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ABSTRACT

The chapters in this collection were largely compiled from presentations at inservice teacher education mini-courses and workshops held at Boston University during 1977-1980. The following articles are included: (1) "Language Policies in American Education: A Historical Overview," by Maria Estela Brisk; (2) "Understanding the Role of Language in Bilingual Education," by Lucy T. Briggs; (3) "Considerations for Developing Language Assessment Procedures," by Charlene Rivera and Maria Lombardo; and (4) "Procedures for Assessing Learning Problems of Students with Limited English Proficiency," by Celeste E. Freytes. (AMH)

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bilingual education teacher handbook

language issues in multicultural settings

Martha Montero, Editor

Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center for Bilingual Education
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

LANGUAGE POLICIES IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: 3
Maria Estela Brisk

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION 13
Lucy T. Briggs

CONSIDERATIONS FOR DEVELOPING LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES 37
Charlene Rivera & Maria Lombardo

PROCEDURES FOR ASSESSING LEARNING PROBLEMS OF STUDENTS WITH LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY 61
Celeste E. Freytes

BIBLIOGRAPHY 83

CONTRIBUTORS 89

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Introduction

The chapters that follow represent the thinking of five specialists who are actively involved as practitioners and teacher trainers in the field of bilingual education.

The content for this book was largely compiled from presentations made at inservice teacher education mini-courses and workshops offered by instructors of Boston University's Bilingual Resource and Training Center during 1977-1980.

The authors', interpretations here expressed remain relevant to current research of language issues in bilingual education. The major topics discussed are:

1) Historical overview of language policies in this country
2) Practitioners' guide to using language skills in bilingual classrooms
3) Language assessment criteria for identifying limited English speaking students
4) Special needs language assessment procedure for distinguishing between language disabilities and language assessment discrepancies

By viewing language from each of these perspectives, *in* and *out* of classrooms, the authors provide their readers with insights into the role of language in educational practice.

Brisk's introductory chapter traces this country's language policies from a historical perspective, advancing the notion shared by many educators that bilingual education is not new to this country's educational development, but that it has its roots in the past. By beginning with the Native American experience and covering periods of European settlement, the African migration, the post-independence waves of immigration up to the 1960's and the present, Brisk is able to pinpoint progressively the shifts in language policies during each era, including an overview of the legislative changes which have brought bilingual education to the forefront.

Brigg's chapter addresses the role of language in bilingual education from a pedagogical and linguistic perspective. Her position is that teachers cannot be fully effective in their teaching of limited English speaking students without understanding language variation and how language relates to culture. Her chapter focuses on the first hand experience of various practitioners from diverse bilingual-multicultural settings.

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Examples are drawn from workshops and mini-courses that address Franco-American, Portuguese-American, Greek-American, Spanish-American and Passamoquoddy educational concerns. Briggs illustrates her chapter with practical exercises used by teachers to show that each social setting requires a different linguistic approach and teaching strategy. Of particular use are the exercises, glossary terms, cognates, and basic language skills that accompany the chapter. Briggs has provided her readers with a clear cut and practical statement on the use of language for bilingual education classrooms.

Rivera and Lombardo's chapter develops a systematic approach for assessing language competencies of bilingual students. Initially the need for the establishment of guidelines in selecting and grouping students in bilingual programs is presented. Issues involved in the isolation of skills to be assessed and the possible instruments to be utilized are described. The section that ensues defines common terminology to language assessment. An outline for the diagnostic assessment is recommended for schools districts working with limited English speakers.

The last chapter, by Freytes, presents steps for assessing learning problems of students with limited English proficiency. Of particular interest is the step by step procedure that is outlined by the author for identifying special needs students. Freytes points out that much of what goes on in the assessment of bilingual children is limited by the mere understanding of language function over language dysfunction. Before a student is clearly identified as a special need student, he/she must have undergone a series of tests which clearly describe his/her particular problem within a range of physiological—to psychological domains. With this in mind, Freytes addresses the issues of special education and bilingual education as a much needed and urgent concern.

Taken together, the chapters allow the reader to experience the eclectic nature of bilingual education and the great variation that exists in *bilingual multicultural* settings. The role of language is presented within the context of such settings as a three way process engaging the teacher in the classroom, the limited English speaking student, and the specialist.

Martha Montero
Boston University
November, 1980

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Language Policies in American Education: A Historical Overview

Maria Estela Brisk

Foreword

This chapter concerns itself with viewing language policies in American Education as they relate to America's historical development. This historical overview covers the period when Europeans came to America up to the present.

Introduction

The history of American education is marked by attempts to grapple with our "poliglot heritage." Giving lip service to our cultural and linguistic diversities is a lot simpler than using it as the basis for effective educational strategies.

Many educators are unaware of our multilingual and multicultural origins; even those who accept "bilingual education" programs often presume them to be merely a faddish mechanism designed solely to compensate non-English speakers in relatively few regions of this country. Speakers of different languages have always been present in our classrooms. The strategies used by our educational institutions to cope with this situation, as well as the specific linguistic group or groups exercising pressure, have varied throughout our history.

> Generalizations about the 'American Tradition' are difficult because there are as many subtraditions as there were national and ethnic groups that came to America, and each has left a heritage. (Lerner, 1957)

We can distinguish four migration waves which formed our nation, each with its own history and significance for present policy-makers. The first was from Asia forming the strain of the American Indians; the second came from Europe to colonize this region; the third came from Africa; the fourth came after Independence from all around the world.

The Native American or American Indian

Before Europeans settled in the New World, as many as one million native Americans, comprising several hundred language groups, were dispersed throughout North America. The movement of Europeans westward extinguished many native American languages and cultures. Uneven contests of technology and manpower overwhelmed the

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Indians and reduced their number to one quarter million. Lack of written languages doomed many; but others survived, due in part to the transcription of their languages into written form and the rapid development of comprehensive and separate educational systems. By the 19th century, the Cherokees enjoyed a full educational system and two widely circulated newspapers. Navajos created a written form and a grammar for their distinctive language and participated in the process which has now spawned several community colleges in the Southwest. Not all educational investments, however, were self-initiated or benign. Boarding schools created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs towards the end of the 19th century greatly endangered again the survial of native American languages and culture since their sole purpose was to isolate the Indian children from their families in order to instruct them in Western culture and the English language. Despite such efforts, native American languages and culture have not disappeared.

> There has been a recent tendency to return to the sources of Indian feeling and the Indian outlok as to a road not taken but missed somehow in the scramble to make America a success. (Lerner, 1957)

American Indian languages are being revived, thanks to the support for ethnic studies and the realization that using English as a language of instruction had failed in most cases. About 50 distinct native American languages exist today for communities numbering more than 1,000 speakers each (Spolsky, 1972). Navajo is the most numerous with 130,000 speakers according to the 1970 Census. Other languages are spoken by smaller groups but face extinction (Fishman, 1966).

The First Settlers

It is not common knowledge that colonial America was settled by no fewer than seven European language groups and that in the period preceding the Declaration of Independence most maintained their own schools using their own tongue as their language of instruction. The American colonies "abounded with speakers of languages other than English" (Read, 1937). The first to arrive were Spanish, accompanying and following Ponce de Leon's explorations of the early 16th century. For nearly a hundred years, the Spaniards were the only Europeans settling in the continental United States. Their settlements covered a vast area stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf of Mexico to the headwaters of the Mississippi.

In the early 17th century, northern Europeans entered the New World. The English settled in 1607 populating most of the Atlantic coast. Germans arrived the next year, settling from New York to Georgia, in the Midwest, and even as far west as Texas. The French also came to the North Atlantic coast — in 1608 — moving from what is now Canada, south to the Midwest and New England. They also advanced from the Gulf of Mexico, dominating the cultural life of the vast Louisiana Territory after the Spanish crown began to desert it in 1682. Dutch and Swedes established colonies during this period, mainly in New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Finally, the Russian occupation of Alaska

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in 1714 spurred settlements as far south as the present state of California.

Thus, by the early 19th century, only 5 million of a total population of 35 million in the new United States came from the British Isles (Lerner, 1957). The schools which were established by these colonists were sectarian in two senses. Their main objective was religious instruction, but they also employed their own languages and texts in the classroom. Separate English, Spanish, German, and French schools flourished throughout the 19th century, facilitating later migrations of these same groups and many more who were soon to join them. That the British had a predominant impact on the formation of this nation is largely due to the fact that during this period Britain was becoming the great power of Europe, while the influence of France and Spain waned.

The African Migration

The need for inexpensive labor brought about the slave trade which carried thousands of Africans to the New World.

> In the contact of European and African cultures in America, something striking was bound to happen to the new amalgam. The quality of American music, dance, literature, theater, and religion today is evidence that it did. (Lerner, 1957)

In addition, the need for communication resulted in the formation of creole languages. Some are still spoken such as the "gumbo," a French creole spoken in Louisiana. The English creole went through a process of decreolization and constitutes the basis for Black English with its unique linguistic features. Taken together, the non-Europeans (native Americans, Blacks, and, later, Asians) suffered greatly at the hands of negligent or patronizing public school systems in both rural and urban America and were expected to do the impossible: become assimilated to American culture while living apart from it.

Post-Independence Immigrants

Most population gains of the 19th century were the result of successive waves of immigration from Europe. The origin, numbers, and characteristics of the new immigrants changed greatly throughout the past two centuries. During the first half of the 19th century, a continuous flow of northern Europeans (from Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia) joined the westward thrust to American manifest destiny. These immigrants marshalled political and economic power in establishing new systems for private and public education. Eleven states enacted legislation, which facilitated instruction in languages other than English (Garcia, 1976). German, French, and Spanish were frequently featured in plans which made the teaching of English as a second language the common model. Parochial and other private schools often employed the language of the local community as the one for instruction. At the same time, English schools included other European languages in their curriculum. Asians, brought initially as laborers in the building of the continental railroad system, moved

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steadily eastward establishing schools which taught in Chinese and Japanese.

During most of the 19th century, multilingual education and cultural diversity enjoyed considerable tolerance. But from the 1880's until the first World War an even more massive immigration occurred, stemming mainly from Eastern and Southern Europe and the movement northward of thousands of Mexicans. For the first time, substantial numbers of Catholics, many willing to accept the harsh life of urban squatters, made doctrinal and cultural differences visible. The dye was cast as educational policy became the victim of chauvinism and resulted in a new wave of "Americanization" programs. Taking the Anglo-Saxon culture as the model and English as the national language, the "melting pot" slogan was raised as the banner for subordinating the instruction of as many people as possible to English as their sole language. Linguistic freedom was drastically limited. By the 1870's, language legislation reflected this pattern with Connecticut and Massachusetts requiring English to be the only language of instruction. By 1923, English was mandated in the educational systems of 32 states. Some school systems even prohibited the teaching of languages — especially German — as a subject matter. This prohibition was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the case *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923).

The official requirement to use English went beyond education. The 40 million immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1920 were effectively screened from public employment and voting by required English tests. Analyzing the situation, Leibowitz (1974) concludes that the trend towards designating English as the official language had as its purpose "to limit access to economic and political life."

Curbs on immigration, a foreign policy of isolation, two worlds wars, and the depression perpetuated this chauvinism until well after the Second World War. English continued to be the only language of education regardless of the linguistic background of the school children.

1960's to Present and Future

In the last two decades, linguistic minorities have become more assertive in their rights to language and cultural maintenance. This is by no means a local phenomenon. Throughout the world, there is increasing evidence of a desire for self-determination of minority groups. The forces favoring cultural and linguistic diversity are mainly literacy, universal education, mass information and egalitarianism (Mackey, 1975).

Evidence of this change was the effort to go back to the use of native language in addition to English in education, which started with isolated local efforts. The Cuban immigrants founded the Coral Way School in 1963 for Spanish-speaking as well as English-speaking children who wanted a full bilingual education. In the following years,

Spanish/English schools were started in Texas, New Mexico, California, New Jersey, and St. Croix. The first Navajo/English school was created in 1966 at Rough Rock, Arizona.

Factors such as the Black Movement of the 1960's, the large migration of Spanish-speaking people from Cuba, Mexico, and Puerto Rico, studies done by the Office of Civil Rights on the education of Mexican-Americans (U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, 1971) and the practice of sending non-native English-speaking children to classes for the EMR (Educable Mentally Retarded), precipitated federal and state legislation. At roughly the same time, suits were filed against school districts to protect the rights of children of linguistic-ethnic minorities. Some cases were tied to actions where the rights of language minorities were threatened by precipitous racial assignments.

Particularly in the Southwest, political pressures resulted in federal legislation. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced in 1967 what became Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act (Bilingual Education Act) which was finally passed in 1968. Seventy-two programs started in 1969. The main emphasis of this legislation was to improve the education of children of "limited English-speaking ability" coming from low-income families. While this landmark legislation failed to define the programs well, a 1974 amendment secured funding for another five years. Appropriations for this program have steadily grown from 7 million in 1969 to 150 million for Fiscal Year 1979.

The amendment of 1974 brought about many changes to the Act. The clause requiring that programs be located in areas with people "with incomes below 3,000 per year" was dropped. Ironically, the 1974 amendment discouraged the inclusion of monolingual English-speaking children (a change from the past). More positively, it introduced consultation with the parents, it allocated funds for large scale teacher-training, the preparation of teacher-trainers, the preparation and dissemination of materials, and led to the formation of an Office of Bilingual Education and of a National Advisory Council. It also encouraged state participation and mentioned the need for research and the formation of a National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. In spite of many improvements in the Act over the initial one of 1968, the spirit of the law continued to be compensatory in nature. It reflects the need to "remediate" the situation because these children have no English "ability."

The present proposals for reform are somewhat different. Organizations, Congressmen, and individuals[1] have proposed reforms to the present legislation. Despite differences, they share a new emphasis on the value of language and cultural diversity. The word "ability" with its negative connotation is replaced by "proficiency," "linguistically different" or "partially bilingual." Most proponents value voluntary participation of children whose native language is English and whose

[1]Such as the National Association for Bilingual Education (N.A.B.E.); Rep. Paul Simon, Illinois; Baltasar Corrada, Puerto Rico; Paul Sandoval, Colorado; Pete Domenici, New Mexico; and Senator Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts; National Advisory Board for Bilingual Education; Mr. Bruce Gaarder and Professor Joshua Fishman.

parents want them to *become* bilingual and knowledgeable of other cultures. Congressman Simon, Democrat from Illinois, in an effort to implement part of 1975 Helsinki Accords which call for a strengthening of foreign language education, proposes the coordination of foreign language education with bilingual education. Bruce Gaarder also emphasizes the mutual benefits of participation of English speakers, provided they already have some knowledge of the other language. The National Association for Bilingual Education proposes "a program of bilingual education based on voluntary enrollment of all individuals," but adds, "Local Education Agencies must give first priority to non-English languages and cultural resources of individuals."

Federal programs are predicated on increased state and local support for Bilingual Education. Title VII limits support to initial programs; while its impact has been extremely significant, opponents and proponents of Bilingual Education agree that the next stage will depend upon local initiation.

> It is high time for Bilingual Education to be admitted into the regular educational framework of our nationwide educatoin process —at the national level, at the state levels, and the local levels. Just as the Office of Education has encouraged state and local educational agencies and units to undertake increased responsibility for other desired, specialized and focused forms of education, while at the same time continuing and even augmenting its own support levels, so Bilingual Education too must become regularized. (Fishman, 1966)

Consequently, several of the proposed reforms increase state participation.

The interest in bilingual education at the federal level brought changes at the state level. Massachusetts pioneered legislative changes with the passing of the Transitional Bilingual Education Act in 1971. Many states followed suit. Some passed mandatory laws, making it compulsory to have bilingual education. Others passed voluntary laws. At present, less than ten states in the nation require English as the only language of education. The Massachusetts Act as well as many of the early state legislations were also remedial in nature and aimed at using the language of the children to facilitate mainstreaming into English only. More recent legislation such as the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 in California provides for full bilingual/bicultural programs as an additional alternative. There is no time limitation for a child to stay in a program. This reflects the growing realization that multicultural learning enhances the nation's human resources.

In addition to state and federal legislation, a number of communities with concentrations of speakers of languages other than English are demanding school districts through court suites to improve the education of their children based on the premise stated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and ratified in the Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1974 that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits or, or be

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subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The most important case in bilingual education was *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). The parents of Chinese children sued the San Francisco schools because their children could not take advantage of the education given in English—a language their children did not know. After two negative rulings in the lower courts of California it was appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court reversed two earlier appeals based on the mandate of the Civil Rights Act. It did not call for a specific type of education but only that the districts had to provide adequately for the Chinese-speaking children who received "fewer benefits than the English-speaking majority from respondents' school system which denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program . . ." (Lau, 1975). Since the ruling was given by the Supreme Court, it applies to all districts in the country who are violating the Civil Rights Act.

The Supreme Court did not mandate specific programs; consequently, the Office of Civil Rights formed a Task Force which produced a set of guidelines commonly known as the "Lau Remedies." These guidelines include identification and assessment procedures, alternative educational programs for the different school levels, teacher qualifications, school integration, communication with parents and evaluation procedures. Among the educational programs, several models of bilingual education are included. Schools can choose from these or provide their own on the condition that they can prove that the children are being adequately served.

Ten Lau Centers have been opened throughout the country to provide school districts with technical assistance when developing plans to comply with *Lau*. The Office of Civil Rights has been actively pressuring school districts known to have numerous children who would fall under the *Lau* ruling to comply in developing educational plans to serve these children.

> Although it did not expressly endorse bilingual education, the *Lau* decision legitimized and gave impetus to the movement for equal educational opportunity for students who do not speak English. *Lau* raised the nation's consciousness of the need for bilingual education, encouraged additional federal legislation, energized federal enforcement efforts, led to federal funding of nine regional "general assistance *Lau* centers, aided the passage of state laws mandating bilingual education, and spawned more lawsuits. (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977)

Bilingual communities have also entered as secondary parties in desegregation suits brought before federal courts by both the Department of Justice and private citizens, so that their children's educational interests are considered in the midst of integration. These cases have been particularly difficult because often bilingual education and integration are perceived as incompatible. This does not have to be so if the bilingual education program is seen as an integrated part of the educational system. Children in a given school can be grouped for instruction according to language and grade/level ability. The

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curriculum for the whole school should reflect the presence of children of a different linguistic-ethnic group. The educational planning for the whole school should include what is done with all of the children, rather than perceive the children in the bilingual program as a separate group in a transitional program until they are ready to enter the "regular" program. The monolingual children could enrich their education by learning about these other children as well. They constitute a real part of their community with whom they will need to interact. Some of the most creative school programs are found in those districts that have decided to integrate the children in the bilingual programs with the monolingual programs. As Cardenas (1975) concludes in the analysis of the problem of bilingual education and segregation:

> With minimal effort and minimum of cost, school districts can offer a third option to the two dysfunctional alternatives, segregation with bilingual education or integration without, which perpetuates the denial of educational opportunities to non-English-speaking children.

Conclusion

Controversies over bilingual education cannot be resolved to anyone's satisfaction without consensus on two very different and important issues. The first issue concerns educational efficacy. Dissatisfactions with public schooling abounds at every level and compels us to discover new ways to overcome obstacles to learning. The success of the past decade's experience with bilingual/bicultural education is incomplete and it hardly could be otherwise. While bilingual education is no panacea for wasteful and ineffective schooling, it offers some hope for improving the rate of learning in many of our schools and decreasing drop outs. For example, the research of Padilla and Long (1969) showed that Spanish-American children can learn better English if their language and cultural ties are maintained from infancy on. Modiano (1968) demonstrated in her research that children learn to read better in the second language if they are taught first how to read in their native language.

The second involves our vision of the American culture and the value of knowing languages. To what extent do we value pluralism, ethnic differentiation, linguistic freedom, and conversely, how far will we go in accepting nonconformity, separation, and the ambiguities of communication? Our history seems to show that most Americans reject the extremes and have become at last reconciled to cultural heterogeneity and the survival of our rich and varied cultural heritage. While the marjority seems unwilling to condone secessionist strategies which would decompose our political and economic life, our sense of justice and democracy allows for considerable diversity.

In a recent ceremony where a number of new Americans received their citizen papers, the judge's address reflects these new trends:

> My father came to America from Armenia many years ago. It was stylish then to forget about the mother country. America was a melting pot. Today, you do not have to give up your heritage to be considered an American. Preserve it and pass it down through the generations. That is what makes America unique. (Rosenberg, 1978)

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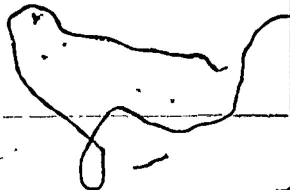
Understanding the Role of Language in Bilingual Education



Lucy T. Briggs

Foreword

In today's multicultural, multilingual world, teachers are increasingly called upon to teach children who speak a variety of languages and come from different cultural traditions and ethnic backgrounds. To be fully effective with such children, teachers need a clear understanding of the nature of language and language variation, and of how language relates to culture. With the needs of these teachers in mind, this chapter is designed to clarify concepts of language and culture that have special relevance for bilingual or multilingual education.

There are two basic assumptions in this chapter: 1) that languages and cultures are systems of interlocking rules, and 2) that these rules can be discovered by induction, although they may never be grasped in all their baffling complexity. The theoretical approach is eclectic, drawing from anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics.[1] The chapter identifies language attributes of particular concem to educators who are involved with students who have different languages (or varieties of a language) and cultures; discusses the implications of these aspects for bilingual education; and offers some practical suggestions for the teacher.

Introduction

Invariably, teachers are confronted with questions about language: what it is, how it works, and how it is transmitted. Some of the comon questions that teachers might ask are the following. How would you answer them? You will be asked to review your answers at the end of the chapter.

1. Do some societies speak simple languages having only a few words and no grammar?
2. Can an unwritten language have a grammar?
3. Can a child learn any language?
4. Does President Carter speak good English? Do you?
5. Are certain forms of language better than other forms? Who decides if they are?
6. Does Franco-American French have a grammar? If so, is it as systematic and orderly as that of Parisian French?

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[1]This chapter owes much to Saville and Troike 1970, a work of fundamental practical importance to bilingual education. A very useful short update of that book is Saville-Troike 1977, which stresses some of the same points made in this chapter. See also Ferguson 1977 for a summary of the implications of the nature of language for bilingual education.

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7. Is English deteriorating? Or is it improving? Or neither?
8. Is language chaotic or systematic?
9. What is a dialect? A pidgin language? A creole?
10. Does language influence perception?

Some Important Attributes of Language

We all use the abstract term *language* as distinguished from *a language* or particular *languages*. The abstraction we call language may be defined on the basis of certain attributes which all particular languages share. What are these shared attributes?

Language: Speech and The Written Word

Most definitions stress that *language is primarily speech*, produced by the vocal tract and articulatory organs, transmitted as sound waves, received by the auditory organs, and decoded into thought. There is also non-verbal communication (paralanguage) which ties in with verbal language: gesture, facial expression, body language, and the uses of silence. Sign language used by the deaf can also be considered language, but coded into visual rather than auditory symbols, using the hands and other parts of the body. All scholars agree that *language is only secondarily written*. Many languages have not yet been reduced to writing, but all have grammars (systems of rules) as complicated as written languages. On the other hand, any language can be written, once the sounds and grammar have been analyzed and conventional written symbols assigned to the distinctive sounds of the language.

The Rules of Language

To say that a language has a grammar is to say that it is systematic. *Language is a complex system of rules* for coding sound (or visual perception) into meaning (and meaning into sound or visual perception). There are no "primitive" languages consisting of grunts or of just a few words and rules. All languages are extremely complex, although not in the same way. Each spoken language has a grammar of rules for sound, word order, and levels of appropriateness in different contexts. For native speakers of the language, the rules are unconscious. We speak without thinking about the rules, unless we have come to feel our speech is incorrect or deficient in some way.

As a complex system of rules, language is more than words: it is the distinctive sounds and intonation patterns, the rules that permit or prevent certain combinations of sounds, rules for making words out of smaller parts of language, and rules for combining words into sentences. For example, two distinctive sounds of English are /b/ and /p/, allowing us to distinguish the meanings of words like *bit* and *pit*, *bride* and *pride*, *blob* and *plop*.[2] Some combinations of sounds are permitted by English, and others are not. For example, at the beginning of a word */tr/* and */dr/* are permitted, but not */tl/* and */dl/*. English rules for making words out of smaller parts of language include the rules for

[2]Slant lines enclose distinctive sounds (phonemes) written in the alphabetic symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Examples of words in ordinary spelling are underlined.

sounding the plural with /s/ (as in *cats*) or with /z/ (as in *dogs*) and the rules for sounding the past tense marker (*-ed*) as /t/ (as in *picked*) or /d/ (as in *begged*).

Rules for making sentences include rules of word order (syntax), enabling us to distinguish the meaning of *The dog bit the man* from *The man bit the dog;* and rules of intonation, making a difference between a statement and a question: *It's mine?* (disbelief) vs. *It's mine.* (I know it is.) The question has a rising intonation, and the statement, a falling one. There are also rules of stress. For example, in English we have contrastive stress in sentences like *I said twenty-four, not thirty-four.* These are English rules; other languages may have similar, or very different ones.

Just as important are pragmatic rules for appropriate use at the right time and place: When to use expressions like *Shut up!* vs. *Please be quiet!* vs. *I would be grateful if you would speak a little more quietly.* These rules of usage are often overlooked in discussions of what is and what is not grammatical (or "correct"), but they are an integral part of the complex system that is language. Without them, communication of shades of feeling, values, and attitudes would be much less precise and varied.

What of rules of meaning? Meaning is possible because of the conventional and symbolic nature of language.

Language rules are conventional and arbitrary

Use of language and attitudes toward different usages are based on unspoken agreements (conventions) among the members of a language community. Speakers of a language tacitly agree that a certain word or expression has a given meaning in a given context. Put another way, this means that an utterance has no meaning without social and cultural context.

Language is a system of conventional symbols

The spoken word is a symbol for the referent (what is being referred to) as the written word symbolizes the spoken word. Symbolism permits displacement in time and space, allowing us to talk and write about something not immediately present in the environment—out of sight, in the past or future, realized or unrealized.

While most linguists hold that there is in general no inherent connection between a thing or concept and a verbal symbol used for it, there is some sound-symbolism in language. For example, as Bolinger (1968:242) has pointed out, the following English words all suggest heaviness and bluntness: rump, dump, hump, mump, lump, stump, chump, thump, and bump. But a similar combination of sounds may have quite a different connotation in another language. Attempts to prove that sounds made with a small mouth opening connote smallness, while those made with a large mouth opening connote bigness, are undermined by the very existence of words like *small* (produced with a relatively open mouth) and *big* (produced with a relatively close mouth). By and large, the meaning assigned to words and to styles of speech is conventional and arbitrary.

The Variables of Language

Saying that language is a system of rules implies it is finished and unchanging, but this is far from the case. *Language is never static, but is always changing. It is never uniform, but always variable.* Language never stays the same. The conventions governing it change. Linguistic fashions change, sometimes slowly and sometimes fast. Language may be compared to a leaky boat. Grammarians may try to plug the holes, but still water seeps in.

Borrowing and loanwords

For example, English and French as they are spoken today are not what they were a hundred years ago. Because of contact with English, the French spoken by certain Franco-Americans in Maine, as described by Dube (1969), has acquired large numbers of English words (called borrowings, or loanwords, in spite of the fact that once acquired, they are not returned). The process of borrowing is very common when two or more languages are spoken in the same area. The English language in England has taken in a great many French loanwords over the years. For instance, after the Norman Conquest in 1066, French words came to be used for meat on the table (*mutton* from *mouton*, *beef* from *boeuf*, *veal* from *veau*, and *pork* from *porc*) while English words came to refer only to meat-on-the-hoof *(sheep, ox, cow, calf, pig)*, reflecting the social division between French-speaking lords of the manor and English-speaking servants.

New usages

In addition to borrowing words, speakers invent new ones, or new uses for old ones. Take, for example, the innovative use of *go* (a verb) in *All systems are go* (used in outer-space communication). Changes such as this, and the possibility of such changes, are the basis for creative and poetic use of language. Language is productive; it can be used to say something never said before.

Apart from changes in words and their uses, which are easily noticed, the sounds and grammatical structures of languages also change over time and differ from place to place. Through divergence, different regional varieties of Latin became the Romance languages. On the other hand, processes of convergence are at work when unrelated languages that are in contact over time develop similarities (for example, in vocabulary and pronunciation). Convergence is generally thought to account for the development of *pidgin* and *creole* languages from two or more unrelated languages in contact.

Pidgins and creoles

A pidgin has traditionally been defined as a language developed from other languages for limited communication, as in trade; it is nobody's native language (Hockett 1958:423). The term pidgin is believed to have come from the English word *business*, as in the business (pidgin) English of the Far East. Until recently, most scholars have held that creole languages develop from pidgins. That is, as soon as people start

to speak a pidgin as their primary language, it begins to undergo creolization (also called nativization), a process of elaboration to permit full communication.

Capitalized, the word Creole has several other meanings. It may be used to refer to the descendants of French, Spanish, and Portuguese settlers in the New World, often of mixed racial heritage. The term Creole is also used to refer to the creole spoken in Haiti, the French West Indies, and Louisiana, based on West African languages and French. Other well-known creole languages are Jamaican Creole and Cape Verdean Crioulo, based respectively on English and Portuguese plus several West African languages.

In the light of recent studies of language variation (sociolinguistics) some scholars are now questioning the traditional definitions of pidgin and creole languages and are attempting to redefine the terms and the relationships between them. Many now view the distinction of pidgin and creole as somewhat artificial and are exploring the hypothesis that processes of pidginization and creolization are forms of language change that may possibly occur whenever certain social and linguistic circumstances coincide. The study of pidginization and creolization is seen as part of language variation as a whole, which includes the development of dialects of a language.

Dialects

At any given time there exist within a language community different social and regional varieties of a language. These varieties are called dialects and all languages have them.

The distinction between dialect and style on the one hand, and between dialect and language on the other, is not clearcut. The term dialect usually refers to usages associated with a regional or social group or both, while the term style may refer to a written or spoken context. Whether a certain body of usages is called a language or dialect may depend on social and political factors as much as, or more than, linguistic factors. As indicated above, dialect differentiation in Latin eventually led to the development of what are today considered to be the various Romance languages. Each of these languages — Spanish, French, Catalan, Provençal, Italian and its dialects, and Portuguese — was originally a dialect of Latin but became a separate language when it achieved status as the official spoken and written standard of a political entity. On linguistic grounds alone, some languages that are to a large extent mutually intelligible (like the languages of Scandinavia, or Portuguese and Spanish) could be considered regional dialects of one language. On the other hand, one language may have dialects that are mutually unintelligible or at least so different in sounds and/or vocabulary and grammatical rules as to cause difficulties in communication among their speakers. This happens among certain English dialects: Cockney English of London and the creolized English of Jamaica, for example, are difficult for Americans to understand.

As used here, the term *dialect* is a technical one devoid of negative connotations. Each of us speaks a dialect or dialects of our native language (or languages) characteristic of the part of the country we are from and the social or ethnic groups to which we belong or with which we are in contact. Those of us who are teachers are conscious of a responsibility to use with our students (if not always with our friends and families) usages which we believe are generally accepted as preferred for school or formal situations and for reporting or advertising on radio and television. These usages are often referred to as *standard* and imply the existence of a national or international norm. Actually, standard usages vary regionally to some extent. (A simple example is the pronunciation of *aunt* in different parts of the United States.) Regional or social dialect variations that are culturally valued by their users may be perceived as nonstandard or substandard by outsiders. And it often happens that speakers are ambivalent about their own regional or social dialect, believing it to be appropriate for certain uses but not for others, or superior in some respects but inferior in others.

The linguistic situation is complicated in many countries by the existence of several languages, each with regional and social dialects. Examples are Switzerland, China, India, and Peru. In such countries it is not uncommon for people to speak several languages and dialects of those languages. Even in countries having only one national language, like Germany, the existence of regional and social dialects is the norm, rather than the exception. Children learn a spoken regional dialect (also called a vernacular) at home, and the spoken and written standard dialect in school.

Such linguistic and dialect differences have implications for performance on standard IQ and norm-referenced tests. Words used in one part of the country—or community—may be unknown or have different meanings in other parts of the country or community. For example, in rural Southern California a house does not have a *furnace* or a *fire escape*. A child finding these words on a test would react to them as if they were in an unknown language (Saville and Troike 1970:14). (See the comments of Freytes on this subject in Chapter IV.)

In comparing two dialects of the same language, it is sometimes useful to describe one in terms of the other. That is, in discussing the pronunciation of Franco-American French, one can say that *là bas* 'becomes' [la bo][3] or that *petit* 'becomes' [tsi]. To imply that the spoken form derives from the written standard form would be incorrect, however. Rather, all contemporary French dialects may be seen as having developed from earlier dialects that were closer to Latin in structure. In some cases, Franco-American French has retained an earlier form that is closer to Latin than the standard French form is. And some verb forms in Franco-American French are more regular than in standard French, for example in the present tense of the verb *aller* 'to go' in which the singular forms are the same *(va)* while the plural forms

[3]Square brackets are used for examples shown in phonetic transcription, again in IPA phonetic transcription.

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all have the *all-* stem: *allons, allez, allent* (rather than *vont*). (I am indebted to Gregoire Chabot for this information.) It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that no language or dialect taken as a whole is more regular or simpler than another, by any measurement yet developed. Linguistic scholars find that regularity or simplicity in one area of grammar is usually complemented by irregularity or complexity in another area. An example of this in English is the verb inflection system. In the present tense, only the third person singular verb forms are marked, with *-s* (e.g. I go, you go, he/she/it goes, we go, they go). But this simplicity is accompanied by complexity in the rules for word order. As indicated earlier, the subject usually precedes the object: *Mary hit John* is not the same as *John hit Mary;* and adjectives must precede the nouns they modify: *a big red truck*. In most Indo-European languages word order is very important, and it is in Chinese also. But many other languages permit freer word order, while having complex rules for marking subjects and objects and other parts of speech.

In discussing such terms as standard and nonstandard, the conventional social nature of the terms must be kept in mind. In the last analysis, the standard is what is accepted as such by the opinion leaders of a society. And, in considering the acceptability of certain usages, it is not enough to ask whether they are standard or nonstandard. Contextual factors are all-important. Certain forms or expressions may be appropriate and therefore acceptable in certain contexts and not in others. In the light of context and appropriateness, we may distinguish different levels of acceptability in spoken vs. written language, in formal vs. informal or intimate language, in polite vs. rude or insulting language, and as used by one social group (defined by age, sex, profession, ethnicity, religion, etc.) and not by others.

Another important dimension to keep in mind is the historical. The fact that any particular usage is considered correct or standard at a given point in time or in a given place or region is conventional and a historical accident. For example, the multiple negatives that teachers spend so much time trying to eradicate in English, were considered correct in English before the 19th century, as shown in the following example from Chaucer (in Alyeshmerni and Taubr 1970:98):

He never yet no vileyne ne sayde. 'He never yet said anything evil.'

Multiple negatives persist in English today and in other languages such as French and Spanish, where their use is considered standard. In informal speech a double negative is more emphatic than a single one: *She never said nothing about it* is a stronger statement than *She never said anything about it.* It was the 18th century grammarians who decided that two negatives must add up to a positive, but for many (if not most) English speakers today, this is not necessarily so. Nevertheless, it is true that a usage like *She never said nothing about it* is acceptable today only as informal and colloquial and not in formal speech or writing.

Apart from forms that are less acceptable today than they once were, there are also many usages considered standard today which were not considered in the recent past, such as the growing use of nonsexist

pronouns like *s/he* (in writing) and of *-person* instead of *-man* in compound words. Language changes to keep pace with social changes.[4]

To summarize the attributes of language discussed so far, we have seen that language is primarily speech; that it is a complex system of rules for coding sound into meaning; that these rules are conventional and arbitrary; and that the rules vary regionally and over time, displaying both regularity and irregularity.

Language and Culture

Implicit in all these attributes of language is the fact that *language occurs in all human societies, as a part of culture.* There is no human community without a language fully developed to its members' communicative needs and cultural values. Although all human beings have the capacity for speech (or sign language), an isolated human being doesn't learn to speak. Language is culturally transmitted (learned).

That is, while every normal baby has the innate capacity to develop language, s/he does not learn to speak without other human speakers, in a real life context. It has been shown that a child can learn any language as a first language if exposed to it in a real-life situation. In other words, if a child of Spanish-speaking parents is adopted by English speakers living in the United States or England, the child will grow up speaking English; a child adopted by a Spanish-speaking family in Mexico or Venezuela will grow up speaking Spanish.

First language learning proceeds in stages, like all psychomotor, cognitive, and affective development. By age six the child controls most of the grammar and sound system of the native language, that is, most of its rules. In addition, barring neurological disabilities a child can learn other languages (or varieties of a language) when exposed to them in a natural, functional setting, in situations where knowing the new language facilitates social interaction. This is another way of saying that language is inherently social and that each speech act involves at least two persons, speaker and hearer. (When we talk to ourselves, we are playing both roles.)

Do animals have language too? Until recently, language was always defined as uniquely human. Bee dances, bird calls, ape grunts and other forms of animal communication have been found to lack one or more human language characteristics, such as productivity and displacement in time and space. Recent experiments with chimpanzees (see Brown 1973 and Linden 1974) suggest that they are able to use American sign language creatively, although with a small vocabulary. (Chimpanzees lack the necessary vocal equipment to learn to talk.) The chimpanzee Washoe, trained by Beatrice and R. Allen Gardner and Roger Fouts, invented the sign language compound term *water bird* (from the sign for *water* plus the sign for *bird*) for *swan*, and other chimps have used signs in similar productive ways, to create a new term, as human beings do.

[4] historical treatment of the development of sex bias in the English language is Miller and Swift 1977.

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To some scholars, the fact that Washoe made the signs in the order *water bird* rather than *bird water*, and other similar examples, imply a grasp of English word order rules. In signing *water bird* the chimpanzee is given credit for understanding that *water bird* is a kind of bird (whereas *bird water* would be a kind of water). Other scholars say more evidence is needed to prove that the ape really understands the rule and is not getting the order right merely by chance. Some scholars also point out that ability to grasp rules of grammar is not enough to establish that chimpanzees have language. Another requirement would be, in their view, that the apes transmit language culturally from generation to generation, as humans do. So far, two young chimpanzees who were taught sign language have used it to communicate with each other, but they were taught it by human beings. For the present, then, language may still be defined as distinctively human.

Language and Perception

The fact that language serves for communication has been implied, if not directly stated, in all that has been said up to now. The fact that language may also impede or frustrate communication is less often considered. An understanding of these two apparently contradictory statements rests on understanding the concept that *languages and cultures function as grids that filter perception of reality.* That is, individuals perceive reality through the structures of their culture and language. These structures act as filters of perception, the molders or rails of thought and communication.[5]

This is not to imply that the language one speaks rigidly determines the way one thinks. Like all of language, the perceptual grids are subject to change and can alter over time. Also, some persons who know more than one language and culture may shift easily from one grid to another. What is important for bilingual educators to realize is that different languages have different perceptual grids which may conflict, causing problems of interference in the early stages of learning a new language and culture.

One of the perceptual grids of a language is its sound system. Without special training, an adult who speaks only one language is usually able to distinguish and produce only the sounds of his or her language. For example, speakers of Aymara, a language of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, hear and pronounce the Spanish words *mesa* 'table' and *misa* 'mass' as the same, freely alternating the two words or pronouncing them with an intermediate vowel like that in the English word *miss*. The reason for this is that the two vowel sounds in the Spanish words do not occur in Aymara to distinguish meaning, but merely as variants of the same vowel sound.

Another example will perhaps make this clearer. Speakers of English, French, and Spanish do not at first hear any significant difference among three words in Aymara: *t"ant"a* 'old rag', *tanta* 'bushy tail', and

[5]This is a moderate version of the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis. For its origins, see articles by Edward [Sap]ir and Benjamin Lee Whorf in Hymes 1964. A recent summary of its status may be found in [Gor]don and Yousef 1975 (170-185).

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t'ant'a 'bread'. The first, *t"ant"a*, has aspirated [tʰ], like the initial sound in English *tot*. (To demonstrate presence of aspiration, hold a small piece of paper in front of your mouth while saying the word. Aspiration causes a puff of air that makes the paper move.) The second word, *tanta*, has plain [t] like that in Spanish *taza* 'cup' and French *tasse* 'cup', or in English *stop*. The third word, *t'ant'a* has [t] accompanied by a click of the tongue and by closure of the vocal cords like the glottal closure between the two syllables of (English) *uh-oh*. This tongue-click-plus-glottal closure (glottalization), if it occurs at all in English, French, and Spanish, is nonsignificant and passes unnoticed. But to an Aymara speaker, /t/, /t"/ and /t'/ are different sounds—as different as the vowel sounds in *mesa* and *misa* are to Spanish speakers, or the vowel sounds in *miss* and *mess* are to English speakers (unless they are from certain areas in the southern United States). Non-speakers of Aymara have to practice hearing and then making the Aymara sounds before they can approximate a correct pronunciation, just as Aymara speakers must practice hearing and then making the sounds of /e/ as in *mesa* and /i/ as in *misa*.

Apart from interference in individual sounds in words, there may be interference in stress and intonation patterns and in tone of voice. These kinds of interference overlap with those in body language (for an example, see Saville-Troike 1977:11).

Interference may also occur in grammatical rules. An example of grammatical interference would be a Spanish speaker's saying *I have 25 years* instead of *I am 25 years old* or an English speaker's saying in French *Je suis 25 ans agé* instead of *J'ai 25 ans*. In vocabulary, there may be interference of false cognates: words that sound alike or are spelled similarly but have different meanings across languages, for example, English *college* 'two- or four-year institution of higher learning' vs. Spanish *colegio* 'private school' (see the Appendix to this chapter for additional examples).

Apart from interference in the perceptual grids of sounds, grammar, and vocabulary, there may be interference at the semantic level, in linguistic postulates. According to Hardman (1974:31) linguistic postulates are

> . . . those ideas and concepts which run through the whole of the language, cross-cutting all levels, which are involved as well in the semantic structure and which are tied . . . into the world view.

In the same way that the sounds and grammatical rules of a language filter the sounds and grammatical rules of other languages, the linguistic postulates of a language filter meaning and shape the world for its speakers. Understanding the linguistic postulates of other languages can give us a better understanding of some of the problems language learners face.

For example, in the Aymara language one postulate is the distinction of personal and nonpersonal knowledge. This prevents an Aymara speaker from saying the Aymara equivalent of *John Smith was a great man* unless the speaker knew John Smith personally. In making a statement based on second-hand knowledge or hearsay, the Aymara

speaker would use a direct quote, *So-and-so says, "John Smith was a great man"*, or special verb forms indicating nonpersonal knowledge or noninvolvement.

In learning Spanish, Aymara speakers transfer this postulate into Spanish, making statements that in Spanish may sound uncertain or imply unwillingness to make a commitment. On the other hand, a Spanish (or English) speaker learning Aymara has to be careful not to overlook this postulate, as failure to make the appropriate distinctions is perceived by Aymara speakers as rude, stupid, or deliberately deceitful.

Another important Aymara postulate is the distinction of human and nonhuman. Using a nonhuman noun or pronoun to refer to a person is rude or obscene, and using a human noun to refer to an animal is ludicrous. There are four nonhuman, and four human, pronouns. (The nonhuman pronouns translate as 'this', 'that', 'that over there', and 'that way over yonder'.) The four human pronouns make a distinction about whether the speaker and addressee are included or not. Unlike pronouns in Spanish, English, French and many other languages, the Aymara pronouns do not indicate gender and are nonspecific as to number. Speaker in Aymara is *naya*, which depending on context may be translated as 'I', 'me', or 'we/us, not including you'. Hearer or addressee is *juma*, 'you'. Both speaker and addressee together are expressed in a unitary word and concept, *jiwasa*, which translates as 'you and I/me, you and we/us, we/us including you'. Anyone else is *jupa*, which may be translated as 'he/him, she/her, they/them'. The four pronouns may take a plural ending for emphasis, but the plain form is inherently neither singular nor plural, except in the speech of certain persons bilingual in Aymara and Spanish, whose Aymara reflects Spanish interference.

The Aymara concern for specifying inclusion or exclusion of addressee is also borne out in Aymara rules of courtesy, which reveal the interplay of linguistic and cultural categories in the concept of human mutuality.[6] Only animals eat and drink alone in the Aymara world; people eat together, unless they are herding alone on a remote Andean slope. When serving dinner to someone an Aymara will say "Let's you-and-I *(jiwasa)* eat," including both speaker and addressee, rather than saying something like "Your dinner is ready," because the latter implies the addressee is less than human. Similarly, a direct translation into Aymara of "Please give me some water, I'm thirsty" is insulting, because the hearer is not being asked to have some water too. In Aymara it is more polite to say "Let's both have some water, I'm thirsty." Again, persons learning Aymara who fail to grasp the importance of the *jiwasa* concept are perceived as uneducated, rude, or otherwise lacking in social skills.

If you have found the above discussion somewhat baffling, the reason is that English does not work the way Aymara does. Trying to explain Aymara linguistic postulates in English is an exercise in mental gymnastics. By the same token, trying to explain Spanish gender and

[6] role of mutuality in Aymara culture is explored in depth by Cole (1969).

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number (and the different uses of *usted* and *tú* 'you') to an Aymara speaker learning Spanish is a challenge to the teacher. However, a teacher who knows how the linguistic postulates of Aymara differ from those of Spanish is better able to understand the mistakes Aymara children or adults may make in Spanish and how to devise drills to deal with them.

Aymara language and culture may at first seem remote from the concerns of bilingual educators in the United States. But in the same way that a teacher of Spanish to Aymara speakers can benefit from a contrastive study of Aymara and Spanish perceptual filters, so the teacher of English as a second language can profit from an understanding of the perceptual filters of English and the learner's language, and how they differ. Such an understanding will not only alert the teacher to possible interference, but also will foster a better climate for learning. The teacher who realizes that errors are systematic knows they are worthy of respect as stages in the learning process.

In this first section, we have discussed five language attributes which are of significance to bilingual educators. These attributes may now be summarized in the following definition:

A language is a highly complex, learned, symbolic system of human communication, filtering perception and reflecting the culture of which it is a function; primarily spoken (or signed) not written, linking sound and meaning by conventional and arbitrary rules; but also creative, variable, and always changing over time.

Implications for Bilingual Education

Some implications of the nature of language and language variation for bilingual education have already been noted. Other implications will now be taken up in more detail. They may be divided into those affecting the planning of bilingual programs, those affecting teacher training, and those affecting determination of goals and development of resources and methods.

Implications for Planning Bilingual Programs

Ideally, since language is a part of society, before a bilingual program is established a community survey or needs assessment should be undertaken to determine community attitudes toward bilingual education (see Saville and Troike 1970:20 and Tucker 1977). Only if the community, and most importantly, the parents of the children to be involved have a say in the development of a bilingual program, can it be a success. If community attitudes are favorable, the next step should be a detailed study of the language resources of the community. The exact form this study would take would depend on the resources available and the wishes of the community. It might include interviews with respected leaders and elderly persons who remember and can articulate the community's cultural and linguistic heritage through folktales, genealogies, local history, and the like. Again ideally, such inteviews should be recorded on film and tape as well as in writing, if such recording is culturally acceptable to the persons involved.

The purpose of collecting such interviews would be to obtain linguistic and cultural data for the development of curricula and teaching materials. Before it can be used, such data must be analyzed as the basis for a description of community language usage, to determine in what ways local speech patterns are similar to or different from other dialects of the same language and what implications the differences have for teaching the formal written and spoken dialects and/or the local varieties. Decisions as to what varieties of a local language should be taught will, of course, depend on community attitudes and goals.

How can such a language survey be accomplished? To be successful, it should be conducted by a team of persons accepted by the community and trained in the necessary sociolinguistic and field methods skills. Ideally, the team should include members of the community itself (parents and educators) who should be given necessary training at the outset to qualify them as full-fledged participants in the enterprise.

In planning a bilingual education program it may also be necessary to seek information about educational systems in the countries of origin of the students. Information about curricula, supplemented whenever possible by copies of the actual books and other materials used in the schools the children come from, can be of enormous help to the teacher in determining the skills they have already acquired or have been expected to acquire, as a basis for determining their entry points inbthe American school system.

Teacher Training

Training of teachers for bilingual education should ensure an understanding of the aspects of language that we have been discussing. A teacher who accepts language variation as normal and universal will build on diversity. A teacher who knows that all languages and dialects are systematic will have a positive attitude toward language and dialect differences that sees them as an asset to learning. Such a teacher will understand the role of interference in learning a second language or dialect, and be aware of the kinds of interference that can occur.[7]

In formal courses, short courses or workshops, teachers can be introduced to the factors involved in the acquisition of first and second languages; to basic principles of language and culture; to the perception, description, and transcription of language sounds (articulatory phonetics and phonology); and to techniques of analyzing the grammatical systems, vocabulary, and semantic systems (linguistic postulates) of different languages. Articulatory phonetics and

[7]This is not to imply that interference alone will account for all language learning difficulties or even that it necessarily always causes difficulties; learners differ in their ability to acquire new languages, and many factors, some of them more sociological than linguistic, determine a learner's success. As Saville-Troike has pointed out (1977:10), the value accorded to accurate production in a second language varies depending on social criteria; some "accents" are prestigious but others (like the Aymara pronunciation of *misa* and *mesa*) are stigmatized. For a review of recent research on second language acquisition see Segalowitz 1977, and articles by Tucker, Ferguson, Gonzalez, [illegible]tch, and C. Paulston in Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives, Vol. 2, Linguistics (1977).

phonology will be of special value to teachers who are themselves speakers of languages that lack a standardized writing system, and who want to develop such a system (as in the case of Crioulo and Haitian Creole). But skills in language analysis have wider applications. Accurate analyses of actual speech, in and out of the classroom, are needed for adequate assessment of students' language skills, and accurate descriptions of language use are needed to serve as a basis for developing appropriate materials or adapting existing materials to students' needs. With basic training in linguistic field methods, teachers themselves will be able to do their own analyses in the classroom, and thus help with the research so vitally needed on language variety and usage (see Hatch 1977 and Ramírez et al. 1977).

Goals, Resources, and Methods

The above discussion presupposes an ideal situation in which planning a bilingual education program and training bilingual teachers precede or overlap the launching of the program. In many cases, however, bilingual education programs are underway before community surveys have been undertaken, and the latter may not be feasible for a variety of reasons. Trained personnel may be lacking to study local speech patterns. Information on the educational systems of the students' countries of origin may be difficult to obtain. Teachers may not have had special training for bilingual education, materials may be inadequate or nonexistent, and methods may be left largely to chance.

In such a situation, teachers must rely on their own ingenuity and resources in setting goals, devising strategies and developing materials to meet their students' needs. With these teachers in mind, this section will identify some goals of bilingual education that reflect understanding of the nature of language, and suggest some resources and methods to achieve them.

Goals

Three goals of bilingual education that reflect an understanding of the nature of language are:

1. To help students identify their linguistic and cultural roots;
2. To foster their adjustment to a new culture and language (or to a new dialect of a language already known);
3. To help students build on diversity, to integrate past and new experiences, moving from the known to the unknown, from the particular to the general, from the local to the national or international.

These goals need to be kept in mind in identifying resources and developing methods and materials.[8]

Resources and Methods

Resources include published materials or materials developed and shared by teachers and the human resources of the family, community, and classroom.

Materials to be used as resources for teaching English as a second

[8] For another statement of language-oriented goals the reader is referred to Table 4 in Chapter II of Volume 1 (Dueller): An Outline of Educational Objectives: Language.

language include contrastive analyses of English and the other language being taught, such as (for Spanish) Stockwell and Bowen 1965, Nash 1977, and Saville and Troike 1970 (32-36). (It should be kept in mind that dialectal variations would complicate the picture.) Lists of false cognates, like those in the Appendix to this chapter, can also be useful. An example of a very practical source designed for older students, but containing drills that might be adapted to the use of younger children, is Morley 1972.

Materials in the native language include descriptions of the dialects of different countries, regions, or ethnic subgroups speaking a language, for example the Spanish of the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, and Chicano Spanish. A teacher who teaches in the Spanish language (or who has many students whose home language is Spanish) would do well to start a personal library of references like Fishman et al. 1971; del Rosario 1965 and 1972, and Llorens 1971, for Puerto Rico; Henríquez Ureña 1975, Jiménez Sabater 1975, and Jorge Morel 1974, for the Dominican Republic; Hernández Chávez, Cohen, and Beltrano 1975 for Chicano Spanish; and Teschner, Bills, and Craddock 1975 for the Spanish of the United States in general. The need for many more such studies is noted by Ramirez et al. (1977:12).

Other types of published sources in the native language are anthologies of folktales, encyclopedias, and bibliographies; recordings of music and literature; published games; and films or videotapes. As of this writing teachers may seek assistance in identifying such sources and obtaining information on curricula materials for bilingual education in English and other languages from the network of regional bilingual resource centers and dissemination/assessment centers funded by the Bilingual Education Act of 1975 and from the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

The development of family and community resources may proceed as indicated above under Planning, within the limits of time and practical possibilities. Teachers can meet with parents to ask them to contribute stories, histories, and descriptions of life in the home country and in the local community. As indicated by Chabot in Chapter III, Volume 1, audiovisual methods and materials can play an important role in bilingual education. Some stories may be tape recorded on cassettes in order to preserve important features that might be lost in writing, especially in the case of dialectal or stylistic variation.

Community leaders in different professions or jobs can be interviewed and/or visited by teachers and small groups of students. In some cases it may be preferable for students themselves to obtain stories and other materials from community leaders, along the lines of the Foxfire project (Wigginton 1975). A look at the products for sale in an ethnic grocery store might be tied to lessons on the agricultural cycles of different parts of the world, and to discussions of local customs of food preparation. Photographs might be taken and reports written. Individual students or small groups might attend local events and report them orally or in writing.

Development of community and family resources leads into and overlaps with the development of classroom interaction as a resource. Such a method of classroom interaction was developed by a Puerto Rican teacher, Mr. Felipe Pantoja, for teaching Spanish language arts to seventh and eighth grade Puerto Rican students at William Peck Junior High School in Holyoke, Massachusetts.[9] The method may be described as follows.

Using collections of Puerto Rican regional or local expressions (such as the books of Llorens and del Rosario mentioned above), the teacher elicited student discussion of the meanings of familiar and unfamiliar vocabulary. Students were encouraged to recall similar words and expressions and share them with the class. Some popular topics were foods and their preparation, and everyday social situations. Throughout a class session, the teacher kept track in writing of words and expressions the students produced, with their meanings, as a basis for a glossary or dictionary to be used in class. Some sessions were tape recorded for further analysis later. Students were offered extra points for bringing examples of additional expressions in context from home.

In my view, the most important element in the success of the method was clearly the teacher's enthusiasm for language: the words and expressions in the published sources and those volunteered by the students. Because of the English-Spanish contact situation in Holyoke, the Spanish spoken there has a heavy admixture of English loan words. Some students in the class were familiar with the Holyoke dialect of Spanish, having lived there most of their lives; others had just arrived from Puerto Rico. The teacher capitalized on the dialect diversity in the classroom, bringing it to the students' conscious attention. Nothing the students said was rejected as "not Spanish" or "not grammatical." Rather, the teacher pointed out the need to be aware of context in determining appropriate usage. For example, he noted that whereas *rufo* was perfectly intelligible in Holyoke (where in fact, certain speakers might not know the Spanish word for roof, *techo*), in Spanish-speaking countries it is necessary to say *techo* to be understood. Building on the students' knowledge, the teacher guided them to an awareness of the contextual, social nature of meaning.

According to Mr. Pantoja, the results of the method were encouraging. The students learned to discriminate between English words in English, English loans in Spanish, and native Spanish terms for the same or similar words or concepts. They became aware of the different ways ideas are expressed in different languages and in different social contexts. Equally important, they gained an appreciation of Holyoke Puerto Rican Spanish as the communication system of many members of the local community, while at the same time they acquired a more widely useful international Spanish vocabulary and an understanding of appropriate situations for its use. In the process of learning to distinguish English loan words from

[9] I am grateful to Mr. Pantoja, to his students, and to Mr. Gregory Diliberto, Principal of William Peck Junior High School, for permission to visit Mr. Pantoja's class on May 23, 1977 and to include the description of his method in this study.

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Spanish terms, their use of English and Spanish vocabulary was strengthened.

A similar approach has long been in use in countries having notably different regional dialects of a national language, such as Germany. The method reflects an attitude of acceptance of dialect differences akin to that expressed in the following excerpt from a German teacher-training text (Hildebrand 1903:68) as quoted by Fishman and Lueders-Salmon (1972:73 and 74):

> ... High German (the standard) must not be taught as the opposite of the vernacular, but, rather, the pupil must be brought to feel that it grows forth out of the vernacular; High German must not appear as a substitute for and a displacement of the vernacular but as a refined form of it; like one's Sunday clothes alongside one's work clothes.

The same principle underlies the following recommendation for India, as reported by Rubin (1977:292):

> Khubchandani (1974), a scholar who has observed the plurilingual Indian society for many years, suggests that we should evolve "programs which widen students' linguistic experience by *progressive differentiation* from local speech to supra-dialectal varieties ..."

Under the system of progressive differentiation[10] the teacher does not try to eradicate localisms in the regional dialect but instead builds on them, supplementing them with expressions having a wider acceptance and use.

For example, a teacher of Franco-American students wishing to introduce them to formal written and spoken French might encourage the use of *maintenant* 'now' in appropriate contexts, without trying to suppress the use of *à cette heure* (pronounced *asteur*) in informal speech. In the same way, a sentence like *Ôte ton coat* 'Take off your coat' (an example from Dube 1969) might be considered more appropriate in certain informal contexts than *Enlève ton manteau,* the equivalent sentence in standard French. The point is that a speaker of Franco-American French should have an opportunity to learn the appropriate usage of both formal and informal styles. Similarly, as in the Massachusetts case mentioned above, a teacher of students whose Spanish has a heavy admixture of English loans may tactfully bring the native Spanish equivalents (from more than one Spanish-speaking country, if possible) to the students' attention.

Regional standard differences in pronunciation may also need to be pointed out. For example, whereas the pronunciation of *veinte* 'twenty' as [bente] is accepted in the Dominican Republic (Henriquez Ureña 1940), it is stigmatized in other Spanish-speaking countries where the preferred pronunciation is [beinte]. Other differences may involve gender agreement, e.g. *la problema* may be preferred by certain speakers of Chicano Spanish, although the accepted form in other Spanish dialects is *el problema*. The challenge to the teacher is to help students develop an awareness of the richness of language resources available to them, and the ability to select language appropriate to different social and cultural settings.

[10] ...arlier use of the term progressive differentiation in education is that of Ausubel (1962) as ...ibed by Stauffer (1970).

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As we have seen, the progressive differentiation method facilitates linguistic research in the classroom by both teacher and students. Such research is of value both as a means to teach language arts and, as Hale (1973) has suggested, as an introduction to scientific method. Like the language experience methods developed by Ashton-Warner (1963) and Stauffer (1970), such research can provide a wealth of new material whose adaptation for further use is limited only by the teacher's and students' imagination. Glossaries (or "word banks") of terms used in different communities or countries, or in different semantic sets (e.g. food, cultural events) can be undertaken as class projects. It is important that entries in a glossary be defined in context, not by single word translation only (whether the translation is into another dialect of the same language or into a different language). That is, the entries should show words in sentences or even in paragraphs. Oral expression may be fostered by the use of tape recorders and/or videtape, as already noted. Skits based on folktales or stories, for example of dangerous escapes, can be dramatized with characters speaking differently according to their social roles, using the vocabulary of (say) Massachusetts or Maine in one instance and of San Juan and Paris, in another, as the story and action might demand.

The methods suggested here for teaching in the students' native language(s) and dialects are of course equally applicable to the teaching of English as a native or second language or dialect. Progressive differentiation, community resource development, and the language experience approach may be used in different social and linguistic settings, with the aim of meeting program goals like those suggested at the beginning of this section. As Ferguson (1977:47) has noted:

> Every case of bilingual education is an effort to extend the pupil's ability to use a particular language on appropriate occasions, i.e., to match their individual competences with the intended linguistic repertoire of the community.

The intended linguistic repertoires may vary, but the underlying principles remain the same.

Conclusion

We have examined some aspects of language that are of importance to bilingual education and some implications of these aspects for program planning, teacher training, and the indentification of goals, resources, and methods. Mutual respect for cultural differences is the unifying underlying strength of our national diversity. Teachers in bilingual education can and should instill that respect in their students: Not only respect for cultural differences, but for the richness and variety of their own and others' language and dialects as well. With a clear understanding of linguistic and cultural diversity as a valuable national resource, bilingual education may be seen not as remedial education, as is still too often the case, but as enriched education, increasing the range of experience and knowledge available to the student, to the teacher, and ultimately to the country as a whole.

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APPENDIX A

Exercises

1. Look back at the questions about language at the beginning of this chapter. Would you change your answers to any of them? Why? Think about your reasons.
2. How would you evaluate the following expressions? Who might say them, in what circumstances? What are other ways of conveying similar information in different circumstances?
   a. I ain't got none.
   b. You-all come back!
   c. She done it.
   d. That's gross!
   e. He come down yesterday.
   f. He come down every day.
   g. Man is the thinking animal.
   h. He no go to school.
   i. I have 12 years.
3. Using Appendix B as a model, make a list of false cognates for English and another language you know. Give examples of each in sentences.
4. Make a list of common expressions (sayings, proverbs) in two or more languages. Separate those that are very similar in all aspects from those that vary but have a common core of meaning.
   Examples: Una rondine ne fa primavera./One swallow doesn't make a summer. The early bird catches the worm./Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda.
5. Make up exercises to use in class similar to the following, in different languages (inspired by Hale (1973) as adapted by Joel Walters).

What is wrong with these sentences?
Mary gave I the book.
Me go to school.
I have two book.
I have one books.

Definitions and rules
I/me When do we use *I*? *me*?
singular/plural When does *one book* become *books*?

What goes in the blanks?

I gave ________ the book. — she/her, he/him, they/them, we/us

________ gave you the book? — who/what
________ did he give you? — who/what
________ gave you a black eye? — who/what
________ gave you a stomach-ache? — who/what

What happens when you add **up** *to these verbs?* What do they mean? eat, throw, give, take, cut, make, finish, wake, tie

Can you add **up** *to these verbs?*
begin, tickle, place, trick

APPENDIX B

FALSE COGNATES — Spanish/English

SPANISH	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ENGLISH FALSE COGNATE	SPANISH TRANSLATION
actual	present, current	actual	real, verdadero
actualmente	now	actually	en realidad
argumento	plot, story line	argument	debate, disputa
asistir	to attend	to assist	ayudar
atender	to assist (someone)	to attend	asistir
bravo	angry, fierce	brave	valiente
carrera	major (course of study)	career	profesión
casualidad	unexpected occurrence	casualty	accidente; víctima de accident
colegio	private school	college	universidad (los primeros 4 años)
comodidades	comforts	commodities	bienes económicos
complexión	physical constitution, nature	complexion	cutis de la cara
comprensivo	understanding (person)	comprehensive	amplio, completo
compromiso	appointment, engagement	compromise	arreglo, acuerdo mutuo
conferencia	lecture, speech	conference	consulta
contestar	to answer	to contest	disputar, debatir
conveniente	appropriate, advantageous	convenient	oportuno, util, cómodo
convenir	to agree	to convene	convocar, juntarse
cuestión	topic, issue	question	pregunta
discusión	argument, dispute	discussion	intercambio de ideas (sin disputa)
editorial (n.)	publishing house	editorial	artículo de periódico o revista que expresa la opinión de la redacción
educado	well-mannered	educated	instruido, culto
embarazada	pregnant	embarrassed	desconcertado, avergonzado
estación	season of year; station (railroad or bus)	station	estación de tren, omnibus etc. pero no del año
eventualmente	fortuitously, occasionally	eventually	finalmente, a la larga
éxito	success	exit	salida
fábrica	factory	fabric	tela, género
fastidioso	obnoxious, irritating	fastidious	quisquilloso, descontentadizo; remilgado, melindroso, dengoso; exigente
formación	personal development	formation	forma, figura
gracioso	funny, amusing	gracious	amable, gentil
groserías	bad words	groceries	comestibles, víveres

ignorar	to not know	to ignore	no hacer caso de, pasar por alto
instrucción	education (in general)	instruction	explicación, entrenamiento
investigar	to do research; to investigate	to investigate	averiguar, pesquisar
lectura	reading	lecture	conferencia
librería	bookstore	library	biblioteca
molestar	to bother, annoy	to molest	abusar (generalmente, en sentido sexual)
parientes	relatives	parents	madre y padre (y no otros parientes)
particular	private	particular	individual, privativo; exigente
probar	to prove, try on, taste	to prove	demostrar
realizar	to accomplish	to realize	darse cuenta
resentido	resentful	resented	que causa resentimiento
retirar	to withdraw	to retire	jubilarse; irse a dormir
sano	healthy in body	sane	sano de mente (no loco)
sensible	sensitive	sensible	razonable
soportar	tolerate, withstand	support	sostener
suceso	event, occurrence	success	éxito
suceder	to occur	to succeed	tener éxito
suculento	big, abundant meal	succulent	jugoso, sabroso

APPENDIX C

Glossary of Multicultural Terms

Articulatory organs:
lips, tongue, teeth, lower jaw

Auditory organs:
ears, hearing

Bidialectal:
speaking two dialects

Bilingual:
speaking two languages

Body language:
human communication through body movement, gesture

Borrowing:
Entry of words from one language into another, through language contact

Creole:
language developed from a pidgin

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Creolization:
process whereby a pidgin becomes a creole; nativization (process of becoming a native language)

Culture:
Body of knowledge shared by a society or social group

Dialect:
regional or social variety of a language

Ethnic:
in United States, member of a minority group who retains the customs, language, and/or social views of that group

Ethnocentricity:
interpreting reality from the viewpoint of one's own culture; thinking one's own culture is superior to all others

Ethnography of speaking:
a specification of what kinds of things to say in what message forms to what kinds of people in what kinds of situations (Hymes and Frake)

Grammar:
system of rules of a language

Interference:
problems of perception and use of a second language which arise
1) from the native language habits of the speaker (Savile & Troike)
2) from overgeneralization of the rules of the second language

Intonation:
pitch levels of a sentence

Language community:
group speaking a given language; a group of people who regard themselves as using the same language (Halliday)

Language components:
phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics

Language universals:
characteristics shared by all languages

Linguistic postulate:
ideas and concepts which run through the whole of a language, cross-cutting all levels: which are involved as well in the semantic structure and which are tied . . . into the world view. (Hardman)

Linguocentricity:
interpreting reality from the point of view of one's own language: thinking one's own language is superior to all others

Loan
Word borrowed, e.g. taken in from one language to another

Morpheme:
minimal unit of morphology

Morphology:
rules for formation of words

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Multilingual:
speaking several languages

Nativization:
creolization

Paralanguage:
nonverbal communication i.e. body language, voice quality, speed of utterance, etc.

Phoneme:
minimal unit of phonology; distinctive unit of sound in a language

Phonetics:
study of sounds of any and all languages

Phonology:
sound system of a language; study of the sound system of a language

Pidgin:
a language developed from other languages for limited communication; nobody's first language

Pragmatics:
ethnography of communication; rules of appropriate language use in social context

Register:
style of speech (e.g. formal, informal, intimate, distant)

Semantics:
study of meaning in language; what can co-occur with what

Sign-language:
language coded into visual manual symbols

Sociolinguistics:
study of language in society; the sociology of language; study of regional and social language variation

Standard:
forms of a language conventionally accepted as appropriate for formal communication (radio, television, business, school)

Style:
variety of language (usually refers to writing)

Syntax:
arrangement or order of words in phrases or sentences; formation of phrases or sentences

Vernacular (noun):
normal spoken form of a language (as opposed to formal, written forms); a language or dialect native to a region or country rather than a literary, cultured or foreign language (Webster's New Collegiate dictionary, 1973); sometimes, nonstandard or substandard form of language

Vocal tract:
lungs, larynx, vocal chords, mouth, nasal passages

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Considerations For Developing Language Assessment Procedures

Charlene Rivera and Maria Lombardo

Foreword

One of the major problems in the area of bilingual education is that of assessing the language competencies of bilingual students once they have been identified as limited English speakers under Title VII or according to the Lau Categories ("Task Force Findings," 1975; "Guidelines for Selecting," 1976; "Planning and Implementing," 1976; Grant, 1977). A bilingual student is defined as one who lives in a two language environment regardless of how well he/she speaks the non-native language (Zintz, 1975). Although the Task Force Findings or Lau Remedies as they have come to be known, specify general guidelines for the diagnosis of language competencies of bilingual students, they do not attempt to regulate their implementation by a school district. Without specific guidance, administrators and classroom teachers are left to their own individual resources. In addressing this problematic issue, guidelines for the assessment of language proficiency of limited English speaking students have been developed. They are the subject of the following chapter.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to (a) present a case for more comprehensive language proficiency assessment procedures that can be implemented by school administrators and classroom teachers; (b) provide a frame of reference for describing language assessment; and (c) delineate language proficiency assessment guidelines for developing screening and/or diagnostic procedures for examining the first (L_1) and second (L_2) language of the student with limited English proficiency.

A need for the development of language competency assessment guidelines has been demonstrated by studies on achievement levels of non-English or limited English speaking students, legislative developments, and the personal experience of working with bilingual students and teachers. In the following section, each factor will be briefly reviewed in order to document the need for the development of language competency procedures that can, in fact, be implemented by school administrators and classroom teachers.

The educational achievement of linguistic-minority students according to the 1977 National Assessment is consistently below the achievement level of the national age population of the monolinguals. The linguistic-minority students are "in lower grade levels than they [illegible]uld be, and they are not performing up to standards even at those

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levels (NIE, "Desegregation and Education," 1977). This situation, while not new (Samora, 1968; Sanchez, 1971), was ignored until a government analysis of the educational achievement of Mexican-American children in the Southwest revealed that in Texas, Arizona, Colorado, California, and New Mexico, 8.1 years of schooling was the average for Mexican-American students 14 years of age and older (U.S. "Unfinished Education," 1972). While similar studies are not available, parallel negative achievement rates are reported for other linguistic-minority groups (Coleman, 1966; "The Way We Go To School," 1970; Lau vs. Nichols, 1974). Additionally, the problem of achievement is documented in the high dropout rates reported for Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans (U.S. Commission, 1971; 1972; 1976; 1978).

In an attempt to amend the inadequate educational situation of language minority students, Congress passed the 1968 Bilingual Education Act in the form of an amendment to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act — Title VII. This landmark legislation requires that a program of instruction be designed to "teach . . . children in English and to teach in (the native) language so that they can progress effectively through school" (O.E. "An Unmet Need," 1976, p. i). In this definition, it is obvious that language is a unique component to be considered.

The language component was also found to be particularly significant in the education of limited English speaking students in the 1974 San Francisco court case of Lau vs. Nichols. In this instance, with the U.S. Assistant Attorney General as *amicus curiae*, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the negative decision of the Federal District Court and the Appeals Court. It ruled that:

> The failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English, . . . denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 563).

Specifically, in the Court's opinion:

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills, is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful (p. 566).

Further, the 1968 and 1970 guidelines issued by HEW were found to be binding in the Court's opinion. According to the 1968 regulation:

> School systems are responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain the education generally obtained by other students in the system (pp. 566-567).

The 1970 clarification of this guideline requires that federally funded school districts "rectify the language deficiency in order to open the instruction to students who have had linguistic deficiencies" (p. 570).

From a legal perspective then, "national origin minority group children must be assessed in order to meet such . . . language skill needs

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as soon as possible and not keep them in programs that operate as an educational dead end or permanent track" (p. 568). In complying with the Court's opinion, the San Francisco Unified School District with a citizen's task force designed guidelines for school districts to follow in the case of students whose "home language is other than English." Some months later, Congress codified the decision as part of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977) and the Office of Civil Rights adopted guidelines which have come to be known as the Lau Remedies (1975). They specify that students be identified as:

A. Monolingual speaker of the language other than English
B. Predominantly speaks the language other than English
C. Bilingual
D. Predominantly speaks English
E. Monolingual speaker of English

Based on the general category in which a student falls, educational programs are then designed and matched to student needs. Although the process is commendable, it does not require a refined analysis of the student's language skills for program placement.

In the Educational Amendments of 1978, language again was cited as a significant variable in the program design of students with limited English proficiency. The amendments "adopted the definition of eligibility (for bilingual programs) as those individuals who . . . have sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language (so as not) to deny those individuals the opportunity to attain levels of proficiency comparable to others at their appropriate age and grade level" (p. 70).

Despite these developments, procedures for language assessment of limited English proficiency students need to be further defined in order to facilitate meaningful implementation. The experience of working with bilingual students and teachers strongly supports this fact. While several governmental agencies (Foreign Service Institute, FSI; Central Intelligence Agency, CIA; and Civil Service Commission, CSC) have developed a model for assessment of second language competence for adults learning foreign languages (Jones and Spolsky, 1975), a uniform procedure has yet to be developed for teachers attempting to diagnose language competence of students in bilingual and/or other programs of instruction for language minority students. The reality in the past has been that the individual classroom teacher who attempted to diagnose language skills has done so on an individual basis rather than as a part of an organized methodology. Additionally, the interrelated problem of identifying adequate and valid test instruments complicated the process, for, although numerous formal and informal instruments exist to assess language competence, they are seldom comprehensive or organically integrated in design (Gutierrez, 1975; Silverman, Noa, and Russell, 1977). With a legislative mandate, however, these facts now constitute a challenge for individual school districts to develop scientific and systematic assessment procedures applicable to the language minority student.

Issues in Language Assessment

To date, the assessment of language proficiency of bilingual students has been difficult for two major reasons:

1. Inadequate identification of specific language proficiency skills necessary to determine the bilingual classroom student's ability to perform in a monolingual or in a bilingual classroom (Cummins, 1979).
2. Lack of identification of proven, valid and reliable standardized and/or criterion referenced tests that measure linguistic competencies of bilingual students in their native language and in English (Silverman, Noa, Russell, 1977).

> There is no general agreement among educators and/or linguists as to what constitutes either the particular functionalities of language which situationally may affect it, or the specific skills which should be the minima at a given age or grade. (Gonzales, 1979, p. 13).

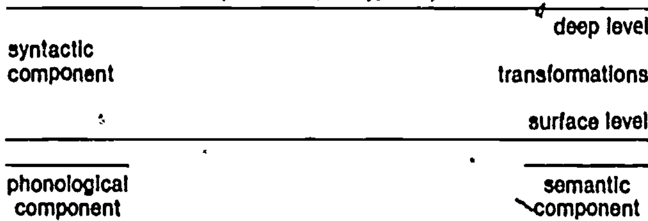
To address the first issue, that of identifying the specific language skills required for proficiency, related literature that has influenced the selection of the skills identified as requisite for language proficiency assessment was reviewed. This literature will be briefly discussed. The intent is to identify the component skills that should be considered when assessing the language proficiency of bilingual students.

From the 1940's through the 1950's, structural linguists, influenced by behavioristic ideas, studied language in terms of the sound system. In *The Structure of American English* (1958), Francis described language as "an arbitrary system of articulated sounds made use of by a group of humans as a means of carrying on the affairs of society" (p. 13). It was postulated that a person controlled a set of discrete signals which, when joined according to a set of grammatical rules, became meaningful grammatical utterances (Langacker, 1968). Assumed to be learned through behavioristic principles, language learning was viewed as a mechanical process of conditioning (Chastain, 1976).

This traditional view of language learning was considerably altered by Chomsky's work on transformational grammar (1957; 1972). Influenced by the cognitive psychologists, Chomsky focused on semantics or the internalized rules of language that link the sound and meaning systems. Figure 1 illustrates this perspective. In this model the phonological component or the sounds of the language are interlinked with the semantic component. Through transformational rules, the levels of syntax are then interconnected.

FIGURE 1

Chomsky's Transformationalist View of Language (cited in Spolsky, 1978)



The psycholinguists, in contrast to the traditional linguists, viewed language learning as an "internal process that is creative and rule governed" (Chastain, 1976, p. 59). In their application of generative transformational theory, psycholinguists drew attention to the interrelationship between the cognitive processes and language.

The perspective of sociolinguists has also influenced the identification of skills considered important in language proficiency assessment. They have studied language use and language adoption within the community. Specifically, they have focused attention on language varieties, their functions, and "the characteristics of their speakers as the three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community" (Fishman, 1972, p. 14). This perspective underscores the need to view language development in context — a particularly important aspect for the second language learner.[1]

In the traditional perspective, the components of language were considered most important:

> ... language is a system of habits of communication. These habits permit the communicant to give his conscious attention to the overall meaning he is conveying or perceiving. These habits involve matters of form, meaning, and distribution at several levels of structure, namely, those of the sentence, clause, phrase, word, morpheme, and phoneme. Within these levels are structures of modification, sequence and part of sentences. Below them are habits of articulation, syllable type, and collocations. Associated with them and sometimes as part of them are patterns of interaction, stress, and rhythm (Lado, 1961, p. 22).

Despite the emphasis on the specifics of the language, it was recognized that in the process of communication the language components never occurred in isolation. In Lado's words, "They are integrated in the total skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing ... There are then these four skills, the mastery of which does not advance evenly" (p. 25).

From the psycholinguists' perspective, there was less concern with "pure language features, e.g., segmentals, stress" (Davies, 1968, p. 5); rather, there was emphasis on "allowing the learner to use the rules he has learned in order to establish how far he has internalized them" (Davies, 1968, p. 5). Heaton (1975) suggested that the level and purpose for assessing the students be the decisive factors for assessing language proficiency:

> At all levels but the most elementary, it is generally advisable to include test items which measure the ability to communicate in the target language ... Successful communication in situations which simulate real-life is the best test of mastery of a language (p. 6).

Figure 2 demonstrates the relationship between the language skills and the language components and exemplifies how language use may differ within specific domains. As shown in the diagram, the elements of language are basic to language use and include knowledge of the sound system (phonemes) for oral language and comprehension of the orthographical system (graphemes) for written language. Language use requires familiarity with vocabulary (lexicon), and internalization of grammatical structures or rules of language usage (syntax). While the

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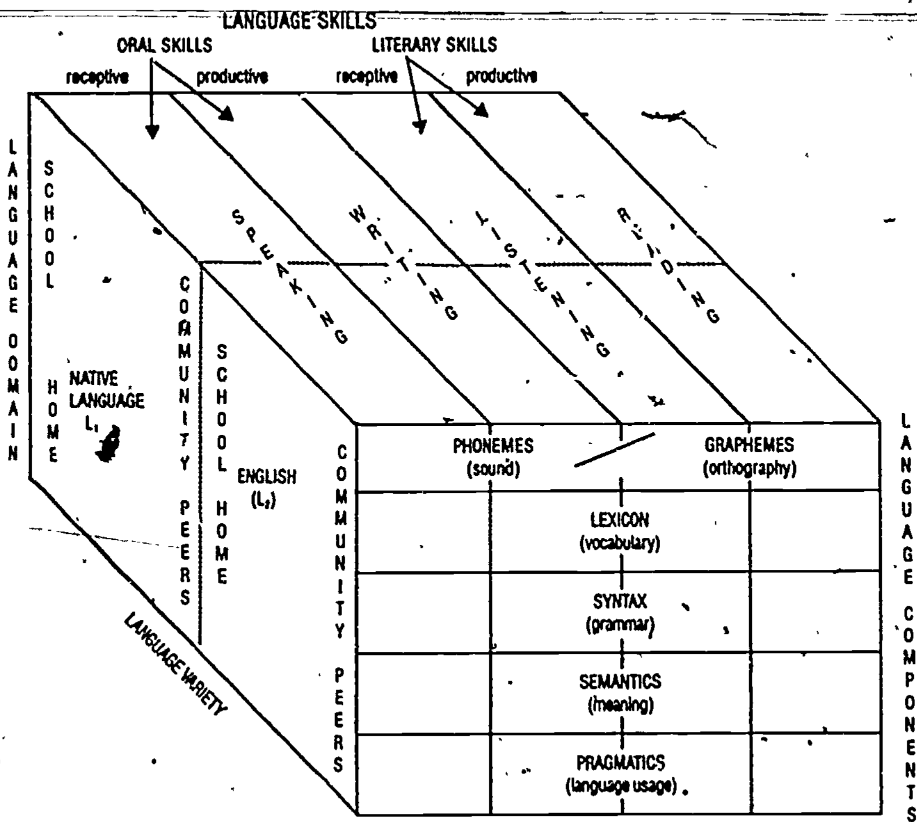
ability to attach meaning to referents (semantics) is basic, the ability to process sequence of linguistic elements to the broader context of experience (pragmatics) is more important (Oller, 1970). The other aspects that Figure 2 illustrate are: (a) the language domains or contexts within which language can be described; and (b) the language variety or the type of language that is used in diverse geographical locations or within the same speech community or communities.

FIGURE 2

Interrelationship of the Language Areas



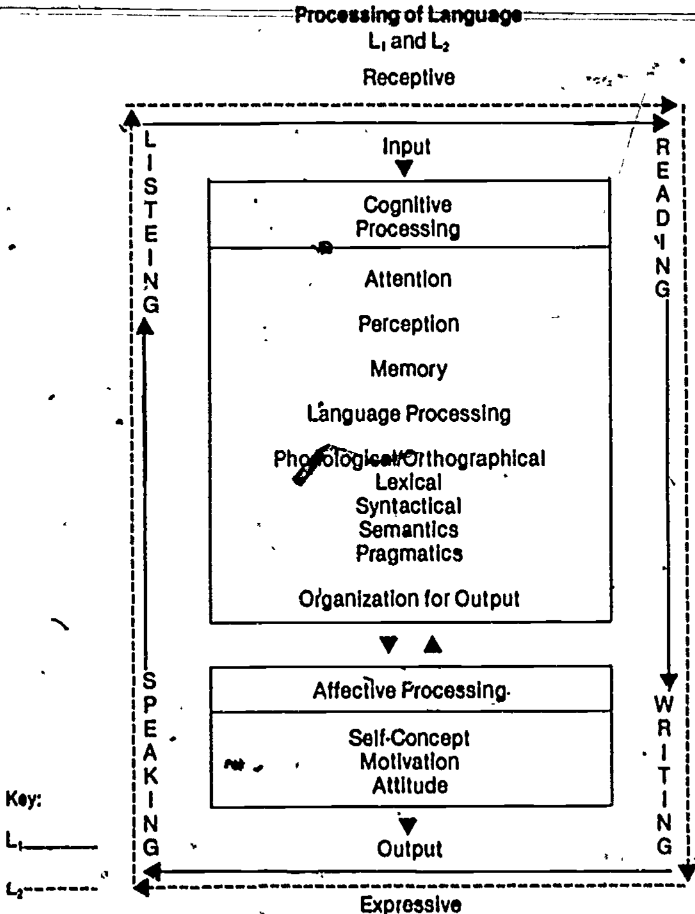
(Bordie 1970, MacNamara 1967; Cooper 1968; cited in Cohen 1975)

Figure 3 demonstrates the major cognitive functions necessary to process language. The ability to receive and manipulate language for communication purposes requires the ability to attend, perceive, and remember phonological, lexical, and syntactical aspects of received language (input). Through the successful process of synthesizing the input and normal motor control, expressive language (output) becomes possible (McLaughlin, 1978). While the analysis is somewhat simplified, for those concerned with language proficiency, knowledge of the aspects involved in processing language is important. This consideration becomes particularly necessary when a student being assessed for language proficiency seems to evidence problems related to processing rather than to language itself.

FIGURE 3

Processing of Language

L_1 and L_2



(Lombardo and Rivera, 1979)

The affective forces of self-concept, motivation, and attitude also influence to what extent individuals activate their potential to manipulate language as a tool for communication. These factors are further documented in second language (L_2) acquisition studies (Gardner and Lambert, 1971; Ervin-Tripp and Osgood, 1973; and Taylor, 1974), where it is demonstrated that these internal forces greatly interact to influence the acquisition of competence in the native language (L_1) as well as in a second language (L_2).

The significant physiological factors in native and second language acquisition include age, general health, and a functional neurological system. All three are important for normal development. In the second language acquisition, these become critical when students begin the process of learning a second language after puberty. As Lennenberg (1967) described, it is generally accepted that there is a critical period, usually at the onset of puberty, beyond which the individual often becomes incapable of attaining native-like language competence. This factor is of particular significance when assessing second language proficiency of students who are at this stage.

The sociological factors of family background, schooling, and socioeconomic status also affect first and second language development. Although real, these factors do not restrict normal development of language processing as do physiological and psychological factors.

In summary, it can be said that while each of the four language areas can be considered individually, Figure 2 illustrates that one aspect of language is not easily isolated from another since each area requires mastery of separate and somewhat different skills. It simply cannot be assumed that mastery of one skill area necessarily indicates mastery of a related skill area nor can it be assumed that lack of skills in one area indicates lack of skills in another. The fact of the matter is that separate skills may be needed. For this reason, in the assessment of a bilingual student's proficiency, it is suggested that skills in all four areas be examined in any assessment procedure.

In order to obtain a complete profile of a bilingual student's language competency, other related factors including cognitive functions necessary to process language, affective forces, physiological and sociological factors also need to be kept in mind. Although a formal methodology for assessing these areas is not recommended, their acknowledgement is essential if the students' potential and competency are to be adequately recognized.

The second issue, that of identifying appropriate norm or criterion-referenced instruments, has contributed to the dilemma facing school districts. Although numerous and informal testing instruments exist (Gutierrez and Rosenback, 1975; Pletcher, 1978), it has been found that they are seldom comprehensive or organically interrelated in design. This creates problems for the classroom teacher desiring to diagnose students' linguistic competencies. Not only must skills be catalogued, but appropriate tests or test components must be found and matched. As a result, the procedure employed by most bilingual teachers is

random. It lacks uniformity in the skills considered significant and in the instruments used to measure them. Finally, the process is time-consuming and tedious for the classroom teacher who needs an expedient method for assessing the strengths and weaknesses of bilingual students. Nevertheless, in spite of these complications, once the student is placed in a bilingual education program, diagnosis of language proficiency or specific language strengths and weaknesses becomes necessary in order to design programs of instruction that meet their needs (Cuevas, 1978; "Planning and Implementing," 1976).

In addition to the discussion of the two major issues cited, in the development of language proficiency guidelines, it is useful to clarify concepts that are commonly used in the assessment of language proficiency.

Language Proficiency Assessment Terms

Language Competence and Performance

A distinction between language competence and performance first made by Chomsky (1965) differentiates between an individual's internalized knowledge of vocabulary and the rules of grammar for joining the words and production of this internalized knowledge. The internalized knowledge constitutes competence, whereas an individual's observable language output equals performance or production (McNeill, 1966; Wilkinson, 1971). In this framework, competency is the underlying factor that makes production possible. However, it should be noted that performance does not always reflect competence because a variety of factors may intervene to inhibit performance. This can be exemplified in a situation where a bilingual student who is rated on a series of oral interview questions, may comprehend, but due to anxiety may not perform as well as when utilizing the language of the test in other situations.

Language Proficiency and Communicative Competence

Language proficiency is the degree to which an individual manipulates language skills in the receptive and expressive areas. Communicative competence, a much broader concept, is considered to be the observed ability of a person to receive and to transmit messages in the context of a real communicative situation. It deals with the social and cultural knowledge an individual is assumed to have to enable him or her to use and interpret linguistic forms (oral and written) appropriately in a given context. From this perspective, assessment of language proficiency answers the questions: As observed on a continuum, how well does a person speak, understand, read, or write? Assessment of communicative competence answers the question: Upon observation, how well does an individual receive and transmit appropriate meaningful messages in a specific context? It is not possible to establish an absolute distinction between language proficiency and communicative competence. Thus, an understanding of how the two terms have been used becomes important in determining the skills that will be considered important in the development of a philosophical approach to language assessment.

Language Dominance vs. Language Proficiency

The Lau Remedies (1975) require that a school district not only identify a student's "primary home language" and make an assessment of "the degree of linguistic function or... (language)... ability;" but they specify that "diagnostic prescriptive measures be used to identify the nature and extent of each student's educational needs." Since "basic English skills are at the very core of what is needed to rectify the language deficiency," the question remains: What English language competencies are needed to overcome the language "deficiency"? What measurement devices should be used to evaluate strengths and weaknesses?

Language dominance in its most basic sense refers to the strongest language through which a bilingual person can function, or the language in which a person has the strongest degree of communicative competence. Thus, in practical terms, it is viewed as a comparison of a person's skills in two or more languages (Zirkel, 1976; Dickson, 1975). According to the Lau Remedies (1975), determination of language dominance is one of the initial steps needed to identify students eligible for a program of bilingual instruction. Eligibility is determined when the survey of functional language in the home, school, and community cross validate indicating that a student falls into one of the first three Lau categories. In contrast to dominance, language proficiency distinguishes the degree of a person's language competence (MacNamara, 1969; Spolsky, 1975) or the ability to manipulate the components of language within the receptive and expressive skill areas. As described by Jones and Spolsky (1975), language proficiency refers to "the ability of an individual to speak, understand, read, or write a foreign language" (p. 1). For language assessment purposes, this description can be applied to use of the native language.

As proposed, the initial step in language proficiency assessment is to determine the aspects of language that are to be assessed. In this respect, a model (Figure 2) which illustrates the interrelationship of the receptive and expressive language skills was adopted. It provides a frame of reference for describing the distinction between language competency and language performance. In addition, the model underscores the difference between communicative competence and language proficiency. Communicative competence like language performance is measured through the observation of an individual's actual use of language in a functional situation and generally refers to oral competence. Language proficiency, on the other hand, is concerned with the measurement of both oracy and literacy skills. Finally, a distinction is made between language dominance and proficiency. While dominance refers to an individual's oral communicative competence, language proficiency takes all the language skills into consideration.

The next section delineates language proficiency assessment guidelines which can be adapted by individual school districts. As guidelines,

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they are intended to provide a frame of reference and are not meant to restrict meaningful variations of language assessment procedures.

Language Proficiency Screening and Diagnostic Assessment Guidelines

Screening Procedure

Relying on the Lau Remedies for guidance, a screening process is first recommended to identify eligible minority students. This according to the remedies requires determination of language dominance through cross validation of the language used by the family and the student in the home, and the language that the student uses in informal social situations. The design for the screening process, illustrated in Figure 4, will not be further expanded since each school district is required by OCR (Office of Civil Rights) to specify plans for identifying language minority students eligible for bilingual education and/or specialized ESL (English as a Second Language) instruction. It is urged that the procedure used by school districts include a design and implementation process as described in Figure 3. Since the suggested procedure parallels that of the diagnostic procedure, it is described in that context.

Diagnostic Procedure

Once students are screened and placed in a program of instruction, it becomes necessary to diagnose their degree of language strengths and weaknesses or proficiency. Recognizing that the Lau Remedies do not give explicit guidance in this area, the following is an attempt to organize guidelines for developing a diagnostic assessment procedure.

Once language skills required for success in an academic curriculum are identified, the means for making a diagnostic assessment must be critically determined as well as the philosophic perspective from which the assessment will be approached. This requires: (a) identification of those who will be responsible for organizing the test procedures; (b) specification of the skills to be assessed in each language area; (c) delineation of the objectives for testing; (d) determination of a testing philosophy; (e) specification of criteria to be applied in the selection of test instruments; (f) selection of the test instruments; (g) specification of the entire procedure to be used for testing students; (h) training of testing personnel; (i) the implementation process; (j) specification of how the results will be evaluated and utilized; and (k) specification of how the procedure will be re-evaluated. The design and implementation procedure are illustrated in Figure 4.

Identification of Responsible Personnel

Prior to the development of a diagnostic procedure, it is critical to select the persons who will be responsible for designing one or both — a language screening and/or a diagnostic language assessment — procedures. A suggested possibility for designing such a process is the team approach where representative monolingual and bilingual teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, testing specialists, and [other] professional personnel involved in the educational process of

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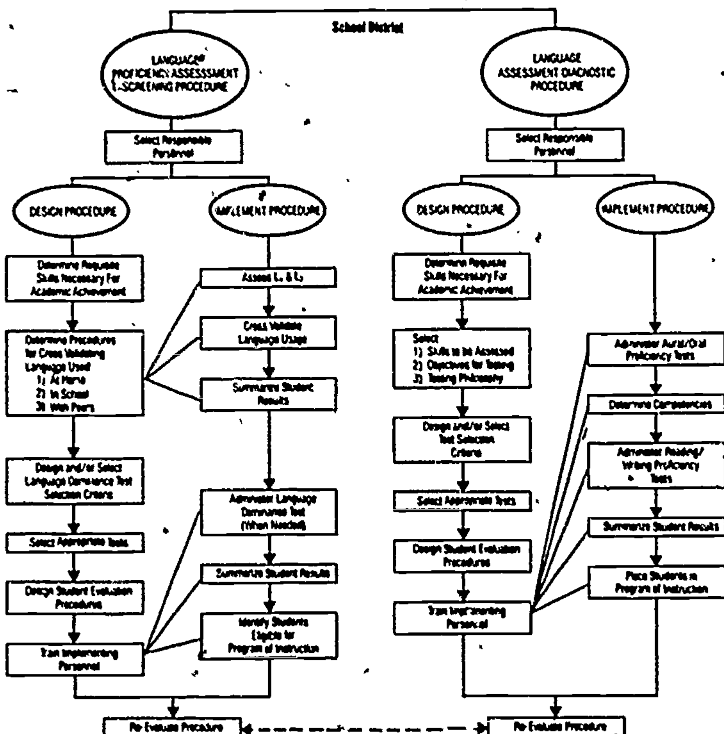
language minority students meet to design an assessment procedure. If both screening and diagnostic language assessment processes are to be developed, it would be helpful to divide the planning group into two interdependent teams.

Determination of Requisite Skills in L_1 and L_2 for Academic Achievement

Since implementation of bilingual education in 1969, the focus in language proficiency assessment has been on oracy (listening and speaking) skills rather than on both oracy and literacy (reading and writing) skills. As previously explained, the factors that account for this emphasis have been legislation and subsequent regulations which have been interpreted from a transitional bilingual education perspective. That is, students have been thought to be eligible for a program of bilingual instruction only if they were dominant in their native language or if they had limited proficency in English. "Students have been admitted to bilingual programs based on their surnames, Census Bureau Data, and other grounds which do not necessarily measure a pupil's proficiency in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing English" (Epstein, 1977, p. 3). As a result of this averment, minimal stress has been placed on the assessment of literacy skills.

FIGURE 4

Language Proficiency Screening and Diagnostic Assessment Procedures



(Rivera and Lombardo, 1979)

It is our contention, however, as the 1978 Education Amendments suggest, that literacy skills should be considered essential in any language proficiency assessment procedure. This focus necessitates delineation of the specific aspects of each skill that need to be considered essential in any language proficiency.

Since identification of the language skills to be assessed is a prerequisite procedure, a method for doing so needs to be developed. One approach might be to review the monolingual curriculum requirements for a school district and to draw up parallel lists of L_1 and L_2 skills and subskills following the model in Figure 5 in each of the receptive and expressive language areas. Regardless of the method, what is important is that a school district outline the basic language skills necessary for academic success in L_2 and/or in L_1.

Selection of Skills from the Four Language Areas to be Assessed

Once the basic language skills necessary for academic success have been identified, the design committee must select those skills for each language area that should be evaluated in a screening and/or a diagnostic assessment procedure.

Delineation of Objectives for Testing

Delineation of test objectives is the first requirement for developing a criteria for selecting appropriate language assessment instruments. Freytes and Rivera (1979) indicate the potential relationship among curricular objectives for grade levels and the language areas to be assessed. For the lower grade levels, the areas to be assessed most likely will focus on Listening Comprehension and Oral Production rather than on Reading and Writing, which would be a natural focus for the higher grade levels.

Determination of Testing Philosophy

Recognizing that language is a complex phenomenon, an assessment philosophy must be adopted. Two possible perspectives which acknowledge the various complexities of language assessment are discrete point and integrative assessment. Whichever perspective one takes, it will affect how language will be assessed.

From the traditional linguistic perspective which involves scientific study of the components of language, assessment will most probably take a discrete-point approach. That is, assessment of an individual's ability to manipulate the individual elements of language will be made. For example, in this approach, vocabulary or use of grammatical structure would be measured in isolation rather than in a communicative context.

When viewed from an integrative perspective, language will be measured functionally in real communicative situations where the listener and speaker use language to get things done. The interrelationship between the elements of language and their use for communicative purposes are reflected in Hymes' introduction to Func-

tions of Language in the Classroom (cited in Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972) when he states:

> People who know the same sounds, words, and syntax, may not have the same rules for interpreting utterances as requests or commands; the same rules for the topics that can be introduced among people not intimate with each other; for taking turns and getting the floor; for making allusions, avoiding insults, showing respect, and self-respect in choice of words . . . the request means of speech include not only some variety of language, but also its mode of use (p. xxxvii-xxxviii).

Since reading experts generally acknowledge that there is a relationship between the comprehension of oral and written language (Loban, 1963; Ruddell, 1968; Wilkinson, 1970; Ching, 1976; Goodman, 1976), Hymes' statement regarding comprehension of oral language could be equally applied to written language.

The third perspective from which assessment could take place is to combine discrete-point and integrative philosophies. This latter approach, while a reversal of past foreign language teaching strategies (Chastain, 1976), makes a great deal of sense for a person acquiring a second language as a means of meeting social, academic, and personal needs. Applying this dual approach, language assessment would take into consideration both a person's ability to communicate orally or in writing in a particular situation (communicative competence) as well as the ability to manipulate the elements of language in oral and written form (language proficiency). Regardless of the approach selected, other aspects that also influence L_2 competence must also be considered in the final analysis.

Specification of Test Selection Critera

Initially, in establishing a criteria for test selection, general value judgements need to be formulated, and then altered appropriately in each specific case. This implies that those responsible for selecting test instruments must be aware that certain areas need to be weighted over others depending on the age of the student. For example, an oral competency test would be weighted more on its scoring ease and the possibility of transferring the results into a meaningful evaluation rather than on its objectivity. Through this process, instruments must be identified as formal or informal measures, and specific aspects need to be analyzed in relationship to the intended use. For example, if communicative competence is to be assessed, the selection of a formal objective measure would probably be inappropriate. Regardless of the type of measure, the important factors in selecting a test are validity, scoring facility, and overall meaning attached to the final evaluation.

Areas that need to be included in a criteria for measuring language assessment instruments appear in Table 1. It should be recognized that several such criteria exist (Guidelines for Selecting Test Instruments, 1976; Freytes and Rivera, 1978) and could be adapted to the particular needs of a school district.

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TABLE 1

Sample Criteria for Evaluating Language Assessment Competence Measures

1. Define objectives for language assessment.
2. Define objectives for measures to be selected.
3. Evaluate the instruments according to a criteria. The outline below provides an example of areas that should be included in a criteria.

Measurement Factors		Measurement Instruments					
Test Appropriateness		Formal			Informal		
1. *Skills measured*	a. Discrete point b. Integrative	Inapp.	Mod. App.	App.	Inapp.	Mod. App.	App.
2. *Format*	a. Appearance						
	b. Organization						
	c. Length						
3. *Items*	a. Number of items for each skill measured						
	b. Types of items						
	c. Relation to test objectives						
4. *Directions*	Clarity 1. teacher						
	2. student						
5. *Forms*	a. Alternate Forms						
	b. Availability of more than one form						
Administration							
1. Ease of Administration							
2. Scoring	a. Ease						
	b. Hand vs. Machine						
	c. Time						
	d. Effectiveness of results						
Psychometric Information							
1. Reliability							
2. Validity							

(Lombardo and Rivera, 1979)

Selection of Test Instruments

After selecting a test identification criteria, the responsible personnel are then able to identify specific appropriate tests based on the student and school district needs.

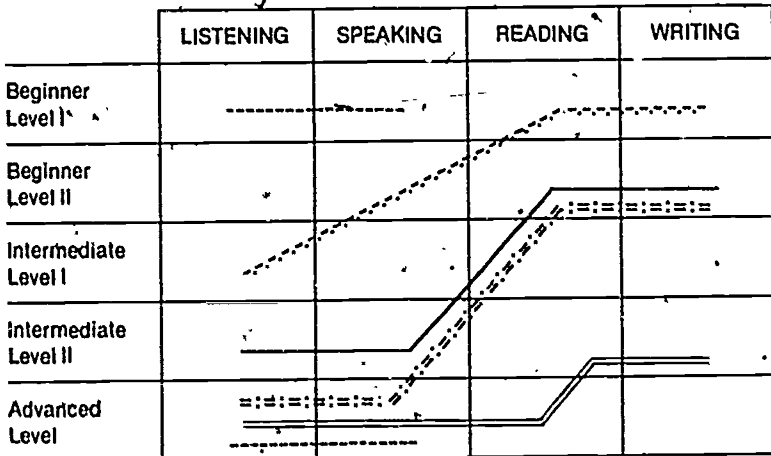
Designation of Student Evaluation Procedure

Once skills have been outlined and tests to measure those skills have been selected, and depending on the needs of a given population, a procedure for summarizing and evaluating student's language proficiency must then be outlined. This involves developing the details for a language profile. Plans should include a listing of the specific student background information to be gathered, the skills to be assessed, the tests to be administered, the scoring and the evaluation procedures to be implemented.

Evaluation of L_1 and L_2 performance is critical to a meaningful assessment procedure. While several approaches can be taken, all would have the common element of placing scores on a continuum. This implies that prior to testing, the range of possible scores should be determined, so that an expectancy table can be developed. Once the student's language performance in each area has been determined, results should be translated into level equivalencies as exemplified in Figure 5 in this example, students are grouped according to their scores on a series of language proficiency tests.

FIGURE 5

Language Competency Profile for L_1 and L_2



(Rivera and Lombardo, 1979)

Key: L_1 L_2

Student 1 ------ : = = = :

Student 2 ______ ══════

Student 3 - -.-.- =:=:=:

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As the figure illustrates, every student has not taken every component of the language assessment battery but has been tested only in the areas where there is some indication of competency. By developing a profile, tests may be meaningfully organized. Further, an organized evaluation of test results is required if language strengths and weaknesses in L_1 and L_2 are to be identified. An example of a student profile which incorporates an overall evaluation of test results is found in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Individual Student Profile

Name:________ Date of Birth:________

Address:________ Place of Birth:________

________ No. of years in U.S.:________

School:________ Teacher:________

Telephone: ( )________ Home room:________

Educational Background

Grade level completed in native country________ in the United States________

Years of: English____ Math____ Science____ History____

Other: ________ subject years ________ subject years

TEST COMPONENTS	L_1	L_2
Listening		
Speaking		
Reading		
Writing		

PLACEMENT: Grade level________

GROUP PLACEMENT

L_1		L_2	
Language Arts	Reading	ESL	Reading

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Special tutoring________

Request CORE Evaluation________

COMMENTS:

____

____

____

____

(Rivera and Lombardo, 1979)

Training of Personnel

Whatever procedures are adopted, a plan for training teachers, administrators, etc., who will ultimately be responsible for implementating the screening and/or diagnostic language assessment procedure, should also be developed. As Fullan and Pomfort (1977) indicate successful implementation "concerns the knowledge and understanding that users have about the innovation's various components, such as philosophy, values, assumptions, objectives, subject matter, implementation strategy, and other organizational components, particularly role relationships" (p. 364).

An in-service education plan must incorporate all aspects involved in implementing one or both procedures. For the screening procedure, information should be presented on Lau, the Lau Remedies, the steps in the screening process, implementation of the process, evaluation and student placement. A training program for the implementation of a diagnostic assessment procedure should incorporate the issues involved in the design and implementation procedure. Participants in an in-service education program should (a) be informed on the development of the procedure; (b) understand how and why specific skills were selected for assessment; (c) know what the objectives are for testing; (d) be aware of the testing philosophy; (e) understand the rationale behind the test selection criteria; (f) become completely familiar with the administration evaluation of the selected test instruments; (g) be able to summarize student results; (h) be able to profile a student's language strengths and weaknesses; and (i) feel confident to interpret the results so as to be able to place students in appropriate programs of instruction.

Implementation

Applying a diagnostic assessment procedure to students identified through the screening process as limited English speaking requires the specification of a hierarchical procedure. In other words, diagnosis should only be made in those areas where a student has demonstrated prior competence. This would require that the diagnostic assessment process be organized so that the results of the individual components be evaluated prior to requiring the student to proceed to more difficult tasks. For example, if a student performs poorly on a dictation exercise, it hardly seems necessary to require that he/she continue with other writing components of an assessment. For this reason in the diagnostic assessment procedure, an oral competency and a basic literacy test would be administered and evaluated before requiring that a student continue to a more extensive literacy assessment.

Re-Evaluation

The first time an assessment procedure is implemented, there are bound to be several uncertainties as to the soundness of particular judgements that are made throughout the process. For this reason, it is important to provide a means for receiving feedback so that changes can be made in aspects that are not working as intended. Each school

district will undoubtedly develop its own mechanisms for determining aspects of the language assessment procedure that need to be improved. This stage not only requires identification of appropriate measurement instruments, but a hierarchical determination of competencies necessary for students to take each successive test. Successful implementation of the final procedure again will be strongly influenced by the training received by those who actually become responsible for implementing the procedure.

Once the limited English speaker has been placed in a bilingual program, the re-evaluation of individual results will indicate strengths and weaknesses of the assessment process. Re-evaluation provides the mirror for reflecting whether the process was effective, or ineffective because of problems derived from the selected measurement instruments, the method of administration, implementation, implementation or evaluation. With this information, it is then possible to polish or alter areas of the established procedure.

Summary and Conclusion.

Recognizing that successful implementation of any procedure is difficult, the steps outlined in the previous sections of this chapter provide a springboard for any school district attempting to organize either or both a screening and diagnostic language proficiency assessment procedure. The historical overview of the need for language assessment as well as personal experience with teachers underscore the need for the development of a systematic procedure.

In providing suggestions for a systematic procedure, a frame of reference for understanding language was established and definitions commonly used to describe aspects of language assessment provide a basis for distinguishing among several related terms. Formulation of a frame of reference was necessary in order to suggest that there by continuity among schools attempting the assessment of language competences.

It was demonstrated that a multi-step process is required in the development of a language assessment procedure. Of primary importance is the selection of personnel who will be responsible for its development. In the planning, provisions should be made for in-service education of teachers, administrators, etc., who will be responsible for implementing the assessment procedures developed. In-service education should include sessions on implementation of the screening and/or diagnostic assessment procedures. It is recommended that each area receive individual consideration. This component most certainly could make the difference for successful implementation.

In-service education in the diagnostic assessment procedure initially requires that a school district in coordination with its teachers, specify the subskills to be assessed in each of the language areas — listening, speaking, reading, and writing. A decision needs to be made as to the competency expected at each grade level in both L_1 and L_2.

A criteria for selecting measurement instruments which includes h factors as testing purposes, usefulness of the test results, ease of

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administration, and validity/reliability needs to be determined. The decision of a philosophic approach — discrete point, integrative, or a combination approach — will also influence the criterion used for selecting measurement instruments. One or a combination of both need to be specified in order to provide guidance for the development of the entire assessment procedure.

The necessity for determining a philosophic approach was emphasized by the discussion on testing approaches. Specification of a testing philosophy will help determine whether the subskills measured are to be assessed as interrelated or as isolated elements. It was pointed out that while an integrative approach furnished an indicator of overall language competence, the combination of both integrative and discrete-point approaches supplies an index of language competence with reference to specific subskills. Thus, inclusion of both are recommended if the purpose of the assessment is to identify specific strengths and weaknesses. When these preliminary steps have been taken, the next task is to determine the exact procedure for testing students.

The procedural suggestions for actually carrying out the assessment procedure are an attempt to organize a workable-structure for those engaged in developing language assessment procedures. The necessity to select a person and/or a team of people to develop and implement the procedure and/or procedures as suggested is critical to success. The person or persons responsible are then charged with the responsibility to reasonably design a procedure and select testing instruments. Once the tests are implemented, the necessity for evaluating the attained results should be described. A systematic check on the results of the various aspects of the procedure then furnish evidence for continuing with the procedure and/or altering some of its components.

While the success of applying a comprehensive language assessment approach has not been extensively documented, two known successful projects in urban school districts (Freytes and Rivera, 1979; "Planning and Implementing," 1976) demonstrate the need to develop several systematic approaches. Thus, while legal mandates place pressure on school districts, it is imperative to tap resources within school systems as well as to take advantage of the expertise developing in state and federally funded projects. Most critically, in order to meet student needs, it is crucial to evaluate developed procedures as well as to monitor student progress.

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Procedure For Assessing Learning Problems of Students With Limited English Proficiency

Celeste E. Freytes

Foreword

Two major surveys done with different ethnic groups in Boston indicate that students who have limited English proficiency are achieving below grade level in school. These students are enrolled in a grade level that corresponds to their chronological age, yet their academic work is one or more years below grade placement level. This achievement rate is especially evident in major content areas such as reading. A comparison of five different ethnic groups in Boston further indicates that among Hispanics 80% are reading one to three years below grade level in English (Action for Boston Community Development, 1971; Emergency School Aid Act, 1976).

A survey reported by the Office of Civil Rights (1976) indicates that for Hispanics these effects are evident from a national perspective, i.e., Hispanics have the highest dropout rate of all minority groups in the United States and have the lowest educational attainment.

It seems evident from these surveys that linguistic minority students, in this case Hispanics, are not able to compete with English counterparts in academic areas. One of the factors influencing these results is the student's ability to learn a second language effectively. For children with limited English-speaking proficiency, acquisition of English is crucial to their school achievement. Inability to learn the second language adequately will force them to fall below grade level in school and this in turn can cause behavior or academic problems in the classroom.

While some children might encounter problems in school because of the difficulty of learning a second language, other children fall below grade level because they are truly underachievers, i.e., they have a learning problem. A child who has difficulty in understanding spoken as well as written materials in an all-English curriculum develops deficits in learning. In these cases, learning a second language is an extra burden for these children, and perhaps should be postponed until the learning problem is assessed and a prescriptive program for these students is developed.

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Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide teachers with a procedure that can be used to identify students with limited English proficiency who [illegible] special needs. This procedure has four basic components:

1. Content areas, which are the specific knowledge based skills needed to learn effectively.
2. Sociocultural factors, which provide a frame of reference for looking into different learning styles.
3. Socio-economic dimension, which outlines some relevant issues, and,
4. Assessment strategies, which include methods and procedures used to gather information.

Before an assessment procedure can be proposed, it is necessary to provide a definition of who are the students with limited English proficiency that have special needs.

Chalfant and King (1976) attempt to operationalize the definition of learning disabilities for the classroom teacher. In their quest for developing such a definition, the authors reviewed nine widely used definitions in the field. Based on this review, they identified five basic components that are associated with learning problems. These are: task failure, exclusion factor component, physiological component, discrepancy component, and psychological processes.

Task Failure

The first observable evidence in students with learning problems is their inability to achieve. This is evident when the student is not acquiring the academic skills for his/her grade level, at the other students' pace. In this step, the teacher *identifies* all those students who are working below grade level, regardless of the possible causes. Task failure refers to the discrepancy between the student's ability to learn and the actual achievement. For example, Johnny is a 10-year-old fifth grader who does not comprehend reading passages beyond the third grade level. According to his age, he should be reading at the fifth grade level, yet he is only achieving at the third grade level. There is a discrepancy between the academic level where he is working and the academic level where he should be working in reading. This first step in identifying these students is a screening process. It is the teacher's responsibility to be able to identify those students who have academic problems, i.e., they are failing. This process is very easy and at this stage we find a large number of students with limited English proficiency (LEP) "labeled" by the classroom teacher. They are identified by use of informal observation or by the student's performance on standardized tests.

This is by far the easiest step: identifying those who are not learning the way they should. Based on the results of the surveys previously outlined, students who have limited English proficiency (LEP) are being "fairly" treated at this stage. It is at later stages, where an in-depth diagnosis is required, that serious problems start to unfold.

On the other hand, in this initial stage one problem that starts surfacing is the use of labels. At this stage, labels such as mentally deficient, retarded, etc., are sometimes suggested by teachers, reflecting their own prejudiced views. Needless to say, this type of attitude is detrimental to the student's well-being.

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Exclusion Factor Component

The objective of this process is to identify those problems that are not primarily due to learning problems. Chalfant and King indicate that the process here is to identify

> the handicapping conditions which cause problems in learning disabilities. These include mental retardation, visual impairment, hearing impairment, socio-emotional problems, physical problems, poor instruction, and cultural or environmental factors. (p. 35)

In other words, this is the stage where all the possible causes of the learning problem are outlined. For a student to be classified as learning disabled, the learning problem should be the primary source of conflict. If a student is mentally deficient, he may also have a learning problem, but the primary reason why he is not learning adequately is his mental deficiency. Any child with academic failure can evidence learning problems, but the learning problem is not the primary source. The important action is to determine the relationship between the learning problem and the other variables. Is the student not learning because of emotional problems, or is he/she emotionally disturbed because he/she is not learning? It is important for teachers to realize that learning problems are not necessarily isolated from other behaviors observed in students.

A second observation that should be made about the definition presented by the authors relate to their statement that a student's learning disabilities may be caused by "poor instruction, and cultural or environment mental factors" (p. 35). The authors did not elaborate on how culture (however they may define the term) relates to the definition of learning disabilities. When developing an assessment procedure, the role of second language learning and culture must not be overlooked, as frequently happens. One of the symptoms observed is that in the "Task Failure Components," the number of minority students and/or students with limited English proficiency identified far exceeds the number of white middle class students. And whereas the latter are called learning disabled, the former are referred to as mentally deficient (Neer, 1973; Sabatino, 1972; Wikoff, 1974). Very often the use of two languages and different cultures are excluded as determining factors in the assessment process.

The relationship between different cultures and the definition of learning disabilities needs more intensive attention, if we find that in order to be classified as "learning disabled" vis-a-vis "mentally deficient" one has to belong to a specific cultural group.

The Physiological Component

In this component the student's physical problems are analyzed. These could be due to "genetic variations, biochemical irregularities, perinatal brain insults, or other illnesses" (p. 35), which can affect the development of the central nervous system. This component is diagnosed by specialists in the medical field. Parents and teachers are responsible for aiding the medical specialist by providing information on the

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student's daily behavior. Both are also instrumental in carrying out the prescriptive program recommended. This component does not pose much controversy for the bilingual child. It seems to be a universal feature of assessment. Regardless of the country or education system, children need to be healthy to learn adequately.

The paradox observed in this area is that most linguistic minority students in the United States belong to a low economic bracket. Various authors have indicated that the medical care these students receive is poor (Samuda, 1974), their health problems are frequent, and they are more susceptible to health problems (Samuda, 1975). It then seems that even in an area as basic as this one, diagnosis should be conducted with caution.

The Discrepancy Component

This component refers to the extreme intra-individual differences observed in a student's performance. Intra-individual differences refer to the extreme behaviors of a student in different areas. For example, an 8-year-old student in 3rd grade may be reading at the primary level, but his math performance can be above the 5th grade level. This discrepancy between reading and math is also complicated by the student's knowledge of English. This 8-year-old student may be able to read at the second grade level and be placed at the 5th grade level when he/she is in an all-English environment, but the discrepancy and skills needed for reading and math might be different when the student is assessed in the native language. Specific skills might be assessed in the native language, which might otherwise be considered non-existent. When analyzing the profile of a student with limited English proficiency, information on the student's performance in the native language is crucial.

The Psychological Process Component

This component describes how the student learns. To learn effectively, a student has to process information. To ensure adequate processing, there are three domains or dimensions he/she has to control.

Receptive Level

This level refers to the student's ability to receive information. Information can be received through the following sensory systems: visual (eyes), auditory (hearing), and haptic (tactile kinesthetic). Applying this system to education, the student uses the visual system when reading, the auditory when listening, and the haptic when receiving information by touch and movement.

Response Level

This level refers to the student's ability to express himself. Basically there are two ways to accomplish this: motor (movement) and oral (speech). This system can be observed in the classroom by the student's oral response (which can range from vocal utterances to language) and the student's motor coordination (which ranges from

gross development of body coordination to fine-motor skills such as writing).

Psychological Processes

This level refers to the way in which the child reads internally and processes the information received; i.e., the mental cognitive abilities used to function. This process can be subdivided into other components such as "attention, discrimination (visual, auditory, and haptic), memory, integration, concept formation, and problem solving." (p. 38).

Concerning the psychological processes, various studies have been reported which indicate that persons with two languages process information differently than monolingual persons. For example, how much and which type of information is remembered best by bilingual students is related to their proficiency in both languages. Persons who are truly bilingual store information--according to its meaning (semantically). Persons who are learning a second language tend to translate from the stronger to the weaker language, especially in the initial process of learning (Kolers, 1966; Freytes, 1977; MacNamara, 1967; MacNamara and Kushir, 1971).

The psychological process is more closely related to the cognitive area. If we look into the modalities used by students for receiving and expressing information, we might observe some discrepancies related to the child's language and culture. The preferred use of one modality over another for learning might come as a result of the language used or the education system that the child comes from. For example, if the education system emphasized the visual modality more strongly, the child would tend to have better memory for material presented via that modality. It does not necessarily mean that the child has a deficit in other modality. Information about the student's previous education system can help teachers gain insights into this component.

In summary, when applying the Chalfant and King definition to assess special needs of bilingual students, its usefulness depends on the awareness that the teacher has about the student he/she is assessing. The Chalfant and King definition does not by itself provide an in-depth frame of reference for assessing learning problems in bilingual students since the relationship among learning disabilities, language, and culture is left somewhat obscure. The purpose of the next section is to provide a comprehensive model that will take into account these components and provide a sequence to be followed when assessing different areas.

Assessment Procedure

Wilson (1967) has elaborated on various types of assessments that can be used with students who evidence problems in school. The first type of assessment is "informal-on-the-spot". This assessment is done immediately after the teacher identifies a child with problems. Information concerning the cause of the problems is not analyzed at this stage. Informal observations are used, e.g., if a teacher observes a

reversal problem in a student, she immediately works with the student on this issue. If the child corrects the problem, no further intervention is necessary; but if the reversal problem persists, and the child also seems to develop behavior problems, a more extensive assessment is required.

The second type of assessment is "classroom diagnosis". It requires the use of tests and detailed observation of behavior, and it is done by the classroom teacher. At this stage, the teacher has to study the variables contributing to the student's failure. Possible causes are analyzed.

This last type of diagnosis is "clinical", which, as the name indicates, is done by different specialists: school psychologist, pediatrician, counselor, etc. If a child goes through a classroom diagnosis and does not show any improvement within two months, he/she should be referred to the appropriate specialist for clinical diagnosis. The type of assessment we will refer to here is "classroom diagnosis". It is expected that teachers will make use of different strategies and/or instruments to determine the student's problems, and also that they take into account variables such as the student's cultural background and socio-economic status.

The importance of an accurate assessment cannot be overemphasized enough. For a moment, think of a mirror. If somebody shot a bullet at it, the mirror would shatter. On this mirror, we can superimpose the picture of a child. This is what we would refer to as a special needs child . . . he is totally affected, yet there is only one place where he was "broken." The term diagnosis implies that you are trying to assess the exact place where the mirror was broken, without sacrificing the other areas the child evidences problems in. On the other hand, it is very difficult to work with a "shattered mirror." Where does the assessment process start? For example, in the assessment procedure to be developed here the content areas are presented in a chronological sequence. In this section, some areas require assessment before others. It is important to follow this order. Before you analyze the child's reading problems, you have to be sure that he has the physical acuity required for learning as well as the intellectual functioning level.

The other categories of this four dimension model provide an overview into some variables that are also important in the assessment procedure. The four dimensions to be covered are sociocultural factors, content areas, assessment strategies, and socio-economic issues (See Figure 1).

Sociocultural factors

Without having to develop an extensive philosophy of culture and its influence in education, we may observe that as a result of their upbringing children may develop different cognitive approaches towards learning. Analyzing how bilingual children learn without looking seriously into their cultural background is like looking at students in a vacuum. Recent research has focused on the relationship between culture and bilingualism. Cognitive styles is one of the frame

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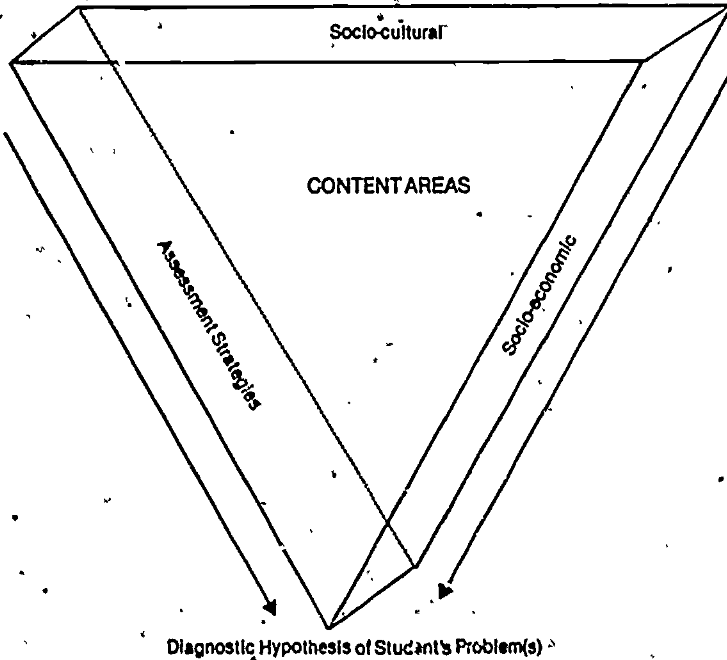
FIGURE 1

Model of Assessment Procedure



of reference used to view culture. Although there are different types of cognitive styles, few relate to the learning process (Messick, 1970). Cognitive styles refer to the ways in which a person perceives, remembers, thinks, and processes information. Witkins (1962, 1967) and his colleagues initially coined this term when they observed that persons evidence two major dimensions of cognitive styles: field independent and field sensitive. Persons who are field independent approach their environment from an analytic perspective and respond to stimuli independent of the total field. A field sensitive person utilizes a global approach for learning and is considered sensitive to the objects/events in the environment; i.e., his/her response to stimuli is affected by the environment surrounding him/her. Witkin and Berry (1975) reviewed various studies reporting on the relationship between cognitive styles and different variables, among them culture and concluded that cognitive styles are related to the person's socialization practices.

Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) summarized how this relationship is then evident in the children's learning styles:

> As a function of having experienced certain socialization practices and life-style, children bring with them to school a predisposition or preference for a cognitive style, which in turn affects the degree of their ability to function effectively within certain kinds of educational environments (p. 43).

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Ramirez and Castañeda applied Witkin's work to the classroom environment and developed a checklist of classroom behaviors observed in the Mexican-American students and teachers as a result of their cognitive styles (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974; Castañeda, 1974). Although their work was based on general observations made and results are inconclusive, their interest in implementing this knowledge to the classroom environment provides a frame of reference for future research.

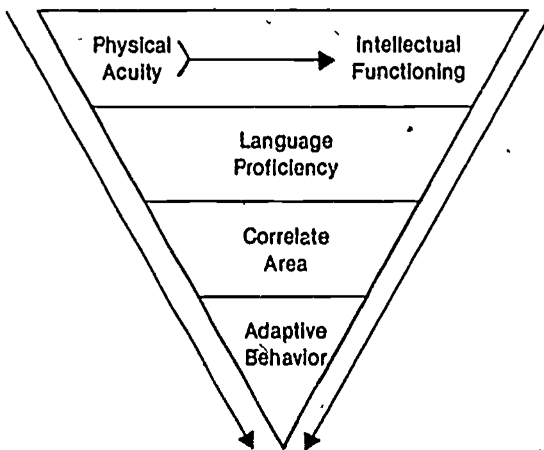
Content Areas

The first section of this model outlines the areas that are necessary for the child to achieve in school. These areas are: physical acuity, intellectual functioning, language proficiency, correlate area, and adaptive behavior. In each of these areas, we will only mention briefly what should be assessed. (See Figure 2.)

FIGURE 2

Model of Assessment Procedure

Content Areas



Physical Acuity and Intellectual Functioning

Physical acuity is the first area that has to be assessed whenever working with any child who evidences academic failure. Ideally, this should include a complete physical, emphasizing visual and auditory acuity, and if necessary, a neurological, i.e., is the child physically ready to receiving information, is he healthy? Can he/she see and hear accurately? Has he/she had breakfast today? etc.

The persons responsible for diagnosing this area are the medical specialists (nurse, pediatrician, optometrist, neurologist, etc.). The classroom teacher does not diagnose, but is responsible for screening this area and making the appropriate referrals. The teacher is

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responsible for observing the students' behavior and selecting those students that need further assessment. The use of checklists in this area is very useful.

Provided that each child has the necessary capacity for learning the next stage one should screen is his/her intellectual functioning level. Does the child have the capacity to learn content material? There are various topics reported in the literature involving the measurement of intelligence and the use of individual intelligence tests with bilingual children (Samuda, 1975; Moran, 1973; Torrence, 1973; Wikoff, 1974; De Avila, 1974). The objective of the classroom teacher here is to screen the student's intellectual functioning in school. The school psychologist is responsible for an in-depth diagnosis of the child. The teacher is responsible for the specific observation of behaviors in the classroom.

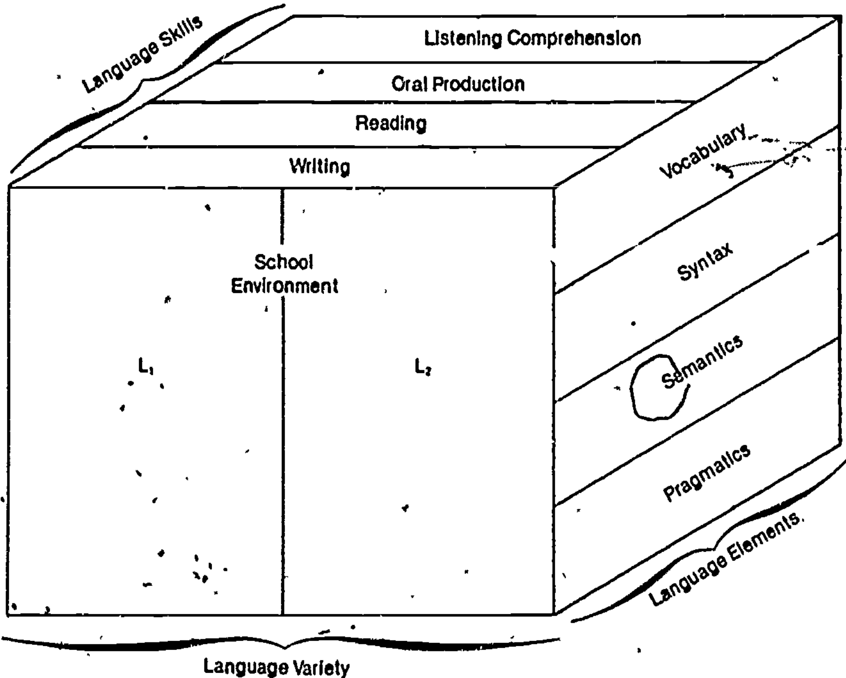
The responsibility that teachers have in these two components is to refer the student to the appropriate specialists.

Language Proficiency

After we have ruled out that the child has a physical or intellectual deficit that might interfere with learning, we then analyze the student's language proficiency.

FIGURE 3

Language Proficiency Model



In Figure 3 you can observe the different components that relate to a definition of language proficiency: language skills, elements, varieties, and environments.

The language skills refer to the psychological processes whereby information is processed. This process can be divided into two major components; oral skills and literacy skills. Oral skills include listening comprehension and oral production (the student's ability to understand and speak a language). Literacy skills refer to the student's ability to read and write a language. If a student is to be classified as bilingual, he/she has to have good oral and literacy skills in both languages. Very frequently the criteria used to determine who is bilingual is based on the student's oral skills. At times observers have indicated the perplexing issue of how "these students 'know' two languages but can't read." A student may have good oral skills and yet not know how to read or write according to his grade level. Immigrants who came to Boston in the 1930's developed oral skills fast to ensure job opportunities, but that does not necessarily indicate that they were bilingual. Nor should it be taken as the sole criterion for defining bilingualism today. The importance of defining bilingualism in reference to literacy skills came as a result of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act. By introducing the word education next to bilingual some competency in literacy skills was introduced. Despite this, some authors propose that early immigrants to the country were bilingual (oral skills) and made it through the system without bilingual education. Suffice it to say here that the two criteria are different and non-comparable.

For our purposes, a bilingual student must be able to understand, speak, read, and write two languages at a grade level equivalent to the student's chronological age or expected grade level. When the teacher is in the process of assessing language proficiency, the skills to be assessed should be clearly defined. The importance of each skill varies from one grade level to the next. For example, in the elementary grades there is more emphasis on oral skills than literacy skills. In the early elementary grade levels, reading is assessed via readiness and the skills observed in writing are more related to motor coordination than sentence structure or paragraph formation.

The language environments refer to the different situations where language occurs. There are four major environments: school, peers, community, and home. Our main concern is with the student's school environment which is the only one presented in Figure 2.

Language variety refers to the number of languages the student has. In this visual presentation we are referring to two languages, where the second language is always English. A point should be clarified here on the issue of which language to use for assessment. One of the misconceptions is that assessment in one language can provide an estimate of the student's ability in the other language. Frequently, only one language (mainly English) is used to assess the student and his/her score is taken as a measure of his/her skills. The approach can be misleading. So, to ensure proper assessment of a student's skills both

languages should be used and the examiner who utilizes the student's native language should be fluent in it.

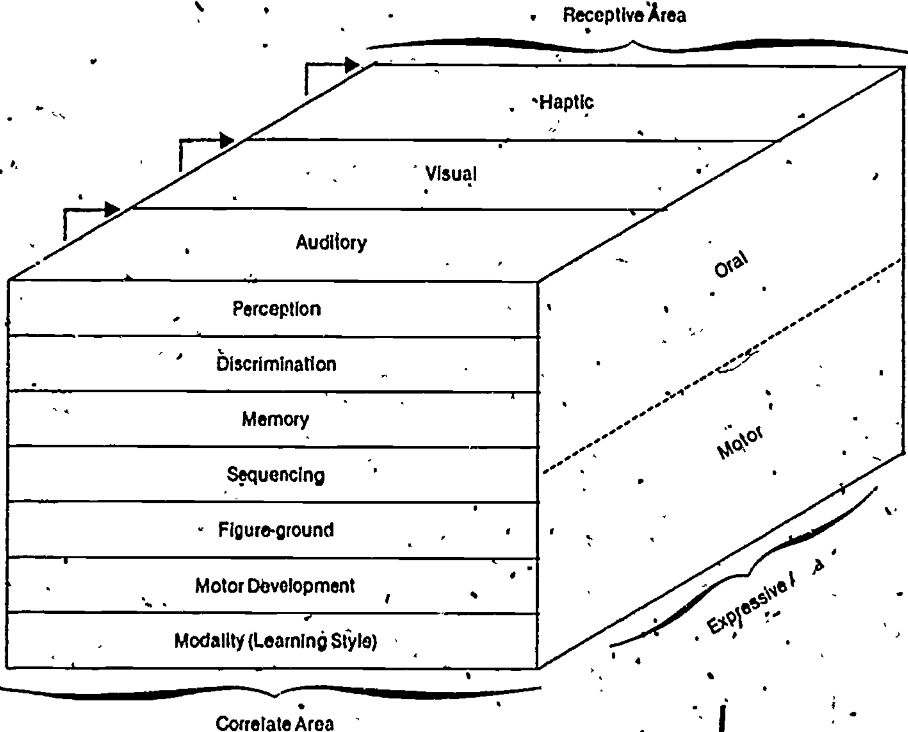
The language elements are the content areas of language: vocabulary, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, which is a measure of how the student uses all the knowledge he/she has about language in a specific situation. The purpose of looking at language proficiency is to observe behaviors which might interfere with the student's achievement rate. These behaviors should then be analyzed so that teachers can begin to develop prescriptions or recommend further diagnosis.

Correlate Areas

This component will assess specific skills needed to function adequately in the language proficiency area.

FIGURE 4

Assessment Procedure Model
Correlate Area



Correlate comes from the word "correlation." That is to say that the assessment that is done here will be based on the behaviors observed on the language proficiency area. After identifying some of the behaviors exhibited in the language proficiency area, the examiner selects the specific areas that need to be diagnosed. For example,

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while a student is reading the teacher may observe that he substitutes m/n, p/q, d/b, and E/F, and that he reverses some words when he talks: saw/was, tone/cone, etc. Although this example is oversimplified, it seems to indicate that one of the areas that the teacher has to observe more carefully is visual perceptual. The student does not need to be assessed in all areas. As a child enters into the correlate area, the teacher needs to be more selective on the amount of testing done with a child. The testing done here should be based on behaviors observed while screening physical acuity, intellectual functioning, and language proficiency. Some of the areas that may be assessed here are:

1. *Perception:* Ability to see/hear the same as others do.
2. *Discrimination:* Ability to discriminate between objects, things.
3. *Memory:* Remembering material seen (visual) or heard (auditory).
4. *Sequencing:* Placing objects in a specific order.
5. *Figure ground:* Ability to distinguish a figure from the background.
6. *Motor:* (a) gross — general: jumping, moving around
   (b) fine — specific: writing, drawing
7. *Modality:* The information to be analyzed here is the learning style of the child. How does he learn and retain better the information presented to him/her. This is one of the areas that we should analyze very carefully because children also learn how to favor modalities. The modalities most commonly used are visual, auditory, and haptic..

We all have the potential of using any modality to learn, but we tend to favor one over the other. It can be helpful to teach the child in his strongest modality, and then expose him to other styles of learning. In terms of the bilingual child, this is a new area that should be further explored.

Adaptive Behavior

In an attempt to recognize the limitation of using intelligence test results alone, the authors of the Manual on Classification and Terminology in Mental Retardation (Grossman, 1973) of the American Association of Mental Deficiency (AAMD) have indicated that measures of adaptive behavior should also be required when assessing intelligence. The author's definition of mental retardation "refers to significantly subaverage general intellectual functioning existing concurrently with deficits in adaptive behavior, both manifested during the developmental period" (p. 5).

The manual of the AAMD Adaptive Behavior Scale-School Version (Nihira, et. al., 1975) defines adaptive behavior as "the effectiveness with which an individual copes with the natural and social demands of his environment" (p. xi). This definition clearly emphasizes the need for assessing everyday living skills as part of the definition of mental retardation.

The requirement of assessing adaptive behavior (social maturity) addresses the many concerns about inappropriate placement of students with limited English proficiency in special education programs (Neer, 1973; Sabatino, 1973; Arnold, 1969; MacGregor, 1975; Sol, 1973). It recognizes the different cultural experiences that students bring with them to school. Cultural differences reflect differences in rearing

practices and these have to be considered when assessing students that need to be placed in a specific academic setting.

The information gathered here can come from various sources. Interviews can be conducted with various persons such as the student, the teacher, and the parents.

Interview With The Student

If the child has a problem, he is the first one to know it. Most children will be able to know when they are not functioning adequately at school. An interview with the student can provide information as to how he perceives the situation.

Prior to interviewing, the interviewer should have a list of questions, or guidelines to follow. It takes a very experienced interviewer to know on-the-spot which questions are relevant. This skill is acquired with practice. Although there are many formats available for this purpose, I have found very useful a format of "incomplete sentences" when working with children under ten. They can either write down their answer, or you can write it for them. When working with older students, I have found it more useful to write down a series of questions that need to be answered, or questions that I may anticipate will come up in the conversation with a specific child.

Interview With The Teacher

You can provide a checklist for the child's previous teacher to fill in. There are also various standard forms that are available for this purpose. The advantages of these standardized forms is that they already specify behavior in operational terms.

Whereas the student can provide his perception of the situation, the teacher can provide information about the student's behavior in a school environment. The Adaptive Behavior Scale by the AAMD was developed for these situations.

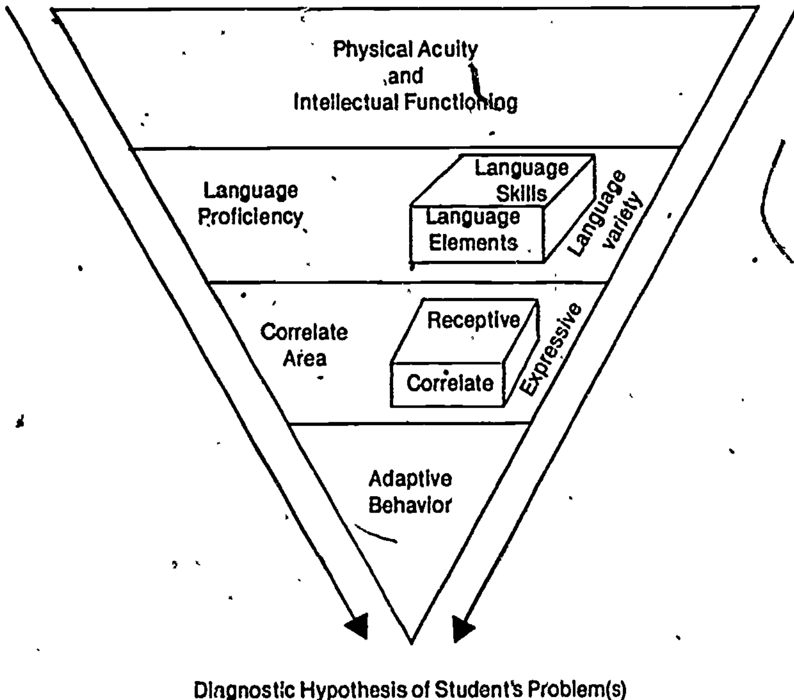
Interview With The Parents

Whenever possible, it is helpful to make a home visit, so that you can get an idea of the child's daily environment. This is especially true of the bilingual child who lives in one culture at home, and another one in school. Interviews with parents can be done to gather relevant developmental data. Standardized checklists are available for this purpose.

The complete model suggested to assess content areas includes two models within the language proficiency area and the correlate area. It is in this correlate area where the Chalfant and King model may be inserted. The final visual representation is available in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

Assessment Procedure Model Content Areas



Diagnostic Hypothesis of Student's Problem(s)

Assessment Strategies

Strategies refer to the methods and procedures used to obtain information on the student. Testing is one of the strategies used frequently in local educational agencies. Tests are used to quantify the student's behavior during a specific controlled environment, i.e. the testing environments. Tests are used frequently by school administrators for the purpose of summarizing information about the school system and/or to evaluate certain aspects of a program. Classroom educators at times utilize standardized tests and at times develop their own informal instruments or teaching tasks.

The strategies suggested here for assessing content areas are: (a) tests, (b) informal methods, and (c) teaching tasks.

Norm- and Criterion-referenced Tests

Measurement instruments can be broadly divided into two general categories. At one extreme we find the norm-referenced tests and at the other extreme the criterion-referenced tests. Norm-referenced tests are standardized and normed on a specific population and it is, therefore,

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assumed that they will be valid when used with a population similar to the norm. The behavior of the student tested is compared to that of other students. On the other hand, criterion-referenced tests develop a criterion to be used for comparing the student with himself/herself and are used more in a diagnostic prescriptive way. Injustice, mostly due to improper use, has been attributed to the standardized tests. At times, users of tests are inadequately trained to interpret test results in reference to students with limited English proficiency. Results of standardized tests are used to label these students as "not having" the skills needed to learn, yet frequently test users administer the tests in areas they are not trained to do so. An interesting example is the use of the Peabody Picture.

The American Psychological Association, APA (1966), has published a manual which includes the minimal standard that norm-referenced tests should have. Also included here is a list of qualifications that test users should have. Use of norm-referenced tests are restricted for use only by qualified personnel, and having certain expertise does not automatically enable a user to use different types of tests. Cronbach (1970) indicates that:

> Being a trained psychologist does not automatically make one a qualified user of all types of psychological tests . . . Being a psychiatrist, social worker, teacher or school administrator does not ipso facto qualify one to use projective techniques, intelligence tests, standardized achievement tests, etc. (p. 18)

Prior to using tests, the examiner should be aware of these guidelines. Secondly, the user should select tests that are to be used with bilingual students based on a criterion that takes into account the APA Guidelines and results should be interpreted with certain caution (Padilla, 1975; Jacob and Degref, 1973). To facilitate this process, some information has been provided at the end of this chapter: *Appendix A* includes references of criteria for test selection; *Appendix B* includes an example of a Criteria for Test Selection Developed, and *Appendix C* includes a list of annotated bibliographies of tests for use with bilingual students. Although some apprehension exists in using norm-referenced tests with bilingual students, the use of criterion-referenced measures is not an answer to this situation. Criterion-referenced measures also have some limitations. The biggest problem encountered is the standard that is used as a criterion. If a student does not accomplish a specific task, the possibility of not establishing an adequate criterion might be possible. Additionally, criterion-referenced measures have to be included into the student's curriculum so that "testing" is an intrical part of the student's daily activities.

Use of norm- versus criterion-referenced testing should be determined by the following variables:

1. *Purpose*. What is the objective of submitting a student to a testing situation? What kind of results do you want? Why do you want to test? Who needs the information?

2. *Area*. What content areas are you in need of measuring? What do you want to test?

3. *Language.* Which is the best language to use in the assessment procedure?

4. *Interpretation.* How will the results be interpreted?

Informal Techniques

Informal Techniques refers to the use of observation techniques or informal instruments. Observation techniques are used when the classroom educator wants to make some special notations of a student in a natural setting. Cartwright and Cartwright provide some general guidelines needed to make observations more effective. They indicate that the person needs to:

1. Be sure that the behaviors are written in operational terms
2. Quantify the frequency of behaviors observed
3. Be sure to indicate which is the pattern that behaviors fall into
4. Sample the behaviors observed during a day/week(s) so that you can best generalize which is the behavior(s) that is interphering with the student's learning process.

Informal instruments used for assessment are checklists. Checklists provide a list of behaviors that teachers can use as guidelines to observe behaviors in a specific area.

Teaching Tasks

Frequently, classroom educators give an example to students on how they want an assignment or work completed. Teaching tasks are used when the classroom educator can teach a student how to do a specific task/lesson and then provides student with the time and supervision so that it is completed. Although teaching tasks may resemble criterion-referenced measures in these tasks, the student is under constant supervision. A lot of modeling by the classroom educator is done. Results of this interaction are very informal and at times serve the purpose of establishing rapport with the student.

Issues Involved in Assessment

The next question that should arise is: What type of instruments are more reliable for this child? As mentioned earlier, *Appendix C* contains references of annotated test bibliographies for use with bilingual students. The final selection of one instrument over another depends on your objective when testing, the age of subjects, norms of the test, etc. (See Appendix B for a suggested criteria.) The following section outlines some issues to be taken into account when selecting a test needed for assessing students with limited English proficiency.

Verbal/Non-Verbal Testing

Although verbal testing can give us an estimate of the child's language development, it is not a fair measure for children from low socio-economic levels who have "poor" language skills. Gonzalez (1974) indicates that while most children can do a good job on verbal IQ measures, results are poor because the child does not understand English. This can be reflected in his "verbalness" score and nderstanding of directions. Sol (1973) further mentions other extran-

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eous variables, such as motivation of the child, validity, and reliability of the test being used. Verbal IQ's are heavily biased for culturally different children, but do provide relevant information, since their correlation with intelligence is very high. The need for measuring this skill is relevant, but the language used will influence the final scores. Although the exclusive use of non-verbal tests can help eliminate the verbal loading, they have other disadvantages, such as the population it was standardized on, e.g. how representative are they, that can also adversely affect results (Sabatino, 1973). It seems that instead of sacrificing measurement of verbal skills for non-verbal skills, the language used to assess these areas should be controlled.

Group/Individual Test

Administering a group test to a bilingual child has the advantage of serving as an initial screening device, and making the child feel more at ease if he is in a group situation. If, on the other hand, the group is large and there are few supervisors, other factors can affect the test results; e.g. did not understand directions, loses place (especially if the test is timed), has a question in the middle of the test about a specific test item, etc. But these factors can also affect test results of students who are English monolinguals.

One to one testing on the other hand can be important with LEP students since the examiner has a better chance to observe the feedback system used. The only disadvantage would come forth if the examiner is not aware of the culturally different behavior of the child. The choice of group or individual test is not a unique feature of students with LEP since the factors mentioned above can also be true of the English-speaking child from a different socio-economic level. We can summarize this group vis-a-vis individual testing by saying that one to one testing tends to give the examiner more time to observe significant behavior of the child, which can otherwise pass unnoticed.

Spanish/English Testing

The first thing we have to observe here is which is the language preferred by the child in the area you want to assess. Spanish translations may have the advantage of being in the child's native language, but may also disregard two factors:

1. *Linguistic or dialectal translations.* Some items cannot be directly translated into another language. One of the items of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test is the word "tackle." While this is common to American style of life, in Spanish it does not exist (Cline, 1966). Also, the Spanish used by the Spanish-speaking child in Boston has a vast amount of dialectal variations, e.g., "Boila" - boiler; "fornitura" -furniture; "marqueta" - market.

2. *Cultural Translations.* Some translations do not take into account the cultural background of the child. One of the items of the Stanford-Binet asks the child what are the four seasons of the year. If the child answered warm, warmer, warmest, hot, he would score zero, yet Puerto

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Rico is a tropical island, with an average of 80° all year round. The child answered according to his previous background. This, of course, might be an extreme case, but cases of this sort are not at all uncommon.

Bryne (1974) reported that even the tests in English reflected the linguistic structure of standard English, (middle-class population); and are not applicable to children from low economic levels, even if their first language is English.

The language preferred by the student may be minimal when assessing the correlate area. The examiner should take great care in assuring himself/herself that the student understands the directions given. In this instance, selecting tests that include teaching items is helpful so that the student can clearly understand what is expected. On the other hand, when assessing the academic areas, such as reading, the language preferred by the student is of critical importance. Tests of reading and general intelligence rely heavily on verbal skills.

Another observation on the use of one or another language when testing is the students previous educative system. At times, results of the tests taken by students in their native country are non-transferable to the United States. For example, if a child that came from Puerto Rico had on his record IQ-68, reported by the clinical psychologist, and a statement that the scores were based on the Spanish version of the WISC, the general reaction would be to classify him as an Educable Mentally Retarded. Ironically, while the mean of most intelligence tests is 100, and the standard deviation (SD) is 15 or 16 points, the Spanish version of the WISC has a mean of 88, and a SD of 20, which places an IQ of 68 "within normal limits" (Moran, 1962).

We can conclude that there are a lot of issues we have to take into account when assessing students with limited English proficiency. Before one can accurately diagnose the child's problems, there are many areas to be screened. Some of these areas are common to all children with special needs, but there are other unique to the bilingual child, e.g. learning and cognitive styles, specific cultural behaviors, modalities and language. It will be very difficult, if not impossible, to find ONE good instrument to assess ONE area. For this reason, an accurate idea of how the child is working in a specific area should rely on more than one instrument.

When choosing an instrument for assessment, one should consider: What information is needed? What type of assessment is best? What will happen to the results of the test? Is the test biased against the student? How so? A task-group on non-biased assessment has published a guide for non-biased assessment (See Appendix A).

It is difficult to try to observe a bilingual child's behavior when one is not acquainted with the language and the culture the child comes from. It is important for the examiner to be able to determine when behavior is different due to specific cultural influences, and when it is different due to a problem the child has. It is important for teachers to develop more knowledge in the culture and language the child comes from.

Specifically, trying to gain more insight into the type of educative system the student comes from.

Although research tends to indicate that some norm-referenced tests can be culturally and linguistically unfair for the student with limited English proficiency, and should not be used, my contention is that they are necessary steps for accurate assessment of the bilingual child with special needs. The unfairness comes forth when labels are attached to the children on the basis of these scores. Although labels can be useful "devices", when they are used as a "pigeonhole", you will be doing the child a misfavor (Warren, 1975). An examiner aware of this situation, could and should control the use of labels.

APPENDIX A

References of Criteria for Test Selection

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3. Fishman, J.A., et. al. Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children. Journal of Social Issues, 20:129 - 145, 1964.
4. Guide for Nonbiased Assessment. Task group on non-based assessment. Northeast Regional Resource Center, Region 9, November, 1976.
5. Guidelines for selecting Test Instruments and Procedures for assessing the needs of Bilingual Children and Youth. Michigan: Michigan, Department of Education, March, 1976.
6. Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children. *Journal of Social Issues*. 20, no. 2, 127-145, 1964.
7. Hoffman G. and Martinez, H. Language Assessment Criteria for selecting instruments.

APPENDIX B

CRITERIA FOR TEST SELECTION
Developed by Celeste E. Freytes

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Name of test: ______	Grade/Age: ______
Author(s): ______	Publisher: ______
Language(s): ______	Cost ______
Test Materials	
Manual: ______	Timed: ______
Test (forms): ______	Individual vs. group: ______
Length of test: ______	Size of group: ______

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II. PSYCHOMETRIC STANDARDS

Description of Norming Population

Number: ____________ Language group: ____________

Age/Sex: ____________ Socioeconomic status: ____________

Grades: ____________ Geographic representation: ____

Comments: ____

____

Types of Reliability coefficient

1. Split-half ____________ 2. Test-Retest ____________

3. Alternate form ____________

Comments: ____

____

Types of Validity	*coefficient*	*criteria used*
1. Content:	____________	____________
2. Construct/Predictive:	____________	____________
3. Concurrent:	____________	____________

Comments: ____

____

III. CONTENT OF TEST

Purpose of Test (placement, evaluation, achievement, diagnostic):

____

____

Content area measured:

____

____

Language used in the test

Vocabulary: ____

Syntax: ____

Semantics: ____

Pragmatics: ____

Dialectal Differences: ____

Format

Illustrations: ____

Layout: ____

Direction: ____

Items

Teaching item: ____

Type of item: ____

Type of response: ____________________
Basal: ____________ Ceiling: ____________
Effect of students' learning style (analytic vs. global):

____

____

Integrative vs. Discrete Point Testing:

____

____

IV. SCORING PROCEDURE

Method of Scoring: ____________________

____

____

Raw Scores are Converted to

1. Grade Equivalent ________ 2. Cronological Age ________
3. Mental Age ________ 4. Intellectual Quotient ________
5. Percentile Rank ________ 6. Standard Score (T, Z) ________
7. Classification System ________ 8. Other ________

Interpretation – Results

____

____

Are results useful for classroom teacher?

____

____

Comments: ____________________

____

V. RESEARCH REPORTED

____

____

Comments: ____________________

____

VI. PERSONAL OPINION

Outline Advantages and Limitations of this Instrument

____

____

____

____

____

APPENDIX C

References of Annotated Bibliographies of Tests for Use with Bilingual Students

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1B. Barabas, J. *The Assessment of Minority Groups: An Annotated Bibliography.* ERIC-IRCD Urban Disadvantaged Series, Number 34, ERIC Ed083325 Aug. 1973, 85.

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IV. Language Assessment of Bilingual Students with Special Needs

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