either because of its sheer length of the number of difficult words?" Too many words or structures can also, of course, contribute to the heaviness of a lesson.

However, Kyle Perkins and Carlos Yorio in their paper presented at the 1974 TESOL Convention entitled "Grammatical complexity and the teaching of reading an ESL program" showed in an analysis of a test they administered to non-native speakers of English, "there was no correlation between students' errors and the length of sentences or words. Whatever errors were made, did not appear to be related to word or sentence length."

There have been other attempts at defining difficulty, but for each, it appears there is some subjective criterion established, and it alone is not sufficient to objectively measure complexity. Furthermore, even if we were to establish an objective scale of syntactic difficulty, it would be questionable as to how such an ordering would be used.

> One possible approach consists in providing adult learning material in which difficulties are concentrated at the beginning, on the assumption that there are some learners who prefer to take hurdles at the very beginning before going on to easier stages. The underlying principle is very often also a contrastive one, though in a paradoxical way. Instead of

> following the path of similarity with the native language and thus making the learner believe that the similarity covers the whole area of certain functions, one prefers to begin with differences in order to avoid mistakes via over-generalization. (Nickel 1971:219).

Thus there would have to be additional study and evidence on how to best use this hypothetical scale. Finally, would this scale really be beneficial after all? A revealing study was done by Phillip Hauptmann (1971):

> Two approaches to foreign language instruction were compared in the experiment in which American children learned Japanese. In the "structural approach," materials were sequenced in order of increased difficulty of grammatical and lexical forms. In the "situational approach," the same materials were presented in the form of meaningful dialogues: sequencing did not depend upon the relative difficulty of grammatical and lexical items. The principle findings of the experiment were: (1) that the situational approach produced results equal to or better than those of the structural approach; (2) that the situational approach produced significantly better results among students of high language aptitude and intelligence; and (3) that there was no significant difference between approaches among students of lower aptitude and intelligence. A major implication of this study for foreign language teaching is that in elementary courses for children it is unnecessary to sequence content materials according to linguistic difficulty of grammatical and lexical forms. In classes where there are heterogeneous or of generally high average intelligence and language aptitude, sequencing by situations is more beneficial than in sequencing according to relative linguistic difficulty.

FREQUENCY AND UTILITY AS CRITERIA

The results of investigations such as this, coupled with the seemingly insurmountable task of defining difficulty satisfactorily (for the time being at least) has led to the thesis of this paper that textbook authors should abandon the simple to complex continuum as a design for lesson sequencing.

There might very well be an order of complexity established in learning a second language, but traditional definitions seem to be inadequate. More research is needed to better understand the learning strategies the ESL student utilizes in the language acquisition process.

Since this seems beyond our means at the present, a plan is made in this paper to look to external conditions which exist in the environment of the learner for criteria for sequencing. Proposed criteria might be the *frequency* of structural occurrence and the *utility* of certain structures to the student.

The former has a particular value, in that frequency of occurrence is some measure of the usefulness of a structure and furthermore, it is quantifiable and thus not left to the intuition of the individual author or teacher. In general, items that are in frequent use need to be taught before those that are more rare, whether we are talking about formal items or grammatical categories (verb forms like "he came" before verb forms like "he might not have been coming").

Higa (1965: 172) lends support to the proposal of familiarity when he

reports (remembering he is dealing with vocabulary words, not syntactic structures) that

> a number of experimental studies have shown that familiarity is a significant variable in recognition, learning and recall. The familiarity value of a word is measured by the frequency of its usage which is found in word counts such as *The teacher's word book of 30,000 words* by Thorndike and Lorge.

If vocabulary lessons have been based on frequency of occurrence, why shouldn't syntactic structure lessons as well? The frequency of a structure is some kind of measure of its usefulness in communication.

Perhaps this notion of "frequency" should be somewhat modified to that of "la disponibilite" as expounded by Gougenheim, Rivenc, Michea and Sauvageot (1956: 135–136). They suggest that mere numerical frequency is not sufficient as there are some words (and syntactic structures?—Larsen) which don't appear often in written or spoken form but nevertheless do serve a very vital function when used. Their example is the word "fork" which they claim has a low frequency count and yet is a very functional word in that it's the name for an instrument we use all the time and one that the speaker might have some difficulty in attempting to circumlocute.

By utility, the second recommended criteria, is meant the usefulness of a particular structure to the students as viewed by its presence in relevant situations of the students' lives and in fulfilling their need to communicate. For example, language suitable to the classroom might be covered before language appropriate to the parade ground. Encouragement in using the language is fostered by meeting students' communicative needs.

As John Oller (1972: 98) notes:

> It is not enough for the language student to learn to produce grammatical sentences. He must also learn when it is appropriate to produce them. He must acquire not only the capacity to discriminate well-formed verbal sequences from poorly formed ones, but where he can also learn to produce well-formed sequences on appropriate occasions.

Then, too, as Oller and Dean Obrecht (1968: 173) write:

> All the data tend to confirm the hypothesis that relating the language of patterns drills to communicative activity significantly enhances learning in terms of accepted goals.

Also:

> Even in the very first stage of foreign language learning on awareness of "expressive use" improves "manipulation skill" by rather convincing percentages.

And finally:

> In the area of foreign language program construction it would seem desirable to reconsider the relative emphasis placed on meaningfulness and structural grading. It would appear that the teaching of language structures cannot be practically separated from communicative activity. Pat-

> tern drills should be planned in such a way that the student is deliberately made aware of their communicative import.

Gerhard Nickel (1971: 224) offers some rather indirect evidence for the importance of communicability, when he observes:

> We all know that the progress made in learning a language is relatively rapid in the beginning stage and then slows down at the advanced level. Since it is not so much the communicative aspect that is dealt with at an advanced level, but rather the expressive and artistic functions of the language, motivation seems to dwindle too.

It may be concluded that the drive for communication is of primary importance to the language student and it must be felt by the student that he/she is making strides towards achieving it.

M. A. K. Halliday's suggestion mentioned earlier that teachers need to teach their students before they know what their needs are is impractical, but the intention is clear. Since "getting into the head" of each student to assess his own linguistic difficulties and needs, is impossible, a case is being made to encourage teachers to analyze the communication environment their ESL students are likely to encounter and anticipate their needs in this fashion.

Charles Fries (1961: 12) indicates where an analysis of the communication environment affects the curriculum ordering:

> It must not be assumed that difficulties assessed as great because of fundamental differences of language structure are, therefore, as has been frequently urged, postponed until the "easier" matters have been learned. The principle in establishing the sequence of the essential structural patterns to be mastered, is not the simple correlation of "the easier, the earlier"; "the more difficult the later." Nor is it the exact opposite of this simple correlation. If, however, the evidence of the analysis and the comparison has revealed that a particular structure pattern is both extremely important as a signalling device of English and extremely difficult because it is in opposition to basic practice in the native language of the student, then, in accordance with the principles of this corpus, it must be introduced early and constantly developed throughout the material.

CONCLUSION

Of course, this incomplete analysis is not sufficient to support the proposals of this paper. This paper represents only a beginning. Research must be extended along the lines of a thorough quantitative study of the situations and structures a student of English is likely to encounter and the order in which they can be most efficaciously presented. From there, the materials must be put into use and then a follow-up study would have to be made to determine the validity of the suggestions made here.

In the meantime, it is a relatively easy task for any teacher to survey the texts his or her students will use, consider the environmental contexts that would be most useful to the students, (bearing in mind the style and register appropriate for the student) and design the curriculum accordingly.

An additional recommendation for using materials presently available would be to avoid adhering to the textbook sequencing in a strict fashion but to rather feel free to select structures from different portions of the book when felt necessary for a particular context. One note of caution, however—many books are arranged in such a fashion as to have later lessons dependent upon earlier ones. Care should be taken so that in postponing earlier structures to later on and vice versa, confusion does not result.

It has been obvious that the thrust of this paper has been an appeal to make ESL courses more student-oriented and less teacher or theory centered. Not learning about the English language, but learning to use the English language in real communication is the fundamental aim. "Structures cannot be mastered for use through any amount of mere mechanical manipulation of empty sentences that have, for the learning pupil, no real context or social meaning. The structures to be mastered must always be signals of some real meaning of which the pupil must be vividly conscious." (Fries 1961: 251).

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Semantic Fields and Collocational Sets in Vocabulary Instruction

Don L. F. Nilsen
Arizona State University, Tempe

In an important monograph some years ago, Kenneth Pike indicated that language could be viewed as particles, as waves, or as fields. Viewed as particles, language is seen as a series of separate and distinct segments. Viewed as waves, these segments are not separate and distinct, but rather influence, and are influenced by other segments close by. Viewed as field, each segment is taken out of its linguistic and social context, and is contrasted with other segments which are in some way similar. This last way of looking at language in terms of how words contrast with each other in various matrices, is often called "paradigmatic," and is different from syntagmatic analysis in that contrast is the determinant rather than context.

Most of the work that has been done so far in linquistics (and this is reflected in the types of EFL materials that have been prepared) is syntagmatic, which views language as being composed of particles or waves. So far, except for treatments of inflectional morphology, there has been very little research in language-as-field. As cognitive methods of EFL instruction become increasingly important, especially for intermediate and advanced students, we must develop better techniques of dealing with the semantic aspects of words as words, in order that we will know more about how words interrelate when they are placed into context. What I would like to do, therefore, is to discuss one of these areas in need of research, the covert semantic paradigm, and in doing this, I hope to provide some insight on the structure of semantic fields and collocational sets.

There is one program of language instruction which is noted for its almost-exclusive concentration on collocational sets; it is the Berlitz method, which is a situationally oriented approach to language instruction. The Berlitz *Latin-American Spanish for Travelers*, for example, lists thirty-seven situationally controlled areas, such as the money exchange, the restaurant, the airport, etc. Of course the Berlitz lists are meant to be representative rather than complete. The semantic areas are some of the most important for travelers, but as a person becomes more and more a part of a particular language-culture system, he sees how extremely many semantic areas there are, and he also sees that content words that belong to one collocational set very often belong to many other collocational sets as well—they are far from mutually exclusive.

There is very little chance that any one of their sets could be made

complete. In fact, there are specialized lexicons, glossaries, and dictionaries for doctors, mechanics, dentists, economists, cooks, etc., listing only the terms that are too specialized for normal every day use. Even considering just the lay terms, these collocational sets are extremely large. In the area of camping, for example, the following would be a bare minimum:

ax
bottle-opener
Butane gas
camp bed
can opener
first-aid kit
fishing tackle
groundsheet
haversack
kerosene
lamp
lantern
matches
mosquito net
penknife
primus
rope
saucepan
sheath knife
sleeping bag
stove
(folding) table
tent
tent-pegs
tent-pole
flash light
water canteen

And in addition to these items, there are eating utensils, like *cups*, *plates*, *saucers*, *forks*, *knives*, *spoons*, etc., and of course anyone who has done much camping could extend this list greatly both with general terms and with special terms for special kinds of camping.

But now let us consider a different way of grouping lexical items. The words *rope*, *cord*, *lariat*, and *lasso* all refer to basically the same object. However, only the first two (*rope* and *cord*) are in the collocational set of camping; the other two (*lasso* and *lariat*) are in a different collocational set—ranching or rodeoing. But clearly, there should be some way of tying these four words together (if you'll excuse the pun). We do so by saying that they all belong to the same semantic field—they have basically the same denotation, though they are used in different situations.

In order to contrast collocational sets (which are situationally oriented), and semantic fields (which are denotatively oriented), let us consider the semantic field of destruction. This is a fairly broad semantic field, and would consist of smaller semantic fields, like human destruction, like *kill, murder, do away with, assassinate, slay, martyr, liquidate, waste;* animate destruction, like *die, dead;* animate destruction that incorporates the Instrument, like *gas, gun down, stone, shoot, knife, electrocute, suffocate, starve;* animate destruction that incorporates the Object, like *behead, decapitate, impail, slit throat, slash wrists, strangle;* animate destruction used for large groups of animals or people, like *exterminate, slaughter, butcher, annihilate, decimate,* and *massacre.* In addition, there are euphemistic terms for human destruction, like *pass on, depart, expire,* and *precede us to our Father in Heaven;* and dead people are not dead, but are rather *departed, deceased, late,* etc. In addition to animate destruction there is also causal inanimate destruction, as the following list illustrates:

abolish
blow up
bomb
break up
burn up/down
crush
demolish
destroy
dismantle
devastate
dissolve
dynamite
eliminate
eradicate
erase
expunge
melt
mutilate
nullify
obliterate
raze
ravage
ruin
shatter
strafe
smash
tear up/down
undo
wreck
. . . .

All of these words belong to the same semantic field, destruction, and they can therefore all be roughly defined in the same way—the change from a complete, workable state to a non-existent, or incomplete, or non-working state. But words which have the same basic meaning (i.e. are in the same semantic field) are not necessarily usable in the same situation (i.e. they don't necessarily belong to the same collocational sets). Although they mean approximately the same thing, words like *martyr, electrocute,* and *waste* are not likely to be found in the same conversation. Probably the best way of explaining the difference between collocational sets and semantic fields is that the former are found in situationally oriented language materials (like Berlitz), while the latter are found in thesauruses.

Let us now consider how words relate to each other within collocational sets and semantic fields. Let us begin by seeing how words contrast with

each other in the animal kingdom. In your mind's eye picture a matrix with the rows identified by animal names like *bear, cat, chicken, cow,* etc., and with columns identified by semantic features like *generic, male, female, young, small, group, home, sound, meat, coat,* and *feet,* etc. In such a matrix the word *ewe* is contrasted with all of the columns by the fact that it is *female* (not *generic, male, young,* etc.); and it is contrasted with all of the rows by the fact that it is a *sheep* (not a *bear, cat, chicken, cow,* etc.). We can describe this word, therefore, merely by indicating the column and the row in which it appears—a *ewe* is a female sheep. In the same way, a *pony* is a small horse; *oink* is the sound of a pig; *venison* is the meat of a deer; and so on. At times, however, there is a partial rather than a complete contrast. A *paw* could belong to a bear, cat, dog, fox, lion, rabbit, tiger, or wolf; a *claw* could belong to a chicken, dove, peacock, or turkey; a *hoof* could belong to a cow, deer, goat, horse, pig, or sheep; and a *foot* could belong to a goose, duck, or man. But although the terms *paw, claw, hoof,* and *foot* are only partially contrastive, they relate to other words according to animal type. Animals which have *paws* also have *fur* or *hair,* and they *growl,* and often live in *dens;* furthermore they belong to certain classes, like canines and felines. Animals which have *claws* also have *feathers,* and they *cackle* or *cheep,* travel in *flocks,* live in *nests,* and belong to the aviary class. Animals which have *hooves* travel in *herds* and are often kept in a *corral.* It is unusual that the term *foot* is used for *geese* and *ducks* on the one hand, and for *men* on the other. It's a mere quirk of our language that we say *webbed feet* rather than **webbed claws,* which seems more logical to me.

Or consider the relationship between masculine terms, feminine terms, and general terms. Sometimes it is the masculine term which is used for general reference, as with *peacock* or *man*; at other times it is the female term that is used for general reference, as with *cow*; and sometimes there is a lack of distinction. There are no special male and female terms for *bear, dove,* or *fish.* And there is only the male term with no female counterpart for *drake, gander, tomcat,* and possibly *peacock.* And finally, there is only the female term with no male counterpart for *bitch, vixen, lioness, tigress,* and *shewolf,* since the terms *dog, fox, goose, lion, tiger,* and *wolf* are used for general reference rather than specific male reference.

We can tell just as much about the language system by the cells that are empty as by those that are filled. Although we have such words as *cub, kitten, chick, calf, fawn, puppy, kid, gosling, foal, colt, piglet, lamb* and *duckling* to refer to various animals when they are very young, there are no special terms for a baby *dove, fish, peacock, rabbit,* or *turkey,* except just that, *baby dove,* etc. And although a small horse is called a pony (as in the expression *Shetland Pony*) there is no word for a small cow or small turkeys that does not contain the redundancy feature of *youth.*

All of these animals have homes, whether natural (*nest* or *den*), or man-made (*coop, corral, barn, kennel, aquarium, pen, stable,* or *hutch*). But we

now have to be careful when we use the term *doghouse*, since this is more likely to be a house for errant husbands than one for dogs; I suppose this same definition could be used for *cathouse*.

As to sounds, some are specific, like *meow*, *moo*, *coo*, *neigh*, *oink*, *gobble*, and *quack*, while others are general, like *growl*, and *roar*. We don't have special sounds for some of the quieter animals like *deer*, *fish*, and *rabbits*. For some of the animals we eat, we have special names, like *beef*, *veal*, *venison*, *pork*, *ham*, *sausage*, *bacon*, and *mutton*; for other animals, we just use the general term for the food as well, like *chicken*, *fish*, *goose*, *rabbit*, *turkey*, and *duck*. If we don't usually eat a particular animal, but other people do, we attach the suffix *-meat* to the general animal term, giving us *dog meat* and *horse meat*; and there is one product which would probably not be eaten by Americans at all if it were an accurate description—*hotdog*.

In a language, the sematic domain of a word extends or contracts as a result of other words in the matrix with which it contrasts. But even so, many sematic gaps remain. Very few of our matrix systems in language are perfect, since they are a function of history, not logic. Let us look at a few more systems, paying particular attention to the lexical gaps that they contain. Contrast, for example, the terminology applied to arms with that applied to legs. Arms have *fingers*, *hands*, *knuckles*, *palms*, *wrists*, *elbows*, *forearms*, and *upper arms*, while legs have *toes*, *feet*, *soles*, *ankles*, *knees*, *heels*, *shins*, *calfs*, and *thighs* respectively. To a large extent this terminology matches, but we have no terms to distinguish the front part of our forearm (leg's *shin*) from the back part (leg's *calf*). And we have no term for the *knuckles* of our toes. And since a person's *heel* is associated with his foot, it is only through metaphorical extension that we can refer to the *heel of our hand*.

Or consider the five senses of perception. When we refer to these in the abstract they are termed *hearing*, *vision*, *touch*, *taste*, and *odor* (or *smell*). But when we perform an action, the words we use are *listen*, *watch*, *touch*, *lick*, and *sniff*. And if this action results in our perceiving something, we have still other terms, *hear*, *see*, *feel*, *taste*, and *smell*. And finally, if we want to describe something by indicating what it gives off, we still have other terms, *sound*, *look*, *feel*, *taste*, and *smell*. Again we have words which contrast maximally, like *vision*, *watch*, *see*, and *look*, and other words which contrast minimally, like *smell* (odor), *smell* (sniff), *smell* (perceive odor), and *smell* (give off odor), so if we see or hear the word *smell*, unless there is the right kind of context, all we know is which of the five senses it represents, nothing more.

In our kinship system, sex is usually distinguished, but not so for *cousins* (including *first cousins*, *second cousins once removed*, *distant cousins*, or even *kissing cousins*). In fact, we normally distinguish between male and female, but in addition have a general term for most relationships, thus we have *brother*, *sister*, and *sibling*; *son*, *daughter*, and *child* or *offspring*; *father*, *mother*, and *parent*. But we don't have a general term for *uncle* and

aunt, nor for *nephew* and *niece*. Our kinship system indicates generation in both directions (ancestors and descendants), and there is also a vertical dimension indicated whereby *uncle* and *aunt*, for example are one step further away on the verticle scale than are *father* and *mother*, though they are of the same generation. However, we have no way of indicating the *side* of the family. We use the same word, *aunt*, for *father's sister*, and for *mother's sister*. In addition to the blood relationships we have been considering, there are also half-blood relationships, like *half-sister;* marriage relationships like *sister-in-law*, adoption relationships like *stepdaughter*, and other relationships like *god-father*, *fairy god mother*, and *foster children*.

Or consider the system of English color terminology, where we have special words for colors depending on whether they are pure or blended, and whether they are dark or light. Equivalent to the dark colors *black*, *purple*, *blue*, *brown*, *orange*, and *red*, we have the light colors *grey*, *lavender*, *baby blue*, *tan* or *beige*, *peach*, and *salmon pink* respectively. We don't have light green or light yellow, but we do have a word for the blend of light green and light yellow together—*chartreuse*. Our other blends are mainly dark colors: *plum* is a blend of *purple* and *blue; lime* is *green* and *yellow*, *olive brown* is *green* and *brown; fuschia* is *orange* and *red; magenta* is *red* and *purple*. We have two words for *blue* and *green*—*aqua* which is more blue, and *turquoise* which is more green.

Now let us turn to geometry for a moment. In geometry there are different names for things depending on whether they are one dimensional, two dimensional, or three dimensional. A one-dimensional figure is always a *point*. Equivalent to the two-dimensional figure of *line* we have the three dimensional *plane;* for *circle* we have *sphere* or *ball;* for *square* we have *cube;* for *rectangle* we have *block;* for *triangle* we have either *pyramid* (with a square base), or *cone* (with a circular base). Since we don't have a regular term for a three-dimensional elipse, we must use some other means for referring to such objects; normally we say *egg-shaped*, or *football-shaped*. We also have terms representing the concept when it is repeated. When a *point* is repeated we call the pattern *polka dotted;* when a *line* is repeated we call it *striped;* when a *square* is repeated we call it *checkered;* and when a rectangle is repeated we call it *plaid*.

As a last example of a matrix system, let us consider a matrix of religious terminology whose first column is filled with names of religions like *Christian*, *Muslim*, *Buddhist*, *Jewish*, and *Hindu*. If the second column consisted of places of worship, it would be filled by such lexical items as *church* or *chapel*, *mosque*, *temple*, *synagogue*, and *shrine* respectively. The third column could show holy books in which case we would have *Bible*, *Quran*, *Bhagavad-gita*, *Old Testament*, and *Ramayana;* and still other columns in the matrix would indicate the principle prophet, the names of geographical divisions and subdivisions, the titles of the leaders, etc. In such a matrix, the word *synagogue*, for example, would fill one cell in the matrix, labeled

Jewish place of worship, and would thereby contrast with every other word in the entire matrix.

In addition to the matrix systems we have just been considering, there are other ways that lexical items are contrasted with each other. One of these is the part-whole relationship. Such lexical items as *basin, bath tub, shower, toilet, medicine, bar of soap, towel, scales, bath mat, towel rack, shower curtain,* and *medicine cabinet* are all part of a bathroom. And such lexical items as *bathroom, dining room, kitchen, bedroom, closet, living room,* and *hall* are all part of a *house.*

Still another system for contrasting lexical items is the cycle. In your minds think of the circulatory, the digestive, the respiratory, the speech, and the oxygen cycles. Not only does a lexical item contrast with other lexical items by where it fits in its particular system, but ofter a single word is part of two or more systems. The respiratory system and the digestive system are linked to each other by the *mouth.* Therefore when reference is made to the *mouth,* we mean the *mouth* as part of the respiratory system, the *mouth* as part of the digestive system, the *mouth* as part of the speech-production system, or the *mouth* as part of the courting system (for kissing). Likewise, the *lungs* are part of the respiratory system, or part of the circulatory system. And the *heart* is part of the circulatory system (in literal usage), but part of the affection system (in figurative usage). On the other hand, the *Eustacian Tubes* must be part of the respiratory system, both literally and figuratively.

Words are also contrasted with other words along various quality dimensions. In the work that I've been doing, I've found that there are ranges of words according to each of the following semantic features: formality, size, negativeness, strength, heaviness, importance, time, space, utility, speed, hardness, expense, value, and durability. Every word in a language has the specific meaning it has because of the other words it contrasts with in that language. The finer distinctions that a person makes, the more contrastive and meaningful his words are. The person grading a composition who uses only the words *Excellent,* and *Good,* and no more, is using a two-value grading system. In that case, *good* is only better than the rest of the writing and therefore could mean *bad,* and *excellent* is probably only *good.* But the person who uses such terms as *tremendous, superior, excellent, good, average, fair, bad, awful, terrible,* and *horrible* is using a many-valued system, and for him, *good* is above *average,* and *excellent* is not quite *superior* or *tremendous.* Sometimes the system can be reversed, either by intonation or context, as when the reaction to an unexpected and far-fetched pun might be, "That's horrible." Sometimes this would mean that the pun was good; other times that it was really horrible. Only a knowledge of the speaker-hearer relationship, a knowledge of the relationship between language and the world, and a knowledge of this particular pun can determine the meaning of *horrible* as an evaluation. Another important point that should be made here is that words generally belong not to a single system, but to

many different systems of contrast. In contrasting *gold* with other metals, for example, it is quite high in expense, quite low in hardness, high in brillance, average in electrical conductibility, etc. The nature of the discourse will determine the particular feature of *gold* that is most significant.

In conclusion, I hope I have indicated a few of the ways that covert lexical paradigms can be used to provide structure for materials categorized on the basis of collocational sets and/or sematic fields. I've tried to limit my remarks to English as much as possible; however, lexical paradigms would also seem to have important values in contrastive semantic analysis. At any rate, I feel that both in linguistic theory, and in the development of EFL materials based on that theory, we are now entering the renaissance, and the future looks very promising.

Toward A Hierarchical Sequencing of Writing Situations

Nancy Arapoff-Cramer
University of Hawaii

Out of the chaos of the past few years we can begin to see emerging a new theory of language teaching. A theory based on meaningful as opposed to rote learning, and stressing the importance of semantics over syntax and situational context over mechanistic pattern practice. It is an exciting phenomenon to observe, for it seems to mesh with what we have always known intuitively about language learning, though we have not been prepared to put it into practice.

But now we *are* prepared—if tentatively—to do so, for we do have a number of hypotheses to work with. The fact that many of these are concerned with mental processes and are thus difficult if not impossible to validate empirically should not discourage us. If we can develop materials and methods based on the emerging principles of the linguistic revolution, and if these materials and methods can be shown to bring about more efficient language learning than the older behavioristic ones, then we have proof of their validity.

To this end I am proposing a curriculum for teaching writing based in part on a cognitive model of language learning suggested by H. Douglas Brown in a recent *MLJ* article.[1] Brown's model follows from the theory of "subsumption" in human learning as set forth by the educational psychologist David Ausubel. According to Ausubel, *meaningful* learning is a process of conceptualizing: of relating items which enter the cognitive field to already acquired material. He calls this process "subsumption" because the new items are incorporated into an established more inclusive conceptual framework. This process is quite different from what takes place in a *rote* learning situation, where material is mechanistically acquired and stored in an arbitrary and verbatim fashion so that there is little chance of establishing a meaningful relationship with it and other materials already in the cognitive realm.

Brown, who views long-term retention as "the crucial determiner of whether or not something is indeed learned" sees this subsumption process as particularly significant because of its influence on long-term memory. Unlike rotely-learned materials, which, because of the build-up of interference, cannot be efficiently retained over a long period of time, meaningfully learned, subsumed, materials *can* be retained as part of a meaningful set,

[1] "Cognitive Pruning & Second Language Acquisition," *Modern Language Journal*, 56 (April, 1972), pp. 218–222.

with interference having relatively little influence, for an extended time period.

Applying subsumption theory specifically to second language acquisition, Brown suggests that language curricula be organized hierarchically to reflect the hierarchical nature of cognitive organization, and that a behavioristic approach to language teaching be eschewed, not only because language acquisition is (or ought to be) a meaningful process ill-served by mindless repetition and imitation, but also because the retention of rotely-learned materials is much shorter than the retention of meaningfully-learned, subsumed materials.

If it makes sense for us to base language learning materials and programs on subsumption theory—and I think that it does—then our main task must be to devise a language curriculum which is hierarchically organized to match the cognitive organization. And although we are yet far from a definitive description of a (perhaps universal) cognitive hierarchy, we can still build a curriculum, sometimes using intuition and experience in lieu of other data, to tell us what is less difficult to comprehend and what is more so, and setting up learning situations accordingly. Interestingly enough, writing, of all the areas of language use, lends itself most readily to the implementation of such a curriculum. It is interesting because this "skill" has traditionally been the most difficult to teach using a behavioristic approach. The problem has been that the production of a coherent paragraph or composition clearly entails active thought, which mechanistic methods discourage. That is, writing, much more obviously than any other area of language use, absolutely necessitates conscious *thinking*, which is why behavioristic materials have failed to bring about its learning, and why cognitive materials have the potential of doing so most efficiently.

To begin, then, by setting up a curriculum for teaching writing rather than some other area of language use is to begin with the area where hierarchical sequencing can most easily be implemented, for the cognitive process which underlies writing is much more apparent than that which underlies other forms of language use. This is true because writing occurs in a contemplative and highly individualized situation. The writer, unlike the speaker, has plenty of time to think about what he wants to say and does not have another person there asking him questions or otherwise influencing the content of his production. What he finally comes up with is a product of his own careful thought processes.

Let's look at a specific example of a real-life writing situation. A student taking a sociology course is asked to write a paper about some topic discussed in class which interests him. He decides to write about the hippies. First he goes to the library and collects data from several sources, ending up with a long list of facts and opinions about hippies. Next he analyzes what he has and decides that his data fall into several categories which through further analysis he finds he can subsume under more inclusive headings, and some of which he decides are not important or relevant to his paper. What

he has is a sort of outline composed mainly of words and phrases. Now comes a very important step—he must decide what he can say about what he has; what his thesis will be. This must be a statement which puts all of his data into a certain perspective. If he says something vague like "Hippies have certain characteristics" he might just as well turn in his outline. He must say something more specific and more interpretive than that. After more thought and study of his notes, he decides that he can say "Hippies have a symbiotic relationship with the society they seek to reject." This thesis is a new conceptualization for the student, created via the analysis of data and the use of concepts from his already established mental structure.

And it is not until he has this conceptualization—that is, a kind of deep structure representation, that the student can finally begin to write his paper—to transform deep structure into surface structure, thinking about various ways of combining ideas within each sentence, about transitional words or phrases to use to relate sentences and groups of sentences to one another, about parallelism and paragraphing and punctuation, about quoting and paraphrasing and documenting. How well he does this greatly depends on how well has has conceptualized what he has to say.

Now admittedly, depending on the person and the nature of the writing he is doing, this process will differ to some extent. But not much, especially with writing done as school work (which is most often the kind of writing we are interested in teaching). The data-processing that takes place in writing in its earlier stages, when the writer is selecting and organizing his data and looking for something to say, quite closely parallels the process of meaningful learning described by Ausubel, which, as you recall, entails relating items entering the cognitive field to ones already acquired, and through their subsumption creating an addition to the overall conceptual framework. Each time a writer, through the careful analysis of data, makes connections in his mind between what he already knows and what is new to him, he adds a new "building block" to his cognitive structure.

Assuming, as most linguists nowadays do, that despite individual and cultural differences there is a universal cognitive structure, the question is, what does this structure consist of? What are the cognitive building blocks that make it up and in what order ought they to be presented so that learning can most efficiently be brought about? In order to answer these questions, we have to rely to some extent on intuition, though important clues can be found in looking at the way concepts are presented in books, from beginning readers for six-year-olds through collections of essays by world-renowned writers. The most obvious hierarchical features of course are short/long and concrete/abstract. Any cognitive sequencing of teaching materials would have to begin with short, discrete, concrete items and proceed towards longer, less discrete, and more abstract ones. But a more important and less obvious hierarchical feature has to do with the type of analysis required—i.e., how the items relate to one another; how they can be organized in the mind.

It appears that the most basic type of analysis—the one most easy to accomplish—is sequential analysis. This is the type of analysis in which relatively concrete items are arranged in a fixed chronological order by steps. When a child writes a narrative account of a TV program he saw, he has his ideas ordered sequentially. Or when one person gives another person directions on how to get from A to B he has used sequential analysis in order to do so. The directions on a recipe are sequentially ordered, as are other how-to-do-it topics. This type of analysis is easiest because it is the closest to one's everyday experiencing of things—and in fact the person doing the analyzing is probably not even aware that he is arranging his data chronologically; it seems to be almost an automatic process.

Following from sequential analysis is structural analysis, in which the parts of a structure, be it an object or an organization or a family tree, are described. This type of analysis is more difficult in that the ordering of the idems is not always fixed, and because in some cases the items being analyzed are more abstract than those in the first type of analysis. Also, in many cases sequential analysis accompanies structural analysis, as in a description, say, of the parts of a newspaper, where not only must the parts be named but also the order in which they appear.

Perhaps the most important type of analysis to work with is classification, so pervasive is it in the formation of cognitive structures. In fact, a very simple form of classification must take place in order for one to do a sequential or a structural analysis—in order to differentiate one item from another. However, classification can be, and usually is, much more complex than the first two types of analysis. It involves not only the differentiation of items (which may be quite similar) by identification of the various features that contrast them, but also the association of widely disparate items by means of analogy and other comparative techniques. Any form or data processing must include this analytical process, and a great deal of what appears in print is organized according to classificatory principles.

Finally, the most difficult type of analysis, and one which relies heavily on the previous form, is evaluation. Unlike the other types of analysis, this one focusses almost exclusively on language itself—that is, on surface structures—and requires identifying arguments, perceiving their underlying assumptions, criticizing their logic, and arriving at conclusions or opinions which are logically sound. As such it is the most difficult type of analysis to do, but results in the most creative thought constructs. I can think of no "higher" form of thinking than what is entailed in evaluation.

Now, given this brief sketch of the types of analysis and their relative difficulty, what would a language curriculum which reflects this hierarchy look like? I envision a set of tasks, or problems, which begin with short, concrete bits of data requiring sequential analysis and proceed towards longer, more abstract chunks of data requiring evaluation. Depending on the language experience and age of the learner, the problems would of course differ in number and content. For the beginner the increase in

difficulty from problem to problem would be more gradual, keeping apace with the learner's progressive acquisition of the surface structure of the language. And for the young learner the problems would contain pictures and symbols relevant to his child's world. But in any case the hierarchy would be the same. Since I work with relatively mature, advanced learners, the curriculum I am currently developing applies to them most specifically, but applies in a general way to all second language learners interested in acquiring writing skill. To give you an idea of what this curriculum is like, I am closing with some short descriptions of selected problems from my text,[2] which show how it progresses from "easy" writing situations (as I perceive them to be) to "difficult" ones. How well these materials work yet remains to be seen. But, representative as they are of an attempt to put theory into practice, their success or failure will, at the very least, give us more practical information to go on. And that is something greatly needed these days.

SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS

Problem One. Given a simplified subway plan for a city, the problem is first to figure out a way to hit all the stops without visiting any one of them twice, and then to write up the directions for following this plan, using a model.

Problem Six. The problem here is to describe how to operate a simple device, such as a soft drink machine, according to certain guidelines, after studying some other faulty descriptions.

Problem Nine. Given a cartoon which consists of fifteen pictures the problem is first to list the fifteen events, or happenings, using phrases to describe them, and then to divide them into groups or stages (each happening being a sub-stage), and then to use more general phrases to describe the stages, and finally to write a summary, based on the phraseology used for each stage, which mentions only the more important happenings. (This is the first exercise in which *choice* is involved—in previous exercises *all* of the steps had to be described for coherence to be maintained; here coherence is dependent on the choice of what is important and what isn't in a sequence.)

Problem Eleven. This involves making an outline, including stages, substages, and sub-substages, of a sequence of events (such as a wedding in the family, an embarrassing episode, etc.) according to certain guidelines, and then summarizing what is on the outline.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Problem One. A drawing of an insect with parts labelled followed by a tree diagram on which the names of the parts must be entered in the appropriate place, and then a description written, according to guidelines. Thesis sentence is introduced here.

Problem Four. Given three short lists of topics, the task is to choose one from each list and to do a structural analysis for each. Topics in the first list are structures like that in Problem One (a flower, human teeth, etc.); those in

[2] Cramer, Nancy, *Writing Though Problem Solving* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., due for publication in 1975).

the second one like those in Two (a business letter, a play, etc.); those in the third like those in Three (a football team, a hospital staff, etc). Then write a short description of the results of each analysis.

Problem Six. This demonstrates how certain structures can be analyzed in different ways; e.g., given a map of the U.S. you can analyze it by states, or by topography, or by population areas, etc. The job is to choose a topic (a house, the school cafeteria, etc.) and to do two analyses of it, with different main parts on each (some of the sub-parts can be the same), and then to write a paragraph describing the differences between the two analyses, in which the thesis states that this is what you are doing.

CLASSIFICATION

Problem One. Three long lists. The problem is to draw a line from a word in the first list to its opposite in the second to the contrastive feature (the word or phrase which best describes the basis for contrast between the two items) in the third. Supplementary here are two exercises, the first consisting of a list of contrastive features—achievement, importance, etc.—for which opposite pairs—pass/fail, crucial/non-crucial, etc.—must be supplied; the second consisting of a list of opposite pairs for which contrastive features must be supplied.

Problem Three. The inductive and the deductive approach are introduced here, with a description of each approach to analysis. The job is to choose two subjects and to use an inductive approach in analyzing one and a deductive approach with the other, ending up with two binary charts showing the results of each analysis.

Problem Seven. When dealing with a great deal of data, there is a necessity to "de-select" certain items in order to emphasize others. A data sheet containing several types of information about each of the thirty-seven U.S. presidents is presented and the job is to analyze it, tree-diagramming the results, with the main features on the tree reflecting the particular interest of the analyst, and with certain data de-selected. Then describe the process gone through in the analysis. Finally, write a summary of the analysis in which the thesis states what the main features are.

Problem Ten. This problem is concerned with comparison by analogy. The first step is to analyze the analogy, telling what is being compared with what (as in "Hard work is the key to success"), and what the common features are, and whether or not it is a direct or indirect analogy. The next step is to analyze proverbs such as "Birds of a feather flock together," telling what lesson they get across analogically. The next step is to write a sentence which makes an analogy between pairs of items like weaving/conversation, etc. The final step is to make an analogy between a given word like "society" and whatever occurs.

Problem Thirteen. This is the first problem in the book which deals with sentences as data rather than words or phrases. Given a list of sentences, some of which are from an essay (but in scrambled order), the job is to place them in their appropriate place on a partially completed outline, composing your own thesis and topic sentences. Exercises on parallelism, thesis-framing, and key concept recognition are included, and then the job is to write a short essay from the outline, but using your own words as much as possible.

Problem Nineteen. This is a problem in organizing comparative data. Given two lists of data (in sentence or paragraph form) about two different groups of people, find the points of comparison between them. Then fit the data

on *two* outlines—one of which demonstrates a point-by-point type of organization, and the other a whole-by-whole one. Then choose one outline and write a short essay from it.

Problem Twenty-three. This is the last problem in the classification section, and involves selecting a comparative/contrastive subject from a list, going to the library, gathering data, making two or three outlines, and writing an essay from one of them in which two or more items are both compared and contrasted.

EVALUATION

Problem One. Presents a two-way scale for rating group interaction according to certain criteria and the job is to figure out what the interaction patterns of people who received certain ratings on the scale would be like. Then a script of an imaginary group meeting is presented, and the job is to make ratings of all the people participating, using the same scale.

Problem Four. The job here is to identify and classify logical fallacies. The types of fallacies are shown on a classificatory chart, and sentences and paragraphs containing various fallacies must be analyzed.

Problem Seven. Here the job is to analyze a short argument in terms of evidence, logic, and language, and then to write a critical review according to strict guidelines.

Problem Ten. Given a list of issue-oriented subjects, the job is to choose one, gather data on it, and write an argument for or against the issue, after giving the evidence on both sides, examining it for logic and language.

FOCUS ON TESTING

Student-Generated Distractors in ESL Tests[1]

Barbara K. Dobson
University of Michigan

An important part of the process of writing a multiple-choice test is the generation of distractors which will appeal to certain of the students who will take the test. Writing distractors is, in a sense, predicting student errors. For a test-writer to accurately predict what errors students will make, he must have a great deal of experience of one sort or another with non-native speakers.

A professional test-writer usually does not know the particular students who will take his test. However, he is able to predict errors they make because he uses samples of students' oral and written language and students' performances on items he has written previously as data for an informal, on-going error analysis. He has file cabinets full of information on what kinds of distractors do and do not appeal to students.

When an ESL teacher is writing a test for his own class, he too has a lot of information about what types of errors the test-takers will make. In his daily contact with his students, he sees the particular errors they make. His interaction with them gives him the material he needs to write appealing distractors for informal classroom tests.

Sometimes, however, a teacher finds himself with the responsibility or desire to write a test designed to place students at appropriate class levels or to measure students' achievement of a school district's educational goals. These kinds of tests will be given to a large number of students of varying levels of proficiency with whom the teacher has not had contact. He probably has not learned what types of distractors are appealing to such a heterogeneous group, and he does not have available to him the resource material professional test-writers have for error analysis.

What is needed to help teachers in this position is an alternate way of writing good distractors which takes into account what resources (*e.g.*, training, experience, materials, personnel) the typical teacher has. This experiment was designed to examine one such alternative way.

If one group of students could generate distractors which another group of students would find appealing, the teacher's problem would be solved. He could use distractors suggested by his students to construct tests for a larger group of students whom he had not worked with.

[1] The author wishes to express her thanks to John A. Upshur of the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan without whose assistance and encouragement this paper could not have been written. His generosity with his time, his acute insights into problems of experimental design and data analysis, and his suggestions for improving the manuscript are all gratefully acknowledged.

To decide if this method of writing distractors is an acceptable one, several questions were investigated: how student-generated distractors compare with professionally-written distractors as predictors of student errors; whether tests written using student-generated distractors give as accurate a picture about non-native speakers as tests written by professionals; and in what testing situations teachers can use student-generated distractors to construct a test.

Before looking at the experiment step by step, perhaps a general outline of the experimental design is in order for the sake of the reader who prefers to look at the possible applications of this method before reading the procedural details of the construction and analysis of the experimental test.

To elicit student errors, forty completion items were written—twenty grammar and twenty vocabulary questions. This forty-item test was administered to forty-seven high-level ESL students as a supply task (Admin. 1) and to two professional item writers who were also asked to write distractors for the items just as they do in preparing items for the *Michigan test of English language proficiency*.

Two multiple-choice forms of the test were then prepared using the same forty items. The difference between the two multiple-choice forms was how the distractors were written. In the experimental form (Form A), the distractors were the most frequent incorrect responses supplied by the students in Admin. 1; while in the control form (Form B), the distractors were those written by the professional item-writers.

Forms A and B were then administered to 120 ESL students with a wide range of proficiency, half taking Form A and half Form B. The average level of proficiency of each of the two groups as measured by class level and a general proficiency test was equal.

The performances of the two groups of students were compared to draw conclusions about how well student-generated distractors function in ESL tests and how useful the experimental technique may be for teachers.

Construction of the Tests

The first step in the experiment was the writing of forty completion items. The structures tested in the twenty grammar items were structures commonly presented in low-intermediate ESL grammar textbooks. The vocabulary words were selected randomly from the Thorndike and Lorge *The teacher's word book of 30,000 words* from among the words with a frequency of occurrence of no less than ten per million words. Sixty-five percent of them were in the ten to fifty range.

Each grammar item was in the form of a dialogue with the blank appearing in the second sentence. In the supply task, no cues to the answer were provided other than contextual cues. The vocabulary items were also of the completion type (though not dialogues), so again students in Admin. 1 had only contextual cues to help them supply the answer.

After these forty items were administered as a supply task, the con-

struction of Form A was basically a matter of tabulating the wrong answers supplied for each item and choosing the most frequent errors as distractors for that item in Form A. In this tabulation, however, there were certain premises about what was and was not considered an error and what errors were grouped together which bear mentioning.

For completion items of the supply type, there frequently is more than one possible correct response—and students inevitably supply ones that never occur to the item-writer. Therefore, care was taken that no possible answer to an item was included in the list of errors.

For grammar items, responses which were incorrect for the same "grammatical" reason were grouped together in the frequency count even if within each group there were lexical variations. Similarly, for vocabulary items, the grammatical form of the supplied responses was not considered in the tabulation of errors. All forms of an incorrect vocabulary item were grouped together as one type of error.

In both types of items, incorrect spelling was not considered as a factor either in errors or correct responses. Spelling errors were corrected for the multiple-choice form.

From the lists of errors and their frequency of occurrence, distractors for each item in Form A were selected on the following basis: Where at least three different incorrect responses were supplied in Admin. 1, the three most frequently offered were selected. In the case of a "tie"—where two or more of the most frequent errors occurred with equal frequency—the error to be used as a distractor was selected randomly from among those supplied the same number of times.

Where only one or two different incorrect responses were supplied in Admin. 1, only that number of distractors appeared below the item in Form A. There were eight such items on the experimental form (four grammar and four vocabulary). These abbreviated items will be discussed later.

Where there were no incorrect responses supplied in Admin. 1, the item was deleted from Form A. Three items, two grammar and one vocabulary, fell in this category and also will be discussed later.

Compiling Form B was the task of two professional item-writers who wrote the distractors according to the standard rules of item-writing. The experienced writers both wrote sets of distractors for each item and then compared their work to finally select the three distractors they agreed were best for each item. All forty items from the original test were incorporated in Form B, even those which were answered correctly by all of the students in Admin. 1.

Analysis of Data

Using the completed test papers, each multiple-choice form was analyzed to determine its soundness as a test, and the two sets of data were compared to find out how well student-generated distractors predict student errors.

To determine the validity of the multiple-choice tests, each form was correlated with a general proficiencey test of grammar, vocabulary, and reading comprehension. There was no significant difference between the two correlations as the chart below shows.

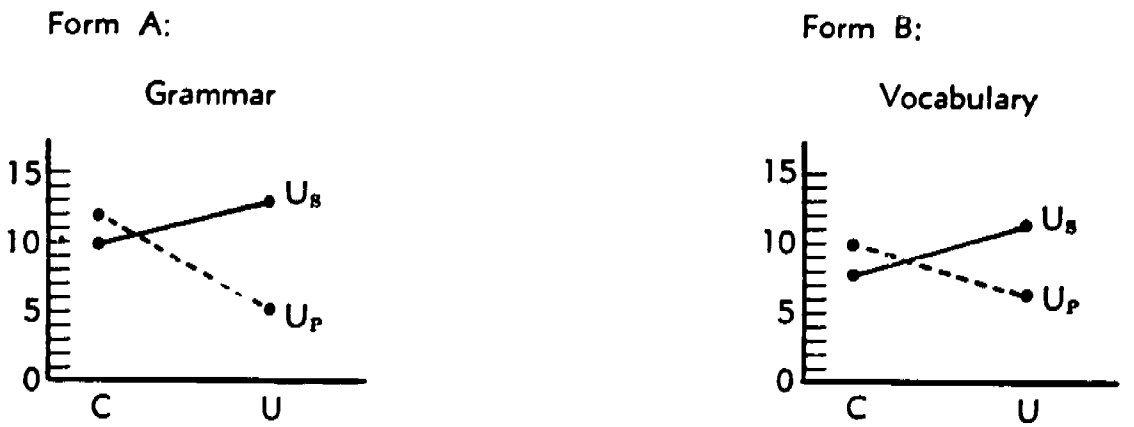
	n	mean	SD	r
MT	60	68.717	9.853	.747
Form A (37 items)	60	25.083	5.394	
MT	59	70.152	10.177	.702
Form B (40 items)	59	31.746	4.463	

The reliability of the two forms was calculated by the Kuder-Richardson Formula 21. Form A had a very slightly higher reliability quotient than Form B (Form A = .792; Form B = .683).

There was a significant difference in the difficulties of the multiple-choice tests. Even though there were fewer distractors in Form A than in Form B, Form A was the more difficult of the two ($t = 3.998$; $p < .01$).

In order to see if students select the same answer choices other students supply or if they instead find professionally-written distractors more appealing than student-generated ones, the relative difficulty of three distractor types was calculated for the items with three distractors in both forms of the test. The results appear in the graphs below which show the average percentage of students that selected each type of distractor on a single grammar or vocabulary item. The three distractor types represented are "unique student" (suggested only by students), "unique professional" (suggested only by experienced item-writers), and "common" distractors (suggested by both groups).

The average percentage of students who selected each type of distractor on a single item



These graphs show that the student-generated distractors appeal to students more than professionally-generated ones. It is because of this that

Form A was more difficult than Form B. It appears that students are indeed good predictors of what errors other students will make.

Nearly one quarter of the distractors unique to professional generation failed completely to predict student errors—they were nonfunctional. The proportion of nonfunctional distractors supplied only by students was much lower.

The proportion of nonfunctional distractors in items with three distractors

	U_s	U_p	C
Grammar	2/32 = .062	9/32 = .281	0/10 = 0
Vocabulary	1/41 = .024	8/41 = .178	0/ 4 = 0
Total Test	3/73 = .041	17/73 = .233	0/14 = 0

It is not readily apparent why professionally-generated distractors were relatively unappealing to students. There is nothing obviously wrong with them, at least from an item-writer's point of view. It is impossible by looking only at Form B to predict which of the distractors proved to be nonfunctional. However, when the two multiple-choice forms were compared, certain differences were noted between student-generated and professionally-generated distractors which might have made the former the more appealing.

In the grammar items, students frequently supplied distractors which included lexical items related to the meaning of the item stem. These distractors were in every case appealing to students (particularly low-level students) who took Form A regardless of how peculiar they look to an item-writer. The following items illustrate this difference between student-generated and professionally-generated distractors. Beside each distractor is the number of students who selected it.

"I'm going to visit Ted today."
"You really ———— to telephone him first."

Form A	*Form B*
40 ( ) ought	43 ( ) ought
6 ( ) must call	14 ( ) should
4 ( ) might	1 ( ) must
10 ( ) had better	2 ( ) might

"That tree looks terrible!"
"The men cut off all ———— branches yesterday."

Form A	*Form B*
13 ( ) of	1 ( ) ones
28 ( ) its	16 ( ) of
10 ( ) the leaves of	31 ( ) its
8 ( ) their	12 ( ) their

Perhaps the low-level students did not recognize what grammar problem was being tested but did recognize the lexical item as one related to the words in the stem and selected it for that reason alone.

Students may have used a similar strategy for answering vocabulary items. The experienced item-writers, following standard procedures, selected distractors with approximately the same word frequency count as the answer. The students in Admin. 1, of course, just supplied the word they thought best completed the sentence; and often these words were very common ones. It would seem that in the recognition task, students would know the meanings of these simple words and realize they were inappropriate in the context of the item stem. In contrast, students who took Form A (again, particularly the low students) frequently selected them.

"The doctor told Penny that too much ———— to the sun is bad for the skin."

Form A	*Form B*
3 ( ) exhibition	2 ( ) revelation
42 ( ) exposure	47 ( ) exposure
12 ( ) bath	5 ( ) exhibition
3 ( ) disclosure	5 ( ) illumination

"The clothing store will ———— its hat sale in the local newspaper."

Form A	*Form B*
2 ( ) write	55 ( ) advertise
7 ( ) show	3 ( ) circulate
7 ( ) inform	2 ( ) dispatch
44 ( ) advertise	0 ( ) petition

It seems that students preferred words they recognize as related to the semantic area specified by the item stem to words which they are not familiar with.

The discrimination and difficulty values were calculated for the items which appeared in both Form A and Form B to see which method of writing distractors generated a larger proportion of items which would be acceptable for use in a standardized test. To be acceptable, an item had to have a difficulty between "guessing" +.15 and .85. The discrimination value had to be greater than .30. Two item analyses were run, one using the *Michigan test of English language proficiency* as criterion and the other using total test score as criterion. The percentages of unacceptable items according to the item analyses are shown below.

Percentages of items of an unacceptable difficulty or discrimination

Criterion: MT	Grammar	Vocabulary	Total
Form A	10/18 = 56%	15/19 = 79%	25/37 = 68%
Form B	13/18 = 72%	12/19 = 63%	25/37 = 68%
Criterion: Total Test	**Grammar**	**Vocabulary**	**Total**
Form A	6/18 = 33%	10/19 = 53%	16/37 = 43%
Form B	10/18 = 56%	9/19 = 47%	19/37 = 51%

Although Form B has more overt similarities with the *Michigan test* than Form A, both forms measure what the *Michigan test* measures to an

equal degree. When the criterion is total test score, though, Form A has a greater homogeneity than Form B. It appears that Form A is measuring something besides just what the Michigan test is measuring. Based on the peculiar distractors in the student-generated form of the test which were discussed briefly above, this "something else" which Form A is testing might be the "grammar-vocabulary" skill of students as opposed to the grammar skills and the vocabulary skills. The items on Form A frequently are not clearly grammar or vocabulary tasks. The two skill areas overlap in a number of the items. Form A may be testing students' abilities to answer "overlap" problems.

The three items which were included in only Form B did not survive an item analysis on any criterion. The students in Admin. 1, by providing no distractors at all for these items, accurately predicted that the items would be too easy for other students. The difficulty values for the three were .90, .97, and .95.

All four grammar items which had only one or two distractors in Form A (three of them had only one distractor) were more difficult than the corresponding items with three distractors in Form B. Two of the three distractors in each of these items in Form B were nonfunctional. In other words, when students only supply one or two distractors for a grammar item, they still accurately predict what recognition errors other students will make. For any student who attempts to apply rules of grammar when faced with grammar problems, certain grammar items clearly require that a decision be made between only two alternatives (singular/plural, count noun/non-count noun, past or present progressive). Test-writers who make this type of problem a four or five-choice item may quite likely be generating two or three nonfunctional distractors.

For the abbreviated vocabulary items, the situation was reversed. The four items in Form A with less than three distractors were less difficult than their counterparts in Form B. It seems that students do not see a limited number of possible answers to vocabulary items as they do for grammar items. These vocabulary items point out that it is useful to provide a full array of distractors for a vocabulary item to decrease the chance of students getting the correct response by guessing.

Conclusions

The results of these analyses suggest that student-generated distractors are in most cases more highly-predictive of student errors than are professionally-generated ones and that they can be used to construct multiple-choice tests which are just as reliable and valid as non-pre-tested tests constructed by professional test-writers. The results can also be used to answer the question of how practical the experimental method of test-writing is from a teacher's point of view.

If a teacher wants to write a test which will simply rank students in order of ability, this experiment suggests that he will get equally sound

results from a test written with student-generated distractors as from a non-pre-tested one written with professionally-generated distractors. Since the scores obtained from these types of tests in the experiment proved to be equally valid and reliable, the individual teacher can make his decision as to which method to use on the basis of which is easier for him. To write a test using student-generated distractors requires one test-writer (who need not be a professional) and a group of students to take the fill-in form of the test. Actually, the supply-type completion test could be eliminated if the teacher kept a record of student errors over a period of time, perhaps from homework assignments, from which he could draw distractors for a multiple-choice test. The other method calls for a test-writer and a team of two professional item-writers who work together to write distractors. The teacher should choose the method which is most practical in terms of resources available to him.

When a teacher wants to write a large-scale diagnostic test, it may not be too wise to use student-generated distractors. A diagnostic test generally consists of several subtests which measure particular language skills. There might be one subtest of grammar and another of vocabulary. Because the distinction between grammar and vocabulary tasks in items written with student-generated distractors is sometimes fuzzy, it would be difficult to accurately diagnose a student's strengths and weaknesses using such a test.

The teacher who must prepare a lengthy examination for achievement or placement purposes will probably want to pre-test items before including them in the final form of the test. Because such major decisions about the students will be made based on their performance, he will want to use only those items which prove to have acceptable difficulty and discrimination values. In deciding which test-writing method to use, he will undoubtedly want to use whichever will give him the largest proportion of acceptable items for the least amount of effort. It seems that if the test-writer wants to construct a test which measures what some external test measures, both methods of writing distractors work equally well. However if he wants the pre-tested test to measure what the earlier form measured, using student-generated distractors will give him a larger proportion of acceptable items than will using professionally-generated distractors.

Clearly, these conclusions are quite tentative. To make definitive conclusions would require more extensive research—studies similar to this one but based on larger samples and investigations which probe more deeply into what characterizes student-generated distractors. Hopefully, further research will be conducted for it appears from this study that student-generated distractors may be of interest to both professional test-writers and teacher-test-writers.

English Language Placement Testing: Separating Foreign English from Minority English

Andrew D. Cohen
University of California at Los Angeles

1. Perception of a Problem

The idea of devising a test to distinguish foreign English from minority English arose out of a practical need at the University of California at Los Angeles. Recently, UCLA has increased its efforts to bring so-called "minority" students to the campus through various undergraduate admissions programs, such as the University Recruitment and Development Program (formerly, the Equal Opportunity Program) and the Consortium Program, which recruits transfer students from a group of junior colleges in the local area. Whereas in former years the *English as a second language placement examination* (hereafter, *English placement exam*) was administered mostly to students who were recent arrivals from other countries, now the same exam was being given to students who had spent some years, or in some cases their entire lives, in the U.S.

Before the minority student became prominent on the campus, the Undergraduate Admissions Office usually had little difficulty in deciding which incoming students would take the English Placement Exam. It was more or less automatic that the student from abroad would take the exam, unless he came from an English speaking country like England or Australia. With the advent of the not-so-recent immigrant or the American-born minority, a new set of criteria had to be called into the picture, such as the student's academic record at high school and junior college in the U.S., his verbal score on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, his score in composition on the College Board English Achievement Test, his scores on various reading tests, his grades on "sub-college" courses in English, his grade in English 1 from a junior college, and his counselors' recommendations. From all of these data, the Undergraduate Admissions Office had to determine which incoming students might belong in English as a second language classes.

In cases where the incoming UCLA students were deemed to have had considerable exposure to English, but in need of remedial work, they were contracted to complete a non-credit course in remedial English for one or two quarters prior to taking English 1. This course was intended to improve the student's grasp of standard English as required for university-level work. Starting in the Fall of 1972, those "minority" students who were identified

as having more of a foreign English background were asked to take the *English placement exam.*

The problem was that the test as constituted up until Winter quarter of the 1972–73 academic year was designed to diagnose *foreign* English problems exclusively—not *minority* English. In other words, the test was not sensitive at the upper levels of performance to standard vs. non-standard English. Consequently, a student with minority English problems could do quite well on the exam while still possessing some real structural and mechanical problems in the use of standard English. Thus, a test was needed that would provide adequate diagnostic information to distinguish the student with foreign English from the student with minority English.

2. Design of the Fall 1973 English Placement Exam

The Fall 1973 English Placement Exam was the product of piloting a new version of the exam during the Winter and Spring quarters of the 1972–73 academic year. The piloting was conducted both as part of the formal *English placement exam* administered at the outset of each quarter and in the form of individual subtests administered to foreign, minority, and majority students at the classroom level during the respective quarters. The pilot version consisted of two parts: (1) five subtests designed to assess foreign English, drawing upon suggestions from Rand (1972, 1973) and Oller (1972b, 1973), and (2) three subtests designed to assess minority English, based on the work of Lin (1965), Dudley (1971), Bartley and Politzer (1972), and on the author's own extensive error analysis of essays written by minority students (Mexican American, Amerindian, Asian, and Black) in the remedial English classes for UCLA undergraduates.

a. *Description of the Pilot Subtests Designed to Assess Foreign English*

The "Grammar #1" test consisted of a series of sentences to be completed by means of multiple-choice responses. It tested for a knowledge of articles, tag questions, conjunctions, and complex verb structures which have been found to cause difficulty for foreign students. Such forms were not expected to give minority students trouble. "Cloze #1" consisted of a series of paragraphs with certain words purposely deleted. The task called primarily for the completion of two-word verbs where the prepositional part was omitted. Although this task was expected to be almost automatic for the minority student, the student with foreign English was expected to have difficulty with the test. "Dictation #1" was delivered in large phrase groups at a time, with punctuation given. This dictation was graded exclusively for structural correctness—i.e., whether all the words were written down, with the proper plural and past-tense inflections, etc. The intentional use of larger phrase groups and a variety of transformations was intended to provide an integrative measure of listening comprehension. Oller (1972b) has pointed out that if dictation is not administered "at a fairly fast clip," it is "probably not much of a test of anything but spelling." The content

of the dictation was based on foreign-student errors on dictations from previous UCLA English placement exams.

"Reading Comprehension" consisted of a series of passages for which the main idea had to be indicated. This test was intended to be relatively easy for the student with minority English but difficult for the student with foreign English, particularly one with a limited vocabulary and relatively little grasp of structural and stylistic variation in written language (see Cohen and Brown, forthcoming). "Listening Comprehension" consisted of a series of dialogs between a male and a female followed by multiple-choice questions. The dialogs were intended to reflect natural speech, both with respect to speed and use of colloquialisms. This subtest was meant to be no problem at all for the minority student, who generally understands colloquial, everyday English well. However, the student with foreign English was expected to have difficulty on this test.

b. *Description of the Pilot Subtests Designed to Assess Minority English*

"Grammar #2" tested the student's awareness of the difference between standard and nonstandard English. Students had to underline the non-standard English forms in a series of sentences and write the appropriate form in the margin, thus demonstrating both their reading and writing skills. Minority students were expected to have considerable difficulty here. Although foreign students were also expected to have difficulty with this subtest, their problems were not expected to be the same as those of minority students. The foreign students were expected to be more aware that certain forms were not acceptable in standard English than were minority students because of the formal English grammar lessons that the former had had (sometimes quite recently).

"Cloze #2" required that the student fill in the blanks in a passage calling primarily for the use of regular and irregular simple past-tense verb forms and modals. The decision to choose these and certain other forms for completion was based on careful scrutiny of non-standard forms cited in the research literature and on analysis of errors made in essays written by minority students in the UCLA remedial classes. "Dictation #2" was delivered in small chunks at a time, with no punctuation provided. This dictation was graded for spelling and punctuation, as well as for correctness of structures. This test was also based on an error analysis of minority student essays.

c. *Emergence of the Fall 1973 English Placement Exam*

Item analysis was run on the responses from the Winter and Spring quarter version of the 1972–73 *English placement exam*, using the Testal and Grader computer programs.[1] Item analysis suggested some modifications for the foreign English subtests. Cloze #1 was changed from a test with

[1] The Testal program was written by Paul Bradley of the Center for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA, and the Grader program was written by Earl Rand of the English as a Second Language section of the English Department, UCLA.

certain words purposely deleted to a test with every 7th word or so left blank to make it more integrative in nature.

The Reading Comprehension subtest was modified to test not just for the main idea of a series of passages but for such things as inference, author's tone, and vocabulary in order to tap a wider range of reading skills. Finally, the Listening Comprehension test was expanded to include short-answer responses and a mini-lecture (with false starts, filled pauses, asides, etc., in order to avoid producing a recitation under the guise of a lecture), as well as a dialog (see Appendix A for a complete description of the Fall 1973 *English placement exam*, as prepared for students planning to take the exam).

The item analysis also suggested a change for the minority English subtests. Cloze #2 was eliminated altogether. This exercise was found to be too easy for the student with minority English. Perhaps it was too contrived, too obvious, in that it called specific attention to problem areas through specific completions. Thus, the minority English subtests were limited to two, Grammar #2 and Dictation #2 (see Appendix A). Since these subtests were integrated into the total test,[2] fewer of them meant less time necessary for scoring the test. As it was, Grammar #2 was abridged from its original 25-item form to a 15-item test.

3. Selection of Students with Minority English

The following criteria were used to identify undergraduate students with minority English after they had taken the Fall 1973 English Placement Exam:

a. A score of 80 or better (maximum = 100 points) on the five subtests aimed at testing for proficiency in *foreign* English. A score of 80 or above exempted undergraduates from English as a second language classes at UCLA.

b. A score in the bottom quartile on the two subtests aimed at testing for *minority* English.

c. Four or more years of residence in the U.S. or Canada.

The decision to select students performing in the bottom quartile on the minority English subtests was intended to isolate only those experiencing *considerable* difficulty with these tests so as to rule out selection of respondents who simply made a series of careless errors. The determination of 4 years of residence in the U.S. or Canada was somewhat arbitrary. How long it takes for a person's English to change from being foreign-like to being minority-like (if in fact this change occurs) in an open issue. Richards (1972) suggests that non-standard immigrant English occurs in contexts where there are few informal friendly contacts with speakers of standard

[2] Respondents were not informed that they were taking two tests in one, for fear that they would not complete the minority English subtests if they knew that those tests were irrelevant to placement in ESL classes.

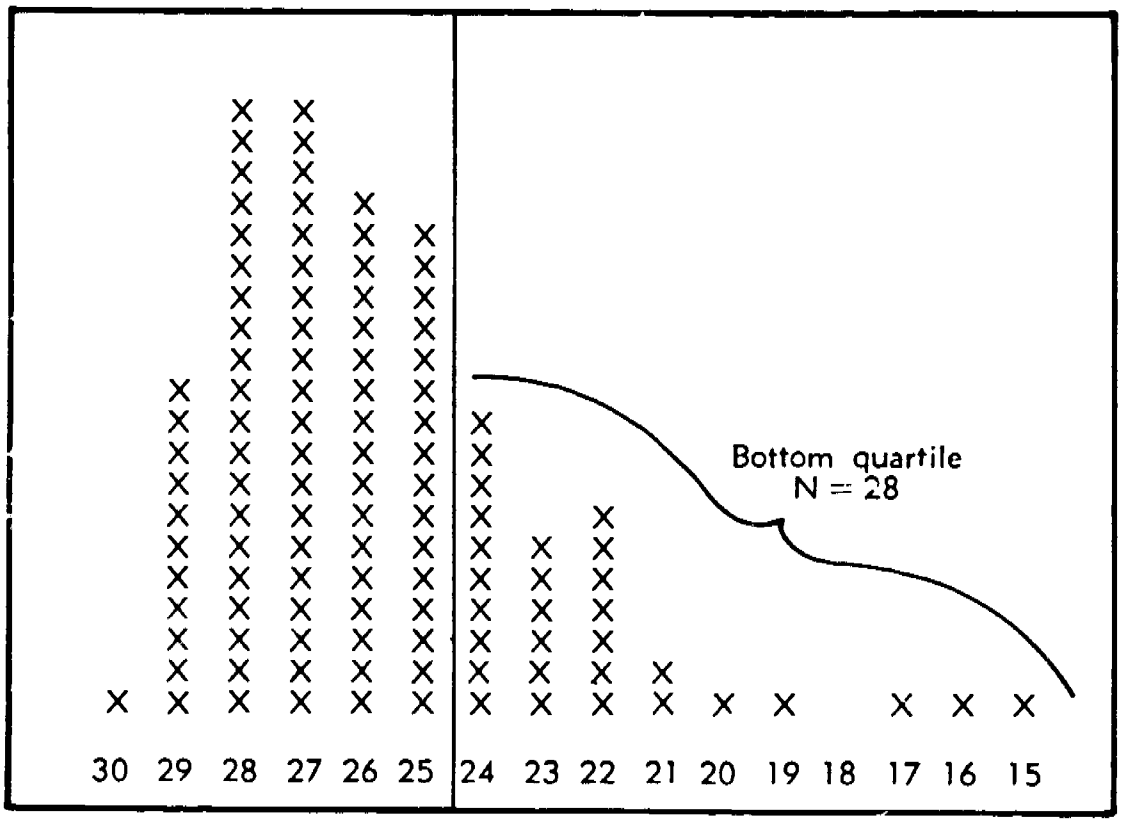
English, and no intellectual activities in English. Obviously there are cases of people spending years in the U.S. without ever losing the "foreignness" in their English. Yet it was posited that after *four years* of exposure to native speakers, many of the trappings of foreign English would be replaced by those of minority English, particularly if much of the learning of English were to go on *out of class* and in the midst of minority group members. Richards (1972) speculates that much of the minority English that develops is a result of social limitations imposed by the immigrant community. Probably there are both pressures from within an ethnic group and from the majority society tnat foster preservation and even further development of non-standad English.

The information concerning the number of years in the U.S. was obtained through a cover sheet to the exam which included items such as the length of time the student had attended English-medium schools and his status and plans with respect to immigration (if applicable) (see Appendix B for cover sheet).

The process of identifying those students unequivocably possessing minority English characteristics was one of syste atic elimination. Of the 280 or so undergraduates who took the Fall 1973 English Placement Exam, 113 met criterion "a" above in that they received a score of 80+ on the foreign English subtests. The next step was to determine the cut-off points for the bottom quartile on the subtests of minority English. Identifying a score of 24 or fewer points out of 30 as placing a student in the bottom quartile produced a group of 28 students (see Figure 1). 17 of these 28 students (61%) also met criterion "c" above in that they reported having lived in the U.S. or Canada for four or more years. This stage in the selection process was the real question mark at the outset of the project. If the minority subtest idea was non-functional, then it might have been expected that those students falling into the bottom quartile would include just as many recently-arrived foreign students as longer-term residents. In fact, 61% of the students in this bottom quartile had lived in the U.S. for 4+ years, with the mean number of years being 9.3. Table 1 lists these students in order of years in the U.S., their composite score on the foreign English subtests, their composite score on the minority English subtests, as well as their country/language of origin, amount of English-medium schooling, and immigration status.

This research project offered no theories about why some foreign students scoring high on the foreign English subtests (80+) would score in the bottom quartile on the minority English subtests. Rather it was suggested that they would *not* have many of the same problems as minority students in that they had been drilled on *standard* English in their grammar classes in their respective countries or origin. In fact, however, 39% of the bottom quartile was comprised of these students. Why they placed there is a matter for speculation. The quality of their language instruction and individual language learning styles would certainly enter into the picture,

FIGURE 1
Performance on *Minority* English Subtests of 113 Undergraduates with 80+ on *Foreign* English Subtests



Raw Scores on the Minority English Subtests
(Maximum = 30 points)

TABLE 1
Students in Bottom Quartile on Minority English Subtests Who Reported 4+ Years in U.S or Canada

	Years in U.S./ Can.	Foreign English	Minority English	Country	Native Language	Eng.-Medium Schooling	Immi-gration Status
1.	24	80	21	U.S.A.	Chinese	All	Citizen
2.	14½	95	22	Panama	Spanish	All	Citizen
3.	10½	80	17	Holland	Dutch	Grade 4 on	Citizen
4.	10	85	23	Costa Rica	Spanish	Grade 2 on	Resident
5.	10	89	23	Argentina	Spanish	Grade 5 on	Resident
6.	10	86	22	Japan	Japanese	Grade 3 on	Citizen
7.	10	86	24	Argentina	Spanish	Grade 4 on	Resident
8.	9	88	22	Korea	Korean	Grade 4 on	Citizen
9.	9	84	22	Canada	Lithuanian	All	Resident
10.	8	80	20	Korea	Korean	Grade 3 on	Resident
11.	8	90	24	Hong Kong	Chinese	Grade 5 on	Citizen
12.	8	89	24	Korea	Korean	Grade 5 on	Resident
13.	7½	85	23	Hong Kong	Chinese	H.S. on	Resident
14.	6	80	23	Philippines	Tagalog	3 yrs. college	Citizen
15.	6	90	19	Cuba	Spanish	None	Resident
16.	4	83	24	Hungary	Hungarian	None	Citizen
17.	4(Can.)	88	24	Hong Kong	Chinese	3 yrs. college (in Canada)	Resident

not to mention the fact that some difficulties for minority students are probably generalizable to foreign students as well.

Those 17 students identified as having minority English characteristics were notified by a letter from the Academic Advancement Program that although they had passed the English Placement Exam, exempting them from English as a second language classes, they had "many of the language problems common to American-born minority students" and that they should take the remedial English course which emphasized "the writing of expository essays and the correction for common grammatical errors."

4. Focus on the Minority Subtests

Now that the selection process has been described, a closer look will be given to the minority subtests that were used to identify these students.

a. *Content Analysis of the Subtests*

The Grammar #2 subtest sampled the following structures in standard English: verbs (tense, 2 items; number, 2 items; participles, 2 items), prepositions (with infinitive, 1 item; with pronominal object, 1 item), possession (marker, 1 item; pronoun, 1 item), comparison (2 items), negation (superfluous negative with negative adverb, 1 item), interrogation (1 item), and article usage (indefinite before vowel sound, 1 item).

Dictation #2 covered selected structural problem areas, such as irregular past tense and the past tense *-ed* marker, and a series of mechanical problems, including a variety of punctuation problems (commas and quotation marks in direct discourse, commas separating coordinate clauses, and periods), capitalization, and spelling. The dictation was especially written to include problems that had been identified in minority student essays and then reconfirmed as trouble areas by error analysis of the Winter and Spring 1972–73 English Placement Exam results.

b. *Error Analysis of the Results of the Minority English Subtests*

An intensive error analysis was conducted on the tests of those 17 students who had been selected as having minority English problems to see the extent to which the students actually had so-called minority-type problems with standard English. With respect to Grammar #2, only one item caused considerable trouble: omission of the preposition before the infinitive (*wanted go*). 47% of the respondents missed this item. Perhaps some of the incorrect responses could have been the result of carelessness. The next most troublesome item was the possessive marker (*children clothes*). 35% missed this. Then the pronominal object of the preposition (*between you and I*—hypercorrection), the comparative (*more prettier*), and the indefinite article before a vowel sound (*a examination*) all caused difficulty for 29% (see Table 2). All the respondents identified a comparative form as correct when it was, in fact, correct (*it came out worse*) and all noticed the omission of the participial marker in the past progressive (*he was hammer*).

TABLE 2
Percent Missing Individual Grammar #2 Items
N = 17

Verb	
tense	
throw instead of *threw*	.12
begun instead of *began*	.24
number	
he haven't for *hasn't*	.18
he hadn't (correct)	.12
participles	
force instead of *forced*	.24
hammer instead of *hammering*	.00
Prepositions	
with infinitive (*wanted go*)	.47
with prominal object (*between you and I*)	.29
Possessive	
marker (*children clothes*)	.35
pronoun (*theirself* for *themselves*)	.24
Comparative	
worse (correct)	.00
more prettier	.29
Negative	
superfluous negative with negative adverb *hardly* (*can't hardly*)	.24
Interrogative	
why you didn't . . . ?	.24

An error analysis for the dictation showed that the 17 respondents identified as having minority English had several characteristic differences in their errors from those of foreign students. Oller (1972a) points out that foreign students make four types of errors in dictations—omissions, wrong word substitutions, insertion of words, and inversions in word order. The respondents identified as having minority English problems made no inversions in word order as is found in foreign English and their omissions were generally *not* omissions of words or phrases, but only of punctuation. Out of the 17 students, only two committed omissions. One student omitted two words (*oblivious to*)—the first being a rather difficult vocabulary item, and the second omitted three words, *me* (probably a careless error), *on* and *an*. These results indicate that respondents with minority English generally get the entire dictation written down. However, they make many mechanical errors and a few structural ones.

Punctuation problems mostly involved the use of quotation marks and commas in direct discourse and the use of commas in series and in co-ordinate and subordinate non-restrictive clauses. Table 3 provides a tally of the percent of individuals who failed to provide the correct punctuation in each of 18 contexts where punctuation was expected, as well as a listing of four unexpected punctuation situations.

TABLE 3
Percent Missing Required Punctuation/Supplying Superfluous Punctuation on Dictation #2

Comma before adverbial (omission)	.65
Period (comma substitution)	.12
Period (semi-colon substitution)	.12
Comma before coordinate clause (omission)	.18
Period (omitted)	.18
Comma before direct discourse (omitted or semi-colon substitution)	.12
Quotation marks before direct discourse	.29
Quotation marks after direct discourse (omitted)	.47
Comma setting off people addressed directly (omitted)	.41
Period (comma substitution)	.35
Period (omitted or comma substitution)	.47
Period, end of quote (omitted)	.06
Comma after adverbial phrase (omitted)	.59
Dash or comma (omitted)	.29
Period (omitted)	.12
Commas after 1st of 3 in series (omitted)	.29
Comma after 2nd of 3 in series (omitted)	.59
Period at end of passage (omitted)	.00
Misplaced comma	.06
Comma insertions	.23
Period substitution for comma	.06
Superfluous quotation marks	.06

Only one spelling word, *occurred*, caused extreme difficulty (71% missed it), usually by not doubling the *r*. Several students gave the present tense non-standard dialect form *occur* (*it never occur to them*). It is probably inaccurate to refer to this kind of error as a spelling error. It is more a structural or, specifically, a mophological error. Table 4 provides a listing of the misspelled words and the frequency with which they were missed.

Most of the structural problems involved the omission of the past tense

TABLE 4
Percent Missing Spelling Words in Dictation #2
N = 17

1.	occurred	.71
2.	intellectual	.29
3.	dormitory	.23
4.	quarters	.23
5.	luxurious	.18
6.	communicate	.18
7.	scene	.18
8.	their	.18
9.	tough	.06
10.	really	
11.	comfortable	
12.	Mom	
13.	independent	
14.	career	
15.	putting	
16.	learning	

TABLE 5
Percent Making Individual Structural Errors on Dictation #2
N = 17

Past tense *-ed* marker	
liked	.06
learned	.12
continued	.41
occurred	.18
Irregular past	
spent—spend	.12
Present perfect	
had substituted for *have* in:	
"might have taken place"	.06
hypercorrection:	
"might have taken placed"	.06

-ed marker. There were also isolated instances of difficulty with the irregular past and the present perfect (see Table 5).

5. Evaluation of the Testing Project

At the outset of the project, there was skepticism about the possibility of distinguishing minority English from foreign English. Clearly there is a continuum for foreign-type to minority-type English, with much overlap. In fact, it is difficult to identify certain problems as either nonstandard dialect or adult second-language development (Cohen, in press).

Yet it was interesting to note that well over 50% of those students who did well on the foreign English tests and who were in the bottom quartile on the minority English tests were also residents in the U.S. for an average of over 9 years. Thus, this testing approach appears to have some diagnostic power.

This testing effort initiated at UCLA will continue in future quarters. Its applicability to other institutions will probably depend on the student population at those institutions and upon the testing needs. Yet it is probably fair to assume that the issue of minority vs. foreign English will become more and more prominent as the minority enrollments at these institutions continue to increase.

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Reading Readiness Tests and ESOL

Stanley F. Wanat
University of California, Berkeley

In this paper, I will discuss reading readiness tests as they relate to the instructional needs of speakers for whom school English is a second language or dialect. My comments will be based primarily on a working conference on reading readiness tests that I recently directed. This conference was sponsored by the International Reading Association and the Sociolinguistics Program at Georgetown University. Our purpose was to assess current practices in testing reading skills in the linguistically different student.

The problem remains in this country that culturally-different students have disproportionately high reading disability rates. We decided to take a look at the reading tests that are used to make instructional decisions about the kinds of educational services that *are* delivered—or that are *not* delivered to these students. We looked at tests that claimed to provide solutions to the reading problem and discovered instead that they themselves were part of the problem.

Let me briefly mention how we selected these tests. We contacted the directors of curriculum or the directors of research in some of the country's largest school systems. We asked them to tell us which tests they used to determine reading readiness. We contacted the large school districts because we felt that they would include significant numbers of the ESL and ESD students we were interested in.

The five tests analyzed were: the Metropolitan Readiness Tests; the Stanford Early School Achievement Test, Level II; the Gates-MacGinitie Test of Readiness Skills; the Primary Mental Abilities Test; and the Clymer-Barrett Pre-Reading Battery. The test publishers told us that 2,000,000 copies of the Metropolitan were sold in 1973; 5,000,000 copies of the Primary Mental Abilities Test have been sold in the last ten years; and over 1,000,000 copies of the Clymer-Barrett have been sold since 1968. The publishers of the Stanford and of the Gates-MacGinitie declined to give us their sales figures. But we know that standardized school tests are big business. Between 150,000,000 and 250,000,000 tests are given to public school students each year.

Each of these tests was examined by a specialist in the area of language, thinking, and perceiving skills, and by a testing and measurement specialist concerned with how tests are designed and used. The appraisals of these specialists were overwhelmingly negative.

Let me cite some critical points that you should look for in evaluating

such tests. (For further discussion of these issues, see Eller and Farr, 1974, and other sections of Wanat, 1974.)

(1) Does the subtest measure what it claims to measure? For example, the publisher of one of these tests claims that the listening comprehension subtest "measures the child's ability to understand the total thought of a simple story." However, many of the questions actually measure "retention of factual details rather than [the student's] understanding of the total thought."

(2) Are the items in the test or subtest measuring such diverse skills that we really have no way of knowing what is being measured? That is—is the test or subtest a hodge-podge?

(3) Are the instructions to the student clear? Williams and Rivers (1972) have shown that if test instructions and test items are presented to the student in his own language-variety, the student performs significantly better. Those of us who have taught reading to ESL or ESD speakers know that this is the case. But why do we *continue* to test these students with inappropriate instruments?

(4) Does the task in the test make sense to the student?

(5) Does the test test an "unreal" skill—a skill that is not normally part of a person's cognitive performance? Consider the following example: The test calls for very careful listening to see if the student can distinguish between word pairs like *cup* and *cub* in isolation. Where else but on a reading readiness test are you asked to do such a thing?

(6) Does the reading readiness test test a skill that is unrelated to reading? One of these tests asks the student to complete printed letters—this is *not* a skill to be taught *or* tested as part of reading readiness.

(7) Is a skill *less* closely related to reading tested *in place of* a skill *more* closely related to reading? For example, one of these tests asks the student to match a word the teacher reads with a written word. This is not as closely related to reading as having the student produce a spoken representation of a word he sees in print.

(8) Does the test confuse correlation with causation? One of these tests measures the student's recognition of letters of the alphabet. While this skill is highly predictive of—correlated with—reading ability, *teaching* the names of the letters has not been shown to affect reading ability. Thus, although this test has predictive value, it has no diagnostic value. It can only serve as a prophecy of doom for the student. It cannot tell the teacher what he or she can do to help the student.

(9) Are the skills to be tested placed in a logical order? For example, one of the tests contains a subtest designed to see if the student already knows how to read.

If the student already knows how to read, we don't need to worry about his readiness skills. Consequently, there is absolutely no reason to test his readiness skill. Yet, this subject is the *last* subtest in this test.

(10) Is the test an efficient way of getting information? One of these

tests requires *seven* sittings of 20 minutes each. When we count up administration, scoring, and interpreting time, it seems more reasonable for the teacher to divide that total time by the number of students in the class and do an individual diagnosis.

(11) Does the test measure the student's reading skills—*or* does the test measure the student's environment? One of these tests asks the student where's the best place to keep a lizard. Another test asks the student to decide whether a clothespin or a coat-hanger should be used on wash day to hang up the wash to dry.

I want to emphasize this last failing of reading and reading readiness tests. They *may* tell us what the student knows when he comes into the classroom, but what we need to know is how learning is taking place. This is a neglected area of reading research—we do not know the stages or processes that the learner goes through in acquiring literacy. I urge those of you who are teachers or curriculum specialists, or teacher-trainers or researchers to look at this issue. There is no better way to find out how literacy is acquired, or how it is impeded, than by doing detailed diary studies of literacy acquisition. Two of my students at Berkeley are working on such studies, and I hope that others will join them. The Steinbergs at the University of Hawaii have addressed this issue, as have the earlier published works of Monroe and of MacKinnon.

I do not think that cognitive psychology—by itself—or the information processing approach—by itself—will provide the answers. Arthur Blumenthal of Harvard and Eleanor Gibson of Cornell have described this information processing approach as little more than drawing boxes and putting labels on things about which we know very little. Neisser's most recent statements have also been very critical of the current state of the art in cognitive psychology and information processing. There is, I believe, a very basic problem here:

The information processing approach has been trapped by the fiction of the idealized perceiver—like transformational grammar's idealized speaker-hearer. Many information-processing people, with their squares, circles, triangles and arrows, have tunnel vision—their concerns center on *what the student knows.* ESL and ESD teachers must balance their concern *with what the student knows* with and equal concern for *who the student is*, and *what the student wants to do.*

Research has shown that the personality characteristics of the student help to determine the teaching style best suited to him. We need to get away from the misconception that one test will tell us all we need to know. There is no all-purpose test, because students differ and teachers differ.

Some recent research that I have done shows individual differences in the type of information that readers look for, and it shows that readers change the types of perceptual strategies they employ.

Given the sad state of the art in testing reading readiness, what positive things can we do to improve the situation?

First, we can tie our reading assessment procedures directly to the language development of the ESL or ESD speaker. The following procedure was suggested to the conference by Thomas Sticht of the Human Resources Research Organization at Monterey, California. It will work for students at any age or achievement level. According to Sticht, learning to read means learning to use printed symbols as though they were spoken symbols. A person is a mature reader when he can comprehend by reading what he can comprehend by listening. The two processes are functionally equivalent. This suggests the following kind of test which will eliminate problems of vocabulary, syntactic, and semantic differences between the ESL or ESD speaker's language and the language of commercially available tests: We should obtain samples of the student's speech under standardized conditions, transcribe these samples, and present them to the student at a later time to read. Such a reading test procedure would be standardized, as well as being culture-fair and language-fair.

A second suggestion is to make sure that you continue to use the *same* test, or equivalent forms of that test, each year on the same student to get a measure of his *absolute* learning. (See Singer, 1974.)

A third suggestion is to be sure to test what is taught. The test should be tailored to what the student is expected to learn. It makes no sense to test the student on something he has not been taught, but it does make sense to assess how well he has been taught the things we say we are teaching. If your program has a heavy phonics emphasis, use a test that tells you how much phonics your students have learned.

Fourth, both the teacher and the test should specify their assumptions about the nature and purposes of reading, about the nature of the ESL or ESD learner and his language, and about the form that reading instruction should take.

One way for teachers to articulate their own assumptions about ESL and ESD reading instruction and testing is to develop a decision matrix, as suggested by William Eller of the State University of New York at Buffalo and Roger Farr of Indiana University. In the context of reading testing, such a decision matrix shifts the emphasis from "What does a particular test tell us?" to "What do we, as instructional decision-makers, need to know to make better decisions?"

The first step in setting up such a decision matrix is to specify the various decision-makers who are involved. This would include the teacher, the community, the student, the principal, the superintendent, and so on. The second step is to specify all the instructional alternatives that are open to each of these decision-makers. The third step is to specify the kind of information that each decision-maker needs to select among the alternatives. The fourth step is to pick out an assessment procedure that can best give him that information.

In conclusion, an analysis of five commonly used procedures to assess reading readiness in ESL and ESD speakers has shown them to be an

almost total disaster. Reading testing is, however, necessary to make the schools accountable to the community and help select appropriate instructional strategies for the student. I have suggested four ways to improve such assessment procedures. These were: first tie the reading assessment procedure directly to the language development of the ESL/ESD speaker. Second, use the same test year after year to measure absolute learning. Third, test what you teach, and finally, use a decision matrix procedure so that you start with an assessment of your own instructional alternatives.

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FOCUS ON THE CLASSROOM

Meaning, Repetition, and Enjoyment in the EFL Classroom*

W. R. Lee
International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
Middlesex, England

"Human life," according to Dr. Samuel Johnson, "is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed," and the same view has often been taken of foreign-language learning. There is a lingering assumption, no doubt rarely expressed in words, that enjoyment of language-lessons, if not irrelevant and distracting, is none the less marginal to the language-learning process. Where this is assumed, course planning thus gives prior consideration to other matters—choice from descriptions of the target language, comparison perhaps with the mother tongue, analysis of errors, decisions on the stages of the teaching method and the steps in the teaching procedures. All this is taken to be the basic bread and butter. This is what has to be done and how it has to be done; and finally, almost as an afterthought—well, perhaps it would be an advantage for somebody, preferably of course somebody else, to add a little jam and try to make the bread more palatable.

No doubt this approach is less common than it used to be, but it is still not very unusual. It is less a reasoned and consciously defended approach, I would say, than one which has been, almost by accident, inherited, and which has still been underexposed to questioning. How, one may ask, can enjoyment be a minor matter? Does one learn any the better for not enjoying it? There seems to be no evidence that aversion to language-lessons assists the learning of the language, or that unattractive lesson-procedures do anything but slow the learning down. "There needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us this," and research on the point seems superfluous. One of the more obvious conclusions to emerge from R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert's research on motivation, as also from Clare Burstall's research in England,[1] is that those who like their French lessons and have friendly feelings towards the French people do relatively well at French. Or could the opposite be true—that those who do well at French tend to like their French lessons and French-speaking people? Or are these two sides of one coin?

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* General Session Address, 1974 TESOL Convention.

[1] See particularly their *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning* (Newbury House, 1972) and her *French in the Primary School* (National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1970).

Course-planning which comes to interest and enjoyment as an afterthought appears to be doing things the wrong way round. Even the most careful planning will be ineffective if the driving-force is overlooked, the learner's desire to learn. So perhaps, moving the afterthought from rear to front position, we should do better to begin with that; that is to say, begin with the learners. What are they? What are they like? What do they like doing? If they want to learn or have to learn a foreign language, what sort of attitude have they towards it? What influences the desire to go on learning? Are both success and failure stimulating, and if so, how should they be provided?

Any attenpt to answer such basic questions leads straight to consideration of subject-matter as well as of teaching procedures. Let us face the fact that in an elementary English-as-a-foreign-language course we are teaching, because time is very scarce, a drastically simplified version of the language, which the learners hear nothing of outside the school. I do not think we should try to teach anything more, and therefore adverse criticism, sometimes directed at elementary textbook courses, that "English people do not talk like that" or that "You would never hear such dialogue in real life" seem to be entirely beside the point. In the elementary English-as-a-*foreign*-language classroom it is, I believe, a mistake to teach anything closely resembling "full" English or to exclude situations which are effective language-learning situations but which may not be closely similar to those most often met with in everyday life. This does not mean that "full" English can play no useful part in an elementary course. It may serve as a background or matrix from which the listener is helped to pick out the simpler elements he is trying to command. Similarly with everyday situations, in all their complexity: these may be a kind of setting, in which the language-learner is to notice simple elements. Moreover, understanding of language generally goes ahead, sometimes far ahead, of the ability to produce it. Given the usual number of lesson-periods available, it is nevertheless only a very considerably simplified version of the foreign language which can be effectively taught. "Full" English has to be led up to cautiously, and by definition is not beyond the advanced learner's reach.

If course-planning is to begin from the learners, it is necessary to decide upon subject-matter and procedures that are, above all, attractive and enjoyable. Knowledge of the kind of learners is essential, and even of the particular learners. It is not only a matter of how old they are, but also of their social background and environment, their standard of literacy, their place in the community, and so on. Human interests are various, even at an early age, and so too are the forms of enjoyment. Indeed, "enjoyment" is perhaps not a wholly suitable word here, although it seems preferable to "satisfaction" or "interest." It is not an ideal word because, in the context of talk about language-teaching, it covers the whole range of responses from an undemonstrative feeling of success to intense delight or hilarity.

As more than one foreign-language-teaching specialist has pointed out,

the sense of achievement is in itself a strong motivator. F. L. Billows, in *The Techniques of Language Teaching*,[2] is surely right to say (especially I believe, of children, but also of most adults) that success in language learning "depends on the learner quickly achieving a limited success." He goes on: "As the pupil feels that he has hit the mark, that he has been able to answer a question correctly, that someone has received and acted on his message, that he has asked a question which has been recognized and replied to, he feels good; he likes this sensation and pushes ahead after more . . . The teacher is successful who helps his pupils win minor victories and overcome obstacles to understanding and expression continually." (p. 13) Wilga M. Rivers, emphasizing the individual character of motivation, calls attention in *The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher*[3] to the good effect of initial success in language-learning on backward children. "Those with poor aptitude for other scholastic work," she says, "will find that the new subject provides many attainable short-term goals, with simple elements to be mastered, which act as incentives and lead to quick rewards for the effort expended." (p. 84). Citing K. Lewin, she also points out that "success has to be measured in terms of what the individual is trying to do. Depending on each individual's level of aspiration, a feeling of success may be experienced on reaching the goal, or coming close to the goal, on making progress toward a goal, or even on the mere selection of a socially approved goal."

It is the learner's feeling of success rather than the success itself which is the strongly motivating factor. The teacher may not consider the learner's success to be remarkable, but if the learner feels that he has done something he was not quite sure he could do, he will be encouraged to make further efforts. Likewise, for many learners, especially young children, the teacher's encouragement and approval is a keen spur. It is clearly necessary to organize and conduct language-lessons in such a way that the learners, given small-scale and immediate goals suited to their abilities, will repeatedly enjoy the taste of success, or what they feel to be so. Whatever it is that drives the language-learner on to try, it drives still more powerfully when he feels he has succeeded. One of the teacher's roles is perpetually, so to speak, to beckon learners on by raising their sights towards goals slightly in advance of those just attained. The teacher can encourage not only the average and sub-average but also the exceptional pupils to become more aware, to use Wilga Rivers' way of putting it, of "the region of difficulty within which they experience success." This will not exclude an exceptional type of learner mentioned by R. Lado in *Language Teaching*[4] (p. 42), who is so intent on some remote goal that he will put up with "dull practice, and wills to learn instead of yielding to the superficially more pleasurable activity of sleeping or watching a movie."

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[2] Longman, 1961. (An edition in German was published by Quelle and Meyer, Heidelberg 1973).

[3] The University of Chicago Press, 1964.

[4] McGraw-Hill, 1964.

R. Lado doubtless had in mind here a type of adult learner rather than children, and it is recognized that the forms of enjoyment in foreign-language learning vary according to age, may be far from superficial, and are not always a matter of laughter or excitement. Without going into detail, it may be said that oral work with adults is the more enjoyable the more closely it is linked with the kind of situations in which they expect to find themselves able to use a language later. Reading-matter is unlikely to be enjoyed unless it is based on their interests, which however may not be wholly vocational. A lot depends, also, on the learner's social and educational level. The kind of thing the learner reads voluntarily in his native language, if he does read, will be a rough guide to what he might enjoy reading in the foreign language. It could be far removed from the teacher's own interests.

Children's attitudes towards language-learning differ in some ways from adults', and younger children's from older children's. It is not only a question of the subject-matter but also of the lesson procedure. Here, doubtless, it is rash to generalize, but it does seem that some children very readily fall victim to classroom routine, to the detriment of their language learning. They like fun (on the whole), make-believe, and dramatization, they love pictures and colorful objects and books, they like physical movement and full participation in what is going on, and the younger they are the shorter the periods of time for which they can concentrate their thoughts on one activity—or is that true? For it does seem to me that, given an exceptionally interesting activity (such as writing down car numbers or counting the dots on wallpaper) some children can persevere for an incredibly long time. In general, however, young children do need more frequent changes of activity in the language-lesson than older pupils, and certainly than adults. Nevertheless they love repetition—not only, for instance, the repetition to be found in many a folk-tale, such as "The Old Woman and the Pig" and "The Three Bears"—a type of repetition which, one may guess, helps language-learning forward because, in its context, it is fully and entertainingly meaningful—but also the repetition of material whose meaning soon disappears under a meaningless chant: rhymes, such as "One, two, buckle my shoe" are often treated in this way, and so are those dialogues which cannot be varied. They quickly become rigmarole and have no more value than a fluency drill, but young children do not like them any the less for that. Boredom, at an early age, is not found in mindless chanting.

I am not suggesting of course either that young children are inferior foreign-language-learners or that repetition is a dispensable element in language learning. The first allegation would be almost demonstrably untrue. On the whole young children are co-operative and enthusiastic about language learning and are ready to throw themselves with enjoyment into some of the activities which advance it—especially language-games and dramatization. And above all, as is widely agreed (though it would be hard to prove it), they are markedly good at picking up a new pronunciation, especially

its prosodic features. On the other hand, young children readily fall into blind unthinking repetition, especially of material which has a strongly rhythmical character, and this is doubtless both an advantage (from the viewpoint of establishing good habits of pronunciation) and a disadvantage (from the viewpoint of enabling the learner to use the language meaningfully to communicate with fellow-pupils).

We cannot do without repetition in language-learning. I suppose I ought to say this with some temerity, since "repetition" has become almost a disreputable word. This is not altogether surprising in view of the type of repetition for so long, although not universally, in favor: mechanical out-of-context repetition which did not sufficiently call upon the learner to choose what to say for himself. It would be easy to give numerous examples, but perhaps superfluous. Especially in the language laboratory, the cued substitution drill lingers on—it is doubtful whether it has very much value.

Initial Sentence:	The boy gave his book to his sister.
Group response:	The boy gave his book to his sister.
Cue:	lent
Response:	The boy lent his book to his sister.
Cue:	Bill
Response:	Bill lent his book to his sister.
Cue:	watch
Response:	Bill lent his watch to his sister.
Cue:	his brother
Response:	Bill lent his watch to his brother.

And so on. What is going to happen next, and does it matter? Who is Bill anyway, and why should he lend or give anybody anything?

Equally meaningless and after a time equally dreary is the type of substitution table from which all the sentences that can be read off are acceptable. I came across one the other day from which over 7000 examples of the reported question could be read, ranging inconsequently from *John wanted to know why their uncle had disappeared* to *One of the doctors was never informed where the other man was injured* to *Mary wished to find out whether my sister was employed there!*

Of course, not all substitution tables are as bewildering inconsequent as this, and I am not suggesting that the substitution table should be eliminated. One can, after all, often base such a table on the events of a known story, or on what is known about the pupils in the class, or on familiar facts about everyday life. Thus a table yielding such pattern sequences as *John was ten last April—he was born on a Tuesday: Tom's sister will be twelve tomorrow—she was born on a Saturday: I am eleven today—I was born on a Thursday*, and so on, could be based on a preceding oral exchange which established the facts, so that the statements are then truthful. But the main point here is that not all the sentences offered by the table are true. It is no good saying that John was twelve last April if you know that he was not. So choice becomes necessary and language has meaning.

Why tell lies in the language-class, except of course when contradiction

is to be practiced? *"The sun rises in the west." "Oh no, it doesn't—that's quite untrue—the sun rises in the east." Substitution tables are always useful." "Oh no, they aren't—that's absolutely untrue—sometimes they aren't useful."*

And so on. Repetition is useful, sometimes it is not. I have not gone so far as to say that even the most inconsequential and baseless cued replacement drill, or the kind of substitution table in which every sentence is equally correct and can be read off in a state of half-sleep, is completely valueless. But foreign-language-learning time is always limited, and it seems desirable to use it in the best possible way. A major task is to convince the learners (not by a process of argument and reasoning, but in their bones) that they are mastering an extra means of communication, which always signifies something and which they can use to communicate with other people (if only, for the time being, with fellow-learners and the teacher), saying and hearing things which are reasonably interesting to say and hear, reading and writing things which are reasonably interesting to read and write.

Learning sometimes occurs in a flash, and what has been learned is remembered without repetition. Many a British schoolboy forgets his French, yet some vivid shreds of it will be (almost preposterously) remembered: for instance, *concours hippique* for *horse-show*, which proves to be memorable because (to the native speaker of English) it is funny. And even the least earnest student of Gothic can still remember, forty years on, when all else has vanished from the mind, that *smakka-bagms* means "fig-tree", and there are reasons for that. In German *O-beine* and *X-beine* ("bow legs" and "bandy legs") once met with are never forgotten, and in Czech what seems the extraordinary *Strč prst skrz krk* ("Stick your finger through the neck") is a similar unforgettable fragment, as too is the surprising Spanish *Es un chico muy ordinario* for "He is a very rude boy." I see this of course from a native English-speaker's standpoint, but imagine that expressions such as *to pull somebody's leg* and the now somewhat dated *raining cats and dogs* fall into the same category. (Recently I was told that *eating abroad* has a second meaning: it was unnecessary to tell me this twice!)

These, however, are all lexical items and it is much harder to find examples in syntax. Partly but not entirely because of the build of one's first language, it is harder to acquire the use of some syntactic patterns in the foreign language than others, but all (and not least because they depend on and determine one another) demand a great deal of repetition in the use. At the opposite extreme from acquiring in an instant what will always cling to the mind is the long struggle to get hold of essentials, such as the use of the *tu/vous* forms in various languages (fairly easy for an English speaker to understand and yet extremely difficult to use aptly and with confidence in the swift current of speech), the use of *ser* and *estar* in Spanish and of *savoir* and *connaître* in French, and of the various uses of the

present perfect tense in English. It would be easy to multiply the examples, and surely it is no exaggeration to say that little of the syntax or of the lexis will ever be absorbed except by dint of repeated use. The same is clearly true of pronunciation, and again one knows it from one's own language-learning efforts: for example, most of us would ask for several repetitions before daring to try to pronounce *Strə prst skrz krk* or (assuming that French is new) *Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça?* or (if English is new) *Just say that again, will you?*

This is not to say that we learn a foreign language by repetition, but simply that we cannot learn it without repetition. But what kind of repetition does this have to be? The kind that resembles a treadmill? To some extent, yes, but only to a slight extent, since few will put up with drudgery for long. But older language-learners are sometimes willing to work hard, as they must, at exercises designed to put the polish on pronunciation, the phonetic feature concerned being temporarily isolated from its context of occurrence.

Repetitive language-work of this sort can of course be enjoyable, especially if the learner is old enough to keep its purpose in mind and is rewarded by a desired success. But this is not *blind* repetition, which sometimes seems to appeal so strongly to very young learners. There is doubtless enjoyment in that too, but is there much language-learning effect? Perhaps we should not answer this question too hastily. I have seen eight-year-old children being taught English in whose lesson activities there was a very high proportion of what one might call chant and ritual. Obviously they were enjoying themselves; obviously, also, they were speaking fluently and accurately within certain grammatical limits, with a pronunciation as good as their teacher's; obviously they understood what they were chanting and singing at least part of the time, and could answer some of a visitor's simple but unfamiliar questions. Was the basis being well laid? It looked like it. And this leaves open the problem of how much rote repetition is necessary to lay it—or possibly the question of how well the basis can be laid in spite of the rote repetition. After all, it may be that rote repetition is *psychologically* necessary for certain kinds of learner.

But how much of it? Here one cannot generalize, except to say that, if any use of rote repetition is to be made, the teacher must be guided, as at other times, by the response of the class, and should be sensitive to and anticipate a drop in the temperature of interest. Rote repetition, following a good model, may have value as a means of accustoming the ear and the speech-organs to the sound and feel of an acceptable pronunciation of the language. It can take a variety of forms, including the rhymes and jingles which appeal so strongly to young children, invariable dialogues, and collective reading aloud phrase by phrase after the teacher. Repetition of this sort can help the young learner, and even at times perhaps the older learner, to acquire the stress and intonation patterns of the language (or of the teacher), where a rule or explanation would be too complicated to

help. But this is not all, because the learner must also get familiar with the surface phenomena of syntax, with what goes with what, and although sometimes this can be identified by a simple rule, it is not merely a matter of knowing. For instance, one may know very well—to take one of the most widespread difficulties in the learning of English as a foreign language —that *he*, *she*, and *it* go with a simple-present-tense form that ends in *-s* etc.: one may know this and yet err frequently, even in writing. Rote repetition of verse and dialogues is possibly justifiable as one contribution towards the overcoming of the difficulty.

Whatever its value—and this is limited—rote repetition cannot bring home to the learner the communicative value of the syntactic and other material which makes up a basic course. No amount of repetition of sentences framed on a given pattern seems able to do that, or at least we are not entitled to think so. The rain beats on the soil, which absorbs it. The patterns rain down on the learner and they are not absorbed; they do not, simply because they are repeated, become part of the learner's language-competence. It is similar with first-language acquisition, in which rote repetition also plays a part (see, for example, Ruth Weir's *Language in the Crib*) but in which there is much besides rote repetition, including repeated use of language in an obviously communicative role.

It is this which has to be discovered by the pupil in the classroom, or in any environment of learning, and the discovery is made both by witnessing communication and by taking part in it. For this purpose the slavish repetition of isolated sentences which do not refer to anything in the learner's experience or knowledge is useless. What is notably lacking in those substitution tables from which one cannot read off anything which is untrue, is the referent. What the sentence refers to, and in what circumstances it might possibly be said—these are dimly and perhaps inappropriately brought to mind, if anything is brought to mind at all. To give drills or exercises of this type a big place in a course is to encourage boredom, and—much more important—to lead the learners to feel that learning a foreign language is mainly a matter of getting familiar with its forms and their interrelationships, whereas a more central task is to get hold firmly of the circumstances in which to use the forms—when, for instance, to use various forms of comparison, various tense-forms, *can* and *can't*, and so on.

If this task is to be fulfilled, the referent must be brought to the fore and made conspicuous, and its essential features very conspicuous, in the process of teaching, whether at an elementary or a more advanced stage. I would hesitate to say that this is more important for children than for adults. Children of course like something lively and interesting to be in progress, or (when they get far enough with the language to be able to read) something with plenty of incident. But adults like these things too, and often are also interested in what appears to have a link with their vocation or with some outside use they know they can make of the language. Young children enjoy colors and rhythmic chants and songs. And yet the main

point is not the enjoyment, although the driving-force of interest will die if enjoyment is not there. The main thing is that language-lessons should be full of "happenings"—"happenings" (at least in the elementary months and years) which throw as clear a light as possible on the communicative value of the various language-forms which are taught. I use "happenings" in a broad sense, to include objects, people, actions, activities of various sorts, visible in the classroom or in pictures or, once reading is under way, on the screen of the imagination.

Belief that this is a necessary approach deeply affects lesson-planning and the planning of a whole language-course, since one cannot work solely from a description of the language (however reduced and simplified) or from an account of known difficulties or from a syllabus. What needs to be planned also are the "happenings," the activities (considered very specifically) which are not only interesting and enjoyable but which illuminate and make quite clear how particular forms of the language are used in specific acts of communication. Language lessons must contain a great deal besides language. To teach a use of one of the English conditional forms, for example, one needs to have planned carefully into the course a situation (artificial if you like, but one cannot ensure enough concentration of essentials into the available time without artificiality of a sort) which seems to call for use of the conditional concerned. For an unreal conditional, as in *If he'd told me I would have known*, such a situation might be one in which the result of somebody failing to do something is obvious: the failure must be obvious and the result too, and moreover these two aspects of the situation must be brought out, or the link between the language-form (this particular conditional) and the situation is not established. With children (and even with some adults) there can be a searching-game. A few small objects are hidden in unlikely places and a few searchers look for them, to the accompaniment of appropriate meaningful speech-practice by the others—"Where is X now?" "Has Y looked in my pocket/under your bag/behind the cupboard etc. etc.?" "Where *has* he looked?" "Are you going to look in Y's box/on top of the cupboard/in the vase?" etc. And then, when a search is over, such questions as: "Where did X look?" "Did he look in your bag?" "Yes, he did." "Did he find the key?" (if that was a hidden object) "No." "What *did* he find?" The answer is given: "Some chewing-gum and lipstick, two letters, half an orange" and so on. "Did Y look there?" "No." "What would he have found if he *had* looked there?" And so on. Of course this needs to be carefully planned and elaborated, and of course, in a sense, it is artificial. But what of that? It is meaningful and enjoyable use of a syntactic form. Adults are not interested in such games, we are told sometimes. It is a pity if they are not. I wish somebody would teach me in that way one of the languages I want to know. It is so much more interesting and effective than having examples of the form written up on the chalkboard and then solemnly discussed. But if serious-minded adults (liable to be hard to teach) need a different procedure, it could possibly be based on

situations imagined rather than seen, as in those indicated by statements such as *I went to the doctor last week, because I felt ill* ("If you hadn't felt ill, you wouldn't have gone to the doctor"); *On the way home I lost my wallet, so I went to the police station* ("If you hadn't lost your wallet, would you have gone to the police station?"); and so on. Or the situations can be embodied in carefully composed text, associating the form with plainly indicated aspects of the situation. Again, artificial; but I would say necessarily so.

All this I would call meaningful use of the language to be acquired. But, of course, it is a very simplified version of the language, serviceable nevertheless as a means of communication with others who have acquired it and even with native speakers. It is "real" English, but only now and then does it resemble closely the "real" English spoken in an English-speaking country. It is acquired to a large extent through repetition, except for those scraps of it which for one reason or another strike us vividly once and are never forgotten. But "mechanical" or "rote" repetition has limited value. What seems to be essential is repeated experience of successfully using pieces of language to communicate, especially with fellow-learners. It does not matter that this may simply be in a fragment of dialogue or a language game. If a pupil wants to know the time and asks in English *What's the time?* and is understood, he has successfully communicated in English; or even if, proud of knowing the names in English of a few common objects, he says *This is a chair* and gets corrected by a fellow-learner (*No, it's a table*) there has been successful, and momentarily interesting, communication. To take an example at a more advanced level, the game *Alibi*, which involves extracting the "stories" of two "suspects" and exposing the discrepancies between them, also provides experience of communication, though it may have little to do with the use the learners make of their English in much later years.

The teacher's immediate aim must be to give the learner (perforce within a very limited range of language) the repeated taste of success in communicating with a fellow learner—or, if the language being learnt is in use in the community—with somebody else. Success is the main incentive. The learner's immediate aim will be to experience *again* the feeling of success. The long-range objective may not be visible to the learner; but if it is, it has to be looked on as an *additional* incentive: for few will battle through year after year without either enjoyment or temporary rewards along the way.

Transformational Sentence Combining in a Barrio School

Jose M. Burruel, Julie Gomez and James W. Ney
Tempe Elementary School District Number 3 and Arizona State University

Inasmuch as Peal and Lambert (1962) in their review of the literature have indicated that the bilingual child is truly an advantaged child, an experiment in language instruction was undertaken to ascertain whether in fact the position of these authors can be verified by the response of students in the language instruction process. Therefore, an experiment was designed to duplicate the Miller and Ney (1968, 1967) experiments but with bilingual children in a Barrio school.

The methodology of the experiment took the form of the previously mentioned Miller and Ney studies so that the results would be comparable. This methodology involves the following steps:

(1) **The establishment of the context for oral language exercises with choral-oral reading.** Students read about 140 words daily from a language arts practice book that they were using. (Murray Anderson, Millard H. Black, Evelyn B. Taylor and George R. Turner, *Uncle Bunny* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1970).) Students performed the reading exercise under the direction of the instructor in the following fashion: (a) One student modelled a reading of two or three sentences for the other students to hear. (b) The instructor and the class then performed a choral-oral reading of the sentences read by the individual student. This reading occupied from five to seven minutes of the 25 to 30 minute daily period.

(2) **Introduction of the linguistic concept for the choral-oral exercises.** Daily, the sentences to be practiced were modelled from illustrative examples written on the blackboard. This modelling was performed with the instructor and the students reading the illustrative examples together. Thus, in the first lesson, the following sentences were written on the blackboard and read chorally:

1. The rabbit was thinking about clover.
2. The rabbit was happy.
3. The happy rabbit was thinking about clover.

The students would then be offered some generalization such as: "In this exercise, words like *happy* which are at the end of the second sentence are placed in front of words like *rabbit* which are at the beginning of the first sentence." The vocabulary of the examples, the sentences in the exercises

and the concepts embraced by both were taken from the reading for the day which thus provided a context for the sentences in the exercises.

(3) **Concept formation and retention exercise through choral-oral practice.** Following the suggestions of cognitive psychologists such as David P. Ausubel (1968) concerning the effect of practice on concept formation, the experiment provided practice for the students in manipulating sentences orally in sentence combining operations. These sentences might be built on the pattern of those in (2) above or they might be similar to the examples given below (4, 5, 6, 7):

4. I was surprised.
5. The island was a house.
6. The house was round.
7. I was surprised because the island was a round house.

The sentence combining exercises were conducted in the following fashion: (a) The instructor read the input sentences (4, 5 and 6). (b) An individual student combined the input sentences to produce an output sentence such as (7). (c) The students in the class then repeated the output sentence (7) chorally and in unison after the model supplied by the first student. If the exercise p oved too difficult for many of the students, the instructor modelled the output sentence phrase by phrase for the students to repeat in chorus. (The exercise embodied in sentences (4) through (7) taxes the storage capabilities of the ten year old mind and hence proves difficult for fourth graders. For sentences such as these, the step by step modelling is essential.) This segment of the exercises occupied approximately ten minutes.

(4) **Reinforcement of the concept through written practice.** After the oral practice, input sentences such as (4, 5, 6) were read to the students by the instructor. They then wrote the output sentences such as (7). In this part of the experimental procedure, students were required to write from four to six sentences daily. Spellings of the vocabulary items were provided on the blackboard although some students tended to disregard the provided spellings in preference for their own creations. Generally, the written exercises improved with practice. Thus, the *who/which* embedding was performed with a 40% error rate on the first day. By the third day, the students had improved showing a mere 4% error rate. Some exercises such as the embedding of conjoined adjectives proved highly resistant to improvement, manifesting a 50% error rate over four succeeding lessons. Such phenomena seem to support the nativistic claims of Chomsky; children tend not to be able to perform linguistic operations which are beyond their stage of development. This observation also lends credence to the advice of Vygotsky who states:

> What the child can do in cooperation today he can do alone tomorrow. Therefore, the only good kind of instruction is that which marches ahead of development and leads it; it must be aimed not so much at the ripe as the ripening function. (Vygotsky, 1962:104).

In any case, the students practiced approximately sixteen different sentence types in the 70 half hour periods from January 15 to May 25. These structures were practiced on a schedule modelled after Bruner's spiral curriculum. The schedule of structures practiced is in Table 1 and examples of the structures are in Table 2.

As in the previous Miller and Ney experiments, students were given a pretest and a posttest. These tests were administered to both the control

TABLE 1
Schedule of Structures Practiced

Structures Practiced	Number of Lesson in Sequence Practiced
Sentence to Adjective: Prenominal Single	1 2 49 50 51
Conjoined	44 45 46 66
WH Embedding	3 4 5 6 7 8 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27
	39 41 47 48 54 57 58 59 61 62 63 64 67 69
WH-BE Deletion	3 4 5 6 7 8 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 26
	27 30 31 39 41 47 48 54 58 59 61 62 63 65 67 69
Sentence Modifier Shift	21 23 24 30 31 61 69
Cumulative Sentence Shift	30 31 62 69
Prenominal Shift	25 26 27 54 63 64 65
Adjective: Single	3 4 5
Conjoined	6 7 8 24 47 48 63
-ING Phrase: With -ly	25 54
Other	16 17 18 23 61 62 67 69
-EN Phrase: With -ly	26 27
Other	19 20 67 69
Adverbial	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 22 28 29 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
Embedding	40 42 43 49 50 51 52 53 58 59 60 68 70
Sentence Modifier Shift	9 10 11
Cumulative Sentence Shift	12 13 14 15 22 28 29 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
	40 42 43 52 53 68 70
Equi NP and BE Deletion	28 29 70
when	9 11 15 22 29 51 52 59 60 68
because	10 11 13 22 32 33 35 43 53 61 68
since	42 43 60
although	12 13 32 34 35 68
after	14 15
if	36 38
unless	37 38 40
while	28 68
Nominalization with *-ing* and *of*	55 56

TABLE 2
Examples of Structures Practiced

Structures Practiced	Examples of Structures Practiced
Prenominal Adjective: Single	Tricky ran after the frightened rabbit.
Conjoined	He saw the young and silly rabbit.
Series	Snapper saw a small, lively minnow.
WH-Embedding:	The Woodchuck, which was whistling softly, dug a tunnel.
WH-BE Deletion:	The Woodchuck whistling softly, dug a tunnel.
Sentence Modifier Shift:	Whistling softly, the Woodchuck dug a tunnel.
Cumulative Sentence Shift:	The Woodchuck dug a tunnel, whistling softly.
Prenominal Shift:	The softly whistling Woodchuck dug a tunnel.
Adjective, Single:	The tired rabbit waited for the mosquito.
Conjoined:	The rabbit, tired and angry, waited for the mosquito.
Series:	The tired, angry rabbit waited for the mosquito.
-ING Phrase: With *-ly*	The rabbit, waiting patiently, fell asleep.
Other	The rabbit, sleeping under a bush, looked peaceful.
-EN Phrase: With-ly	I fell on the road which was hidden carefully.
Other	I watched the mouse which was caught by the owl.
Adverbial Embedding:	I heard voices while I was walking in the meadow.
Sentence Modifier Shift:	While I was walking in the meadow, I heard voices.
Cumulative Sentence Shift:	I heard voices while I was walking in the meadow.
EQUI NP and BE Deletion:	While walking in the meadow, I heard voices.
when	When I looked at the tree, I saw a big acorn.
because	Because I needed it, I put the acorn there.
since	Since I met Herbie, I have seen him often.
although	Although it is interesting, the story is not true.
after	After he snapped his beak, he got angry.
if	If Molly is careless, she will be caught.
unless	Unless Molly learns a lesson, she will be caught.
while	While I was walking in the meadow, I heard voices.
Nominalization:	The singing of the birds sounded pretty. with *-ING* and *of*

group and the experimental group in the following fashion: (a) A movie with no narration on the sound track was shown as a stimulus event. (b) Students were then instructed to write as much as they could about the movie. A movie with no narration is selected because students tend to pick up the sentence types and the vocabulary of the film thus contaminating the results of the test. In this case, the Holt, Rinehart and Winston film, *Leaf*, was used, an 8 minute long film about a falling leaf in Yosemite national park. Due to the earlier unavailability of the film, the pretest was administered after the experimental class had 4 half hour periods of practice in sentence combining on succeeding days. As a result, the students in the experimental class were already well ahead of the students in the control class. For instance, in the total number of words written, the experimental group students wrote on the average of twice as many words (67.3) as the control group students (30.9), (See Table 3A). This difference was statistically significant yielding a *t* score of 4.761 with 34 degrees of freedom for a $P < .001$. It was first believed that this might be

TABLE 3A
The Number of Words Written on Pretests and Posttests

	Guadalupe Control Group		Guadalupe Experimental Group		Okemos Control Group		Okemos Experimental Group	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Average Number of Words per Composition	30.9	50.3	67.3	89.4	80.6	122.2	72.7	151.3

due to what could be called an instructor familiarity effect—the students who were familiar with the instructor/experimenter were able to write more in his presence. To compensate for this effect, the control group students were given one week of instruction by the experimenter directly before the post-test, entailing six half hour periods on succeeding days. This instruction for the control group seemed to indicate that the instructor familiarity effect may not be crucial since the one week of sentence combining practice did not raise the control group students to the level of the experimental group students at the time of the pretest. (Compare the pretest score of the experimental group (67.3) with the posttest score of the control group (50.3), Table 3A). Furthermore, in an analysis of covariance in which the means of the two groups are adjusted, the experimental group shows a statistically significant gain on the posttest. (See Table 3B.) In any case, the response of these students to transformational sentence combining exercises indicates that the Barrio school students (hereafter referred to as the Guadalupe students) respond in a similar fashion to these exercises as the white middle class students (hereafter referred to as the Okemos students). For both groups of students, these exercises tend to enhance

TABLE 3B
Analysis of Covariance: The Gain in the Number of Words Written on Pretests and Posttests, Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio	Probability
A Factors	2342.628	1	2342.628	4.824	.033*
Error	16025.968		485.635		

TABLE 3C
Means and Standard Deviations: Number of Words Written Pretest and Posttest Compositions: Guadalupe Experiment

	Means		Standard Deviations	
	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
Experimental Group	67.29	89.43	28.24	25.16
Control Group	30.93	50.33	9.96	29.30

* Signifies that the gain was significant at the .05 level of probability or better.

the fluency of the experimental subjects in writing. Although at the beginning of the experiment the Guadalupe students did not show as much fluency as the Okemos students, and although they never caught up to the Okemos students over a similar period of time, they did show remarkable improvement.

One difference then between the Okemos study of Miller and Ney and the Guadalupe experiment is that the control group in the Guadalupe experiment was given some instruction. (This instruction for the Guadalupe control group focused on the embedding of adjectives in the noun phrase as in sentences (1, 2 and 3).) Another difference between the two experiments is that the Guadalupe students were paid for their participation in the experimental methodology. These students received on the average of five cents each per week usually distributed in the following fashion: For each correct oral response, students were awarded five cents until each member of the class had received his allotment. On alternate weeks, the five cents were taped to the papers containing the written work of the students. On three occasions, students who had performed all the operations on their written work correctly received the marking *excellent* on their paper and a ten cent allotment; students who had made errors in writing their sentences received the marking *good* or *very good* on their paper and an allotment of five cents. This grading of student papers was performed on a daily basis with the markings *excellent*, *very good* or *good* whether or not the five cent allotment was attached to the paper and a record was kept of the progress of the entire class measured in terms of the total number of errors made by students in the transformational sentence combining operations.

In any case, the pretest and posttest compositions were analyzed according to the techniques described by Hunt (1965) and measures of syntactic growth were thus obtained. The first step in analyzing the compositions requires that the sentences be segmented into minimally terminable units or T-units. Basically, a T-unit is a repunctuated or properly punctuated sentence. Using this unit, a fourth grader's sentence *He went downtown and he saw the parade* would be segmented into two T-units: *He went downtown* and *And he saw the parade*. Reasons for performing this kind of an operation are discussed in Hunt and will not be reiterated here. The T-units are then classified as multi-clause or single-clause T-units; the former are roughly equivalent to the traditional grammarian's complex sentences while the latter are similar to simple sentences. Using these units, the experimental group shows a much larger increase in the number of multi-clause T-units written per composition from pretest to posttest than the control group does, 2.1 as compared to .7. In an analysis of covariance, the difference in gain between the experimental group and the control group is statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence. (See Tables 4A and 4B). On this measure, the Guadalupe experimental group comes very close to attaining the level of proficiency of the Okemos students, which is 3.2 or 3.3 multi-clause T-units per composition. Since this measure is undoubtedly related

TABLE 4A
The Number of Multi-clause and Single-clause T-Units Written on Pretests and Posttests

	Guadalupe Control Group		Guadalupe Experimental Group		Okemos Control Group		Okemos Experimental Group	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Multi-Clause T-units	.5	.7	.9	2.1	1.7	1.8	1.5	3.2
Single-Clause T-units	3.7	6.5	8.3	9.4	10.7	11.2	11.7	14.1

TABLE 4B
Analysis of Covariance: The Gain in the number of Multi-clause and Single-clause from Pretest to Posttest, Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio	Probability
Multi-Clause T-units					
A-Factors	10.219	1	10.219	7.870	.008**
Error	42.850	33	1.298		
Single-Clause T-units					
A-Factors	.605	1	.605	.043	.831
Error	460.634	33	13.959		

** Signifies that the gain was significant at or beyond the .01 level of confidence.

TABLE 4C
Means and Standard Deviations: Multi-clause and Single-clause T-units Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

	Means		Standard Deviations	
	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
Multi-Clause T-units				
Experimental Group	.90	2.10	1.26	1.70
Control Group	.47	.67	.92	.82
Single-Clause T-units				
Experimental Group	8.33	9.38	3.61	4.19
Control Group	3.67	6.47	1.95	3.83

to the number of words written, the difference between the Guadalupe experimental group students and the Okemos students is actually very slight, but the gain made by the Guadalupe students in language exercises shows that they respond as well as the Okemos students to these exercises. (The small gain of the Guadalupe control students is attributed to the fact that they did not practice sentences which could qualify as multi-clause T-units; the Guadalupe experimental group did, however, practice many multi-clause T-unit sentence types.)

A measure which is less dependent on the length of the compositions written by students can be found in the number of words written in multi-clause T-units when compared to the number of words written in single clause T-units. Here the Guadalupe experimental group shows a dramatic gain of 14.3 words in multi-clause T-units per composition compared to a gain of only 2.5 words in the multi-clause T-units of the control group students. Again, in an analysis of covariance, the difference in gain between pretest and posttest is significant beyond the .01 level of confidence in favor of the experimental group. (See Tables 5A and 5B.) This gain is similar to that of the Okemos experimental group students who showed a 23.5

TABLE 5A
The Number of Words in Multi-clause and Single-clause T-units by their Average per Pretest and Posttest

	Guadalupe Control Group		Guadalupe Experimental Group		Okemos Control Group		Okemos Experimental Group	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Words in Multi-clause T-units	5.5	7.1	10.9	24.7	18.3	24.2	20.3	46.8
Words in Single-clause T-units	26.7	43.2	56.4	63.9	79.3	63.9	89.3	112.7

TABLE 5B
Analysis of Covariance: The Gain in the Number of Words in Multi-clause and Single-clause T-units from Pretest to Posttest, Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio	Probability
Words in Multi-Clause T-units					
A-Factors	1639.691	1	1639.691	7.983	.008**
Error	6778.096	33	205.397		
Words in Single-Clause T-units					
A-Factors	917.365	1	917.365	1.784	.188
Error	16965.384	33	514.103		

TABLE 5C
Means and Standard Deviations: Words in Multi-clause and Single-clause T-units, Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

	Means		Standard Deviations	
	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
Words in Multi-Clause T-units				
Experimental Group	10.90	24.71	16.89	20.36
Control Group	5.53	7.13	8.74	10.68
Words in Single-Clause T-units				
Experimental Group	56.38	63.90	25.50	22.65
Control Group	26.67	43.20	10.99	23.58

word per composition increase of the words in multi-clause T-units. A more suitable way to get at the concept behind this measure is to examine the mean number of clauses per T-unit (Table 6). Here the Guadalupe experi-

TABLE 6
Mean Number of Clauses per T-unit

	Guadalupe Students		Okemos Students		Hunt Study	
	Control Group	Experimental Group	Control Group	Experimental Group	Fourth Grade	Twelfth Grade
Pretest	1.12	1.09	1.17	1.13	1.30	1.68
Posttest	1.10	1.21	1.15	1.26		

mental group students are only .05 behind the Okemos fourth graders and .09 behind the students in the Hunt study of the posttest.

The reason for the excellent gain of the Guadalupe experimental group youngsters on this measure becomes evident from an examination of Table 7A. Here it is apparent that these students mastered the structures taught exclusively to them, the exclusive structures. This can be ascertained from the fact that there is no significant difference between the performance of the control group and the experimental group on the structures taught to both of them, the inclusive structures. But there is a significant difference between the two groups on the exclusive structures. (The difference between the two groups on the exclusive structures is sufficient to make the difference significant on the total structures.) But in any case, the conclusions reached from the evidence in Table 7 indicate beyond reasonable doubt that the experimental methodology accounted for the ability of the experimental students to write syntactically more complex sentences. It is thus gratifying to see that bilingual children are not handicapped in the language arts class

TABLE 7A
Analysis of Covariance of the Structures Taught Experimental and Control Groups, Guadalupe Experiment

Source	Sums of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio	Probability
Inclusive Structures					
A Factors	.451	1	.451	.265	.616
Error	56.092	33	1.700		
Exclusive Structures					
A Factors	8.882	1	8.882	9.467	.004**
Error	30.960	33	.938		
Total Structures					
A Factors	16.095	1	16.095	6.014	.019*
Error	88.312	33	2.676		

TABLE 7B
Means and Standard Deviations of the Structures Taught

	Means		Standard Deviations	
	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
Inclusive Structures				
Experimental Group	.67	1.48	1.11	1.33
Control	.20	1.27	.41	1.22
Exclusive Structures				
Experimental Group	.48	1.52	.81	1.17
Control	.53	.53	.74	.64
Total Structures				
Experimental Group	1.00	3.19	1.41	1.72
Control	.73	1.73	.80	1.58

* Significant at the .05 level of confidence.
** Significant at the .01 level of confidence.

when they are given appropriate instruction. They are just as responsive as other students to this instruction.

At this point, however, the question arises as to whether sentence combining exercises improve the overall quality of student writing. That question has been answered affirmatively by O'Hare (1973) and by Ney (forthcoming) in other instances. Besides this, in this instance, an effort was made to demonstrate that vocabulary enrichment was an additional side effect of the experimental methodology. That it should be so was inferred from the choral readings that the children performed and the subsequent use of a variety of vocabulary items in the sentence combining exercises. Consequently, an effort was made to use the type/token dichotomy in a manner similar to that of Basil Bernstein and his colleagues (Brandis and

Hendersen, 1970) who found it useful as a measure of social stratification. On this measure, the difference between the control and experimental groups from pretest to posttest favored the experimental group (+.8) with the control group showing a difference of (−1.7). But the two averages are so close together and are both so close to zero that they signify little or nothing. The reason for this is that the type/token ratio penalizes a student for writing a longer composition. A student can write only 13 words, as one student did, and repeat one of the words only once for a type/token ration of 13:1, a very good score. (Only nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs were counted in this type/token ratio.) But if a student writes 125 words it is extremely unlikely that many of the counted words will not be repeated. Hence, the type/token ratio is not as good for the student with the longer theme. Furthermore, the type/token ratio penalizes students for striving after literary effects. For example, one student wrote: *The leaf floated down, down, down, down.* The latter contains one type and three tokens occurrences of *down*, a very bad score indeed.

Nevertheless, student posttest compositions do tend to be favored by teachers over the pretest compositions. For instance, one Guadalupe pretest looked like this:

> The leaf was on a very tall tree and old. The leaf was yellow and it began to move. And the leaf was in the air. I saw a deer with a baby deer. The wind began to blow the green grass. The yellow leaf fell in the stream. The deers ran away from the big great wind. The bird saw the yellow leaf. And then the yellow leaf went down, down, down into the water.

(Spelling on both the above and the succeeding compositions has been normalized so that it would not interfere with the evaluation of the compositions as compositions.) The posttest composition by the same student looked like this:

> The yellow leaf was on a free and when the wind came, the little leaf fell down on the hard mountain. The wind was blowing so hard the leaf couldn't stop. It fell on some sand and on some rocks. The leaf was floating in the air. The animals got scared with the wind. It was go on and on and on and on until it fell in the water. It went through the tree that was in the water.

(Structures practiced in the experiment are underlined.) This particular student was using a good many prenominal adjectives in the pretest; she may have learned this use in the week of practice preceding the pretest. In any case, the use of subordinate clauses increases from pretest to posttest. It may be that the overall quality of the composition increases due to side effects obtained in the transformational sentence combining exercises. Such side effects have been observed by O'Hara (1973: 72) and commented on by him. There is at least one danger inherent in practicing transformational sentence combining with young students. Some students may take

the sentence types used as the major type of sentences for compositions. Thus, one student wrote the following:

> But the leaf was just floating in the air which was going so slow that the leaf was not afraid to fall down through the mountains. Rocks were very close together which the leaf bumped with any kind of rock which were a narrow thing. Rocks were very big and strong. went to the river which was going so fast and sometime slowly. went the leaf through the mountain which were . . . The very good movie because I got to see it . . .

Obviously, the student here has thought that the success of the exercise was to be measured by the number of *which*-clauses in it since these clauses had been practiced frequently in the daily exercises. This danger, however, seems to be minimal since only one student out of 36 in the experiment evidenced writing such as the above.

Another danger might be found in the fact that one student who did poorly in the sentence combining exercises ended with writing mostly garbles or grammatically malformed sentences on the posttest. Apart from these two students, however, one of which had no pretest and was thus not counted in the final results, most students improved in that they became more fluent in writing and they also improved on the measure used by Hunt. The reasons for this must be largely a matter of speculation at the present time. It may be that the simple act of listening to sentences, processing them and then writing them down facilitates the overall writing process for students. It may be that reading chorally and then practicing with the language of the choral reading gives the student a certain familiarity with the written language and with the process of composition. Whatever it is about these exercises that helps students improve their writing, this much is certain: they do help students mature linguistically and thus improve their writing.

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Communication Techniques for the Intermediate and Advanced ESL Student*

John H. Schumann
Harvard University

The language teaching profession has come to recognize the need for real communication in second language education. One of the main methodological thrusts of the past five or six years has been to find techniques for promoting real communication in ESL and foreign language programs. During the past two summers (1972 and 73) in a program for Japanese teachers of English at Boston University we have been experimenting with various language learning tasks that require real communication. The basic principle behind these techniques is to find or provide an individual or group with certain information and then to require a second individual or group to elicit that information. All of the students in the Boston University program have been at either the intermediate or advanced level and therefore these techniques have largely been designed and used with students who have at least a good passive command of English grammar and vocabulary.

John Macnamara has indicated the importance of the communicative impulse in second language learning. He states:

> . . . the child learns his mother tongue by determining independent of language what his mother is saying to him and using the meaning to unravel the code. I am reasonably sure that the manner in which a child learns a second language in the street is basically similar . . . Sense is everything. In the classroom things are the other way about. Language is everything. The teacher has nothing important to say to the child, and the child has nothing important to say to the teacher. The whole design of the classroom runs against the grain of the *faculte de language*, the natural device for learning a language. (Macnamara, 1972, p. 9.)

H.H. Stern expanding on Macnamara's observation states:

> If we take together two propositions: (a) children learn a language effectively in communicative settings; (b) a language cannot be learned effectively by classroom methods alone, it can be argued that if we convert the school or classroom into a truly communicative setting, a language might well be learned more effectively than by conventional methods of classroom teaching. (Stern, 1973, pp. 280-1.)

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The techniques presented below are attempts to convert the classroom into a communicative setting and to thus provide an atmosphere where students have important things to say both to the teacher and to other students.

1.0 Piagetian Task

This communication activity is based on an experimental technique used by Jean Piaget in his research with children. The application of this technique to language teaching comes from the Jilap materials published by Jacaranda Press in Australia.

1.1 Design and Communication

Two students sit across from each other with a screen between them so that they cannot see each other. Student A has a piece of bristol board in front of him with a grid of one inch squares drawn on it. Pictures from magazines are pasted over the grid to achieve a collage-like effect. In front of student B is a blank grid and duplicates of all the pictures in the collage. Student A describes the collage so that Student B can construct an identical picture from the duplicate pieces. When describing the picture, Student A is forced to use whatever verbal strategies he can to get his description across. The student constructing the picture B is often forced to ask probing questions in order to clarify the description. When the task is completed, the sets are exchanged and then student B does the describing and student A constructs the picture.

1.2 Discussion

The task can be done with two non-English speaking students or one non-English speaker and a native speaker. When the game is played with a native speaker, the native speaker's description will provide instruction on lexicon of the particular picture.

The game can be made as simple or as difficult as necessary. The pictures can be chosen to deliberately teach certain vocabulary and they can be arranged so as to focus on the use of certain grammatical constructions (prepositions: above, below, next to, on; verb tenses: playing, going to jump, etc.). Thus this task is applicable to various levels of students. In fact, the Jilap materials referred to above use this technique with elementary school pupils.

Once the students learn communication strategies with a rectangular grid (such as: "upper right hand corner," "five squares down on the left and three squares in") the grid can be placed on an eliptical or round board, thus changing the way places on the gride are described. Eventually the grid may be eliminated altogether.

2.0 Film Task

In this activity films are used to initiate communication events. The

technique was originally devised by John Francis at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C.

2.1 Design and Communication

The students are divided into two groups. The first group watches the film with sound ("sound group") and the other group without sound ("view group"). Then the two groups meet and the view group queries the sound group until the plot is revealed. This process involves three class periods. During the first class period the view group is free. The sound group receives a brief outline of the plot from the teacher, after which the film is shown. The students view the film again. This time the teacher breaks in and provides a section by section explanation The important thing is that the sound group thoroughly understand what has taken place in the film. In the second period the view group watches the film and writes down any questions which occur to them.

The communication event takes place in the third class period. At this session each student in each group is given a card with a number from 1 to 10 (assuming that there are ten students in each group). The teacher has a set of ten cards in random order. He chooses one card and the student with the corresponding number in the view group asks a question of the student in the sound group who has the same number. The number procedure is used to insure that each student will speak. Random selection of numbers makes it unnecessary for the teacher to choose particular respondees.

2.2 Discussion

The selection of films for this task is crucial. They have to have enough action so that they will induce people to ask questions. At the same time, the action cannot be so explicit as to reveal the whole plot. Such films are not easy to find; the three films chosen for the Boston University program were "Dr. Heidigger's Experiment," "Lady or the Tiger," and "Bartleby." (*The Humanity Series*, produced by the Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation). Also, films more than thirty minutes in length take up too much class time. Our experience indicates that a fifteen minute film is ideal because it can be conveniently shown several times in one class period. As with the Piagetian Task, this communication event could be profitably implemented using native speakers of English for either the sound or the view group.

3.0 Television Task

In this activity soap operas are used to initiate communication events. In soap operas, there is very little action from which the plot can be interpreted; the stories are presented through conversation and therefore, in order to understand the story one must understand what is said. The resulting focus on the spoken language provides intensive training in the

comprehension of normal English conversation. Because soap operas concern the intimate personal lives of their characters, much of the story is expressed through subtle phrasing and innuendo. The ability to grasp the information conveyed by these nuances as well as that conveyed non-verbally by gestures, looks, eye movements and facial expressions is essential to the comprehension of natural conversation. Thus, soap operas provide exposure to all facets of spoken English. Also, while certainly extaggerating some aspects of American life, they can provide insights into American middle class values, family conflicts, marital problems, and social customs. Finally, the continuity of story provided by the soap opera serials fosters involvement in the plot and maintains a high interest level among the students.

However it must be pointed out that of the communication tasks so far discussed, the television task is the most difficult and requires students with relatively good comprehension skills. Also, this technique requires the allocation of five class periods per week for a period of several weeks or months.

3.1 Design and Communication

Before undertaking this activity the instructor should watch the program for two or three weeks in order to become familiar with the plot and characters. Then, before the students begin the activity, they should be given a thorough introduction to the program. This can consist of detailed handouts which provide background on the characters and plot. The students study the handouts and discuss them with the instructor.

This familiarization process continues during the first days (or weeks in longer programs). As the students watch the program, the instructor makes notes on the blackboard which summarize the events as they are taking place. At each commercial the sound is turned down and the instructor goes over the preceding section, referring to the blackboard notes. After the program, the subsequent half hour is spent reviewing the plot, explaining idioms, and answering questions. Eventually notes are not put on the blackboard and the students are only given an oral explanation during the commercials to help their comprehension. This familiarization is extremely important and may require a good deal of time; therefore, a course which is designed to continue for two or three months or even a semester may be necessary for this communication activity.

When the students are familiar with the program and can understand the dialogue reasonably well, the following communication activities can be undertaken:

(1) The students watch the program; the teacher does not. After the program the teacher enters the classroom and asks the students about what occurred.

(2) The teacher watches the program; the studnts do not. Then the students question the teacher.

(3) One half of the group watches; the other does not. The group

which does not see the program questions the one that does. The following day the role of each group is reversed.

3.2 Discussion

If fifteen or twenty programs were video taped and texts prepared for each one, then the difficulty of the soap operas could be reduced by having the video tape available for multiple viewings and texts available for prereadings and review. However, this approach has its drawbacks in that it might reduce the oral communication focus by relying too heavy on the written language in texts and the repetition inherent in multiple viewings of the video tapes.

4.0 Cultural Information Task

This activity was suggested by Francine Schumann and was used successfully in the 1973 Japanese Teachers Program at Boston University.

4.1 Design and Communication

The task is designed to get the students to communicate with native speakers of English. Each student is given a question from an advice column (such an Ann Landers or Dear Abby) and is instructed to ask several Americans what their answers to the questions would be. The students then reported their answers back to the class and the instructor reads the answer which the columnist has given. The issues can then become a topic for class discussion with all the students offering their opinion.

5.0 Community Communication Task
5.1 Design and Communication

This task is also designed to get the students in contact with native speakers of English. The students, in pairs, visit the businesses, organizations, and institutions in the area of the school. Here they get certain information (indicated to at least some extent by the instructor). During the interview one of the students takes notes and the other asks the questions. Then the students report the information back to the class. The following are some of the places visited in last year's program:

(1) Boston University Counselling Center
(2) Boston University Police
(3) An antique shop
(4) A furniture store (to inquire about waterbeds)
(5) A Cadillac dealer (to inquire about the most expensive Cadillac)
(6) A dry cleaner
(7) Boston University College of Basic Studies (to inquire about a special two-year program)
(8) The Boston University Film Library

5.2 Discussion

This task often requires that the instructor contact the places the students will visit ahead of time and explain the nature of the students' task. The people visited are generally very receptive and enjoyed talking with the students. After the students have been out on two or three tasks they can be sent without prior arrangements with the people they will visit. In addition, after some initial experience, the students can go alone rather than in pairs.

6.0 Telephone Task

This task is a variation of the Community Communication Task, but here the information gathering is done over the telephone. Each student is given a card with the name and telephone number of either a business or a public service, and is instructed to find out certain information. The student phones, asks the questions, and then reports the information back to the class. Difficulties encounterd in making the calls can be discussed, and ways of dealing with these difficulties can be offered. Some of the places called by students last summer were bus stations, train stations, car rentals, language schools, and hotels.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the activities discussed in this paper do not have to replace the current ESL curriculum. They can be used as a communication component which will supplement the total ESL program. Also, it is important to mention the communication activities which students do not like are no more useful than drills. Therefore, the students should not be forced to participate in activities which they do not enjoy. It is advisable that correction be reserved for the more structural parts of the ESL program. During the communication activities students should be allowed to make mistakes; the criterion for correctness is simply successful comprehension of the speaker by the listener. Finally, these techniques demand that the teacher play a somewhat different role in the ESL classroom. Instead of being the source of the language which the students learn, the teacher becomes a designer of communication events, and an orchestrator of communication. I think teachers will enjoy this role change and will find it a fascinating and even somewhat less exhausting way to teach.

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Universe of Discourse

"Neither culture nor language actually affect the form or structure of thought." (Wallace E. Lambert)

As a low-grade form of clown life
(vociferous Grock, sober Fields,
beaming Keaton, warm Frost,
impersonally self-pitying Chaplin);
as a role-player frightened at the price of the bread of life,
as, in short, a teacher—
or Sitzriese—
I welcome this opportunity.

I propose at least to endeavor to establish between us
a universe of discourse
that will, I hope, last the session,
since it will take the session to establish;
and what might have been discussed
had it already been established
may perhaps by that time be taken for granted.
And if not, not.

Well, I have just been expanding my puny empathy
in the Denver Art Museum
on the girning wooden wolfshead,
the horsey-doggy bearmask
(with eyes the excised bottoms of wine-bottles)
etcetera from Nootka Sound.

Now, many of our conference members appear to be humanists;
yet humanists who paradoxically accept—
paradoxically, for on what humanistic grounds?—
not only the validity of some sort or set of universals,
but also—
probably as an inference from 'deep structure'—
that these universals are independent of culture and language;
whereas I believe
in the sole validity
of revealed and incorporate truth.

No wonder, then, as one of the oldest persons in this assemblage,
that I feel 'the tiger in the tiger-cage
is not more irritable than I'
and must ask you to
'tell me if I am not mad'
—and whether I am not proud of it.

Allow me now to refer to my own clothing
—it is, I trust, sufficiently old-fashioned.
My pin-stripe mood indigo
formally represents
the night sky Pascal apprehended;
my shirt has the dirty desert colour
of the inevitably waste land;
my tie a tincture of dried blood
(Do you see the massacred corpses in Central Africa,
in the woods outside Paris
the mangled bodies strewn over nine miles
from the largest air-accident yet?);
my handkerchief (classed by the haberdasher as 'Aztec Gold'
—'Tis fairy gold, boy')
overflows its pocket
to reflect the cash nexus
in a situation of inflation;
my black shoes, hiding behind the lectern
and finding some comfort in the habitual company of twins,
mourn the death of every second,
while their brazen buckles
celebrate the resurrection of every next.

'Out of this stony rubbish'
between the Son of Man
and our sedulously competitive economic ape,
I, your tame—but I hope not pet—
magpie
(remembering that very proper name the Moral Sciences Tripos,
and hoping to alleviate the Polonian sequence
of psycho- socio- anthropologico- pedagogical)
pluck yet another scrap of reflective tinsel:
'moral linguistics.'

But alas, after fourteen years in Sweden,
two in Persia, five in Pakistan,
and now as the holder of an Alien Registration Card,
let me put myself before you as an older exemplar
of the migrants of immigrants you teach:
Je suis bien déraciné.
That is why on my fiftieth birthday,
J. R. Firth said to me,
'Arthur, had you stayed in England,
you might have been quite a good minor writer;
but you've lost your colloquial grip
and you talk like a book:
people who talk like books
don't write good ones.'
That, too, is why I dream uprooted dreams:
for example, last night
that I was preceeding
on military orders, but in a lumbering coach,

from London to Scotland
to clear Kirkcudbrightshire
from survivors of the '45;
and later (recurrent theme)
that I was wandering through a deserted cliff-city—
Iran or Arizona, who could care?
One can be deracinate in history or geography;
and if in either, then usually in both.

Still, we are all 'strangers and pilgrims'
crying from the depths
where an ineluctable despair
grapples with an improbable hope
(this is my kind of universal:
every moment a death,
every twinkling of an eye a resurrection).

Now we see—or do we?—
the contrast between Professor Lambert's extra-, supra- or infra-
cultural and linguistic universals,
and his commendable assertion of persons.
For it's because I, too, assert persons
that I cannot do without incarnation—
not an idea,
but a word made flower and flesh.
It is persons we intuitively follow, not principles
in person we teach and are taught
our persons:
the method and the substance are the same.

But it is also in the middle—
in the soul that coalesces body and spirit—
that we are persons.
If we go up or down
inside or outside
to brain or *faeces*, ether or crystal,
we find abstraction:
universals are abstractions.

So why should I be either cognitive or behavioral?
I refuse to be committed
to thesis, antithesis, or synthesis,
except as a whole dialectical process;
I deny the highway of definition
—where mortal accidents occur—
when the pastures and streams of multiple meaning lie open within me;
I demand
—and represent—
the language of the whole man;
I will—in assonance but not in argument—
arise and shine, for my light is come;

I summon the spirits of Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Wittgenstein
—more solid than the living spectres of behavioralism or logical positivism—
to stand by me:—
logic's a rhetorical method,
by arrangement a way of persuasion;
not a path of discovery.
Every discovery's by revelation,
when a door swings open
on to a flight of steps,
a dustbin,
a sheer drop,
an evening garden;
or, as in this hotel at this time,
another discussion
where each clowns for the benefit of the rest.

A. H. KING
Denver, March 8, 1974