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ABSTRACT

Adapting sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques for use in teaching a second language is presented as an activity that gets students out of the classroom and into the speech community to observe and use language in real situations. It is intended for intermediate and advanced students who need motivation and encouragement to interact with native speakers. First methodological approaches of sociolinguists studying speech in a social context are examined, beginning with the identification of the speech community to be studied. Also included in the fieldwork techniques are preparing an explanation for the interviews and devising interview forms to guide the conversations, which are tape-recorded. Next, student preparation is discussed, including pre-fieldwork activities (classroom role-playing), and fieldwork preparation (classroom discussion to prepare topic and schedule). Three sample taped interviews are shown concerning life in New York, Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, and family life in the United States. The material collected from the fieldwork lends itself to a wide variety of follow-up linguistic activities. The order of the fieldwork analysis is outlined, beginning with a general class discussion followed by examples from particular interviews, student presentations of findings, and ending with a student evaluation of the entire process. This exercise is advocated because it forces students to use what they know in order to learn more. The appendices include suggested interviews for use in three second language situations: bilingual, Americans studying a foreign language in the United States, and adults in ESL class. (NCR)

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION:

THEORY & PRACTICE

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Barbara F. Freed

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FOREWORD

The purpose of the following discussion is to illustrate how socio-linguistic fieldwork techniques may be adapted for use in teaching a second language. It is an approach that gets students out of the classroom and into the speech community, where they can observe and use language in real situational contexts. It should not be considered a resource guide to fieldwork practices in sociolinguistics proper. For such guidance, the reader is referred to the many works of William Labov, who has been the source of inspiration for this monograph and to whom the author is deeply indebted. Special appreciation is due as well to Susan Lindheim, who helped carry out the initial project, and to Debbie Asher and Patrick Finnegan, who put these techniques to work in their own classrooms.

Barbara F. Freed

FROM THE COMMUNITY TO THE CLASSROOM: GATHERING SECOND LANGUAGE SPEECH SAMPLES

Language teachers, particularly those who teach adults, have been plagued by a number of obstacles in their attempts to create real, not just realistic, learning situations for their students. It is a source of concern to all those involved that second language students do not get enough opportunities for spontaneous, unrehearsed use of language and for activities and exercises beyond the structured drills of the classroom. It is not uncommon to find students who have studied a language for several years and who feel relatively proficient in their command of the second language in the classroom, but who are uncomfortable in situations where they must interact with native speakers. They are often at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to using this language assertively, which involves a knowledge of the rules of speaking, not just the rules of grammar. They might not know, for example, exactly how to introduce themselves in different situations, how to get the floor, how to interrupt, how to correct, or how to establish intimacy or maintain social distance. They are usually limited to just one style of speaking. Stylistic variation and knowledge of rule keeping and rule breaking are an inherent part of what Hymes has called "communicative competence": that tacit cultural knowledge a speaker-hearer has of how and when to use situationally appropriate linguistic forms (Hymes 1974 and in Cazden, John and Hymes 1972).

In recent years, sociolinguistics has been singled out as the area of linguistics with the greatest relevance and potential use for the language classroom. Articles have been written, papers delivered, curriculum materials and guides prepared--all stressing the need to prepare students for social as well as linguistic interaction with native speakers of the target language. As a result, much emphasis is now placed on helping students of a second language learn the rules for appropriate use of that language as well as the correct grammatical forms, so that they may detect and ultimately use a range of styles suitable for different speech situations.

More is needed, however, on the teacher's part than awareness of the need for communicative-type classroom activities. Students must be provided with an opportunity to interact in an authentic, unpredictable manner with a wide range of native speakers. With this goal in mind, the following discussion presents a pedagogical

adaptation of sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques, an activity that unites the world outside the classroom with the more structured activities of classroom work. In the past, the connection between theory and practice tended to be one that related research findings to teaching methods. The approach described here is a different one: it translates specific linguistic practice directly into learning experiences for second language students.

Sociolinguistic Fieldwork Techniques

Before examining the pedagogical utility of sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques, it would be helpful to consider the methodological approaches of sociolinguists and ethnomethodologists studying speech in a social context.

Many language teachers have at one time or another taken a general linguistics or sociolinguistics course. Frequently, one of the assignments has involved doing some type of work with informants. In its simplest form, this has required that linguistics students find native speakers of a language unknown to them and then elicit from these informants various structures of their language. This is intended to help the students determine certain aspects of the language being studied. In sociolinguistics, this type of isolated work with informants has been elaborated into total immersion in the speech community, where language is studied within its social context. The linguistic fieldworker enters the speech community and collects (by tape recording) naturally occurring speech. Such contextual speech then serves as primary linguistic data that is later subjected to many types of analysis: ethnographic, phonologic, morphologic, syntactic, and semantic. Specific procedures known as "sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques" have been developed for gathering natural speech data and for eliciting a range of contextual styles from speakers within the speech community.

Work of this type has been done in many parts of the world: Fishman, Cooper, Ma et al. in bilingual communities in Jersey City (1968); Gumperz in India (1964); Blom and Gumperz in Norway (1972); Labov in Martha's Vineyard, New York and Philadelphia (1966, 1972a, 1972b); Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley in Detroit (1967); and Wolfram in Puerto Rican Harlem (1973).

The first step for all such research is the identification of the speech community to be studied. This is followed by preliminary observation of the places of local interaction in the neighborhood: the schools, stores, bars, playgrounds, etc. Prior to making any direct contacts with local residents, sociolinguists must establish a reason for their presence in the area. People are naturally suspicious of strangers who try to engage them in conversation, more so if they carry a visible tape recorder. It is therefore imperative that fieldworkers prepare a careful explanation for their work, a reason for their interest in the area. Often they will

carry a letter of introduction from the agency sponsoring or funding the research.

It should be emphasized that the stated topic of interest must never be language itself. The surest way to obtain unnatural, formal, corrected speech is to identify language as the subject under study. Thus, some genuine--while perhaps general--purpose for the researchers' work must be presented. This permits researchers to interact with community members as participants and observers, conversing with them on topics of authentic interest, while directly observing (and tape recording) their speech. For example, a preliminary study of the English of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia (Freed, Poplack, Lindheim, and Tanner 1975) was initiated through the schools. Principals and teachers were told that the investigators were interested in the educational situation of Puerto Rican students in the Philadelphia area. Thus initial contact was with the children and then, through them, with their parents. The education of bilingual students was indeed of interest, but the primary interest was the language of this population.

In addition to pinpointing a specific geographical area and preparing an explanation for the work being done, fieldworkers must devise interview forms to guide them as they engage persons in conversation. Because standard survey questionnaires have been shown to yield only the most formal speech, such fieldworkers as Labov, Fishman, Wolfram, Shuy, and Gumperz have developed "interview schedules," which consist of a series of modules that are based on topics related to the expressed subject of their work. These modules consist of a range of questions purposely designed to elicit both general information, which is often more formal in style, and personal experiences, which are usually more spontaneous and casual in style. These modules produce a continuum of speech styles from the most careful to the most casual.

Among the topics included in all interview schedules are a series of questions that have been shown to elicit the most spontaneous, uncorrected, natural speech. When properly introduced in the course of conversation, these questions create a context that encourages the retelling of personal stories and the reliving of past experiences. They direct the speakers' attention away from the interviewer and away from language and involve them in the recreation of personal experiences, which inevitably produce the most spontaneous speech. Topics shown to elicit such speech are childhood games and rhymes, fight stories, premonitions, luck, and situations of danger (Labov 1966). Questions relating to these situations are inconspicuously integrated into the total interview sequence with the knowledge that most people will eagerly relate a story about an incident in which they believe they almost died or will chant childhood rhymes in a style that bears little resemblance to the formal, careful speech used to reply to direct questioning. Reproduced in Appendix B are examples of some of the interview modules used in detailed studies of urban neighborhoods by Labov

and his co-workers on the "Project on Linguistic Change and Variation." The progression of interview modules included here (demography, family, crime in the streets, fights, danger of death, games) flows logically. These questions should not be delivered as in a formal interview situation but should be integrated into a natural conversation. The modules serve only as guides, however, and the order of questioning is not fixed. Only those questions that are marked with asterisks are crucial, for they are the ones known to produce the most spontaneous speech or personal narratives.

In actual sociolinguistic fieldwork, this wide range of topics is introduced over a period of several visits during which the fieldworker gets to know the informants, their families and friends. Toward the end of these many sessions, the most formal elicitation techniques are introduced: minimal-pair word lists, specially written passages, and subjective reaction tests. The linguist then has for future analysis a full range of contextual styles.

A vast and rich speech corpus is produced in response to topics that have been introduced over an extended period of time. Analysis of these linguistic data has contributed to the understanding of sound change in progress, linguistic rules and systems, and the overall cultural and social rules for the use of language. Sociolinguistic and ethnomethodological analysis have identified interaction sequences; the how, when, and where of language use, and the stylistic variation characteristic of any one speaker. These types of analysis have provided a notion of communicative competence that incorporates not only linguistically correct forms but also situationally appropriate variations of style and unconscious adjustments (for example, simplifications when speaking to a young child) and a full range of nonverbal cues. By extension, these findings have increased our understanding of what language students need to know in order to interact verbally--and thus socially--with native speakers of the language being studied.

For the purpose of second language teaching, the question obviously becomes how to help students gain the fine-tuned competencies that for native speakers are abstract and automatic. There is reason to believe that the methodological procedures utilized for gathering sociolinguistic data may be *an end in themselves* in helping students achieve these goals. For the second language learner, the entire fieldwork experience is valuable, including the determination of how to penetrate the speech community, the actual involvement with native speakers, and, ultimately, the analysis of tape recorded data under the teacher's guidance in the classroom.

Applications of Sociolinguistic Fieldwork Techniques to Second Language Teaching

In this learning procedure, the previously described sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques are transformed into a pedagogically useful

activity for second language students. Students, acting as linguistic fieldworkers, are sent out of the classroom into the speech community surrounding their homes and classrooms to gather material, i.e., natural speech, that later serves as a basis for both linguistic and cultural analysis. A two-part activity is utilized: the actual data collection from native informants and the analysis of this tape-recorded speech for comparison and contrast of various speech patterns and styles. In this manner, a learning situation is created that utilizes natural speech situations to help students gain communicative abilities. It brings the classroom and the real world into a meaningful educational unity. Through a systematic progression of activities, students are encouraged and even obliged to engage in authentic communicative activities within the speech community, where both appropriate use and grammatical correctness are called for. Practice of this type helps increase the students' command of the second language as well as their understanding of the many varieties, uses, and cultural aspects of the language.

This adaptation of sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques is presented as an adjunct to any second language class and is intended for intermediate and advanced students who need motivation and encouragement to interact with native speakers of the language being studied. It brings to these students a measure of confidence as they become aware that they can overcome their natural inhibitions toward approaching and interacting with native speakers other than their friends and teachers. It has been used with great success in ESL, Spanish, Hebrew, and German classes. It is particularly well adapted to bilingual teaching situations where students of both languages are in attendance and where community involvement in the school is encouraged. In classes other than bilingual or ESL, the teacher may have to locate a foreign-speaking population for the students, a task far easier than sometimes believed. As is evident from the 1970 Census of the United States, there is an overwhelming portion of the population of the United States whose mother tongue is other than English: to be exact, 42,493,045 residents, or close to 21 percent of the population (p. 492). The heterogeneity of language groups in the United States is a vast untapped national resource, ideally suited to the needs of second language students. One need only consult the Reports of the Working Committees of the 1976 Northeast Conference on Foreign Language Teaching (Language and Culture: Heritage and Horizons) to realize the accessibility throughout the United States of segments of the population whose native language is not English. In virtually every city it is possible to locate speakers of all the languages taught in our schools today.

Preparation of Students

Pre-fieldwork activities. Careful preparation is required to conduct this work successfully. Prior to beginning fieldwork with native speakers, students must be prepared to carry out interviews by means of a variety of activities designed to help build their confidence. Depending on the students' levels, various practice

exercises are suggested that oblige them to seek information from other students in class and later to gather small bits of information from native speakers outside of class. For example, in the classroom various role-playing situations can be set up in which students gather information from each other (e.g., what time a restaurant opens, the cost of train tickets, the schedule of an airline). These may be followed by questions on personal values and attitudes. Obviously, activities of this type are an integral part of most second language classrooms, and examples can be found in many texts that include communication drills and exercises.

It must be specified that these exercises are an imperative prelude to face-to-face interviewing in the speech community. Following classroom role-playing activities, students should be given short assignments that require them to seek actual information from within the second language community. They may be asked (if the nature of the community permits this) to

- select a place they wish to visit for a weekend and find out from a travel agent the cost of such a trip; details about accommodations; train, plane, or bus schedules; and place of departure and arrival;

- telephone a specified theater where a movie or play is being presented to find out the name of the show, the schedule of performances, the price of tickets, and whether or not reservations are needed;

- conduct a survey among their friends to find out their views on a topic of current interest.

The information obtained can then be brought back to class for discussion. These suggestions are but a few examples of the virtually limitless communicative activities that can gradually introduce students into the second language speech community. Students must be prepared to ask questions, understand the responses to them, and convey this information to others.

Fieldwork Preparation. Once the students have engaged in a sufficient number of prefieldwork activities, preparation for the full-scale fieldwork experience may begin. The first step is to discuss the entire procedure with the class. This involves a description of interview situations with examples of the range of speech that emerges from each--for example, formal medical histories as contrasted with TV talk show interviews--in order to demonstrate the variety of speech samples that may be obtained and so that students may have an idea of what they will be looking and listening for.

Following this introduction to the project, an appropriate topic of interest must be selected. Students will have to establish a convincing purpose for approaching and interviewing informants.

Topics should be of local interest; anything that relates to people and their lives is of plausible interest. They should include in a natural way those questions important to the interviewing techniques. Topics that have been used successfully in the past by foreign students in the United States, or by students studying a second language in the United States, include life in big cities and small towns, local holidays, playgrounds and parks, shopping, and politics and elections. Students of a second language who are not living in the host country have sought out an easily accessible foreign population. These students have used many of the abovementioned subjects as well as some that relate to moving to the United States, contrasts between lifestyles, difficulties of life in the States, and so forth.

Once the topic has been agreed upon, the teacher--or the teacher and class together--prepares the interview schedule. As in actual sociolinguistic fieldwork, the schedule should consist of a module or modules with a series of questions to serve as guidelines for the interview. It should be constructed along a continuum from formal to most casual, weaving together those questions known to produce casual speech and narratives.

Once the activity has been fully explained, examples given, and the module presented, the language of the module is reviewed. Pronunciation, intonation, new structures, and vocabulary must be practiced. Particular attention should be given to the students' introductory remarks. They should also be alerted to possible refusals in their requests for interviews.

When the students are fully prepared, they are given a battery-operated cassette tape recorder and blank tapes. Each student should conduct a trial interview, first in class and then with a friend outside of class. It is important to develop facility in operating the tape recorder; clear tapes are essential to future activities, and blank or distorted tapes a great disappointment. The students--alone or perhaps in pairs--are instructed to approach native speakers, introduce themselves, and ask if the informant has a few minutes to discuss a particular subject. Using their interview module as a guide, the students are expected to interview three to five people, preferably of varying age, sex, socioeconomic class, and race. They might need several days to complete this part of the project.

Presented below are three sample modules that have been used successfully. The first was presented in a demonstration session at the 1976 TESOL Conference, the second was employed by a high school Spanish class, and the third was part of an extended experience for an intermediate adult ESL class. (See Appendix A for additional suggested modules.)

In the TESOL Conference example (*Life in New York*), foreign students who were in the demonstration class were introduced to the activity

and then provided with the module containing questions they could appropriately ask any English-speaking native they might encounter in the halls of the conference hotel. The second example was used by American high school Spanish students. Their interview location was a local bilingual school, and their informants were Puerto Rican high school students. The module for the intermediate ESL class was entitled *Family Life in the United States* and was utilized by students in the community close to their homes and/or classes.

Life in New York

Excuse me, do you have a few minutes to talk? I'm from ________ and am working on a project here at the conference. I'm trying to find out what life's like in New York City.

What do you think of the conference so far?

What has been the best, (most interesting) part?

Have you had time to see anything in New York? (If so, what?)

Does life here seem very different from where you live? How?

Are you afraid to walk around New York at night? What makes you afraid?

Are there places you wouldn't go by yourself? Where?

Have you ever heard of anything really bad happening to anyone in New York?

*How 'bout you? Have you ever been in a situation where you said to yourself, "This is it, I've had it"?

Do you think the situation is typical of life in big cities in the United States?

Thanks for taking the time to talk. Enjoy the rest of the conference.

*****

Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia

¿Cómo le parece la vida por aqui?
[What is it like living around here?]

¿Es diferente esta vida a la de su ciudad nativa? ¿De qué manera?
[Is it any different from life in your native city? In what way?]

¿Visitó UD. todas las partes de la ciudad? ¿Cuáles?
[Have you visited every part of the city? Which parts?]

---

*Crucial question; must be asked verbatim

¿Tiene UD. miedo cuando está dando un paseo en la ciudad por la noche? ¿Por qué?

[Are you afraid to walk around the city at night? Why?]

¿Hay sectores adonde no va UD. solo(a)? ¿Adónde? ¿Por qué?
[Are there places you wouldn't go by yourself? Where? Why?]

¿Conoce a alguien que han atacado?
[Have you heard of anything really bad happening to anyone?]

*Y a UD. ¿Le ocurrió alguna vez a UD. algún incidente peligroso para pensar que era el fin? ¿Qué pasó?

[How 'bout you? Have you ever been in a situation where you said to yourself,"This is it, I've had it"?]

¿Es una situación típica en las grandes ciudades de los Estados Unidos?

[Do you think this situation is typical of life in big cities in the United States?]

Muchas gracias.
[Thank you very much.]

+++++

Family Life in the United States

I'm from ______________ and I'm studying family life in the United States. Do you have some time to talk with me?

How many people are there in your family?

How about when you were a child--was your family larger?

Were you the youngest or oldest?

Did your parents have lots of rules?

Were there rules about dinner, like you had to clear off your plate before you got dessert, or you had to be excused before you could leave the table?

Did they have rules about when you had to be in at night?

What happened when you stayed out too late?

Were your parents stricter with you than with your older brothers and/or sisters?

*Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do? What happened?

---

*Crucial question; must be asked verbatim

Did your family do a lot of things together?

How about today, does your family do as many things together, or is family life very different?

+++++

In all three examples, the questions are ordered so that the first few queries are more structured than those toward the middle and end. These initial questions are intended to establish contact and produce somewhat abbreviated and formal responses. The nature of the latter questions will, with some luck, elicit more spontaneous speech on the part of the informants. These questions are quite naturally integrated into the module, with the knowledge that most people will eagerly tell about a time they believe they were in great personal danger or about an incident where they feel someone took advantage of them (see, for example, Labov 1966, pp. 107-9).

The tapes that resulted from these interviews provided a wealth of interesting, varying, and natural speech. They reflect different dialect pronunciations (both social and regional), current slang, basic everyday expressions, and cultural references that are widely used, though often taken for granted by native speakers. In addition, students benefited from the actual interviewing experience and contact with native speakers of the language they were studying. Finally, the students' active involvement in producing the tape recordings built up their interest and motivation for all the follow-up activities. The self-made tapes provided the greatest stimulus for classroom work, far beyond that of packaged materials or simulated role-playing.

As an example of the speech collected in the field, a portion of one student's tape is transcribed below.[1] (See Appendix A for module.) This also represents an unsolicited, albeit authentic, example of the biased cultural attitudes that may emerge from such work.

Interviewer: Do you like living in Philadelphia?

Informant : Yeh, we like it. Of course what happened to Logan we don't like, but Logan was always a beautiful section.

Interviewer: "Was," and now?

Informant : Well you see what happened now. They've marked it up, they've broke down homes, they have destroyed things. This has only happened these last couple of

[1]Transcription by Susan Lindheim

years. But this was always a select section. It was beautiful. But not any more. This was the nicest section in Philadelphia.

Interviewer: Do you think it is dangerous living in the big city?

Informant : Well, right now it's dangerous every place you live. The vandalism and the terror is all over. The only thing as of right now we feel it, because we never had it in this section before. Now like my husband said, we could come home any hour, any day, think nothing of it--now in broad daylight they can mug you, throw you down, take your bag, and rape and carry on. It's, it's just not what it used to be. People wouldn't come out to help ya. They're afraid. If someone would hit you in the head people wouldn't come help you, 'cause they're afraid. It was never like that, and now it's a different story.

Interviewer: Why do you think...

Informant : What has caused all this? Nobody knows. We feel it's the integration but again who knows. Now they--you either lived in a white neighborhood or you lived in a colored neighborhood. Now they feel if they take the colored children and bring them into the white's section they will have a better education. But they're not educated to the point of respect. This section, they're destroying it instead of learning to live with the whites. They're killing us, they're beating us up, they're doing everything to--anything but living like human beings. So that's what has made the change here.

Interviewer: What happens for Halloween--are you afraid?

Informant : Far back as I can remember we've had to celebrate this Halloween, only in my younger days it was very dangerous. The children were very bad. They would rip down fences. They would turn over garbage. They would slash tires. They would do all kinds of mischievous things--on Mischief Night--today is Mischief Night. The night before Halloween. But as time went on--tonight is called Mischief Night. They take pieces of chalk, like in school, and they scribble up windows and cars and walls and doors. Children don't seem to do these things so much any more. You know what they done to us one night? They took a lot of eggs and smashed our window. They didn't break the winda but they made a lot of dirt.

> It took me two days to clean the windows up. But they just know that every year the children put on these masks and get different costumes on, and they go door to door with big bags and they holler "Trick or Treat," so you throw in an apple, or a pear, or a piece of candy....

Even from these short excerpts where pronunciation is not reflected, the quantity of available teaching material is apparent. Cultural content emerged spontaneously, and foreign adults, who are often interested in race relations, were confronted with the subject in a natural way. As a result, students brought up questions on cultural and linguistic attitudes and inquired about variations of style. Students also had an opportunity to compare this tape with others where the speech and content in response to the same questions were strikingly different.

Follow-Up Activities. The material collected from the fieldwork lends itself to a wide variety of linguistic activities. These range from basic comprehension of language in context--with its inherent cultural implications--to analyses of subtle distinctions in language use such as code switching, linguistic variation, and discourse analysis. Following are suggestions for types of activities that might be used after the actual fieldwork experience. Depending on the level of the class, the students might be asked to do some or all of them.

- Study of basic comprehension and cultural content of the taped material
- Exercises on vocabulary development
- Structural analysis of particular grammatical features
- Analysis of discourse features (e.g., topic nomination; topic shift, who speaks next, interrupting)
- Analysis of function in context of any particular structural unit (e.g., indirect speech acts such as the differing use of questions)
- Analysis of stylistic variation (e.g., final consonant deletion in the switch from formal to casual style or total shift from one dialect or language to another)
- Identification and correction of students' own errors from any of the above areas
- Final written exercises

Whichever type of analysis is deemed appropriate, the activities should progress in the order outlined below.

(1) A general class discussion is held on the total fieldwork experience. Students are given the opportuniey to express their reactions and attitudes toward the project and to recount their experiences.

(2) The teacher predetermines each specific type of analysis to be conducted and listens to portions of the students' tapes to find examples of the item to be studied. The teacher also listens for examples of other particularly interesting linguistic or cultural material.

(3) The teacher presents the assignment to the class by explaining what is to be studied, offering examples in isolation (either orally, or orally and in writing) and playing those portions of the students' tape-recorded material that demonstrate the item being considered. For example, if the assignment is to look for discourse features such as what determines who speaks next, the teacher first discusses this rule of use with the class, then presents isolated examples of the interaction between two speakers, and then plays portions of the students' conversations with their native informants. Or, if the assignment is to find out how one can interrupt, the teacher discusses the "rules" of interrupting and/or how to get the floor; gives isolated examples of devices speakers use, such as looking for pauses, hesitations, laughter, coughs, etc.; and demonstrates from the students' tapes how one speaker manages to interrupt another.

One further assignment might be to have students study in context the differing functions of a particular structural unit--for example, the use of questions. The teacher explains that a question may serve many functions within context and then offers isolated examples of questions used to establish a topic, keep a conversation going, request information, or serve as action directives. Examples of questions used in such ways are played from the students' materials.

No matter which activity is pursued, before the students begin to work on their own, an additional segment of a student tape should be played in class and the class asked to identify the general linguistic feature being studied.

(4) Students take their tapes home or to the language laboratory and complete the assignment on their own or in small groups. They might complete as previously described any of the analyses suggested above, or they might be asked first to provide a summary of information from their tapes--comparing the information, language, and style of each and noting any phrases or words they don't understand.

(5) Individual students or groups of students present their findings to the entire class. They are expected to play portions of their tapes to demonstrate the point they are making and to illustrate the differences between the speakers they have taped.

(6) The teacher prepares structured exercises to give the students practice on those aspects of linguistic usage that appear weakest both from the interview situation and from the classroom presentations. These may be on strictly grammatical points or on more general rules of speaking.

(7) Where appropriate, written assignments are given to individual students. They might be asked to compare their own tapes to those they have heard in class, to explain how their speakers resemble or differ from others in attitudes or speech style, and to analyze their own interview styles--including suggestions for improvement.

(8) The final stage of the follow-up procedure is an evaluation of the entire process with the class and the joint preparation of a new interview module for the next fieldwork experience.

Follow-up exercises such as these have been shown to develop students' sensitivity to the many levels of language used by native speakers of the language they are studying as well as to increase their command of the natural use of language.

The experience provided by the preceding adaptations of sociolinguistic fieldwork techniques has been found to have numerous advantages. Perhaps of greatest significance are the sustained interest, motivation, and enthusiasm--even on the part of the shyer students. While commercially prepared tapes and films are captivating for one or two sessions, their staying power is somewhat limited when compared with tapes prepared by the students themselves. The procedure has proved useful for the following reasons as well:

- Students are obliged to talk with native speakers. Many students usually avoid such contact. In some instances these interviews have led to prolonged conversations and further contacts.

- Students are obliged to make themselves understood; they must utilize whatever communicative devices they can muster to ask the required questions and to react to the responses.

- The tapes give the teacher the opportunity to attend to the students' individual problems in natural speech.

- Students are given an opportunity to analyze their own speech, to identify their problem areas, and to see what changes the careful forms they use in the classroom undergo when they are engaged in spontaneous speech.

- Students are exposed to a variety of well-formed but casual speech. They have an opportunity to listen to and analyze a broad range of regional and social dialects as a result of their contact with a cross-section of speakers of different ages, sexes, races, and socioeconomic classes. By being introduced to the heterogeneity of the natural speech community, they are able to avoid the usual limitation of being exposed only to the speech styles of their teachers and a few American friends.

- Advanced students are able to consider not only the differences between various speakers, but also stylistic variation on the part of any one speaker.

- Cultural values and attitudes become far more apparent than when presented through the intermediary of a text or teacher.

In summary, the purpose of this procedure is to involve students in the natural use of language--natural in the sense of real interaction with native speakers who are neither friends nor teachers, speakers with whom the students must establish contact and from whom they must elicit information. Moreover, the procedure provides a situation where the students' observations and use of proper rules of speaking will partially determine the results of the interaction. It is intended to provide interesting material that will serve as a basis for the structured activities that students need as they progress toward mastery of a second language. The nature of the interaction between the students and informants will vary, depending upon the ease with which the students engage in the activity and the personality of their informants. Although these variables are inevitable, a carefully structured interview schedule helps guide the interaction and almost always guarantees some useful exchange. As a result, students are forced to use what they know in order to learn more, for the ultimate test in learning a language is not in the classroom but rather talking with people on a daily basis in the "real world."

This activity has been presented as a supplement to other materials, but the ambitious teacher and/or teaching staff can develop an entire second language curriculum around this methodology. With close cooperation among colleagues, a full library of tapes can be built and a series of systematic prefieldwork activities formulated. In this way, textbooks and commercial tapes become supplements to the materials prepared by the students themselves. Whatever the emphasis, the integration of the native-speaking speech community into the classroom is an indispensable source of information and motivation to all students of a second language.

APPENDIX A

Additional Modules for Use in Second Language Classes

The following three modules are suggested for use in three different second language situations: bilingual, Americans studying a foreign language in the United States (in which case the questions should be translated into the target language), and adults in an ESL class. Each module is built around a specific topic: *Games Kids Play*, *Foreigners' Views of Life in American Cities*, and *Life in a Big City (Philadelphia)*. The modules are designed to elicit a variety of speech styles: the first few questions should elicit more formal speech and those toward the middle more casual speech. While there is no reason not to make modifications in these modules, it is important to preserve the natural flow of questions from the introductory formal queries to those which are known to produce the most casual speech (marked with an asterisk).

Games Kids Play

(Bilingual situation)

Note: This module is intended for students from the ages of eight through twelve. The questions are to be asked in the second language of each group, i.e., American students would conduct the interview in Spanish (or Italian or French), and the Spanish-speaking students (or Italian or French) would conduct the interview in English. It is preferable that the interview not be conducted within the classroom itself.

Where do kids play around here?

What are some of the games you play outside, on the street, or in a lot?

How d'ya play that here?

Do you play games where everyone hides and you have to find 'em?

*How d'ya decide who's IT?

Do you count around in a circle? What do you say?

Do you use eeny-meeny? How does that go?

Are there other rhymes you use?

Are there any special games girls play?

Do you jump rope?

What rhymes do you say?

---

*Crucial question; must be asked verbatim

How about hopscotch or jacks? What do you say when you play them?

Are there any special games boys play?

How 'bout ball games in the street, like stick ball or punchball?

How d'ya play that here?

How 'bout games with knives?

Has anything bad ever happened with these games?

Do you play with kids from school or kids from where you live?

+++++

Foreigners' Views of Life in American Cities

(Foreign Language Class)

I'm studying [name of foreign language] in school, and I'm trying to find out what the [foreign residents' nationality group] who live here think of life in [name of city]. Would you have some time to talk with me?

How long have you lived in the United States?

How long have you been here in [name of city]?

Are people pretty friendly around here?

Do you know most of the people who live near you?

Are there people you know well enough to just walk into their house?

Do some people from around here just drop in to visit?

Are the streets safe around here during the day?

And at night? Do you walk around by yourself?

Did you ever hear of anyone getting mugged?

*You never called the police?

What would you have done in [native country]?

Is that one of the biggest differences between life here and there?

+++++

Life in a Big City (Philadelphia)

(ESL Class)

Excuse me, do you have a few minutes to talk? I'm from ________ and am trying to find out what life's like in big cities in the United States.

*Crucial question; must be asked verbatim

Have you lived here for a long time?

What do you like most about living in Philadelphia?

What don't you like about living here?

What advantages do you see in living in a big city? in the suburbs? in the country?

Are you afraid to walk around Philadelphia at night? What makes you afraid?

Are there places you won't go by yourself? Where?

Have you ever heard of anything really bad happening to anyone in Philadelphia?

*How 'bout you? Have you ever been in a situation where you said to yourself, "This is it, I've had it"?

---

*Crucial question; must be asked verbatim

APPENDIX B

Sociolinguistic Fieldwork Modules

The modules that appear on the following pages are samples of the modules used in sociolinguistic fieldwork by researchers in that field. These have been developed under the direction of William Labov by participants in the "Project on Linguistic Change and Variation," University of Pennsylvania, 1973-77.

Demography

*1. Let's see, your name is . . . .

*2. And your address is . . . .

[These two questions can be asked any time, on or off tape, as seems advisable.]

3.1 And what year were you born?
* .2 And how old are you?

[One or both of these questions should be entered somewhere else in the interview.]

4. Are you working now?
.1 Does anyone else work in your family?
* .2 What do you (your father, husband, etc.) do? [Pursue this till you get a fairly precise idea.]

**5. How many years of school did you get a chance to finish?

6. What was the first job you got when you left school?
.1 How long did you do that?
.2 And then what did you do?

7. Where were you born?
.1 Where was the first place that you lived?
.2 And where did you live next?
.3 Why did you move (if you remember)?

8. Where you live now [if not in it], what kind of a place is it, apartment, house, or . . . ?
** .1 Can you tell me how your apartment/house is laid out?

---

*Must be asked
**Must be asked verbatim

*9. Where were your folks born, or raised?
  .1 Your father?
  .2 Your mother?

10. Did you ever speak any language besides English?
  .1 When? And with whom?

11. Have you traveled very much outside of this town?
  .1 In the service?

+++++

Family

1. Who are all the members of your family?
  .1 Are you the youngest or the oldest?
  * [Get names and ages of brothers and sisters.]

2. (When you were a kid, about 12) Did you have any rules about when you had to be in at night?
  .1 What happened when you stayed out late?
  .2 Did you ever get caught sneaking out?

*3. Who did the whipping in your family?
  .1 Some people say you can raise a child without laying a hand on him. How did your folks feel about that?

**4. Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?

5. Were there any rules about dinner, like you had to clean off your plate before you got more?
  .1 Or you had to eat all your vegetables?
  .2 Did that apply to your father?

6. Could you talk to your folks?
  .1 When you got into trouble?
  .2 About sex?
  .3 About your friends?

7. What sort of person was (is) your father?
  .1 What was (is) your mother like?

*8. Did your folks have any ideas about what they wanted you to be?
  .1 How far did they want you to go in school?

---

*Must be asked
**Must be asked verbatim

Crime in the Streets

1. Do you take the subway around here? to go downtown?
   - .1 At night?
   - .2 How safe is it?

2. Some people say it's mostly just bad publicity, like people get nervous over nothing.
   - .1 Do you know anybody that was mugged on the subway?

3. Are the streets safe around here during the daytime?
   - .1 At night? Can you walk around by yourself?

4. Were you ever robbed here?
   - .1 What did they take?
   - ** .2 You never called the police?

5. How do the cops behave?
   - .1 Have they ever gotten anything back?
   - .2 Is there any place that the cops just won't go?
   - .3 Do they treat everybody the same?
   - .4 Do you know anybody that became a cop?
   - .5 [For young people] Could someone become a cop and still hang around with your crowd?

+++++

Fights

1. What did (do) fights start about around here?

*2. If someone came to you and said, "I'll give you a fair fight," what would that mean? (Or: What's a fair fight around here?)
   - .1 [If "anything goes"] If it was a friend, somebody you knew that was mad at you?
   - .2 Is there anything you wouldn't do? (kicking, biting, kicking when he's down, knives)
   - .3 Could somebody say that he'd had enough? What would he say?
     - ** .1 Could you walk away then without watching your back?
     - .2 Did you ever see somebody get up and jump on somebody's back?
       - .1 Let me tell you what happened--he lost again.

**3. Did you ever get into a fight with somebody bigger than you?
   - .1 How did it start?

---

*Must be asked
**Must be asked verbatim

4. What was the best (worst) fight you remember?

5. What was the most important fight you were ever in?

6. Do girls fight around here?
   .1 Did you ever get into a fight with a girl?

+++++

Danger of Death

**1. Have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of getting killed (where you said to yourself, "This is it!")?
   .1 What happened?

**2. Some people say in a situation like that, "Whatever is going to happen is going to happen."
   .1 What do you think?

**3. In most families, there's someone who gets a feeling that something is going to happen, and it does happen.
   .1 Is there anybody like that in your family?
   .2 Do you remember anything like that that came true?

4. Was there ever anything that happened when you were growing up that you couldn't explain?
   .1 Were there any spooky places you wouldn't go at night?
   .2 Does it bother you when people talk about ghosts?

5. Have you ever been somewhere new and know that you've been there before?

6. What was the longest streak of luck you ever had?
   .1 What about bad luck?
   .2 Are you lucky at cards?
      .1 With women (men)?

+++++

Games

1. Going back to the time when you were a kid, ten or twelve years old, what were some of the games you used to play after school, on the street (or in a lot) . . . ?

2. How'd you play that here?

**Must be asked verbatim

3. Do you play any games where everybody hides and you have to go out and find 'em?
 .1 How do you play that here? What are the rules? (hide-and-go-seek, ringalivio-leario, hare and hounds, cops and robbers, sardines, kick-the-can)
 .2 Could you free somebody once he was on the base? How?
 .3 Could the men on the base make a long chain, holding hands? (electricity)

*4. How do you decide who's IT? [Go to "Counting Out" module.]

5. Is there a game where everybody lines up and runs past one man who tries to catch 'em?
 .1 What did you call that? How did you play? (red rover, . . .)

6. Is there a game where you throw a ball up in the air and call out somebody's name or number? (baby-in-the-air, spud, ghost)

7. What about tag? (freeze tag, cigarette tag, flashlight tag, TV tag)

8. Is there any game you used to play at night?

+++++

Counting Out

0. How did you decide who's IT? (He, The Man)

1. Did you count around in a circle?
 .1 What did you say?
* .2 Did you use eeny-meeny? How does that go?
* .1 Can you "catch" anything else? (spider, monkey, nickel, nigger, pickle, tiger)
* .2 Did you know they used nigger?
 .3 What other rhymes did you use? (engine-engine, doggie-doggie, one potato)
 .4 Could you (or anyone else around here) tell how it was going to come out? or make it come out?
  .1 Suppose there were five of us? How would you do it?

2. How did you choose up sides?
 .1 Did you throw fingers? Odds and evens?
 .2 Did you ever throw up a bat? How?
  .1 Could you use two fingers?
   .1 Where? at the top? or in the middle, too?
   .2 Was there any test for holding on to the bat?
   .3 Could you call it yes or no?

*Must be asked

3. Did you play rock, paper, scissors?
   .1 What did you throw?
   .2 What happened when you lost?
   .3 Could you throw anything else? (stick, dynamite, Bible, Superman, God)
      .1 [If anything else is thrown] Then what about ________ against rock? against paper? against scissors?
      .2 Then wouldn't it be better to throw X instead of Y?
      .3 [If there is something that beats everything] Why didn't you throw that all the time?

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