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ABSTRACT
                This collection of papers is a resource for classroom
teachers and program administrators who want to know not only what
the communicative approach to language teaching is all about but how
the goal of communicative competence is being met in teaching
contexts similar to their own. Papers and authors include:
"Functional Approaches to Language and Language Teaching: Another
Look" (Margie S. Berns); "Contextual Considerations in Communicative
Language Teaching" (Sauli Takala); "Intake, Communication, and
Second-Language Teaching" (Elizabeth M. Leemann Guthrie); "Regional
Norms for English" (Braj B. Kachru); "'I Got Religion!'--Evangelism
in Language Teaching" (Alan Maley); "Beyond Notions and Functions:
Language Teaching or the Art of Letting Go" (Gunter Gerngross,
Herbert Puchta); "Preparing ESL Teachers for a Communicative
Curriculum--American Style" (Pearl Goodman); "Teaching Strategic
Competence in the Foreign Language Classroom" (Elaine Tarone);
"Teacher-Made Videotape Materials for the Second-Language Classroom"
(Tony Silva); "Computer-Aided Instruction: Language Teachers and the
Man of the Year" (Fernand Marty); "Immersion and Other Innovations in
U.S. Elementary Schools" (Helena H. Anderson, Nancy C. Rhodes);
"Testing Performance in Oral Interaction" (Keith Morrow); and
"Proficiency in Context: The Pennsylvania Experience" (Barbara F.
Freed). (MSE)

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEW OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION, LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY, STYLISTICS, AND LANGUAGE PLANNING.

Special Issue on

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING: WHERE ARE WE GOING?

EDITED BY
SANDRA J. SAVIGNON and MARGIE S. BERNS

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VOLUME 4, NUMBER 2, FALL 1983

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CONTENTS

(Continued)

INTRODUCTION

SANDRA J. SAVIGNON[1]

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Communicative language teaching means many different things to different people. For some it has meant the adoption of a "functional" syllabus, or the use of "notional-functional" teaching materials. For others it has meant an increased participation of the learner in decisions pertaining to course content, along with a more "humanistic," learner-centered style of teaching. For still others, communicative language teaching has meant the expansion of audiolingual-type programs to include small group activities, role play, and "games" where learners are given the opportunity to use grammatical structures that have been previously presented and drilled. (For a discussion of these interpretations, with examples, see Savignon 1983). Due in large part no doubt to the diversity of the many frequently voiced opinions as to the nature of a communicative approach to second or foreign language (L2) teaching, it is probably safe to say that many teachers remain unsure as to just what communicative language teaching in fact is, and how it differs, if at all, from what they are now doing.

The collection of papers in this issue of *Studies in Language Learning* is a resource for classroom teachers and program administrators who want to know not only *what* communicative language teaching is all about but *how* the goal of communicative competence is being met in teaching contexts similar to their own. While theoretical discussions of language and language learning are helpful in clarifying goals and issues, examples of ongoing developments in teaching and evaluation often provide the incentive needed to make changes, to modify or redesign inadequate programs and materials. The emphasis in this volume is therefore on accounts of programs that are working on reports of initiatives that are being pursued on local, regional, and even national levels to make the goal of communicative L2 use a reality.

The authors of individual papers are all intimately involved with teaching and/ or program development and evaluation, and they describe initiatives in many different parts of the world. The scope of the volume is deliberately international, moreover, to show communicative language teaching to be not a British, Canadian, European, or American phenomenon but, rather, a universal effort that has found inspiration and direction in the *interaction* of initiatives, both theoretical and applied, in many different contexts. Linguists, methodologists, and materials writers around the world have contributed to this effort, for which it is all the richer.

The nature as well as the importance of this interaction will become clear as the themes of communicative language teaching are expanded from one paper to the next. These themes may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. Language learning, like language, is a human activity, and the approaches, methods and techniques used should reflect the concerns of the learners and the teacher alike. Programs depend in a very real sense on the support of those they serve as well as those who implement them.

2. Teachers and program administrators are challenging evaluators to develop approaches to testing and evaluation that are more reflective of communicative L2 use; and evaluators are in turn responding. The attitude is no longer, "We will teach what we can test.", but rather, "We will find ways to evaluate those skills which are important for learners to develop."

3. The search for alternative teaching strategies is principled,
    not random or "electic" in the sense of no overall design or
    objective. Observation of language learners in both natural
    and formal settings and insights from linguistic, communica-
    tion and education theory have all contributed to the elabora-
    tion of a framework for communicative language teaching, a
    framework that takes into account the learning/teaching con-
    text.

Together the papers included in this volume give a good sense of the nature of
communicative language teaching and of the directions being pursued as in-
creasing numbers of programs respond to the goal of communicative competence.

REFERENCE

Savignon, S., 1983, *Communicative Competence: Theory and Classroom Practice.*
    Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING: ANOTHER LOOK

MARGIE S. BERNS[1]

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INTRODUCTION

Communicative language teaching, or the teaching of language for communication,
has been the center of language teaching discussions for the last decade or so.
Dozens of books, journal articles and conference papers, in addition to an
array of teaching materials, have been written under the banner of this move-
ment. Communicative language teaching has grown out of the realization that
mastery of grammatical forms and structures does not adequately prepare learn-
ers to use the language they are learning effectively and appropriately when
communicating with others.

The functional approach to language teaching is intimately related to the com-
municative approach and in recent years has enjoyed widespread popularity.
There was optimism initially about the promise of functional language teaching
to overcome the inadequacies of largely structural course materials, and pub-
lishers and textbook writers were quick to respond with so-called functional
materials.

While *functional approach* was largely understood as a cover term for the under-
lying concept that language is used for communication, and most interpretations
emphasized the communicative needs of learners and explicit presentation of
language functions and the linguistic forms associated with them, there was no
standard interpretation of the terms *function, notion*, or *communication*. For
some a function was as general as "describing a person or place" or "describing
mechanical processes"; for others it was as specific as "requesting help with
baggage" or "answering questions about what people have been doing." The
multiple usages of the terms *functional/notional, communicative functions*, and
communicative notions reflected and also contributed to uncertainty as to pre-
cise meanings on the part of textbook writers, publishers and educational ad-
ministrators, not all of whom were aware of these terms in their more original
and restricted meanings.

This uncertainty and lack of uniformity often resulted in materials that are
neither functional nor communicative. In one instance the selection of a
particular set of materials meant beginning with grammar and delaying any in-
troduction to the functions of language until later in the course. In another,
communicative functions were taught from the very beginning with no systematic
treatment of grammar or consideration of context. The net result of such di-
vergent interpretations of the functional approach to language teaching has
been disappointment and frustration on the part of teachers who wanted to
respond to their learners' needs but discovered that functional materials could
not keep the promises their supporters had made for them (Sutton and von Baeyer
1978).

Another look at the theoretical foundations of functional approaches and their
relationship to communicative language teaching will help to resolve this con-
fusion about the terms and concepts they have introduced into discussions of
second-language learning and teaching, and, in so doing, suggest a more co-
herent, reasoned application to materials development.

Such a review properly begins with a summary of the linguistic tradition from
which this approach grew, the long tradition which is that of the British school
of linguistics. Following this summary, we will look at applied linguistics

research within the tradition and, subsequently, teaching materials and exer-
cises based on this research. An assessment of the viability of these materials
and their linguistic bases concludes the review.

THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The functional approach to language can be identified with the linguistic tra-
dition of Sweet (1899), Jones (1917, 1918) and Firth. This tradition is vari-
ously referred to as British linguistics, the London School, or Firthian lin-
guistics, none of which, however, are precise labels.

This tradition has flourished not only within Britain but also in various con-
texts outside of Britain. For example, it has influenced linguistic study in
Canada (Gregory and Carroll 1978), and in Germany where it is known as "British
contextualism" (Geiger 1981). However, it is little known in the United States,
where Chomskyan transformational linguistics has dominated linguistic inquiry
during the last twenty years, preceded by the earlier dominance of American
structuralism.[2]

In essence, a functional approach to language is based on an interest in per-
formance, or actual language *use*. It is thus in decided contrast with the
Chomskyan concern with the linguistic competence of the idea! speaker-hearer
(Chomsky 1965). J.R. Firth the founder of the British school, viewed lan-
guage as "a way of behaving and making others behave" (1951). Language in
the Firthian view is interaction; it is interpersonal activity and has a clear
relationship with society. In this light, language study then has to look
at the use (function) of language in context, both its linguistic context
(what is uttered before and after a given piece of discourse) and its social,
or situational, context (who is speaking, what their social roles are, why they
have come together to speak).

If we accept this Firthian view of language, three concepts that are part of
this linguistic tradition become useful as a reference point in the develop-
ment and evaluation of language teaching materials.

The first is *context of situation*. Firth used this construct, which became an
important part of his view, to frame the analysis of language events in the
social context. He did not create the term but borrowed it from Bronislaw
Malinowski (1923, 1935), an anthropologist, who shared Firth's view of language
as a mode of human behavior. Malinowski held that if language is active, it
is most appropriately studied as part of activity, an approach he illustrated in

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[2]American structuralism differs from the European structuralist tradition.
In the United States the term is used with special reference to Bloomfield's
emphasis on segmenting and classifying physical features of an utterance.
British "structuralism" on the other hand is interested in finding social ex-
planations for the structures that are used by speakers.

his own study of the Trobriand Islanders. Malinowski used the term context of
situation to designate the physical environment in which a linguistic activity
is performed. It proved particularly useful to him as a procedural concept in
solving problems of equivalence in the translation of texts from the Trobriand
Islands into comprehensible English.

In borrowing the term, Firth interpreted it more abstractly than Malinowski.
He used it to refer to general situation types, the features of which are
established by a set of broad and general categories

   A. The relevant features of participants; persons, personalities

       (i) Verbal actions of participants
       (ii) Non-verbal actions of participants

   B. The relevance of objects

   C. The effect of the verbal action

In this way, the context of situation does provide a first approximation to the
specification of the components of the communication situation and hence a step
towards answering both the question "how is it that, in spite of a lack of per-
fect and consistent correlations between language and situation, the native
speaker, given the text alone (a tape recording say) is often able, with a con-
siderable degree of accuracy, to reconstruct the situation?" and conversely
"given a situation, how does such a person produce language which is appropriate?"
(Firth 1951).

This view of language as interaction, as use in context, requires that authentic
language, not idealized language, be the object of the analysis. This is neces-
sary in order to understand or interpret the uses to which the language is being
put, since there is no direct correlation between form and function, except in
highly ritualized functions such as greeting and leave-taking. This last point
is more fully developed by Michael Halliday, a student of Firth, who is espe-
cially interested in the social functions of language and the way in which lan-
guage fulfills these functions.

Halliday's work in systemic linguistics focuses on the second important concept
in a functional approach to language teaching: *function*. (The term systemic
linguistics is used to refer to Halliday's linguistic theory and will be ex-
plained more fully below.) In systemic theory, function has a dual status. It
is referred to as both a micro- and a macro- concept. The micro-functions are
those that a child learns in the early stages of language development. At the
beginning, function is equivalent to *use* for the child in six broad functions,
which Halliday observed in his son's development of English: the regulatory
("do as I tell you") function, the instrumental ("I want") function, the personal
("here I come") function, the imaginative ("let's pretend") function, the
heuristic ("tell me why") function, and the interactional ("me and you") func-
tion (1973). As Halliday describes it, these micro-functions give way to the
macro-functions as the child's language more closely approximates the adult
system, a system which has only three, more abstract, functions. As the child
learns to *combine* functions, he is able to speak about objects (and persons,
places, etc.) while at the same time relating his attitude toward the listener,

this is, whether he expects some kind of response or not. These two kinds of meaning Halliday calls the *ideational* and *interpersonal* functions of language. These two functions in themselves, however, are not sufficient for the construction of texts, or discourse. A third function, the *textual* function, serves this purpose of language by providing means for the formation of coherent texts. Any linguistic unit is the simultaneous realization of these three functions.

Within the theory on the whole we can see these functions as serving language (1) to express "content," to give structure to experience and help to determine the speaker's way of looking at things (ideational); (2) to establish and maintain social relations, to delimit social groups, to identify and reinforce the individual (interpersonal); and (3) to provide for making links with itself and with features of the situation in which it is used, to enable the speaker (or writer) to construct passages of discourse that are situationally relevant (textual) (Halliday 1970). By providing a means of accounting for the complexities of language in actual use, Halliday's Firthian view of language and his view of function have informed the thinking of many concerned with language teaching, as we will see below.

The third concept offering a useful insight into language is *meaning potential*.

Halliday, like Firth before him, refuses to recognize any dichotomy between *knowing* (competence) and *doing* (performance) and sees them as inseparable. Meaning potential captures both the knowing and doing. The potential is what is available to the speaker, what is known. From the potential, choices are made for use of the language, for performing. This concept is seen as comprising what the speaker can *do* (in terms of choices in social behavior), what the speaker can *say* (in terms of the formal choices the language provides), and what the speaker can *mean* (which is related to the other two).

Meaning potential is an integral part of Halliday's theory because it embodies the range of possibilities and open-ended sets of options in behavior that are available to the individual. These options can be organized into sets of options which form *systems*, the concept lending its name to systemic linguistics. System, as a technical term, specifies the potential in terms of the options and their relationship to one another. It can be represented schematically as:

$$a \rightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} x \\ y \end{matrix}\right. \rightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} m \\ n \end{matrix}\right.$$

and read as follows: There are two systems, x/y and m/n, the first having entry condition a; if a is chosen (over not choosing anything at all), then the choice is between x and y; the system m/n has entry condition x; if x is chosen over y, then either m or n has to be chosen, and so on (Halliday 1973).

An example of how such a system works is an illustration from a "regulatory context" in which a parent and child are the participants. This is a semantic system, showing which possibilities are open to the parent in a situation of regulation, or control. The parent has opted for "physical threat" over doing (saying) nothing; the choice of physical threat is related to further choices, the systems of agency and condition, which are, in turn, the entry conditions for further choices:

```
                                                              ┌Speaker:  "I'll smack you"
                          ┌Agency Specified:  →               │
               →┌         │                                   └Other:  "Daddy'll smack you"
                │         └Agency Unspecified:  "you'll get smacked"
                │
                │                                             ┌Repetition:  "you do that
                │                                             │   again..."
Physical Threat{         ┌Condition Explicit:                │
                │         │  "you'll get smacked"  →          │
                │        →│                                   └Continuation:  "you go on
                │         │                                       doing that..."
                └         └Condition Implicit:  "Daddy'll be cross with you"
```
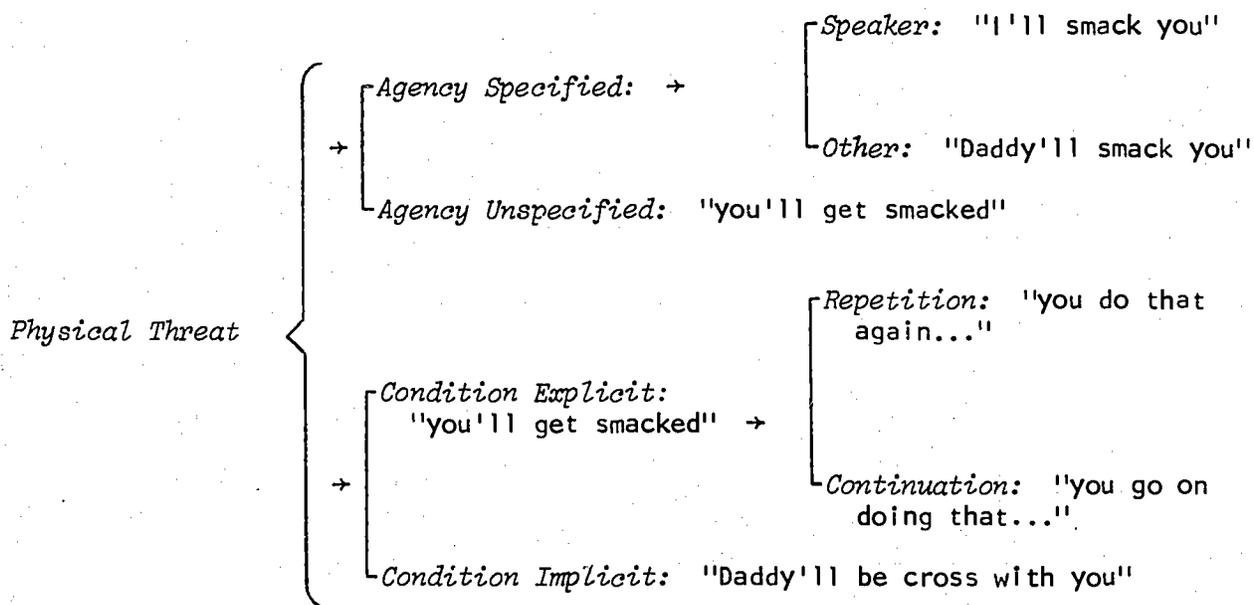
Although the system presented here is adapted and simplified (Halliday 1973), it illustrates what is involved in language use and specifically how the speaker begins with meaning, as in this case with the semantic option of a physical threat.

We come full circle when we consider the source of the semantic options, the social context. It is the social context which determines which behavior options, both verbal and non-verbal, are available to the speaker, for example, whether it is even appropriate in a given situation for the speaker to choose physical threat. It is the features of Firth's context of situation which would guide in the selection of options in the particular situation. These features include those on the level of meaning associated with the *context of culture*. This is the larger framework for the situations, the range of which is actually determined by the culture in which they occur. This implies that situations of control, for example, are not necessarily found across cultures and, therefore, that the related linguistic forms may serve different functions in another culture.

This concern with appropriacy and generalizability will become an important consideration as we examine and discuss language teaching materials and exercises.

SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Before moving on to a discussion of the practical application of the concepts, it is important to establish the relationship of systemic theory to communicative competence.

Halliday's meaning potential can be considered compatible with this concept if we follow Savignon's (1983) interpretation of communicative competence: the *expression, interpretation,* and *negotiation* of meaning involving interaction between two or more persons, or between one person and an oral or written text. This compatability is supported by Breen and Candlin's (1980) description of meaning potential as that which allows us to participate in a creative and meaning making process and to express or interpret the potential meanings within spoken or written discourse.

It is not to be inferred that the use of the term communicative competence in any way implies tacit acceptance of Chomsky's competence/performance distinction. Communicative competence as understood here reflects the sociological and linguistic insights of Hymes (1971) and Halliday (1978), both of whom reject the notion of linguistic rules divorced from social contexts.

APPLICATIONS OF SYSTEMIC/FUNCTIONAL THEORY

It is the job of the applied linguist to draw upon linguistic insights and apply them to areas of social concern where language is involved. Education and the teaching of languages is one such area. Systemic theory has proved to be a viable reference point for those linguists, e.g., Candlin, Widdowson, and Wilkins, among others, who have applied it to the teaching of English. Each of them has developed different areas of language teaching, but their similar theoretical heritage is evident in their work and provides a consistent frame of reference from which the models they propose can be evaluated.

Candlin's work (Candlin, Bruton and Leather 1976; Candlin 1979, 1981; Breen and Candlin 1980) ranges from the particular concerns of doctor-patient interaction for foreign doctors and their British patients to the specification of criteria for the development of communicative teaching materials. His more recent work has stressed the sociological as well as linguistic aspects of language learning. He sees the social conventions that govern language form and language behavior, for example, as central to the process of learning language for communication (Breen and Candlin 1980). Candlin also addresses the relationship of teacher responsibility and the social implications of communicative language teaching. The need for discoursal insights into human interaction, he points out, involves the teacher in the manipulation of human behavior (1977). The establishment of language norms is a particularly critical aspect of this issue. For example, the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of language varieties that some purists may consider substandard (Prator 1968) constitutes a challenge to the supremacy of mono-model language teaching and to existing norms of traditional education which are seen in terms of a set stock of information, simple skills and static conformity to a code.

Widdowson (1978) is another who has applied systemic theory to problems of language teaching. He is known for his work on materials for ESP (English for

Specific Purposes). His interest is in the teaching of discourse, not in the
teaching of functions, with discourse seen as the process of deriving and creat-
ing meanings (ideational, interpersonal) through text. One well-known illustra-
tion of his approach is the coherence of the following exchange:

    A: That's the telephone.

    B: I'm in the bath.

    C: OK.

He points out that while there are no grammatical markers to indicate the rela-
tionship of these utterances to one another, this brief exchange is accepted as
coherent when a context is established.

In spite of the range and depth of the work of Candlin, Widdowson, and others,
it is Wilkins' work which has had the greatest impact on current materials for
language teaching. Wilkins was among a group of specialists faced with the task
of providing the Council of Europe with an organized program for foreign language
teaching in Western Europe. One of the first steps was an analysis of existing
syllabus types (grammatical and situational), which Wilkins found to be wanting
for the particular needs of this group of learners. In place of the existing
syllabus types, Wilkins proposed a notional syllabus which would have a semantic
and behavioral prediction of learner needs as its starting point (1976). "No-
tional" was to be understood in this context as meaning based, that is, this
type of syllabus was to specify what the learners were to *do* with the language,
what meanings they would need to communicate through language. In *Notional
Syllabuses* there are three components of meaning: semantico-grammatical, modal,
and communicative function. A notional syllabus would consider all three of
these; a functional syllabus would consider the communicative functions alone
but would then be "the weakest application" of his proposal (1976:68).[3]

The notional syllabus was to be an improvement over a situational syllabus, which
is broken down into units with a heading, such as "At the post office." The
problem with situational organization is that a language learner does not auto-
matically generalize a grammatical lesson learned in such a unit to other situa-
tions (Ross 1981). In addition, it is unlikely that all the possible significant
situations in which a learner would be likely to find himself could be listed.

A notional syllabus was also to be an improvement over a grammatical syllabus
form. That is, a learner would not only learn the forms of the language, but
would also learn forms as appropriate to his or her immediate needs. Rather
than all of the forms of the language, only those forms would be learned that
were relevant to the necessary functions, or uses, of language.

Wilkins' link to the British linguistic tradition is thus apparent in his stress
on meaning and uses of language. It is the communicative functions that he con-
siders his most original contribution to syllabus design; it is this variously

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[3]Wilkins' 1976 book is the synthesis of working documents for the Council
of Europe and of conference papers written from 1972-1974.

defined concept that has had the most impact on language teaching and that has probably been the least understood.

Van Ek (1975), also a contributor to the Council of Europe project, used Wilkins' concept of a notional syllabus as a basis for the "threshold level," a specification of an elementary level in a unit/credit system for Europeans who from time to time have professional or personal contacts in European community countries. Van Ek's usage of the terms "function" and "notion" differ somewhat, however, from Wilkins'. In place of communicative function he specified language function, although referring essentially to the same kind of meaning, that is, what people *do* through language.[4]

Wilkins and Van Ek each had specific language teaching contexts and objectives in mind when they made their proposals. These proposals reflect one of the primary concerns of applied linguists in Europe--the need for a framework in meeting the demands of the rapid growth of foreign language learning and teaching in the context of the European community (Strevens 1981).[5]

NOTIONAL SYLLABUSES AND MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

Wilkins' application of linguistic theory to syllabus design was accepted by teachers, administrators, publishers and materials writers. The result was, as already mentioned, an array of materials and publications claiming a functional base. In fact, due to its pervasiveness it has unfortunately become equated with communicative language teaching instead of rightfully being seen as *one* kind of proposal for syllabus design for a program which has the goal of developing communicative competence.

In 1964, Halliday et al., in writing about the applications of linguistic knowledge and insights to language teaching, saw writers of textbooks as one of the "consumers" of these applications. These consumers, they emphasized, should

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[4]*Notion* has two meanings in the Threshold Level, neither of which refers to an overriding principle as it does in *Notional Syllabuses*. Instead, there are general notions which refer to the "concepts which people use in verbal communication (1979:39)," for example, the property of space or the quality of importance. Specific notions are the particular lexical items relating to a topic. For example, under the topic of "personal identification," Van Ek lists *name, surname, address, telephone number* and *age* (1975:41).

These different usages may partially explain the confusion and misunderstanding reflected in materials and discussions of the functional approach to language teaching. These differences notwithstanding, Van Ek's work is important because it is the first concrete example of teaching objectives specified in notional terms for an actual group of learners.

[5]Specifications have also been completed for German (M. Baldegger et al. 1982. *Kontaktschwelle*. Munich: Langenscheidt.), French (D. Coste et al. 1976. *Un niveau seuil*. Strassbourg: Council of Europe.), and Spanish (P. Slagter. 1980. *Un nivel umbral*. Strassbourg: Council of Europe.).

clearly perceive and understand these applications since it is the nature and quality of textbooks which exert a powerful influence on the way the subject can develop. A look at the materials on the market reveals that not all textbook writers have always clearly perceived and understood these applications.

Those materials that claim a communicative and/or a functional base make their claims directly or indirectly: for example, "The functional approach of this material is based on the ideas of David Wilkins...," "The purpose of this text is the communicative function of language," "...meaningful interaction is facilitated by communicative uses (functions)," "The later units shift emphasis from a grammatical to a functional starting point," "Our teachers include Joos, Coulthard, Wilkins and van Ek...," "...the second part deals with the language appropriate to a particular *function*...," "...The communicative approach to language teaching is the fundamental concept of these materials." But making such claims is not enough, as some of the exercises that follow show.

Each of the following exercises is taken from a text that claims a functional base. While they share features that classify them as functic.. , we will find that they range from adequate to inadequate in their representation of the theoretical framework which their authors claim informs them.

If we accept the assumptions of systemic linguistics as viable for the linguistic base of communicative language teaching, we should be able to evaluate materials as communicative if they are consistent with these assumptions. By the same token, if functionally-based materials also claim to foster the development of communicative competence, they too should be subject to evaluation in the same manner.

In the following, the criteria applied in the evaluation of the adequacy of these exercises as representative of a functional and/or communicative approach are based on assumptions of systemic linguistics:

1. Utterances are presented with sufficient context for the interpretation of meaning.

2. The relevant contextual features are identifiable, that is, persons, objects, verbal and non-verbal behavior, and effect.

3. The insight gained into an instance of language use is generalizable, that is, the learner can make predictions/interpretations of meaning in similar situation types.

4. All three macro-functions are taken into account, that is, the ideational (conceptual), interpersonal (behavioral) and textual (formal).

5. Texts are authentic, that is, if not taken from original sources, they are believable as representations of actual use of English.

6. Options are provided for the expression and interpretation of meaning.

7. More than formulaic functions of language are illustrated.

8. The interdependency of formal and functional meaning in con-
    text is explicit as opposed to simple equivalency of form
    and function.

Of course, not all of these criteria are equally relevant for the five exer-
cises below. There may also be criteria that are not given which would also
reveal something about the adequacy or inadequacy of each selection as a repre-
sentation of language as interaction. However, for the purpose of illustra-
tion, the discussion will be limited to those criteria listed. It should be
noted at this point that one exercise or page from a set of materials is not
necessarily representative of the complete set of materials. A critique should
not be interpreted as judgment on an entire work, but rather as an illustration
of how an exercise can be evaluated in terms of its usefulness in developing a
learner's communicative competence.

EXAMPLES OF EXERCISES

ACCEPTING

```
1  KENJI:      Do you think you'll be able to?
2  FRANCESCA:  Yes. It sounds fine.
3  KENJI:      That's great.
4  FRANCESCA:  Thanks for asking me.
5  KENJI:      You're welcome. I'm glad you can make it.
6  FRANCESCA:  So am I.
7  KENJI:      Okay. We'll see you then.
8  FRANCESCA:  Right. I'm looking forward to i..
```

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Francesca might be accepting: *What else?*

   a dinner invitation   *a skiing invitation*

   a babysitting job

   a substitute-teaching job

   an invitation to meet his family

   a tennis date

   a ride in a car pool

SOURCE: C. Akiyama, *Acceptance to Zeal* (New York, NY: Minverva Books, Ltd.,
1981), p. 3.

Example #1

The dialog in Example #1 gives us no clue about the identity of Kenji and
Francesca, other than their names. We do not know if they are peers and
if so, we need to know their ages. And since Francesca is female, it might
be helpful if the roles would be reversed to determine if the same forms
are appropriate for males in "accepting." We can also raise the question
about the appropriacy of females extending invitations, a form of behavior
that may be acceptable in some contexts. (It seems to be the case in most
examples of "inviting" that it is males who do "inviting," not women.)

Asking the students to provide for different "invitations" does not seem
like an activity that helps in understanding why Francesca chooses the forms
she does. It seems likely that forms chosen would depend upon just what it
is she is accepting. For example, the appropriacy of the given dialog if
Francesca is accepting a substitute teaching job is questionable.

The focus on the individual function of "accepting" directs the students'
attention away from meaning in general and the *potential* meaning of a given
form. Forms given are also representative of other semantic contexts, e.g.,
thanking. A line-by-line analysis might reveal that this exchange is
exemplary of a number of functions, with the sum of the parts actually con-
tributing little to the whole, that is "accepting."

The generalizability of these forms is also called into question for cultural
reasons. In order to interpret the meaning more fully we need to know the
cultural context of this exchange. If Kenji and Francesca are students in
the U.S., the language presented is generally acceptable; if they are in
Japan or Italy where English is learned as a foreign language or is used for
international communication, the chances are that the language they use will
differ in tone and form from that shown here.

By focusing on form as if it is identifiable with a particular function, this
exercise misleads students and does not provide them with everything they
need to know to *interpret* and *express* meaning effectively. This is a result
of an inadequate representation of language as interaction.

In Example #2, "study these language functions" gives the impression that
functions, like forms, need only to be studied sufficiently to be learned.
If the learner does study these functions, what is to be gained? Are the
guides "very formal" to "informal" generalizable? Context will determine
the appropriacy of a formal form, yet formality is a relative term. Will a
Chinese student who considers informality with one's professor an act of
rudeness recognize a professor's informal forms as a gesture of friendship?

The form "That would be fine" may also serve in functions other than "accept-
ing an invitation." It may be an expression of approval or of a choice.
This entire chart illustrates the dangers of equating form and function and
register as if such equivalences are reliable or even possible.

These exercises, it is pointed out, range in adequacy of representation of
language as use, as interaction. Examples #1 and #2 seem sorely inadequate
and even misleading. Example #3, however, provides a richer view of language.

HOW TO SAY IT

STUDY THESE LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS.──────────────────────────────
INVITING

	VERY FORMAL → → → →		INFORMAL
INVITING	Would you like to join me for coffee?	Would you like to go out for coffee?	Want to go out for coffee:
ACCEPTING INVITATIONS	Certainly. I'd like to very much.	Thank you. That would be nice.	Sure. (or) Okay.
ASKING FOR INFORMATION	When would you like to go?	When do you want to go?	When?
INVITING	Would after class be a good time?	Would after class be all right?	How about after class?
ACCEPTING AN INVITATION	That would be fine.	Fine.	Good. (or) Okay.
CONFIRMING AN INVITATION	So, we'll meet after class.	See you then.	See you.

SOURCE: J. Bodman and M. Lanzano, *Milk and Honey* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1981), p. 83.

<div align="center">

Example #2

</div>

<div align="center">

FUNCTION: Asking people to do things.

</div>

4 i) Who says these things? In what situations?

    a) It would help if you could hold | Hold...................?
       the torch for me a second and
       I'll see if I can find it.
    b) I wonder if you could move your | Could you...................?
       head a little. I can't see.
    c) I want you to run round and tell | Run...................?
       John to come back home
       immediately.
    d) As it's raining, I thought you | You couldn't...................?
       might collect him by car.
    e) What *is* the time? Mine's stopped. | Could you...................?
    f) I like it better over there. Do | Move...................?
       me a favour and move it for me,
       dear.
    g) I wonder if you could change it. | You couldn't...................?
       I like to have a clean table-
       cloth.
    h) Let me borrow yours, George. | Could I...................?
       I've only got a pencil.

  ii) Make new sentences using the words on the right.
 iii) How do you think the other person replies? They don't say yes all the
     time. Maybe they can't help.

SOURCE: K. Morrow and K. Johnson, *Communicate 1* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 69.

<div align="center">

Example #3   22

</div>

Part iii, for example, allows for the openness and unpredictability involved
in actual speaking. The notion of someone's refusing to honor a request is
entertained and the learner is called upon to formulate appropriate re-
sponses.

In 4 i) the learners are asked to define the situation and the participants,
thus providing for consideration of the context of situation.

While these two features enhance the communicative nature of the exercise,
there is one aspect that is troublesome in terms of generalizability. The
language models are, I believe, distinctly British (upper?) middle class.
It is very polite and well formed. The learners are asked to provide less
formal forms, but there is no attention drawn to the differences in appropri-
ate form over the appropriate form in terms of comforming behavior. Also,
this exercise falls under the rubric "asking people to do things," yet is
not necessarily a request. it may be a command or an example of "telling
people to do things." The actual effect, or function, of each of these could
only be determined by placing them in a text.

Example #4 illustrates the concept of choice and the effect of choices on
the response of the next speaker. The interactive nature of language is con-
veyed by the form this exercise takes: the first student makes a choice from
the two options given; another student makes an appropriate choice from 2,
the first student, or yet a third student, chooses a response from 3, or even
2, it is theoretically possible that all choices be exhausted if the activity
went on long enough and if utterances selected produced coherent discourse.

Since this exercise provides for the production of a coherent text with gram-
matically accurate forms provided, learners concentrate on meaning, not form,
and perhaps in the process even express their own views about New York City.
It thus appears very adequate as representative of the assumptions of sys-
temic linguistics.

Problem-solving exercises such as Example #5 are becoming increasingly
popular in language classes. They are a resonse to the need for learner-
centered activities, but they are more than that. They provide the oppor-
tunity for learners to express meanings, using the meaning potential they
have developed up to that time, about a specified content. Thus, the
ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language come together in
the activity. In a problem-solving situation the learners also have to focus
on meaning and have to contend with the possibility of not getting their mean-
ing across. In addition, the unpredictability of discourse and the variable
relationship between form and function are accented by this exercise. Due
to these features, this exercise, if done without teacher intervention to
correct errors (except those that are obstacles to the expression of meaning),
provides for interaction among students to an optimal degree.

As this limited sample of exercises illustrates, the inclusion of what might
be classified as a function in the title of a unit or exercise does not
guarantee that the authors fully perceive what it means for language teaching
to be communicative or that they fully understand the role of "function" in
the interpretation and expression of meaning in a discourse.

CHATTER CHAIN: I WOULDN'T GO TO NEW YORK CITY

---

1   I wouldn't go to New York City for
    a million dollars.

    I'd love to go to New York City.

---

2   I sure would.   I love big cities.

    Why not?   It's supposed to be
    the most exciting city in the world.

    Why?

    Are you crazy? Don't you watch TV?
    Not me.   New York's full of gangsters.
    I wouldn't.   There's nothing to do there.
    Me, too.   My . . . says it's fantastic.

    But big cities are | loud.
                       | dirty.
                       | ugly.
                       | crowded.

---

3   New Yorkers are supposed to be the
    unfriendliest people in the world.

    You call | concrete | exciting?
             | skyscrapers |
             | traffic jams |

    Do you believe everything | you see on TV?
                              | you read?

    New York is full of | interesting sights.
                        | theaters.
                        | stores.
                        | museums.
                        | interesting people.

    That's not true.

    (Because) I'd like to see | Harlem.
                              | the U.N.
                              | the World Trade Center.
                              | the Empire State Building.
                              | Central Park.

Example #4

While you are driving alone through the desert on vacation, your camper breaks down late in the afternoon, and you cannot fix it. You discover that the road you are traveling on is closed to traffic. There is little hope of anyone driving by to help you. There are no telephones nearby.

Your best solution is to walk back to a service station which you remember passing. You calculate that you have driven about one hour and fifteen minutes at an average speed of eighty kilometers (fifty miles) per hour. You will have to travel only at night because of the intense heat and burning sun.

The camper has the following items in it:

- roll of toilet paper
- mess kit
- dozen eggs
- box of powdered milk
- canteen of water
- sleeping bag
- book of matches
- dozen flares
- portable radio
- wool blanket
- can of gas
- first-aid kit
- large utility knife

- insect repellent
- tent
- flare gun
- flashlight
- thermos of hot coffee
- camping stove
- compass
- fresh vegetables
- beach umbrella
- fresh fruit
- canned food
- can opener

ORAL INTERACTION

1 Because of the limitations of space and weight, you can only carry five items.

a. Decide which five items to take.
b. Arrange these five items in order of importance.

2 Most of the items in the camper can fit into two categories: (1) camping gear, and (2) food. Put these items into their categories.

3 Calculate the distance and the approximate amount of time needed to walk that distance.

4 What other alternatives are there for solving this situation, other than walking back to the service station?

5 Can you think of any items missing from the list that you might need? Name them.

SOURCE: D. Byrd and I. Clemente-Cabetas, *React/Interact* (New York, NY: Regents, 1980), p. 23.

Example #5

CONCLUSION

If language as interaction, and all it implies, is not taken into account, materials will continue to fall short of developing a learner's communicative competence. While both the functional aspect of language and the formal features of language are necessary considerations in determining what to teach, they are not sufficient. It is *context* that gives meaning to form and function and makes it possible for us to make any sense out of any instance of language.

Systemic linguistics provides a framework for integrating these components of language use. Application of the insights this view of language provides not only has consequences for materials development as has been illustrated here, but also has implications for other areas which touch upon communicative language teaching such as techniques, methods, and teacher training. A theoretical base which can serve as a point of reference in our attempts to develop learners' communicative competence is available; we need only to exploit it.

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CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS IN COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

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INTRODUCTION

That language teaching throughout the world has undergone several abrupt pendu-
lum swings is a common observation. In the process, dichotomies are often in-
troduced to conceptualize a very complex phenomenon:behaviorist/cognitive,
discrete-point/integrative, formal/informal, learning/acquisition.

Thus, language teaching may appear to undergo quite a number of changes without
necessarily making any significant advance. What look like promising new ideas
often lead to disappointment. Many are in fact not new at all; they are simply
revised versions of old approaches, marking yet another change in the direction
of the pendulum.

Why should this be so? The philosopher Alfred North Whitehead once observed
that the art of progress is the ability to maintain order amidst change and the
possibility of change amidst order. Progress is possible therefore only if we
know how to manage the factors that contribute to it. In the case of language
teaching, our inability to demonstrate clear theoretical and practical progress
would seem to lie with the inadequacy of our theoretical conceptualization of
language teaching in relation to both language education and to education in
general.

If this premise is valid, one implication is immediately obvious. In order to
make meaningful progress we need to have a better understanding of education,
teaching, and learning; we need a comprehensive model of these basic concepts.

This chapter briefly outlines one such model. It is based on my experience with
foreign-language curriculum construction and evaluation in Finland, where we
have spent the last decade redesigning our programs to give them a communicative
orientation. Due to the importance of foreign-language instruction in Finland--
all students study at least two languages, and language studies comprise some
20-45 percent of available class hours--this reform was not a responsibility to
be taken lightly.

THE NEED FOR MODELS IN EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

There are several reasons why we need models in education and in language teach-
ing. Education and language teaching as systems and processes are so complex
that we need models:

1. to help us understand and explain how they function;

2. to guide and inform our thinking, planning and actions without
    determining them in detail;

3. to help us evaluate their performance and make required changes;
    and

4. to help us foresee future problems and developments.

In Finland we have in recent years been particularly interested in macro-level
models. This has been a natural consequence of extensive reforms at all

educational levels from preschool to higher education. The need for national planning was recognized when the Ministry of Education in late 1976 set up a committee to draft a plan for a national language teaching policy (submitted to the Ministry in February 1979). While models are obviously needed in planning and administration as well as in research, teachers also should be familiar with them if they do not wish to relinquish a legitimate interest in how the language teaching system operates and how it should and could be improved.

A major development in education in general, and in language teaching as a specific instance, seems to be a growing awareness of education as a social institution, as a social system, serving fundamental social desires, needs and functions. Thus, language teaching serves basic communication needs, and as its importance grows it increasingly acquires the characteristics of any institutionalized process. This means, among other things, that language teaching is becoming (1) more organized, roles and role relationships are specified in more detail; (2) more systematized, tasks are specified; and (3) more stabilized, language teaching is not dependent on particular individuals.

Language teaching is therefore not only the activity of individual teachers. It is a system of many activities. In order to understand it as a system we must realize its boundaries, its central purposes and its level in a larger context. We must be aware of its various subsystems and their interrelationships. For all this we need models to describe and work out the practical consequences of different approaches (see Takala 1983).

The preceding discussion implies that education in general, and language teaching as one aspect of education, is an "artificial" science (Calfee 1981). "Artificial" refers to the fact that education, schools, curricula, etc., are the products of the human mind (artifacts), not natural phenomena (natural objects). Another way to express the same idea, without the possibility unfortunate connotations of the term "artificial," is to characterize education as one instance of the "sciences of design" (Simon 1981). The sciences of design deal with the interaction between the inner and outer environments, in other words, how goals and intentions can be attained by adapting the inner environment (human mind) to the external environment. One of the major consequences of this view of education is that educational phenomena have to be seen in context if our aim is to make improvements in current practices. Decontextualized reforms are bound to fail or to result in only limited success.

A GENERAL MODEL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AS A SYSTEM

Having made the claim that educational phenomena are subject to human judgment, we should try to see what implications this view has for language teaching. What kind of model could we have of language teaching as a complex system of a great number of different activities? One possible model is presented in Figure 1 (Takala 1980). It is an adaptation of similar models proposed by Stern (1974) and Strevens (1977).

Formal language teaching in a school-type context takes place in a complex setting consisting of a number of levels. At Level 1, the societal level, the need of languages is manifested in a more or less clearly defined language teaching policy and is recognized in the form of societal support for language

LEARNER (GROUP)

Level 5: Level of the
learner system: lan-
guage learning

E
V
A
L
U
A
T
I
O
N

TEACHER
EDUCATION

EXAMINATIONS/
EXPECTATIONS

ORGANIZATION

T
E
A
C
H
I
N
G

TEACHING
MATERIALS

CURRICULUM/SYLLABUS

PLAN OF
TEACHING

Level 4: level of the
teaching system:
tactics

APPROACH: CURRICULUM

PLANNING

RESEARCH/EXPERIM.

THEORIES OF
LANGUAGE TEACHING
& LEARNING

SCIENTIFIC BASE

-linguistics
-psycholinguist.
-sociolinguist.
-applied ling.
-education
-lang. planning

Level 3: Level of sci-
entific development of
language teaching:
strategy

ORGANIZATION
AND
ADMINISTRATION

TRADITIONS
OF LANGUAGE
TEACHING

Level 2: Level of the
school system: infra-
structure

LANGUAGE POLICY
(societal support)

Level 1: Level of so-
ciety: motives of
language teaching

NEED OF LANGUAGES

PERSONAL MOTIVES

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS,
COOPERATION & DIVISION
OF WORK

Figure 1. General model of the language teaching system (Takala 1980).

teaching. At Level 2, the school-system level, we are concerned with the
foundations of language teaching, its infrastructure: the organizational and
administrative framework and the traditions of language teaching. At Level 3
we are concerned with the definition of the general approach or strategy of
language teaching. This is usually expressed in a curriculum (syllabus).
Syllabus construction is a demanding task in which a number of disciplines can
and should be drawn upon. The written curriculum (the *intended* curriculum) is
carried out to a smaller or greater extent (the *implemented* curriculum) at the
level of teaching (Level 4). This teaching takes place in a complex setting,
where many tactical decisions must be made by the teacher everday. However,
the curriculum is ultimately realized by the pupils (the *realized* curriculum).

Evaluation data are mainly collected from the teaching and learning levels to
get feedback to other levels as well. All parties involved in education
(teachers and their students, principals, superintendents, school boards, state
educational authorities, and national or federal educational agencies) are in-
terested in getting data on student performance as the ultimate criterion of
how teaching works. The motives and uses of data vary but there is no substi-
tute for actual student performance data.

The model presented in Figure 1, which is based on the Finnish situation, shows
that the curriculum plays an important part in teaching. Some modifications may
have to be made to it to suit other contexts, but it is likely that on the whole
the model is applicable to most countries where there is systematic teaching of
foreign languages in the school system.

FACTORS AFFECTING CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Curricula (syllabuses) are among the most important factors that guide the con-
struction of teaching materials, tests, and teaching itself. As the importance
of knowing what guides teachers' activities has increased along with a growing
awareness of teachers' crucial role in carrying out the educational objectives,
there has emerged a special line of study called curriculum research. After
more than ten years of work on various aspects of the curriculum, I have come
to the conclusion that HOW the curriculum should be constructed depends on a
number of factors. This is illustrated in Figure 2 (Takala 1980:59):
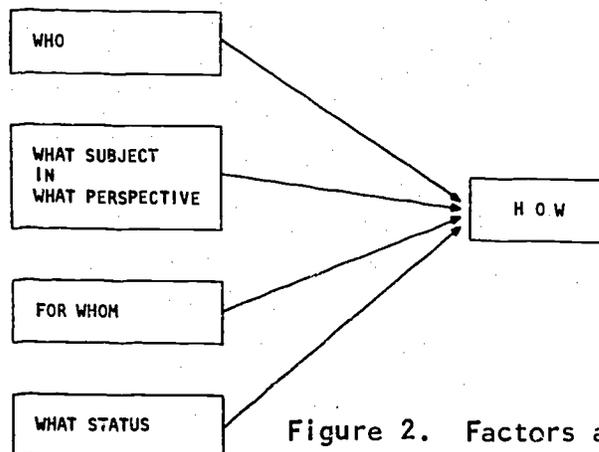
Figure 2. Factors affecting the form of the curriculum.

Who constructs the curriculum? Is it all done centrally so that teachers only work *with* the curriculum? Or will curriculum construction be a hierarchical process, that is, will there be contributions at all levels, from the federal/ national level to the individual level? Are the teachers expected to work *on* the curriculum, interpreting it to suit local circumstances, as well as work *with* the curriculum?

The subject matter also has a definite impact as such. We do not expect a mathematics curriculum to very closely resemble a foreign-language curriculum. But even within the same subject there are a number of possible varieties depending on how the subject, in this case language, is viewed. What is our *perspective*, our view of language? As Halliday (1974) points out, a comprehensive view of language requires that we recognize it as a system (linguistic focus), as behavior (sociolinguistic focus), as knowledge (psycholinguistic focus), and as a form of art (literary focus). Differences in how the language profession sees each of these aspects, for example, a predominantly formalistic or functionalist view of language, has brought about changes in curricula and will do so also in the future (see Berns, this volume).

Because it is very important in all human communication to take into account the communication partner(s), it is necessary in syllabus construction to remind ourselves of our possible target groups. *For whom is the curriculum intended?* There are several possible target groups: political decision-makers, general public, employers, writers of teaching materials, teacher educators, examining boards, teachers and students. There are also many different kinds of students with different needs and expectations. For different target groups we need different versions with varying degrees of specificity. We cannot expect to be able to communicate properly with such diverse groups unless we tailor our message to suit each group.

The way in which we should construct the foreign-language syllabus also depends on the *status* it is to have. Will it be binding in terms of what should be taught or even what should be learned, or is the curriculum only a guideline, a road map, to help teaching proceed in a desired direction? It makes quite a difference if a detailed curriculum is a binding document or only one possible exemplification of the general objectives of teaching. In the latter case the curriculum would be a kind of yardstick or point of reference for teachers and textbook writers.

Thus we can conclude that there is not, and *can never be*, a definitive curriculum or any one best curriculum for all times and for all circumstances. As there are no universally valid tests, there are no universally valid curricula. Both texts and curricula are valid only under specific circumstances and for specific purposes. Here again the contextual dependence of educational phenomena is once again demonstrated.

A NEW COMMUNICATIVE FL SYLLABUS FOR THE FINNISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

Syllabus construction is a very important task in a country like Finland where all schools have to follow the national syllabus and where textbook publishers have to make their textbooks congruent with the syllabuses if they wish to have

them approved for school use. The syllabuses are also used as a basis for teacher training, tests and examinations. Thus syllabuses are potentially very powerful instruments for guiding what goes on in schools. It is thus imperative that they be based on the best expertise available.

The decade of the 1970's was a hectic period of syllabus construction in Finland, since all levels of the national school system were reformed during that period. More than twenty syllabuses were constructed for foreign/second language teaching (English, Swedish, Finnish, German, French and Russian). It was during this period that syllabus construction became a more institutionalized process with representatives from the teaching profession, staff inspectors from the National Boards of Education and researchers participating in the process. I was heavily involved in this work as a research consultant and frequently as a secretary of various national work parties. (For further discussion of some aspects of this work see Takala 1983.)

A new communicative FL syllabus prototype was constructed in 1975-76, revised in 1979-1980, and approved in 1981. This prototype, which included English and Swedish, subsequently served as a model for syllabus work in several other languages.

One practical problem in communicative curriculum construction is that such curricula tend to become very long and unwieldy, and the initial version of one Finnish syllabus was no exception. For this reason, it was considered necessary to provide an overview of the objectives. After several attempts, it turned out that a procedure called "facet analysis" (Guttman 1970; Millman 1974) provided a useful method for such a concise statement of objectives.

Facets are central dimensions of a phenomemon, something like the factors in factor analysis. In the new Finnish FL syllabus, the facets are (a) language functions, (b) language skills, and (c) topics and notions. The following excerpts from the new syllabus for teaching foreign language in the Finnish comprehensive school illustrates this system. This overview, which is followed by detailed accounts of each facet, has been favorably received by teachers. It is cognitively manageable. It also appears that the systematic juxtaposition of the facets helps in seeing the links between them.

CONCLUSION

Systematic work on how new ideas in foreign language teaching might be approached in Finland began towards the end of the 1960's. Several versions of FL curricula were developed and tried out at different levels of the school system (Takala 1980, 1983). New revised versions were offically approved some ten years later. This ten-year lag is not due to lack of effort. On the contrary, a massive effort was required to develop the first drafts to inform teachers about them through pre-session and in-service education, collect feedback from teachers, textbook writers, university departments, etc., and to incorporate this feedback in the revision. Now, after ten years of work, new textbooks also exist which are in line with the communicative syllabuses. In retrospect, I am convinced that it requires about ten years of systematic hard work to introduce any new idea in education. In some cases, that may even be an optimistic estimate.

(1) LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS	(2) LANGUAGE SKILLS	(3) TOPICS AND NOTIONS
The aim is that the student can understand, respond to and produce language in oral and written discourse for the following purposes:	The following communication skills are practiced: ORAL COMMUNICATION *Listening Comprehension:* the student can	The following topics and notions are dealt with: PEOPLE AND THEIR IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENTS: • self • family, relatives, friends
SOCIAL INTERACTION • addressing persons • greeting, taking leave • presenting oneself • thanking • apologizing • complimenting • making an offer • making an invitation • conversational gambits	• understand short expressions (by appropriate responding) • understand simple conversations • understand complete discourses spoken at almost normal tempo and based entirely on familiar language structures and vocabulary • understand complete discourses that may contain also some unfamiliar structures and vocabulary which can easily be inferred from the context	• other people • home, everyday tasks and chores • food and eating • clothes and accessories • parts of the body, health, illness, hygiene • perceptions and feelings • thinking ACTIVITIES • being and possessing • doing things • moving about • school and study • world of work and occupations
DIRECTING ACTIVITY • ordering, exhorting • forbidding • warning • requesting • advising • suggesting • persuading	*Speaking:* the student can • produce expressions needed to take part in simple conversations • produce short complete discourses WRITTEN COMMUNICATION *Reading Comprehension:* the student can	• leisure time and hobbies/ interests • shopping, running errands • traffic and traveling • mass media NATURE, COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES • nature and weather • country and town • Finland and the Finns • English-speaking countries and peoples • other countries and peoples
EXPRESSING OPINIONS, ATTITUDES AND FEELINGS • like/dislike • agreement/disagreement • pleasure/displeasure • approval/disapproval • surprise • sympathy • wish/persuasion • intent/purpose • certainty/uncertainty • necessity	• understand written expressions and respond to them • understand short texts with familiar structures and vocabulary • understand the gist in new short text containing familiar structures and vocabulary • understand the gist in texts which may contain also some unfamiliar structures and vocabulary, which can easily be inferred from the context *Writing:* the student can	QUANTITY AND QUALITY • number and quality • age • money and price • attributes: color, size, shape, quality TIME • point of time and contemporaneousness • present time • the past • the future • frequency • duration PLACE AND MANNER • location and direction • method, means, instrument
IMPARTING AND SEEKING INFORMATION • labeling, categorizing • asking and answering • stating something • correcting statements • describing and reporting	• write short messages in accordance with a model or instructions • write short answers to written or oral questions • write short messages independently • write descriptions, reports and stories according to prompts and independently	RELATIONS • qualitative relations (comparisons) • temporal, spatial and referential relations (time: now-then; place: here-there; reference to persons and things: pronouns) • order and dates • quantitative relations • cause, effect, condition • combination, discrimination • definiteness: indefinite/ definite

One outcome of this intensive work in curriculum construction was a growing
realization of the complexity of language teaching, which led to work on models
of the system of language teaching. One of the merits of comprehensive models
like the one presented in Figure 1 is that it shows the complex interdependence
of various aspects of educational phenomena. Thus, in language teaching, we
should not overestimate the role of curricula in guiding teaching. As Level 4
in the Figure shows, teaching is influenced not only by the curriculum but by
the available teaching materials, by the training that teachers have received,
by the expectations of various interest groups, by tests and examinations, and
by the organization of the school system. The conditions for change are optimal
if all these have a similar orientation.

It follows that due consideration should be given to all contributing parties
and all should be consulted and encouraged to help in implementing new ideas.
Of crucial importance is tests and examinations. Since they are used to get
feedback for a variety of purposes, as mentioned earlier, they are probably the
single most important factor in education. Thus, it is an advisable strategy
to devote early and considerable attention to tests and examinations when a new
approach is launched. In fact, it is likely that new approaches are most
efficiently introduced if tests and examinations embody their central idea.
Such partly test-driven educational improvement also has the practical advantage
that it requires less time and effort to produce good tests than to produce good
curricula and textbooks. Educators should not underestimate the positive con-
tributions of evaluation, as they should not underestimate the possible negative
washback effect of evaluation which is not congruent with teaching objectives
and the teaching itself.

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INTAKE, COMMUNICATION, AND SECOND-LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Formal methods of language instruction have generally been based upon the assumption that the development of language competence in a classroom requires different activities, a different kind of interaction, and different constraints on behavior from those of the informal second-language acquisition environment. To some extent, of course, such differences are unavoidable: a natural acquisition environment normally includes one learner and an unlimited number of native speakers, whereas in the classroom there is one fluent speaker with a large number of learners; a natural acquisition environment typically includes a wide variety of times and places, while the formal environment begins and ends on schedule and (in most cases) at the classroom door. On the other hand, there are many ways in which the classroom environment is *made* different from the natural one because of our assumptions about how people learn languages in a formal environment. In the natural environment, for example, there are no formal practice exercises, no syllabus, little or no explanation of grammar, and no homework.

Attempts to make classroom learning (and the kind of language learned) more similar to non-classroom interaction and language use have led in recent years to instructional methods which emphasize interpersonal communication, contextualized and personalized practice, in-class discussion of topics of current interest, etc. It is undeniable that such trends have wrought genuine improvements in the quality of language instruction we are able to offer, and that they represent a healthy and exciting trend away from lock-step methodologies and towards more humane education. Nevertheless, they touch only indirectly on an aspect of the acquisition environment which is known to be vital in non-classroom situations: the way in which language is used in daily interactions between fluent and non-fluent speakers, as a way of providing the data from which the learner constructs a coherent sense of grammaticality and meaning in the second language.

The enormous handicap which hearing impairment places on language acquisition demonstrates just how essential input data in some form is for the acquisition of language. For small children, this data is available through the speech of adults and older children; for adults in a foreign-language environment, it comes through interaction with native speakers of that language. In both cases, it has been shown that the fluent speakers regularly adjust their language to the listening competence of the acquirer by speaking more slowly, pronouncing clearly, using less complex structures, etc. (Krashen 1980). It has also been shown that children respond to this adjusted register of speech rather than to normal adult-to-adult discourse (Snow 1971).

In the case of children learning their first language, psycholinguists have differed in their explanations of how input affects the acquisition process; but it has never been seriously argued that first-language acquisition, under normal circumstances, depended upon any variable condition beyond the normal day-to-day verbal interaction which is a part of a child's normal environment. This view of language acquisition is generally extended to include children's second-language acquisition. For adults learning a second language, however, popular and professional notions of the conditions required for minimal success are much more varied. Success in formal language learning has been seen, in general, as a function of some combination of intelligence, talent, motivation, effort, and the "right" teaching method--meaning, usually, the way in which linguistic rules are ordered and presented and the way in which student practice

is organized. The target language samples used in everyday classroom interaction have received very little attention.

The view of adult second-language learning as a function of conscious intellectual effort has been seriously challenged in recent years. Numerous studies of adults learning a second language have revealed that the sequences of linguistic development in adults closely resemble those of children learning a first or second language (Bailey, Madden, and Krashen 1974; Perkins and Larsen-Freeman 1975). In detailed studies of the utterances of German students learning English in school, Felix (1981a) has shown that the "natural" developmental sequence occurs in many structural areas in the formal learning situation, even though the natural order is different from the sequence of instruction. Furthermore, Felix (1982) notes that formal (that is, classroom) learners do apply certain complex rules of structure which are not taught in language classes, even though the same learners may fail to apply other rules which they "know" in the intellectual sense. Although there is still considerable debate as to how clear a distinction can be made between explicit (or "learned") and implicit (or "acquired") knowledge of a second language, the point remains that the performance of second-language learners cannot be satisfactorily explained as a function of consciously-learned linguistic rules.

An alternative view of adult second-language learning is that it depends only in part, and in very limited contexts, upon understanding of linguistic principles. Researchers like Krashen (1977), Bialystok (1981), and Felix (1981a) have suggested that real language competence depends upon a kind of intuitive sense of grammaticality which is not consciously learned, but which develops through a regular progression of stages (like first-language acquisition) as a function of an innate human language-acquiring capacity in the presence of appropriate conditions. The learner's involvement in linguistic interaction appears to be among the most critical of these conditions, if it is not the single most critical one.

This raises the question of why "direct" teaching methods and immersion experiences are not uniformly successful in producing fluent speakers of foreign languages, since both do make extensive target-language samples available to the learner. The answer may lie in the distinction between language *input* (all language samples which the learner hears) and *intake* (language samples which actually influence the learner's evolving sense of the language). Although there are still many unanswered questions about how intake influences language development, it is not generally agreed that the listener's active involvement in decoding linguistic signals is a crucial feature of intake. This implies that intake must be appropriately adjusted so that it falls within the range of the listeners' comprehension but that it demands their active effort to identify and use the linguistic clues to meaning. This is, indeed the kind of adjustment that has been found in parents' speech to children (Newport 1975) and in native speakers' language addressed to foreigners (Freed 1978).

It is clear that in a second-language environment, there are many linguistic signals to which the learner does not attend, whether because of fatigue, lack of interest, or a preoccupation with some other line of thought at the moment. Those who have attempted to follow a prolonged native-speaker conversation in a language in which they are not fluent can attest to the effort required for sustaining their attentiveness to the discourse; if the language is not consistently tailored to a level of understanding within the listener's grasp,

attention soon begins to drop and the listener's mind wanders to other concerns. The range of discourse to which an individual attends and the degree of tailoring which he or she requires probably fluctuate with mood, fatigue, etc. It also seems likely that the nature of optimal discourse vary from one learner to another, even at the same level of language proficiency, depending upon a variety of psychological, affective, and social factors. It is hardly surprising, then, that we have yet to discover the ideal language-learning environment in which every learner will predictably achieve fluent command of a foreign language.

With these conditions in mind, it is not difficult to understand why different individuals in an immersion environment--reputedly the best possible situation for language acquisition--may derive very different kinds and degrees of benefit from it. For example, some learners seize every opportunity to communicate in the foreign language: they enroll in leisure-time classes, they seek out the company of native speakers, they actively try to initiate conversations with taxi drivers, shop clerks, waiters, classmates, and co-passengers on trains and busses. Others interact less: they associate with speakers of their own language if possible; they learn the minimum number of stock phrases for ordering meals and buying necessities; they shop in self-service stores to avoid sales clerks; they use a map instead of asking directions.

But beyond controlling the number of situations in which they will need to interact in the language of the country, foreigners can also do a great deal within interaction situations to limit the amount and the complexity of the language samples addressed to them. Numerous studies of "foreigner-talk" discourse (e.g., Freed 1978, Tarone 1980, Long 1981, Scarcella and Higa 1981) have demonstrated that when native speakers talk to foreigners, their language is simpler than the language they use with one another; however, it is more complex than the language which their non-native interlocutors produce. In other words, their language is tailored to the listener's ability to understand rather than to his or her speaking ability. In order to decide whether to simplify further, to restate a question, to go on to another topic, etc., it seems probable that native speakers depend upon a range of subtle clues from the foreign conversational partners--eye contact, facial expression, hesitation, nodding or shaking the head, gesture, etc.--as well as explicit verbal signs like "Yes, I understand" or "Please repeat." This means that with only a minimum of demand upon their limited linguistic skill, non-natives can exercise considerable control over the pace and complexity of the interaction, simply by manipulating the level of comprehension perceived by the fluent speaker.

At the present time, we are not able to say precisely what function linguistic intake plays in the development of second-language fluency. It may be that the second-language samples heard by the acquirer serve in some sense as models against which hypotheses about the form of the language can be tested. They may serve a more general function, simply helping the acquirer form a sense of the limits on possible combinations of words and sounds in the second language. Or, perhaps, linguistic interaction may serve as a sort of neurological "trigger" which activates the psychological structures responsible for language acquisition. Whatever the truth of its role may be, however, it seems clear that linguistic intake is a *sine qua non* of language acquisition.

Given the importance which linguistic intake appears to have in non-classroom acquisition of language, it is somewhat surprising that little attention has

been given to determining its role in the foreign-language classroom. Intui-
tively, one would expect the classroom to provide an excellent environment for
linguistic intake, with the teacher furnishing appropriately-adjusted linguis-
tic forms corresponding to the meaningful content on which the students' atten-
tion is focused. But these conditions--meaningful content, appropriately-
tailored linguistic forms, and the coincidence of these in the learner's atten-
tion--occur more or less spontaneously in ordinary conversation between for-
eigners and native speakers, whereas the problems specific to foreign-language
classrooms may make the same conditions less likely to occur there.

Even in highly "communicative" classrooms, when teachers and students address
each other in the target language, it is not *primarily* because they have im-
portant things to say to each other, but because practice is part of learning
a foreign language. Second-language learners outside of classrooms, conversely,
do not often set out to practice; they set out to get information or to buy
something or simply to establish human contact. There is no way to avoid the
fact that foreign-language instruction aims at teaching the language rather
than at communicating as an end in itself; inevitably, however, this fact brings
to the formal learning situation a kind of artificiality which is rare beyond
the walls of a foreign-language classroom.

Foreign-language courses, like most academic programs, are usually based on an
ordered sequence of material, and this too adds to the problem of "natural"
target-language use in classes. The sequential steps around which the course
is organized may vary with the teacher, the program, the syllabus, and the text-
book; they may be explicitly stated or not; but to some extent they are always
arbitrary, if only because our present knowledge about language acquisition has
not made it possible to define an educational sequence known to be consistent
with the natural acquisition process. But since textbooks and course syllabuses
provide the basis for testing and grades, they are quite naturally seen by
teachers and students as the main business of the course. This makes it diffi-
cult to establish the importance of activities which do not directly train stu-
dents to proceed along the defined (usually structural) sequence.

The problem is compounded by the fact that the vast majority of foreign-language
teachers share a native language with their students, so that it is considerably
more cumbersome to "cover the material" in the target language than it is to do
so in the native language. The use of the target language for everyday communi-
cation can therefore be experienced as an artificial constraint which simply
impedes the progress of the class. Indeed, research in this area (Moskowitz
1976, Wing 1980) suggests that very few language teachers use the target language
for as much as 80 percent of their discourse in class. When the target language
is used, it may be reserved for functions where it is the least likely to inter-
fere with the pace and direction of the class--that is, for routine functions
that fall below the students' level of speaking ability rather than above it.

Another problem that faces foreign-language teachers and students is a long-
standing emphasis on the productive skills, to the virtual exclusion of the
receptive ones. (One might object here that the principle of "listening before
speaking and reading before writing" was a cornerstone of the audiolingual
method and has remained a tenent of most contemporary approaches in public
schools. However, as Asher (1981) points out, the "listening" of the audio-
lingual method was listening for repetition rather than for comprehension.)

Behavioral objectives for language classes are generally stated in terms of oral or written performance; "oral participation" is frequently a component in the evaluation of students; and teachers, during their methods courses, are regularly instructed to see that every student speaks regularly in class.

This overriding concern for eliciting production from the students creates a situation very unlike that of the informal environment. If we learn a second language by living in a foreign country, we follow a sequence of learning which seems to be something like this: as we learn to decode language samples in our day-to-day interactions, the linguistic forms begin to take on meaning for us until we ourselves are able to use them meaningfully. In the classroom, this order may be reversed: students are asked to utter linguistic forms which have not yet become meaningful to them, and they are often expected to express meanings for which they have not acquired a second-language representation.

The classroom differs again from an immersion environment in terms of the dynamics of interaction. The natural environment, of course, contains many times more native speakers than foreigners, and the avid language acquirer can, in general, find many occasions for one-on-one conversations with native speakers. The structure of these interactions differs greatly from the discourse which normally occurs in the classroom, both because of the ratio of learners to fluent speakers and because of the implicit hierarchy of the classroom. In a natural situation, the non-fluent participant has, as mentioned earlier, a considerable amount of control over the shape of the discourse. Being an equal participant in the interaction, he or she can nominate a topic, request or offer clarification, initiate or terminate an interaction, etc. In a classroom, the teacher typically controls the discourse to a much greater extent--and the student to a lesser one--than is the case with their natural-environment counterparts. The non-verbal signals which in a one-on-one conversation can indicate interest, confusion, agreement, etc., are easily lost in the behavior of a larger group; and in any case, all the constraints typically placed on students' behavior in schools continue to militate against their assuming an active role in controlling the content and the difficulty level of the ongoing discourse. This absence of feedback, in turn, makes it much more difficult for teachers to adjust their language appropriately than for fluent speakers outside of a classroom to do the same.

To illustrate some of the foregoing points--and to show some ways in which classroom discourse might be made more appropriate for language acquisition-- it may be useful to look at some examples of discourse taken from introductory university-level French classes.[2] In the first example, the teacher introduces

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[2]All examples used in this paper are taken from the data for doctoral re-search currently being completed by the author at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The data were collected in six sections of French 102 (second semester elementary French), each videotaped on two occasions. The classes were taught by teaching assistants, most of whom were in their second semester of teaching.

The texts are transcribed verbatim. Unintelligible material is repre-sented by xxx.

and begins an exercise on question formation through inversion in the *passe compose*. (Note: English translations of the discourse examples are provided in Appendix A.)

Example 1

   1 Teacher: Bon, dans le livre, à la page trois cent quatre-vingt treize, n'est-ce pas, il y a beaucoup de choses au sujet de l'inversion, beaucoup d'exemples aussi.

   2   Faisons très rapidement exercise six, en bas de la page, pour pratiquer l'inversion.

   3   Par exemple, il y a deux personnes qui parlent, vous et votre camarade.

   4   Ton frère, a-t-il une voiture?

   5   Ici l'inversion avec le verbe "avoir."

   6   Et puis on peut répondre, "Qui, il a une voiture," "Non, il n'a pas de voiture."

   7   Okay?

   8   Brian, posez la question à John ici.

   9   Avec numero un.

10 Student A: Ta soeur, a-t-elle une voiture?

11 Student B: Qui, elle a, uh...

12 Teacher: Une voiture?

13 Student B: Qui, elle a une voiture.

14 Teacher: Est-ce que vous avez une soeur, oui ou non?

15   Non, il n'a...

16   Mais il faut, il faut dire oui ou non, n'est-ce pas?

17   Qui, elle a une voiture.

18   Donc, ta soeur, a-t-elle, a-t-elle une voiture.

19   L'inversion.

One striking feature of this passage is the number of teacher utterances which are difficult to interpret. In line 1, for example, it may first appear that the teacher is simply telling the students where to look for further

clarification of inversion. Only in line 2 does it become clear that she wants them to turn to the page she has mentioned and to do an exercise. In lines 3-6, it is not immediately apparent that she is reading the example sentences for the exercise she has just announced.

Much of the difficulty of interpreting the teacher's utterances seems due to a kind of constant fragmentation of focus between linguistic rules, the mechanics of accomplishing the lesson, and the "real world" of the things and people present in the classroom. In lines 15 through 19, for example, the teacher skips from the world of the student's reality (lines 14-15) to the mechanics of the exercise (line 16), then to the hypothetical frame of reference created by the exercise (line 17), and finally to a reformulation of the student's response (line 18) and a reminder of the linguistic principle being practiced (line 19)-- all with no transition and with nothing to help the students identify the topic or the frame of reference within which the teacher is operating at any given moment.

It is very interesting that the students do not appear in the least confused by the constant shifts of topic or by the somewhat "telegraphic" speech style used by the teacher. Certainly none of the individual sentences seen here would be difficult to decode; on the other hand, it seems unlikely that the students are really following the chain of thought represented by the teacher's speech, given that a researcher equipped with a videotape and a written transcript finds it necessary to go over the recording more than once in order to see that chain of thought. More likely, the students are simply functioning on the basis of cues which are unrelated to much of the teacher's discourse. Note that at a maximum, Brian and John needed to know the page number, the exercise to be done, and the item number. If they were listening specifically for this information, they could have gotten it from the teacher's discourse without interpreting anything more; if they failed to "catch" the necessary information in the teacher's discourse, they could probably get it from other sources--e.g., finding the page on which there were examples like the one on the board, looking at another student's book, etc.

The point here is that although the lesson is conducted all in French, it is hard to say that there is any real possibility for linguistic intake for the students, who appear to be looking for little more than the minimal cues they need in order to respond properly. Nor do they appear to seek or to exercise any real control over the classroom interaction. In line 11, the student's hesitation appears related to the fact that the question is based on a false assumption (that he has a sister), a fact which the teacher then verifies (line 14); however, as she points out, the exercise requires a yes or no answer--no questioning of the truth conditions is admitted (line 16).

It is difficult to imagine a situation other than a language classroom in which a second-language acquirer would so readily accept this kind of arbitrary imposition of an untrue precondition for a conversational exchange. One might, in "real life," argue the point, abandon the topic (or, indeed, the conversational partner--by no means an insignificant alternative!), or negotiate for an imaginary frame of reference which both partners are willing to accept. The absence of such behavior in the classroom reflects the sense of priorities that tends to be imposed on teachers and students alike by structure-based curricula. Those priorities might be stated as follows: "We are here first

of all to practice language forms. If, in so doing, we can manage to exchange
some information and ideas with each other, so much the better--but we must
take care not to let communication carry us away from the main business of the
course."

Another discourse example illustrates the difficulty of combining the aim of
structured practice with that of meaningful communication. Here the class is
doing an exercise designed to practice the interrogative pronoun "lequel"
(which one) and its variants. The exercise calls for two students to engage
in an interaction like the following:

    Student A: Do you know any singers?

    Student B: Yes.

    Student A: Which ones do you know?

    Student B: I know Anne Murray and Roberta Flack.

The difficulty presented by this exercise is that while it does provide a con-
text for practice of the linguistic rule, it violates the rules of ordinary
conversation. In an everyday interaction, the first question would be in-
terpreted as a request for the names of singers one knows, and a simple yes or
no answer could only be explained as an example either of rudeness or cf con-
versational ineptitude. Thus, the second and third lines of the interaction
would not take place. The students are caught between the requirements of
polite conversation and the expectation that they use a form of "lequel" in
their interaction.

Example 2

    1 Teacher: Okay, bon.

    2   Demandez à...Carol...si elle connaît des chanteurs et
                  lesquels.

    3   Ask her if she knows any singers and which ones.

    4 Student A: Uh...Connais-tu des chanteurs?

    5 Student B: Je connais...Mick Jagger.

                  (Laughter)

    6 Teacher: Okay, lesquels...alors lesquels est-ce qu'elle connaît?

    7   Which ones does she know?

    8 Student A: xxx

    9 Teacher: Elle connaît Mick Jagger.

. . . .

10 Teacher: Susan, est-ce que tu connais des acteurs?

11 Student: Oui, je connais...

12 Teacher: (Interrupting) Lesquelles?

13   Oui, lesquelles?

14 Student: Oh, je connais...um...Shirley Maclaine, Jane Fonda...

The teacher's translation of her French utterances into English (lines 3 and 7) is worthy of mention. The forms that the teacher is translating are virtually the same as those the students are expected to produce. If she does not expect the students to understand these cue sentences, can she really expect them to produce the longer and equally complex interaction required by the exercise? It seems more likely that the use of English has little to do with the teacher's evaluation of the students' comprehension--that it is, in fact, simply an expedient way to keep the lesson moving fairly quickly. In either case, it is clear that the priority is to get through the exercise, to accomplish the lesson, to "cover the material," rather than to create an atmosphere in which use of the second language is the norm.

It is somewhat surprising to find that the students determinedly circumvent the obvious purpose of the exercise by conforming to the rules of everyday conversation--quite unlike the behavior of the student without a sister in Example 1. Perhaps learners are more willing to ignore reality conditions for discourse than to violate conversational principles; or perhaps, since the latter exercise does provide the opportunity to furnish some personal information, the students' attention is simply drawn away from the mechanics of the structural practice. In any case, in the first part of the interaction, the teacher is unsuccessful in getting the students to produce the sequence of utterances that the exercise calls for. Finally, in the second part of the example, the teacher herself takes over the first role, but even so, the student fails to wait for the "lequel" question before starting to provide the names of actresses she knows. The teacher therefore interrupts with "Lesquelles? Qui, lesquelles?" (lines 12-13). The "oui" appears to mean, "Yes, you are giving the right answer," but the interruption itself signals "wrong"--i.e., "Don't answer until I ask you the right question."

The awkwardness of this passage exemplifies the linguistic contortions we impose on ourselves and on our students by trying to serve too many goals at once. Conversation in a second language is difficult for any learner; the attempt to manipulate it around specific linguistic structures makes it more so, especially in the case of structures for which obligatory contexts are rare. This is not to say, however, that the absence of structural requirements on classroom interaction will in itself guarantee a solution to the problems of communication in second-language classes, as demonstrated in Example 3. Here the teacher is beginning a discussion on stereotypes about the French personality, based on a reading passage from the textbook. No specific structure is being practiced. Still, it is revealing to try imagining this conversation in any context other than a classroom.

<u>*Example 3*</u>

1 Teacher: Pensez-vous qu'il y a vraiment *une* personnalité
          française, typiquement française?

2   Qui?

3 Students: Non.

4 Teacher: Non? Pourquoi?

          (Pause)

5   Claudia?

6 Student: Um...Je pense qu'il y a [une

7 Teacher: (Interrupting)   [Qu'il y a une personnalité française?

8   Bon, décrivez la personnalité française.

9 Student: How do you say "pride?"

10 Teacher: Oh...vous avez déjà eu deux mots.

11   (Writing on blackboard) Okay, "la fierté" est comme en
          anglais "pride," et l'adjectif, "fier."

12   Je suis fier, I'm proud.

13   Bon, est-ce que les Francais sont très fiers?

14   Ils ont beaucoup de fierté?

          (Silence)

15   Est-ce que les Français sont nationalistes?

By most commonly-cited criteria, this interaction qualifies as an excellent ex-
ample of "communicative" classroom discourse. Personal opinions are elicited,
student responses need conform to no particular model, and the conversation
develops around a cultural--rather than a linguistic--topic. Yet it is clear
that the teacher defines her own role not as that of a conversational partner
or facilitator, but as one responsible for telling her students how to speak.
It is hard to explain the motivation for interruption in line 7, and it is in-
teresting that her question in line 8 assumes her interpretation of the stu-
dent's intended utterance to be correct, although she has not sought confirma-
tion from the student that this is so. In line 9, the student asks for a
vocabulary item, apparently in an attempt to prepare herself to express an
opinion in French. The teacher, however, promptly and efficiently removes
from the student any chance to express a genuine and personal viewpoint. In
her response to the student, she first reminds her that the word requested has

been introduced previously (line 10), then provides two lexical items and an example (lines 11-12); and finally, without pausing to allow the student to formulate her own thought, she questions the truth of what she now assumes the student to believe (that the French are proud), although the student has not expressed that option and may not have wished to.

It would be difficult to show that the student in Example 3 ceases to process the teacher's language at any point in that passage. On the other hand, a great deal of research supports the belief that language acquisition is highly sensitive to affective factors. Krashen (1980) has suggested that the ac-quirer's ability to receive linguistic input may be limited by an "affective filter" under stressful or threatening conditions. Scarcella and Higa (1981) suggest that the active participation of acquirers in a conversational situa-tion may "charge" the input and increase their receptivity to it. It seems quite possible that in a climate where students expect interruption, reproval, and arbitrary interpretation of their utterances, they might not only minimize their speaking but minimize their listening as well, and that their retention of what they do hear might be reduced. All of these considerations would seem to argue the need for an instructional climate in which students' efforts to participate as equals in the communicative act are both supported and respected.

It seems clear that the issue of "manipulation" versus "communication" is not merely a matter of choosing between transformation drills and group discussion. Communication is an activity which requires two or more autonomous partici-pants, one of whom may benefit from the skill of the other in making the inter-action succeed; but the more one participant's output is subject to another's control, the more the discourse becomes the sole creation of the more proficient individual--and that is not communication!

It may begin to appear that language acquisition in the classroom is being pro-nounced impossible or nearly so, but that is not the case. It is true that our perception of what occurs in a classroom must take into account the processes of language acquisition as we begin to discover and to understand them, and it is true that the teacher's role in the classroom must be redefined in terms of the quality of interaction furnished to students. But these changes may not be as dramatic (or as chaotic) as one might imagine. In the following example (recorded on the same day as Example 2), another teacher is working with the interrogative pronoun "lequel." By coincidence, this lesson occurred in the same week as the "Oscar" awards, and the teacher focuses upon that event to foster conversation in class.

Example 4

   1 Teacher: Maintenant...est-ce que vous avez regardé la cérémonie
                  lundi, à la télé, pour les prix américains du film?

   2 Student A: Non.

   3 Teacher: Personne?

   4   Vous étudiiez, c'est ça.

   5 Students: (Murmers, laughter)

6   Oh, oui...

7   xxx le français

8 Teacher: Terri, vous avez regardé un peu, n'est-ce pas?

9 Student B: J'ai vu le film de la cérémonie.

10 Teacher: Uh-huh...bon.

11   Quels films étaient désignes pour le prix du meilleur
                      film de l'année?

12 Student B: *Kramer vs. Kramer*

13 Teacher: Qui...*Kramer vs. Kramer* a gagné.

14   Mais quels étaient les autres films désignés pour le
                      prix?

15 Student B: Uh...*Apocalypse Now, Norma Rae, All That Jazz*...

16 Student C: (Interrupting) *Breaking Away*...

17 Teacher: *Breaking Away*, oui...

18   Lequel préférez-vous?

19 Student B: Um...j'aime *Kramer vs. Kramer*.

20 Teacher: Donc vous êtes d'accord avec le prix.

21 Student B: Oui, mais je n'ai pas vu toutes les films.

22 Teacher: Bon, lequel des films désignés préférez-vous, Elise?

23 Student D: xxx je préfére *Kramer vs. Kramer*.

In comparison to the earlier examples, this passage includes very active student participation, ranging from simple yes/no answers (lines 2, 6) to full sentences (lines 9, 19, 21, 23). The quality of the discussion seems perfectly natural and unforced, and there is no fragmentation of focus between content and form. It is clear from student responses that they are actively involved not only as speakers but also as listeners and that the teacher's discourse is just difficult enough to demand that they do some intelligent guessing of meanings from the context. In line 12, for example, the student interprets the teacher's question incorrectly and furnishes the name of the winning film rather than the names of those nominated. The teacher accepts the student response (line 13) but also repeats the question (line 14), thus bringing into salience the difference between her original question and the student's erroneous interpretation of it. The student then provides an appropriate response (line 15).

By adjusting her own discourse at a level which demands an active hypothesis-
testing process (and therefore active attention) in order to be decoded, the
teacher exerts a certain kind of control over student behavior. The choice
and timing of her questions also does a great deal to shape the ongoing dis-
cussion, both in terms of the content and in terms of the structures used. At
no point, however, does she impose words, forms, or content on her students--
what they say is utterly their own. Her respect for student contributions is
further demonstrated by her use of student responses as a basis for following
moves (lines 1, 8, 20). The fact that their responses are not merely
approved and then abandoned communicates to the students that what they have
to say--whether they say it fluently or not--is valued and respected.

In Example 4, the students' output is, on the whole, grammatically accurate.
A gender error ("toutes" for "tous") in line 21 is disregarded, whether by
design or by chance, but does not interfere with the flow of the discussion.
But what if a student's error does interfere with comprehensibility? Is it
not then necessary for the teacher to correct and clarify the utterance, if
only in order to allow other students to follow the discourse? The situation
arises in the following example, taped on the same day as Example 3 (the dis-
cussion of cultural stereotypes).

Example 5

1 Teacher: Est-ce que vous avez une impression du caractère
             français typique, Donna?

2 Student A: Ils sont très romantiques.

3 Teacher: C'est une des idées...une des impressions qu'on a.

4   Est-ce que vous avez d'autres idées?

5   Paul?

6 Student B: Le Francais typique déteste les touristes américains.

             (Laughter)

7 Teacher: Je pense que c'est vrai, oui.

8   Vous avez d'autres impressions?

             (Pause)

9   Roger, vous venez de faire ia connaissance d'un
             Francais.

10   Quelles sont vos impressions?

11 Student C: Ah...c'est...c'est ne Français typique.

12 Teacher: Il n'était pas typique?

13 Student C: Ne personne est typique.

14 Teacher: Personne n'est typique?

15   C'est à dire qu'il n'est pas possible de généraliser,
                c'est ça?

16 Student C: Oui.

Once again, while the teacher does structure and facilitate the conversation,
she allows students full control of their own output. It is interesting to
note, in passing, that her acceptance of student responses takes the form of
a comment on the topic (lines 3, 7) rather than that of an evaluation (e.g.,
"très bien"). This strategy not only communicates a non-judgmental interest
in the student's contribution but also provides some relatively complex lan-
guage for the students to attend to in a context where their interest is likely
to be high. (Most of us do want to know what an authority figure has to say
about our efforts.)

In lines 11-16, the teacher faces the problem of student utterances containing
major grammatical errors. Although the student is somewhat slow in producing
an entire utterance, and although it is clear before the end of the sentence
that it contains major grammatical errors, the teacher does not intervene un-
til the student reaches the end of his utterance. She then responds (lines
12 and 14) in a way that serves two functions: to expand the student's utter-
ance into a correct form (a frequent strategy in parent-child discourse) and
then to seek confirmation of her interpretation from the student. In this
manner she invites the student to attend to the correct form, but she simul-
taneously recognizes him as the "meaning maker," the ultimate authority on
what he really intended to say. In line 15, she paraphrases his idea, again
inviting him to listen and to let her know whether or not she is accurately re-
flecting his idea. The teacher, then, takes on the function of a consultant,
helping the students find the words and forms necessary to express their ideas,
but leaving with them the final responsibility of deciding what to say.

The examples we have seen help to underscore an important point: that the
quality of classroom interaction is not simply a function of the "right"
method or class activity, but, that it is closely linked to our most basic
attitudes about the learning process, about communication itself, and about
our role as teachers. These attitudes have a profound effect on the amount
and degree of communication that can be achieved in our classrooms.

Traditionally, we have viewed classroom instruction as a structured, deliberate-
ly sequenced process leading to predetermined goals within given time limits;
and it may be difficult to think of the classroom as an acquisition environ-
ment when language acquisition outside of the classroom depends on internal
structures and processes which we are only beginning to understand. Never-
theless, for whatever reasons, the success rate of non-classroom language
acquisition appears to be phenomenally higher than that of classroom instruc-
tion (Asher 1981), and it would seem highly desirable for language educators
to look carefully at areas in which classroom art might benefit from a closer
imitation of life. The question of linguistic intake would appear to be such

an area, not only because of the important role it appears to play in non-classroom language acquisition, but also, in spite of the many external factors which might prevent it from occurring spontaneously in the classroom, because there seems to be no *a priori* reason why it might not play a crucial role in classroom instruction to the extent that it is available.

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APPENDIX

Example 1

1	Teacher:	Good, in the book, on page 393, right, there are a lot of things about inversion, a lot of examples too.
2		Let's do exercise six quickly, at the bottom of the page, to practice inversion.
3		For example, there are two people talking, you and your friend.
4		Does your brother have a car?
5		Here, inversion with the verb "avoir."
6		And then you can answer, "Yes, he has a car," "No, he doesn't have a car."
7		Okay?
8		Brian, ask John here that question.
9		With number one.
10	Student A:	Does your sister have a car?
11	Student B:	Yes, she has, uh...
12	Teacher:	A car?
13	Student A:	Yes, she has a car.
14	Teacher:	Do you have a sister, yes or not?
15		No; he doesn't...
16		But you have to, you have to say yes or no, don't you?
17		Yes, she has a car.
18		So does your sister, does your sister have a car?
19		Inversion.

Example 2

1	Teacher:	Okay, good.
2		Ask...Carol...if she knows any singers and which ones.
3		(Translates)

4 Student A: Uh...Do you know any singers?

5 Student B: I know...Mick Jagger.

              (Laughter)

6 Teacher: Okay, which ones...so which ones does she know?

7   (Translates)

8 Student A: xxx

9 Teacher: She knows Mick Jagger.

              . . . .

10 Teacher: Susan, do you know any actors?

11 Student: Yes, I know...

12 Teacher: (Interrupting) Which ones?

13   Yes, which ones?

14 Student: Oh, I know...um...Shirley Maclaine, Jane Fonda...

Example 3

1 Teacher: Do you think there is really *one* French personality,
              a typically French personality?

2   Yes?

3 Students: No.

4 Teacher: No? Why?

              (Pause)

5   Claudia?

6 Student: Um...I think that there's a

7 Teacher: (Interrupting) That there's a French personality?

8   Good, describe the French personality.

9 Student: How do you say "pride?"

10 Teacher: Oh...You've already had two words.

11   (Writing on blackboard) Okay, "la fierte" is like in
              English "pride," and the adjective, "fier."

12   Je suis fier, I'm proud.

13   Good, are the French very proud?

14   Do they have a lot of pride?

            (Silence)

15   Are the French nationalistic?

Example 4

 1 Teacher: Now...Did you watch the ceremony Monday, on television,
             for the American film awards?

 2 Student A: No.

 3 Teacher: Nobody?

 4   You were studying, that's it.

 5 Students: (Murmers, laughter)

 6   Oh, yes...

 7   ...French

 8 Teacher: Terri, you watched a little bit, didn't you?

 9 Student B: I saw the film of the ceremony.

10 Teacher: Uh-huh...good.

11   Which films were nominated for the best film of the year
             award?

12 Student B: *Kramer vs. Kramer.*

13 Teacher: Yes...*Kramer vs. Kramer* won.

14   But what were the other films nominated for the award?

15 Student B: Uh...*Apocalypse Now, Norma Rae, All That Jazz...*

16 Student C: (Interrupting) *Breaking Away...*

17 Teacher: *Breaking Away*, yes...

18   Which one do you like best?

19: Student B: Um...I like *Kramer vs. Kramer.*

20 Teacher: So you agree with the prize.

21 Student B: Yes, but I didn't see all the films.

22 Teacher: Good, which of the nominated films do you like best, Elise?

23 Student D: I like *Kramer vs. Kramer* best.

Example 5

 1 Teacher: Do you have an impression of the typical French character,
               Donna?

 2 Student A: They are very romantic.

 3 Teacher: That's one of the ideas...one of the impressions that
               people have.

 4   Do you have other ideas?

 5   Paul?

 6 Student B: The typical Frenchman hates American tourists.

 7 Teacher: I think that's true, yes.

 8   Do you have other impressions?

                (Pause)

 9   Roger, you've just met a French person.

10   What are your impressions?

11 Student C: Ah...*he isn't a typical Frenchman.*

12 Teacher: He wasn't typical?

13 Student C: *Nobody is typical.*

14 Teacher: Nobody is typical?

15   In other words it isn't possible to generalize, is that
               it?

REGIONAL NORMS FOR ENGLISH[1]

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INTRODUCTION

In discussing the norm for localized varieties of Englishes around the world,
we are in a sense faced with the situation described in the entertaining Eastern
fable about the elephant and the four blind men.[3] Each blind man, the story
tells us, tries to describe the animal on the basis of his tactile feeling of
one part of the large animal. One, after touching the animal's leg, claims
that an elephant resembles a gnarled tree trunk; another compares it with a
thick rope, since that is how the elephant's trunk appears to him; feeling
the circular belly of the animal, the third blind man exclaims, "Aha, an
elephant is like a smooth round drum," and so on. Clearly, each blind man has
a correct perception about an individual part of the elephant, but that part
itself is not the totality termed "elephant." It is all these parts together,
and various types within the species which constitute the "elephant-ness."
And this analogy applies to languages, too. When we use an identificational
label for a variety (e.g., American, British, Canadian, Indian, Malaysian,
Nigerian), we are actually thinking in terms of what linguists have called
"common core" analysis, "overall" analysis or a "nucleus." These terms are as
abstract as the "elephant-ness," or using another example, "dog-ness" aptly
suggested by Quirk et al. (1972:13):

> The properties of dog-ness can be seen in both terrier and alsatian
> (and, we must presume, equally) yet no single variety of dog embodies
> all the features present in all varieties of dog. In a somewhat
> similar way, we need to see a common core or nucleus that we call
> "English" being realized only in the different actual varieties of
> the language that we hear or read.

The global spread of English and its various functions in the sociolinguistic
context of each English-speaking country make generalizations about the lan-
guage almost impossible. Because each regional variety of English has its
distinct historical, acquisitional and cultural context, the genesis of each
variety must be seen within that perspective. The generalizations from one
localized variety are as deceptive as the blind men's description of the
elephant. At the same time, each description contributes to our understanding
of the *Englishness* of world Englishes, and their specific sociolinguistic con-
texts.

Before further elaborating on this and related points, let us first discuss
the terms "model," "standard," and "norm" as these are used with reference to
English.

MODEL, STANDARD AND NORM

These three terms are generally used as synonyms in literature related to lan-
guage pedagogy or in prescriptive texts on pronunciation and usage. In lan-
guage evaluation these terms refer to proficiency in language acquisition, and
attitudinally they indicate acceptance in certain circles.

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[3]A selected bibliography on this topic is given in Kachru 1976 and 1982a,
and in Smith 1981.

In the case of *non-native* speakers of English, when we talk of a norm the underlying supposition is of conformity with a model based on the language used by a segment of the native speakers. The language use of this segment attains the status of a preferred norm for mainly extralinguistic characteristics (for example, education, class, and status).

In English the prescribed norm does not refer to the use by a majority. The motivations for such a preferred norm stem from pedagogical, attitudinal, and societal reasons, and are not due to any authoritative or organized move for codification, as is the case with some other European and non-European languages.

WHAT ARE THE NORMS FOR ENGLISH?

The imposed norms for English lack any overt sanction or authority; whatever norms there are have acquired preference for social reasons. These are indirectly--or sometimes directly--suggested in dictionaries of English, in pedagogical manuals, in preferred models on television and radio, in job preferences when a particular variety of language is attitudinally considered desirable by an employer, whether it is a government agency, private employer, or a teaching institution. It is through such imagined or real societal advantages of a norm that parents develop their preferences for the type of instruction their children should get in the school system. The case in point is Black English in the United States. On linguistic (or logical) grounds one cannot consider it a *deficient* variety (see, for example, Burling 1973 and Labov 1970) but due to attitudinal reasons at present, it certainly restricts access to the cherished spheres of activities which all enlightened parents want their children to enter and succeed in. The same is true of various local varieties of British English. It is thus a belief shared by the members of a speech community that adherence to a certain preferred norm provides advantages for mobility, advancement, and status. In Britain, what are called "public" schools became the centers fostering adherence to such norms, and conscious efforts were made there to cultivate and preserve them.

The lack of an organized agency for language codification did not dampen the enthusiasm of the proponents of such norms for English. It is a fact--and a well-documented one (see, for example, Heath 1977, Kachru 1981b, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Laird 1970)--that the "guardians of language" failed to provide such codification as has been provided by the Academies for French, Spanish, Italian, or, more recently, Hebrew. It was, however, not for want of such effort. Attempts to establish an academy for the standardization of English were made on both sides of the Atlantic in the eighteenth century, just sixty years apart. In 1712, Jonathan Swift wrote an often-quoted letter to "the Most Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain," outlining "A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue." The proposal was both a complaint and a plea:

> My Lord; I do here, in the Name of all the Learned and Polite
> Persons of the Nation, complain to your Lordship, as *First*
> *Minister*, that our Language is extremely imperfect; that its
> daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily
> Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have

chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities; and, that in many In-
stances, it offends against every part of Grammar.

What did Swift have "most at Heart?" He wanted codification with the aim "that
some Method should be thought on for *ascertaining* and *fixing* our Language for
ever, after such Alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite."
The persons undertaking this task "will have the example of the French before
them, to imitate where they have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes."
The proposed goal then would be to provide linguistic watch-dogs (Swift; re-
printed 1907:14-15):

> Besides the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defec-
> tive, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however
> authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded.
> They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of
> our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long
> since antiquated, which out to be restored on account of their
> energy and sound.

The second such proposal, submitted by John Adams, came before the Continental
Congress of another major English-speaking country, the United States, in 1780.
This proposal, somewhat more precise than its predecessor, asked for a "public
institution" for "refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English
language" (1856:VII:149-50). This proposal is almost an echo of Swift's.
Swift's proposal did not go too far due to Queen Anne's death, and Adam's
proposal was disapproved, as Heath states (1977:10), since "the founding
fathers believed the individual's freedoms to make language choices and changes
represented a far more valuable political asset to the new nation than did a
state decision to remove these freedoms from the individual." It was there-
fore "a policy not to have a policy."

In retrospect, the failure to establish such an academy for English had its
advantages. Since there was no authorized establishment for linguistic codifi-
cation, no organized resistance to a norm could develop. It is not so easy to
fight against the subtle and psychologically effective means of codification
which were used for establishing a norm for English.

One might, therefore, say that each identifiable native variety of English can
provide a norm for English. The identification may be in terms of some
characteristic formal features which are realized in pronunciation, lexicon,
or grammar. These features may then be associated with the localized variety
of English. In linguistic terms, one may identify the *Americanness* in Ameri-
can English: and in a geographical (political) sense, one might use terms
such as "Canadian English" or "Australian English." One is, of course, aware
of further subvarieties within these broad categories. The natively spoken
varieties are the following: American (182 million); Australian (13 million);
British (55 million); Canadian (13 million); and New Zealand (3 million).

But in reality the question is not that simple. The native varieties of
English also have a long history of debate concerning the desirability of hav-
ing an exo-normative (external) or an endo-normative (local) model. This con-
troversy developed into a fascinating debate in, for example, America (see,
for example, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Mencken 1919), and is of specific interest
to a student of language loyalty and language attitudes. Once that controversy

was settled there remained two main models (norms):   Received Pronunciation
(RP), and General American (GA) English.

These models gained currency for two reasons.   Attitudinally, the prestige of
the speakers of such varieties resulted in their emulation by others.   Peda-
gogically, they served as two well-documented models of pronunciation.   In the
works of, for example, Jones for RP, and Kenyon for GA (see also Krapp 1919),
we have earlier valuable manuals and descriptions of pronunciation and dic-
tionaries.

Received Pronunciation has alternately been termed "BBC English" (standing
for the British Broadcasting Corporation), "educated English," and "public
school English."   (The term "public school" has to be understood here in a
typical British sense, where it traditionally means a "private" school.)
"Public schools" refers to the old typically British institutions which, as
Abercrombie says (1951:12), "are themselves unique."   Received Pronunciation
is by and large acquired unconsciously, therefore, as Abercrombie observes,
"there is no question of deliberately teaching it."   (See also Gimson 1967
and Ward 1929.)   It has, however, been treated as the main pedagogical norm
for the *export* variety of British English, especially for tapes and records,
and pronunciation manuals used in the classrooms.

But the status of this accent, and the term used for it, have been controversial.
The "social judgment" which gave it a predominant position and prestige is
being also challenged now--after all, it had no official status.   However, RP
was considered a proper and desirable "accent" for government assignments and
diplomatic services, and it was widely used by the ubiquitous BBC.   But within
the changed British context Abercrombie (1951) has provided three valid argu-
ments against RP.   First, recognition of such a standard variety is "an
anchronism in present-day democratic society" (p. 14).   Second, it provides an
"accent bar" reimiscent of the color-bar, and "to many people, on the right
side of the bar, it appears eminently reasonable" (p. 15).   Lastly, it is also
debatable whether RP represents "educated English," since RP speakers are
"outnumbered these days by the undoubtedly educated people who do not talk RP"
(p. 15).

On the other side of the Atlantic, the use of "General American" is mislead-
ing, since the term covers parts of the United States and most of Canada.   GA
is spoken by 90 million people in the central and western United States and
Canada.   Kenyon's motivations for describing GA were almost opposite to those
of his British predecessor Jones.   As I have stated elsewhere (Kachru 1982e:34),
Kenyon is "conscious of the harm done by the elitist, prescriptivist manuals
for pronunciation," and his concern is that "we accept rules of pronunciation
as authoritative without inquiry into either the validity of the rules or the
fitness of their authors to promulgate them" (1924:3).   He is, therefore,
attacking the shibboleth of correctness, the validity of prescriptive "judg-
ments" and "advice" concerning pronunciation.   He rightly believes that the
underlying cause for such judgments is that people tend to be influenced by
"certain types of teaching in the schools, by the undiscriminating use of text-
books on grammar and rhetoric, by unintelligent use of the dictionary, by
manuals of "correct English," each with its favorite (and different) shib-
boleth" (1924:3).

Kenyon clearly expresses the evident disparity between linguistic norm and be-
havior and he rightly asserts that "probably no intelligent person actually
expects cultivated people in the South, the East, and the West to pronounce
alike. Yet much criticism, or politely silent contempt, of the pronunciations
of cultivated people in other localities than our own is common" (1924:5).
In his view--perhaps too simplistic--the remedy for such an attitude is the
study of phonetics, since a student of phonetics "soon learns not only to re-
frain from criticizing pronunciations that differ from his own, but to expect
them and listen for them with respectful, intelligent interest."

What, then, is the generally accepted norm for English? There are several
ways of answering this multifaceted and attitudinally loaded question. Ward
(1929:1) has taken one extreme position concerning a standard when she says,
"no one can adequately define it, because such a thing does not exist." It
is clear that Daniel Jones would not necessarily agree. Strevens (1981:8)
answers this question very differently. In his view, in the case of English,
"standard" does not mean "imposed," or a language which is "of the majority."
He believes that an interesting aspect of Standard English is "that in every
English-using community those who habitually use *only* Standard English are in
a minority: over the global population of English-users mono-dialectal Stand-
ard English users are in a very small minority" (1981:8). The situation seems
to be that "the phenomenon of Standard English exists and maintains itself
without any conscious or coordinated programme of standardization" (p. 8).

In spite of these positions, the dictionaries and manuals do indicate pre-
ferred pronunciation, or use of certain grammatical forms and lexical items.
The "minority" use in such cases does not necessarily refer to the numerical
use, but may refer to preference in attitudinal terms, too. A frequent usage
is not always the usage which is attitudinaily or socially accepted.

Teaching materials and teacher training programs do not generally present a
"linguistically tolerant" attitude toward non-native localized varieties,
or toward the speakers of varieties which are considered different from the
"standard" varieties. In the United States, as mentioned earlier, one
notices this attitude toward Black English (or other ethnic Englishes). In
Britain such an attitude has traditionally been present toward the speakers
of regional varieties. Therefore, it is not only the non-native users of
English who suffer from this attitude.

NORM FOR NON-NATIVE ENGLISHES

The historical development of non-native varieties of English is closely re-
lated to colonization. Attitudinally, the colonizers' English became the
preferred norm once English was introduced in the linguistic network of a
country. But actually, the "norm" provided by the representatives of the Raj
was not always the "standard" variety of English. In a number of cases,
English teachers were not even native speakers of language, especially in
convent schools, or in other missionary establishments using Belgian, French,
or Irish teachers. (The native speakers were very rarely RP speakers; for in-
stance, a significant number of them came from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.)

We thus have, broadly speaking, two models for non-native Englishes. The
largest population of non-native English speakers considered British English
as their model in large parts of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. On the
other hand, American English served as a model where American influence reached
due to colonization (the Philippines, see, for example, Llamzon 1969, Samonte
1981; Puerto Rico, see, for example, Zentella 1981), due to trade and commerce
(for example, Japan, see Stanlaw 1982), or due to geographical proximity and
other impact (for example, Mexico, Cuba, or other parts of Latin America).

There was, however, a mythical quality about the native models. In reality,
it is doubtful that one homogeneous model was every introduced in the colonies.
Colonial administrators, teachers, and military personnel provided a confusing
spectrum of varieties of English. Thus the native speakers of English never
formed more than a fraction of English instructors in a majority of the
colonies; certainly in South Asia their numbers were insignificant, and their
impact on the teaching of English was negligible.

TYPES OF NON-NATIVE ENGLISHES

The varieties of non-native Englishes cannot be presented in terms of a mis-
leading and unrealistic native versus non-native dichotomy. An earlier study
(Kachru 1982d:37) has suggested that one must consider these varieties in the
following four contexts: *acquisitional, sociocultural, motivational,* and
functional. A further division is possible; for example,

1. Acquisitional   first language
                    second language
                    foreign language

2. Sociocultural   transplanted
                    non-transplanted

3. Motivational   integrative
                    instrumental

4. Functional   national ("link") language
                    international language
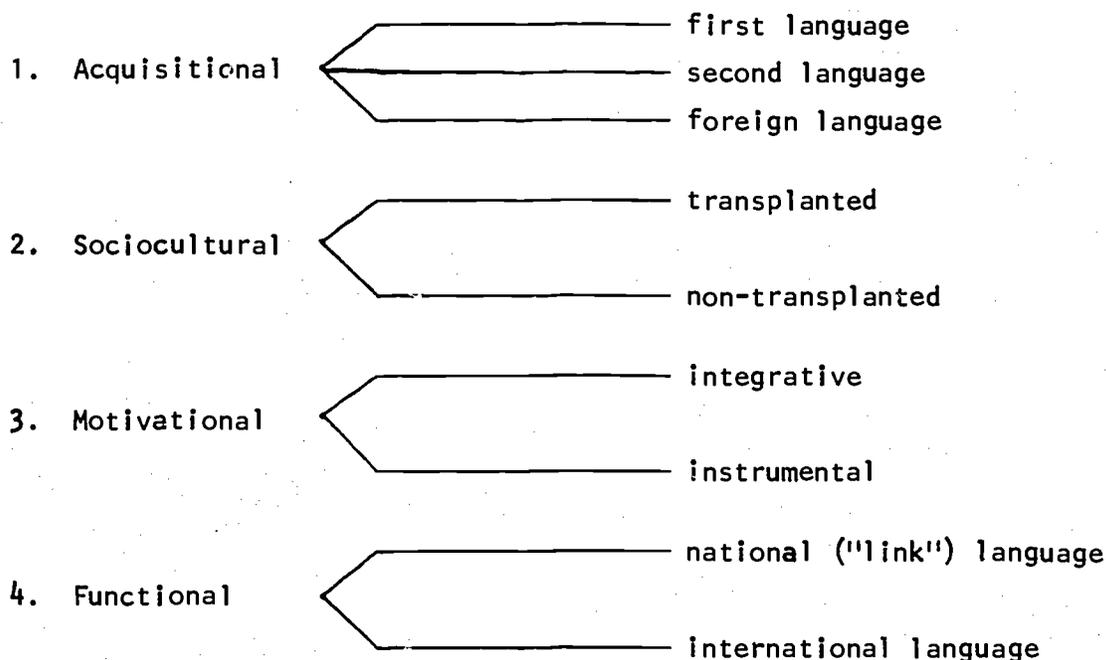
In literature another well-motivated distinction has already been introduced
(see Catford 1959, Halliday et al. 1964) between the *first, second,* and *foreign*
language varieties of English (see also Kachru 1982a). Alternately, the second
and foreign language varieties have been termed the *institutionalized* and

performance varieties (see particularly Kachru and Quirk 1981, Kachru 1981 and 1982e). This is an important distinction, since it brings us to the question of exo-normative (external) and endo-normative (local) standards for the non-native Englishes.

A non-native variety generally acquires an identity in terms of political boundaries (e.g., *Indian* English, *Lankan* English, *Kenyan* English) or in terms of a larger geographical area (e.g., African English, South Asian English, or Southeast Asian English).[4] The identificational labels of the first type (Indian, Lankan) which provides clues to the political boundaries are not necessarily instructive. The impression of divisiveness in world Englishes which such labels present is actually not present in real life contexts. The variety-marking clues are determined, by and large, by the underlying linguistically and culturally shared characteristics of an area. In this sense, then, terms such as "African English" or Africanization (see Bokamba 1982) or South Asianization (see Kachru 1919 [1978] and 1982b) are more appropriate. But these terms, too, are useful only to the extent that they provide insights about the shared characteristics at various levels within various regional varieties. They are only as reflective of the true situation as are the terms "American English" or "British English." They mask the linguistic heterogeneity within a region, and to some extent they serve to reassure those who are alarmed by what is considered the divisiveness within the English speech community.

We then have, on the one hand, a "standard" or "educated" variety for a larger region, and within it several sub-varieties. There is thus a cline in bilingualism in English (Kachru 1965). Sub-varieties are identifiable on the basis of region, ethnic identity, education, function, etc. In each region we have studies identifying such sub-varieties, e.g., in Nigeria (Bamgbose 1982), Kenya (Zuengler 1982), India (Schuchardt 1891 [1980], Kachru 1969 [1978] and 1983), Singapore and Malaysia (Platt and Weber 1980, Wong 1981, Tay and Gupta 1981), and the Philippines (Llamzon 1969 and 1981).

A speaker of a non-native variety may engage in a variety-shift, depending on the participants in a situation. An educated Indian English speaker may attempt to closely approximate a native English model while speaking to an Englishman or an American, but switch to the localized educated variety while talking to a fellow Indian colleague, and further Indianize his English while communicating with a shopkeeper, a bus conductor, or a clerk in an office. These are thus degrees of approximation to a norm, depending on the context, participants, and the desired end result of a speech act.

The concept of cline in non-native varieties of English has been recognized for almost a century now (see, for example, Schuchardt 1891 [1980]), and has been illustrated in various studies (for example, for South Asian English see Kachru 1965 and later; for a general bibliography see Kachru 1983 and 1982d). Strevens (1977:140-141) sums up the situation well with references to Indian English:

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[4] For further discussion, see Kachru 1982c and "Introduction: The Other Side of English" in 1982e.

The Indian (Pakistani) doctor who communicates easily in English with
professional colleagues at an international medical conference is
using a type of "Indian English"...in which Standard English dialect
is spoken with a regional accent. The Indian clerk who uses English
constantly in his daily life for communicating with other Indians, by
correspondence or telephone, may employ an "Indian English" in which
the dialect is not Standard English and the accent is regional or
local. The lorry-driver who uses English occasionally, as a lingua
franca, may be using an "Indian English" which is for all practical
purposes a pidgin. It is the second of these three examples which
constitutes the typical "Indian English" and which frequently attracts
the criticism of the teaching profession. But is criticism justified?
The ultimate test of effectiveness of a variety of language is whether
it meets the communication needs of those who use it. Clearly, "In-
dian English" of this second type would not be adequate for the pro-
fessional man to communicate with an international audience, but it
probably does serve local needs well enough, just as all local dialects
and accents do. (See also, Kachru 1981a.)

It is difficult to say how many people use various types of Englishes (say, as
standard localized varieties or pidgins) as non-native varieties across cultures
and languages. One has no reliable way of knowing it since English is learned
around the world in unimaginable situations. On the one hand, people learn it
in "English teaching shops" in bazaars from people who can hardly use the lan-
guage. On the other hand, those who have resources learn English from highly
accomplished teachers in ideal language learning situations. Whatever the
actual statistics, the number of English-knowing bilinguals is fast increasing,
and English has already acquired the status of a universal language (see Kachru
1981b). This status has been gained essentially due to the use of English in
non-native contexts. The spread of English continues to increase, and this
spread is now controlled by its non-native users; it is their initiative which
is planning and coordinating the role of English in the developing world. The
following figures give some idea about the demographic distribution of English
around the world. But these figures exclude a large number of users who are
not enrolled in traditional educational establishments.

Enrollment in English as a Second Language

Area	Students (millions)	Area	Students (millions)
India	17.6	South Korea	1.8
Philippines	9.8	Pakistan	1.8
USSR	9.7	Kenya	1.7
Japan	7.9	Ghana	1.6
Nigeria	3.9	Brazil	1.6
Bangladesh	3.8	Egypt	1.5
Republic of		Quebec	1.5
South Africa	3.5	Thailand	1.3
West Germany	2.5	Taiwan	1.2
Malaysia	2.4	Sri Lanka	1.2
France	2.4	Netherlands	1.1
Indonesia	1.9	Iran	1.0
Mexico	1.9	Tanzania	1.0

SOURCE: Gage and Ohannessian 1974.

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCALIZED NORMS

One cannot precisely trace the various historical phases involved in the develop-
ment of localized models for English. Instead, one must trace the changing atti-
tudes toward such varieties. It is more likely recognizing the presence of a
linguistic behavior, which was there all along, but which attitudinally lacked
status. The Indians, the Africans, the Malays, or the Filipinos have struggled
with this myth and reality since English first became part of their educational
system and linguistic repertoire. University teachers generally defended the
exo-normative standard, often not realizing that they themselves used and taught
to their students a transparent local accent. More important, the ever-present
localized innovations in lexis and grammar (e.g., Africanisms, Indianisms)
gradually gained currency.

But then, the conflict in attitudes toward local varieties was also always pres-
ent. Therefore, when we discuss the development of a model we are not focussing
on the distinct stages through which a norm passes before it gains some kind of
ontological status. These attitudinal stages have been presented in Kachru
(1982a), and we shall briefly summarize them here with a note of warning. These
stages are not clear-cut and mutually exclusive; they are primarily related to
the extent of the diffusion of bilingualism, and to the institutionalization of
a variety. The first stage seems to be non-recognition of a localized variety,
and clear indifference to it. This is followed by a stage in which the localized
variety is recognized (e.g., Indian, Lankan, Kenyan); but it is always the *other*
person who uses it. Again, there is clear disparity between the norm and be-
havior. The third stage shows a reduction in such an attitude. A controversy
develops between the defenders of the localized variety and those who prefer a
exo-normative standard (see Kachru 1982a:39-40). This is clearly evident in
the following study of Indian English users.[5] The study is based on a question-
naire given to 700 undergraduates and 196 faculty members at major universities
in India. In Tables 1 and 2 percentages do not sum to 100 percent since the
numbers are based on the total sample, whether or not respondents answered these
questions. In the final stage, teaching materials for English are prepared with
nativized contexts; English is not used just with an integrative motivation in-
volving another culture, but essentially as an instrument for exposing students
to their own culture. It is like turning an "external" language around for an
"inward" look. The "window on the world," or "library language," becomes a
window on one's own culture, history, and traditions. Furthermore, the variety
develops its own nativized registers and is used in imaginative or creative con-
texts (see Kachru 1981a, 1982c and 1983), albeit by a small group of people.
In this sense, English becomes part of the local literary and cultural tradi-
tions (see, for example, Sridhar 1982).

NORM AT VARIOUS LEVELS

The term "norm," as is generally discussed in literature, does not apply only
to the phonetic/phonological levels. A language user may reveal his variety
by lexical, grammatical, or discoursal features. However, the largest number

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[5]For further details about the sample and method used for this pilot study,
see Kachru 1975a, 1976.

Table 1. Indian Graduate Students' Attitude toward Various Models
of English and Ranking of Models According to Preference

Model	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	5.17	13.19	21.08
British English	67.60	9.65	1.08
Indian English	22.72	17.82	10.74
I don't care		5.08	
"Good" English		1.08	

Table 2. Faculty Preference for Models of English for Instruction

Model	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	3.07	14.25	15.64
British English	66.66	13.33	1.53
Indian English	26.66	25.64	11.79
I don't know		5.12	

Table 3. Graduate Students' Self-Labeling of the Variety of their English

Identity marker	%
American English	2.58
British English	29.11
Indian English	55.64
"Mixture" of all three	2.99
I don't know	8.97
"Good" English	0.27

SOURCE: Kachru 1976:230-232.

of attitudinal comments--or displays of intolerance--concern pronunciation (generally discussed in terms of the "accent" of a person). It is this aspect of use which is discussed in various manuals. The variety's lexical, collocational, grammatical, and discoursal features are often looked upon as "mistakes." This aspect has been discussed in several studies, and I shall not reiterate it here (see Kachru 1982b).

In linguistic literature, it was in the 1960's that attention was first drawn to the distinction between a "mistake" and a "deviation" in the context of non-native Englishes. (For references and discussion, see particularly Kachru 1982a.) The deviation at various levels is directly related to the degree of nativization (see Kachru 1981a and Kachru and Quirk 1981). The attitude toward nativization is determined by the extent of institutionalization of a variety; the institutionalization, in turn, depends on the *range* and *depth* of a variety in a particular context. The "range" of a variety refers to its extension into various cultural, social, educational, and commercial contexts. The greater the range of functions, the more subvarieties a variety develops. The term "depth" relates to the penetration of bilingualism into various strata of society.

The attitude toward variety-specific characteristics (for example, lexical and grammatical; see Smith 1981; Kachru 1982d,e; Bailey and Görlach 1982) is to a large extent determined by whether a variety is used as a first or a second language. Labeling a word or a formation an Americanism, Australianism, or Canadianism is one way of characterizing it as deviant from "mother English." The history of attitudinal conflict even toward the native transplanted varieties is fascinating, and has been discussed in a variety of popular and scholarly works.[6] The case of institutionalized non-native varieties has been much more difficult. Any deviation in such varieties has been termed a "mistake" or an "error." The "native speaker" has traditionally determined the extent of acceptable deviation, both linguistic and contextual. (Because I have discussed this point with illustrations in several earlier studies, for example, Kachru 1965 and later, I shall not dwell on it here.)

It is clear that, for English, the concept of "native speaker" had doubtful validity.[7] Since English is used across cultures and languages in a multitude of international and intranational contexts, the "deviations" must be seen in those functional contexts. This, then, leads us to another question which is

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[6]See, for discussion and references, among others, Finegan 1980, Heath 1977, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Kachru 1982e, Mencken 1919.

[7]Note for example, C.A. Ferguson's observation (in Kachru 1982e:vii) "Linguistics, perhaps especially American linguists, have long given a special place to the "native speaker" as the only truly valid and reliable source of language data, whether those data are the elicited texts of the descriptivist or the institutions the theorist works with. Yet much of the world's verbal communication takes place by means of languages which are not the user's "mother tongue," but their second, third, or nth language...In fact, the whole mystique of native speaker and mother tongue should probably be quietly dropped from the linguists' set of professional myths about language."

crucial for understanding the relationship of the localized (or regional) vari-
eties and the norm: What are the motivations for deviations?

The deviations in localized non-native varieties cannot in every case be
characterized as linguistic aberrations due to acquisitional inadequacies.
That rash generalization would miss serious underlying reasons for such in-
novations and would thus imply negating the context in which a language func-
tions.   The acculturation of a variety occurs over a period of time in a dis-
tinctly "un-English" context.[8]   (A number of such case studies have been pre-
sented in Kachru, ed., 1982c.)   The English language has now ceased to be a
vehicle of Western culture; it only marginally carries the British and Ameri-
can way of life.   In 1956, the British linguist J.R. Firth, correctly observed
(Firth 1956 in Palmer 1968:97):

> ..."the study of English", is so vast that it must be further cir-
> cumscribed to make it at all manageable.   To begin with, English is
> an international language in the Commonwealth, the Colonies and in
> America.   International in the sense that English serves the Ameri-
> can way of life and might be called American, it serves the Indian
> way of life and has recently been declared an Indian language with-
> in the framework of the federal constitution.   In another sense, it
> is international not only in Europe but in Asia and Africa, and
> serves various African ways of life and is increasingly the all-
> Asian language of politics.   Secondly, and I say "secondly" advisedly,
> English is the key to what is described in a common cliche as "the
> British way of life."

English is, thus, a medium which, in its various manifestations--East and West--
results in cultural adaptations.   In South Asia it connotes the Indian, Lankan,
or Pakistani ways of life and patterns of education and administration.   The
nativized formal characteristics acquire a new pragmatic context, a new defin-
ing context, culturally very remote from that of Britain or America.   I have
provided a number of illustrations in various studies (see Kachru 1965 and
later; particularly 1982b) in which deviations have been related to the "social
meaning" of the text peculiar to the culture in which English is used as a non-
native language.   I am taking the liberty of quoting the relevant parts below
(1982b:329-330).

> In terms of acculturation, two processes seem to be at work.   One
> results in the deculturation of English, and another in its accul-
> turation in the new context.   The latter gives it an appropriate
> identity in its newly acquired functions.   The Indians have cap-
> tured the two-faceted process by using the typical Sanskrit com-
> pound dvija ("twice-born") for Indian English.   (The term was
> originally used for the Brahmins who, after their natural birth,
> are considered reborn at the time of caste initiation.)   Firth
> (1956: in Palmer 1968:96) therefore is correct in saying that
> "an Englishman must de-Anglicize himself"; as must, one could

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[8]See Kachru 1965 and later for discussion of this phenomenon in the case of
South Asian English; for African English, see Bokamba 1982 and Chishimba 1981.

add, an American "de-Americanize" himself, in their attitudes toward such varieties, and for a proper appreciation of such acculturation of Englishes (see Kachru 1983).

This initiation of English into new culturally and linguistically dependent communicative norms forces a redefinition of our linguistic and contextual parameters for understanding the new language types and discourse types. Those who are outside these cultures must go through a variety shift in order to understand both the written and the spoken modes of such varieties. One cannot, realistically speaking, apply the norms of one variety to another variety. I am not using the term "norm" to refer only to formal deviations (see Kachru 1982a); rather, I intend to refer to the underlying universe of discourse which makes linguistic interaction a pleasure and provides it with "meaning." It is the whole process of, as Halliday says, learning "how to mean" (1974). It is a very culture-bound concept. To understand a bilingual's mind and use of language, one would have, ideally, to be ambilingual and ambicultural. One would have to share responses to events, and cultural norms, and interpret the use of L2 within that context. One would have to see how the context of culture is manifest in linguistic form, in the new style range, and in the assumptions one makes about the speech acts in which L2 is used. A tall order, indeed!

This redefined cultural identity of the non-native varieties has not usually been taken into consideration. There have been primarily three types of studies in this area. The first type forms the main body--understandably so, since these are devoted to pedagogical concerns. In such studies, any deviation has been interpreted as violating a prescriptive norm, and thus resulting in a "mistake." The urge for prescriptivism has been so strong that any innovation which is not according to the native speaker's linguistic code is considered a linguistic aberration. If one makes too many such "mistakes," it is treated as an indication of a language user's linguistic deprivation or deficiency. Second, some linguistic studies focus on formal characteristics without attempting to relate them to function, or to delve into the contextual needs for such innovations. This separation between use and usage has masked several sociolinguistically important factors about these varieties. The third group of studies deals with the "contact literature" in English, perhaps used on the analogy of "contact languages." Such literature is a product of multicultural and multilingual speech communities, and it extends the scrope of English literature to "literatures in English." Most such studies are concerned with the themes, rather than with style. (For further discussion, see, e.g., Sridhar 1982.)

NORM VS. INTELLIGIBILITY

One major motivation for having a norm is that it maintains intelligibility (see, Nelson 1982, Smith 1979)[9] among speakers of distinct localized varieties of

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[9] A comprehensive list of references on this topic is given in Nelson 1982.

English. According to this view, a prescriptive norm is vital for communica-
tion. I believe there are at least three problems in using the concept of in-
telligibility with any rigor. First, although one always encounters this term
in pedagogical literature and in studies on second language acquisition, un-
fortunately it is the least researched and least understood concept in cross-
cultural and cross-linguistic contexts. Second, whatever research is avail-
able on the second-language varieties of English primarily focuses on phonetics,
specifically on the segmental phonemes. The limitations of such research have
been discussed by Nelson (1982). The interference in intelligibility at other
levels, especially in communicative units (see, for example, Kachru 1982b) has
hardly been understood. Third, in the case of English, we must be clear about
who we have in mind when we talk of participants in a linguistic interaction.
What role does a native speaker's judgment play in determining the intelligi-
bility of non-native speech acts which have intranational functions in, for
example, Asia or Africa? The variety-specific speech acts are vital for com-
munication, as has been shown in Chishimba (1981) and various studies in Kachru
(1982d,e). In international contexts certainly one might say that an idealized
native speaker could serve as a model. But in the cases of institutionalized
varieties, a *native* speaker is not a participant in the actual speech situation.
Localized uses are determined by the context of each English-using country, and
the phonetic approximation is only part of the language act. The nativized
lexical spread and the rhetorical and stylistic features are distinctly differ-
ent from those of the native speaker.

How many users of the institutionalized varieties use English to interact with
native speakers of English? I have shown in another pilot study (Kachru 1976:
233) that, out of all users of Indian English, only a fraction have any inter-
action with native speakers of English. For example, among the graduate faculty
of English in the universities and colleges I surveyed, 65.64 percent had only
occasional interaction with native speakers, and 11.79 percent had no interac-
tion with them. Only 5.12 percent of users claimed to have daily interaction
with native speakers. I should, however, warn the reader that this survey was
restricted to a highly specialized segment of the English-using population o
India: professionals involved in teaching English at the graduate level (see
Kachru 1975a and 1976). The results for those who are not involved in the
teaching of English, especially at the graduate level, will be different. What,
then, is the issue? The issue is more complex than has been presented in
literature.

There can be no one "mononorm" approach to this concern. As is true with native
varieties, the intelligibility of the (non-native) instutionalized varieties of
English forms a cline. The intelligibility within the extended group depends
on various sociolinguistic parameters of region, age, education, and social role.
Ward (1929:5) gives some indication of the situation in Britain:

> It is obvious that in a country the size of the British Isles, any one
> speaker should be capable of understanding any other when he is talk-
> ing English. At the present moment, such is not the case: a Cockney
> speaker would not be understood by a dialect speaker of Edinburgh or
> Leeds or Truro, and dialect speakers of much nearer districts than
> these would have difficulty in understanding each other.

This observation, made over half a century ago, is still valid. One might add that, given the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic pluralism of the United States, the situation has become even more complex there (see Ferguson and Heath 1981). Once we move to the second-language contexts of English in Africa, Asia, or the Pacific, the situation appears to be perplexing.

But there is a pragmatically refreshing side to all these situations. What appears to be a complex linguistic situation at the surface, in Britian, in America, in Africa, or in South Asia, is less complex if one attempts to understand it from another perspective. In his cone-shaped diagram (reproduced in Ward 1929:5), Daniel Jones has graphically shown that "as we near the apex, the divergences which still exist have become so small as to be noticed only by a finely trained ear" (Ward 1929:6). Ward rightly provides the argument of "convenience of expendiency" (p. 7), suggesting that "the regional dialect may suffice for these people who have no need to move from their own districts."
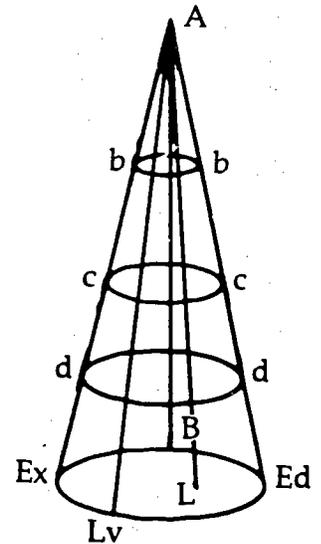
In this I find a clear case of parallelism between the native and institutionalized non-native varieties of English. The intelligibility is functionally determined with reference to the subregion, the nation, political areas within the region (e.g., South Asia, Southeast Asia), and internationally. True, educated (standard) Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English, or Kenyan English is not identical to RP or GA. It is different; it *should* be different. Do such educated varieties of non-native Englishes create more problems of intelligibility than does e.g., a New Zealander when he or she talks to a midwestern American?

In some situations, the markers of *difference* may establish a desirable identity. Such formal markers provide a regional and national identity and help in establishing an immediate bond with another person from the same region or country. The desire for retaining such markers has been well presented in the following observation by T.T. Koh, Singapore's Representative to the United Nations "... when one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognizing that I am a Singaporean" (cited in Tongue 1974:iv). Almost half a century ago, the British linguist J.R. Firth (1930:196) presented the same idea in a wider context and in stronger words. He rejected "a shameful negative English" which "effectually masks social and local origin." He went a step further and considered such attempts "a suppression of all that is vital in speech."

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCALIZED NORMS

Let us consider the attitudes of two distinct groups toward the localized norms of English. One group consists of the *native* speakers of English who traditionally have been considered crucial for such judgment. The attitude of this group is reflected in three ways, first, in the teaching materials produced for non-native users. Until recently, such texts attempted primarily to introduce

the reader to Western (British or American) culture; that is, however, slowly
changing now. Second, one notices the native speaker's attitude in the books
specifically written to train teachers of English as a second language. Such
books make no attempt to show the institutionalization of English in other cul-
tures, or to portray the non-Western contexts in which English is nativized.
Third, practically no mention is made of the development of non-native English
literatures, and of the uses one can make of this body of literature. In the
discussion on English across cultures we find on the one hand the extreme
position of, for example, Prator (1968), versus the position typified in Smith
1981 (see especially the Introduction by Kachru and Quirk). The position pre-
sented in Smith (1981) or in Kachru (1982d) is still held only by a small group
of people and does not represent the view of the profession.

The fact that non-native users of English have demonstrated no unified identity
and no loyalty toward localized norms, does not, however, imply that there has
been no serious thinking in this direction. One does notice a shift from
earlier conflict between the actual linguistic behavior and the norm; attitu-
dinally now there is a realization about the pragmatics of language use. The
discussion is either directly related to the question, or is indirectly related
to this issue. This debate, however, is not recent, rather, it started when
the institutionalization of English was recognized, and the English language--
in spite of the attitude toward the British raj--was being considered an im-
portant member of the local linguistic repertoire. In India, for example, the
educator and a distinguished English scholar Amar Nath Jha, in 1940 said, al-
most with tongue in cheek,

> May I...venture to plead for the use, retention and encouragement
> of Indian English?...Is there any reason why we need to be ashamed
> of Indian English? Who is there in the United Provinces [Uttar
> Pradesh] who will not understand a young man who had enjoyed a
> *freeship* at college, and who says he is going to join the *teachery*
> profession and who after a few years says, he is engaged in *head-
> mastery*? Similarly, why should we accept the English phrase *mare's
> nest*, and object to *horse's egg*, so familiar in the columns of
> *Amrita Bazar Patrika*? Why should we adhere to *all this* when *this
> all* is the natural order suggested by the usage of our language?
> Why insist on *yet* following *though* when in Hindustani we use the
> equivalent of *but*? Must we condemn the following sentence because
> it does not conform to English idiom even though it is literal
> translation of our own idiom? *I shall not pay a pice what to say
> of a rupee.* Is there any rational ground for objecting to *family
> members* and adhering to *members of the family*?...A little courage,
> some determination, a wholesome respect for our own idioms and
> we shall long have a virile, vigorous *Indian English.*

Dustoor (reproduced in Dustoor 1968:126; see also Kachru 1982c) makes a firmer
claim by saying that "there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor
about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of
meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from English-
men and Americans alike."

We lack in-depth empirical studies concerning the opinions of teachers, stu-
dents, and educators about an exo-normative standards. But educators in those

areas where English has been institutionalized (e.g., Africa, Asia, the Pacific) have commented on this question in asides, or in discussion of other issues related to the localized varieties. In Nigeria, Bamgbose (1971:41) clearly indicates t' ' not to produce speakers of British Received Pronunciation (ever   .   easible)...Many Nigerians will consider is affected or even snobbish any Nigerians who speak like a native speaker of English." In Ghana, an *educated* Ghanaian, is expected to speak, as Sey says (1973:1), the localized *educated* variety of English, and it does not mean, warns Sey, "the type that strives too obviously to approximate to RP..." An imitation of RP "is frowned upon as distasteful and pedantic."

In South Asia, one notices the same reaction to the imitation of exo-normative standards such as RP or GA. In the case of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Passé comments (1947:33), "It is worth nothing, too, that Ceylonese [Sri Lankans] who speak 'standard English' are generally unpopular. There are several reasons for this: those who now speak standard English either belong to a favored social class, with long purses which can take them to English public schools and universities, and so are disliked too much to be imitated, or have rather painfully acquired this kind of speech for social reasons and so are regarded as the apes of their betters; they are singular in speaking English as the majority of their countrymen cannot or will not speak it...standard English has thus rather unpleasant associations when it is spoken by Ceylonese [Sri Lankans]." During the last half-century the tendency in Sri Lanka is more toward favoring the localized norm (see Kandiah 1981). In the Philippines, "Standard Filipino English" is "*the type of English which educated Filipinos speak and which is acceptable in educated Filipino circles*" (Llamzon 1969:15).

In such observations one notices that an unrealistic adherence to an exo-normative standard is clearly not attitudinally desirable. In most cases such discussions are specifically addressed to the spoken norm for English. Localized lexical innovations have always been recognized as legitimate and as a manifestation of nativization. (I have discussed this aspect in detail in Kachru 1973, 1975, and 1980.) But the nativization is not restricted to phonology and lexis.   ated in an earlier study (see Kachru 1982e:7), it also shows in "collocational innovation, in syntactic simplification or overgeneralization, and in the use of native rhetorical and stylistic devices. In short, nativization creates a new ecology for a non-native language. Who is to judge the appropriateness (or acceptance) of formations sich as *swadeshi cloth, military hotel* (non-vegetarian hotel), or *lathi charge* in the Indian context; *dunno drums, bodim bead, chewing-sponge*, or *knocking-fee* in the African context; and *minor-wife* in the Thai context?"

CONCLUSION

The question of norms for localized Englishes continues to be debated, though the tone is becoming more one of realism and less one of codification. Furthermore, the *educated* non-native varieties are now being increasingly recognized and defended, both on attitudinal and on pedagogical grounds. The national uses of English are being separated from the international uses, and the nativized innovations are not being considered as essential stylistic devices for non-native English literatures. One notices a shift of opinion toward considering such localized varieties *different*, not necessarily *deficient*.

One has to realize that there are several tendencies in the current spread of English. First, as stated earlier, perhaps English will soon have more non-native users than native users. The non-native users show a wide range of proficiency, almost ranging from ambilingualism to broken English. But functionally, each variety within a variety serves its functional purpose. Second, the planning for the spread of English is steadily passing into the hands of its non-native users. These users have developed their own norms which are not identical to the norms labelled RP and GA. In some cases the deviation from the native norm is the result of economic and other reasons, for example, a lack of good teachers, non-availability of teaching equipment and materials. Thus the British or American norm actually is never presented to students who are learning English. In other situations, the recognition of a localized norm is used as a defense mechanism to reduce the "colonial" and "Western" connotations associated with English. Such an attitude is one way of expressing what may be termed "linguistic emancipation." But that is only part of the story. There are other more significant reasons, too. First, this is how human languages seem to work. After all, the example of Latin is before us which eventually evolved into Romance languages. And, in spite of strict codification, Sanskrit has developed into numerous regional varieties in South Asia. Second, there is no doubt that the development of non-native literatures in English (contact literatures) have contributed to the "norm-breaking" trend in English around the world. The most interesting nativized innovations are the result of such contact literature.

The complex functions of English across cultures and languages make it very clear that whatever is said about it internationally will present only part of the picture. Therefore, the moral of the Eastern story of the elephant and the four blind men should serve as a warning: it should encourage us to under-take more empirical work across cultures to comprehend the totality. The type of research has yet to be initiated in a serious sense.

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"I GOT RELIGION!" - EVANGELISM IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

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INTRODUCTION

To avoid misunderstanding, I wish to clarify my standpoint from the outset.

1. This is not a criticism of any approach or method "per se." For
    the purposes of this paper, I am less interested in the way a given
    approach functions methodologically than in the fact that it exists
    at all. Also in the way in which certain, if not all, approaches
    develop along a roughly similar path of evolution, and share cer-
    tain characteristics. In other words this paper is more concerned
    with the sociology of methodology than with its pedagogy.

2. I have drawn an analogy between the process and practices of re-
    ligion and those of some methodological approaches. This is purely
    for convenience and should not be taken literally. No one is sug-
    gesting that teachers literally seek salvation in this way--though
    some I have known have come perilously close to it.

3. This leads me to my third point, which is that, although there are
    analogies to be drawn between the nature and complexity of life/
    existence and the nature and complexity of learning and teaching,
    they are emphatically *not the same*.

Put in its crudest form, I suppose what I am saying is that there are more im-
portant things in life than language teaching, and that anyone who becomes too
closely bound up with language teaching risks adding an emotive supercharge to
what is only one part of the life experience.

I quote from a recent letter sent to me by a friend who is into psycho-something-
or-other approaches. "I had a fantastic success: out of a dozen participants,
I had one woman burst into tears, one throwing up and at least one virtually
falling head over heels in love with me--raving mad--you see the type. Well,
I declare, teachers are an odd lot, and I'd rather deal with 100 students than
10 teachers."

Learning and teaching involve stressful situations. But so do getting a
mortgage, looking for work, crossing the road, sharing a flat, having a baby,
going to hospital and so on. We are perhaps in danger of over-emphasizing the
threat inherent in learning situations, and forgetting that, for most learners,
such situations are embedded in a matrix of other equally, or more, important
concerns.

The degree of importance accorded to the threat of learning in the States per-
haps reflects an important cultural difference between Europe and America. It
would seem to most Europeans to be an exaggeration to speak of "laying one's
life on the line" whenever engaging in a foreign language interaction. Perhaps
we in Europe are inured to the hostility of the other. Our ways of dealing
with other people are perhaps more clinical, less personalized. This is not
to make a value judgment on the more participatory interpersonal type of event,
but simply to draw attention to the fact that not everywhere do folk attribute
equal importance to such events.

THE PROBLEM

Let us now look briefly at the mindblowing complexity of learning a foreign language. I feel particularly well equipped to do this just now as I have been locked in unequal combat with Mandarin Chinese for over a year. (This surely reflects an "incorrect" attitude.)

It is sobering sometimes to think of just how many interlocking and simultaneous psychological and physiological processes are involved: the need to recognize and reproduce comprehensibly the phonemic, stress and formal features of another system; to hold incomplete sequences in short term memory for long enough to make sense of them or to formulate chains of sound rapidly enough to interact before the discourse has moved on: to coordinate phonetic, syntactic and lexical systems simultaneously in what may be quite stressful circumstances; and to commit to long-term operational memory a multiplicity of rules and meanings. All of this, leaving aside the problem of an alien script, is a Herculean task for the learner. But perhaps even more so for the teacher, who is aware of just how complex and mammoth a job it is, and who has, additionally, to cope with the problems of dealing simultaneously with these factors in a number of learners who are all different.

Faced with this complexity, teachers quite naturally look for convenient solutions. These may take the form:

1. of avoidance behaviour (simply refusing to recognize that there is a problem). "I give them the basics." "Pronunciation is what I concentrate on." "If they have the grammar rules then they can make up their own sentences." "What they need is the grammatical framework...."

2. of abdication of responsibility to a published text book. "I use *Kernel*. It seems to be very systematic." "I swear by *Communicate*. It's the best there is."

3. of making eclectic decisions based on the range of choices available to solve a given set of learning problems. "None of these materials seem wholly satisfactory, but I use X for the listening part, supplemented by some of my own material. Then I use Y as a self study unit...."

4. of seeking salvation from someone who seems to offer a way to the Promised Land. The fascination that such figures or movements exert is phenomenal. (To cite a trivial example, my co-author Alan Duff, several years ago wrote an article entitled "The Use of the Telephone Directory in Language Learning." This was written up dead pan in an acceptable style and published in a journal in France. It was, of course, a complete send up. He nevertheless received a largish number of letters from enthusiasts wanting to know more about this new approach. We are all, I suppose, infinitely suggestible. For those interested in more recent developments in the art of spoof I recommend the article by Michael Swan and Catherine Walter (1982) entitled "The Use of Sensory Deprivation in Foreign Language Learning.")

It is then this third process, the flight to the enchanter (to misquote Iris
Murdoch), which we shall be looking at.

THE BIRTH OF A METHOD

The effect of naming is magical. Once a thing has been named, a wall has been
built around it which sets it apart and distinguishes it from other things
with other names. (This may seem a trusim, but the act of naming does change
one's viewpoint as Monsieur Jourdan discovered in *'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme'*
"Vous faites de la prose sans le savoir")

So it is too with methodological approaches. Once named, they seem to take on
an independent existence, which to some extent at any rate, removes them from
the control of their creators, and dispenses those who use the name from any
but the simplest of referential relationships (for example, Einstein *is* Rela-
tivity, Freud *is* Psychoanalysis, Newton *is* Gravity--Gattegno *is* Silent Way,
Curran *is* Community Language Learning, Lozanov *is* Suggestopaedia, Wilkins *is*
Functions, Krashen *is* the Monitor Model).

The approach gathers about it a ritual set of procedures, a priesthood (com-
plete with the initiatory courses necessary to license practice) and a body of
holy write and commentary. As crystallization progresses, the number of those
who have invested their belief in it increases, and room for maneuver is
narrowed.

To survive, it is necessary to claim that the approach offers comprehensive
answers to the problems, yet, given the complexity of the variables involved,
it is clear that such answers do not exist. Seen from outside, the problem then
is that the process of dialogue is inhibited. If discussion can only take
place on the terms bounded by a given set of beliefs, then true dialogue cannot
occur. Cross-fertilizing dialogue is precluded, as in the religion of Marxism,
since the system is internally self defining and not susceptible to arguments
which come from without.

With naming, then, there is a hardening of the intellectual arteries, a crea-
tion of a sort of orthodoxy which it becomes necessary to defend or justify.
In this respect these approaches partake somewhat of the characteristics of
religious movements.

> 1. They present a reductionist view, in which salvation is made
>   available upon the surrender of critical judgment. Such views
>   reduce the true complexity of a problem by offering a set of
>   procedures for the practitioner to follow. While it is true
>   that things are simpler than they are often made out to be, it
>   is true that they are also, and simultaneously, a great deal
>   more complex than we often allow. This is one of the great
>   paradoxes of life. Approaches which focus on a reduced view of
>   the problems are invidious because they divert attention away
>   from more complex and subtle factors which might interfere
>   with the neatness of their own solutions.

2. This goes along with a fairly authoritarian streak. As I have al-
   ready pointed out, the act of naming isolates and makes it necessary
   to defend the fortress of faith against others. If others are right,
   we must be wrong--and we are *not* wrong. (I have seen very little
   propensity to engage in constructive dialogue between the kinds of
   approaches I have in mind. A glance at the bibliographies of their
   seminal works is sufficient. They contain only confirming instances.)

3. One also notes a tendency to exclusivity. Just as one cannot set up
   as a Roman Catholic priest without undergoing the period of indoctrina-
   tion called for by the orthodoxy, so it is not possible to do Com-
   munity Language Learning (CLL)--or Silent Way or Suggestopaedia--
   without the imprimatur of those who decide what CLL is. The "reductio
   ab absurdem" of this is that an approach is what those licensed to
   exercise it say it is. We should not be surprised at this (it is,
   after all, the basis however open to question upon which the legal
   and other professions rest), but we should not neglect to note it.

4. They are not open to refutation because they define and operate with-
   in their own terms. They can assert, but they cannot prove (a point
   I shall refer to later in connection with the definition of science).
   In just the same way, religious movements are able to assert with con-
   viction that they offer a pathway to heaven--but no one has yet re-
   turned to prove the validity of their assertions.

5. The fact that demonstrable proof cannot be arranged often leads to a
   degree of obscurantism. As Dr. Gattegno states in the Acknowledge-
   ments to his *The Common Sense of Teaching Foreign Languages* (1976):
   "A suggestion which I could not incorporate in the text was to make
   the text easy to read. My style is found by many to be demanding.
   Perhaps this is because I write concisely and I avoid developments
   that readers feel they need but which do not suggest themselves to
   me." I have to admit that the result of such an attitude is a
   peculiarly rebarbative style (and one which in places does not fit
   the rules of English particularly happily).

   Curran's works (1972, 1976) are virtually unreadable without
   exegesis. One can accept that new ideas are sometimes difficult
   to express freshly using the existing resources of the language,
   but there comes a point when the style becomes an obstacle rather
   than an aid to understanding.

   Much of Lozanov's prose too is masked by the terminology of pseudo
   science (see, for example, Lozanov 1979). One is reminded of Lord
   Rutherford's remark that it should be possible to explain one's
   ideas in language which even the barmaid in the local pub would
   understand.

6. In one way or another these approaches are driven to make strong
   claims for their methods. (What justification for separate
   existence would they have otherwise?)

Hence "Once I understand what students have to do, I am able to in-
vent techniques and materials that help them be as good as the na-
tives in what they are facing" (Gattegno 1976:vi-vii). Suggestopaedia
makes similarly strong claims for items remembered after its courses
and CLL for the depth of acquisition in its sessions. None of these
claims can be substantiated in any way which would be acceptable to a
researcher in the hard sciences.

The interesting thing about such movements/approaches is their concern for sci-
entific respectability. But like any teaching/learning theory, they do not open
to the principle of verification because the number of variables is too large to
be held constant. Likewise they are not open to the Popperian criterion of
falsifiability since they are not framed in such a way as to be tested. They
are, scientifically speaking, neither true or false, since no adequate tests can
be performed upon them. They have the status of *myth* rather than theory.

This does not mean that they should be ruled out as useless since, as we shall
see, they have provided considerable insights into the language learning process.
It does mean, however, that they entail an act of faith which is more closely re-
lated to religion than to science.

POSITIVE INSIGHTS

In case I may seem to have been indulging in negative criticism, I would wish
now to emphasize some of the positive insights which such approaches have pro-
vided.

1.   Change in the roles of teacher and learner. It is not inconceivable
     that the teacher be regarded as sole arbiter and controller of what
     goes on in language classrooms. The independent and individual role
     and status of the learner is fully accepted (if not always applied)
     by most theorists and practitioners.

2.   The importance of group supportiveness. There are now few approaches
     which do not harness the group dynamic. The group is recognized to
     be more than its separate components. It also offers a security sys-
     tem for learning.

3.   The importance of relaxation and the reduction of threat. There are
     few now who would contest the fact that we learn better when re-
     laxed, and when not made to feel inadequate.

4.   The realization of the hidden capacity of the human brain. Until
     fairly recently we were content to think that learning was an arduous
     and slow process. More recent approaches have shown just how much
     brain capacity is left unused in normal circumstances and how im-
     portant the role of peripheral and subconscious learning is.

5.   The role of *play* in learning has been enhanced. Indeed the value
     of the ludic functions of language has been rediscovered and re-
     applied. Learning is no longer synonymous with solemnly serious
     activity.

6. The view of error and its correction have been greatly altered.
Errors are no longer regarded as sinful but are recognized as
being a necessary and systematic part of the learning process.
And the resources for correction (and self correction) are much
expanded.

7. The importance of building inner criteria. Fuller realization has
come about that it is the *learner* who is responsible for his own
learning, and the teacher's job is to help him find his own way
to do it best.

8. Creative silence is not now looked upon as a waste of time. We
recognize the need for a period of incubation between input and
output, and the need for learners to work over material internally.

The list is not complete, and not all the approaches mentioned embody all these
points. However, in themselves these constitute a revolution in our ways of
thinking about teaching and learning, and, even if we do not subscribe to all
the tenets or practices of all these approaches, we owe them collectively an
enormous debt.

CONTRADICTIONS

As I have already suggested, however, there are a number of contradictions or
inconsistencies between these various approaches.

One has only to think of the carefully phased, step-by-step approach advocated
in the Silent Way and the massive initial input of Suggestopaedia to see how
divergent these approaches can be.

Likewise the emphasis on the learner as an isolated and independent striver in
the Silent Way contrasts strongly with the comfort of the group afforded by
CLL.

The Suggestopaedia teacher would be uncomfortable with the alienation of the
Silent Way.

And the Silent Way teacher would be dismayed by the waste of energy involved
in the group process of CLL. And one could go on drawing such contrasts.

While I think it worthwhile to point up these incompatibilities I do not think
it detracts from their value as language learning paradigms (or myths!)--so
long that is, as no *one* of them lays claim to total truth. While it is possible
for there to be different paths to the mountain of enlightenment, it is not
possible to accommodate such widely divergent approaches within a scientific
framework.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

My main concerns in this paper have been the description of a sociological
process in methodology somewhat akin to religion, which I find fascinating,
and the articulation, perhaps rather obliquely so far, of a worry.

Let me first recapitulate the process: a new prophet appears with a message.
This is articulated in writ (books/articles) and ritual procedures (techniques),
converts are gained, temples (research centers) are set up and initiation
ceremonies (courses) evolved to license others in the practice of the new sect
(approach). Proselytization goes on, and differentiation from other sects is
strengthened.

Now to a slightly clearer articulation of my worry. This concerns teachers,
especially young teachers. (I do not think one need worry about the effect of
any method on learners--they are pretty resilient anyhow, and have a multitude
of concerns outside the classroom which effectively insulate them from harm.)
Teachers by contrast tend to be constantly exposed to the stresses of their
profession in a way very few others are. The temptation for them to trade in
their critical faculty for the security of a system of beliefs which offers
the comforting certainty that one is doing the right thing, is therefore
correspondingly greater.

Over the past 20 years I have dealt with large numbers of teachers of English
as a foreign language, and the grail seekers among them have always been in
the majority. Someone who is consciously or subconsciously looking for the
magic method which will turn his stuttering students into golden tongued
prodigies, will clearly not be too difficult to persuade that he has found it.
But there is no such certainty. We know only that we do not know.

"As for certain truth, no man has known it, Nor shall he know it...For even if
by chance he were to utter the final truth, he would himself not know it"
(Xenophanes). And this is as true now as it was over 2000 years ago.

This does not, of course, mean that we should not continue to search for better
solutions--provided we always realize that they are bound to be provisional,
and open to criticism. But this has to be conditional upon the exercise of
independent judgment in rapidly changing circumstances. And it is this which
I fear is undermined by a too ready adherence to this or that system or
approach.

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BEYOND NOTIONS AND FUNCTIONS: LANGUAGE TEACHING
OR THE ART OF LETTING GO

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN AUSTRIA

Currently the majority of Austrian schoolchildren learn English. Starting in
1983 all pupils, however, will be exposed to an introductory-language program
in the primary schools (almost exclusively in English, with a few classes in
French) which will be based on a modern functionally-notionally oriented
syllabus. The primary purpose of this program (60 hours spread over two years)
is to sensitize 8- and 9-year old pupils to a foreign language. By 1985 all
students in the secondary schools will receive approximately 500 hours of
English within four years and about 25 percent of them will continue studying
the language for another four years.

All language teaching in Austrian schools has to fit into the framework of a
syllabus issued by the Ministry of Education. Research, however, has shown
that the textbook is the crucial factor influencing what goes on in the class-
room. The textbooks must, of course, be compatible with the official syllabus.
At the moment experts are beginning to revise the present syllabus, with its
heavy emphasis on grammatical progression, to create one which will reflect the
view that language ought to be taught as communication.

Our research findings (Gerngroβ 1982, Puchta 1982) reveal that meaning is sadly
neglected in many classrooms while a truly communicative atmosphere prevails in
a modest number of classes with enthusiastic teachers. Experiences in in-
service training sometimes remind us very much of a photo in *Newsweek* (Novem-
ber 15, 1982) of a Chinese teacher holding a flashcard with a bus on it and
pointing at the blackboard on which the learners can read the sentences:

> What's this? Is this a bus?

> It's a bus. Yes, it is.

The underlying concept of a great many lessons seems to be based on the belief
that the addition of grammar and vocabulary produces language and that the
structures must be mastered before communication can take place. The learners
are looked upon as receptacles to be filled with grammar and words according
to the textbook's pace neglecting essentials such as the message of texts and
the emotions, attitudes and needs of the pupils.

DEVELOPING NEW LANGUAGE TEACHING MATERIALS

We consider the term "communicative language teaching" to be a broad term.
This has the disadvantage, however, that it is easy to put the label "communica-
tive" on materials which amount to nothing more than a compilation of texts and
exercises arranged according to the current staple diet of language-teaching
techniques. However, here it should be emphasized that we certainly do not hold
the technical side in low esteem. A host of new ideas in language teaching,
such as the information gap (a situation in which one participant in an exchange
has information the others do not know and need to find out) and problem-solving
activities, have proved extremely valuable. Yet we do not think that tech-
niques alone are a sufficiently broad basis for teaching materials which claim
to foster communication among the pupils in a classroom situation. Since the

majority of teachers seem to be closely guided by their textbook a quantum
leap forward presupposes two things:

1. the creation of teaching materials that enable teachers to put
    the ideas of communicative teaching into practice.

2. a significant change in teachers' attitudes, a process to which
    we will refer to later as "letting go."

Judging from our in-service training experience in Austria, a great number of
teachers are willing to change their approach and teaching methods provided
the necessary teaching materials are readily accessible. Otherwise the hoped
for revolution will stop short in front of the classroom door.

What should the materials on which communicative-language teaching can be based
look like? We highly value the work on syllabus construction by D.A. Wilkins
(1976) and J. Van Ek (1976), but we do not think that the functional-notional
approach can be the core concept of a new curriculum (although a functional-
notional and a grammatical progression is necessary for any course material).
If we really want our pupils "to do things with words" in a foreign language,
the key concept must be a pedagogical one linking the pupils' selves with the
topics relevant to them.

Making them act out the role of somebody who complains or apologizes in a cer-
tain situation is important but certainly not enough because a teaching course
following a litany of functions (formerly: structures) might help to activate
the children's minds but certainly not win their hearts. We rather envisage
materials which not only enable them to buy a ticket or to make suggestions,
but which also foster processes in the classroom which revolve round the here
and now--thus blending objectives for a distant future with the pupil's im-
mediate needs.

For a long time our approach has been eclectic and we have integrated every
useful technique. We readily admit that our ideas are based on a concept that
we ourselves do not see as complete, but still open for discussion. We do be-
lieve, however, that the focus of language teaching must be on the learners'
self, integrated in a "learning by doing process" that allows both second-
language acquisition and learning. It is not possible here to go into detail,
but we should like to mention that a theoretical concept with practical examples
has already been developed and is to be found in Puchta and Schratz 1983.

As far as our ideas about teaching materials are concerned there are some re-
quirements which we consider absolutely necessary, but which teachers woefully
miss in materials currently used. It must be made clear which sort of text is
being presented. Materials abound in "non-texts" whose characteristic feature
is that they occur only in schoolbooks and nowhere else. The role of the one
who receives messages or produces utterances must be clear. We have found that
materials which contain roles that reflect the pupils' own world stimulate
processes of greater depth (Stevick 1976) since the learners say or write what
they want to get across.

In one of the textbooks widely used in Austria, there is a scene where English
children are shown having a pet show. Even when learners act out this scene

creatively and enthusiastically, they do not reach the depth of involvement which is almost tangible when they act out a short text which presents a family conflict revolving round the question of whether the children should be allowed to have a pet or not. Here the observer feels that a great many of the pupils seem to throw themselves into the situation thus acquiring language rather than learning it (Dulay, Burt, and Karshen 1982).

This corresponds to the response given when we asked a class we have watched closely for about two years what kind of lesson they liked best. Many referred to a situation in which they had written poems stimulated by simple drawings and were given written feedback on their classmates' poems. Their evaluation reminded us very much of Stevick (1976) quoting Curran who claimed that a student may even develop a new language self. Quite a lot of these pupils who were then 13-years old seemed to be more at ease in expressing feelings in English than in their native German.

One final example may suffice. Many of the newly-labelled textbooks and materials provide a host of boring texts such as how to repair a puncture on your bike, the underlying idea being that kids like to ride bikes. (They do, but learn to repair them by watching someone patch a tire, not by reading instructions.) Literary texts, fables, fairy tales are often neglected. One of the most appreciated texts we used was a story in which an elephant and a flower quarrel about their identity (Patten 1974). The pupils cherished its literary value and they spontaneously wanted to act out several role plays in which they, in the roles of imaginary animals and plants, strongly defended themselves against threats to their identity. Materials must be such that it is a rewarding task for the pupils to talk about them and about how they felt when they read or listened to them or acted parts of them out. The teaching situation itself becomes an important topic in its own right and the pupils "grow" by exposure to different perceptions, ideas and emotions to the same situation and by gradually learning to share them.

CLASSROOM ENCOUNTERS

Since we began developing our own ideas about communicative-language teaching we have often been struck by a phenomenon that can be observed in any teaching/learning situation: there are a number of teachers who seem to be able to elicit processes of language learning which encourage the learners to express themselves in the foreign language; there are many with at least the same theoretical background and perhaps even better training who seem not to be able to do this at all. Their lessons are boring and if you watch them you become aware that the students, although taking part in various activities, do not get involved with their real interests and intentions. What else is it then that in addition to suitable and motivating materials triggers off in the pupils a crossing of the borderline between compliance with the teaching situation (which becomes obvious in the question of "What does the teacher want me to do?") and the emergence of their real selves?

As said above there is obviously little or no connection between the strikingly different results and the teachers' levels of methodological knowledge. Apart from aspects of the "outer world" affecting the teaching/learning situation—such as situational and social factors, level of the students' foreign language,

etc.--it will be suggested in the following that the teaching/learning process is crucially influenced by the "inner world" of the teacher (and of the learners, of course). In traditional methodology courses this aspect is totally neglected which does not mean that it cannot become part of teacher-training which attempts to integrate both the outer and the inner conditions. There is no doubt about the fact that the teachers must have a wide set of techniques at their disposal. Recent studies have shown, however, that effects of personality on the learners have a vital influence on their second-language development. "All the things being equal, the self-confident, secure person is a more successful language learner," as Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982:75) suggest.

If this is true, and our experience confirms this, teaching techniques are useful but they are by no means sufficient to allow for growth of the learners' personality. If teachers want to establish an atmosphere that allows personal as well as linguistic development, they must be aware that their own personalities play a decisive role.

Most of the time it is our anxieties that hinder us from being aware of what is really going on in the lesson, and that is why many teachers find it difficult to discuss topics going beyond the mere technical side of the problem. Quite frequently, these aspects of the inner world are suppressed and consequently denied in discussions about language teaching.

In the last few years we have frequently demonstrated practical examples of communicative-language teaching in the classroom situation before going into the theoretical concepts. The two lessons presented in the following were given individually by the authors as teaching demonstrations in the course of an in-service training seminar in December 1982 with 50 teachers as critical observers. By trying to describe parts of the teaching/learning process as seen from the teachers' (ours in this particular case) point of view and by presenting lesson plans and texts written by the learners we hope to give an overall idea of our concepts. In doing so, we are aware of the fact that a great number of spectators adds elements of the unusual and the normal routine may be distorted. We nevertheless chose to describe these two lessons, as the pressure and the wish to succeed inherent in such a situation enhanced our awareness of the difficulty in letting go.

The two lessons presented here are intended to show a certain progression from one to the other: the first one, given in a sixth-grade class (average age 12 years) after approximately 200 lessons of English (45 minutes each), can be characterized as one of the first of many steps to establish an atmosphere of self-concept and self-oriented language learning. The second class is already a couple of steps further on in this process. Accordingly the first lesson follows a more teacher-centered curriculum which implies that the methodological sequences are less open than in the second. This second lesson cannot be regarded as typical for the teaching/learning situation in that class (eighth grade, after approximately 400 lessons). We regard it as an experiment which we believe, however, is worth talking about.

A characteristic feature of the type of school at which the lessons were given is that the pupils are of widely varied proficiency since most of the clearly academically able students attend another type of school.

Lesson 1

The objective of this lesson was to introduce the topic "Where I live." The pupils were expected to read and understand the dialogue and to write their own text based on the "Mini Memory" models. (T stands for teacher, P for pupil; the pupils' quotations are from tape transcripts.)

Step One: (T writes the following words on the blackboard: Steve - Philip - clouds - poster - real butterflies - sister - nosey - kite - birthday - Africa.)

> T: Let's talk about the words. (A minute of silence ensues.)

> *I'm beginning to feel scared. What will I do if they don't say anything? What if the method doesn't work? How will I be able to compensate? Chris Brumfit's advice pops into my head: "Kids should be given time to think about what they are going to say." But are they really thinking? Or are they just waiting for me to do something? I realize that my anxiety stems from the fact that I am doing something in order to achieve something else. I badly want to convince my colleagues that our approach works. And it occurs to me that I must forget my plans and throw myself into the silence, making it the topic--but now the kids start pouring out sentences.*

> P1: I think it's a story.

> P2: What does the word nosey mean?

> P3: I think Steve and Philip have a poster with real butterflies.

> P4: Steve and Philip buy a poster with clouds and butterflies as a birthday present for their sister.

The concept applied here is known as "advance organizers" which tie the topic to already existing associations in pupils' minds thus getting them involved from the very beginning.

Step Two:

> T: Can you use the words and make something out of them?

This may sound more open than it actually is. The children usually either make a story together or prepare a role play. This time they all opt for a role play. At this stage the teacher withdraws, available to answer questions, but does not interfere with the group process. It has not yet become fully transparent to us how the children manage to come up with a role play in about 5-7 minutes, but they do. They seem to have ready-made parts of scenes for almost every situation stored in their minds once they have learned to tap and trust their resources and feel free and secure to make use of them. Since they have formed groups of their own liking, the process of negotiating the roles, lines and content is given the greatest attention.

Everybody's position and rank in the group seems to be clear. English is spoken most of the time, although they sometimes fall back into German when strong
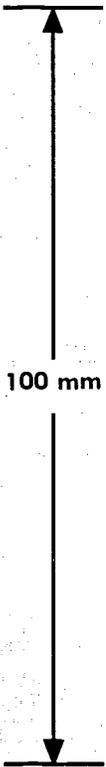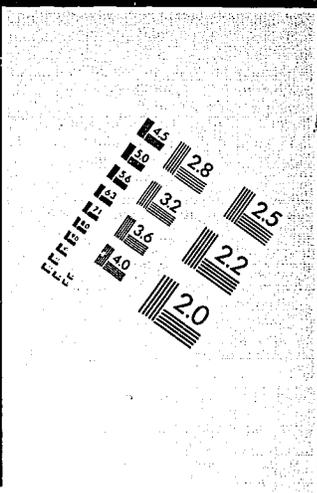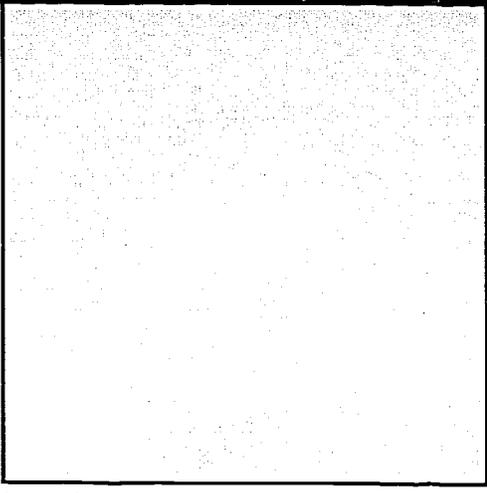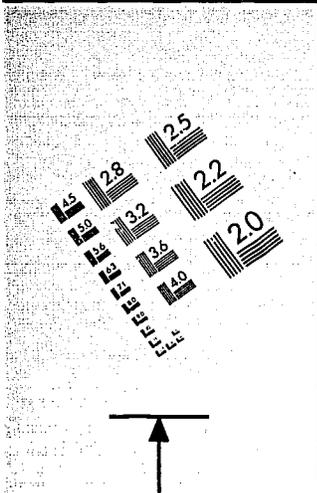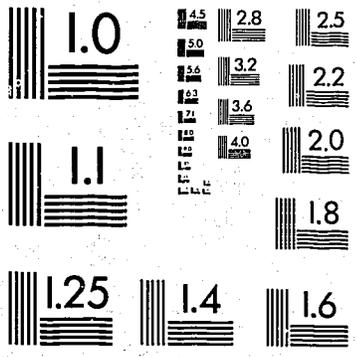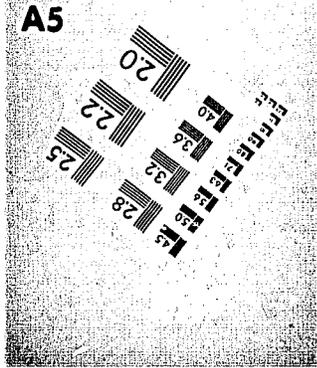
emotions seem to make an immediate reply imperative. As teachers it has taken us quite a while to learn to live with self-imposed passivity at this stage. We have experienced that when the children are trusted they will sense it and work hard without being supervised. They know that the teacher respects their ideas and that linguistic mistakes do not matter while planning the role play.

> *I realize, however, that I'm getting impatient. Why can't they work faster? I already know the next step and the one after that. It's a feeling I have much too often. It's the attitude of teachers who think "they must get their students through the textbook by the end of the course" (Stevick 1982:8).*

Step Three: Role play

All the groups want to perform their role play but for the sake of showing all of the steps only the first group to finish is picked to perform. The children introduce themselves first as Steve, Philip, the mother, the shop assistant and the sister.

Mother: Steve and Philip.

Steve and Philip: Yes?

Mother: Go in the shop and buy for Elke a present.

Steve and Philip: Yes. (To Elke) Elke what do you want for your birth-
day?

Elke: I would like a poster with a butterfly or a kite.

Steve and Philip: Yes, okay.

(In the shop.)

Shop assistant: Hello.

Steve and Philip: Hello.

Steve: We are buy a...(Philip interrupts)

Philip: want...

Steve: We want to buy a real butterfly.

Shop assistant: I have not a real butterfly.

Philip: Have you got a poster with a butterfly?

Shop assistant: Yes, here.

Steve: How much is it?

Shop assistant: One pound.

Steve and Philip: Here you are.

Shop assistant: Thanks.   Good-bye.

(At home.)

Steve and Philip: Here is the poster.

Mother: It's very good.

Steve and Philip: Here Elke, here your present for your birthday.

Elke: Thank you.

The teacher's reaction is very important for the pupils. We have learned that
fixed expectations prevent the teacher from appreciating unusually imaginative
versions which often provide interesting insights into the pupils' minds and
often stimulate lively talk about the text. Inconsistencies (Elke wants a
poster but first Steve tries to buy a real butterfly) are only dealt with if
the pupils themselves point them out.

A note concerning error correction: For us it is a question of when and how.
When the focus of interest is on meaning we hardly ever correct unless an
unobtrusive correction is possible. When the focus is on form we always
correct helping to develop a monitor in the pupil's mind to prevent fossiliza-
tion of incorrect utterances even though they cause no problems for understand-
ing. We believe that it takes most teachers a lot of time to learn to correct
in a constructive way. Many tend to become angry since the pupils are not do-
ing what they want them to do--namely to speak correctly or they may see the
mistakes of the pupils as evidence that their methods have failed.

Step Four: (The text (Gerngroß, Puchta, and Schratz 1982) is handed out.)

(Scene 1)

Two children are looking at a poster in a shop window.

Steve: Look at that poster!   Isn't it beautiful?

Philip: Which one do you mean?

Steve: The one with the cornfield.

Philip: Yes, it's great.   The clouds and all the butterflies.

Steve: Do you like butterflies?

Philip: Yes, very much.

Steve: I've got some really big ones from Africa at home.

Philip: Have you?

Steve: Would you like to see them?

Philip: Yes, very much.

Steve: Can you come with me?

Philip: Sure.

(Scene 2)

In Steve's flat.

Steve: Hi mum. This is Philip. He is in my class.

Mrs. Perkins: Hello Philip.

Philip: Good afternoon, Mrs. Perkins.

(Scene 3)

In Steve's room.

Philip: Shall I shut the door?

Steve: Please do. Then my sister can't hear us.

Philip: Is she a problem?

Steve: Yes, she is so nosey.

Philip: I see.

Steve: Come on, the butterflies are in my desk.

Philip: Ah. They are wonderful. Such beautiful colors. This one
          looks like a Chinese kite.

(Scene 4)

Philip at home.

Philip: Hello mum.

Mother: Philip, where have you been? It's five o'clock.

Philip: Mum, my birthday is on the eleventh, isn't it?

Mother: Yes, I know. Why?

Philip: I'd like five really big butterflies from Africa.

The pupils read sliently. They ask questions:

P1:   What is sky?

Or comment on the text:

> P2:   I have...oh that's an Admiral. We have at home three books of
>   butterflies, yes. They belong to my brother.

Step Five:

Since reading and interpreting texts are highly idiosyncratic skills this next
step takes this into account by its openness. The teacher initiates discussion
about the text with the question:

> T: Can we talk about the text?

This step requires a lot of self-discipline since the process of negotiating
meaning is slow and requires patience. Communicative-language teaching--as we
understand it--puts great emphasis on listening in a Rogerian sense which im-
plies an active will to try to understand others. We find this one of the
hardest tasks to achieve since the children are used to listening to the teacher
but not to their peers. There are no quick, set recipes. That the teacher be
a patient listener is the basic requirement.

> P3:   Scene 1 and 4 are very long, since 2 and 3 is not very long.
>
> T: Do you like long or short scenes?
>
> P3:   Yes.
>
> T: What do you mean "Yes?"
>
> P3:   Pardon?
>
> T: Which do you like better, long or short scenes?
>
> P3:   Long scenes.
>
> ...
>
> P4:   My mother is also very nosey.   (Laughter)
>
> T: Do you mean she checks your homework and everything?
>
> P5:   She much check the homework.
>
> T: Why?
>
> P5:   What's "Fehler" in English?
>
> T: Mistake.
>
> P5:   Because...the mistakes.

Step Six:

The teacher tells the pupils to underline the important words.   (They know how to handle this technique, the function of which is to make sure that everybody has actually understood the text.)   When they have finished, the underlined words of one or two pupils are written on the blackboard and the class tries to restore the text orally.   Those who failed to understand parts of the text when they read it silently will hopefully grasp the meaning with the help of this "safety net."

The teacher helps along, correcting if necessary.

    P6:   There are miss some words.

    T: You mean some words are missing.

    P6:   Yes.

Step Seven: (Two Mini Memory Texts are handed out.)

    Text 1 (Nice things in my room.)

    I have got three beautiful posters of animals. A tiger, a dog and a cat. There is a map of England over my desk and some photos from our holiday in Italy. On cold days I like my warm bed best.

    Text 2 (A room I'd like to have.)

    I'd like to have a nice room. With a big bed, a big desk and lots of photos on the wall. I like pets very much. I'd like to have a budgie or a hamster. I'd like blue curtains with white butterflies on them.

The idea, originating with H.E. Piepho (1982), is that the texts are to resemble the level of the writing skill of the pupils who can and do identify with them as their own, as far as structure and content are concerned. These texts form the basis for dictation exercises and tests and for homework in which variations are produced. The pupils are to study them carefully. The idea is that they store such texts in their long-term memory in order to create a pool from which they can randomly take bits of information whenever they are faced with the task of text production.

My room

I have got five posters on the wall in my room. The first poster is a racing-car, the second a horse and the three posters are dogs. I like dogs, we have got one, it's a Schäfer. It's name is Senta. On my desk is my foto. I like my room very much.

<u>Lesson 2</u>

> *Well, here I am, waiting for pupils to come and aware of the hundred*
> *threatening eyes of my colleagues. How could I have been so foolish*
> *as to believe that I could try out something experimental in the*
> *presence of so many who are "ready-to-see-me-fall?" Try to calm*
> *down again, relax, look at them. How do you know they are so*
> *negatively inclined? I am glad we agreed to ask them all to take*
> *part actively in the fantasy trip. Anyway, it <u>must not</u> go wrong.*
> *The steps are clear: I hand out the photocopies to the pupils,*
> *wait for reactions (What if there aren't any?), guide them over to*
> *the fantasy trip, ask them to close their eyes (What if they don't?)*
> *and...*

When the class is ready (sitting at groups of desks) they are given photocopies
of photographs with scenes from beaches, seashores, pictures of seagulls, etc.
(The picture in Bach's book *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* may give an idea of
what they were like.) Each of these photocopies has one of the following texts:

I am sitting on a rock The waves are playing with my toes Time to think

Flying high and fast - Together

The sun is going down I can feel the warm sand under my feet It was a good day

I must take my time To look Where I am going

The sky and ocean Wide... I am free to go wherever I like

It feels good To try What you have never done before I am strong

> *I wonder how the kids will react. Will they react at all? Silence.*
> *Perhaps there are too many spectators? Am I expecting too much of*

this class? I know I have to wait. But so long? ....They
seem to be getting involved and interested. They are swapping
sheets, they seem to be thinking about the texts. Eva is nodding
her head. Peter is about to say something. Thank God.

He is going to break the ice..........

P1:   I don't know what we should do with these.

I would have hoped for a better start. But wait--let's see what
we can make out of these. I find myself thoughtfully looking at
Peter.

T: I see, the pictures and the texts don't tell you anything....

P1:   Not that. I mean the pictures...they are nice. They look
       nice. But I can't see a meaning in the texts.

P2:   That's not right. For example the text on this picture says
       "Flying high and fast--together." That's a good meaning.

T: What do you understand by that?

P2:   I think this means...er...when you have a friend when you do
       something not alone...I mean you work together...you can make
       it better...

P1:   I see what you mean.

P3:   The pictures...when I look at them I thinking of the holidays...
       in Italy last year...of situations on the...what's "Strand" in
       English? Beach.

P3:   Yes. On the beach with my friends....

After a couple of other pupils have verbalized their associations they are all
confronted with the idea of making a fantasy trip together. They (as well as
the spectators) are asked to close their eyes and to try to find a position in
which they feel comfortable.

I switch on the cassette recorder and feel how the tension lets up
when the music begins to fill the room. We have chosen an instru-
mental version of Neil Diamon's music to J.L. Seagull. I regain
a certain confidence but my voice is still trembling slightly when
I suggest some relaxing exercises. Relaxing myself by looking di-
rectly at the children and colleagues in front of me, I begin to
feel safer and I notice how I sound soft and calm now.

When you have closed your eyes, just stay in your position and relax...
take a deep breath and be conscious of it...let yourself breathe slowly
and deeply...notice any part of your body that needs to relax....

For those interested in trying out similar exercises in their classroom it might be helpful to look at what Moskowitz (1976:178) says about them and their introduction. There are also a number of carefully described fantasies which can easily be tried out in classes.[2]

> *Now I begin to conduct the fantasy journey. My voice comes out firmly and calmly. After every sentence I pause, sometimes turning the volume of the music up again, then lowering it while I am speaking so it recedes into the background. (The whole fantasy lasts for about 15 minutes.)*

> I want you to imagine that you are at the seashore/Can you hear the water coming in and going out again?/Can you feel the sand?/Look around you. What can you see?/Are there any mountains?/What is the sky like?/Is it cloudy?/Can you feel the sun?/Can you feel the wind on your body now?/Imagine you are slowly flying away with the wind./What does it feel like?/Are you looking down or up in the sky?/Can you feel the wind?/Now imagine you see the land below you./You are going down a bit. You can see something far away, but you don't know what it is./What is it?/You are going nearer and nearer....

> Longer break: music louder

> What does it look like?/Is it something you have seen before?/Touch it./What does it feel like?/Is it warm? Is it soft?/What does it mean for you?/What do you feel when you look at it?

> Longer break: music louder

> Now that you have seen what it is, slowly say goodbye to it. Touch it once more before you slowly move away from it. Go back to the seashore now./Can you feel the sand under your body again?/Take some time until you want to be back with me in class again./Don't hurry./Don't come back before you want to./When you feel ready, open your eyes again....

There are various ways to take advantage of the insights into ourselves that become possible by working with fantasies in foreign-language teaching. We have, for example, created another one ("I'm a kite") which makes it perfectly possible for pupils (even at an early stage in their language learning) to experience the notion of the progressive tense within themselves by being conducted in the fantasy, e.g.: Now you are flying over a big park. The people underneath you are...etc.

In the case at hand there are no specific linguistic aims. What we have in mind is to stimulate the pupils' imagination and to make them share their images and experiences afterwards. Talking about these might have been constructive as

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[2]As far as the fantasy trip presented here is concerned, we are grateful to Gerlinde Puchta, who has helped us to make our vague ideas concrete and practicable.

well; but we chose to have them write texts since we were afraid that they
would have inhibitions and therefore not be ready to talk about their experi-
ences as freely as usual in this new situation. Their texts show a wide
spectrum of different experiences, dreams, hopes, worries and images. Two of
them are presented here.

At first I saw a peacefull country, with rocky's, red sand, the sea and a clean air, the sun shone brightly and warm. I felt the warm sand under my feets and the hot sun, the wind. Then I saw a bird. It was flying, not fast and I thought it was flying to the sun.
Then I saw a horse at the back of a rock. I went to him and touch it slowly. I felt the warm coat under my fingers, then I rode with the horse on the beach.
I felt free and cheerful. And the fiery horse ran with me into the sky. It was a wonderful feeling.

I have been on the beach. I felt the sun and the wind. I flew away. I saw a land with poor and sad people. I flew over it. Then I saw something huge. I flew nearer and nearer. It was a big palace made of glass. I touched the glass and I felt that it was cold. Very cold. I looked into the palace and I saw the peace. He was not free, he had to stay in the glass palace. He couldn't go out. He was arrested. I would like to help him, but the wind blew me away. I fall asleep. When I woke up I was on the beach and the sun was shining into my face.

In the followup lesson the texts are discussed in class. The learners seem to
be enthusiastic about their own and their classmates' experiences. Undoubted-
ly, their thoughts show a remarkable dimension of depth, which obviously in-
volves them completely. This is an excerpt from the discussion in class after
the above text has been read aloud:

> P1: I think the idea in this text is just like mine. You want
> away...er...want to have peace...away from here.
>
> P2: Yes, but it's different because you write about a ski-jumper
> and I have seen the war in my fantasy trip.
>
> P1: Yes, but you also go away from this world to another world
> and you also want to find peace.
>
> T: While you were having the images of war and of the land with
> the dead...were you afraid?
>
> P: Not, really, perhaps a little, but I flew away.
>
> P3: I like what you write from the glass palace. It's a good
> picture.
>
> P4: Yes, the glass palace...I think part of this we are ourselves.
> We don't want the peace to go out...if we would we had to do
> much more for it.
>
> P5: Yes, I think some people they say they want peace but they don't
> do it. If you want peace you must do peace.
>
> P6: I meet...I sometimes meet...when I speak to somebody i feel that
> they are not themselves...that they do not say what they really
> mean.

THE INNER TEACHER

We hope that the descriptions of the two lessons have given a feeling of what
we understand by "inner world" of the teacher. It is primarily the teachers'
anxieties that prevent them from letting go in the actual teaching situation
and from becoming a facilitator for the pupils' language development instead of
acting as a control mechanism. Take the following situation:

> A teacher might react to the utterances "I has give poster" with "I
> *have* five posters, don't forget it is *I have* and posters must be in
> the plural." Or he might simply ask: "You have got five posters?
> Have you also got one with butterflies?"

We could provide lots of pro and con arguments for both reactions. It does,
however, rarely depend on rational reasons as to whether a teacher's reaction
is one way or the other in the actual situation, but rather on strong uncon-
scious, internal patterns. Stevick (1980:29) quotes Galway's "Inner Game" and
suggests that the best learning can take place when the Conscious, Critical

Self and the Performing Self are in agreement with one another. Very often it is this Critical Self that interferes with the possible growth of a process by passing judgment on the teacher's or the pupil's contribution. Such patterns are, of course, sometimes influenced by the way teachers themselves experience language learning. We suggest the concept of an "Inner Teacher" (by it we mean the strict, demanding, intolerant ego that often influences the teacher's re-action). The anxieties caused by the "Inner Teacher" are easily transferred into the learning situation and onto the pupils.

From conversations with teachers we have found that one of the principal anxieties to surface stems from the problem of how to handle errors. "Why can't they discuss the problem lucidly? I think I should interfere and stop this boring gibberish, full of errors. If I allow them to go on making so many mistakes, they will be picked up by others. Wouldn't it be better to correct every mistake immediately? At least it would soothe my conscience."

Brumfit (1980:126) writes that pupils should be given plenty of opportunity to make mistakes. Many teachers, however, are strongly influenced by a rigid negative attitude toward errors. An error is looked upon as something for which there is no place in the classroom, which is to be avoided at all costs since it might spread like a contagious disease. We suspect that the strong feeling aroused by pupils' mistakes are a result of the teachers' own feeling of inadequacy since they suspect that the number of pupils' mistakes has in-direct correlation to teaching ability.

The solution we suggest is to get teachers involved in an intensive L2 discussion (in the foreign language) and then interrupt whenever an error occurs. This procedure makes it usually possible for them to identify with the learners' negative feelings when interrupted by the teacher's comment on accuracy.

During a teaching training seminar, teachers talked about their anxieties after an atmosphere of mutual trust had carefully been established. Here are some examples of what they wrote down afterwards:

• It is difficult for me to endure silence. What does the pupils' silence mean? Are they thinking? Have they sunk into apathy? Have I presented something which they don't understand or which they can't manage? Why don't they say so? Are they afraid?

• Why does it take them so long to make a statement, to talk? I know it's important that they should be given the chance to grope for words but sometimes it seems to be more than I can stand. We should have mastered lexxon X long ago and here we are, right in the middle of it. It's like being caught in a swamp.

• When I look at the book and the curriculum I feel this pressure. There are so many things in the books my pupils don't know any-thing about. How can I make them learn faster and more inten-sively?

• Are my pupils good enough? I've no idea how good the English of other groups is. Maybe they would be better if I knew more of the language and about how to teach it more effectively.

- I know I should convey a feeling of security, but how can I do it
  when I'm in doubt about what I'm doing? I wish to be told how to
  do everything--in detail. First they sold us the audio-lingual
  approach, and now we are warned not to do so many pattern drills.
  What should I think of it all, when even the experts do not seem
  to know for sure?

We suspect that the contents of these inner monologues are shared by many a
teacher, as their reactions in the classroom seem to indicate. Being unable
to throw themselves into the situation, to take advantage of the here and now,
the pressure felt is often transferred to the pupils.

It is an indisputable fact that most of us go into the lesson with a given set
of expectations: if we realize that these expectations might not be fulfilled
we begin to look for reasons and excuses, mostly blaming either ourselves or
shifting the blame on to the students. This attitude can have fatal results.
If the teachers use up all available energy in trying to judge whether the
outcome of a specific situation is good enough to withstand the severe evalua-
tion of the eyes (or ears) of the "Inner Teacher," they run great risks: it
might become impossible for them to hear what the pupils really say and to re-
act effectively, and they might have problems establishing an atmosphere that
allows the pupils to experiment with the new language. Brown says that "...
the inhibitations, the defenses, which we place between ourselves and others
can prevent us from communicating in a foreign language" (1980:106).

We readily admit that the non-judgmental attitude which we have advocated here
may conflict with the task of evaluating the pupils' results. Although we have
not found the ultimate solution to this problem, we regard it as helpful to
establish an understanding between the teacher and the pupils regulating these
problems.

We began by saying that progress demands new materials and a change in teachers'
attitudes. It is obvious that it is much easier to produce textbooks, tapes,
etc., which meet the requirements of the communicative approach than it is to
embark on the task of changing patterns of behavior. There is no short-cut
but only the prospect of a long march. Our experience in in-service training
shows that supplying information is important, but not enough. The rigidity of
the Inner Teacher is not softened by brainwork alone. We do not let go when we
know we can but only when we feel it.

It's confidence, not mere knowledge of the possibility, that enables us to let
go.

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PREPARING ESL TEACHERS FOR A COMMUNICATIVE CURRICULUM -
AMERICAN STYLE

PEARL GOODMAN[1]

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Fortunately, I was long ago converted to the Hegelian dialectic. How else could I have survived the last 12 years as a practicum supervisor for ESL teachers! After all, the practicum is the place where one must deal with day-to-day teaching techniques, no matter what theoretical storms swirl about. Since the truth or falsehood of any current theory is not always immediately apparent, and since it is pernicious to permit oneself to be buffeted about by the ebb and flow of theoretical brandishments, the task at hand is to take the long view. Hence, I feel that my belief in Hegel's concept of the contradictions of opposites (thesis and antithesis) and their continual resolution (synthesis) has kept me from some of the worst pedagogical follies and pitfalls.

My approach has been, rightly or wrongly, one of incorporation, and over the last 12 years this has resulted in considerable mental and emotional gymnastics. Having barely incorporated the generative revolution in linguistics and the cognitive revolution in psychology, the sociolinguistic revolution was upon us with its communicative competence imperatives: culture, paralinguistics, social functions, semantico-grammatical notions, discourse, etc. It was soon apparent that my single lesson approach to training teachers could incorporate only so many of these elements, but not all. To achieve a synthesis of everything it was necessary to think in terms of larger segments of teaching-units, syllabuses, curricula.

The British have, of course, been approaching the problem on a syllabus/curriculum (often using the two words interchangeably) level for some time now. In fact, in the summers of 1980 and 1981 while working with a group of visiting African English teachers, my then colleague, Rebecca Finney, and I tried to apply the Breen and Candlin communicative curriculum model (1981). We were able to achieve a workable demonstration of the model over a six-week period, but we could not come up with what might be considered a useful assignment in syllabus design for the African teachers. In the course of that six-week period in the summer of 1981, Professor Sandra Savignon came to speak to the African teachers on the subject of communicative competence and communication activities. I do not recall any specific point that stood out from the others on that occasion, but six months later, when I was once again grappling with the problem of creating a good practical assignment that would come to grips with all the elements in a communicative syllabus/curriculum, I decided to discuss the Breen and Candlin model with her. I explained that this model was proving too contingent on circumstances and too ad hoc in implementation to constitute a coherent and manageable assignment for a practicum.

I could hardly have come to a better place to discuss these concerns. The communicative curriculum was precisely Professor Savignon's concern, and in fact she had a book in manuscript dealing with that very subject. When I read Chapter 5 "Shaping the Curriculum" of the now published *Communicative Competence: Theory and Classroom Practice*, I knew my quest was ended. Here was a way to achieve the kind of synthesis I believed in and a way to incorporate all that had proved valuable. The components of the curriculum were firm but movable and the proportions of the components were left flexible according to the needs of the class and talents of the teacher. Most important, however, was the fact that the components were of a kind that could be adapted to language learners at all levels and could be used to create a multidimensional syllabus. With Professor Savignon's permission, Chapter 5 of her unpublished book became the basis for a culminating assignment for the teachers in the practicum.

The assignment which grew out of this exchange has been very successful. Not
only have results often been surprisingly inventive and fruitful, but student
teachers have offered that they found the assignment extremely worthwhile.
This is the third semester I have given the assignment, and it is fair to say
it has been field-tested and happily integrated into my course.

The assignment and some of its results follow, but first a few words about the
conditions which prevail at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in
the Division of English as a Second Language and in the course I teach.

Initially the practicum was set up to provide a micro-teaching experience for
our MA candidates in Teaching of English as a Second Language. Selected writ-
ing and teaching assignments in grammar and pronunciation were made after appro-
priate demonstrations in a class of 12 to 15 beginning level (not 0 level)
English language learners organized into a Special English Program (SEP) for
this purpose each semester. However, the teaching assignments are no longer
limited to micro-teaching. The student teachers actually conduct the class
using two textbooks, one grammar-based and one function-based. They also write
some of their teaching materials for dictation, listening, grammar, and pro-
nunciation. In addition, they write the course tests. Aside from teaching
and participating in interaction activities with the SEP classes, they observe
the class being taught in 15 different demonstration lessons, ranging from read-
ing and writing to communication activities. They also attend a two-hour a
week seminar consisting of lectures and workshops.

I have summarized all this activity to impress on the reader that by the time
the student teachers receive this culminating syllabus/curriculum assignment
they have acquired considerable discipline and have been exposed to a wide
variety of techniques. Thus they have acquired many resources to bring to bear
on the assignment and are also in a position to exercise their own creativity.
In short, they have been prepared on a continuing basis with real people whom
they have come to know. Their syllabus units are based on real-world knowledge
as well as their imagination, which makes them all the more valuable and inter-
esting.

Before looking at examples of proposals made by some of the student teachers, I
would like to present a copy of the assignment exactly as given, followed by
some explanatory notes.[2]

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[2]This assignment was developed with the cooperation of Lu Doyle, my
practicum colleague at the time and Katherine Varchetto, who was then a stu-
dent.

ASSIGNMENT: Design a unit of communicative syllabus/curriculum for
the SEP class.

1.   Your unit will cover three 50-minute periods.

2.   Each 50-minute period will have a different component as the
dominant focus. The five components proposed as essential to
a communicative curriculum are:

a.   Language Arts
b.   Language for a Purpose
c.   My Language is Me: Personal L2 Use
d.   You Be, I'll Be: Theater Arts
e.   Beyond the Classroom

3.   The three components chosen for the three periods should be
interrelated, and yet independent. *Interrelated* in the
sense that the first should help prepare the students for
what they will do in the second, and the second for the
third. *Independent* in that you could potentially move from
one into different directions. In other words, a period
should not ONLY be seen as "prep work" for the next period.

4.   Each 50-minute class period should be outlined and the purpose
and goals listed.

SAMPLE UNIT OF A COMMUNICATIVE CURRICULUM

I. *Component: Language Arts*

A.   Lesson plan

1.   Listen to descriptions read by the teacher and guess the place.
(Ask for repetition before writing down answer, if necessary.)

2.   "Twenty Questions" (three stages) about:

a.   Commonplace objects that were concealed
b.   Unusual objects that were shown by the teacher
c.   Cultural objects from SEP students' countries, shown by
SEP students

B.   Purpose: to provide students with an instrument for negotiation of
meaning

1.   To make guesses about unfamiliar objects

2.   To seek further information by requesting confirmation of your
guesses

3.   To make decisions about what further information is needed

4.   To increase tolerance of ambiguity

II. *Component: Beyond the Classroom* (A visit to the World Heritage Museum
of the University of Illinois.)

A.   Lesson plan

1.   A guided tour

a.   Listen and make guesses

        b.   Ask questions of the guide and each other (SEP students and teachers)

        c.   Homework: name some likes and dislikes (writing)

  B. Purpose: to expose the students to a community facility

     1. To interpret what s/he is seeing and hearing by making guesses

     2. To express oneself in a "real-life" L2 situation by asking questions

     3. To negotiate meaning with a native L2 speaker outside of the classroom by requesting further confirmation

III. *Component: My Language is Me: Personal L2 Use* Expressing likes and dislikes)

  A. Lesson plan

     1. Recall of experience (What did you see?)

     2. Vocabulary

     3. Likes and dislikes (oral discussion)

     4. Example of a completed letter to the museum director

     5. Letter with appropriate blanks for students to fill in with opinions and comments

  B. Purpose: to let students express their own feelings and opinions

     1. To express and interpret what was seen to with other students

     2. To establish a common lexis to refer to a shared experience

     3. To express and interpret personal preferences and opinions orally to each other

     4. To express interest and feelings of appreciation in writing in the appropriate register

     5. To express personal opinions in writing in the appropriate register

Note that the assignment requests that the three components be related, but independent. This was done to encourage a new way of looking at the component parts of a unit and their relationshiop to each other. For example, a conventional approach to a field trip would prepare the students by describing the place the students were going to visit and by exposing the students to the vocabulary they might need. This would probably be done with the aid of pictures and brochures. In order to forestall the obvious, the sample unit deliberately reverses the order of dealing with vocabulary and postpones it to after the field trip. Instead, the students are prepared for their visit to a museum by a series of guessing games about known and unknown objects. The guessing games could stand as an independent activity. A unit that began with vocabulary would require and be tied to a followup activity. I felt each component should be thought of as having both intrinsic merit as well as a relationship to another component.

Note also that the sample unit puts a very heavy emphasis on the purpose of each component. This was done to compel the student teachers to consider in some depth why they were going to do something, regardless of the nature of the activity (e.g., a game, a role play, or simulation). ESL teachers usually know why they teach grammar or pronunciation and they usually have some rationale for activities that follow lessons of that kind. However, in the case of communicative activities that are not pegged to conventional goals, I believe teachers need guidance in considering other kinds of goals and how they might accomplish them.

THE UNITS

The following is a unit plan which comes to grips with the goals of expression and interpretation in an extremely interesting way.

Do You Hear What I Hear?   --Angela Moore

I. *Component: Language Arts/Use--What does that sound mean?*

   A. Lesson plan

      1. Listen to "sound effects" from various sources. (Horns, laughter, water, animals, etc.)

         a. What is the sound?
         b. Where might you hear it?
         c. What does it make you think of? feel? (Briefly describe a place, scene, feeling--one word or phrase.)

      2. Listen to tape of "conversations" either gibberish or muffled words so that only *intonation* and *stress* will clue meaning.

         a. What do you think is being said?
         b. Are the speakers angry? happy? etc. (vocabulary of emotions)
         c. How do you know?

      3. Discuss the effects of *sounds* (paralinguistics) on what you understand. (Teacher asks questions which lead students to *discover* influence of sound on meaning/understanding.)

   B. Purpose: to provide students with awareness of paralinguistic cues to meaning and means of expressing (describing) images and feelings associated with sounds. (Vocabulary, phrases such as "I picture," "I imagine," "I feel," "It reminds me of...")

      1. To make guesses about the nature of sounds.

      2. To make further inferences about those sounds.

      3. To make guesses about the meaning of utterances based on stress and intonation.

      4. To express emotions, thoughts, images (describing).

II. *Component: Beyond the Classroom* (a symphony concert at local performing arts center, or on videotape, PBS, or record)

   A. Lesson plan

1. Give students handout of instruments (pictures and names--
    classification).

2. Attend a concert.

    a. Listen for conductor's introductions.
    b. Listen for different sounds produced by instruments, rhythm
        and melody.
    c. Think of possible "interpretations" (images).
    d. Homework: write some thoughts--likes, dislikes, favorite
        part (movement), instrument. (Vocabulary: superlatives,
        phrases such as "I liked," "I didn't like," "my
        favorite...").

B. Purpose: to expose students to a real community asset; further
    appreciation of Western arts.

    1. To listen to another English speaker (conductor) if in English-
        speaking community.

    2. To experience another stimulus for L2 use.

    3. To express likes and dislikes on paper.

III. *Component: My Language is Me--Personal L2 Use* (expressing feelings,
      interpretations; describing images)

A. Lesson plan

    1. Recall of experience: What did you hear?

    2. Vocabulary: Listen to record or tape "Modern Symphony
        Orchestra" (a Golden Book record) describing instruments of
        orchestra: their sounds, classifications, etc.

    3. Oral discussion: images, thoughts, associated with sounds
        produced by various instruments on tape.

    4. Example of composition describing imaginary scene (use over-
        head projector or handout) associated with music.

    5. Students write a one paragraph composition *as a class* with
        teacher guidance on board or OHP describing a picture or
        painting (possibly a landscape or seascape).

    6. Homework: Students write a paragraph describing images
        associated with a favorite song or one from the concert they
        attended.

B. Purpose: to allow students to express ideas, images; describing;
    use of analogy, simile, metaphor. Using sound to interpret mean-
    ing.

    1. To interpret sounds and express interpretations.

    2. To encourage the use of imagination.

    3. To encourage use of sounds to interpret meaning.

    4. To describe mental pictures and emotions in writing.

The next unit was created by a Japanese student teacher and it makes use of a variation of the culture assimilator technique developed at the University of Illinois by Professor Harry Triandis, Department of Psychology, and materials developed specifically for Japanese-English learners by one of his graduate students. The technique offers a whole reservoir of opportunities for language teachers in both L1 and L2 environments. It is highly exportable to any country and applicable to every language. I am pleased that this assignment elicited an adaptation of it.

A Critical Incident   --Yukiko Abe

For the purpose of this lesson plan, I would like to use a "critical incident" approach. This approach was originally used for second language learners and immigrants to understand the target culture and to be well-prepared for adapting themselves to it. Various critical incidents are presented, and the students are to solve the problems of why these conflicting results have happened. These are to enable the students to develop deeper insights about the customs and the culture of the target country.

Example: Yukiko goes to a restaurant with her host family. When the soup is served, she drinks it with a loud noise. The host family seems upset about her behavior.

Question: Why do you think the host family seems upset?

I. *Component: Theater Arts*

A. Lesson plan

1. Two or three teachers act out a critical incident between an American and a foreigner. The students are to watch and interpret the story.

2. Question and discussion: The teacher asks the following questions, focusing on an American's way of thinking and having the students guess it.

a. What is the problem?
b. How do the students know the problem? (by linguistic cues or by paralinguistic cues?)
c. Why does it happen?

3. Have the students read another incident and discuss it in the same way mentioned above.

4. Have the students form pairs; give each pair a different critical situation and have the students act it out. In this case, one of the members of the pair has to play the role of an American and to guess what an American would do in the given situation. The other has to play the role of a foreigner.

B. Purpose: to develop insights into American culture.

1. To develop the students' skills of using paralinguistic cues.

2. To have the students become aware of the difference between American culture and their own culture and to understand American culture better.

3. To have the students make guesses about the characteristics of Americans.

4. To encourage the students' interaction and to increase their motivation.

II. *Component: Beyond the Classroom*

A. Lesson plan

1. Go to a movie theater together and see a movie which describes some interesting aspects of American life. (Example: *Kramer vs. Kramer*).

   a. Watch, listen, and interpret the story by making guesses.
   b. Homework: Write a short summary based on the following questions:

      i. Is Mr. Kramer a successful businessman?
      ii. Is Mrs. Kramer happy being at home all the time?
      iii. Does Mrs. Kramer leave home with her child?
      iv. What does Mr. Kramer do after Mrs. Kramer has left home?
      v. Why do Mr. and Mrs. Kramer fight in court?
      vi. Which of them wins in court?
      vii. Where does the child stay after the court decision has been made?

B. Purpose: To expose the students to a part of the target culture.

1. To develop active listening skill by using whichever clues are available to the students.

2. To develop deeper insights about the target culture.

III. *Component: My Language is Me*

A. Lesson plan

1. Recall the story by presenting the summaries to each other and by collecting information.

2. Extract some points of American culture which the students think differ from their own culture. In this process, the teacher should guide the students toward the specific point. (In this case, ideas about marriage.)

3. Have the students discuss their ideas about marriage in America. Like or dislike? How are they different from those of their own culture? (Small group discussion--larger group discussion.)

4. Have the students complete the following passages by filling in the blanks.

   Passage 1: If I were Mrs. Kramer, I would _____ home. I think that personal desire is _____ important than family. So Mrs. Kramer _____ selfish.

Passage 2: I think that Mr. and Mrs. Kramer _____ divorce
because they _____.
A child _____ be happy if s/he has only one
parent.

Note: The students are encouraged to extend the passages.

B. Purpose: To let the students express their own feelings and opinions,
and share information about different cultures.

1. To express and interpret what they have seen.

2. To express personal preference and opinions.

3. To encourage understanding and appreciation toward other cultures
and people.

Since the following unit was actually taught in the SEP class, I have provided
reference either to the teaching materials used or samples of the teaching ma-
terials themselves. The project was carried out quite successfully in all its
phases. I especially liked the idea of preparing ESL students for a visit to an
American nursery school, where they would be watching the children from a one-
way observation booth, by having them sequence, interpret, and complete picture
stories. Picture composition is widely used, but its purpose here had a very
original twist.

What's the Story? --Brad Reed

I. *Component: Language Arts*

A. Lesson plan (Objective--create a description of an event based on
clues from which a number of conclusions may be drawn.)

1. Single picture description/sequence (Heaton 1966).

a. Present tense description of pictures uncovered one at a
time.
b. Link the four pictures together to form a coherent story
line.
c. Change the story to past tense.

2. Sequence ordering (Markstein and Grunbaum 1981).

a. Students discuss sequence possibilities (no teacher input).
b. Individual students give order and story.
c. When nominal consensus is reached, a group story is created.
d. Assignment: Create a "fifth picture" for the story by mak-
ing up a possible ending to the group story.

B. Purpose:

1. To interpret ambiguous information.

2. To practice in changing present to past tense.

3. To relate an event to others.

II. *Component: Beyond the Classroom*

A. Lesson plan (Objective: Visit the Child Care and Development Center.)

1. Observe the children and answer questions provided as a guide.

2. Ask questions of other SEP students and the teachers.

3. Draw conclusions as to what was seen.

B. Purpose: Expose students to a real-life situation, the type of which should elicit an opinion, with a minimal amount of explanation as to what will be seen. Provide students with an opportunity to see an ongoing University project.

1. To interpret ambiguous information.

2. To formulate ideas and opinions.

3. To prepare to describe the experience and express an opinion on it.

III. *Component: Language for a Purpose*

A. Lesson plan (Objective: Recall the experience and relate it to an-other who is soliciting information.)

1. Review of questions and vocabulary.

2. Students formulate questions based on provided answers.

3. Students interview each other using the questions obtained in #2.

4. Homework: Students write a summary of interview in paragraph form.

B. Purpose: Use of language both to solicit and to give information con-cerning a past event.

1. Practice in question creation based on specific objectives.

2. Communication between knower and questioner.

3. Description of past event and expression of opinion.

4. Summary of event as described by an other.

Questions for observation of the child development lab

You will observe three groups of children today. For each group, ans-wer the questions below. Your answers will help you in our discussion of what was seen.

1. How many children are in the room?

2. How old do you think they are? Are they all the same age?

3. Are most of them boys or girls?

4. What are the children doing?

5. Are they all doing the same thing?

6. Are the children working independently, or in groups?

7. What kinds of materials are the children using in their ac-tivities (for example, are they using certain toys, or some everyday items like pencils, paper, scissors, etc.)?

8. Is there an adult in the room with the children? What does the adult seem to be doing? Is s/he just watching the children or is s/he guiding the activity?

9. Do you think the children are enjoying themselves?

10. Why do you think they are doing what they are doing?

IMPORTANT: Remember to bring these questions and your answers to class on Tuesday so we can talk about what we did today.

Questions and Answers

Read the answers written below and then make up a question that would suit the answer. For example, if the answer is "It's two o'clock." the question might be "What time is it?"

1. Q: _____
   A: I went to the Child Development Lab last Tuesday.

2. Q: _____
   A: Two o'clock in the afternoon.

3. Q: _____
   A: I saw two groups of children there.

4. Q: _____
   A: I think the children were about four or five years old.

5. Q: _____
   A: They were listening to a story in a dark room.

6. Q: _____
   A: They were playing different games.

7. Q: _____
   A: Some of them were building things. Some of them were playing house, and others were playing games on a table.

8. Q: _____
   A: Yes. There were adults in both rooms with the children.

9. Q: _____
   A: Yes. I think the children were happy.

10. Q: _____
    A: Yes, I would because I think it is a good school. The children were happy and they were learning useful things.

When you have written the questions, find someone and ask them your questions. Be sure to write down the answers they give you because we will use them in a little while.

Increasingly television is becoming a way to achieve a "Beyond the Classroom" experience for language students. Wherever TV equipment is available, it is possible to build on its "global village" character. Therefore, I decided to include a lively unit using the medium.

A TV Guide to Commercials --Laura Koertge

I. *Component: Beyond the Classroom* (students watch TV commercials)

   A. Lesson plan

     1. Students bring in descriptions of two TV commercials they have seen. One commercial they liked; one they didn't.

       a. Descriptions are guided by a handout asking:

         i. What is the name of the product?
        ii. Is there a song? What is it like?
       iii. Who are the people in the commercial?
        iv. What are they saying?
         v. Why is the commercial good/bad?

       b. Students fill out the handouts as they view the commercials.

     2. Students and teacher tally in class the "good" commercials and the "bad" commercials.

     3. Students discuss "good" and "bad" points about American commercials.

     4. Students view a videotape of an American commercial and discuss:

       a. What is happening in the commercial?
       b. Are commercials like this in your country?
       c. Would you buy this product?
       d. Do commercials change your mind about a product?
       e. What are some words you often hear in commercials?
       f. What are some words to describe American commercials?

   B. Purpose: To expose the student to American media.

     1. To provide a listening exercise.

     2. To interpret and express the content of commercials seen.

     3. To clarify attitudes toward American commercials.

     4. To express opinions in writing and speaking.

     5. To establish common vocabulary to refer to a shared experience.

II. *Component: My Language is Me* (students give own advertisement)

   A. Lesson plan

     1. Teacher gives demo advertisement (perhaps the day before).

       a. The teacher's own personality (not "advertising techniques" per se) is dominant in the presentation.
       b. Students use the demo as a model.

     2. Students give prepared, 5-minute advertisements for an item from their culture.

   B. Purpose: To allow students to creatively explain something from their own cultures.

     1. To negotiate meaning with other students by explaining their "product."

2. To express an interesting part of one's culture.

3. To use a certain context to describe something.

III. *Component: You'll Be/I'll Be* (group commercials for videotape)

A. Lesson plan

1. Students are divided into groups of 3-4.

2. Each group receives an object to advertise.

    a. The object is "brand-less" and may be related to American culture.

    b.   i. Ideas: a can of soda, make-up, frozen pizza, shampoo, etc.

        ii. Students name the product.

3. Each group presents an advertisement, which is videotaped for later viewing.

B. Purpose: To allow students to work as a team towards a goal of a product.

1. To elicit creative ideas for the presentation of and the uses of various products.

2. To elicit attitudes towards various products and perceptions of TV commercials.

3. To encourage natural dialog as students work in groups.

4. To encourage speech in a certain register and context.

A unit on language teaching through the arts completes the picture. There is nothing new about teaching songs in a language class, but the author of this unit, who is a professional singer, has some especially pertinent things to say about which songs are best to teach and what it is that songs can accomplish in terms of bonding and connectedness. She also provides a procedure for teaching a song, which is all too often left up to the individual teacher with very disappointing results.

Sing Out! --Kristin Lems

I. *Component: Language Arts/(Musical) Theatre Arts*

A. Lesson plan

1. Listen to a tape of Peter, Paul and Mary singing "Blowing in the Wind" after short introduction of artists, song title, and author.

2. Pass out handout with song lyrics; teach unknown vocabulary on board; have students explain/interpret song line by line, allowing and encouraging several interpretations (song is simple but rich in meanings).

3. Teacher plays song on guitar while students follow handout.

4. Students mark stress timing as teacher sings with exaggerated stress markers.

5. Students sing along on chorus, while teacher sings verses solo.

6. Students sing verses and chorus, at slower tempo, with teacher.

7. Teacher works on discrete point pronunciation difficulties, goes over problem lines separately from whole song, "drills" the line a couple of times.

8. Students, finally, sing whole song at tempo, with teacher dropping out and allowing them to sing solo when sufficient confidence is attained.

B. Purposes

1. To teach students a well-known artifact of recent American culture.

2. To promote discussion of universal questions of justice and human rights (and show that Americans, too, think about these things!).

3. To give a participatory preliminary lesson in locating stress and ear training practice.

4. To build classroom spirit.

II. *Component: Beyond the Classroom*

A. Lesson plan

1. Either bring in a folksinger or bring classes to a coffeehouse where folksingers are performing.

2. After performance, have singer chat with them, answering any questions they have (if this is a coffeehouse, plan ahead so that singer has set aside time to chat afterwards).

B. Purpose

1. To introduce students to an area musician, and the format of a live folk performance.

2. To encourage self-expression by having a dialog with an American artist.

3. To train and tune their ears to spoken English.

4. To give further examples of American music (folk music was chosen because it is portable, accessible, not expensive, and has a heavy focus on language, rather than music).

III. *Component: My Language is Me*

A. Lesson plan

1. Students discuss their experience listening and talking to the folksinger (recall of experience, vocabulary words, personal preferences).

2. Students present a song in their native language, prepared in advance as homework, on cassette tape, record, or live, and give a brief summary of it.

      3.   Other students ask questions about the song, the singer, the topic, etc.

      4.   Each student explains why she likes the song she chose.

      5.   At the end, students sing "Blowing in the Wind" together again for reinforcement.

B. Purpose

      1.   To build communicative competence in expressing one's feelings, opinions, and preferences.

      2.   To expose class to cross-cultural music, and to the feelings of other class members.

      3.   To bring an important part of students' life in their native country into the L2 classroom, therefore bringing more of the person's personality into the developing "L2 ego."

      4.   To move toward memorization of "Blowing in the Wind," so it can be shared with others in their culture upon returning, and be used to build sense of connectedness to American culture (also, perhaps, to encourage children to learn L2, and have something to offer their own children).

Remarks: This lesson plan presupposes friendly contacts between the teacher and some local singers. I started this three-week series with the most structurally-oriented, rather than the least, because I feel that lays the foundation for the other two weeks better than the other way around. This way, after they have actually sung an American song together, they can feel a sense of self-interest in hearing the folksinger in concert, since they have performed a song of their own (so much the better if the folksinger is willing to sing "Blowing in the Wind" in concert). I know that in a sense the first lesson is the "hardest," but it is also a group activity rather than an individual one, and the most participatory for the whole class. Also, it should be noted that the third lesson would be unlikely to be completed in one classroom hour; it should probably be stretched out into two, or even three, class sessions.

I have tried to present a cross section of the results of the communicative syllabus/curriculum assignment thus far. The variety and creativity of the responses is indicative of the liberating effect of the assignment. The extent to which the student teachers explored their own interests and exploited their own talents is a measure of the need to design assignments that not only invite them to do so but also provide them with a framework that will guide them to do so intelligently and coherently.

Our British brothers have pointed us in an important direction, but because they work in a cultural (and traditional) context different from ours, their teaching precepts do not always fit our style and milieu. Obviously we need some indigenous guidelines to function at our best. Toward that end, Professor Savignon's model provides a set of parameters that both student teachers and I feel comfortable with and, in our attempts to realize communicative goals, helps us on our way.

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TEACHING STRATEGIC COMPETENCE IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

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Many foreign-language textbooks which aim to teach "communicative competence" in the language seem to equate this term with "sociolinguistic competence," that is, the knowledge of what is socially acceptable in a language. However, the concept of communicative competence is in fact much broader than this; Canale and Swain (1980) have shown that it incorporates at least three components:

1. grammatical competence, that is, the knowledge of what is grammatically correct in a language;

2. sociolinguistic competence, that is, the knowledge of what is socially acceptable in a language; and

3. strategic competence, that is, the knowledge of how to *use* one's language to communicate intended meaning.[2]

It seems clear that a student learning a foreign language may develop competence in each of these areas at different rates. While none of these components can be developed in total isolation from the others, learners in different settings do seem to develop different patterns of proficiency. For example, one may imagine a student who has acquired grammatical competence in a foreign language, and who manages to get a basic message across using that language, but who fails to do so in a sociolinguistically appropriate manner. Imagine such a student, intent upon disagreeing with a teacher's point in class:

Student: No! You're wrong!

Certainly there is nothing grammatically wrong here, and the message that the student disagrees is clear enough; the problem has to do with the appropriateness of such an utterance in a classroom lecture situation. Or, to give another example, we may imagine a student with some grammatical competence and a general awareness of sociolinguistic register, who is nonetheless unable to get intended meaning across. Some of our best classroom students complain, for example, that when they arrive in Germany (or Spain, or France) they are unable to get themselves from the train station to the hotel using the language they have learned. Similarly, we may observe that our ESL students, when they become teaching assistants for a course in astronomy, are unable to explain the subject matter to their American students. This is not necessarily because their vocabulary or grammar is inadequate, but because they have not learned how to *use* the linguistic resources they have, to convey information effectively. "Street learners," on the other hand, often excel in strategic competence. Those who have had the opportunity to develop their second-language skills language use *outside* the classroom are typically able to get their message long before they have developed native-like grammatical competence. Similarly immersion students have been observed to excel in strategic competence (Swain and Lapkin 1981).

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[2]Editor's note: The Canale and Swain framework described here has been subsequently revised to include a fourth component, discourse competence. See Swain (1983) in this volume, Canale (1983), and Savignon (1983).

The three components of communicative competence we are considering here may
be defined in somewhat more detail. Grammatical competence is the knowledge
of the grammatical, morphological and phonological rules of the language, and
the ability to use these rules in producing correct utterances in a language.
Sociolinguistic competence is knowledge of pragmatic and speech act conven-
tions of a language, of norms of stylistic appropriateness, and of the uses of
the language in establishing and maintaining social relations. Strategic com-
petence is the ability to convey information to a listener and correctly
interpret information received. It includes the use of communication strate-
gies to solve problems that arise in the process of conveying this information.

Each of these components of communicative competence is extremely important as
a goal in the foreign-language classroom--a student who has failed to develop
competence in any one of these components cannot truly be said to be proficient
in the foreign language. Yet it is only recently that foreign-language and ESL
curricula have included more than instruction in the grammatical, morphological
and phonological properties of the target language. The goal has been quite
simply the development of grammatical competence. It is only recent that for-
eign language and ESL curricula have begun to include the second and third com-
ponents of communicative competence (sociolinguistic and strategic competence)
as goals of instruction in the classroom. Although we now see an increasing
number of pedagogical books and articles as well as textbooks for learners
advocating a "communicative approach" to the teaching of a second language,
many such materials fail to clearly establish the nature of the "communication"
skills being taught. Are the new materials designed to teach sociolinguistic
skills? Formal and informal register? Stylistic norms? Or are they designed
to give students practice in getting information across to a listener, regard-
less of grammatical form or sociolinguistic appropriateness? Often, the new
materials seem to be trying to achieve both goals at once, or they may be un-
clear as to what is, in fact, the goal of a particular exercise. Many of the
newer "notional-functional" syllabuses seem to aim for the goal of strategic
competence in that they attempt to provide the learner with the resources
needed to transmit information (notions) or messages (functions, like apologies
or commands). Yet proponents of many notional-functional approaches to syllabus
design do not always seem to make clear the important distinction between
sociolinguistic and strategic competence.

Given that a teacher has decided that one of the goals of the language classroom
should be improved strategic competence, what sorts of input and exercises
should be provided for the students to enable them to achieve this goal?

There are two aspects of strategic competence that should be considered:

   1. the overall skill of the foreign language learner in successfully
       conveying information to a listener; and

   2. the ability of the learner to use communication strategies when
       problems are encountered in the process of conveying information.

These two aspects of strategic competence should, I believe, be considered
separately.

Many of the exercises included in "communicative syllabuses, such as exercises
involving group problem-solving, are designed to give the learner practice in
transmitting real information using the target language. Such practice, it is
believed, will result in an increase in the learners' overall skill in convey-
ing information. And in fact, there is anecdotal evidence that such practice
is helpful. Certainly students whose foreign-language background has *not* in-
cluded such practice seem to be very unwilling to even *try* to communicate real
information in the foreign language outside of the class, unless they have re-
hearsed their utterances many times to ensure grammatical correctness. Such
materials as do exist focus on improving overall skill in conveying informa-
tion, by (a) *teaching* students phrases and sentences useful for conveying par-
ticular notions and functions (as in many notional-functional syllabuses,
where students may be taught different expressions of quantity, or of spatial
relations); or by (b) providing students with *practice* in conveying information
(as by setting up group exercises where students must give instructions, or
share information in order to accomplish some task).

However, there are few, if any, materials available at present which teach stu-
dents how to use *communication strategies* when problems are encountered in such
group exercises. Students not only need instruction and practice in the overall
skill of conveying information using the target language; they also need in-
struction and practice in the use of communication strategies to solve problems
encountered in the process of conveying information. That is, if the expressions
learned in, for example, a notional-functional syllabus *fail* the learners in
their attempt to convey information, they have been given no instruction to help
them to find alternative means of expressing that same information content. How
might such instruction and practice be provided?

Students' skills in communication strategies may benefit from the sort of ex-
ercise which asks them to transmit information to a listener in a situation in
which the speaker faces some problem, such as unfamiliarity with a target lan-
guage vocabulary item or grammatical structure, or inability to pronounce a
word or phrase clearly enough for the listener to identify it. Faerch and
Kasper (1983) define communication strategies as "potentially conscious plans
for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a
particular communicative goal." Tarone (1981a) sets out the following criteria
as characteristic of a communication strategy:

1. a speaker desires to communicate a meaning X to a listener;

2. the speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic struc-
   ture designed to communicate meaning X is unavailable, or is
   not shared with the listener;

3. the speaker chooses to do one of the following:

   a. avoid, that is, not attempt to communicate meaning X; or

   b. attempt alternate means to communicate meaning X. The speaker
      stops trying alternatives when it seems clear to the speaker
      that there is shared meaning.

Some examples of communication strategies used by second-language learners in
research studies (Tarone 1977; Tarone and Yule 1983) are provided below. This

list of strategies is not intended to be a final categorization of all communication strategies; it is simply provided to help clarify the notion of communication strategy.

Avoidance

Topic avoidance. The learner simply tries not to talk about concepts for which the target language item or structure is not known.

Message abandonment. The learner begins to talk about a concept but is unable to continue and stops in mid-utterance.

Paraphrase

Approximation. The learner uses a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the speaker (e.g., use of superordinate term: *pipe* for *waterpipe*; use of analogy: *like an octopus*).

Word coinage. The learner makes up a new word or phrase in order to communicate a desired concept (e.g., *airball* for *balloon*).

Circumlocution. The learner describes the properties of the object or action instead of using the appropriate target language item or structure (e.g., "It's oval and shiny," "She is, uh, smoking something.... That's Persian...").

Borrowing

Literal translation. The learner translates word for word from the native language (e.g., "He invites him to drink" for "They toast each other.").

Language mix. The learner uses the native language term without bothering to translate (e.g., Turkish *tirtịl* for *caterpillar*).

Appeal for assistance. The learner asks for the correct term (e.g., "What is this? What called?").

Mime. The learner uses non-verbal tactics in place of a lexical item or action (for example, clapping one's hands to illustrate applause), or to accompany another communication strategy (for example, "It's about this long.").

A more detailed typology of communication strategies, providing, for example, a breakdown of types of circumlocution, is available in Paribakht (1982).

Obviously, some of these communication strategies will be more successful in transmitting information than others. The initial reaction of students with little practice in dealing with communication problems is to *avoid*, and avoidance does not lead to either communication of intended meaning or to the development of the resources needed to deal with future communication problems.

What sorts of resources are needed for this purpose? We may obtain a clue by looking at the strategies used by native speakers who are confronted by similar communication problems. Native speakers typically use the strategies of circumlocution and approximation (Tarone and Yule 1983), strategies which require

certain basic or "primitive" vocabulary and sentence structures useful for describing, for example, shape, size, color, texture, function, analogy, hyponymy, and so on. We would expect learners of a foreign language who are given practice in dealing with communication problems to develop the resources needed to use circumlocution and approximation as well.

What can the teacher do to encourage students' use of such communication strategies? The foreign language classroom can provide (a) opportunities for *practice*, and (b) actual *instruction* in the use of strategies. Actual *teaching* of communication strategy use can occur in a variety of ways. Strategies can be isolated, named and discussed. Exercises such as those described below can be interrupted in order to evaluate and analyze problems that arise. Teachers can take notes on such problems, and discuss them later, after the activity. Or, students may be asked to consciously attend to strategies, "discover" and evaluate them on their own.[3]

Exercises designed to give the student *practice* in using communication strategies to solve communication problems should require that the speaker alone have information that the listener or listeners require in order to complete some task. One type of activity providing *practice* in strategy use involves asking a speaker to describe an object for which the target language vocabulary is unknown, describe it so clearly that a listener, who cannot see the object being described, can (a) pick out the correct photograph of the object from a group of photos of similar objects, or (b) draw the object. For example, a student might be asked to describe a kitchen colander, and discover a need for basic vocabulary and phrases such as the following:

made of metal (or plastic)

silver (or orange, or white)

half-spherical in shape (or bowl-shaped)

18 inches in diameter

handles located on the rim

perforated with small holes

used to drain liquid from food

This task relies on the fact that the speaker is unfamiliar with the correct target-language word for the object to be described; ignorance of the vocabulary item is the communicative problem which must be overcome.

In fact, this sort of situation occurs frequently when one uses one's native language and finds oneself unable to recall the name of an object or person. The communication strategies of circumlocution and approximation are most useful for solving this sort of communication problem. *Circumlocution*, involving a

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[3]These teaching strategies were suggested by Eric Nelson.

description of the properties of the object (material, color, size, shape, texture, component parts and their location relative to the whole object) and the function of the object, is most useful. *Approximation*, involving, for example, the use of a superordinate term ("It's a type of _____"), an analogy ("It's like an octopus, but it's not an octopus.") or a related term ("It's a cigarette" for "It's a cigar"), may also be of use.

In our research (Tarone and Yule 1983) we have found that even advanced ESL students may fail to use such basic terms as "end," "top side," "strap," all useful in circumlocution. Clearly, direct instruction, either before or after the use of such an activity as that described above, will be of help in providing students with a basic set of vocabulary items useful for describing properties and functions. Certain vocabulary items and grammatical patterns will be useful again and again as these exercises are repeated: shapes (*circular, oval, square, disc-shaped, bowl-shaped, triangular*) for example, or locative phrases (*on each end, in the middle, on the rim, two inches from the top*).

A variation on this exercise involves showing a speaker how to carry out a procedure (such as assembling an object). For example, Yule et al. (1982) asked subjects to give instructions on how to assemble a meat grinder. The speaker can be shown a videotape of the procedure, or a series of pictures depicting the procedure, and then be asked to give instructions to a listener, who has the task of (a) carrying out the procedure, or (b) selecting the correct series of pictures to depict the procedure. Obviously the speaking task is much more difficult if the speaker cannot see what the listener is doing. This task involves *both* description of the parts of the object, *and* mastery of a set of instructional verbs (both basic verbs, such as *put* and *take*, and more technical instructional verbs, such as *insert, stir, screw, clamp*). Again, the teacher may find it helpful to explicitly teach the students some of these verbs.

Another variation on this activity involves practice in narration on the part of the speaker. The speaker is shown a series of pictures or a videotape depicting several individuals in a story sequence. For example, a story sequence used in Tarone and Yule (1983) involves a teacher who draws geometric figures on the blackboard and then leaves the classroom. Two students then take turns converting the teacher's geometric figures into a drawing of the teacher. The teacher returns and scolds the students, who blame each other. The listener who hears the speaker's narrative must pick out the correct series of pictures out of three or four possible picture series. It should be pointed out that in research (Tarone and Yule 1983) using all three variations of this exercise (description, instruction, narration) the narration task seemed to be easiest for the learners. Narration was easiest, *not* in the sense that learners made fewer grammatical errors, or made fewer errors in transmitting information, but rather in the sense that the speakers did not seem to be aware of many communication problems necessitating communication strategy use. Occasionally an object crucial to the narration would be hard to describe, but on the whole the linguistic resources necessary for story narration generally seemed to be much more accessible to learners than those required for description and instruction. The problems which did arise, problems of which the learners did not always appear to be aware, related to maintaining clarity of reference to the actors in the stories. This activity can provide more practice in maintaining clarity of reference if it involves stories where all the protagonists are of the same sex and same general appearance, so that speakers are forced to make some effort at keeping reference

straight by means of relative clauses or other nominal modifications (e.g., *the girl who came in first...* or *the second girl...*).

Another sort of activity which encourages the development of communication strategies has been developed by Eric Nelson at the University of Minnesota. This activity was developed in order to help students become more effective in communicating when *pronunciation* got in the way. This activity is different, then activities like the description of the colander, where the goal is to improve students' communicative effectiveness when *limited vocabulary* gets in the way. This exercise requires students to produce words and phrases which cause pronunciation problems, and encourages speakers who find they cannot get their message across because of pronunciation problems to use communication strategies to transmit the same information by other means. In order to ensure that this activity provides practice for cases where pronunciation is a problem, other possible variables (e.g., words and content of the sentences) are controlled. Thus, the content of every sentence is old information for the students, taken from earlier lessons, and all the vocabulary items have already been encountered in the class. The entire class is given a handout with 20 to 30 incomplete sentences such as the following:

1. Polution is a problem _____.

2. Many American _____.

3. _____ is important in the U.S.

4. _____ in Minneapolis is very

    _____.

5. Advertising is sometimes _____.

Each student also receives complete versions of two to three of the sentences, which must be said out loud so that the rest of the class can fill in the incomplete sentences on the handout:

1. Pollution is a problem *all over the world.*

2. Many American *surnames end in -son.*

3. *Punctuality* is important in the U.S.

4. *The weather* in Minneapolis is very *unpredictable.*

5. Advertising is sometimes *misleading.*

The complete sentences can be assigned deliberately so the teacher *knows* the speaker will have difficulty pronouncing the missing words and phrases. So, for example, number 4 might go to a student who the teacher knows (through previous experience) will say "za wezzah." If the speaker's pronunciation is clear enough for the class to understand what is being said, the speaker may go on to the next sentence. If, on the other hand, it is not clear enough, the speaker must use communication strategies to begin negotiations with the rest of the class in order

to get the meaning across in other words.   This exercise, thus, provides prac-
tice in using communication strategies for overcoming pronunciation problems in
reaching a communicative goal.

All these activities are, of course, both *speaking* tasks and *listening* tasks.
They can be structured so as to place the burden primarily on the speaker (for
example, by requiring that listeners maintain silence and not ask questions of
clarification).   But in more real life situations, a complex negotiation occurs
between speaker and listener, who work together to clarify the intended message.
To provide practice in negotiations, the teacher can provide instruction for the
listener in these activities as well as for the speaker.   Such instruction might
involve the isolation, naming and discussion of behavioral interpretive strate-
gies (cf. Tarone 1981b) such as appeals for repetition (e.g., "What?"), mime
(e.g., puzzled facial expressions of various types), questioning repeats (e.g.,
A: The water table.   B: *The Water...?*   A: Water table.) and approximation or
paraphrases (e.g., A: The jugworm.   B: ...*Junkworm?*   C: Jugworm.)   A be-
havioral interpretive strategy often taught to counselors involves the use of
extended paraphrase of the speaker's message, as in "I hear you saying that...
Is that correct?".   Such instruction may take place either before or after the
class has participated in the activities, and may be either inductive or deduc-
tive in nature.

Exercises such as these provide practice in the use of communication strategies,
and should be effective in building up resources which will enable students to
be more flexible in finding ways to transmit information in real-world interac-
tions.   It is important to emphasize, in closing, that such exercises do not
claim to provide the sort of practice which will necessarily improve grammatical
competence or sociolinguistic competence on the part of the learner.   Alternative
classwork will probably be required for improvement in these other areas.   How-
ever, the teacher may find the framework presented in this paper, and the sugges-
tions for classwork included here, to be helpful as models in designing class
materials which will enable students to be more effective in using the target lan-
guage for the transmission of information in interactions both inside and out-
side of the classroom.

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TEACHER-MADE VIDEOTAPE MATERIALS FOR THE SECOND-LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

TONY SILVA[1]

INTRODUCTION

As more communicative approaches to second-language teaching are explored, the
use of videotape (VT) instructional materials is becoming a subject of great in-
terest. Unlike written dialogs, and even audio recordings, videotape is capable
of capturing a communicative act in its entirety. This medium thus provides an
excellent means for the presentation, analysis and discussion of authentic oral
discourse. Not surprisingly, therefore, VT programs for second-language (L2)
instruction have begun to proliferate. These materials, both commercial and in-
house productions, have appeared in a variety of formats: videotaped lecture
series, off-air recordings (taped TV broadcasts), and dramatic and informational
series, to mention only a few; and their very presence has served to heighten
teacher awareness of VT as an instructional medium. An additional, not to be
overlooked factor in the current interest of VT instructional materials is of
course the increasing accessibility of the facilities, equipment and technology
needed for their production and/or use. Today, for the first time, a great num-
ber of L2 classroom teachers have available to them a technology heretofore
limited to only a very few experimental programs.

Though VT has provoked much interest and is widely recognized as a viable and
effective medium for L2 instruction, its actual use in L2 classrooms remains
rather limited. There seem to be three significant causes for this limited use:
(1) many L2 classroom teachers are still uncomfortable with VT technology and
equipment, (2) there is a lack of understanding about the possibilities for the
exploitation of VT materials, and (3) there exist no standard, widely-recognized
procedures for the use of VT materials in the L2 classroom.

The first of these problems is perhaps the easiest to solve. It seems likely
that time and increased familiarity with video technology will play a large part
in lessening apprehensions that L2 teachers may have about using VT materials.
However, time and familiarity cannot be counted on to solve the second and third
problems. Only a systematic exploration and demonstration of the potential of
VT materials and the teaching/learning activities to accompany them can ensure
the successful integration of this new technology into L2 programs.

To illustrate some of the many possibilities for the exploitation of VT materials
and to suggest viable classroom procedures for their use, a sample from an exist-
ing teacher-made instructional VT program will be exmained below in some detail.
Following a discussion of the considerations that preceded the production of this
particular segment, a transcript of the segment will be provided along with an
analysis of selected features of the discourse from both linguistic and para-
linguistic perspectives. In conclusion, suggestions will be offered for class-
room presentation and related followup activities.

PRODUCTION OF A VIDEOTAPE: SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The sample that will be examined and discussed is a VT segment that is very
similar to segments from a VT program developed by the author for use in the
Intensive English Institute (IEI) of the University of Illinois at Urbana-
Champaign (UIUC). The primary audience for these materials were English as a
Second Language (ESL) students with high-intermediate to advanced levels of pro-
ficiency in English. These particular students comprised a rather heterogeneous

group. Their was substantial diversity with regard to their age, prior educa-
tion, linguistic and cultural background, interests, goals, and motivation.

What these students had in common (as do most other L2 students in similar
situations) was a need to be able to participate effectively in face-to-face
communication with native speakers of English. To help them to do so, it was
felt that what was needed were materials that would familiarize these students
with as many aspects of interpersonal oral communication in English as possible.

VT appeared to be a logical choice as an instructional medium for achieving
this objective of familiarization. It was chosen primarily because it would
expose the students to both the linguistic and paralinguistic features of inter-
personal oral communication, and thus provide them with a more complete view
and understanding of the communicative act involved. Since, at that time, no
commercial materials could be found that could adequately meet this objective,
it was decided that the materials should be produced in-house. Fortunately, the
necessary facilities, equipment, and technical assistance were available at the
Language Learning Laboratory (LLL) of the UIUC.

The next concern was the definition of an approach to guide the development of
the materials. The approach chosen contained elements of functional-language
teaching and discourse analysis. It was decided that particular language func-
tions, e.g., apologizing, inviting (chosen according to their relevance to the
students' needs) would define the parameters of the Vt segments, and that the
primary focus of the lessons based on these segments would be the analysis of
the discourse features contained therein.

Another consideration was the nature of the content of the segments. Of funda-
mental concern here was that the communication presented be as authentic as
possible. Therefore, it was determined that the most appropriate format for
generating the content of the segment would be a planned, but unscripted role
play. This type of role play is planned in the sense that the participants are
told what language function to execute and what attitude to adopt. For the
particular segment that will be dealt with later in this discussion, one partici-
pant was told to invite the other to an event. The other participant was in-
structed to accept the invitation. Both were to act as though they were peers
and casual friends. The role plays are unscripted in the sense that the partici-
pants supplied their own language and social context extemporaneously to ex-
ecute the function.

Having considered the audience, objective, medium, approach, format, and content,
it was necessary to specify a set and participants for the segment. The controll-
ing criterion in choosing the set was simplicity since it was felt that distrac-
tions should be minimized in order to focus attention on the communication tak-
ing place. It was decided that the set should include no scenery or props, and
that the only visuals on the set should be the two participants, occupying center
stage, and a blue curtain, used as a backdrop.

The main consideration regarding the appearance of the participants was that it
not unduly distract the viewer's attention from the communicative act. One of
the participants (Jean) is female, in her mid-twenties, approximately 5'5",
with shoulder-length, wavy, light-brown hair. She wears a brown corduroy jacket
over a print blouse and denim skirt. The other participant (Brad) is male, in

his mid-twenties, approximately 6'1", with neatly-cut, straight, dark-brown hair and a full, dark-brown beard. He wears a dark-green, crew-neck, pullover sweater and blue jeans.

The entrances and exits of the participants were likewise planned with simplicity in mind. Jean enters and exits stage right; Brad enters and exits stage left.

The final step in the production process was the actual videotaping. The videotaping was done in a small TV studio which is part of LLL of the UIUC, and required only one camera and two technicians (the author and the studio director). The production process[2] for the segment took approximately ten minutes.[3]

Having provided a brief overview of the conceptual and physical aspects of the development of the segment, we now return to the two points that are central to this discussion: the exploitation of VT materials and classroom procedures for their use. These points will be dealt with through (1) the enumeration of possible teaching points/foci that can be drawn from a brief VT segment and (2) the suggestion of procedures for the presentation of these points/foci in the L2 classroom. The discussion of these points will be related to the aforementioned VT segment illustrating the language function "inviting" in an informal context, and will include:

1. a verbatim transcript of the segment;

2. analyses of some of the paralinguistic, functional, socio-cultural, affective, grammatical, lexical, and phonological features of the discourse contained in the segment; and

3. considerations and suggestions for the classroom presentation of the data from the aforementioned analyses.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE VIDEOTAPED SEGMENT

The following is a verbatim transcript of the videotaped segment. Note the numbers in parentheses and the letters preceding the lines of the dialog. In the

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[2]The "studio production process" refers to the actual videotaping of two takes and the pre and post consultation between the author and the participants. It does not include set-up time, that is, lighting and sound checks, camera warm-up and adjustment, etc.

[3]One of the reasons for including this section on the production process was to demonstrate that making a tape of this type is (1) not an extremely complicated and burdensome task, and (2) not beyond the capabilities of classroom teachers who are willing to take the little time necessary to familarize themselves with the necessary equipment. Furthermore, I believe this type of tape (which is not of the slickest professional quality) to be as, if not more, effective than slickly-produced commercial tapes, which are often quite expensive and are not necessarily well-suited in terms of content and/or focus for use in a given classroom situation.

following analyses of this segment, any number in parentheses will refer back
to that particular line in the transcript. In addition, the letters J and B
will be used to refer to the speaker of a given line (B = Brad; J = Jean).

```
 (1) J:  Hi, Brad.
 (2) B:  Hi, Jean.  How are you?
 (3) J:  Oh, I'm pretty good.  How about you?
 (4) B:  Not bad.  Busy.
 (5) J:  Busy.  I'm sure.  Brad, I'm glad I caught you.  We're having
         a Halloween party at our house next Saturday night.  Can you
         come?
 (6) B:  A Halloween party?
 (7) J:  A Halloween party--that means costumes.
 (8) B:  Oh, a costume.  Boy.
 (9) J:  You have to wear a costume.
(10) B:  Sure.  That's next Saturday night?
(11) J:  That's next Saturday, October 30th.
(12) B:  Yeah.  That sounds fun.
(13) J:  Okay...
(14) B:  That sounds fun.
(15) J:  Great.  I'm glad you can come.
(16) B:  Do I need to bring anything?
(17) J:  No, I don't think so...umm...we're going to have beer and
         wine and some pop...
(18) B:  Umm-hmm.
(19) J:  ...so if you want anything else, you'll have to bring that...
(20) B:  Any charge?
(21) J:  No, absolutely not.
(22) B:  Okay.
(23) J:  Yeah.
(24) B:  That...now, it's at your house?
(25) J:  It's at my house.  Do you know where I live?
(26) B:  I'm not sure.  You better tell me.
(27) J:  Okay, I live at 905 South Race.
(28) B:  905 South Race.
(29) J:  Yeah.  It's near you.
(30) B:  That's close...
(31) J:  Right.
(32) B:  ...I'm at 602.  Right.
(33) J:  That's right.
(34) B:  Okay.  That's on Saturday, the 30th?
(35) J:  At...at about 7:30 or 8:00.
(36) B:  At about 7:30.
(37) J:  Uh-huh.
(38) B:  Okay, Jean...
(39) J:  Okay.  Good.
(40) B:  ...thanks a lot.
(41) J:  Umm-hmm.  I'll see you then.  Bye-bye.
(42) B:  Okay.  Bye-bye.
```

ANALYSES OF VIDEOTAPED SEGMENT

The purpose of the following analyses is to illustrate the variety of features that are relevant to an understanding of the preceding dialog. It is not suggested that analyses of this breadth and/or depth need be done by teachers or students when using VT materials of this type.

1. *Paralinguistic Features*

   The paralinguistic features of this dialog have been broken down into four categories: kinesics (gestures), eye contact, proxemics (distance between participants), and kinesthetics (touching).

   a. *Kinesics*

      In the following analysis the gestures of the participants are indexed to the lines of the dialog during which they occur. The remarks in parentheses refer to the probable meaning or significance of the gestures; (?) indicates that the meaning of a particular gesture was not readily apparent).

      (2) B - brings both arms up from sides--palms of hands face up (greeting; welcome)
      (4) B - returns hands to hips
      (8) B - cocks head back (thinking)
      (16) B - brings both arms up from sides--palms of hands face up (questioning); returns hands to hips
      (17) J - moves head side to side (negation)
      (20) B - brings right arm up from side--right palm face up (questioning); returns hand to hip
      (21) J - moves head side to side (negation)
      (24) B - brings right arm up from side--right palm face up; holds position (questioning)
      (26) B - moves right hand side to side (?); returns hand to hip
      (28) B - brings left arm up--left palm face up; strikes left palm with index figure of right hand (?); holds position
      (30) B - lifts right index finger from left palm; points finger at J (agreeing)
      (32) B - places index finger of right hand in left palm (?); holds position
      (34) B - lifts right hand; strikes left palm with back of right hand (?); holds position
      (42) B - lifts right hand from left palm; waves with right hand (leave-taking)

      Throughout the dialog both B and J use nods of the head and facial expressions to emphasize and react to points. J gestures only with her head in this dialog. Throughout the sequence, her right hand (her left hand is not visible) remains in her right jacket pocket.

   b. *Eye Contact*

      Eye contact between B and J is faily constant throughout the dialog. However, there are significant breaks. These breaks are indicated below and are indexed to the transcript. The comments on the right suggest reasons for these breaks.

        (8) B - to consider situation
     (11) B - to listen for details
     (11) J - to recollect
     (17) J - to recollect
     (28) B - to take mental notes
     (34) B - to take mental notes
     (36) J - to recollect

c. *Proxemics*

A distance of approximately three feet is maintained between J and B throughout the dialog.

d. *Kinesthetics*

J and B do not touch each other at any time during this sequence.

2. *Functional Features*

The following is a line-by-line description of the functions of the utterances of the participants, that is, what the speakers are *doing* with language.

     (1) J - greets
     (2) B - greets; asks perfunctory question
     (3) J - provides perfunctory answer; asks perfunctory question
     (4) B - provides perfunctory answer; provides additional information
     (5) J - acknowledges answer; changes subject; provides background for
             invitation; invites
     (6) B - considers invitation
     (7) J - provides additional information; indicates condition
     (8) B - comments on condition
     (9) J - repeats condition
   (10) B - accepts invitation and condition; requests information/clarifi-
             cation
   (11) J - provides information/clarification
   (12) B - comments on situation
   (13) J - acknowledges comment
   (14) B - comments on situation (continuation of (12))
   (15) J - acknowledges acceptance of invitation
   (16) B - requests information
   (17) J - provides information requested; adds additional information
   (18) B - shows understanding
   (19) J - provides additional information; poses hypothetical question
   (20) B - requests information
   (21) J - provides information
   (22) B - accepts information; shows understanding
   (23) J - acknowledges acceptance/understanding
   (24) B - requests information/verification
   (25) J - provides information/verification; offers additional informa-
             tion
   (26) B - accepts offer
   (27) J - provides information
   (28) B - repeats information (takes mental notes)
   (29) J - provides additional related information
   (30) B - acknowledges and agrees with information
   (31) J - acknowledges agreement

(32) B - provides additional information (continuation of (30))
(33) J - acknowledges agreement
(34) B - requests verification of information
(35) J - verifies information; provides additional information
(36) B - repeats additional information (takes mental notes)
(37) J - acknowledges understanding
(38) B - signals end of conversation
(39) J - acknowledges signal
(40) B - shows gratitude
(41) J - accepts show of gratitude; takes leave
(42) B - acknowledges leave-taking; takes leave

3. *Sociocultural Features*

The following is a list of topics drawn from the dialog whose societal and
cultural implications are relevant to the understanding of the interaction.
These topics are not indexed to the lines of the dialog.

   (1) Relative status of the participants
   (2) Level of Formality: register
   (3) Relationship between the participants
   (4) Formulaic questions and responses
   (5) Halloween: meaning and tradition
   (6) Costumes: significance/purpose
   (7) Parties: conventions, procedures, elements
   (8) Saturday night: significance
   (9) The invitation of a man by a woman
  (10) An offer by a guest to bring something
  (11) A question from a guest about a charge
  (12) Permission given by a host for a guest to bring something
  (13) Refusal by a host of payment offered by a guest
  (14) Distance maintained between participants
  (15) Absence of touching by either participant

4. *Affective Features*

The following is a list of topics that address the affective implications
of the interaction. These topics are not indexed to lines from the dialog.

   (1) Tone of the interaction: degree of seriousness, friendliness,
       informality
   (2) Directness/Indirectness, e.g., the lead-in to the invitation
   (3) Sincerity of the invitation, acceptance of the invitation, ex-
       pression of gratitude for the invitation
   (4) Offers of help by the guest: real or perfunctory, acceptable or
       insulting
   (5) The host's reactions to the guest's offers

5. *Grammatical Features*

The following is a list of grammatical features and constructions that
appear in the dialog. These features and constructions are indexed to the
lines of the dialog in which they appear.

   (1) Contractions - (3, 5, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32,
       33, 34, 41)
   (2) Prepositions: of time - (34, 35, 36); of place - (5, 24, 25, 27,
       32)

    (3) Modals/Quasi-modals - (5, 9, 15, 16, 19, 26, 41)
    (4) Appositives - (11, 34)
    (5) Formulaic wh- questions - (2, 3)
    (6) That-clause adjective complements - (5, 15)
    (7) Interrogative noun clause - (25)
    (8) Present Progressive tense with future time reference - (5)
    (9) "Going to" future - (17)
  (10) "If...then" conditional construction - (19)

6. *Lexical Features*

The following is a list of vocabulary items and idiomatic expressions that appear in the dialog. These items and expressions are indexed to the lines of the dialog in which they appear.

    (1) pretty good - (3)
    (2) not bad - (4)
    (3) caught - (5)
    (4) Halloween - (5, 6, 7)
    (5) costume - (7, 8, 9)
    (6) Boy - (8)
    (7) sounds fun - (12, 14)
    (8) pop - (17)
    (9) charge - (20)
  (10) absolutely not - (21)
  (11) Uh-huh - (37)
  (12) thanks a lot - (40)
  (13) I'll see you then - (41)
  (14) Bye-bye - (41, 42)

The following terms appear repeatedly throughout the dialog. Each occurrence of one of these terms should be dealt with individually because of the major role that context plays in the determination of its meaning and function.

    (1) Okay - (13, 22, 27, 34, 38, 39, 42)
    (2) Sure - (5, 10, 26)
    (3) Yeah - (12, 23, 29)
    (4) Right - (31, 32, 33)
    (5) Oh - (3, 8)
    (6) Umm-hmm - (18, 41)
    (7) Great - (15)
    (8) Good - (39)

7. *Phonological Features*

The following is a list of occurrences of fast speech phenomena that appear in the dialog. These phenomena are indexed to the lines of the dialog in which they occur.

    (1) How about - (3) = /hawbawt/
    (2) about you - (3) = /bawčuw/
    (3) caught you - (5) = /kočuw/
    (4) having - (5) = /haevin/
    (5) have to - (9) = /haefta/
    (6) glad you - (15) = /glaeǰuw/

Other phonological features for consideration could be the normal and contrastive word and sentence stress and intonation patterns of the utterances of the dialog.

In the foregoing analyses a piece of discourse has been examined from a variety of perspectives. Through this examination, different types of data that are relevant to a fairly complete understanding of the discourse have been isolated.[4]

However, the isolation of discrete bits of information is not the goal of this paper. This isolation was done in order to manifest the amount and variety of knowledge necessary to understand even this rather simple piece of discourse, and to emphasize the rather complicated interrelation of its elements. In addition to providing insights into a particular piece of discourse, the analyses are important in that they provide data which can be dealt with in context. However, the provision of data is only half the task of this discussion. The question of how to present this data in the classroom remains.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASSROOM PRESENTATION

The logical starting point in the presentation of this type of VT material is the in-class analysis of the videotaped segment. This mode of presentation seems to lend itself very well to a teaching strategy that could be labelled as "guided induction." This strategy requires the teacher to ask questions that will lead students to an understanding of particular features of the discourse and, consequently, to a fairly complete understanding of the discourse as a whole. This strategy is effective for three reasons: (1) It allows the teacher to pinpoint aspects of the discourse that cause problems for the student as well as those that do not (the teacher can thus concentrate more attention on the former than on the latter); (2) It allows for an optimum level of student participation in the analytic process; and (3) this participation, more often than not, serves to increase student curiosity and motivation. However, this strategy, as all strategies, has limitations on its applicability; therefore, the teacher should not hesitate to provide clarification or explanation when the need arises.

When the teacher is satisfied with the level of understanding of the segment that the students have attained, it is advisable to allow the students to apply what they have learned through the use of followup activities.

FOLLOWUP ACTIVITIES

The in-class analysis of a functionally-based VT segment can easily lead to numerous and varied types of followup exercises. The following is a listing of some of the possibilities.

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[4]There are, of course, more classes of features that could be analyzed than are presented here. And, certainly, there are more features that could be included in the classes than are analyzed here. However, the analyses done in this paper are meant to point out features that might be useful in the classroom, not to discover and categorize all of the possible features.

1. *Analysis of Alternative Dialogs*

   The in-class analysis mentioned above was done on a dialog in which an in-
   vitation was offered and accepted. To broaden the students' functional
   range, the teacher might present an alternative dialog(s) for analysis
   which deals with the same function (in this case, inviting), but whose
   outcome is different, for example, non-acceptance of the invitation, or
   whose participants are different, for example, two men, rather than a
   man and a woman. These dialogs could then be analyzed in much the same
   way as the initial dialog.

2. *Role Plays*

   Role plays are excellent vehicles for the reinforcement of knowledge gained
   in the abovementioned analyses. There are at least three role play formats
   that can be effectively used: scripted, partially-scripted, and unscripted.
   In the scripted role play, pairs of students using a verbatim transcript of
   one of the previously presented dialogs try to duplicate, as nearly as
   possible, the taped performance of the native speakers. In a partially-
   scripted role play, students also work from a transcript, but are encouraged
   to adopt different attitudes, e.g., invite someone grudgingly, refuse an in-
   vitation even if the inviter is extremely persistent. To do this the stu-
   dents need to alter the dialog substantially and improvise when necessary.
   In an unscripted role play, the students are told which function to execute
   and which register to use. It is their responsibility to provide the lan-
   guage and situational context. Though students can create a dialog for
   this type of role play in class, the results tend to be better if they are
   given this type of assignment as homework.

3. *Viewing and Discussing Videotaped Student Dialogs*

   Any of the aforementioned student role plays can be videotaped and played
   back immediately or at a later time. At the time of playback, they can be
   discussed, commented on, and constructively criticized by the class with
   guidance provided by the teacher.

4. *Scrambled Dialogs*

   In this type of exercise the students are given the lines of a dialog,
   functionally similar to the original videotaped segment, but not in their
   correct order. The students' task is to correctly reorder these lines into
   a piece of coherent discourse through the use of overt and covert discourse
   features. This type of exercise can be done in or out of class by in-
   dividual students, pairs, or small groups. It can also be done by the en-
   tire class in strip-story fashion, that is, each of the lines of the dialog
   is put on a separate index card or slip of paper; the entire class then
   works as a group to find the correct order.

5. *Register Change Exercise*

   In this type of exercise the students are instructed to change the register
   of a dialog they have previously analyzed, that is, change it from informal
   to formal or vice-versa. This, of course, requires changing the socio-
   cultural and situational context as well as the language. This type of

exercise works equally well when done in or out of class by individuals, pairs or small groups.

6. *Written Analysis Exercise*

This type of exercise consists of a written transcript of an alternative dialog which the students have not previously seen followed by written questions that ask about specific features of the dialog. This type of exercise can be done with or without prior exposure to the VT segment from which the transcript was made, and thus, can work equally well as an in-class or out-of-class assignment. If done individually by students, this exercise can perform an evaluative function.

SUMMARY COMMENTS

There are three important points regarding these materials and procedures that should be noted by the reader. First, the foregoing suggestions are in no way hypothetical. They are based on the results of actual classroom use of this type of VT material in ESL programs at the UIUC and at Harvard University. Second, though the materials were designed with high-intermediate to advanced students in mind, it has been found that this type of VT material can be successfully adapted for students at all proficiency levels by adjusting the scope and depth of the analysis and the length, complexity, and focus of the followup exercises. Third, though the stated purpose of the materials is to familiarize students with as many aspects of interpersonal oral communication as possible so that they can function meaningfully in this context, this does not imply that the material could not be used as a contextualized point of departure for the further exploration of a particular feature, for example, contractions, or class of features, for example, grammar.

Thus, the examples that have been presented here illustrate but one possible means by which a particular type of VT material can be exploited by a teacher for use in the L2 classroom. This discussion has not been intended as a "how to" guide for the use of VT materials, nor has it sought to promote any particular approach to the use of video in L2 teaching. Its main purpose has been to show that it is possible for an L2 classroom teacher to conceive and produce viable and effective VT materials as well as put them to good use in the classroom. It is hoped that discussions of this type will encourage L2 teachers to further explore the possibilities of this medium.

Line (2) B: Hi, Jean. How are you?

Line (8) B: Oh, a costume. Boy.

Line (20) B: Any charge?
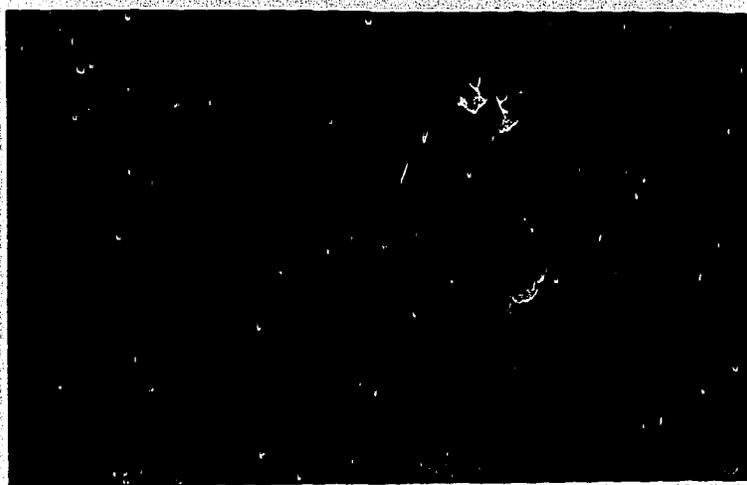
Line (21) J: No, absolutely not.
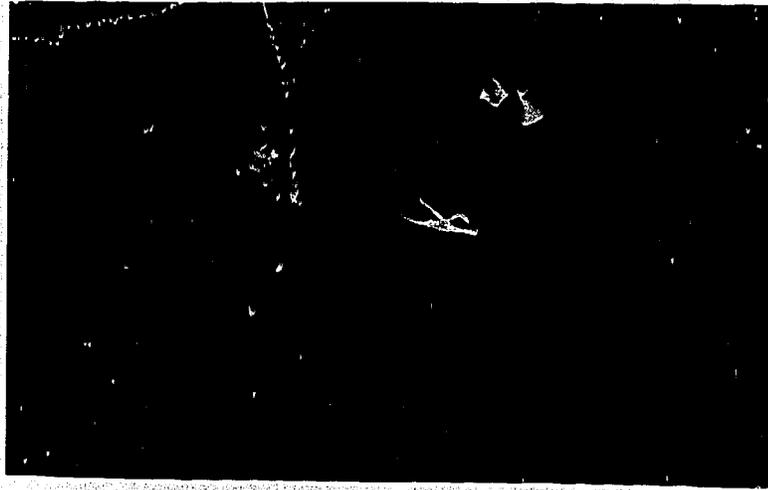
Line (28) B: 905 South Race.

Line (30) B: That's close...

Line (34) B: Okay. That's on Saturday, the 30th?

Line (42) B: Okay. Bye-bye.

COMPUTER-AIDED INSTRUCTION: LANGUAGE TEACHERS AND THE MAN OF THE YEAR[1]

FERNAND MARTY[2]

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[1]For those who have already forgotten and those who neve knew, *Time's* Man of the Year for 1982 was the computer.

[2]Fernand Marty is Professor of French and Computer-based Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

I have been teaching French in the United States since 1946; in my efforts to improve my teaching, I have depended on applied linguistics, educational psychology, and--to some extent--on technology. I began using tape recorders at Middlebury College in 1948 and, in the workshops and NDEA institutes in which I participated in the 1950's and early 1960's, I emphasized that tape recorders were only devices that could provide out-of-class practice with audio materials (just as books provide practice with written materials). In situations where high accuracy in the spoken language was one of the objectives, the students who, for their "homework," have access[3] to audio equipment were *obviously* able to reach higher levels of performance than those who did not have any equipment--provided, of course, that the exercises were properly designed to fit the objectives of the course and provided that the students did want to attain those objectives.

I now have about 15 years of experience with the PLATO computer system at the University of Illinois.[4] In this brief article, I would like to discuss some of the problems that language teachers face when they consider using computers for language instruction.

I will not try to "prove" that computers can facilitate the process of learning a language. It is obvious that students who *want to learn* will learn faster or reach higher levels of accuracy when they have access to a computer which provides immediate feedback and detailed error analysis, which stores information about their performance, and which--on the basis of that data--supplies them with individualized exercises.[5] I believe that the gains made by such students using such exercises are worth the expense. [Of course, I do not take into consideration the computerized language lessons which are now commercially available for use on microcomputers and which, generally, are hardly any better than a pack of index cards or a programmed textbook.]

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[3]Access to technology can also take place at home; students whose parents can afford tape machines, shortwave radio receivers, dish antennas to receive foreign television programs, computers, etc., have a marked advantage over students whose access to instructional technology is limited to the school. It can be argued that technology, at present, is helping mostly the students already lucky enough to have educated parents who can devote their own time and money to the education of their children, who can afford to pay for private lessons, for trips abroad, etc. Our rapidly deteriorating school system can no longer offset that growing imbalance in educational opportunities.

[4]The PLATO system was conceived at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) and began to function in 1960; it has been under constant development and improvement since that time. Control Data Corporation, by virtue of an agreement with the University, has installed PLATO systems in Minnesota, Delaware, Florida, California, Maryland, and several foreign countries (Canada, England, France, Belgium, Korea, Australia, South Africa, etc.).

[5]For a discussion of language lessons, see Marty 1981, 1982.

As was the case some 20 years ago with language laboratories, much of what magazines now write about the use of computers for instruction is nonsense.[6] Research in the instructional uses of computers has been going on for over 20 years and there is no solid indication that we are about to witness a revolution in our educational system. However, since there is evidence that computers, under certain conditions, can facilitate the learning process, language teachers should know as much as possible about the available equipment and the results that can be expected today.

Three aspects need to be considered: (1) the computer features which we need, (2) the types of installation which are available, and (3) the courseware (lessons) which we need. [The following comments apply only to language teaching; our colleagues in mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. have different requirements and, indeed, their requirements may be less demanding than ours; thus, if a computer laboratory is to be installed in a school, the language teachers should make sure their voices are heard.]

FEATURES TO LOOK FOR IN A COMPUTER SYSTEM

1. Good language lessons require substantial amounts of computer memory. A typical 20-sentence exercise with several levels of feedback, a good error analysis, and a complete set of grammar statements which can be used for review requires about 3 million bits of information or, in computer talk, 375 kilobytes (a byte equals 8 bits); 375 kilobytes is usually written as 375K.

    In a computerized lesson, speed is of the essence. The basic justification for using computers in education is that a given set of objectives can be attained and retained in substantially less time than without computers; this goal, obviously, will not be reached if the machine needs several seconds to decide whether the student's response is acceptable, several seconds to find the appropriate feedback, several seconds to display the next question, etc.

    In a central (time-sharing) system, a large number of terminals can be attached to a computer; the speed depends on the processing power of the computer and the number of terminals active at a particular time. On the Illinois PLATO system, even when the maximum number of terminals are active (600), the speed of execution is less than one second and can be considered excellent.

    In stand-alone microcomputers (APPLE, TRS, IBM PC, etc.), the speed depends on the amount of memory required by the lesson itself *and* the amount

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[6]For example, *Time* magazine (February 20, 1978) writes: "The computers provide an intensely visual, multisensory learning experience that can take a youngster in a matter of a few months to a level he might never reach in less than many, many years of study by conventional methods." and "...these magical beasts," as they have been called, are revivifying soporific students, dangling and delivering challenges beyond the ken of most educators."

of internal memory that the computer has. When the student uses a
microcomputer, he must have a floppy disk (or diskette) which contains
the language lesson he wants to use.[7] He must place this disk into the
disk drive of the microcomputer. There are several kinds of disks
(single-sided or double-sided, single density or double density, 3-
inch disks, 3.5-inch disks, 5.25-inch disks, etc.); thus, the amount of
information that can be stored on a disk can vary considerably and you
will find that not all disks can store a language lesson that requires
375K of memory. After the student has placed the disk into the disk
drive, the computer copies from the disk into the computer's internal
memory as much information as possible.

Let's suppose that you have a 48K microcomputer; this means that the
internal memory of your machine can store only 48,000 bytes of informa-
tion at a time; keep in mind also that part of that memory (the ROM or
Read Only Memory) is permanently loaded in the computer; without that
permanent memory, the computer could not run. What is left over (RAM
or Random Access Memory) can be used to store your lesson.[8] If your
lesson requires only about 30K, all of it will be stored in the internal
memory and the speed of execution will be very fast (salesmen of micro-
computers tend to demonstrate only that kind of lesson). But, if you
have a lesson requiring 375K, most of it will be left on the disk and
the computer will have to go to the disk drive to copy the information
necessary to judge the student's response, then to provide feedback,
then to display the error analysis, etc. That constant exchange of in-
formation between the computer and the disk drive slows down the execu-
tion of the lesson to such an extent, in my opinion, microcomputers with
less than 512 K of internal memory are unacceptable for effective lan-
guage teaching.[9]

2. The computer language (the language that the programmer uses to communi-
   cate with the computer) should be so structured that a linguistic analysis
   of the student's answers is relatively easy; we need to be able to sepa-
   rate affixes from roots, judge the word order, distinguish lexical errors
   from spelling errors, etc.

3. The screen should be able to display at least 1920 characters (e.g., 24
   lines of 80 characters each). This is necessary because, in a language
   exercise, the instructions, the stimulus, the student's answer, the error
   analysis and review, etc., will require that many characters. In

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[7]The program can also be on a cassette and loaded into the computer's
memory with a cassette player. This takes more time and is used only with pro-
grams short enough to fit entirely into the computer's memory.

[8]Some advertisements state the amount of Random Access Memory (e.g., 64K
RAM or 64K User Memory); the buyer then knows how much memory is really avail-
able for his programs.

[9]Few microcomputers today have 512K of internal memory, but more are be-
coming available.

civilization lessons, you will require detailed maps and various other
graphic displays which require a high resolution screen.[10]

4. Diacritics (accents, cedilla, etc.), italics, all alphabets (e.g.,
    Cyrillic) should be available. It should also be possible to type from
    right to left.

5. The characters on the screen should be as clearly legible as in a text-
    book; they should be sharply defined and should not flicker.[11]

6. Color is desirable. If color is available, the displays should be as
    sharp as in black and white mode.

7. The keyboard should be easy to use. The alphanumeric keys (a through z
    and 0 through 9) should be arrayed in the same order as on a regular
    typewriter; the function keys (those providing editing facilities, feed-
    back, help pages, etc.) should be grouped separately and be clearly
    labeled. The keys, when pressed, should feel "solid" (not "mushy") so
    that the students will be able to type as rapidly as they can. The keys
    should not "bounce," that is, type two characters when the student feels
    he has pressed the key only once.

8. An edit key is essential; the student must be able to make corrections in
    any part of his answer without having to retype the whole sentence.

9. Alphanumeric characters and graphic displays should plot and erase rapid-
    ly. An alphanumeric statement should plot at a speed of, at least 500
    characters per second; erasing a line or a group of lines should be in-
    stantaneous. Fast plot and erase of drawings allows animation (for ex-
    ample, a person crossing a street).

10. It should be possible to communicate with the computer by touching the
    display screen; this can be useful, for example, in word order exercises.[12]

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[10]The PLATO system uses a square display panel consisting of 262,144
(512 x 512) dots which can be turned on or off individually.

[11]Most computer terminals use cathode-ray tubes (like television). The
terminals used at the University of Illinois have a plasma panel; plasma panels
display orange dots on a black background; they have no flicker at all and cause
much less eye fatigue than CRT's. Unfortunately, the manufacturers of microcom-
puters have shown little interest in plasma panels and, since the demand has
been so small, the cost has remained high. At present, plasma panels do not
have color.

[12]There are two types of touch panels. The cathode-ray tubes can be
covered with a pressure-senitive film which determines which area of the screen
is touched by the student. On the terminals equipped with a plasma panel, there
are--around the screen--light-emitting diodes (LED's) which generate vertical
and horizontal infrared light beams; when the student touches the screen, two
light beams are interrupted and the location is determined.

11. It should be possible to activate external devices such as slide selectors, tape recorders, video tape players, etc.

12. The students should not be exposed to dangerous radiation levels even if they sit very close to the screen.

TYPES OF INSTALLATION

As of February 1983, there are two basic types of installation:

1. A star or central system: In this installation a powerful computer (main-frame) serves several hundred terminals (time-sharing system). The termi-nals are usually connected to the main computer with phone lines and can be thousands of miles away from the building where the computer is located.[13] However, since the communication costs depend on the distance, most schools can afford this type of installation only when the central computer is on their campus.

2. Individual microcomputers: In this type of installation, a school has a number of microcomputers in a room and these machines can be used by stu-dents in various disciplines; each machine is independent of all the others. This kind of installation may be acceptable in a temporary, experimental situation, but it has so many drawbacks that, I believe, it should not be generalized. The most serious drawbacks are:

  a. You need to prepare as many diskettes of a lesson as you have students using the lesson at the same time. Thus, if you expect to have 20 stu-dents using lesson 10 simultaneously, you have to prepare 20 copies of that particular lesson. That takes much time and money.

  b. The diskettes require careful handling; they must be kept clean. You will need personnel to distribute the diskettes, to ensure they are properly inserted into the disk drives, and that they are returned un-damaged.

  c. Maintenance is expensive. In this installation, each microcomputer must have a disk drive. Those mechanical disk drives are the most fragile parts of the installation; repairs can be slow and costly.

  d. The most serious drawback concerns the storage of each student's per-formance data ("restart" information so that the next study session will begin at the precise point where the previous session ended, lists of exercises which have been done, various scores, language areas which need to be reviewed, etc.). In a central system, that information is kept by the main computer and can be accessed by the student at any time from any of the terminals connected to the computer. With stand-alone microcomputers, that data could be stored on the lesson diskettes only if each student had his personal set of diskettes (a very expensive solution) and only if his performance data could be transferred from one

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[13]Most of the terminals connected to the University of Illinois PLATO sys-tem are in Illinois, but there are terminals in Arizona, Hawaii, Connecticut, Florida, and some other states.

diskette to another as he moved from lesson to lesson. Another solu-
tion is to provide each student with an individual diskette (to be
inserted in a second disk drive); the computer would write the stu-
dent's performance data on that second diskette. To avoid loss or
damage, it would probably be necessary to keep those individual disk-
ettes in the computer laboratory, which would further complicate the
work of the laboratory personnel.

Neither of those installations is really satisfactory for school systems. Re-
search is now being done, in various places, to develop cluster or network sys-
tems. The "cluster" system being developed at the University of Illinois uses a
minicomputer with a high-speed disk drive; it can operate about 100 terminals all
located in the same building. As in the central system, the students have only a
terminal and a keyboard in front of them (NO diskettes to handle), but there are
NO communication costs. In my opinion, this will be the most efficient and
cheapest installation for a school.[14]

COURSEWARE

The term "hardware" designates the physical components of a computer; "software"
designates the commands that can be understood by that computer. The term
"courseware" is used for the set of instructional lessons that can operate on
that particular type of computer. Good courseware requires a powerful computer
and a software which includes all the commands necessary to perform an effective
presentation of the lesson and execute a detailed analysis of the students' re-
sponses.

How good can computerized lessons be? This subject is difficult to discuss be-
cause there are so many people who believe in "magic" and see in computers the
solution to all problems.[15] We cannot predict the state of technology 20 or

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[14]The current estimate is that a 40-terminal cluster system will cost
$100,000: $20,000 for the minicomputer and $2,000 for each of the 40 color
terminals.

[15]See, for example, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's "Le Défi mondial"
(Fayard 1980), in which he claims that microcomputers can solve the problems of
the Third World. For example, he writes (1980:373): "Le moment arrive, indique
'le mémoire', où nous n'aurons qu'à parler aux ordinateurs pour qu'ils enregis-
trent nos instructions, nos messages, ou l'expression de nos pensées, et où ils
auront appris, par l'intermédiaire de la voix synthétique, à nous transmettre
leur réponse, une fois leur travail accompli. Les échanges dan les deux sens se
feront, et bien plus rapidement, par la parole."
    "Ainsi l'abîme qui sépare encore les populations des continents indus-
trialisés des populations illettrées est appelé à perdre son caractère d'obstacle
infranchissable au développement du Tiers-Monde."
    This passage shows a total lack of understanding of the difficulties posed
by natural speech processing.
    The search for "magical solutions" which require little or no intellectual
effort is also apparent in an article published by *L'Express* (February 25, 1983).
It is claimed, in the article, that--under hypnosis--one can learn to speak a
foreign language in one month.

50 years from now, but there is no indication that artificial intelligence will even come close to duplicating all the functions of human intelligence. As far as language teachers are concerned, I do not see any possibility that we will ever have a computer program that, for example, would judge *free* written expression, would perform a phonemic analysis of a student's oral response, or would understand oral free expression and respond coherently.[16]

I am often asked why I do not make my computerized-language lessons as exciting as the computer games which in arcades fascinate people and keep them entranced for hours. It is obviously possible, for example, to design a game in which the alien invaders cannot be destroyed unless the player plans his strategy in French; the problem is that, under such conditions, the amount of learning per hour is so small that it would take much too long to reach satisfactory objectives. Furthermore the game approach is far more feasible with vocabulary and morphology than with syntax. I have yet to see a complete language course (e.g., a 4-semester college course) which is exciting, amusing, and efficient (in terms of time needed to reach its objectives).

Computerized lessons can be easily copied on tape or disks and distributed to other systems (of the same type). Making those copies is inexpensive, but the cost of preparing the lesson itself can be very high if it is a lesson with precise cues, detailed error analysis, record keeping, remedial exercise, etc.[17]

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[16]Articles in journals or demonstrations in "computer fairs" tend to be deceiving. It is true that there are computer programs that judge free expression if the "writer" limits his "free expression" to a short list of syntactic constructions and a given vocabulary. It is true also that computers can understand human speech if the speaker uses the vocabulary and syntax already stored in the computer and if his voice (distribution of the formants, pitch, rate of delivery, etc.) matches the voice(s) which the computer has been trained to recognize. Understanding *totally free* oral and written expression is quite another matter.

[17]Other possible uses of the computer are: In culture and civilization courses, we could provide the students with simulation lessons. For example, in a course on contemporary France, the student could pretend he was born in France, he could choose his place of birth, his family and friends, could choose his profession, could get married, etc., and thus assume a "French" identity. Since he could enter the program as many times as he wanted and could make different choices, he would get to know contemporary France from many different angles: un O.S. chez Ranault, un instituteur dans un village de Lozère, un docteur dans le 16e arrondissement, etc.

   Another powerful use of computers is to detect the weak points in a student's knowledge and to have the computer present the student with remedial work. For example, a student who wants to resume his study of French after a lapse of a few years would be given a general test. He would be told what his weak points are, and the computer would put together exercises which would bring the student to the desired level.

   In literature, a student about to enter a course on the Renaissance could be told that he needs to take a computerized test designed to determine whether he has acquired the knowledge necessary to take the course with profit; if not, the computer program would provide the necessary remedial training.

In order to provide a student with about one hour of language work on the com-
puter, a language teacher and a programmer may have to work for 50 or even 100
hours: determining the objectives of the exercise, writing the computer code
to judge the students' answers and provide the error analysis, checking that
the lesson operates properly and catches all the errors the students might make,
etc. Thus, to develop a set of exercises for a two-year language course, it
might be necessary to spend over $100,000 in salaries alone (not counting com-
puter time, supplies, etc.). However, since the cost of duplicating the course
is trivial, this amount--although large as an initial expense--would be quite
reasonable if the course were to be used by 200 schools (about $500 per school).
Since there are about 2,000 colleges and many thousands of secondary schools in
the United States, finding 200 buyers does not seem unduly difficult. However,
the following should be kept in mind:

1. There are several computer languages in use: BASIC, FORTRAN, PASCAL, LISP,
    COBOL, TUTOR, etc.; some of those languages (e.g., BASIC) exist in several
    forms ("dialects"). A program written in PASCAL will work only on machines
    which "understand" PASCAL. There are programs which convert lessons from
    one language into another, but--usually--the conversion is not complete
    and must be finished manually. A solution to this problem will probably be
    found, but meanwhile--in order to achieve maximum distribution--the author
    of a course would need to prepare as many versions of his course as there
    are computer languages in use.

2. Some terminals can display a maximum of 960 characters (24 lines of 40
    characters each), some can display 2,048 characters (32 lines of 64 char-
    acters each), some can display 1,960 characters (24 lines of 80 characters
    each), etc. Thus, a language lesson written in BASIC and which requires a
    64 x 32 screen will not run on machines that understand BASIC but have a
    80 x 24 screen. The dissemination of computerize materials will remain
    difficult until a standard is adopted (possibly 24 lines of 80 characters).

3. The computerized materials will probably have to be of a general nature.
    There are too many different textbooks in use and each edition is used for
    too short a time to make it profitable to prepare a computerized version of
    the exercises of each edition of each textbook. At the University of Il-
    linois, we have prepared a large number of exercises (about 700 in French,
    about 500 in Spanish); the number is large enough to allow the students to
    find exercises corresponding to their needs whatever textbook is used.

4. It is easy to examine textbooks and workbooks and decide which one is
    perferable for a particular class. It is far more time-consuming to
    examine a computerized course; in addition to evaluating the contents, one
    must ascertain that the computer program will not "bomb out" leaving, for
    example, the student with a blank screen and unable to proceed. It will
    probably be necessary to establish review boards composed of language
    teachers and students to "go through" the programs in order to evaluate
    them and verify that the code performs correctly.

5. At present, language teachers can easily prepare materials to supplement
    their textbooks, but it is unlikely that they will have enough free time
    and/or training in computer programming to prepare their own computerized
    materials. It is even more unlikely that they will be able to modify/

improve the courses they might purchase. The code for good language
lessons is so complex that even expert programmers hesitate to change
programs written by other programmers.

6. Audio-visual components are desirable. It is fairly easy to add color
slides to a computerized lesson since there are machines which can be
connected to a terminal and which can access *any* picture (on a microfiche,
a tray, or a carrousel) in less than one second. The problem is that we
must prepare a number of slide sets or microfiches as large as the maxi-
mum number of students likely to use the lesson at a particular time. We
also need personnel to check out the slides, make sure that they are used
properly, returned undamaged, etc. The cost in time and money is very
high.[18]

It is also easy to connect an audio tape machine and/or a video tape player
to a computer terminal and write a program which can access any part of
the tape. The problem is that in a good, individualized lesson, the needed
segments will not occur in a linear fashion; for example, a particular stu-
dent might need segment 1, then segment 20, then segment 12, then segment
45, etc. The tape is wound or rewound automatically, but it takes far too
much time. And, of course, we have the same problems as with color slides
(number of copies, personnel, etc.).

At present, the only way to obtain immediate random access to any part of
an audio and/or video recording is to place the recording on a disk or a
cylinder; for example, on the random access audio device developed at the
University of Illinois, the disk and the playback/record head move jointly
in such a way that any part of the disk can be accessed in less than half
a second.[19] Some video disc machines can provide practically immediate
access to any audio, slide, or moving picture segment, but the cost of
manufacturing a video disc master is still very high and the number of
potential users is not sufficient to bring the cost of the copies to an
affordable price. In any case, the use of such audio or video devices
suffers from the limitations already mentioned (number of copies to be
made or bought, personnel, etc.).

Another possibility is to convert the needed recordings into digital in-
formation and store it in the computer memory with the code for the
lesson, but--because of restrictions in the available amount of memory
and/or the transmission rate of information between the computer and the
terminal--the speech needs to be compressed. This process of removing
non-essential information keeps the speech intelligible to natives, but
it is hardly satisfactory for language teaching.

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[18] I used microfiches with 256 color slides for my "culture" lessons (geog-
raphy, etc.) for several years. I had to discontinue the use of those micro-
fiches because of the cost of updating them and replacing them.

[19] The random access audio devices are manufactured by Education and In-
formation Systems in Champaign, Illinois.

Another possibility is to use synthetic speech. Instead of recording
the needed sentences, we can type phonemic strings with their pertinent
prosodic features into the computer program for the lesson and a syn-
thesizer (incorporated into the terminal used by the student) changes
that information into speech. It is also possible to use a computer pro-
gram to convert the graphemic strings into phonemic strings[20] which can
be sent to the synthesizer; this presents the advantage of allowing the
students to hear the sentences they have typed or of allowing audio feed-
back based on the student's response (Sherwood and Sherwood 1982). At
present, the quality of the voice produced by such synthesizers is not
good enough for language teaching, but progress is being made.

CONCLUSION

At the University of Illinois, I have had many students who have profited from
the computer programs I have written and who have reached levels of accuracy
they could not have attained without the programs; for those students, the ex-
pense of time and money was clearly justified. But my purpose in writing this
article was not to convince you that all forward-looking language departments
should use computerized lessons. It may well be that this world would be a
better world, with happier people, if cars, television, computers, etc., had
never been invented or if wisdom had governed their development and their use.
But, for better or for worse, language teachers and their students are part of
a society that has been deeply affected by technology, a technology which is
omnipresent and cannot be ignored. Computers will not go away; their influence
in our daily lives and education will continue to grow. It is up to us, in the
Humanities, to understand that technology, to evaluate its potential (for good
or for bad), and to be among those who decide how it will be used.

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[20]A grapheme-to-phoneme program for French is being developed at the Uni-
versity of Illinois by Fernand Marty and Robert Hart.

IMMERSION AND OTHER INNOVATIONS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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AND

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"Es facil. Es facil!" were the cries heard from the first graders learning a
complex mathematical task. The teacher was at the board demonstrating how to
draw a three-dimensional box and the children were eagerly reproducing the
geometric figure on their own slates. "Miren me. Hagan una caja, y una linea
asi... Eschuchen--no es facil!" cautioned the teacher, making sure that they
watched her and drew their lines carefully.

A typical first-grade math lesson was being taught in a public school, La
Ballona Elementary in Culver City, California...but there was a difference.
These American born English-speaking children were being taught math *in Spanish*,
and were learning all their other subjects in the foreign language as well. With
little extra effort, they were becoming fluent in Spanish as well as learning
all the regular class material.

How can this be? Children learning a new language during their regular classes?
Of course! It has long been known that young children approach second-language
learning with an ease and naturalness that is not found in older learners. So
why not take advantage of this asset? Without detracting from their regular
school work, children can acquire a second language while learning other subject
matter taught in that language. At least 13 school systems across the United
States have adopted this idea and have started their own language immersion
classes.

Immersion programs are not the only type of elementary-language programs in
which there is currently a wave of renewed interest. The Center for Applied
Linguistics (CAL), with funding from the U.S. Department of Education, has be-
come the unofficial clearinghouse for information on the types of foreign lan-
guage classes that are being offered in elementary schools across the country.

The CAL investigators first surveyed elementary schools in eight states to find
out how much early language instruction was going on and what teaching methods
were being used. The survey covered 1,237 schools in California, Illinois,
Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Of the
453 schools that responded, 18 percent reported that foreign language was being
taught.

Investigators then visited schools with successful programs to gather informa-
tion to develop step-by-step guidelines for parents, teachers, and administra-
tors interested in starting foreign-language classes in their elementary schools.
The innovative programs which were observed could generally be classified
according to three categories: language immersion, revitalized foreign language
in the elementary school, and foreign-language experience (FLEX).

LANGUAGE IMMERSION

The most dramatic approach to the teaching of languages in the elementary schools
can be found in the immersion programs where children do learn to understand,
speak, read and write in two languages, the second language and English. U.S.
immersion programs were modeled after the extremely successful French-immersion
programs which have been operating in Canada for the past 15 years. Immersion
simply means a program in which the usual curriculum activities are conducted in
a second language which is the *medium* of instruction rather than the object of

instruction. It can begin at any level--in kindergarten or the primary grades, where it is called early immersion, or in the middle grades where it is called late immersion. In different kinds of immersion programs the amount of time each day spent in the second language may also vary. In total immersion pro- grams, the second language is used for the entire school day during the first two or three years of the program. In partial-immersion programs, instruction takes place in the second language for part (usually at least half) of the school day. It is important to remember that slight variations in immersion- program design can occur depending upon the needs or desires of an individual school district. However, even though there may be variations in the amount of time spent in the second language or the grade level at which formal English instruction is introduced, the basic concept and methodology remain the same.

From the minute the children arrive at school in the morning, they hear only the second language from the teacher. All classroom conversation and instruc- tions are in the new language. In this way, children acquire the second lan- guage in a natural setting in situations such as: "I have hot lunch today," "Can we go out for recess?" "Give me the ball." "I want to be first!" "May I go to the bathroom?" The language instruction does not exist in a vacuum, but is an integral part of their daily lives. During the first few months students answer in English when the teacher speaks to them in the second language. Gradually, as their second-language skills improve, they start speaking the language with their teacher and friends.

Children show little anxiety about learning in another language because the things they learn are within their experience. They learn to speak and read about things they understand: in kindergarten, a visit to the zoo; in second grade, a lesson on magnets; in fifth grade, a lesson on United States geography.

The curriculum in an immersion program is basically the same as the curriculum in any elementary school. Students have reading, mathematics, language arts, science, social studies, art, music, and physical education. After two or three years in a total-immersion program, when children have acquired compre- hension and can easily generate needed speech in the second language, English is introduced as a language arts subject for 30 minutes to an hour each day in the second or third grade. As the students progress through the middle grades, the amount of English is gradually increased until in grades five or six there is a balance of both the second language and English. The end result is that upon leaving a total-immersion program, students have not only completed the regular elementary curriculum, but are able to begin middle school or junior high school with bilingual skills sufficient to take subject content classes in either language.

Questions about achievement have been a common concern expressed by parents who fear that children in immersion programs would fall behind the traditional English only classes. Research from Canada, a country which has had many years of experience with French-immersion programs, has shown the positive effects of early immersion. Many studies have shown that immersion pupils achieve as well as or better than their monolingual peers in the content subjects, even though they have learned those subjects through the second language. The chil- dren do show a temporary lag in the development of their English language skills, but this lag is quickly made up once English-language arts instruction is intro- duced. The research on early immersion is not only reassuring about achievement,

but also indicates desirable side effects. Merrill Swain (1979) summarizes the
research related to immersion programs in Canada for the past ten years:

> *Effects on English Skills*
>
> By the end of grade four, the immersion students and their English
> educated peers perform equivalently. By the end of grade five the
> immersion students often outperform the comparison groups on
> several aspects of measured English skills, for example, reading
> comprehension and vocabulary knowledge.
>
> *Effects on Second Language Skills*
>
> The results reveal consistently superior performance in French
> skills as compared to students who have had a traditional pro-
> gram of French instruction. The results also show that the
> immersion students score as well on French proficiency instru-
> ments as 30% of the native-speaking students.
>
> *Effects on the Learning of Subject Content Material*
>
> On standardized tests given in English, science, social studies
> and mathematics, the immersion students who had been taught the
> subject matter in French, perform as well as their monolingual
> peers.
>
> *Other effects of Immersion Programs*
>
> Many studies show that bilingualism can positively influence
> aspects of cognitive and linguistic growth. (Cummins 1978.)

Parents become very enthusiastic when they see these research findings reflected
in the achievement of their own children. They are proud of their children's
abilities in a new language. Consequently, immersion schools have a very high
degree of parent involvement. Parents choose this type of program for many
reasons, but most often the reason given is that parents felt unsuccessful in
learning a second language themselves and wanted to make sure that their chil-
dren had a better chance of success. Milwaukee's immersion program has become
so successful, for example, that there are long waiting lists for admission.

In response to questions about the kinds of children that enroll in immersion
programs, the answer, based on immersion experiences in cities such as Milwau-
kee, San Diego, and Cincinnati is very simple: all kinds. Only a very small
percentage of the students come from bilingual homes; close to half are mem-
bers of racial or ethnic minority groups. The magnet-immersion programs draw
students from every geographical sector and every socioeconomic group in the
cities in which they are located. Parent interest is the only criterion for
entrance into these programs.

Test scores from United States immersion programs have consistently shown the
same good results as the research from Canada. For example, in Milwaukee's
program, standardized achievement tests administered in English to students
who have been taught in French, German or Spanish show that Milwaukee's im-
mersion students score well above local and national averages in both language
arts and mathematics. In the 1981 Metropolitan Achievement Test results,

students did so well that there were no students in the program who scored in
the "low" category in any subject area. The 1982 and 1983 results on the Iowa
Test of Basic Skills showed the same excellent results.

Teachers for immersion programs are not always easy to find. Staffing has been
difficult because prospective teachers interested in second-language learning
have traditionally gone into secondary education. What is required is an
elementary teacher with native or near-native ability in the second language.
There is no need for special certification in the second language, but there is
a need for the teacher to have demonstrated proficiency in all aspects of the
language.

Learning materials have also not always been easy to obtain. Curriculum ma-
terials in Spanish can be adapted from materials intended for bilingual educa-
tion programs. French materials can be obtained from Canadian sources. Ma-
terials in German have proven to be most difficult, but Milwaukee's immersion
program has made a good start in developing materials for grades kindergarten
through six.

The question of costs of immersion programs is vitally important in these times
of budgetary constraints. It would be difficult to implement any new program or
methodology that appears to generate new costs. However, the experience of
schools which have begun immersion programs has shown that the costs of immer-
sion and non-immersion classes are similar. For example, curriculum materials
(textbooks, workbooks, maps, etc.) are reordered each year, and the costs,
whether for English or second-language materials, are comparable. No additional
staff is required because the regular classroom teacher is also the "language
teacher." The point is that a teacher and new books and materials are provided
for every classroom, whether the teaching that goes on there is in English or
a second language. Library books for second-language students do, however, con-
stitute a "new" expense, and collections may need to be acquired gradually,
over a number of years.

Of the three types of programs identified at the beginning of this discussion of
innovations in U.S. elementary school foreign-language programs, immersion pro-
grams set the highest goals in terms of language proficiency. Students are ex-
pected to master the regular curriculum and also to become "functionally pro-
ficient" in the foreign language. This means that fifth and sixth graders should
be able to communicate in the foreign language (on topics appropriate to their
age) almost as well as 10- and 11-year olds for whom the language is native. It
must be noted, however, that even though the children develop a functional pro-
ficiency, their second-language skills are not native-like with respect to all
characteristics of grammar and vocabulary. In a report of research findings
for immersion programs in Canada, Swain (1981) summarizes the distinction: "This
does not mean that the children were unable to say what they wanted to, but they
used the numerous strategies or techniques to say what they did not have the
grammatical means to say." Further development of their second language skills
is dependent upon interaction with native speakers of the language, either in or
out of school.

The first immersion classes in the U.S. were started in Spanish in the Culver
City Unified School District, with assistance from the University of California

at Los Angeles, in the fall of 1971. A group of 19 five-year-old monolingual
English speakers were taught the kindergarten curriculum completely in Spanish.
This program was modeled after the St. Lambert project in Montreal, Canada, in
which English Canadians were immersed in French instruction from kindergarten
(see Lambert and Tucker 1972). Definite patterns have emerged from the Culver
City program. As in the case of the St. Lambert study, the English-speaking
students acquired competence in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing
Spanish, while maintaining English-language proficiency. These students also
performed on a par with their English-speaking age group in content subjects
such as mathematics and science (Cohen 1974).

Since the Culver City program began in 1971, other school systems have followed
the lead in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Chevy Chase and Silver Spring, Maryland;
Cincinnati, Ohio; Holliston, Massachusetts; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Orem, Utah;
Rochester, New York; San Diego and Davis, California; Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Wash-
ington, DC. The chart (on pages 164-165) of immersion programs in the United
States shows languages offered, size of the program, type of program, and type
of school. Some of the immersion schools came about as a result of desegrega-
tion efforts and became "magnet" schools which were designed to attract students
from every part of the community because of the quality of the program that was
being offered.

REVITALIZED FLES PROGRAMS

The second type of program popular today includes foreign languages taught be-
fore, during, or after school for a specific number of days per week. Instruc-
tion is begun in the elementary school and the opportunity is provided for con-
tinuing study of the same language through grade 12. Today's revitalized lan-
guage classes emphasize spoken language more than such programs used to.

Foreign language in the elementary school (FLES) is a concept whose time has
come...again. Popular in the 1960's, those years saw great public and govern-
ment support of language learning at all levels of instruction, especially in
primary and middle grades, a reaction due in large part to the shock of Sputnik
and the sudden awareness that linguistic isolation had played a role in that
technological setback. By the early 1970's, however, national attention and
federal funding had clearly shifted to new priorities. FLES programs that had
been developed at the peak of public enthusiasm declined abruptly for several
reasons. Heading the list was the fact that foreign languages had been, in
many cases, simply added to the elementary curriculum and never fully grafted
onto it (Pesola 1982). Other contributing factors were: a lack of qualified
teachers, a shortage of quality instructional material, a failure to create
specific goals, parent demands for a return to the "basics," and the problem of
articulation between elementary and secondary schools.

In spite of the failure of some FLES programs, other programs remained viable
and functioning. In the climate of the 1980's where language competence in the
United States is considered crucial, an opportunity has been created for a re-
newed and sounder rationale for languages in the elementary school. In this
climate, revitalized FLES programs are becoming increasingly popular. These
new programs carry with them a new set of goals--an emphasis on developing

Immersion and Partial Immersion Language Programs in U.S. Elementary Schools, 1982
Information compiled by the Center for Applied Linguistics
Elementary School Foreign Language Project
3520 Prospect Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 298-9292

School District/City	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Lan- guages	No. of Aides	Contacts
Alpine (UT) School District	-Started 1978 -Total Immersion -Local funding only -Grades 1-5	1	104	4	Spanish		Janet G. Spencer, Principal Cherry Hill Elementary School 250 East 1650 South Orem, UT 84057 801/225-3387
Baton Rouge, LA LEA	-Started 1980 -Total immersion	1	60	4	Spanish French		Mrs. Ben Peabody, Sr. Principal La Belle Aire Elementary 12255 Tams Drive Baton Rouge, LA 70815 504/275-7480
Cincinnati (OH) Public Schools	-Started 1974 -Partial immersion -Total immers. in K -Local funding only -Articulation w/junior and se.ior high	4 Spanish 3 French 1 German 1 Middle Sch. ___ 9 total	900 Spanish 480 French 580 German 430 Middle Sch. ___ 2390 total	80 (approx. total)	Spanish French German	German - 1 Spanish - 1/2	Mimi Met Supervisor Cincinnati Public Schools 230 East 9th Street Cincinnati, OH 45202 513/369-4937
Culver City, CA	-Started 1971 -Total immersion -Magnet school -Local funding only	1	149 total	5 (full-time)	Spanish	Some parent volunteers	Eugene Ziff, Principal La Ballona Elementary School 10915 Washington Boulevard Culver City, CA 90230 213/839-4361, Ext. 229
Holliston, MA	-Started 1979 -Total Immersion -Grades K-4 -Spanish partial immersion offered in middle school	1	99	3	French	1 full-time 1 part-time	James Palladino, Principal Miller Elementary School Woodland Street Holliston, MA 01746 617/429-1601
Milwaukee (WI) Public Schools	-Started 1977 -Magnet Schools -Begins with 4-yr. old kinder. -Total Immersion -Articulation w/junior and senior high	2 total German K-6 French K-5 Spanish K-3	174 German 199 French 190 Spanish 30 Jr. High ___ 593 total	20	German French Spanish	10	Helena Anderson Foreign Language Curriculum Specialist Milwaukee Public Schools P.O. Drawer 10K Milwaukee, WI 53201 414/475-8305
Montgomery County (MD) Public Schools	-French total immersion started at Four Corners Elementary and now continuing at Oak View -Small outside funding -Articulation with junior high: one subject course per year for former immersion pupils	1 French	172	7	French	1 position (college volunteers, occasionally parents), high school interns	Gabriel Jacobs, Principal Oak View Elementary School 400 East Wayne Avenue Silver Spring, MD 20901 301/589-002D
	-Spanish total immers. -Magnet school -Local funding only	1 Spanish	45-60	2 (Grades 1,2,3) (Grades 4,5,6)	Spanish		Louise Rosenberg, Principal Rock Creek Elementary School 8330 Grubb Road Chevy Chase, MD 20815 301/589-0005

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(Continued)

School District/City	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	No. of Aides	Contacts
Rochester, NY	-Started 1981 -Total Immersion (except for English reading) -Grades 1-2 -Local funding only	2	48	2	Spanish		Alessio Evangelista Director, Foreign Language Dept. City School District 131 W. Broad Street Rochester, NY 14608 716/325-4560, Ext. 2315
San Diego (CA) City Schools	-Started 1977 -Total immersion for students who begin in grades K-2, partial for those who begin in grades 3-6 -Partial immersion for grades 7-12 -Magnet schools -Special funding in initial years; regular funding now	5 (includes two secondary schools)	850 total	35 total	French Spanish	35 (native speakers)	Harold B. Wingard Curriculum Specialist, Second Language Education San Diego City Schools Linda Vista Elementary, 8-8 2772 Ulric Street San Diego, CA 92111 714/569-9640
Tulsa (OK) Public Schools, Independent School District #1	-Started 1981 -Total immersion	1	26	1	Spanish	1	Jack Griffin Tulsa Public Schools Assoc. Supervisor for Instruction P.O. Box #45208 Tulsa, OK 74145 918/743-3381, Ext. 485
Washington, DC	-Started 1966 -Independent -Partial immersion -English/French, English/Spanish -Nursery through grade 12 -Pupils 85 nationalities; staff 35 nationalities -International baccalaureate	1	550	60 full-time equivalents	French Spanish		Dorothy Bruchholz Goodman, Director Washington International School 3100 Macomb Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20008 202/966-8510
Washington, DC	-Started 1971 -Partial immersion -Local funding only	1	330	11 Spanish 11 English	Spanish	1 (Pre-K)	Frank Miele, Principal Oyster Elementary School 29th and Calvert Streets, N.W. Washington, DC 20008 202/673-7277

second-language speaking and listening skills and on developing each student's cultural awareness. The following guidelines (Pesola 1982) give an indication of the new directions in FLES.

1. The FLES student learns most effectively when language is presented in a meaningful communicative context: social/cultural situations, games, songs and rhymes, experiences with arts, crafts, sports.

2. Although grammar should not be ignored in FLES instruction, it is not the most useful organizing principle for instruction, nor should it be the object of instruction for its own sake.

3. Elementary and middle school children need to work with *concrete* experiences as the starting point of learning; thus considerable planning should go into the use of visuals, props and realia in the FLES classroom.

4. Planning should incorporate opportunity for physical movement and activity.

FLES classes are usually taught by a language-specialist teacher who meets students three to five days per week for 20 to 30 minutes per day. Such a specialist must have excellent language skills, especially in speaking, and must have skills in working with elementary children. Some FLES classes are taught by the classroom teacher with the support of a language specialist. Budget restrictions are a problem which must be overcome in programs with language specialists, because the salary of the language teacher is an additional cost.

Traditional FLES programs did not necessarily emphasize speaking skills, and parents were frequently disappointed if they expected that their children would be able to speak the language fluently after only three years of classes given two times a week. Parents are now told that the level of fluency their children will attain in a FLES program is a direct result of the amount of time spent using the foreign language. They are advised to set their expectations accordingly.

Interesting instructional material is an important part of today's FLES programs, and the lack thereof is still a problem that needs to be solved. The best solution to date has been teacher-prepared or school-district-prepared materials that meet the varying individual needs. Publishers of foreign-language textbooks need to become more aware of this market.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE (FLEX)

A third innovative approach, foreign language experience (FLEX), has also become popular in the 1980's. FLEX programs are self-contained, non-articulated programs designed to introduce elementary school students to language study on an informal basis. This approach usually has the following goals and purposes (Strasheim 1982).

1. An improved foreign-language program with increased strength at
    the beginning and reduced attrition throughout the sequence.

2. The   ptivation for language study   rough the
    build   of   au,ness for language learning, and giving t e
    student an intelligent basis for the selection (or non-
    selection) of a language to study.

3. The mastery of a limited amount of language material, including
    all the major facets of language learning (i.e., grammar, pronun-
    ciation, vocabulary).

4. The development of greater interest in the world and its peoples,
    encompassing increased sensitivity to cultural similarities and
    decreased ethnocentrism as better preparation for life in a
    pluralistic society and world.

5. Awareness of the career uses for foreign-language skills.

Fluency in the target language is clearly not an objective in FLEX programs
and this must be explained at the outset. However, because of the limited
objectives of FLEX, many schools offer a sequence of short FLEX courses in
different languages during one year. It is hoped this varied experience gives
students a strong basis for choosing which language to study in the future.

One possible difficulty of this approach is that qualified FLEX instructors do
not have to be fluent in the second language. In fact, in some school districts
FLEX instructors with limited foreign-language study learn the foreign lan-
guage right along with the students. This appears to be possible because the
program strives only to introduce foreign languages and to make the initial
learning experience pleasurable. Again, the program does not aim for student
fluency but for an enthusiastic response to language learning in general to-
gether with the mastery of a limited body of material. It would seem that if
the FLEX instructor has a positive, enthusiastic attitude toward language and
language teaching, this might compensate for a lack of language proficiency.

The State of Indiana currently has a program in which classroom teachers learn
the language right along with their students and begin to implement the pro-
gram after a two-day training session. New FLEX self-instructional materials
and tapes developed by the Indiana Department of Public Instruction are intended
as an experiential enrichment component for the primary grades curriculum and
are currently being tested in several school districts. The materials have been
developed in French, Spanish, and German, and introduce the children to numbers,
colors, parts of the body, and clothing. While some administrators may in-
itially question classroom teachers' willingness to learn a language along with
their students, Stockwell Elementary school administrators in Evasnville,
Indiana, found overwhelming enthusiasm for the program.

In many school districts, FLEX is taught by high school or college students,
parents, or other community members who have a background in foreign language
and who will often volunteer their services. Usually, instructors and prospec-
tive instructors attend a short training program.

While results of the survey in these eight states indicate there is not yet
total commitment to foreign-language study at the elementary school level,
visits to schools were very encouraging. Foreign-language programs that do
exist are successful and have a promising future. The enthusiasm of the par-
ents, students, and administrators for these programs is overwhelming.

The trend toward clearly stating program goals should help alleviate some of
the proficiency-expectation problems that plagued educators in the past when
goals were not spelled out. Once the goals of the program are understood, in-
creased satisfaction and less criticism should result. Now, parents and
administrators can expect, for example, that children participating in a FLEX
program will experience a basic exposure to the language being studied and to
the corresponding culture. Children enrolled in a FLES program will be intro-
duced to the basics of language, with emphasis on oral communication (and atten-
tion to reading and writing skills, in some programs). If the children are
participating in a language-immersion program, they should be expected to be-
come functionally proficient--to be able to communicate in the foreign language
on topics appropriate to their age, and perform appropriately in all of the
basic subjects of the curriculum.

Those who, as of a few years ago, felt that elementary foreign-language study
was dead should take another look at what is currently going on in elementary
schools. Immersion, and revitalized FLES programs, emphasizing spoken language,
and foreign language experience programs are setting a new trend for the future.
Schools that currently do not offer foreign languages need to recognize that
learning a foreign language enriches a child's life. In today's world, every
child can profit by learning the language and culture of other countries, and
effective instruction in these two areas should be a basic goal in our elemen-
tary schools.[2]

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TESTING PERFORMANCE IN ORAL INTERACTION

KEITH MORROW[1]

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The testing procedures described in this paper are employed in the Oral Inter-
action examination, set by the Royal Society of Arts in the "Examination in the
Communicative use of English as a Foreign Language." This examination is now
becoming widely established in the United Kingdom, and increasingly overseas,
as a measure of what candidates can actually *do* when using English as a foreign
language. It measures the candidates' performance on a range of pre-specified
tasks in terms of its relationship to established criteria. It is thus an ex--
amination based on performance as a reflection of underlying competence, and
the definition and description of the levels of performance appropriate to the
different levels of the examination proved to be one of the most challenging
and rewarding aspects of the examination development.

The examinations are offered twice a year at three levels (Basic, Intermediate,
Advanced) in four areas (Reading, Listening, Writing, Oral Interaction). The
candidate is free to enter any combination of areas at any combination of
levels--except that for administrative reasons the same area may not be entered
at more than one level at one session. The advantage of this is that it allows
a candidate to build up a profile of performance which corresponds to his/her
own actual strengths and weaknesses in English. Thus, for example, an Arab
student may enter Listening and Oral Interaction at Advanced level, while tak-
ing Intermediate-level Reading and perhaps only Basic-level Writing; a Japanese
student, on the other hand, may take Reading at Advanced level, Writing at
Intermediate, Oral Interaction at Basic level and Listening not at all. Every
candidate receives a certificate showing exactly what he/she has passed, at
what level and, crucially, a brief statement of what it means to have obtained
this result.

This notion of "knowing what it means" to achieve a given level of task-
performance is crucial to the whole concept of the examinations. It is defined
along three parameters. The first of these is *operation*. This delineates the
tasks that the candidate is expected to perform at different levels of the ex-
amination. For example in Reading at Basic level, one of the operations is
"Searching through a text to locate a specific piece of information," while at
Intermediate level the candidate may be asked to "Skim through the text to
establish the gist." The listing of operations is cumulative, so that those
appearing at Basic level may also be tested at Intermediate and Advanced levels.
The higher levels will differ from the lower, however, in requiring the can-
didate to display a higher *degree of skill* in performing these operations on a
wider range of *text-types*. This last is a familiar concept to language teach-
ers and testers. It is easy to accept that reading a popular newspaper report
is "different" from reading an academic textbook, and that performance on one
does not necessarily imply performance on the other. But it is the *degree of
skill* that is perhaps the most innovative and the most practically useful
criterion, especially in the productive tests of Writing and Oral Interaction.
The *degree of skill* specification for Oral Interaction tests is set out in
Figure 1. As should by now be clear, this shows *how well* the candidates must
perform; *what* they must do, and in terms of what *text-types* is specified else-
where.

So far this paper has been concerned with general statements of principle and
intent. Let us look in more detail at the Oral Interaction examination to see
how these are applied in practice.

	BASIC	INTERMEDIATE	ADVANCED
Accuracy	Pronunciation may be heavily influenced by L1 and accented though generally intelligible. Any confusion caused by grammatical/lexical errors can be clarified by the candidate.	Pronunciation still obviously influenced by L1 though clearly intelligible. Grammatical/lexical accuracy is generally high, though some errors which do not destroy communication are acceptable.	Accurate in pronunciation, though some residual accent is acceptable. Grammatical/lexical accuracy is very high.
Appropriacy	Use of language broadly appropriate to function, though no subtlety should be expected. The intention of the speaker can be perceived without excessive effort.	Use of language generally appropriate to function. The overall intention of the speaker is always clear.	Use of language entirely appropriate to context, function and intention.
Range	Severely limited range of expression is acceptable. May often have to search for a way to convey the desired meaning.	A fair range of language is available to the candidate. He is able to express himself without overtly having to search for words.	Few limitations on the range of language available to the candidate. Little obvious use of avoidance strategies.
Flexibility	Need not usually take the initiative in conversation. May take time to respond to a change of topic. Interlocutor may have to make considerable allowances and often adopt a supportive role.	Is able to take the initiative in a conversation, and to adapt to new topics or changes of direction--though neither of these may be consistently manifested.	Contributes well to the interaction and will take the initiative. Little strain is imposed on the interlocutor.
Size	Contributions generally limited to one or two simple utterances are acceptable.	Most contributions may be short, but some evidence of ability to produce more complex utterances and to develop these into discourse should be manifested.	Candidates should be able to produce lengthy and developed responses and contributions.

Figure 1. Tests of oral interaction: degrees of skill.

The examination is in three parts. In Part I, the candidate talks alone with an interlocutor; in Part II a pair of candidates discuss a "problem" together and decide on an appropriate course of action; in Part III the candidates report back to the interlocutor (who has been absent during Part II) what they have been doing and the decision they have reached. They must explain and justify their proposed course of action to the interlocutor. During the whole of Parts I, II and III, the candidates' performance is observed by an assessor, who judges whether or not each candidate reaches the required performance (as specified in Figure 1) for the level. Samples of the tasks set in Part I and Parts II/III of the examination at Basic level in 1981 are shown in Figures 2 and 3.

A number of points emerge from this bald summary. First, the roles of interlocutor and assessor are separated. This reflects a deliberate attempt to give the examination a "human face" and to lessen the inevitable anxiety which candidates feel. The interlocutor is normally a member of staff from the school or college where the candidate is studying, and is hopefully a familiar figure. The assessor plays no part in the actual conduct of the examination as far as the candidate is concerned. He/she observes as unobtrusively as possible what is happening and stays on the sidelines. In fact the conduct of these examinations requires a third person, the usher, whose role is to explain their tasks to the candidates before they go into the examination room. This is our solution to the difficulty, especially at Basic level, of conveying complex written instructions to candidates whose English may be defeated by them. Even translation, which is not possible given the unpredictable L1 background of our candidates, would not, we feel, be as helpful as this procedure.

Secondly, the orientation of the examination is "educational" rather than "administrative." It is undoubtedly uneconomic to split the role of assessor and interlocutor; it is equally "complex" to organize proceedings with single candidates and then pairs; and it poses unfamiliar problems for test centers to "pair" students in such a way that each has the chance to perform to their best. But it is our conviction that these practical problems are outweighted by the positive educational advantages of a test format whose "washback" effect on the classroom is so clearly in line with current thinking about good pedagogy.

It is perhaps at this point that experienced test constructors will sigh deeply and raise questions about reliability, validity and other aspects of the real world designed to deflate euphoria. Happily, our experience is that face validity is high; both teachers and students agree readily that these tests are a good approximation to what is involved in "real" language use in the "real" world. Interesting work remains to be done on the investigation of concurrent validity between these tests and other oral tests, and of correlations between these tests in different areas. At the moment, however, our main attention is focused on reliability in terms of variability between different applications of the same test in different settings. This hinges crucially on the role of the interlocutor, and we are now putting considerable effort into the production of detailed guidelines for interlocutors and the holding of briefing and standardization meetings. Our greatest help is the fact that the role we are asking interlocutors to adopt is essentially that of a good teacher, being supportive and constructive, and we are able to build on this classroom practice.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS EXAMINATIONS BOARD

EXAMINATIONS IN THE COMMUNICATIVE USE OF
ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
TEST OF ORAL INTERACTION
BASIC/INTERMEDIATE/ADVANCED LEVEL
1981
CANDIDATES' PAPER
PART I

You must talk with a teacher for about 5 minutes. While you are
talking, an Assessor will be listening to what you and the teacher say.

You now have a few minutes to study the programme of evening classes
before discussing it with the teacher. You should choose 3 activities
that interest you and that are suitable for your level of English. If you
need advice on the different activities, the teacher will be able to help
you.

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Figure 2.   Sample of basic level tasks for Part I.

RSA SCHOOL OF ENGLISH

In addition to your general English classes, you should choose 3 activities from the programme of evening classes below.

Please note that the activities marked with an asterisk (*) are only suitable for students with an Intermediate or Advanced level of English.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
19.00 to 20.30	Conversation Practice or Study Skills* *(If you choose this class, give your teacher as much information as you can about your future study plans)*	Translation* *(Ask your teacher which languages are available)* or Language Games	Handwriting or English Literature* *(If you choose this class, tell your teacher what kind of Literature you are most interested in)*	Business English* *(Tell your teacher which areas of Business Studies you are interested in)* or Language Teaching Film	Language Learning Songs or Technical English* *(Tell your teacher what technical subjects you are interested in)*

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Figure 2. (Continued)

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS EXAMINATIONS BOARD

EXAMINATIONS IN THE COMMUNICATIVE USE OF
ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
TEST OF ORAL INTERACTION
BASIC LEVEL
1981
CANDIDATES' PAPER
PART II/III

For part II of the examination you must do one of the tasks on
this sheet with a fellow-student. When you go into the examination
room, the examiner will tell you which task you must do and will
explain anything you do not understand. When you have completed the
task, a teacher will come into the room. You must explain to him/her
what you have done in your task and what you have decided to do. This
is part III of the test.

TASK 1   You have been invited to take part in a radio programme
          in which foreign students are asked for their views on life
          in Britain. To prepare you for the programme, the examiner
          will give you a list of points to consider. Discuss these
          with your fellow student and compare your opinions.

TASK 2   You and your fellow student have won first prise in a
          competition. The prize is a weekend for two in London with
          all expenses paid. The examiner will give you a list of
          suggestions to help you plan your weekend. Discuss these
          with your fellow student and decide how you would like to
          spend your time.

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Figure 3.   Sample of basic level tasks for Part II/III.

The question of marker-marker (inter-rater) reliability, which has traditionally haunted "subjective" tests, causes us very few problems, and it is perhaps worth considering briefly why.

The assessor is asked to evaluate the candidate's performance in terms of the criteria set out in the chart in Figure 1. This may seem at first sight a daunting task, but in fact it turns out to be much more straightforward. Firstly, all the candidates presenting themselves in a given session are entering at the same level, so the assessor need only be concerned with one column of the chart at a time. Secondly, the question to be answered is not an open one ("How good is the candidate?") but a closed one ("Is the candidate good enough to meet these criteria?"). And the answer is to be based on a global consideration of *all* the criteria. If they are all met, the candidate passes; if not, the candidate fails.

Of course, the criteria themselves are subjective. What is a "fair" range? What are "more complex" utterances? How much is "little" strain? But it is in terms like this that communication operates and we find that teachers have no difficulty in working within this framework as assessors with very high reliability.

Language in use is a qualitative, not essentially a quantitative, phenomenon. In testing as in teaching we need to break away from the idea that a language is merely the sum of its parts. This represents the road that we are following; we're enjoying the journey.[2]

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[2]The full specifications, and sample papers, for these examinations can be obtained from: Royal Society of Arts Examinations Board, Murray Road, Orpington, Kent, BR5 3RB. Price: £1.00 plus £1.20 airmail.

PROFICIENCY IN CONTEXT: THE PENNSYLVANIA EXPERIENCE

BARBARA F. FREED[1]

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Every ten years or so a new movement seems to take hold of the language teach-
ing profession. Each movement promises better and more rapid learning of a
second language and brings with it new approaches, methods, techniques and ma-
terials. A brief retrospective glance identifies the era of grammar-translation,
that of audio-lingual teaching, another focuses on communicative/interactional
learning and, in the recent past, that of the notional-functional syllabus.
(For discussion see, among others, Brown 1980; Clarke 1982; Richards and Rodgers
1982). Most recently, the term proficiency has come into popular usage. We
are barraged with information about proficiency-based language instruction,
proficiency standards, proficiency requirements and proficiency tests. While
proficiency-oriented teaching cannot be equated with a method but should be re-
garded, rather, as an organizing principle or system (ACTFL 1982), the notion
of proficiency-based instruction has already had an indisputable effect on the
language teaching profession.

On a national level, recognition of the need to establish commonly understood
and accepted proficiency standards is not new. The Report of the Modern Lan-
guage Association-American Academy of Learned Society's (MLA-ACLS) Language
Task Forces, completed in 1978 (Brod 1980), and that of the President's Commis-
sion on Foreign Language and International Studies (1979) emphasized the need
to set clearly defined, realistic proficiency goals for each level of study and
to develop tests to measure such proficiency. Response to these recommenda-
tions was generated by a grant to the American Council on the Teaching of For-
eign Languages (ACTFL) to provide a "Design for Measuring and Communicating For-
eign Language Proficiency" (ACTFL 1982). This project resulted in the ACTFL
Provisional Proficiency Guidelines, which provide a series of "generic" and
language-specific (French, Spanish, German) functionally defined proficiency
standards for speaking, listening, reading, writing and culture. These guide-
lines identify sequential stages of development in language proficiency.

On a more personal level, we have long felt the need for a common and absolute
set of standards against which we could meaningfully measure and identify the
abilities of individual students. We are well aware of the meaninglessness of
course grades and units of study, at least so far as basic language learning
is concerned. We know that one school's A is another school's C, four
semesters at one institution may be equal to two somewhere else. MLA Coopera-
tive or College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) language achievement test
scores tell us little about what students are able to *do* with the language.
Efforts to place new students into the appropriate level language course serve
to underscore the vagueness of a number of years of study as a measure of
ability to use the language. (For detailed discussion see Hagiwara 1982).

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how proficiency-based language in-
struction has operated within the context of one university's experience. The
discussion will include background information regarding the perceived need to
establish a proficiency requirement, details of that requirement for one lan-
guage section at the university and a preliminary evaluation of the effects this
requirement has had on language learning.

THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A PROFICIENCY REQUIREMENT

The College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania has main-
tained a foreign language requirement in one form or another since the mid-1800's.

While the number of hours and even the languages required to satisfy the re-
quirement has changed over the years--Latin and Greek in the mid- and late-
19th century with a switch to modern languages at the turn of the century--
the basic catalog description has changed very little in that time and essen-
tially not all in the 12-year period from 1968-1980. The 1980-81 *University
of Pennsylvania Course of Study* described the foreign language requirement as
follows:

> Every student is required to attain a certain competence in a for-
> eign language. Such competence may be demonstrated either by pass-
> ing a foreign language course numbered 4 (or equivalents)...or by
> the student's score in the Advanced Placement Test or the College
> Entrance Examination Board CEEB) Achievement Test or on a depart-
> mental placement examination.
>
> Students who are placed in an intermediate or advanced level lan-
> guage course upon entrance to the University may not receive credit
> for a lower level course in the same language. Students are ad-
> mitted to first, second or third year courses in language according
> to the amount of work they have had in high school and their score
> in the CEEB test.
>
> Foreign language courses taken to fulfill the foreign language re-
> quirement as well as foreign language electives not being used in
> a major may be taken on a pass/fail basis.

The description may be disturbingly familiar to many readers. The problem, of
course, is that what is in reality a "time" requirement is couched in other
terms. At the University of Pennsylvania, as at many other institutions with
language requirements, language competence has been evaluated primarily in terms
of length of study. The catalog descriptions have traditionally begun by in-
voking such admirable goals as "competence," "performance" or even "proficiency,"
yet such competence or proficiency has tended to be measured by semester hours
at worst and by scores on standardized multiple-choice discrete-point tests at
best (Freed 1981a).

In 1979 the Advisory Committee on Language Instruction began what was to be a
two-year examination of this longstanding foreign-language requirement. In the
course of this two-year period many aspects of the language-learning experience
at Pennsylvania were analyzed. As a result of their findings the committee
decided to investigate the feasibility of redefining the requirement as a pro-
ficiency requirement.

Among the first facts that the committee considered were the following:

1.   Only 33 percent of all College of Arts and Sciences matriculants
     at the University of Pennsylvanian present CEEB language achieve-
     ment test scores upon entrance. Because students are placed into
     language classes according to their CEEB scores, this means that
     some 60 percent of all incoming freshmen have to be tested dur-
     ing or before the first week of classes. (A small percentage are
     exempt by virtue of Advanced Placement.)

Beyond this we had learned little about our students' abilities. We knew before we began our study that students were dissatisfied with what they were learning. They had continued to tell us that they wanted to learn to speak, that relevance for them meant the development of oral proficiency. However, the results of these two studies provided little information as to the functional oral proficiency of our students. For this we looked to the second part of our internal testing project.

In order to evaluate the oral skills of our students, we administered the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) Oral Proficiency Interview to a subset of the larger group. This oral interview was given to a sample of students who were completing French 3 during the 1980 academic year. Ten percent of the students were selected at random from those who volunteered to be interviewed. The FSI Interviews were given by those of us who were trained in the use of the standard FSI procedure at a 1980 Testing Kit Workshop.

The results of this study were again disappointing, but not surprising in view of what we already knew about the language skills of our students. The mean FSI score for this group of students was slightly more than 1+, or an *Inter-mediate-High* as defined by the *ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines* (ACTFL 1982).[3] Moreover, this 1+ was a *mean* score that represented a range of from 0+-2+, or from a *Novice-Low* to *Intermediate-High*.

This information further convinced us of the futility of a requirement based almost exclusively on length of study. It had become clear that many students who fulfilled the four-semester requirement remained unable to use the language in any meaningful way. While they had in fact satisfied a university requirement, they had experienced no personal satisfaction nor had they developed a useful skill.

Consideration of these data as well as the prevailing attitude toward the language requirement at the University of Pennsylvania led to a decision on the part of several languages departments, or sections within a department, to change the nature of the language requirement. It is important to clarify that not all language departments have made this decision.

September 1981 brought the first major change. At that time the French section of the Department of Romance Languages instituted a proficiency requirement based on a set of functionally defined proficiency standards. In September 1982 the German, Russian and Arabic Departments also replaced the time requirement with a proficiency requirement. While the details of the requirements vary from department to department, the principle remains the same: students must demonstrate proficiency in a variety of functional skills as measured by departmental language proficiency tests in order to meet the college language requirement. While most students take this test upon completion of the level 4

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[3]The 1+ designation is a rating used by the U.S. Government (see Adams and Frith 1979). It has been redefined by the *ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines* (ACTFL 1982) for academic use as an *Intermediate-High* on a (9 level) scale which progresses from *Novice-Low* to *Advanced*. See Appendix I for descriptions of these levels.

course, some choose to take it earlier, for example, upon completion of the
level 3 course. There are also those who are unable to pass the test after
four semesters of study, and these students are obliged to continue their
study of the language until they earn a passing score. It is not within the
scope of this paper to present a detailed description of the proficiency re-
quirement as it exists in each department. For purposes of illustration the
standards and policies adopted by the French section of the Department of
Romance Languages are presented below.

THE PROFICIENCY REQUIREMENT IN THE FRENCH SECTION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES[4]

The proficiency categories, listed in the left-hand column of the chart on
page 184 are as follows: Oral Interaction, Listening Comprehension, Reading
Comprehension, Writing, and Culture. Temporarily, the CEEB language achieve-
ment tests are included with this set of five proficiency standards. The num-
bers 5, 10, 15 and 20 across the top of the chart represent the numerical scores
for performance at each of the described levels.

The capsule descriptions corresponding to a score of 10 represent the perform-
ance levels needed to satisfy the proficiency requirement. For example, stu-
dents must demonstrate oral language skills as described by an FSI rating of 1+
and listening comprehension skills that permit partial comprehension of factual
news broadcasts and/or partial comprehension of native-speaker conversation.
To demonstrate reading comprehension, they have to answer questions that require
factual and inferential responses to literary texts and to provide a summary
with the most salient features of a non-literary text correctly represented.
To test writing proficiency, students are given guided composition tasks which
require adequate vocabulary and some use of complex sentences beyond subject-
verb-object organization. The standards for measuring competence in culture
are still to be determined. In addition, students must achieve a score of 500
on the CEEB language achievement test in French.

Proficiency is determined by computing a composite score for all six portions
of the test. A student is thus able to compensate for weakness in one area by
excellence in another. To pass the proficiency test, students must achieve a
minimum composite score of 10. (See Appendix II for a detailed description of
the scoring procedure.)

Policies for implementing the requirement are as follows:

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[4]The proficiency standards described herein were adopted by the French
section in the spring of 1981. It is anticipated that they will be revised
at the end of the Spring 1983 academic term. The intention is to make the
standards for satisfying the language proficiency requirement in French con-
sistent with the *ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines*. The revised re-
quirement will require students to speak at the level described by an Inter-
mediate High and will most likely require them to write at the same level. In
all likelihood the minimal level for reading will be that described as Advanced.
For a description of the ACTFL guidelines see Appendix I.

DESCRIPTION OF FUNCTIONAL PROFICIENCY STANDARDS FOR

FRENCH, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SKILL AND METHOD OF TESTING	SCORE/PERFORMANCE LEVEL			
	5	10	15	20
	S-1	S-1+	S-2	S-2+
Oral Interaction [FSI interview] (Adams and Frith, 1979, p. 13-15)	-able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements. Can ask and answer questions on very familiar topics; can understand very simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition, or paraphrase, vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs, errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood; should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter, ask and give simple directions, make purchases and tell time. -linguistic elements usually limited to the present tense -avoir, aller, être; might have pidginized forms, and/or phrases without verbs	-exceeds S-1 primarily in vocabulary, can meet more complex travel and courtesy requirements; grammar weak and usually can't cope with social conversation; fluency may vary. -linguistically has a notion of the past tense but confuses uses and may occasionally fail to use; can use futur proche	-unable to satisfy most routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, work, family, autobiographical information, can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects, speaking vocabulary sufficient to respond simply with circumlocutions; does not have thorough or confident control of grammar but distinguishes the future tense even if he doesn't fully control, uses the passé composé and l'imparfait although with error, may have negative, "depuis" with present, present and infinitive	-exceeds 2 in grammar or vocabulary; better comprehension -has control of the future: still makes mistakes with the passé composé and l'imperfait. -usually no command of the conditional or subjunctive; must use passé composé correctly
Listening Comprehension [Review in writing radio broadcasts just heard - topic identification and salient features]	a few key words of factual news broadcasts; tour guide; -partial comprehension of slow careful simplified telephone speech	partial comprehension of factual news broadcast; partial comprehension of native speaker conversation; partial comprehension of normal phone conversations; partial comprehension of lectures or formal presentations on a subject with which he/she is familiar	-reasonably complete comprehension of phone speech, can detect affective components of speech -very good comprehension of factual news broadcasts, partial comprehension of news commentary and analysis; partial comprehension of movie sound tracks; can catch some words of popular songs, can get the gist of native speaker conversation	-complete comprehension of phone speech, can detect affective components of speech -very good comprehension of factual news broadcasts, partial comprehension of news commentary and analysis part, comprehension of movie sound tracks; can catch some words of popular songs; can get the gist of conversation
Reading Comprehension [Questions and summary of literary and non-literary texts]	-ability to interpret a) literary and b) non-literary texts: a) questions requiring factual responses b) summary of non-literary text to which the topic is correctly identified but which contains gross misstatement of information presented	-ability to interpret a) literary and b) non-literary texts: a) questions requiring factual and inferential responses b) summary of non-literary text in native language	-ability to interpret a) literary and b) non-literary texts: a) questions requiring factual, interpretive and inferential responses b) summary of non-native text in native language	-ability to interpret a) literary and b) non-literary texts: a) questions requiring factual, interpretive, inferential and stylistic responses b) summary of non-literary text to native language
Writing [Guided composition]	deficient vocabulary -can only write the most simple sentences; frequent spelling errors, many grammatical errors, lack of idiomatic usage	-adequate vocabulary for writing about familiar topics, some use of complex sentences beyond SVO organization, morphological problems remain but basic control of past, present and future evident, some idiomatic usage evident	-varied basic vocabulary, varied but somewhat limited syntactic patterns, fewer morphological problems, good use of idioms	-extensive vocabulary well developed use of various syntactic patterns, natural and well formed transition frequent use of idioms
Culture (To be determined)				
CEEB Language Achievement Test	450	500	550	600

1. Students must receive a composite score of at least 10 on the
    proficiency test in order to be eligible for a grade in
    French 4. No letter grade is assigned for the test itself.
    Results are recorded as either pass or fail.

2. Students who have passed the test are given a course grade
    based on their cumulative performance throughout the semester.
    This grade is based on quizzes, homework, hour exams, etc.
    The content of many of these tests and assignments is similar
    to areas tested in the proficiency test.

3. Any relationship between the scoring system and A, B, C, D
    grades has been eliminated by using the categories 5, 10, 15, 20.

Students who fail the proficiency test are counseled on an individual basis.
They are required to improve their performance on the portions of the test
they failed, or raise their score on passed portions to achieve a composite
average score of 10. Students in French 3 who believe they are eligible are
also permitted to take the proficiency test.

PRELIMINARY IMPRESSIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF A
PROFICIENCY-BASED LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT

At the conclusion of almost two years experience with the revised language re-
quirement, we have attempted to evaluate the effects this requirement appears
to have had on the language-learning environment at Pennsylvania (Freed 1982).
With the exception of student scores on the proficiency test, the evaluation
is preliminary and largely impressionistic. It is based on personal observa-
tions, discussions with those responsible for language instruction at this
level, and on a questionnaire distributed to teaching assistants and to stu-
dents completing the fourth semester of French in December 1982. Even at this
early date, a number of important effects and ramifications are already evi-
dent. They may be divided into four general categories: effects on the fac-
ulty; effects on teaching assistants, including their training and attitudes;
effects on the curriculum: materials and methods; and effects on students,
test scores, attitudes and motivation. Test scores are reported for French
only; all other comments pertain to all language groups. Each will be dis-
cussed in turn.

Effects on the Faculty

The most obvious effect of the institution of a proficiency requirement with
respect to faculty is that it has promoted their involvement in decisions re-
garding elementary- and intermediate-language instruction. The decision to
change the nature of the requirement and to implement specific standards re-
quired the consideration and participation of many faculty members who in re-
cent years had not been called upon to think about the goals of language in-
struction at this level. While this new requirement does not involve senior
faculty in the teaching of these courses, it has involved them in the testing
or oral skills as one part of the comprehensive proficiency exam. In at least

two departments senior faculty now share the responsibility for interviewing
hundreds of students using the ACTFL oral proficiency test.

A less positive feature of the proficiency requirement from a faculty perspec-
tive is the enormous amount of detailed organizational work that its implemen-
tation entails. This includes scheduling of oral interviews, tabulating total
proficiency scores, and dealing with apprehensive students prior to the test
as well as with indignant failing students following the test. This work typi-
cally falls not to senior faculty, but to untenured assistant professors. How-
ever, the reaction to date of those concerned has been not to doubt the wisdom
of moving from a time to a proficiency requirement, but, rather, to search for
more efficient ways of handling the bureaucratic details.

Effects on Teaching Assistants

Seen from the vantage point of language supervisors, the implementation of pro-
ficiency standards seems to have instilled in graduate teaching assistants a
better sense of what is important at this level. Teaching assistants appear to
be more realistic about goals for student achievement and less likely to think
that grammar and grammatical exercises supplemented by a few reading and writ-
ing activities constitute a well-taught course. Those responsible for training
teaching assistants have incorporated the notion of proficiency standards and
proficiency testing into all aspects of their training; and subsequent observa-
tion of classroom instruction has shown that in preparing exercises and activi-
ties, TA's do tend to think more in terms of what speakers actually do with a
language.

Responses of several teaching assistants to a questionnaire pertaining to the
effect of the proficiency requirement corroborates the impression of faculty
supervisors. Statements such as the following were frequent: "The proficiency
requirement has had a positive effect on my own language teaching experience.
I find that it motivates students and helps me develop proficiency oriented
teaching and testing materials." "Proficiency oriented programs carry both the
student and instructor beyond concern with sentence-level production to focus
on more comprehensive language skills such as sustained conversation and listen-
ing comprehension. I've noticed in my classes that I teach not only language
but extra-linguistic strategies for dealing with the real problems that one is
confronted with in using a foreign language." "Proficiency makes students, even
at the lowest level, aware of their own progress. Materials are designed to
help students handle everyday situations."

Effects on the Curriculum: Materials and Methods

Commitment to a proficiency requirement has brought with it visible changes in
course content. However, this observation should not be interpreted to mean
that one has been the direct result of the other. Rather, recognition of the
need for one has prepared the way for the other. In some instances a depart-
ment had changed textbooks, adopted new methods, replaced the emphasis on litera-
ture with one on spoken skills, and revised testing techniques just prior to
implementing the proficiency requirement. In such cases recognition of the
need for curricular changes prepared the way for a somewhat radical transition
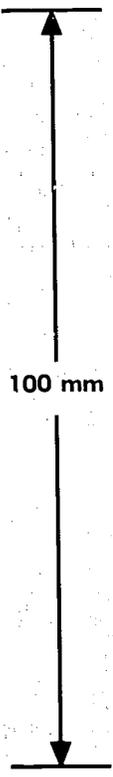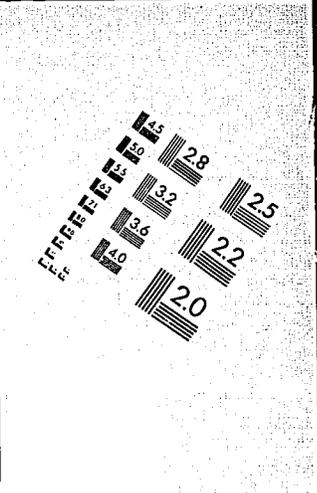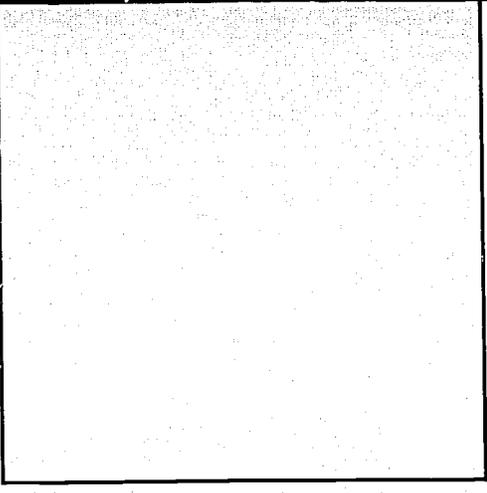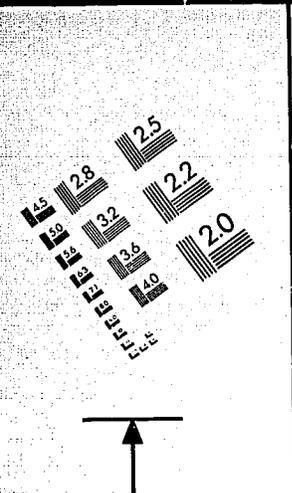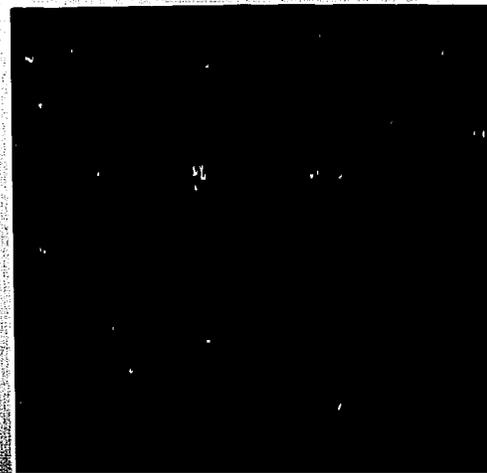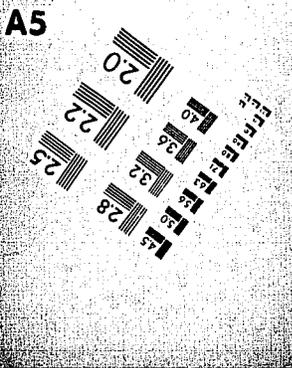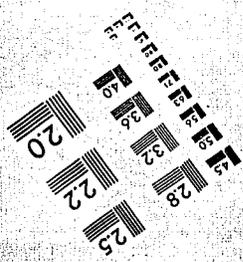
from a long-standing time requirement to a proficiency requirement. In other cases, the decision to revise basic language instruction by adopting standards of functional proficiency has resulted in curricular changes that demand different materials, adjustments in course emphases and more rigorous evaluation.

Regardless of what changes came first, language courses in these departments are now frequently characterized by a greater diversification of teaching techniques. These include techniques and materials that emphasize various types of listening comprehension, those that give students the opportunity to develop functional oral skills in context, more practical types of writing assignments, and a decreased emphasis on formal grammatical manipulation drills. There is general, if not absolute, recognition that it is the responsibility of each instructor to provide appropriate materials and techniques to help students develop the requisite functional skills.

In addition to greater emphasis on the more practical aspects of language use, the implementation of a proficiency requirement has resulted in a more integrated sequence of courses and improved articulation between elementary and intermediate courses. It is anticipated that this integration will ultimately lead to improved articulation between the secondary and college level.

Effects on Students: Test Scores, Attitude and Motivation

The most important data, those that can confirm or dispel our belief that a proficiency requirement will result in improved performance in foreign-language study, are not yet available. It will be a number of years until we are able to determine with certainty whether or not proficiency-based language instruction has improved language learning at Pennsylvania. The only data available which suggest a positive effect on learning attributable to the proficiency requirement is the effect it has had on pass/fail enrollments. As was mentioned in the introduction, Pennsylvania has traditionally permitted students to take a number of courses, including foreign languages, on a pass/fail basis. A pilot study on pass/fail in French has yielded two positive facts. First, fewer students are enrolled in these courses on a pass/fail basis and second, the letter grade value of a P (passing) grade has increased. In 1976, prior to the proficiency requirement, 23 percent of all P grades would have been A's or B's had letter grades been awarded; and well over 70 percent of all P grades would have been a C or lower. By contrast, in the fall of 1981, 55 percent of all P grades would have been A or B with a rough 45 percent at the C or lower level.

The following progress report on the first three administrations of the proficiency test in French are encouraging. At the conclusion of the fall semester 1981, when the proficiency test was first administered, 214 students took all 5 portions of the test. Eleven percent, or 24 students, failed the test. Of these, 3 were failing the course, 17 were borderline students whose final grades were D, and 4 were C students. No student with a final grade of A or B failed the test. The area most frequently failed was the oral interview followed by listening comprehension. All students who failed were required to improve their performance in order to satisfy the language requirement. At the conclusion of the spring 1982 semester, 232 students were tested, and 21 or 9 percent, failed. Of these, 11 received a final grade of D and 10 a final grade of C. Again, no A or B student failed the test. As in the preceding semester, more

students had difficulty with the oral interview than with any other portion
of the test. The results at the end of the fall 1982 semester were roughly
comparable: of 200 students tested, 26 (13 percent) failed to receive a
passing composite score of 10.

The only section of the test for which a mean score has been computed is the
CEEB. For both spring and fall 1982 semesters the mean CEEB score was 582.
This compares favorably with the mean CEEB score of 558 established during
the pre-proficiency evaluation period in 1980. While we did not expect to
see a significant increase in CEEB scores, we were encouraged to learn that
the reorientation of language teaching with an emphasis on functional pro-
ficiency did not adversely affect student performance on this test.

The curricular changes previously described have not gone unnoticed by stu-
dents enrolled in these courses. To gather a sample of student opinion, stu-
dents registered in level 4 French were asked to describe the effect of the
proficiency requirement on their language-learning experience. They were
asked to consider classroom methods, materials, course emphases, tests, moti-
vation and anything else they seemed relevant. Of the 170 students who re-
sponded, many reported that they were more motivated than in the past because
of the emphasis on the spoken language. Others commented that their increased
motivation was due to more lively and varied classes. To our surprise, a
note of regret was expressed by some that they were not being asked to read
a literary text.

Many students have also attributed increased motivation and seriousness of
purpose not to classroom activities per se but, rather, to the prospect or,
as they perceive it, the *threat* of a proficiency test. A good deal of resent-
ment was expressed toward the concept of a proficiency test. This view not-
withstanding, there has been no decrease in enrollment in those language pro-
grams that have adopted a proficiency requirement. However, students do tend
to be more outspoken about what they believe they are not getting in class.
In retrospect they also state that they find the *prospect* of the exam far
worse than the experience itself.

Not surprisingly, along with the good news there is also some bad. The most
discouraging, yet perhaps the most useful outcome of this evaluation has been
the revelation of student attitudes. The best summary of student opinion
would be simply to say that for them "a language requirement by any other
name is still a language requirement." Roughly one-third of those who re-
sponded to the questionnaire vehemently expressed their dissatisfaction at the
mere idea of a proficiency examination. It was clear from their responses
that these students were reaching not to the value of a proficiency as opposed
to a time requirement but, rather, to the need for a requirement in the first
place. That is, these students were addressing the issue of a foreign-language
requirement rather than that of proficiency standards. This expression of
student attitudes was instructive in itself. It clearly showed us that the
implementation of a proficiency requirement must be accompanied by a thorough-
going presentation of the concept of functionally defined proficiency standards
and their place in the curriculum.

CONCLUSION

The experience at the University of Pennsylvania has provided a context in which we can evaluate both the need for proficiency-based language instruction and its potential success. A review of the experience points to several reasons for adopting proficiency standards and a proficiency requirement.

The first relates to the need for absolute standards, absolute in the sense that they relate to the competence of native speakers, the knowledge such speakers have which enable them to use language correctly and appropriately within ever varying communicative contexts. Such proficiency standards do not correspond to length of study; acquisition time will vary from student to student, school to school and semester to semester. But the understanding of what the second-language learner should be able to do with language, in terms of content, function and degree of accuracy, should remain constant.

This might be the appropriate place to suggest that we must resist slogans. We have survived the audio-lingual era and have learned to contend with numerous misrepresentations of the concept of communicative competence. It is clear that language use and language learning are multifaceted and cannot be neatly compartmentalized into a restricted set of skills. Some research suggests that if we teach only communicative survival skills we risk producing students who can satisfy basic survival needs but who have difficulty progressing beyond this minimal level to acquire control of increasingly complex syntactic and stylistic features (Higgs and Clifford 1981). By contrast, students who learn to do grammatical drills and transformations and fill in the blanks are good at just that; but, as we all know, that has precious little to do with using language correctly and appropriately (Savignon 1972).

Secondly, proficiency standards based on content, function, and form facilitate articulation between levels, whether from high school to college or within each of these programs. At the same time that articulation is improved, placement procedures should become easier. If we establish a common set of standards, recognized and accepted by teachers and students at all levels, it will be far easier to place new students at the appropriate level of study. Moreover, the definition and common use of such standards should serve students and the community beyond the educational sector. If we adhere, more or less, to what has been called a "common yardstick," future employers will be able to evaluate students' skills in a sensible way that cannot be communicated in a transcript filled with A's, P's, for PASS, or even C's.

Finally, proficiency-based language instruction should prepare students to use language in an unlimited number of contexts which will include but not be limited to literary study.

The observed effects of the proficiency requirement on language study at the University of Pennsylvania suggest that important changes have begun to take place. There is increased faculty awareness of, interest and involvement in decisions concerning basic language instruction. There is more cooperation between the teaching assistants who teach these courses, as well as evidence of more creative teaching with increased emphasis on language use both written and oral. We have also observed articulation in the sequence of elementary and intermediate courses.

There is also evidence that the proficiency examination looms as a threat to
many students. To the extent that this is true, the resultant learner anxiety
may in fact be a negative influence on language learning. Only time, and
close monitoring of student attitudes and achievement, will tell. In the
meantime, it is clear that the emphasis must be on the creation of proficiency
standards and on the understanding of these standards by *all* those involved in
the language learning process. To the extent that the emphasis is on tests
and testing, real changes will not necessarily occur. In fact, the terms pro-
ficiency standards or proficiency requirements could easily become as empty as
were the former catalog descriptions that invoked the term "competence," but
really meant "time." Perhaps more than ever before, we must provide for and
maintain an intimate connection between training, teaching and testing.

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APPENDIX I: ACTFL PROVISIONAL PROFICIENCY GUIDELINES

Provisional Generic Descriptions--Speaking

Novice-Low   Unable to function in the spoken language. Oral production
                      is limited to occasional isolated words. Essentially no
                      communicative ability.

Novice-Mid   Able to operate only in a very limited capacity within very
                      predictable areas of need. Vocabulary limited to that neces-
                      sary to express simple elementary needs and basic courtesy
                      formulae. Syntax is fragmented, inflections and word endings
                      frequently omitted, confused or distorted and the majority of
                      utterances consist of isolated words or short formulae.
                      Utterances rarely consist of more than two or three words and
                      are marked by frequent long pauses and repetition of an inter-
                      locutor's words. Pronunciation is frequently unintelligible
                      and is strongly influenced by first language. Can be under-
                      stood only with difficulty, even by persons such as teachers
                      who are used to speaking with non-native speakers or in inter-
                      actions where the context strongly supports the utterance.

Novice-High   Able to satisfy immediate needs using learned utterances. Can
                      ask questions or make statements with reasonable accuracy only
                      where this involves short memorized utterances or formulae.
                      There is no real autonomy of expression, although there may be
                      some emerging signs of spontaneity and flexibility. There is
                      a slight increase in utterance length but frequent long pauses
                      and repetition of interlocutor's words still occur. Most
                      utterances are telegraphic and word endings are often omitted,
                      confused or distorted. Vocabulary is limited to areas of
                      immediate survival needs. Can differentiate most phonemes
                      when produced in isolation but when they are combined in words
                      or groups of words, errors are frequent and, even with repeti-
                      tion, may severely inhibit communication even with persons
                      used to dealing with such learners. Little development in
                      stress and intonation is evident.

Intermediate-Low   Able to satisfy basic survival needs and minimum courtesy re-
                      quirements. In areas of immediate need or on very familiar
                      topics, can ask and answer simple questions, initiate and
                      respond to simple statements, and maintain very simple face-
                      to-face conversations. When asked to do so, is able to
                      formulate some questions with limited constructions and much
                      inaccuracy. Almost every utterance contains fractured syntax
                      and other grammatical errors. Vocabulary inadequate to ex-
                      press anything but the most elementary needs. Strong inter-
                      ference from native language occurs in articulation, stress
                      and intonation. Misunderstandings frequently arise from
                      limited vocabulary and grammar and erroneous phonology but,
                      with repetition, can generally be understood by native
                      speakers in regular contact with foreigners attempting to
                      speak their language. Little precision in information

conveyed owing to tentative state of grammatical development and little or no use of modifiers.

Intermediate-Mid   Able to satisfy some survival needs and some limited social demands. Is able to formulate some questions when asked to do so. Vocabulary permits discussion of topics beyond basic survival needs such as personal history and leisure time activities. Some evidence of grammatical accuracy in basic constructions, for example, subject-verb agreement, noun-adjective agreement, some notion of inflection.

Intermediate-High   Able to satisfy most survival needs and limited social demands. Shows some spontaneity in language production but fluency is very uneven. Can initiate and sustain a general conversation but has little understanding of the social conventions of conversation. Developing flexibility in a range of circumstances beyond immediate survival needs. Limited vocabulary range necessitates much hesitation and circumlocution. The commoner tense forms occur but errors are frequent in formation and selection. Can use most question forms. While some word order is established, errors still occur in more complex patterns. Cannot sustain coherent structures in longer utterances or unfamiliar situations. Ability to describe and give precise information is limited. Aware of basic cohesive features such as pronouns and verb inflections, but many are unreliable, especially if less immediate in reference. Extended discourse is largely a series of short, discrete utterances. Articulation is comprehensible to native speakers used to dealing with foreigners, and can combine most phonemes with reasonable comprehensibility, but still has difficulty in producing certain sounds, in certain positions, or in certain combinations, and speech will usually be labored. Still has to repeat utterances frequently to be understood by the general public. Able to produce some narration in either past or future.

Advanced   Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties. Has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to respond simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though often quite faulty, is intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.

Advanced Plus   Able to satisfy most work requirements and show some ability to communicate on concrete topics relating to particular interests and special fields of competence. Generally strong in either grammar or vocabulary, but not in both. Weaknesses or unevenness in one of the foregoing or in

pronunciation result in occasional miscommunication. Areas
of weakness range from simple constructions such as plurals,
articles, prepositions, and negatives to more complex struc-
tures such as tense, usage, passive constructions, word
order, and relative clauses. Normally controls general
vocabulary with some groping for everyday vocabulary still
evident. Often shows remarkable fluency and ease of
speech, but under tension or pressure language may break
down.

Superior   Able to speak the language with sufficient structural
accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most
formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and
professional topics. Can discuss particular interests and
special fields of competence with reasonable ease. Vocab-
ulary is broad enough that speaker rarely has to group for
a word; accent may be obviously foreign; control of grammar
good; errors virtually never interfere with understanding
and rarely disturb the native speaker.

Provisional Generic Descriptions--Listening

Novice-Low   No practical understanding of the spoken language. Under-
standing limited to occasional isolated words, such as
cognates, borrowed words, and high frequency social conven-
tions. Essentially no ability to comprehend even short
utterances.

Novice-Mid   Sufficient comprehension to understand some memorized words
within predictable areas of need. Vocabulary for compre-
hension limited to simple elementary needs and basic
courtesy formulae. Utterances understood rarely exceed
more than two or three words at a time and ability to
understand is characterized by long pauses for assimila-
tion and by repeated requests on the listener's part for
repetition, and/or a slower rate of speech. Confuses
words that sound similar.

Novice-High   Sufficient comprehension to understand a number of
memorized utterances in areas of immediate need. Compre-
hends slightly longer utterances in situations where the
context aids understanding, such as at the table, in a
restaurant/store, in a train/bus. Phrases recognized have
for the most part been memorized. Comprehends vocabulary
common to daily needs. Comprehends simple questions/state-
ments about family members, age, address, weather, time,
daily activities and interests. Misunderstandings arise
from failure to preceive critical sounds or endings. Under-
stands even standard speech with difficulty but gets some
main ideas. Often requires repetition and/or a slowed rate
of speed for comprehension, even when listening to persons
such as teachers who are used to speaking with non-natives.

Intermediate-Low   Sufficient comprehension to understand utterances about
basic survival needs, minimum courtesy and travel require-
ments. In areas of immediate need or on very familiar
topics, can understand non-memorized material, such as
simple questions and answers, statements, and face-to-
face conversations in the standard language. Comprehension
areas include basic needs: meals, lodging, transportation,
time, simple instructions (e.g., route directions) and
routine commands (e.g., from customs officials, police).
Understands main ideas. Misunderstandings frequently arise
from lack of vocabulary or faulty processing of syntactic
information often caused by strong interference from the
native language or by the imperfect and partial acquisition
of the target grammar.

Intermediate-Mid   Sufficient comprehension to understand simple conversations
about some survival needs and some limited social conven-
tions. Vocabulary permits understanding of topics beyond
basic survival needs such as personal history and leisure
time activities. Evidence of understanding basic construc-
tions, for example, subject-verb agreement, noun-adjective
agreement; evidence that some inflection is understood.

Intermediate-High Sufficient comprehension to understand short conversations
about most survival needs and limited social conventions.
Increasingly able to understand topics beyond immediate
survival needs. Shows spontaneity in understanding, but
speed and consistency of understanding uneven. Limited
vocabulary range necessitates repetition for understanding.
Understands commoner tense forms and some word order pat-
terns, including most question forms, but miscommunication
still occurs with more complex patterns. Can get the gist
of conversations, but cannot sustain comprehension in
longer utterances or in unfamiliar situations. Understand-
ing of descriptions and detailed information is limited.
Aware of basic cohesive features such as pronouns and verb
inflections, but many are unreliably understood, especially
if other material intervenes. Understanding is largely
limited to a series of short, discrete utterances. Still
has to ask for utterances to be repeated. Some ability to
understand the facts.

Advanced   Sufficient comprehension to understand conversations about
routine social conventions and limited school or work re-
quirements. Able to understand face-to-face speech in the
standard language, delivered at a normal rate with some
repetition and rewording, by a native speaker not used to
dealing with foreigners. Understands everyday topics,
common personal and family news, well-known current events,
and routine matters involving school or work; descriptions
and narration about current, past and future events; and
essential points of discussion or speech at an elementary
level on topics in special fields of interest.

Advanced Plus Sufficient comprehension to understand most routine social conventions, conversations on school or work requirements, and discussions on concrete topics related to particular interests and special fields of competence. Often shows remarkable ability and ease of understanding, but comprehension may break down under tension or pressure, including unfavorable listening conditions. Candidate may display weakness or deficiency due to inadequate vocabulary with some hesitant understanding of everyday vocabulary still evident. Can sometimes detect emotional overtones. Some ability to understand between the lines, i.e., to make inferences.

Superior Sufficient comprehension to understand the essentials of all speech in standard dialects, including technical discussions within a special field. Has sufficient understanding of face-to-face speech, delivered with normal clarity and speed in standard language, on general topics and areas of special interest; understands hypothesizing and supported opinions. Has broad enough vocabulary that rarely has to ask for paraphrasing or explanation. Can follow accurately the essentials of conversations between educated native speakers, reasonably clear telephone calls, radio broadcasts, standard news items, oral reports, some oral technical reports, and public addresses on non-technical subjects. May not understand native speakers if they speak very quickly or use some slang or unfamiliar dialect. Can often detect emotional overtones. Can understand "between the lines" (i.e., make inferences).

Provisional Generic Descriptions--Reading

Novice-Low No functional ability in reading the foreign language.

Novice-Mid Sufficient understanding of the written language to interpret highly contextualized words or cognates within predictable areas. Vocabulary for comprehension limited to simple elementary needs such as names, addresses, dates, street signs, building names, short informative signs (e.g., no smoking, entrance/exit) and formulaic vocabulary requesting same. Material understood rarely exeeds a single phrase and comprehension requires successive rereading and checking.

Novice-High Sufficient comprehension of the written language to interpret set expressions in areas of immediate need. Can recognize all the letters in the printed version of an alphabetic system and high-frequency elements of a syllabary or a character system. Where vocabulary has been mastered can read for instruction and directional purposes standardized messages, phrases or expressions such as some items on menus, schedules, timetables, maps and signs indicating hours of operation, social codes, and traffic

regulations. This material is read only for essential in-
formation. Detail is overlooked or misunderstood.

Intermediate-Low   Sufficient comprehension to understand in printed form the
simplest connected material, either authentic or specially
prepared, dealing with basic survival and social needs.
Able to understand both mastered material and recombina-
tions of the mastered elements that achieve meanings at the
same level. Understands main ideas in material whose
structures and syntax parallel the native language. Can
read messages, greetings, statements of social amenities or
other simple language containing only the highest frequency
grammatical patterns and vocabulary items including cognates
(if appropriate). Misunderstandings arise when syntax
diverges from that of the native language or when grammati-
cal cues are overlooked.

Intermediate-Mid   Sufficient comprehension to understand in printed form
simple discourse for informative or social purposes. In
response to perceived needs can read for information material
such as announcements of public events, popular advertising,
notes containing biographical information or narration of
events, and straightforward newspaper headlines and story
titles. Can guess at unfamiliar vocabulary if highly con-
textualized. Relies primarily on adverbs as time indicators.
Has some difficulty with the cohesive factors in discourse,
such as matching pronouns with referents. May have to read
material several times before understanding.

Intermediate-High   Sufficient comprehension to understand a simple paragraph
for personal communication, information or recreational
purposes. Can read with understanding social notes, letters
and invitations; can locate and derive main ideas of the
introductory/summary paragraphs from high interest or
familiar news or other informational sources; can read for
pleasure specially prepared, or some uncomplicated authentic
prose, such as fictional narratives or cultural information.
Shows spontaneity in reading by ability to guess at meaning
from context. Understands common time indicators and can
interpret some cohesive factors such as objective pronouns
and simple clause connectors. Begins to relate sentences
in the discourse to advance meaning, but cannot sustain
understanding of longer discourse on unfamiliar topics.
Misinterpretation still occurs with more complex patterns.

Advanced   Sufficient comprehension to read simple authentic printed
material or edited textual material within a familiar con-
text. Can read uncomplicated but authentic prose on familiar
subjects containing description and narration such as news
items describing frequently occurring events, simple bio-
graphic information, social notices, and standard business
letters. Can read edited texts such as prose fiction and
contemporary culture. The prose is predominantly in

familiar sentence patterns. Can follow essential points of
written discussion at level of main ideas and some support-
ing ones with topics in a field of interest or where back-
ground exists. Some misunderstandings. Able to read the
facts but cannot draw inferences.

Advanced Plus Sufficient comprehension to understand most factual informa-
tion in non-technical prose as well as some discussions on
concrete topics related to special interests. Able to read
for information and description, to follow sequence of
events, and to react to that information. Is able to
separate main ideas from lesser ones, and uses that divi-
sion to advance understanding. Can locate and interpret
main ideas and details in material written for the general
public. Will begin to guess sensibly at new words by using
linguistic context and prior knowledge. May react personally
to material but does not yet detect subjective attitudes,
values, or judgments in the writing.

Superior Able to read standard newspaper items addressed to the
general reader, routine correspondence reports and technical
material in a field of interest at a normal rate of speed
(at least 220 wpm). Readers can gain new knowledge from ma-
terial on unfamiliar topics in areas of a general nature.
Can interpret hypotheses, supported opinions and conjectures.
Can also read short stories, novels, and other recreational
literature accessible to the general public. Reading ability
is not subject-matter dependent. Has broad enough general
vocabulary that successful guessing resolves problems with
complex structures and low-frequency idioms. Misreading is
rare. Almost always produces correct interpretation. Able
to read between the lines. May be unable to appreciate
nuance or stylistics.

Provisional Generic Descriptions--Writing

Novice-Low No functional ability in writing the foreign language.

Novice-Mid No practical communicative writing skills. Able to copy
isolated words or short phrases. Able to transcribe pre-
viously studied words or phrases.

Novice-High Able to write simple fixed expressions and limited memo-
rized material. Can supply information when requested on
forms such as hotel registrations and travel documents.
Can write names, numbers, dates, one's own nationality,
addresses, and other simple biographic information, as well
as learned vocabulary, short phrases, and simple lists.
Can write all the symbols in an alphabetic or syllabic sys-
tem or 50 of the most common characters. Can write simple
memorized material with frequent misspellings and inac-
curacies.

Intermediate-Low   Has sufficient control of the writing system to meet
                   limited practical needs. Can write short messages, such
                   as simple questions or notes, postcards, phone messages,
                   and the like within the scope of limited language experi-
                   ence. Can take simple notes on material dealing with very
                   familiar topics although memory span is extremely limited.
                   Can create statements or questions witl.'n the scope of
                   limited language experience. Material produced consists of
                   recombinations of learned vocabulary and structures into
                   simple sentences. Vocabulary is inadequate to express any-
                   thing but elementary needs. Writing tends to be a loosely
                   organized collection of sentence fragments on a very
                   familiar topic. Makes continual errors in spelling, gram-
                   mar, and punctuation, but writing can be read ar.d understood
                   by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners. Able
                   to produce appropriately some fundamental sociolinguistic
                   distinctions in formal and familiar style, such as appro-
                   priate subject pronouns, titles of address and basic social
                   formulae.

Intermediate-Mid   Sufficient control of writing system to meet some survival
                   needs and some limited social demands. Able to compose
                   short paragraphs or take simple notes on very familiar
                   topics grounded in personal experience. Can discuss likes
                   and dislikes, daily routine, everyday events, and the like.
                   Can express past time, using content words and time expres-
                   sions, or with sporadically accurate verbs. Evidence of
                   good control of basic constructions and inflections such as
                   subject-verb agreement, noun-adjective agreement, and
                   straightforward syntactic constructions in present or future
                   time, though errors occasionally occur. May make frequent
                   errors, however, when venturing beyond current level of
                   linguistic competence. When resorting to a dictionary,
                   often is unable to identify appropriate vocabulary, or uses
                   dictionary entry in uninflected form.

Intermediate-High Sufficient control of writing system to meet most survival
                   needs and limited social demands. Can take notes in some
                   detail on familiar topics, and respond to personal questions
                   using elementary vocabulary and common structures. Can write
                   simple letters, brief synopses and paraphrases, summaries of
                   biographical data and work experience, and short compositions
                   on familiar topics. Can create sentences and short para-
                   graphs relating to most survival needs (food, lodging, trans-
                   portation, immediate surroundings and situations) and limited
                   social demands. Can relate personal history, discuss topics
                   such as daily life, preferences, and other familiar material.
                   Can express fairly accurately present and future time. Can
                   produce some past verb forms, but not always accurately or
                   with correct usage. Shows good control of elementary
                   vocabulary and some control of basic syntactic patterns but
                   major errors still occur when expressing more complex
                   thoughts. Dictionary usage may still yield incorrect

vocabulary of forms, although can use a dictionary to ad-
vantage to express simple ideas. Generally cannot use basic
cohesive elements of discourse to advantage such as relative
constructions, subject pronouns, connectors, etc. Writing,
though faulty, is comprehensible to native speakers used to
dealing with foreigners.

Advanced   Able to write routine social correspondence and simple dis-
course of at least several paragraphs on familiar topics.
Can write simple social correspondence, take notes, and
write cohesive summaries, resumes, and short narratives and
descriptions on factual topics. Able to write about every-
day topics using both description and narration. Has suf-
ficient writing vocabulary to express himself/herself simply
with some circumlocution. Can write about a very limited
number of current events or daily situations and express
personal preferences and observations in some detail, using
basic structures. Still makes common errors in spelling and
punctuation, but shows some control of the most common for-
mats and punctuation conventions. Good control of the
morphology of the language (in inflected languages) and of
the most frequently used syntactic structures. Elementary
constructions are usually handled quite accurately, and writ-
ing is understandable to a native speaker not used to reading
the writing of foreigners. Uses a limited number of cohesive
devices such as pronouns and repeated words with good ac-
curacy. Able to join sentences in limited discourse, but
has difficulty and makes frequent errors in producing complex
sentences. Paragraphs are reasonably unified and coherent.

Advanced Plus   Shows ability to write about most common topics with some
precision and in some detail. Can write fairly detailed
resumes and summaries and take quite accurate notes. Can
write most social and informal business correspondence. Can
describe and narrate personal experiences and explain simply
points of view in prose discourse. Can write about con-
crete topics relating to particular interests and special
fields of competence. Normally controls general vocabulary
with some circumlocution. Often shows remarkable fluency
and ease of expression, but under time constraints and pres-
sure language may be inaccurate and/or incomprehensible.
Generally strong in either grammar or vocabulary, but not in
both. Weaknesses and unevenness in one of the foregoing or
in spelling result in occasional miscommunication. Areas of
weakness range from simple contructions such as plurals,
articles, prepositions, and negatives to more complex struc-
tures such as tense usage, passive constructions, word order,
and relative clauses. Some misuse of vocabulary still evi-
dent. Shows a limited ability to use circumlocution. Uses
dictionary to advantage to supply unknown words. Writing is
understandable to native speakers not used to reading ma-
terial written by non-natives, though the style is still
obviously foreign.

Superior   Able to use the written language effectively in most formal and informal exchanges on practical, social, and professional topics. Can write most types of correspondence, such as memos and social and business letters, short research papers and statements of position in areas of special interest or in special fields. Can express hypotheses, conjectures, and present arguments or points of view accurately and effectively. Can write about areas of special interest and handle topics in special fields, in addition to most common topics. Good control of a full range of structures, spelling, and wide general vocabulary allow the writer to convey his/her message accurately, though style may be foreign. Can use complex and compound sentence structures to express ideas clearly and coherently. Uses dictionary with a high degree of accuracy to supply specialized vocabulary. Errors, though sometimes made when using more complex structures, are occasional, and rarely disturb the native speaker. Sporadic errors when using basic structures. Although sensitive to differences in formal and informal style, still cannot tailor writing precisely and accurately to a variety of audiences or styles.

APPENDIX II: PROPOSED SCALE FOR FRENCH 4 PROFICIENCY

	POINTS:			
EXAMINATION:	5.00	10.00	15.00	20.00
	↕	↕ LEVEL	↕	↕
A. CEEB Language Achievement Test	450	500	550	600
B. FSI Oral Interaction	S-1	S-1+	S-2	S-2+
C. Listening Comprehension	5	10	15	20
D. Reading Comprehension	5	10	15	20
E. Writing	5	10	15	20
F. Culture	5	10	15	20

Explanation

1. All students will be required to take all 6 sections of the test as listed above. (See Chart--page 184--for a description of the Proficiency Standard at each level for each skill.)

2. Performance below 10 on any portion of the exam constitutes failure for that section.

3. *Cumulative performance* however is the ultimate criterion for passing. One may accrue from 0 to 20 points on each section but the cumulative average must be equal to 10 or higher (i.e., a student may fail sections of the exam and still pass the proficiency test: see examples a and b below). Those who fail below this average must retake the section which brought the average down, or may retake the entire exam.

4. Sample passing scores:

   a) CEEB   500   (=10.00)
       FSI   1   (= 5.00)
       LISTENING COMPREHENSION   70%   (=10.00)
       READING COMPREHENSION   85%   (=15.00)
       WRITING   55%   (= 5.00)
       CULTURE   85%   (=15.00)
       _____
       TOTAL   60.00 ÷ 6 = 10.00

   b) CEEB   475   (= 7.50)
       FSI   1+   (=10.00)
       LISTENING COMPREHENSION   75%   (=11.70)
       READING COMPREHENSION   85%   (=15.00)
       WRITING   80%   (=13.30)
       CULTURE   85%   (=15.00)
       _____
       TOTAL   72.50 ÷ 6 = 12.10

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