ED 335 929   FL 019 419

AUTHOR   Hardman, Joel, Ed.; And Others
TITLE   Penn Working Papers in Educational Linguistics,
                Volume 6, Number 1.
INSTITUTION   Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of
                Education.
PUB DATE   90
NOTE   110p.; For indiviual papers, see FL C19 420-423.
PUB TYPE   Collected Works - General (020)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Educational Environment; Elementary Secondary
                Education; Foreign Countries; Grade 1; Interaction;
                *Interpersonal Relationship; *Language Planning;
                Language Research; Narration; Second Language
                Learning; *Second Languages; *Sex Differences
IDENTIFIERS   Belgium; Biliteracy; Language Minorities

ABSTRACT
                The working papers contained in this volume include
the following: "Creating Successful Learning Contexts for Biliteracy"
(Nancy H. Hornberger), which focuses on characteristics of linguistic
minority students in two classrooms situated in contrasting
communities, programs, and language contexts; "Narrative Skills and
Literacy Learning" (Deborah Hicks), an examination of storytelling by
four first-grade children of differing ethnic and socioeconomic
backgrounds; "Language Learning through Interaction: What Role Does
Gender Play?" (Teresa Pica, Dom Berducci, Lloyd Holliday, Nora Lewis,
Jeanne Newman), an analysis of differences in interactions of
native-speaker and non-native-speaker in same- and cross-gender
dyads; and "The 'Other Language': Language Planning in Belgium"
(Michele Valasek), an examination of the ways status planning
activities and legislation influence the use of Netherlandic and
French in the northern provinces. (MSE)

PENN
Working Papers
in Educational Linguistics

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Volume 6, Number 1 / Spring 1990

Working Papers
in Educational Linguistics

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From the Editors:

The purpose of <u>Working Papers in Educational Linguistics</u> (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in WPEL are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that WPEL will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. WPEL is sent to nearly one hundred universities world-wide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

This issue is dedicated to Dr. Nessa Wolfson (1934-1990), Professor of Educational Linguistics at the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Contents

Creating successful learning contexts
for biliteracy[1]

Nancy H. Hornberger

This paper seeks to shed light on the complex challenge that faces teachers in schools serving linguistically and culturally diverse student populations. Drawing from a long-term comparative ethnographic study in two Philadelphia public schools, it describes what it is that two of the teachers in these schools do to create successful learning contexts for the biliterate development of the linguistic minority children in their classes. Two classrooms situated in contrasting community, program, and language contexts are brought into focus: one a fourth-fifth grade in a two-way maintenance bilingual program attending to Puerto Rican children and the other a fourth grade in a mainstream/ ESOL-pullout program attending to Cambodian children. The learning contexts are discussed in terms of four themes identifying critical aspects of contexts for teaching for biliteracy: motivation, purpose, text, and interaction. Specifically, the paper asks what it is that these teachers do that goes beyond good teaching to be good teaching for biliteracy, and how their approaches differ according to the particular configuration of biliterate contexts, biliterate media, and individual biliterate development of the linguistic minority children in their classes.

The Philadelphia School District, like other large urban school districts in the United States, serves an increasingly bilingual school population. In 1989, the District's 195,000 students included approximately 18,000 Hispanic and 6,000 Southeast Asian students, 9% and 3% of the total enrollment, respectively (Mezzacappa, 1989). The two elementary schools reported on here, each with about 1000 students, have concentrated language minority populations. The Potter Thomas School, grades K-5, counts approximately 78% of its students as Hispanic, of which the vast majority are Puerto Rican. The Henry C. Lea School, grades K-8, counts about 37% of its students as Southeast Asian, of which the vast majority are Cambodian (School District of Philadelphia, 1987-88). As these and other schools seek to serve linguistically and culturally diverse student populations, teachers are confronted with a complex teaching challenge.

The two classrooms reported on here, a fourth-fifth grade at Potter Thomas and a fourth grade at Lea, are situated in widely disparate communities, within different types of programs, and the particular languages involved contrast in a number of ways thought to be relevant to the development of biliteracy (cf. Hornberger, 1989a), yet both teachers appear to be successfully

creating learning contexts for their students' biliterate development. This paper asks, what are the things they do that permit this?[2]

Many of the things these two teachers do could simply be characterized as 'good teaching' anywhere, not just for linguistic minority children, and not just for biliteracy. However, although good teaching in these classrooms may look a lot like good teaching anywhere, it in fact reflects sensitivity to a wide range of factors unique to these classrooms. Specifically, then, the paper asks, what are the things these teachers do that go beyond 'good teaching' to be good teaching for biliteracy?

Shulman has argued that pedagogical excellence must be defined by a model that goes beyond a set of globally effective teaching skills considered without reference to the adequacy or accuracy of the content being taught, the classroom context, characteristics of the students, and the accomplishment of purposes not assessed on standardized tests (1987: 6, 20).[3] This paper seeks to contribute to our understanding of pedagogical excellence by providing a description of the content and context-specific ways these two elementary teachers teach for linguistic minority children's biliterate development. Here, the content is the children's second language and literacy. The context will be discussed in terms of four themes which are drawn from the literatures on bilingualism, literacy, second and foreign language teaching, and the teaching of reading and writing: motivation, purpose, text, and interaction. These themes identify critical aspects of contexts for teaching for biliteracy (cf. Hornberger, 1989b).

The description focuses not only on the similarities but also on the differences in the ways these teachers teach. Significantly for a discussion of biliterate development, one classroom uses both of the children's languages as mediums of instruction, while the other uses only their second language. As a 'believer' in bilingual education and the value of students' being able to develop and apply their first language (L1) literacy skills in their acquisition of second language (L2) literacy, I was perplexed over the fact that the Cambodian children appeared to be thriving despite the fact that they were not receiving any instruction in their L1. Specifically, then, the paper also asks, what are the things that the teacher in the monolingual instructional setting does for her students' biliterate development that appear to compensate for the lack of first language instruction?

The term biliteracy refers to any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing. An individual, situation, and a society can all be biliterate: each one would be an instance of biliteracy. I have recently argued that every instance of biliteracy is situated along a series of continua that define biliterate contexts (the micro-macro, oral-literate, and monolingual-bilingual continua), individual biliterate development (the reception-production, oral language-written language, and L1-L2 transfer continua), and biliterate media (the simultaneous-successive exposure, similar-dissimilar structures, and convergent-divergent scripts continua; Hornberger, 1989a).

Implications of such a model for teaching for biliteracy are that the more the contexts of the individuals' learning allow them to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development. Here, a learning context for biliteracy is taken to be successful to the degree that it allows children to draw on the three continua of biliterate development, that is, on both oral and written, both receptive and productive, and both L_1 and L_2 language skills, at any point in time.

Let me clarify that I am calling what happens in both classrooms biliterate development even though the Cambodian children are being taught literacy in their second language only, because as individuals these children are involved in biliterate development, even though their school program is not. To varying degrees the Cambodian children interact around written communication in their first language at home and in their community. More importantly, in school they are building English literacy on a foundation of two languages, not one.

The following sections of the paper take up first the similarities and differences between the two classrooms as to the biliterate contexts and media in which they are situated, and then the similarities and differences in the successful learning contexts for biliteracy each teacher creates. A concluding section comments briefly on the significance of these findings for meeting the challenge of teaching biliteracy to linguistic minority children.

Contexts and Media of Biliteracy

The Puerto Rican community of North Philadelphia and the Cambodian community of West Philadelphia differ in a number of ways, most of which can be aptly summarized by Ogbu's distinction between the involuntary minority and the immigrant minority (1987).[4] The Puerto Rican pattern of immigration tends to be a cyclical one in which the mainland community is constantly receiving new arrivals from the island and in which individuals may alternate island and mainland residence during their lifetimes. The Cambodian pattern is one of once-and-forever refugee immigration. While long-term contact with their homeland and the development of a sense of identity in opposition to the dominant culture have led to the creation of institutions in the Puerto Rican community which foster and strengthen the maintenance of Spanish language and literacy (see Micheau [to appear] for a description of some of these institutions), no such institutions have yet evolved in the Cambodian community.

Since 1969, the program at Potter Thomas School has been a two-way maintenance bilingual program in Spanish and English: Spanish speaking children learn English while maintaining their Spanish (the *Latino* stream), and English speaking children learn Spanish while maintaining their English (the *Anglo* stream; 14A 17).[5] This program, as an example of the enrichment model of bilingual education, is unique in Philadelphia and rare in the United States (cf. Hornberger, 1990). In it, both languages are developed beginning in kindergarten and through

fifth grade at the school, and both languages and literacies are used for subject matter instruction. In contrast, the program at Lea School, which has arisen over the last decade in response to the influx of Southeast Asian children into the school, pays no explicit attention to the Cambodian children's first language (L1) and literacy, but rather mainstreams them into their second language by means of a pull-out ESOL program (cf. Hardman, 1989 on some problems ESOL creates for language minority students).

The two classrooms described here contrast sharply in terms of their population. The *Anglo* and *Latino* streams, the Spanish and English reading cycle structure, and the bilingual teaching staff at the Potter Thomas School yield up classrooms which are relatively homogeneous as to linguistic and cultural background. The classrooms at Lea School are linguistically and culturally more heterogeneous. M. López, who came to mainland United States from Puerto Rico at age 8, teaches reading to classes of approximately 25 students, all of Puerto Rican background. In contrast, L. McKinney, a third generation Italian immigrant, teaches reading to approximately 28 students, of whom 11 are Southeast Asian (9 Cambodians, 1 Vietnamese, 1 Vietnamese-Laotian), 16 African-American and 1 Ethiopian.

Though community, program, and classroom contexts differ for the two teachers, they share the context of the various policies and guidelines which govern all public schools in the district. Grade assignment guidelines which assign children to grade by age regardless of level of English or achievement mean that both teachers' classes encompass a wide range of English and academic abilities. City-wide and state-mandated testing has consequences for students' promotion to the next grade and their participation in Chapter 1 and TELLS programs.[6] Grading guidelines dictate that a student reading below grade level cannot receive a grade higher than C and those reading on grade level cannot receive a grade higher than B (3-7-88, cf. 1-31-89).[7] The standardized curriculum assigns goals and objectives for every curriculum area, for every grade, for every school in the district. Both the standardized curriculum and the grading guidelines create indirect pressure for schools and teachers to use basal reading series for reading instruction. In fact, in both these cases, the teachers feel that they really have no autonomous choice about the basals (25A 70; 4-11-88).

The foregoing paragraphs describe differences and similarities between the two classrooms across the three continua of biliterate contexts: macro-micro, oral-literate, and monolingual-bilingual. As for the continua of biliterate media, the two classrooms differ on all three. The Spanish language and its writing system are relatively similar to English: both are Indo-European languages and both use the Roman alphabet. In contrast, the structure of the Khmer language (in terms of its phonology, syllable structure, and syntax) and its script, which is derived from Sanskrit, are markedly distinct from English. Furthermore, whereas the Puerto Rican children in Potter Thomas School are acquiring literacy in both languages simultaneously, those Cambodian

children at Lea School who are acquiring Khmer literacy are most likely doing so before or after English literacy, rather than simultaneously with it.

The classrooms are alike then, in that the linguistic minority children in them are developing biliteracy. They differ, however, in the degree to which the linguistic minority community and the school program support the maintenance of biliteracy, the students and teacher share linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and the two languages and scripts are similar or divergent and simultaneously or successively acquired by the students.

Learning Contexts for Biliterate Development

The following sections discuss what the two teachers do to create successful learning contexts for their students' biliterate development. As noted above, the discussion is organized around four themes which identify critical aspects of contexts for teaching for biliteracy: motivation, purpose, text, and interaction. Both similarities and differences in the two teachers' approaches are brought out in each section.

Motivation

Both teachers make membership in the classroom community desirable through affective and experiential bonds while at the same time maintaining the successful execution of literacy tasks as the criterion for membership. In both classrooms, the teachers explicitly include themselves in the community. For example, they share personal anecdotes with their students (e.g., ML on camping trip 2-29-88, 3-7-88; LM on Alaska 3-9-89) and hold themselves accountable to them for their own absences (e.g. ML court 3-7-88; LM jury duty 3-28-89).

Yet the basis for the classroom community is entirely different in the two classrooms. M. López builds on a shared cultural background with her class in ways that may oftentimes not even be apparent. For example, she brings four stuffed dolls to school one day because they are so appealing to her. She sets them up at the front of the room, and in response to students' requests and on condition of their completing their assignments, lets them borrow the dolls for brief periods in order to, as she tells me, 'help them be children; they're too grown up' (5-9-88).[8] Both the open display of tenderness and affection and the motherly concern for the children are expressions of the warm human caring typical of the Puerto Rican community.

L. McKinney does not share a common cultural and linguistic background with her students, but makes up for that by creating classroom-based shared experiences. One way she does this is the annual camp trip she and another teacher take their classes on for three days in May. Throughout the year, she refers frequently to the future camp trip, linking class activities to what they will do, see, and experience at camp. For example, camp buildings and natural features were the reference points for a map lesson in social studies (5-2-89). The students participate in a

candy sale to raise money for the trip. Students who present consistent behavior problems are warned, and if necessary, excluded from the trip (5-2-89; 2-16-89). She works conscientiously, often with the help of the home-school co-ordinator (2-16-89), to convince parents that their children will benefit from the trip and be well-supervised, and is genuinely sorry that each year there are a few parents who will not give permission for their children (usually girls) to go (5-2-89). Furthermore, she makes every effort to assure that no child will be excluded because of lack of ability to pay the $30 contribution asked of each child (toward a $50/child cost; 5-2-89).

Another way she creates classroom-based shared experience are the games in which she participates with the students (e.g. 2-9-89; 3-7-89; 3-9-89; 3-21-89). One of the most popular is the panel game, modeled on a TV game show. The teacher, acting as 'host,' designates 9 students as panel members, each of whom chooses a pseudonym, and 2 students as Mr. O and Ms. X. Mr. O and Ms. X ask the questions of the panel members and must judge whether the answer given is correct or not; the challenge of the game lies in the fact that panel members may bluff. The host scores for X or O only when a correct answer is given; any one question remains in the game until a correct answer is given.

The panel game exemplifies the two important aspects of membership in the communities these teachers create. Not only is membership made desirable through affective/experiential bonds, but also membership is made dependent on the successful execution of literacy tasks. The questions used in the game are comprehensive review questions composed by the teacher and covering social studies, math, and language arts lessons from the few preceding weeks.[9]

Aside from creating a desirable, literacy-based classroom community, the other major way these teachers build their students' motivation is through taking an interest in and holding accountable each individual as an individual. This individual attention to each student's ability, activities, and 'current status' achieves the double purpose of demonstrating the teacher's concern for that student, while at the same time making clear her expectation that each and every student participate fully.

In these two classrooms, this 'good teaching' practice requires the teachers to be attentive to specific community, program, and classroom characteristics. For M. López, this requires accomodation to the high classroom population turnover rate which is a concomitant of the cyclical immigration pattern mentioned earlier. Aside from the new students the school registers at the beginning of each year, many more arrive and leave during the school year - for the 1986-1987 school year, for example, records show 198 admits and 235 dismissals for Potter Thomas School (School District of Philadelphia, 1987-88:377). At the classroom level, this means students come and go throughout the year. For example, Miguel arrives in early March for his first day in M. López' class. He has just come to Philadelphia from Puerto Rico and knows neither English nor the routines of an American classroom. M. López finds him a place and a desk, introduces him to

the class and has students introduce themselves to him, points out to him the two other students who arrived from Puerto Rico during the year, and explains to him about the activity students are working on at that moment, journal writing. That day, and every day thereafter, she tries to bear in mind his particular linguistic and cultural needs, even while attending to the needs of all her other students as well.

For L. McKinney, this attention to individuals requires keeping track of which ESOL students have been pulled out for which ESOL class at which time. For example, she makes special arrangements for ESOL children in her class to be excused from ESOL to attend the special Settlement Music School assembly program with the rest of their classmates (2-14-89), or for them to copy an outline from the board, to make up their social studies test, and to go down and get their library book, all missed because of ESOL (2-21-89; 3-9-89; 2-28-89). This configuration is further complicated by the fact that different segments of both ESOL and non-ESOL students are also regrouped for Chapter 1 and TELLS instruction at different times during the week.

At its best, the teacher's ability to focus on individuals makes it possible for each individual to experience a coherent learning activity in the midst of a group lesson. Consider Sophorn's experience as L. McKinney works with her group in Increasing Comprehension (Kravitz and Dramer, 1978: 8-9). When the students take turns reading aloud, Sophorn reads the second paragraph. After all three paragraphs have been read, L. McKinney asks which sentence in each paragraph is similar to the 'main idea sentence' given in the exercises. Sophorn volunteers at her paragraph, 'I got it,' and reads, "It is its lung that makes this one-foot-long fish different from other fish" from the story, to justify "It is its lung that makes the walking catfish different" as the sentence expressing the paragraph's main idea. Despite the fact that several student turns intervened between her original reading and her answer to the main idea question, she has the opportunity to successfully answer the question relating to the paragraph she originally read (2-16-89). Sophorn's experience epitomizes the way motivation works in these classrooms. As an individual she is held accountable and given opportunity to successfully execute the literacy task, and as a member of the classroom community she values, she wants to do so.

Purpose

These two teachers establish both broadly social and more narrowly task-focused purposes for their students' biliterate development. As to broad social purpose, there is a contrast between the two teachers in their approach to the students' non-English linguistic and cultural identities. M. López feels her identity to be primarily American, despite having spent her early childhood in Puerto Rico, and having attended Spanish church and studied Spanish in high school in mainland U.S. She attributes this American identity in part to the fact that she never lived in a Hispanic neighborhood and her father did not allow Spanish to be spoken at home. Nevertheless,

regardless of her own sense of identity, she explicitly states that the important thing at Potter Thomas is for the teacher to accept students where they are, whether they prefer Spanish or English, or want to identify with the Puerto Rican or American cultures. That is, she leaves open the option for maintenance of either or both languages and cultures by her students. Her bilingual/bicultural maintenance approach is congruent with the school's 2-way maintenance bilingual education program and the community's institutional support for literacy and culture in Spanish as well as English.

In contrast, L. McKinney notes that although she doesn't want the Cambodian children to lose their culture, she sees it happening, just as it happened in her own family's history (2-16-89). While she is appreciative of linguistic and cultural diversity, she tends to see it as a contribution to a "mix." She is cognizant of unique aspects of the Cambodians' language and culture. For example, Shariff gives evidence of his teacher's awareness when, upon being frustrated because Than keeps saying 'wolleyball' instead of 'volleyball,' he finally remembers that his teacher (L. McKinney) told him they don't have 'v' in their language.

Although L. McKinney is aware of their different language and culture, she intentionally mixes Southeast Asian and non-Southeast Asian students at their worktables and does not seem enthusiastic about the Cambodians' using their L$_1$ in class. She says that last year her all-Cambodian pre-primer group would at times speak Khmer among themselves -- upon which she would admonish them, 'Hey, wait a minute! I don't know what you're saying' (2-16-89). Her tolerant assimilation approach is congruent with the school's pull-out ESOL/mainstream program and the community's relative lack of institutional support for literacy in Khmer.

At the level of task-focused purpose, the two classrooms are quite similar in many ways. In both classrooms, tasks are clearly defined, teacher correction is focused on the task and includes teacher acknowledgement of her own mistakes (e.g. LM page number 2-7-89; stanza structure 2-14-89), and the teacher continuously adapts the definition of the task to the immediate situation (e.g. ML Verna 3-17-88). All of these are good teaching practices. What is of interest here, however, are the ways in which the teachers' task definitions, corrections, and adaptations reflect responsiveness to the particular configuration of biliterate contexts, media, and development in any one situation in their classrooms, and how the two classrooms contrast with each other.

For example, M. López corrects Wandaly for using English during Spanish reading (3-17-88), not because she can't understand (cf. LM above), but because the present task (Spanish vocabulary introduction) requires the use of Spanish. At other moments of the same lesson, the teacher encourages use of one language to aid development of the other (see Interaction discussion below).

In L. McKinney's classroom where Cambodian children are becoming literate in their second language without recourse to their first, it is significant that her corrections of students' oral

reading and of their writing emphasizes meaning rather than phonological or grammatical form (her approach to her students' use of Black English Vernacular is similar, 2-7-89, 3-9-89, 3-28-89). For example, Sreysean reads a paragraph from Increasing Comprehension, pages 10-11, fluently, but substitutes "Joe's" for "Joseph's" and "train track" for "railroad track." L. McKinney does not correct these, and Sreysean goes on to answer the multiple choice comprehension question correctly (2-16-89; also Sophom). Noeun, Sreysean, and Than all get 3 out of 3 on their homework sentences, despite grammatical errors such as: "I am skater with my sister;" "I'm reading a book call Peter Pan;" "The winner has win again" (5-2-89).

Such instances are consistent with L. McKinney's expressed approach to student writing. In correcting their written work, she says, she looks for complete sentences and for answering the question, but doesn't pay too much attention to spelling (1-31-89). For creative writing especially, she prefers not to grade at all since it's not done for grammar or spelling, but for the expression of ideas (2-7-89).

This emphasis on meaning over form is also reflected in her adaptation of tasks to the situation. In a lesson based on a reading about Native Americans, she adapts to the ambiguity in an exercise involving fill-in-the-blank sentences followed by a word search puzzle. As she notices that in more than one case the sentence can be meaningfully filled by more than one word, she tells the class she will accept their answer if it makes sense, even if it's not the one she was looking for; but that they should be aware that they may not find that word on the word search (2-7-89).

In M. López' classroom, the bilingual maintenance purpose is reflected in attention to the allocation of use of the two languages. In L. McKinney's classroom, the tolerant assimilation purpose is reflected in greater attention to the meanings expressed by the children than to the form in which they express them.

Text

As noted above, both teachers feel constrained to use basal reading series. Such texts can be used in narrow and limiting ways (cf. Dyson, 1988: 222). Yet these teachers not only use them in more open and challenging ways (see Interaction discussion below), but they also seek to expose their students to genres in addition to those in the basal readers and workbooks.

For example, M. López reads aloud a short biography of Luis Muñóz Marín to her class (from Kieszak, 1977), one of several short biographies she reads over the year (5-9-88). Her room, as well as the Potter Thomas School library, is stocked with books in both Spanish and English, for students to read and do book reports on.

While the variety in M. López' classroom derives primarily from exposure to both L_1 and L_2 texts, in L. McKinney's classroom it derives primarily from a wide exposure to both oral and written texts, and both receptive and productive interaction. She says, "reading is very important

to me, and I want the kids to feel that reading is enjoyable, not just a burden" (25A 10). There are a lot of books and magazines in this classroom, including a well-stocked and well-organized library, complete with card catalog, designated librarians, and borrowing rules. The library collection encompasses fantasy, adventure, biography, and social studies and science reference works.

Every day in the 25 minutes between recess and lunchtime, L. McKinney reads aloud to the class. During this time, she reads books of her own choice, that she liked as a child or that she has found to be good, such as The Lion, The Witch, and The Wardrobe, by C.S. Lewis (1-31-89 - 2-16-89). To a certain degree, she follows the sequence of genres indicated in the district curriculum guide, but her main goal is for the children to "like being read to" (25A 20-40). There are variations on the story time. Sometimes she will read a story brought in by a student (The Lost Prince: A Droid Adventure, 2-21-89). Toward the end of the year, she has the students themselves each choose, practice, and read a story to their classmates (5-2-89).

She gives the students an opportunity to gauge their own oral reading of a story in their reading group at least once during the year by taping and playing back their reading (3-28-89).

> "I explain in the beginning that this is...as a learning tool, that it's something that we're not making fun of each other. We all sound pretty bad when it comes down to it. ...But you want to really be able to say, 'What is it that I have done wrong?' And somebody else might be able to pick something up that you didn't, and, ... it's what we call constructive criticism" (25B 5ff).

Each year, basal readers are put aside for a couple of weeks and the children read book-length stories (2-16-89; 3-28-89; 5-2-89). L. McKinney tries to

> "bring out...what an author puts into writing a book... and that language is very important. Like in the Ghost of Windy Hill [by Clyde Robert Bulla], we point out all the dark language that's in the story, and events that are leading up to, foreshadowing (I'm a frustrated English major). Why is this person in the story? Why did this happen? And why didn't the author tell you this? ... So it's a great way to -like a short story is hard to get children to get into it as much..." (25A 135-150).

In writing, students explore a variety of genres, including autobiography (1-31-89), personal letters (2-7-89), poems (2-14-89), and fantasy stories (3-7-89). In providing for her students' exposure to a wide range of genres and to opportunities to listen, discuss, read aloud and silently, and write across those genres, she is cognizant of the fact that different students in her class are at different points along the continua of biliterate development. For example, she notes that Noeun's written work is much better than her oral reading or her speaking, which are barely intelligible. Noeun's writing sometimes takes her by surprise, she says, because it doesn't seem she could have understood so well (3-7-89).

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In M. López' class, there is not such a variety of oral and written texts and receptive and productive interactions as in L. McKinney's class; the variety of genres lies instead along the L_1-L_2 continuum. It seems that, because of the inter-connectedness of the developmental continua of biliteracy, a particularly rich environment along one or two of the continua may make up for poverty with respect to another (Heath, 1986:144).

Interaction

In both classes, interaction with and around texts is characterized by opportunities for a range of participant structures (cf. Philips, 1983), the activation of prior knowledge (cf. Anderson, Spiro, and Anderson, 1978), and the development of strategies for signaling understanding of text, analyzing features of text, and reasoning about text (cf. Lytle, 1982).[10] All of these are good teaching practices. Yet, differences between the two classrooms in their interactions around text point to options that go beyond what is simply good teaching to what is good teaching for biliterate development.

Small group peer interaction occurs differently in the two classrooms. In M. López' classroom, there is a complex desk arrangement which yields approximately four group areas of seven to eight desks each (in either two rows or a three-sided rectangle), as well as some individually situated desks; and there are at least three different seating patterns for the children, one each for Spanish reading, English reading, and homeroom periods. Within these groups, when the students are not working with the teacher, there is a certain amount of peer interaction, which seems to be neither encouraged nor discouraged by the teacher. Both the students' initiation of peer interaction and the teacher's permission of it seem to me to be congruent with a culture which values social relationships and mutual support and cooperation.

This is somewhat different from the peer interaction in L. McKinney's class, which appears to be both planned and tightly controlled. The children are seated at nine worktable areas (created by pushing four desks together); and do a minimum of moving around. Rather, the teacher comes to them when she wants to work with, for example, a reading group made up of two or three adjacent worktables (2-14-89; 3-9-89). She encourages the children to interact with the others at their worktable, and distinguishes between "busy noise," which is directed noise, evidence that students are working, and "noisy noise," which is not (3-7-89). Yet she also specifies when such interaction should and should not occur. Thirty minutes into the children's writing of fantasies, she tells them, 'Let someone at your table read your story and see if they understand it' (3-7-89). On another occasion, she tells Yeap, Husim, and Vantha, 'Sometimes you girls help each other and that's OK sometimes, but sometimes you have to get it yourself' (2-7-89).

The two teachers differ as well in the degree to which they emphasize classroom-based or community-based prior knowledge. M. López does of course draw on concepts developed or topics discussed in previous lessons in the course of any particular lesson (e.g., Wyoming trip, 3-7-88; *pals*, 3-17-88; *héroe*, 4-11-88); but far more characteristic are her frequent appeals to students' knowledge from outside the class or the school. For example, during Spanish reading: she draws the students out on whether they like and how they prepare *pulpo* 'octopus' (apparently a favorite Puerto Rican delicacy) in order to introduce the word *marino* 'marine' (3-7-88); in a discussion of President Reagan's overnight decision to send American soldiers to Honduras, she includes a student's volunteered news that his *tio* 'uncle' was called to go (3-17-88); and she clarifies the name of a stone, *yunque*, by identifying it as the same name as the mountain in Puerto Rico (3-12-88). During English reading, too, she draws on students' community-based knowledge: in order to define 'sift', she elaborates on 'Mom' making a cake and on preparing rice for cooking by sifting out the stones, etc.; to define 'ancestors', she provides a brief exposition of the source of the three ancestral heritages, European, Indian, and African, that make up Puerto Rico; and in discussing 'interview', she encourages a discussion of the interviews several of the students had had a few weeks earlier to go to Conwell Middle Magnet School next year (3-7-88).

An area of prior knowledge which in a sense represents a combination of classroom-based and community-based knowledge is the students' knowledge of the other language. M. López frequently draws on this. Direct translation is a convenient means of rapid identification: in reviewing English vocabulary, at the word 'ledge,' she asks, 'What's the Spanish for that?' and a student replies, *'lecho'* (3-7-88). Similarly, she assists the students to draw on school community language resources when their own knowledge falls short; indeed, she models this strategy for them. In compiling a list of the capitals, languages, and nationalities of the South American countries, she is uncertain of the name in Spanish for Bolivian and Paraguayan nationalities, and sends Aisha to ask Sra. Leal, one of the Spanish teachers, for these terms (3-7-88). A corollary to this explicit drawing on community language resources is the acceptance of both languages in the communication of information. When the Spanish reading class needs to refer to a map and the map happens to be in English, that is not seen as an obstacle to the communication of the necessary information; in this case, identification of the oceans, continents, and countries (3-7-88). The children bring with them not only knowledge of two languages, but also a wealth of knowledge from their experience at home and in the community. M. López takes advantage of her shared linguistic/cultural background to exploit that wealth.

In contrast, L. McKinney is not able to exploit a common reservoir of community-based knowledge, but compensates for that by emphasizing the students' classroom-based prior knowledge. She does of course draw on their experience outside the classroom and school (e.g. TV, 3-7-89, 3-9-89; drugstore and breakfast, 3-28-89). Far more characteristic, however, are her

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frequent appeals, usually through display questions, to students' knowledge from previous lessons or shared class experiences. She may encourage students to connect across stories: a story about Pablo Picasso includes a picture of his painting, 'Harlequin' and she reminds the Full group of an earlier story they read about a harlequin (1-31-89; also "The Girl Who Found a Dragon", 2-7-89). She may seek connections across reading groups as well - after the Full group composes a new stanza for the poem, "Over in the Meadow," she jokes with the Rhymes group that this stanza is 'Almost as good as the one you did, Rhymes' (2-14-89).[11]

She draws on shared class experience in discussing vocabulary: for the word 'exhibit,' she refers to class trips to the Academy of Natural Science, the Zoo, and the Art Museum (2-9-89); for the words 'meadow' (2-14-89) and 'camper' (2-28-89), she ties discussion to their future camp trip; and for the word 'germ' she discusses the flu going around the class and school (2-21-89).

Perhaps most representative of her activation/reinforcement of students' classroom-based prior knowledge, are her "remember" statements: 'Remember I said English is hard because when you learn a rule, you have to learn five more that have broken it' (2-7-89); 'Remember I want you to get a little more independent. Read the directions yourselves' (2-7-89); 'Remember we talked about the main sentence in the paragraph in our workbooks? What sentence usually tells us what the main idea of the paragraph is?' (2-9-89); Indeed, L. McKinney insists that remembering is the sign of learning: 'You learn something, you remember it. If you learn something and forget it, you haven't really learned it' (3-9-89).

Finally the two teachers differ in their approach to the development of students' strategies for interacting with text. Both teachers encourage their students to signal understanding through such moves as defining word meanings (3-7-88), identifying the main idea in paragraphs, and following a story line as it unfolds (3-17-88). Both also encourage students to analyze features of the texts they read, ranging from minimal units such as letters (3-17-88, 2-7-89, 2-16-89), sounds (3-7-88, 3-28-89), morphemes (3-7-88, 4-25-88), or words (3-7-88), to sentence level features such as punctuation and complete thoughts (3-7-88, 3-17-88, 4-11-88) to discourse level features such as title information, the structure of paragraphs, main characters, author's purpose (5-2-89), and genre (3-7-88, 3-17-88, 1-31-89, 2-7-89, 2-14-89, 3-7-89). The students are also encouraged to reason about the texts they read by exploring alternative interpretations and expressions in text and by inferring, guessing, and predicting from text. The teachers seek to develop these strategies by pointing out features or giving definitions and rules, or asking the students to do so. Yet there is a difference in the way the two teachers do this. Whereas M. López' approach is characterized by helping her students 'connect and transfer' across languages, L. McKinney's is characterized by her insistence on precision at all times.

When I asked M. López about her approach to teaching reading and writing, she said, 'I don't know any name for it [my approach], but I think of it as just adding to the pile. I try to get

the kids to connect and transfer. I've noticed, I guess, language is language; the skills are almost the same; for example, prefixes, outlines' (3-17-88). Here, 'adding to the pile' refers to drawing on and building prior knowledge, while 'connect and transfer' refers to helping students make explicit connections across their two languages.

Thus, she encourages her students to signal understanding through translation. We have already seen above how students sometimes define words through translation into the other language (e.g. ledge - *lecho*). On another occasion, as she reviews students' comprehension of the day's story about aviator Richard Byrd, she asks in Spanish, '*Qué es la marina?*', 'What is the marines?', and a student answers by translating into English, "the marines" (4-11-88).

She also encourages students to analyze features across languages. As Sueane unsuccessfully looks up *disolvieron* 'they dissolved [it]' in the dictionary, M. López elicits from Damary that Sueane needs to take off the suffix to get the root word, *disolver* which she can look up. She then turns to Sueane to make an explicit connection between analyzing *sufijos* in Spanish and suffixes in English: 'You're in Book G, aren't you? Have you studied suffixes? yes? It's the same thing. *Es la misma cosa*' (3-7-88).

Finally, she encourages students to reason across languages. For example, she explains the difference between fact ('I can see it, hear it, feel it, touch it') and opinion ('any time you say, 'I think"), has students judge whether particular sentences express fact or opinion, and assigns this kind of task for both Spanish and English (3-7-88; 3-17-88).

L. McKinney encourages students to signal understanding, analyze features of text, and reason about text in very similar ways to M. López (2-7-89; 2-14-89; 3-28-89). But whereas M. López emphasizes the connections between the children's two languages, L. McKinney emphasizes precision in one. As children signal understanding by giving definitions or answering comprehension questions, their answers must be precise. For example, L. McKinney does not accept Sophorn's 'to sweep' as a definition of 'broom' because 'it tells me what you can do with it, but it doesn't tell me what it is;' nor Than's 'a screw' as a definition of 'tool' because 'it is a type of tool, but not a definition' (1-31-89). The following interchange exemplifies both the type of question and the type of response expected as she guides students toward being able to signal understanding of a story as it unfolds:

> LM - 'In chapter 6, Mr. Arden gets very angry with Bob. Why?'
> Sophorn - 'He goes into Mr. Arden's library.'
> LM - 'Why did Bob go in?'
> Sreysean - 'He wanted to read a book.'
> LM - 'No.'
> Noeun - 'He wanted to find out what was in back.'
> LM - 'No.'
> Sophorn - 'The door was open.'
> LM - 'Yes.'

The same precision is required in analyzing features of text. "Spoon" is not acceptable as a word with the same sound pattern as "room" (1-31-89); 'apostrophe s' is not acceptable as the mark of contractions and possessives since 'there's not always an s' (2-9-89); and Than's definition of a homonym as 'same word, different meaning,' clarified as 'same spelling, different meaning,' is not acceptable since, 'the important thing is 'sound the same,' even though they're spelt differently in most cases' (3-7-89). Complete sentences are often required in oral answers ('Who was the man that was responsible? Try to answer me with a good sentence' 2-9-89), and always in students' written work (check on homework, 2-16-89; underlining on rough draft, 3-9-89).

Finally, she requires precision as students reason about text. She guides them toward precision in their reasoning about alternative word meanings: not only a book, but also a person can be 'firm' (2-21-89); the suffix '-er' can be used to compare things (e.g. 'bigger') as well as to mean 'one who does' (2-28-89; 5-2-89); 'center' means not only 'the middle,' but also 'building,' as in 'health center' (2-28-89; also 3-9-89); and you cannot always tell the meaning of compound words by taking them apart, for example, though 'a blueberry is a berry that is blue, a strawberry is not a berry that is straw' (3-28-89).

As students choose, in succession, all five sentences of the following paragraph as the main idea, she guides them toward the 'correct' response (sentence #2), but at the same time, does not deny the "main ideaness" of their responses, since in this case all the sentences seem to carry only part of the main idea (2-16-89):

> Most zoos keep the animals in special pens, or fenced-in areas. But there is another kind of zoo. This kind of zoo lets the animals go free and puts the people in cages! These zoos put all the animals in a big park. The visitors can see the animals from their car or from a bus or train.

As she guides students to infer, guess, or predict from text, the goal of precision remains whether they are inferring at the level of grammar, vocabulary, or discourse:

> 'Look at these words [it's, its]. One's a contraction, one's a possessive. Remember I told you there are some possessives that don't use an apostrophe - pronouns; so which one of these is the contraction? You should know the answer from what I just said' (2-7-89).

> 'I'm not going to tell you what 'flummoxed' means, you'll have to figure it out from the story.' After reading the story, "The Woman Who Flummoxed the Fairies," to the class, she guides students through some of the things that the woman did, to elicit the meaning 'tricked' for 'flummoxed' (3-7-89).

> LM - 'Why does Bob say, 'Oh, he's rich, he won't break the law'? Can't rich people break the law?'
> Tyjae - 'Rich people can do anything they want to 'cause they have the money.'
> LM - 'Sometimes it can seem that way....Does Bob want the job? Why? [she elicits the idea that he wants to keep the job because he's making good money, and

therefore doesn't want to admit that there might be something wrong.] So in a way, Bob is trying to make himself feel good' (5-2-89; also dragon, 2-7-89; elephant, 2-14-89).

Good Teaching for Biliteracy

The two elementary teachers reported on here adapt their teaching for their students' biliterate development, and, specifically for the particular biliterate contexts and media of their program, school, community, and school district. Both teachers have found ways to create successful learning contexts for biliteracy for the students in their classroom; but these contexts are both similar and different.

Both teachers build motivation in their students by creating a class oom community in which membership is made desirable through affective/experiential bonds and simultaneously is dependent on the successful execution of literacy tasks. While M. López builds those bonds upon a shared linguistic and cultural background with her students, L. McKinney builds them by creating classroom-based shared experience. Both teachers take an interest in and hold accountable each individual in the classroom community. For M. López, this requires accomodation to a high classroom population turnover while for L. McKinney it requires accommodation to a complex multi-layered pull-out structure.

Both teachers build meaningful purpose in their students by keeping them focused on literacy tasks that are clearly defined and suited to the immediate situation. At the same time these tasks embody a broad social purpose which is congruent with the program and community context. M. López, the Potter Thomas two-way maintenance program, and the Puerto Rican community share a broad bilingual/bicultural maintenance purpose, reflected in attention to the allocation of use of the two languages in literacy tasks. On the other hand, L. McKinney, the Lea School ESOL pull-out program, and the Cambodian community share a broadly tolerant assimilationist purpose, reflected in more attention to meaning than form in literacy tasks.

Both teachers build their students' exposure to a variety of texts. The strength of M. López' approach is the inclusion of both L_1 and L_2 texts; the strength of L. McKinney's is the inclusion of a wide opportunity for oral and written, receptive and productive interaction with a wide range of genres.

Both teachers build students' interaction with text by taking advantage of a variety of participant structures, drawing on students' prior knowledge, and developing students' strategies for signaling understanding of text, analyzing features of text, and reasoning about text. M. López allows small group peer interaction to occur spontaneously and asystematically as a natural outgrowth of shared cultural values, emphasizes her students' community-based prior knowledge, and seeks to help her students to 'connect and transfer' strategies across languages. L. McKinney

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structures small group peer interaction more carefully, emphasizes her students' classroom-based prior knowledge, and builds her students' strategy use by insistence on precision at all times.

Foster has recently noted that "we have little empirical evidence that documents what takes place when teachers and students share a common cultural background which positively affects classroom interaction" (1989:2). At the same time, Nichols has suggested that while it is undoubtedly true that "teachers teach from within their own cultural traditions," it is also possible for teachers to adopt a "'double perspective' [Bleich, 1988]... which requires [them] to understand both the limitations of their own cultural perspectives and to appreciate separate ways of understanding and shaping the world" (1989:232).

M. López' teaching provides evidence of the positive effects that a shared linguistic and cultural background can bring to the teaching of biliteracy. On the other hand, L. McKinney's teaching seems to exemplify a double perspective that allows space for Cambodian children to draw on their own linguistic and cultural backgrounds within a learning context that is situated squarely in a second language and culture.

Both teachers have found ways to build their students' biliterate development. The differences between the two teachers' approaches point primarily to the degree to which community-based knowledge and experience, the development of students' first language literacy, and goals for bilingual/bicultural maintenance are incorporated in the students' learning. These are not negligible differences. Nevertheless, it seems to me that in the highly complex, increasingly multicultural environments in which our schools are situated, we will need to allow for the greatest possible range of approaches for teaching for biliteracy, among them both of these two.

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[2] Data for the paper come from a long-term comparative ethnographic study on school-community literacy in two languages, beginning in February 1987. The classrooms described were the focus of intensive observation by the author during spring 1988 and spring 1989. Criteria for determining the success of the learning contexts in these two classrooms include my own observation over time of the students' oral and written performance in literacy tasks, the students' progress in reading level through the school year, and schoolwide (and in one case, district-wide) recognition of the teachers' excellence. Attention here is explicitly on the teachers, although evidence of the efficacy of their approaches is in the children's responses; and on their teaching of reading, writing, spelling, and language arts, though many of the characteristics of this teaching are observable in their teaching of math, science, and social studies content areas as well.

3 Such a model would include the categories and sources of the knowledge base of teaching and the complexities of the pedagogical process. Among the categories of the teacher's knowledge base, Shulman includes: content knowledge; general pedagogical knowledge; curriculum knowledge; pedagogical content knowledge; knowledge of learners and their characteristics; knowledge of educational contexts; and knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values and their philosophical and historical grounds (pg. 8). The sources of the knowledge base include: scholarship in the content disciplines; educational materials and structures; formal educational scholarship; and the wisdom of practice (pp. 8-12). Among the complex processes of pedagogical reasoning and action, he includes: comprehension, transformation (preparation, representation, selection, and adaptation and tailoring to student characteristics), instruction, evaluation, reflection, and new comprehensions (pp. 14-19).

4   Ogbu argues that the variability among minority groups in school performance and the persistence of problems created by cultural differences for some minority groups (the involuntary minorities) can be explained by their differing relationships with the larger society, a difference which he summarizes as primary vs. secondary cultural discontinuity. Immigrant minorities are "people who have moved more or less voluntarily to the United States because they believe that this would lead to greater economic well-being, better overall opportunities, and/or greater political freedom." Involuntary minorities are "people who were originally brought into United States society involuntarily through slavery, conquest, or colonization" (p. 321).
        Immigrant minorities are characterized by primary cultural differences (i.e., differences in cultural content, which predate emigration), a social/collective identity which retains a sense of peoplehood from before emigration, the acceptance of the dominant group's 'folk theory of making it,' and a willingness to accomodate to discrimination because of an underlying trust in the larger society. On the other hand, involuntary minorities are characterized by secondary cultural differences (i.e. differences in cultural style, which have arisen in response to the contact situation), a social/collective identity which is oppositional to the dominant group's, a rejection of the dominant group's 'folk theory of making it,' and a deep distrust of the larger society due to past and present experience of discrimination (pp. 321-326). Immigrant minorities tend to see their cultural differences as barriers to be overcome, while involuntary minorities perceive them as markers of identity to be maintained (pp. 327, 330).

5 Citations of the form (14A 17) refer to a taped interview, and indicate the tape number, side, and location on the side.

6 Chapter 1 refers to Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981, revised from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; and specifically to the Chapter 1 Local Educational Agency Grant program that provides financial assistance for supplemental, remedial instruction for educationally-deprived students in school districts with high concentrations of low income students. TELLS (Testing Essential Literacy and Learning Skills) is the state-wide testing program initiated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the 1980s. Both of these programs provide for supplementary instruction for children whose test scores fall below a certain level.

7 Here, and throughout, dates in parentheses refer to field notes from those dates.

8 In this and all cases of quotations from the teachers and the students, direct verbatim quotes taken from tape-recordings are enclosed in double quotation marks (" "); while paraphrased quotes taken

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from my field notes are enclosed in single quotation marks (' '). All quotes in Spanish are immediately followed by the English gloss, also enclosed in single quotation marks.

9 The questions used in one of the games on 3-7-89 were: a) Tell me the number of continents. b) Apostrophes are used in two kinds of words: name at least one. c) Words that mean the same thing are called what? d) What is 8 x 6? e) Homonyms are words that do what? f) What is the name for the two continents that are sometimes named as one? g) William Penn named the streets of Philadelphia after what two things? h) What is 42 divided by 6 times 3 plus 2? i) What is an equivalent fraction?

10 In reporting on the strategies I saw these teachers seeking to develop with their students, I have grouped them according to three of Lytle's (1982) six major types of moves. Two clarifications about my use of Lytle's framework are in order.

First, whereas Lytle is describing moves that readers make in response to text (as discovered through the use of a protocol), I am describing the kinds of moves teachers are seeking to activate in their students. It is for this reason that I apply the term strategy where Lytle used move. In her system of analysis, a strategy is a sequence of moves guided by a specific purpose; that is precisely what these teachers seek to develop in their students.

Second, I have focused my discussion on only three of the six categories: signaling understanding, analyzing features, and reasoning; but not monitoring doubts, elaborating the text, or judging the text. This is not because the latter were totally absent: indeed, for example, Jimmy (Truong Truyen) judged the map in his social studies text (entitled "Cities, States, and Capitals" without designating United States) to be a "bad map" because it doesn't 'tell you what it is' as L. McKinney said all good maps do. Rather, I have focused on the former three categories because they seemed to receive the most attention from the teachers.

11 The Full group is reading Full Circle and the Rhymes group Rhymes and Reasons, levels 3.2 and 4.1, respectively, of the MacMillan series.

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Narrative skills and literacy learning[1]

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This paper examines the storytelling narratives produced by four children, two low-income African-American first graders and two middle-income white first graders. The means of analysis Hicks employs is a text analysis based upon the delineation of lines into groupings, referred to as *stanzas*. Hicks calls into question the characterization of either group of children as having intrinsically more oral or literate styles of narration. Hicks points out subtle differences in narrative styles which may help to explain the mismatch between community and classroom styles of discourse.

Introduction

A conservative view of "what is literacy" would equate literacy with simply the ability to comprehend and produce written texts. Advocates of this view would propose increasing levels of achievement in relation to literacy skills, from simple decoding skills to the more complex ability to synthesize meaning from extended prose texts. And yet, research on the relationship between oral language and literacy suggests an even more complex picture of literacy. Sociolinguists and child language researchers have suggested that full participation in literacy also requires knowledge of specific kinds of discourse. In particular, researchers have suggested that children's interactions with various forms of narrative discourse can be an important determinant of their success with classroom literacy activities (Heath, 1982;1983; Michaels, 1981; Michaels and Collins, 1984; Snow, 1983; Wells, 1985; 1986).

Research on sociocultural issues in literacy education has begun to address the thorny problem of the discrepancy in levels of school success among members of different sociocultural communities. It is no secret to either researchers or practitioners that children from some low-income communities are more likely to experience difficulty as they make the transition to literacy-based school activities. Various reasons for this problem have been addressed in the literature. One explanation, and that which most strongly motivates the present research study, is the possibility that children from some sociocultural communities bring to the classroom different

ways of organizing their knowledge through narrative. Heath's ethnographic research (1982; 1983) has suggested that low-income African-American children and middle-income white children are exposed to different kinds, or genres, of narrative discourse at home. Thus, children from different communities may bring different repertoires of narrative skills to the classroom.

At issue is the effect these sociocultural differences in narrative skills have on children's performance in classroom literacy activities. In other words, are these differences in narrative styles the culprit for the literacy-related difficulties that children from some communities face? And, if so, why? Michaels (1981) and Michaels and Collins (1984) have suggested that, indeed, differences in styles of narration can be an obstacle to African-American children's full participation in classroom literacy events. The reasons suggested by Michaels and Collins are twofold. First, the narrative styles of African-American children are intrinsically more oral in nature, in that events are not centered around a central organizing topic (as is the case with mainstream middle-income speakers). Second, the narrative styles particular to African-American children may conflict with the discourse of literacy instruction (i.e., the discourse styles of the classroom teacher). In this paper, I would like to examine further this relationship between oral narrative styles and literacy learning.

In the present study, I will examine the storytelling narratives produced by four children, two low-income African-American first graders and two middle-income white first graders. The means of analysis which I employ is a text analysis based upon the delineation of lines into groupings, referred to here and elsewhere as *stanzas* (Gee, 1986; Hymes, 1981; 1982). The narratives which are the subject of analysis were obtained in two settings, in which children from two communities were given a series of narrative tasks (Hicks, 1988; In press,a). In the present study, I examine children's responses to the task of telling a *story* based upon events seen in a silent film. In light of the results from my analysis, I will call into question the characterization of either group as having intrinsically more oral or literate styles of narration. I will, however, point out more subtle differences in narrative styles, differences which may help to explain the mismatch between community and classroom styles of discourse.

Narrative Development in the Preschool Years

A review of the research on narrative development in the preschool years suggests that all children develop a *repertoire* of narrative skills in their primary language learning environments. Children's ability to represent events through narrative arises in the rich settings of their interactions with peers and family members. The cognitive and linguistic ability to narrate a series of events can be linked among very young children to events which are experienced on a regular basis. Children develop repertoires of knowledge about recurring events in their lives: eating, playing, sleeping, grocery shopping. Out of this repertoire of event knowledge develops skill in

talking about past, present, and future events (Gerhardt, 1988; Nelson, 1978; 1986; Nelson and Gruendel, 1981). Thus, the cognitive ability to represent events has its origin in children's interactions in widening social settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; McNamee, 1979; White, 1970; White and Siegel, 1984).

Children's repertoire of event knowledge is not, however, limited to one means of representing events. As children move between a range of social interactions, they also experience different ways of representing their knowledge through narrative. Researchers examining young children's narrative skills have in fact documented a wide range of narrative skills among preschoolers. Through conversations about past and present events, children develop what Stoel-Gammon and Scliar Cabral (1977) have termed the *reportative function*, or the ability to make references to personally experienced events (Eisenberg, 1985; Engel, 1986; Fivush, Gray, and Fromhoff, 1987; Fivush and Fromhoff, 1988; Miller and Sperry, 1988; Ninio, 1988). Young children also, however, develop the ability to talk about fictional events through their fantasy play (Applebee, 1978; Hicks and Wolf, 1988; Rubin and Wolf, 1979; Sutton-Smith, Botvin, and Mahoney, 1976). It therefore seems to be the case that the acquisition of a repertoire of narrative skills forms part of the social and cognitive development of all preschoolers.

A good deal of cultural variation in children's narrative skills has also been documented in the child language and sociolinguistic literature. As noted earlier, Heath (1982; 1983) has reported differences in the kinds of narratives children from different communities experience in their primary language learning environments. Additionally, Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) found in their research among Hawaiian children a style of narration which was highly collaborative in nature. Finally, Scollon and Scollon (1980; 1984) reported that young Athabaskan speakers produce narratives in which there is a high degree of audience participation and in which the narrator is not a detached ("fictionalized") self. Thus, cultural variation in styles of narration also appears to be an important facet of children's development of narrative skills.

The fact that children bring different repertoires of narrative skills to the classroom may have important consequences for literacy education. As Michaels (1981) and Michaels and Collins (1984) have suggested, there may in some instances be a cultural mismatch between the discourse of literacy instruction (i.e., the teacher's discourse styles) and the narrative skills particular to children from "non-mainstream" (i.e., children from other than middle-income white) communities. Even though children from non-mainstream communities unquestionably bring repertoires of narrative skills to their classrooms, these children still may not have access to some forms of school-based knowledge.

Data Collection and Analysis

The narratives which are the basis for the present analysis were collected at two separate elementary school locations. The first setting for data collection was a private elementary school in the vicinity of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Children in this school were for the most part members of middle-income families in which one or both parents worked in professional job settings. The second setting for data collection was a public elementary school in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware. Children in this school were largely members of working class or low-income families, although the school also drew upon a housing development of mostly middle-income families.

The data collection in the private elementary school formed part of a larger research project examining primary school children's narrative skills. The project was based upon Heath's ethnographic research on language learning in three communities (1982; 1983). The project was designed to examine primary school children's abilities to perform language tasks which drew upon a range of narrative genre skills. More specifically, the project was focused on the abilities of children in grades K-2 to produce three generically distinct kinds of narratives (Hicks, 1988; In press,b). The results from analyses of these data have suggested that primary school children have only nascent abilities to draw upon their genre knowledge in language tasks designed to elicit specific narrative genres. The results did reveal, however, that for many primary grade children the task of telling a story is one which elicits a story-like text, with formulaic phrasing and intonation, evaluative clauses, discussions of character internal states, and character dialogue (Hicks, In press,c). Thus, for children in grades K-2, the task of telling a story is apparently a familiar one.

The second research project represents an attempt to extend this research to members of something other than mainstream middle-income community settings. In this second study, first graders from a public elementary school also performed three narrative tasks. I identified children from low-income families through participation in the school's free lunch program. Although it was not my original intent to base this comparison study on ethnicity, I did find that the majority of children participating in the free-lunch program were members of African-American communities. The research on language development in the preschool years, as noted earlier, suggests that African-American and white children are exposed to different ways of representing events through narrative. Thus, I decided to focus this second study specifically on low-income African-American first graders.

Children in both research settings were given identical narrative tasks. Children were shown a shortened (14 minute) version of the silent film, "The Red Balloon", and were asked to perform three tasks: a) provide a simultaneous *eventcast* (sportscast) as they rewatched a three-minute segment from the film, b) provide a factual *news report* of the events in the film, and c) tell the film's events as a *story*. As a facilitation of their understanding of the tasks, children were

provided with an opening script for each task. These opening scripts are shown in the appendix. For the storytelling task, children were also given as a prop a "storybook", having one large picture from the film on its front cover (a closeup of the main character -- a young boy -- putting the balloon's string in his mouth) but only blank white pages inside.

The film shown for the two projects is a classic children's film in which the very few words spoken are in French (the boy calls to the balloon on several occasions). For the purposes of the study, the film was edited, so that a number of subplots were excluded. This edited version of the film consisted of the basic sequence of events shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Sequence of Events in "The Red Balloon"

1. A boy finds a red balloon tied to a lamp post.
2. He takes a bus on his way home, and the balloon follows the bus.
3. After leaving the bus, a gang of boys tries to take the balloon from him.
4. The following day, the boy goes to church with an elderly woman (grandmother?), and the balloon follows.
5. The boy and the balloon are taken out of church by a guard.
6. The boy goes inside a bakery and leaves his balloon outside.
7. The gang of boys steals his balloon.
8. The boy recaptures his balloon from the gang, and the gang of boys chases the boy and the balloon.
9. The gang of boys surrounds the boy and pop the balloon.
10. A large number of balloons come down to the boy and carry him into the sky.

Fifty-eight children from the private elementary school (twenty first graders) and twelve children from the public elementary school (all first graders) performed the narrative tasks. In the present analysis, I will examine in detail the story narratives produced by two first graders from each of the two communities. These four children were chosen as being representative of highly skilled speakers from their communities. All four children produced stories which were coherent and engaging texts.

In the analysis of narrative texts, the way in which one determines the boundaries of individual utterances (or lines) constitutes an important methodological decision. Various criteria have been adopted for delineating utterances in studies of children's narratives: clausal (predicate) structure (Berman and Slobin, 1986); intonation and breathing boundaries (Scollon and Scollon, 1981); "idea units", or tonal groups corresponding to speakers' cognitive chunking of words (Chafe, 1980); and, with very young children in particular, episodes of talk about events (Miller and Sperry, 1988). In this study, I will base my analyses of texts upon a delineation of what Gee (1986) has referred to as *lines* and *stanzas* (see also Hymes, 1981; 1982). Lines are individual utterances within the narrative, most often simple clauses (at least in the case of children's narratives) which terminate in a rising or falling pitch glide. Stanzas are groupings of lines,

determined in part from common topics or themes and in part from structural, lexical, and intonational parallelism found between contiguous lines. An analysis based upon lines and stanzas enables one to address sociocultural differences in how children thematically and structurally organize their narrative tellings. In other words, it is not simply the relations existing between utterances which are of importance in the analysis of narrative texts. Rather, it is the organization of sets of utterances, or what Hymes refers to as the "grammar of experience" (1982).

The delineation of lines and stanzas within texts is not a linguistic "given", in that there is no one defining set of characteristics on which to base one's analysis. Some elements of language can easily be determined on the basis of a simple constitutive feature, as in the case of the -ing ending which marks progressive aspect. In text analyses, however, the analysis is based rather upon constellations of linguistic features which lend evidence for a particular structural analysis. In the text analyses which follow, I will draw upon patterns of grammatical, lexical, and prosodic similarity as I attempt to determine how lines are grouped within texts. In fact, the determination of groupings of lines within the four texts examined is a central part of my analysis. I would like to end this discussion of analytic methods by stressing that the analyses in this paper are interpretive in nature. That is to say, although I in each instance provide support for my particular textual analyses, the possibility exists that other equally plausible analyses exist for each of the narratives in question. This does not, in my view, undermine the analyses presented. In fact, anthropologists and cultural critics have recently begun to call into question the existence of empirical "facts", suggesting that multiple interpretations should form part of what Rosaldo (1989) terms the "remaking of social analysis" (see also Clifford, 1988, for a discussion of similar issues).

Ways of Telling Among Two Groups of First Graders

In this analysis section, I would like to examine in detail the narrative texts produced by two children from each of the communities described above. Each of the children whose texts are analyzed here is a skilled narrator who tells a logically connected and engaging story. There are subtle differences between the narrative styles found among the two groups of children. I will in a later discussion section characterize this difference as one of the narrative *stance* which children assume with respect to events. Such subtle differences in children's stance with respect to events may reflect cultural values and speech styles acquired in their primary language learning environments. The main purpose of the analyses in this section, however, is to illustrate the complexity and sophistication which exists in the texts among *both* groups of children. Such sophistication, in my view, suggests that both groups of children have discourse skills which should prepare them well for interactions with written texts.

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The Narrative Skills of Two African-American Children

This study is in part a study of group and in part a study of individual differences in children's ways of representing events through narrative. To say that members of any one sociocultural community share the same styles of narration would clearly be an overstatement. Individual members of communities may, however, share similar styles of telling events. These similarities, and also differences, in speakers' styles of narration can best be traced through a detailed analysis of the texts produced by individual speakers. In this section, I will examine closely the narrative texts of two African-American children. The two children who are the focus of this section demonstrate unique, individualistic ways of narrating the events seen in the film. A common thread which emerges among these two children, however, is that of an emphasis on providing detailed evaluative information about the events in the film.

The first narrative examined is that produced by Brenda. The text shown below represents Brenda's response to the task of telling a story based upon the film's events (see appendix). I have attempted in my transcription of this text to delineate lines and stanzas. The delineation of lines and stanzas below represents an interpretation based upon Brenda's use of prosody and intonation (an integral part of her speech performance), the structural parallelism which exists among lines, and also the topical continuity existing within stanzas.[2]

Brenda: Storytelling Narrative

Stanza 1
  the little boy and his balloon went on^
  on to their business
  and until^ his friends came from school
  and tried to get! the balloon
  they got it twice!

Stanza 2
  but the little boy kept catching! it
  'cause the little boy cared! about his balloon
  and the balloon^ cared about him
  everytime he would let the balloon go
  the balloon would fly^ on behind him

Stanza 3
  and I have a book in my hand called The Red Balloon
  which we're talking about
  but there's no # pictures or words
  and the little boy's right here with 'im
  and on the balloon it says "The Red Balloon"

Deborah
  can you read some more from your book?

Brenda
    yes!

Stanza 4
    and # the little boy climbed^ up a rail to get the balloon
    and that's the way he found it [staccato]

Stanza 5
    he was going through the alley
    runnin through the alleys
    so that his friends from school couldn't get! it
    they were jealous because they didn't have a balloon

Stanza 6
    they stepped! on it
    and they ## they shot! at it
    and then^ they stepped! on it
    and the balloon^ busted

Stanza 7
    and then all^ the balloons in the whole city-state got together
    and (he) got all^ the strings
    and flew around the state

Stanza 8
    and that was the end of the story [very staccato]

In Stanza 1 above, Brenda first provides an orientational statement which sets the scenario for the events in the narrative. The repetition of *on* links the two statements within this stanza, as does the thematic topic centered on the events that wer* occurring prior to the first encounter with the boys. In fact, her use of *until* in line 3 of this stanza probably indicates that the events in the first two lines were protracted in nature. The rising intonation on *until* also helps to alert the listener to an upcoming dilemma: the boy's "friends from school" throughout the film mak attempts to take his balloon away from him. This dilemma is strongly asserted in lines 4 and 5, in which Brenda makes use of a repetitive intonational structure (*get!*, *twice!*). Thus, Stanza 1 appears to function as a statement of a basic problem in the film. The boy and his balloon are prevented from moving freely about because of repeated stealing attempts on the part of the boy's school friends.

Stanza 2 appears to be, thematically speaking, a partial resolution to this dilemma. In spite of the repeated attempts on the part of the boy's school friends, the young boy was able to hold on to his balloon because of a unique caring relationship between him and his balloon. The discourse marker *but* signals the beginning of this thematic contrast in Stanza 2. The use of the habitual auxiliary *kept*, the stative verb *cared*, and the modal *would* mark a non-narrative temporal structure within Stanza 2. In addition, a structural and intonational parallelism existing between contiguous

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lines in this stanza signals its separate existence within the narrative. The repetition of key subject phrases (*the little boy*), patterns of intonation and stress (*catching!, cared!*), and verbal phrases --

> 'cause the little ^ boy cared ! about his balloon
> and the balloon ^ cared about him

-- are examples of parallelism within Stanza 2. Thus, one finds strong evidence for internal thematic and structural consistency within Stanza 2.

Stanza 3 represents a departure from a narration of the events occurring in the film. Here, Brenda steps momentarily out of her role as narrator of events and comments on the book used as a prop for the narration task. In response to my question --

> Can you read some more from your book?

-- Brenda provides a statement which I would interpret as a re-orientation of the events in the film. In the first two stanzas, she has provided both a statement of the dilemma in the film and also a timeless statement about how that dilemma was resolved. In Stanza 4, she takes the listener back to the initial events in the film, perhaps as a way of moving once again into the sequential narrative. This narrative strategy, in my opinion, represents a skillful manipulation of the actual sequence of events in the film. It serves as a thematic link between her previous statements in Stanza 3 about the storybook prop and the upcoming topics of Stanzas 5 and 6. Recall that children were given a storybook facsimile for the storytelling task. On the front cover of the "storybook" was a picture depicting the boy climbing up a post to get the red balloon. Thus, in Stanza 4, Brenda manages to weave the events depicted on the storybook cover into her ongoing narrative. This narrative "move" successfully takes the listener back into a discussion of the film's events.

In Stanzas 5-7, Brenda relates the climactic events which occur towards the end of the film. In Stanza 5, she provides a set-up for the action which occurs in Stanza 6. Stanza 5 consists of two couplets, each having structural and thematic similarities. In the first couplet, the action of the boy running is stated once in the first line (*he was going through the alley*) and then again in the second line of Stanza 5 (*running through the alley*). Then, in the third and fourth lines of this stanza, Brenda provides two evaluative statements explicating why the gang of boys wanted the balloon in the first place. The parallelism which holds within couplets in Stanza 5 reinforces its thematic unity. As a whole, Stanza 5 serves as an evaluative statement which prepares the listener for the climactic events to come.

In Stanza 6, Brenda narrates the final destruction of the balloon. In a series of stressed completive verbs, she relates this emotionally-packed climax. As was the case with earlier stanzas, the lines within Stanza 6 have a distinctive parallel structure. Lexical items (*stepped*), patterns of intonation (stress on completive verbs), and thematic subjects (*they* = the gang of boys) are

repeated in individual lines within the stanza. This structural parallelism reinforces the thematic topic of Stanza 6: the balloon's demise.

Stanza 6 is followed by a series of three lines in Stanza 7, in which Brenda provides the resolution to this state of affairs. The shift in topic is signalled by a shift in thematic focus to *all* the balloons, and subsequently to the boy who gets all the balloons. Finally, in Stanza 8, Brenda once again exits the narrative and brings closure to her text. Speaking in the voice of one who is now removed from events, she again moves out of the sequential narration of events. Her rendition of the events in the film is thus a skilful manipulation of narrative perspectives and of temporality (Wolf and Hicks, 1989).

A striking feature of Brenda's narrative text is its elaborate evaluative structure. Stanza 2 is devoted entirely to a discussion of the unique relationship existing between the boy and the balloon. The full implications of this relationship are established when Brenda states that the balloon followed the boy under its own volition. In addition to this special relationship between the boy and the balloon, the motivations of the boy's school friends (the gang of boys) are clearly explicated in Stanza 5, in which Brenda explains the other boys' feelings of jealousy towards the boy. Thus, far from being a sequential listing of events, Brenda's text represents a skillful weaving of mainline events and evaluative statements.

The second narrative text examined in this section is that produced by Sherrie. Like the narrative produced by Brenda, that produced by Sherrie is also extremely rich in terms of its evaluative structure. Sherrie's narrative consists of a series of stanzas which are three-four lines in length. An interesting pattern which emerges within stanzas is a set of two-three narrative (sequential) lines followed by an evaluative statement. Thus, in the narrative shown below, Sherrie continually moves between mainline sequential events and explications of those events.

Sherrie: Storytelling Narrative

Stanza 1
  the re(d) // the boy he was walkin to // he was gettin on the busstop
  and then # he saw the red balloon
  and then he got it^
  because he wanted it to be his friend

Stanza 2
  and # he / and he tried to keep it everywhere he went
  but he couldn't
  because it kept / 'cause it kept flyin out of his hand
  and uhm # the balloon always comes down
  so people can catch it

Stanza 3
  and then there was boys^
  and they tried to // and then they stepped on the balloon^

and # and then // he // the boy was a little bit sad^

Stanza 4
and then # all these balloons flied out of people's hands
and / and he got it
and then he was happy

Even though Stanza 4 appears to represent the events occurring at the end of the film, additional stanzas do follow Stanza 4. In Stanzas 5 and 6 below, Sherrie returns to an earlier scene in which the boy was looking for the balloon that the gang of boys had stolen from him.

Stanza 5
and uhm # he / he 'was going / he was going by uhm / he was goin by some xxxx [unintelligible on tape]
so he can try to get his balloon
'cause he was lookin for it

Stanza 6
and then the boys keep takin it away from 'im
'cause they wanted it to be their friend too^_
so # they just # tried to keep it away from the little boy

It is unclear, however, whether or not these last two stanzas were intended to be part of her narrative. It may be the case that Sherrie felt compelled to continue her narration, given that the task was one of telling a story to an adult listener. Perhaps she felt something more was expected of her. I will for the purposes of my analysis here consider all six stanzas as part of her text, even though Stanzas 1-4 constitute the plot line from beginning to end.

In Stanza 1, Sherrie relates the events occurring at the beginning of the film, in which the boy finds the balloon on his way to a bus stop. The first line in this stanza is an orientational statement for the events to come. The last line in this stanza not only explains why the boy got the balloon in the first place; it also provides a thematic focus for the text. The theme of the relationship (friendship) between the boy and the balloon in fact permeates Sherrie's text. The structural pattern seen in Stanza 1, a set of sequential event lines followed by an evaluative statement, is one that is found in additional stanzas in her story. In particular, Stanzas 3 and 4 exemplify this pattern.

Stanza 2 is devoted almost entirely to background information about the balloon. Thematically, this stanza seems to function primarily as a statement about the magical properties of the balloon. The boy was unable to hold on to the balloon since the balloon continually flew out of his hands. This stanza represents, in my view, a skillful exit from the mainline events in the story. Considered in the context of Stanza 1, Stanza 2 provides the essential thematic plotline of the events preceding the climactic final scenes from the film. A boy finds a balloon and wants the

balloon to be his friend. The balloon, however, has the magical property of being able to fly on its own.

In Stanzas 3 and 4, Sherrie narrates the crisis events which dramatically alter the state of affairs set up in Stanzas 1 and 2. In Stanza 3, she introduces the gang of boys with an existential statement (*and then there was boys*). Then, a critical problem is introduced: that of the balloon's destruction by the boys. Rather than simply stating this problem, Sherrie provides a statement about the boy's reaction to the problem (*the boy was a little bit sad*). In Stanza 4, she narrates the resolution to this dilemma. The boy gets additional balloons. Then again, Sherrie provides an evaluative statement of the boy's reaction (*and then he was happy*).

Stanzas 5 and 6 are perhaps best viewed as flashbacks, particularly since it is unclear whether or not they should be included as a part of the story. In Stanza 5, one finds again the pattern of a sequential mainline statement followed by an evaluative explication. In the first line of this stanza, Sherrie describes the scene in which the boy was starting to look for his balloon. She then in the second and third lines explains that he was walking in order to find his balloon. In Stanza 6, an additional dilemma is narrated. The gang of boys were continually taking the balloon from the boy. The issue of friendship re-emerges, with Sherrie stating that the gang of boys also wanted the balloon to be *their* friend. These two "flashback" stanzas provide additional valuable information about the motivations and actions of the gang of boys.

Sherrie's oral narrative represents a sophisticated weaving of narrative voices throughout her text. Rather than simply describing the events in a sequential manner, she provides extensive information about the internal states and motivations of the actors involved. In addition, Sherrie provides in Stanza 2 an elaborate description of a central and important theme in the film: that of the balloon's magical self-propelling abilities. The stanza structure of a set of sequential lines, followed by an evaluative statement, is representative of her emphasis on the causal links which underlie events in the film. In her text, virtually every stanza contains an explanatory statement.

The two first graders, whose texts have been examined in this section, without question have individualistic ways of representing the events seen in a wordless film. However, I would at this point in the discussion like to point out some commonalities which are evidenced in their texts. First, in the two stories, individual lines seem to be grouped in stanzas sharing common topics and, frequently, structural and intonational patterns. In Brenda's text, lines within stanzas often contained repetitions of lexical items and prosodic variations. In Sherrie's text, lines within stanzas often were representative of an interesting pattern of narration-evaluation. The patterns of lines within stanzas seen in the texts of these two first graders support research suggesting that prosodic and structural repetitions are an important facet of the oral texts of African-American speakers (Foster, 1989; Gee, 1986; Heath, 1983).

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An additional commonality which emerged through an analysis of the two narratives was that of their intricate evaluative structure. Rather than simply listing the sequential events from the film, both children included extensive information about character internal states and motivations. In both texts, entire stanzas were devoted to providing background information about the salient relationship depicted in the film (the friendship between the boy and the balloon) and about the magical self-propelling properties of the balloon. This emphasis on providing extensive evaluation of events in the narrative might be characterized as a more intimate narrator stance. In fact, this particular narrator stance enhances the story-like quality of the texts, since underlying character feelings and motivations are an integral part of engaging stories.

The Narrative Skills of Two Middle-Income White Children

The texts of two middle-income white children represent a homogeneous style of narration which emerged among this group of children. The narratives produced by children from this school community tended to be sequential *lists* of the events occurring in the film. There was in general a great deal of attention given to detail, so that the narratives of this group of children also tended to be lengthier than those produced by the African-American children in the study. These detailed narrations also tended to be more factual in nature: a blow-by-blow description that closely matched the events occurring in the film. In addition, the evaluative comments in these texts often represented a more distant perspective on events, since they were rendered more from the vantage point of an omniscient observer.

The narrative produced by Allison below is an example of such a performance among the middle-income white children. Allison tells a rather lengthy version of the film's events; indeed, she manages to detail nearly all of the main events in the film. There does seem to be a stanza structure which is evidenced throughout her text. As was the case with the narratives produced by Brenda and Sherrie, the delineation of stanzas can in part be determined on the basis of thematic topic. In Allison's narrative below, however, individual stanzas also appear to be marked by the use of adverbial phrases (*when, the next day*) and by evaluative statements. Her text is reproduced in its entirety below.

Allison: Storytelling Narrative

Stanza 1
and so he climbed up # and up the thing that it was tied to
and he got it undone
and so he took it to the bus stop
and the little boy # let the balloon go # off^ into the air
and it followed right^ behind the bus
as if it was a person gliding down the street

Stanza 2
    and # when they got to the little boy's house
    the little boy # he knew there was some bullies down there that wanted to pop^ the
        balloon
    so he got # the balloon
    and he sent it off into the air
    and it went up up
    and waited^ # near a window

Stanza 3
    and the next day # he went with his grandma to the church
    and the church guard said "no # you can't come in!"
    "no balloons allowed!"
    and so he went out
    and walked away with ....
    and the bullies had thought of a sly^ plan to get! the balloon
    so they thought it over

Stanza 4
    and the boy^ he went # near a candy store
    and he looked^ at it
    and reached in his pocket
    and said "hmmm # this is about enough money to have something to eat"
    so he went inside to get something
    leaving the balloon outside

Stanza 5
    and the bullies came along
    and grabbed the balloon
    and took it away

Stanza 6
    and the little boy # when he came out
    the balloon was gone
    he looked all^ over the place
    and then he # began walking one way
    he looked around # after a little while

Stanza 7
    and then he stopped
    and turned back the way he came
    and then ## he saw where the balloon was
    and he went in # into the place
    and # he saw the balloon in there
    and he got the balloon
    taking it from the bullies

Stanza 8
    and he went to a # to a small crack in between two buildings with the bullies a little
        behind
    and then he went down a stairway with a dog near it
    and he went right down
    and he saw the dog
    the rest of the bullies still^ after him

Stanza 9
   and # then ## he ran away some more
   and the bullies got him and the balloon
   and they got the balloon
   and began shooting // throwing rocks at it
   and # and the balloon lost most of its helium

Stanza 10
   and # when it was down on the ground the // one of the boys stepped! on it
   so it popped all the way
   and they left him alone
   and the boy felt like crying
   but he didn't

Stanza 11
   and finally # all! over the neighborhood # all! the balloons! came
   and they came to him
   and he tied them to him
   and he rode up up into the air
   and over rooftops and over things

Stanza 12
   and I don't know^ what happened to 'im then
   but he just sailed away for all I know

An interesting pattern emerges across stanzas in her text. The beginnings and endings of stanzas can in a number of cases be determined on the basis of Allison's use of temporal adverbials and also her use of stative descriptive statements. In Stanza 1, a series of completive actions (*got*, *took*) are followed by a descriptive metaphor. This metaphor serves as an evaluative statement which also brings closure to the particular set of events in Stanza 1. Allison's use of expressive intonation (*off^ into the air*) and her metaphorical comparison of the balloon (*as if it were a person ...*) seem very literary in nature. In fact, we shall see that the use of literary (storybook) phrasing is one linguistic technique which she uses to structure her narrative telling.

Stanza 2 begins with a temporal adverbial phrase (*when they got to the little boy's house*) which sets the scenario for a new series of events. The second line in Stanza 2 is also orientational (evaluative) for this particular stanza, in that it states a basic dilemma which underlies the story: that of the gang of boys who also want the balloon. Interestingly, the information that the gang of boys *want* to pop the balloon is presented from the perspective of what the principal character (the little boy) *knew*. In this sense, the locus of the emotional state of one set of characters is transferred to the cognitive state of another character. The young boy's reaction to his knowledge is presented as a series of responses, the end result of which is the balloon waiting near a window. Thus, in Stanza 2, a structural pattern of a) temporal adverbial (= orientation), b) series of events, and c) resultive state is introduced.

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Stanza 3 can be delineated on the basis of this structural pattern. A temporal adverbial (and the next day) serves as an orientational statement for this stanza. Then, the events occurring in the church are recounted. At one point in her narration, Allison trails off midstream (and walked away with ...), so that it becomes difficult to determine the precise segmentation of this stanza. However, I have interpreted two evaluative statements, referring to the gang's thoughts, as representative of a stative ending to Stanza 3. It is interesting that the events in this particular evaluative statement are again presented as the internal cognitive states (thoughts) of characters. Recall that in the narratives of Brenda and Sherrie there were numerous references to the internal states of characters: what characters wanted, felt, etc. The presentation of characters' internal states from the perspective of what they *thought* is a unique facet of Allison's text.

In Stanza 4, a shift in topic can be seen in the topicalized subject (and the boy) which is marked by rising intonation. This stanza functions thematically as a backdrop to the critical events in Stanza 5, in which the gang of boys grab the balloon. I have interpreted the postposed adverbial (*leaving the balloon outside*) as the final line in Stanza 4, in accord with the structural patterning already seen in Stanzas 1 and 3. With this postposed adverbial phrase, Allison presents a state of affairs which serves as a type of closure to the set of events in the stanza. Stanza 5 appears to be a rapid rendition of the critical stealing scene in the film. In a series of three completive phrases, Allison provides a climactic conclusion to the events detailed in Stanzas 1-4.

In Stanza 6, Allison presents a detailed description of the boy's reaction to this crisis situation. In this stanza, she makes extensive use of adverbials to narrate the protracted nature of this search. As was the case in Stanza 2, I have interpreted Allison's use of a temporal adverbial (*and the little boy # when he came out*) as indicative of the beginning of a new stanza. I have interpreted her use of an additional adverbial phrase (*after a little while*) as the end point of this stanza. Certainly the events in Stanzas 6 and 7 are closely related, since in both stanzas Allison describes the boy's search for the balloon. Stanza 7, however, appears to represent a turn in events. After searching for a protracted period of time, the boy stopped, turned back, and saw the balloon. Thus, thematically speaking, Stanza 6 is a description of an extended search whereas Stanza 7 is a statement of a resolution to that search. Interestingly, the line that I have designated as the end point of Stanza 7 (*taking it from the bullies*) is again a postposed timeless adverbial. This particular type of construction was seen in Stanza 5 and is again seen in Stanza 8.

In Stanza 8, Allison narrates events occurring in a long chase scene. As I noted above, the end point of this stanza is, in my view, marked by a postposed adverbial (*the rest of the bullies still^ after him*). The chase scene is then continued in Stanza 9, in which the backdrop to a critical event in the film is presented. Although Allison does not make use of a postposed adverbial in Stanza 9, the line which I have designated as final in this stanza represents a state of affairs: the balloon is devoid of helium. In Stanza 10, one finds once again the structural pattern that seems to

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permeate Allison's narrative telling. The opening line in the stanza is a contingency statement presented in the form of a temporal statement (when it was down on the ground). This line is followed by a couplet of lines in which completive events are narrated. Then, an evaluative statement follows, in which the boy's reaction is described. Of interest is the form in which this evaluative statement is presented. Rather than simply stating the boy's internal emotional state (e.g., he was sad), Allison presents the boy's reaction to the balloon's demise as his response to a physical state:

> and the boy felt like crying
> but he didn't

Thus, the narrator perspective which Allison assumes in Stanza 10, as well as in Stanzas 2 and 3, is one which is more distanced from events.

The temporal adverbial *finally* provides an orientational beginning to Stanza 11, in which a resolution to the unhappy state of affairs in Stanza 10 is provided. A series of narrative clauses follows, in which the boy's flight with balloons is described. The line that I have interpreted as final in this stanza (*and over rooftops and over things*) may be viewed as a repetition of the position-final adverbial phrases seen in additional stanzas in Allison's text. In a final couplet, Allison enters a different narrator perspective, one in which the speaker has stepped out of the action to provide commentary on a possible subscript to the film.

The final storytelling narrative that I would like to examine is that produced by Jessica. In her text shown in its entirety below, Jessica, like Allison, provides a detailed rendition of the events occurring in the film. She moves through the events shown in the film scene-by-scene, in the manner of an eyewitness report. Jessica also, however, provides evaluative commentary on events, particularly in reference to the balloon's magical qualities. The stanza structure in her text is best delineated on the basis of Jessica's use of temporal connectives (*and then*), discourse markers (*well*), and pausing in the opening lines of stanzas. In addition, the final lines of some stanzas are evaluative in nature. Thus, the stanzas in Jessica's text often have the form: a) a temporal form/discourse marker, b) a series of narrative lines, (optionally) c) an evaluative statement. This patterning of stanzas strongly resembles that seen in Allison's narrative.

Jessica: Storytelling Narrative

Stanza 1
> and so he climbed up the rail // well the post thing that it [balloon] was on
> and # he # untied it
> and brought it down

Stanza 2
> and then # well he had to go to school

except there were no balloons allowed on the bus
so he made the balloon follow him
'cause it was magic!

Stanza 3
and uhm # well # he saw the man washing windows
and then he went to church with his mo / mother
and the red balloon followed
and he went in // and they both went in
and they got kicked out of church for a day

Stanza 4
and uhm # then the little boy went to a pastry shop
and heeee # uhm had something that he really liked
and it cost // and he had enough to uhm buy it [a pastry]
so he told his balloon to wait right there
'cause he was // 'cause it was magic!

Stanza 5
so then he went inside
and then all these mean! boys came along
and stole! the balloon
and they / and they took it back to the hideout
and they uhm tried to // they were uhm shooting slingshots
but they always missed

Stanza 6
'and uhm then he // and then the litle boy from a wall saw his red balloon
and he's // and he was saying
"red balloon come here!"
and # then # he untied it
but the boys were pulling on the string
'cause they couldn't see the balloon anymore

Stanza 7
and # then ## uhm # well all the boy // well he ran away with the balloon
and then all the boys started running after him
and thennnn ## and then they uhm cornered him
and then // but he escaped

Stanza 8
and then what happened was # they surrounded him on top of a hill
and one of 'em hit it
and it was sharp
and it made a tiny hole
and it bursted

Stanza 9
and all! of a sudden # all of these balloons were uhm flowing out of the sky
as if there was a party going on
except it was a funeral!
and ## you can take over [looks to E]

Deborah
    don't you want to finish the <story>?

Jessica
    ok [<overlap]

Stanza 10
    and then they flew towards him
    and he grabbed all the strings
    and they took 'im for many new adventures
    the end

In Stanza 1, Jessica provides a narrative continuation of the opening script used for the task. In response to my opening lines, she describes the boy's actions of getting the balloon down from a lamp post. Stanza 2 illustrates a structural patterning within stanzas which appears frequently in her narrative. In the first line of this stanza, a temporal adverbial (*and then*) followed by a discourse marker (*well*) and pausing marks a shift in topic. Then, a series of lines follows, the end result of which is an explanatory/evaluative statement ('cause it was // the balloon was magic!). Stanza 2 is unique, however, in that it consists almost entirely of lines which are evaluative in nature. Stanza 2 seems to function thematically in Jessica's story as a backdrop for the events to come. The boy wants to take the balloon with him (= friendship) and the balloon follows the boy because of its magical qualities.

Stanza 3 can be demarcated, in my view, on the basis of the discourse marker *well*, along with pausing, in what I have interpreted as the first line of this stanza. In Stanza 3, Jessica narrates a series of completive events associated with the church scene in the film. The end point of these events is indicated by the temporal adverbial phrase *for a day* in the final line of Stanza 3. This adverbial shifts the temporal locus of the action from a series of punctuated events to an extended time period. Another shift in the action is marked by a temporal form (*and uhm then*) which I have interpreted as the beginning of a new stanza (Stanza 4). This shift in temporality is also linked to a shift in the location of events. The boy moves from the church, where he has been kicked out for an extended period of time, to the pastry shop. In Stanza 4, Jessica presents a series of evaluative statements about the boy's ill-fated decision to leave the balloon outside the pastry shop. As was the case in Stanza 2, nearly every line in Stanza 4 functions as an evaluative statement. As was also the case in Stanza 2, Jessica in Stanza 4 ends with a statement of the balloon's magical qualities (*'cause it was magic!*). This emphasis on the balloon's magical abilities appears to be a continually reoccurring theme in her narrative.

Against the backdrop of the ill-fated decisions in Stanza 4, Jessica relates a series of critical transitional events in Stanza 5. In a series of completive statements in which adverbial and verbal forms are stressed, she narrates the gang's stealing of the balloon. Interestingly, as was the case in

Stanza 3, the final line in this stanza represents a protracted event. After the gang has stolen the balloon, they take it to their hiding place (an old construction site) and shoot at the balloon for an indefinite period of time. During this indefinite period of time, they continually miss as they attempt to slingshot the balloon. These protracted events bring closure to Stanza 5, as the protracted nature of the boy's expulsion from church also bring closure to Stanza 3.

As was the case in the preceding stanzas, the opening line of Stanza 6 is marked by a temporal form (*and uhm then*). As a whole, this stanza represents a primarily evaluative statement about the boy's attempts to recover his balloon. The boy's efforts are presented through character dialogue (*and he was saying, "red balloon come here!"*), through a completive statement (*he untied it*), and finally through a statement of the protracted action on the part of the gang of boys. The inability of the gang of boys to maintain their hold on the balloon is recounted through a causal statement, in which Jessica explains that the boys continued pulling on the balloon because they could not see that it had already been recovered by its owner. It is very interesting to note the similarities between the structure of this stanza and that of Stanzas 2 and 4. All three stanzas contain a series of evaluative lines, ending with an explanatory statement. This particular format appears to alternate with Stanzas 1, 3, and 5, in which a series of completive event statements are followed by a protracted event. Thus, one finds in Stanzas 1-6 an alternation of primarily narrative and evaluative stanzas.

Stanzas 7 and 8 deviate from this pattern of alternation, in that the two successive stanzas are both primarily non-evaluative. In Stanzas 7 and 8, Jessica presents the critical events occurring near the film's end. In a series of completive statements in Stanza 7, Jessica narrates the chase scene. These events terminate in a partial resolution: the boy escapes for the time being. In Stanza 8, however, this partial resolution proves futile. The boy is surrounded and his balloon is destroyed. Both Stanza 7 and 8 are demarcated by an initial temporal connective (*and then*) followed by either a discourse marker (*well*) or a statement of sequence (*what happened was*). Neither stanza has a statement of evaluation or protracted action in final position. Thus, these two stanzas stand out as being structurally distinct and thematically critical for the story as a whole. They suggest a critical turn of events.

The resolution to this critical turn of events is presented in Stanza 9 and 10. Because Jessica breaks her narration at Stanza 9, asking me to take over, it is difficult to determine the precise boundaries between these final stanzas. However, I would interpret the shift in topic, along with marked stress, which follows the balloon's bursting (*and all! of a sudden # all of these balloons ...*) as indicative of the beginning of a new stanza. Stanza 9 functions partially as a presentation of new events (more balloons come out of the sky) and partially as a metaphor describing those events. Because the events in the first line of this stanza are presented as ongoing events, I would interpret Stanza 9 as primarily evaluative in nature. The state of affairs narrated in

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Stanzas 7 and 8 changes dramatically in Stanza 9, and this change is presented through a descriptive metaphor. Finally, Stanza 10 brings closure to the story, through a couplet of event clauses followed by a timeless statement. Thus, the final two stanzas in Jessica's text appear to reestablish the earlier pattern of alternating (primarily) evaluative and (primarily) non-evaluative groupings of lines.

The narrative texts produced by Allison and Jessica represent individualistic ways of representing events seen in a silent film. However, their texts also share certain similarities. First, both children narrated the film's events in extreme detail. Events were related in a scene-by-scene fashion, matching the sequence of events in the film. In this sense, the narratives produced by Allison and Jessica represent what I would term a reportive, eye-witness, perspective on events. Allison's narrative, in particular, exemplifies an attempt to narrate events in as much detail as possible.

In addition to this eye-witness perspective, Allison and Jessica made use of temporal adverbial phrases and evaluative statements in similar organizational ways. In their texts, one could discern a pattern in which stanzas were segmented through the use of adverbials (*and then*, *finally*) in initial position and the use of evaluative statements, or statements of protracted events, in final position. It would be a huge leap from the data to conclude that this type of organization within stanzas represents a style found among all speakers in a particular community. However, this shared pattern may represent various overlapping narrative traditions within the community of middle-class speakers to which Allison and Jessica belong. In particular, a focus on the *sequence* of events, marked through an extensive use of temporal adverbial forms, may be a trademark of mainstream middle-income white communities (Gee, 1986; Heath, 1982; 1983).

Conclusions: Narrative Skills and Literacy Learning

The findings from a detailed analysis of the narratives produced by two groups of first graders call into question a characterization of either group as representative of an intrinsically more "oral" or more "literate" style of narration. Both the low-income African-American and the middle-income white children in this study produced narratives which were topic-centered (centered on one unified as opposed to several successive topics), logically organized, and engaging. All four of the children presented information sufficient to derive the basic plot structure of the film. All of the children provided causal explanations for events. I see no evidence to support an interpretation that one set of texts is more decontextualized or logically-connected than another.

The findings from the study, however, point to a distinction between the two groups of children which is somewhat more subtle. If one considers these children to be representative of their respective communities, it may be the case that children from the different communities bring a different interpretative *stance* to the task of telling a story. The African-American children in this

study appeared to narrate events in the film more from the vantage point of one who is intimately concerned with the internal states and motivations of characters. As a result, their narrative texts displayed an extremely rich and complex evaluative structure. The white children in this study appeared to narrate events more from the omniscient stance of an onlooker, a reporter of events. Although both children provided extensive evaluative information, this information was more concentrated on states of affairs (*'cause they couldn't see the balloon anymore*) than on character internal states (*'cause they wanted it to be their friend, too*). Thus, it may an interpretative stance with respect to events, rather than the thematic connections between events, which best distinguishes the narrative styles of children from these two sociocultural communities.

Another way of viewing these differences in discourse styles is to think of such differences in terms of the range of narrative genres which children bring to their classrooms. It is clear from the research on the development of narrative skills that all children bring to their classrooms a range of ways of representing events through narrative (see the earlier review section). Children from different communities also acquire distinct "ways of telling". In fact, the linguistic representation of events in a reporter-like sequence may be more a trademark of middle-income white children (Heath, 1982; 1986). The findings from the present study suggest that, even though both groups of children in the study were ostensibly given the task of telling a story, the interpretations of this task were quite different among groups. In other words, the differing interpretative stances seen in this study may represent the unique range of narrative genres which children within communities experience in their primary language learning environments.

The evidence presented in this analysis, however, flies in the face of some disturbing social problems. Although low-income African-American children bring to their classrooms a sophisticated set of narrative skills, these children are unfortunately more likely to experience difficulty as they make the important transition to producing and comprehending written texts. This problem is one that Gee (1989) has termed the "failure problem". In other words, why is it that children who have in their possession an extremely sophisticated range of narrative skills are more likely to fail at tasks which are structured as simply as possible: tasks such as decoding words from a beginning reader or locating a specific word from a list? This is an extremely complex problem, and one that I can only begin to address in the context of this study. However, the findings that have emerged in my analyses may provide some preliminary information relevant to this issue.

Scollon and Scollon (1981) have commented that full participation in literacy entails the ability to adopt an author's stance, a "fictionalization of self" with respect to events. In the case study which gave rise to this conclusion, Scollon and Scollon observed and audio-taped their two-year-old daughter, Rachel, as she narrated fantasy stories. They uncovered a type of distanced, author-like stance which emerged in these narrative tellings, which they felt to be representative of

a literate tradition. Britton (1982) has in a similar vein differentiated between *spectator* and *participant* roles in discourse. According to Britton, communication in a spectator role is more typical of literary discourse, in that the speaker/writer takes on the role of an onlooker who is more removed from events.

If one considers literacy to be the ability to adopt the perspective of an author, or spectator, with respect to events, then clearly both groups of children in the present study produced narratives which were highly literate texts. All of the children in the study demonstrated their skill in adopting a variety of perspectives on events as they moved between narrating mainline events and providing evaluative commentary. However, it may be the case that many classroom literacy events are based upon a specific kind of authorship with respect to events: the reporter stance which appears to be more characteristic of middle-income white children. Although fictional stories form the basis for much of reading instruction, the oral discourse of literacy instruction appears to be based more upon a factual rendition of "what happened". In small reading groups, children are often asked to report on specific sequences of events in a story. In fact, one entire method of reading instruction, the Language Experience Approach, is based upon a group oral discussion of "what happened next". Thus, children from some African-American communities may be at a disadvantage due to the unique discourse of literacy instruction.

Certainly the factors which play into what Gee terms the "failure problem" go beyond cultural differences in narrative styles. The research on emergent literacy suggests that mainstream middle-income caretakers may enter into book-related activities which prepare their preschoolers for school-based literacy tasks. It is not my goal in this paper to discount these important factors related to literacy learning in the classroom. It is rather my goal to suggest that low-income African-American children bring to their first grade classroom narrative skills which are, in every respect, equally as sophisticated (topic-centered, decontextualized, literate) as those of mainstream white children. If it is the case that cultural differences in children's discourse styles are part of the failure problem, then, as Michaels (1981) and Michaels and Collins (1984) point out, this problem is a function of the discourse of literacy events in the classroom rather than a function of a language deficiency on the part of African-American children.

If educators are to meet the learning needs of children from a variety of social communities, then it may be necessary to make alterations in our current means of literacy instruction. Literacy education in a pluralistic society must somehow accommodate the language skills particular to more than just mainstream middle-income communities. At present, literacy curricula based upon "whole language" instruction offer one means of allowing children from diverse communities the opportunity to celebrate in the classroom their particular ways of telling (Atwell, 1987; Graves, 1983). The success of these curricula, however, depends upon the abilities of educators to adopt an ideology allowing for diversity in children's ways of expressing events through narrative.

2 The transcription symbols used in the excerpts from children's narrative texts are derived from the CHILDES coding system for child language analysis (see MacWhinney and Snow, 1985). The following key to these symbols may facilitate the reading of narrative texts in this paper:

#	pause
##	long pause
/	retracing
//	retracing with correction
!	phonological stress
^	rising intonation
‾	falling intonation
^‾	rising-falling (sing-song) intonation
< >	marking of text (often to indicate overlap)

Appendix

Eventcasting Task

This is (child's name) and Deborah, sportscasters, and we're gonna say everything we see happening in the film. I'm gonna start off and then (child's name) is gonna take over.

(I start re-playing a three-minute segment from the film).

The little boy and the red balloon are going past a church steeple. And they're coming to a bakery shop. The little boy is looking inside the bakery shop. Now he's checking in his pocket to see if he has enough money to buy something to eat. Looks good. Now he's walking into the bakery shop.

Can you take over and be the sportscaster?

News Reporting Task

This is (child's name) and Deborah, and we're gonna be news reporters and tel what we saw happen in the film. I'm gonna start off and then (child's name) is gonna take over.

News Headlines: Boy Seen Flying Over City! The first thing that I saw happen was: a little boy found a red balloon on his way to the bus stop. He was seen walking with the balloon to a bus. He got on the bus,and the balloon followed behind.

Can you be the news reporter now and tell what you saw happen?

Storytelling Task

This is (child's name) and Deborah, and we're gonna be storytellers and tell the story of "The Red Balloon." I'm gonna start off and then (child's name) is gonna take over.

(I hold in my lap a "storybook" which has on the front cover a picture from the film but which has neither words nor pictures inside)

The Red Balloon. Once upon a time there was a little boy who lived in Paris, France. One day, on his way to the bus stop, he found this big beautiful red balloon. He wanted the balloon to be his friend.

Can you take over now and be the storyteller? (I pass the storybook facsimile to the child)

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Language Learning through Interaction:
What Role does Gender Play?[1]

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This investigation of Native Speaker with Non-Native Speaker (NS-NNS) interaction in same and cross-gender dyads on four information exchange tasks revealed that male and female NNSs make and receive comparable opportunities to request L2 input and modify interlanguage output during interaction with female NSs. During interaction with male NSs, these opportunities are significantly lower for female than male NNSs. In addition, more request-response exchanges are found on tasks in which either NS or NNS is given initial control over task related information. Findings of the study are attributed to cultural similarities and differences in the interactional behaviors of the participants.

Introduction: Purpose of the Study

The relationship between language and gender has become an important thrust of research in a variety of disciplines, most notably linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. Several lines of research have been undertaken: Studies have compared the language spoken to and produced by men vs. women. Investigations have been made into gender-based differences in the structure of social interaction. The impact of this research on second language (L2) teachers and researchers has been to heighten their sensitivity to possible ways in which the gender of learners might influence their L2 access and exposure and their linguistic performance on classroom tasks, research interviews, and other domains of discourse.

In spite of this heightened sensitivity to gender, research has only recently begun to examine how, and indeed, *whether*, learners' gender affects their L2 access and performance in ways which might impact on their language learning. The few studies which have addressed these questions, (e.g., Gass and Varonis, 1986; Markham, 1988; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, and Morgenthaler, 1989) have begun to shed light on gender-related differences in areas such as learners' strategies for L2 comprehension, their modification of interlanguage, and their interactional moves with L2 interlocutors. In view of the theoretical importance which has been given to L2 comprehension, interlanguage modification, and negotiated interaction in the learning process, findings from these studies raise the possibility that language learning opportunities and experiences may not be quite the same for male and female learners. To further explore this possibility and to add to the small body of research on learner gender, the present study was undertaken.

The study was framed by the following question: When learners engage in L2 interaction, are their opportunities to comprehend and produce the L2 conditioned by their gender and/or by the correspondence between their gender and that of their interlocutor? To address this question, we compared ways in which male and female non-native speakers of English (NNSs) and native speakers of American English (NSs) in same and cross-gender dyads (1) requested and received help in comprehending and responding to new and unfamiliar L2 input and (2) responded linguistically to explicit and implicit feedback on their production, as they worked on oral, information-exchange tasks.

Background to the Research
Theoretical Interest in Interaction as an Aid to Second Language Learning

This research was framed within the perspective of current second language acquisition (SLA) theory. Learners' comprehension and production of L2 are claimed to be essential to their internalization of L2 rules and structures. Further, their participation in social interaction with interlocutors is seen as the context in which the L2 can best be comprehended and produced.

Claims regarding the contributions of comprehension to language learning (originating with Krashen, 1980 and Long, 1980; 1983; 1985) are based on both argument and evidence that exposure to a language is not sufficient for its acquisition. Thus, in order to recognize and eventually internalize L2 forms and structures, learners must first understand the meaning of utterances which these forms and structures encode.

Claims regarding the role of production in the learning process are based on observations (Swain, 1985) that learners' L2 comprehension in itself does not appear to be sufficient for their acquisition of L2 forms and structures. Swain notes that it is often possible for learners to understand the meaning of an utterance without reliance on or recognition of its morphology or syntax. To convey meaning, however, learners must be able to structure and organize their output. Thus she argues that learners must be given opportunities to refer linguistically to agents, actions, and objects and to express relationships among them if they are to master L2 morphosyntax.

For Schachter (1983; 1984; 1986), learners' production is also important because it provides a basis from which they can receive input in the form of feedback on the clarity and precision of their interlanguage. This feedback can then be used by a learner in modifying interlanguage morphosyntactic rules and features toward an L2 target. These experiences in L2 production, as described by Swain and Schachter, appear to help learners manipulate and modify their interlanguage in ways which have an impact on their internalization of L2 forms and structures.

These theoretical claims regarding the contributions of comprehension and production to L2 learning have also viewed learners' participation in social interaction as the context in which their

comprehension and production can best be served. As Long has argued, (1980, 1983, 1985) what are especially important are opportunities for learners to engage with their interlocutors in a negotiated exchange of message meaning. During negotiation, both learners and interlocutors can check the comprehensibility of what they themselves say, request clarification, confirmation, or reiteration of what the other has said, and modify and adjust their speech toward greater clarity and comprehensiblity. In this way, they can potentially reach mutual understanding through modifications of and adjustments to the sounds, structures, and vocabulary of their responses.

Three examples of negotiated interaction are shown below. The first one appears to have been motivated by the learner's need for greater clarity, the following two, by the NS's need for clarity.

English L₂ Learner:

(1) okay, with a big chimney

    chimney is where the smoke comes out of

(2) around the house we have glass
uh grass, plants and grass

(3) you have a three which is ...white
square of which appears sharp
you have a three houses ...
one no-no-not- one is not square
and one is square

English NS Interlocutor:

what is chimney?

you have what?

huh?

As these examples illustrate, negotiation has an immediate impact on learners' receptive and expressive experiences in an L₂. Request-response exchanges such as (1) offer learners opportunities to hear L₂ input modified and adjusted to their comprehension needs and exchanges such as (2) and (3) provide them with feedback through which they can modify and adjust their output both semantically and structurally. One additional contribution of negotiated interaction is that it provides the learners with modified L₂ input which contains information on structural relationships within the L₂. In excerpt (1), for example, the NS modification reveals that *chimney* can be both object of the preposition *with* and subject of the utterance *chimney is where the smoke comes out of* . Such structural relationships have already been described in research on mothers' input to their children (See Hoff-Ginsburg, 1985) and are being explored in current L₂ studies by Holliday (in preparation) and Pica, Holliday, and Lewis (1990).

Research on Language and Gender

Until recently, there has been relatively little empirical work on language and gender due to the long-abiding acceptance of popular stereotypes about male and female speech patterns. In Western societies, for example, it was held widely, but erroneously, that women's speech was a deviant version of the speech used by men. It was assumed to contain a smaller, yet more emotionally laden vocabulary (Jespersen, 1922), and to be simpler, more fragmented, non-assertive, and excessively polite (Lakoff, 1973). However, over the past decade, researchers have

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shown a great deal of interest in language and gender, much of it in response to the claims of Jespersen and Lakoff. Researchers have addressed questions pertaining to the relationship between language and gender by looking for differences in several areas:

(1) Characteristics of the language used to refer to men and women. Relevant research has ranged from studies regarding perceptions of males and females associated with the generic pronouns *he* and *they* (Frank and Anshen, 1983; Mackay and Fulkerson, 1979; Martyna, 1978), to work on the frequency and type of metaphoric and derogatory language used to describe females compared to males (e.g., by Spender 1980), to surveys on the prevalence of sexism in language teaching materials (Hartman and Judd 1978, Porreca 1984).

(2) Phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, and discoursal features of the language used by men and women (for example, by Labov, 1966 and 1984; and Wolfram, 1969 in the U.S.; Keenan, 1974 in Malagasy; and Trudgill, 1972 in Britain).

(3) Speech behaviors in evidence when men and women address each other in speech events (See, e.g., work by Brouwer, Gerritsem and deHaan, 1979 on ticket-selling transactions) and as they carry out speech acts (See Wolfson and Manes, 1978 and 1980; and Wolfson ,1984 on compliments).

(4) Features of interaction such as topic initiation and control (Fishman, 1983), floor holding and turn taking (Edelsky, 1981), or interruptions and repair (Zimmerman and West, 1975).

A number of studies on language and gender has shown that gender in itself is not necessarily responsible for differences in features of language used by and addressed to men and women. Rather, perceptions about social status, expertise, and control over valued information appear to play a more important role than gender itself in much of the speech behavior of males and females and in the judgements made about it. Among the most illustrative studies are those of O'Barr and his associates (Conley, O'Barr, and Lind 1978, Lind, O'Barr, et al. 1979, O'Barr and Atkins 1980). Their comparisons of the speech of male and female courtroom witnesses have uncovered no gender-related differences among them. Instead differences in the witnesses' speech patterns appear to be based on whether they are experts or non-experts on the area for which they have been asked to testify. Thus, the data on *both* male and female non-expert witnesses revealed hesitation and fragmentation phenomena generally associated with female speech (cf. Lakoff 1973, above) whereas *neither* the male nor female expert witnesses displayed these speech patterns. In the courtroom context, and perhaps other contexts as well, expertise and control over relevant information seemed to have a more powerful influence than gender on certain aspects of speech behavior.[2]

Research on Second Language and Gender

The research outlined above has given a more critical perspective to popular notions about males, females, and language and has provided insight into gender-related constraints on the behaviors of native speakers of individual languages in particular societies and specific social events. Findings from this research are of great relevance to language learners and their teachers with regard to the linguistic rules and patterns of speech behavior expected in L2 contexts to which the learners seek access. As noted earlier, however, only a small amount of research on language and gender has focused directly on language learners themselves as they attempt to produce and understand a second language. Among these are the above-mentioned studies by Markham (1988), Gass and Varonis (1986), Pica et al. (1989) which are now reviewed in greater detail since they have provided an impetus for the present study.

Markham, in researching English L2 listening comprehension, found that the gender of the NS lecturer affected NNSs' recall of information. Recall was greater for lectures delivered by male NSs than by female NSs. He found, however, that this gender bias could be neutralized by introducing an "expertness" factor. Thus, recall of information was much greater with an "expert" female speaker than with a non-expert female speaker, a finding which is reminiscent of the native speaker research by O'Barr and associates, discussed above.

Two L2 interaction-based studies (Gass and Varonis, 1986; Pica et al., 1989) have also helped to illuminate the impact of interlocutor gender on the learner. These studies revealed that the pairing of learners with interlocutors of same or opposite gender conditioned both the number of opportunities and degree of success that male learners achieved in modifying their production compared with female learners. However, the extent of cross-gender sampling in both studies was insufficient to warrant gender-based generalizations about language learning. Gass and Varonis (1986) studied learners interacting exclusively with other learners and not with native speakers. Pica et al. (1989) restricted their comparison of male and female learners to interactions with female native speakers and did so only through post hoc analysis of results for a study whose original purpose had nothing to do with gender. Results of the studies by Gass and Varonis and Pica et al. (1989) thus suggested a need for expanded research on the possible relationships between the gender of learners and the language learning opportunities given to and taken by them during their interactions with interlocutors. The present study was designed to address this need.

Research Design

Subjects

Subjects included 12 male and 20 female native speakers of American English (NSs) and 17 male and 15 female Japanese L1 speakers learning English L2 (NNSs), all low-intermediate level, within a 400 range on the TOEFL examination. Subjects from the same first language (L1) and

similar L2 achievement scores were targeted to control for L1 background and L2 placement variables as closely as possible. The subjects were recruited primarily from a large urban university and its surrounding community. NNSs included students from a preacademic English language institute. NSs came from a variety of academic and employment backgrounds, but were predominantly graduate and undergraduate students and trained workers and professionals. In an effort to provide a degree of uniformity among the NSs, mothers and persons experienced in dealing with NNSs were excluded from the study.

Based on subjects' availability for taping, they were arranged by the researchers into the following dyads: Ten same-gender dyads, consisting of 5 female NSs - 5 female NNSs, 5 male NSs - 5 male NNSs and 10 cross-gender dyads, consisting of 5 female NSs - 5 male NNSs and 5 male NSs - 5 female NNSs. The larger number of subjects than dyads reflects conditions under which data were collected for the study. Ten of the female NSs had participated in an earlier study with 5 male and 5 female NNSs which involved three communication tasks, to be described below. Since data on one additional task was required for the present study, it was necessary to include ten additional female NSs interacting with five additional male and female NNSs on the additional task. In a few cases, newer subjects were unable to participate in all four tasks; this required additional subjects for remaining tasks. In forming the ten same and ten cross-gender dyads for analysis, the researchers matched the NNSs subjects according to their TOEFL scores. For example, Yoko, who had scored 463 on TOEFL and interacted with Alice on three of the four tasks was matched with Nari, whose TOEFL was 450, and NS partner Mary. Thus, data on these 2 NNS and 2 NS subjects were combined into one NNS-NS dyad for purposes of analysis .

Data Collection Procedures

All subject dyads participated in two rounds of each communication task, distributed randomly to control for the possible influence on results of task ordering or practice effects. These tasks are described below. The researchers introduced the subject dyads to each other and reviewed instructions for taping. The dyads then worked independently of the researchers during the tasks. These dyadic interactions were taped. Data from the second round of tasks were transcribed, coded, and analyzed for purposes of the present study.

Three communication task types and four tasks altogether were used in data collection. These tasks provided a context for predicting and observing how learners could gain opportunities to (1) obtain and make use of their interlocutor's help in understanding unfamiliar input needed for interlanguage development and (2) respond to their interlocutors' requests for greater clarity and comprehensibility of their interlanguage output, the second necessary factor in SLA from the interactionist perspective. The tasks were designed to provide subjects with different degrees of control over the information needed to carry them out. It was believed that as they needed to

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request or supply information, the subjects would adjust their speech to reach mutual understanding.

Tasks

(a) **Two Information Gap tasks:** In these the NNS and NS interlocutors were asked to take turns, one drawing and then describing an original picture, the other replicating the picture, based solely on the drawer's descriptions and comments, and follow-up responses to the replicator's questions. Neither was allowed to look at the other's picture as it was being described. The Information Gap task is designed to give greater control over information to the interlocutor who describes the picture. However, in carrying out the task, the picture describer does not work in isolation, as there is one principal goal to the task -- the picture replication -- toward which both describer and replicator must work. In the present study, each NNS and NS subject participated in Information Gap 1, in which the NNS was asked to draw and describe a picture and in Information Gap 2, in which the NS was asked to draw and describe. This task has has been used extensively as an instrument for data collection in research on both learners' second language production and the input available to them, and has itself been the object of research in studies by Gass and Varonis (1985, 1986) and Pica et al. (1989).

(b) **A Jig-Saw task:** This required the NNS and NS interlocutors to reproduce an unseen sequence of pictures by exchanging their own uniquely held portions of the sequence. As in the Information gap tasks, both interactants were asked to work convergently toward the same outcome, but the relative quantity of information required in meeting the goal of this task was distributed evenly between them, rather than held by one of them alone. The Jig-Saw task has been used in prior research on ESL learners and NS interlocutors (See, e.g., Doughty and Pica 1986, Pica 1987). In the present study, a picture sequence of cars was used for Round One of data collection and a sequence of houses was used for Round Two. Both of these tasks were pre-tested on NS-NS dyads. A version of the houses task can be found in Appendix II.

(c) **An Opinion Exchange task:** In this the NNSs and NSs were told to share their views on the language learning contributions of the preceding tasks. This task, with its more open-ended, divergent goals, gives both interlocutors potentially equal control over information, but, based on previous research (Holliday 1987, 1988 and Pica 1987), appears subject to domination by the more L2 proficient, NS interactant.

As shown in surveys by Pica, Falodun, Farrah, Kanagy, Unger, and Zhang, (1989) and Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun, (1989), each of the task types of the present research can be linked to specific learning materials currently used in second and foreign language classrooms. It was believed, therefore, that even though the present research was to be carried out in a controlled setting, the tasks would have considerable face validity for participants in the study, and further,

that findings about their use by these subjects would be relevant to classroom concerns and instructional decisions.

Data Coding

An interactionist perspective was taken in coding the data collected for the study, in order to be able to describe, analyze, and quantify the negotiations made by NNSs and NSs in attempting to understand and be understood by each other during their collaboration. A framework was developed which attempted to capture the negotiated nature of speech adjustments, to show, for example, how they can be triggered by and reflected in the form, structure, and content of what NSs and NNSs say to each other. Earlier versions of this framework have been used, (with inter-coder agreement ranging from .92 to .97) in a series of studies (including published versions in Pica ,1987; Pica et al., 1989). Its most up-to-date version (inter-coder agreements range from .88 to .100) is shown in Appendix I.

As shown in Appendix I, in the course of negotiation, both the NNS and NS can signal a need for clarification, confirmation, or reiteration of the other's utterance, which serves as a trigger for the negotiation sequence. As shown in categories 2a-c, these signalling utterances are directed toward the structure, form, and/or meaning of the trigger, and can be questions, statements, phrases, or words which do not in themselves incorporate the trigger (as in 2a) or they can be repetitions of the trigger (as in 2b). The signals shown in 2c modify the trigger semantically, morphologically, or syntactically, these latter signals made by segmenting one or more constituents of the trigger, then producing them in isolation or incorporating them into a longer utterance.

When produced by the NS, the signalling utterances of category 2 are believed to function as what Schachter (1983) calls "negative input," in that they provide learners with metalinguistic information about their interlanguage and the L2 variety of their interlocutor. They are believed to provide opportunities for NNSs to test interlanguage hypotheses and segment and restructure interlanguage grammar and, according to Swain (1985), provide a context for responses of "comprehensible output," in which NNSs can modify their interlanguage output toward greater comprehensibility and accuracy.

When produced by learners, the signalling utterances of category 2 are believed to function as cues to NSs that they need to repeat or modify their L2 output to make it more comprehensible. Through such signals, learners are believed to give themselves another opportunity to hear and come to understand L2 input, as well as an opportunity to focus their attention on L2 forms and features.

NNS and NSs can respond to these signals in a variety of ways as shown in categories 3a - g. For example, they can respond by (3a) switching to a new or related topic, or by (3b) repeating their initial trigger or (3c) their interlocutor's signal. They can also modify (3d) the trigger or (3e)

their interocutor's signal, and do so semantically, morphologically, or syntactically. The modifications in (3d) and (3e), when made by NNSs, provide them with opportunities to exploit and adjust their interlanguage resources. When NSs produce these modifications, they reveal to NNSs L2 semantic relationships of synonymy and paraphrase as well as patterns of morpheme affixation, phrase structure, and constitutent movement.

Other category 3 responses (i.e., 3f and 3g) which simply confirm the signal or indicate an inability to respond to it, are believed to maintain or alter the flow of interaction. However, they do not, in themselves, provide opportunities for NNSs to hear modified L2 or to modify their interlanguage.

To complete the negotiation, the NS or NNS can supply either (4a) an explicit signal of comprehension or (4b) a topic continuation move. Whether, indeed, these latter are true indications of comprehension is an empirical question, one which was not a concern of the present research. Our focus in coding was on the signals and responses of learners and their interlocutors as contexts for learners to request and receive modified L2 input, to gain feedback on their own production, and to modify their interlanguage output.

Predictions

In light of the limited amount of empirical work on the role of gender in language learning, the present study sought to describe gender-related influences on learner-interlocutor interaction as much as it aimed to test predictions about these processes. Thus a limited number of predictions was made about the linguistic output and interactional behavior of the NS-NNS interlocutors as they worked in dyads of same and opposite genders on the communication tasks. Based on results of very scant, and only partially relevant, previous research on learner gender as a factor in social interaction (e.g., Gass and Varonis, 1986; Pica et al., 1989), the following predictions were made regarding the effects that learners' gender and gender pairing would have on NS-NNS negotiated interaction, and in turn, on opportunities for NNSs to request and receive modified L2 input and to modify their own production in response to requests:

Hypothesis 1: Greater amounts of negotiated interaction, i.e., signal-response exchanges, would occur in cross-gender dyads of male NSs - female NNSs and female NSs - male NNSs than in same-gender dyads of male NSs to male NNSs and female NSs to female NNSs. This prediction has been supported for NNS-NNS interaction in Gass and Varonis (1986), but has not been tested for NS-NNS interaction.

Hypothesis 2: female NNSs would produce more signals than male NNSs. The prediction of this hypothesis was also supported in the Gass and Varonis (1986) study on NNS-NNS interaction, but again, has not been tested for NS-NNS interaction.

Hypothesis 3: Male NNSs would be given more NS signals than female NNSs. This hypothesis was supported by findings of Pica et al. (1989); however, only female NSs were included in that study. No study has yet examined both female and male NSs as signal providers to male and female NNSs.

Hypothesis 4: Male NNSs would produce more modification of their speech in response to NS signals than would female NNSs. This hypothesis was also based on Pica et al. (1989). Again, however, only female NSs were examined as a source of signals to and receiver of responses from male and female NNSs.

These four hypotheses, when viewed in terms of possible language learning opportunities and experiences, suggested that (1) cross-gender pairings, compared to same-gender pairings, would provide greater opportunities for NNSs to hear modifed L_2 input and to modify their own production; (2) female NNS subjects, as more frequent signal producers than males, would be given more opportunities to hear modified L_2 input; (3) male NNS subjects, as more frequent signal receivers than females, would receive and act upon more opportunities to modify their interlanguage output.

Four additional predictions were made, again with considerable caution, in light of the small body of gender-related language learning research. Also contributing to these predictions were findings from studies by Markham and O'Barr et al., as noted above, which have shown that among English NSs, speaker expertise and information control can often play a more critical role than speaker gender with regard to features of speech production. Thus, it was predicted that the distribution and control of information on the communication tasks used to gather the data for the study would interact with the gender and gender pairing of subjects in a number of ways. These possibilities were addressed through the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5: Hypotheses 2-4 would be supported in all tasks except the Jig-Saw task. It was believed that the gender-related effects predicted in Hypotheses 2-4 would not be seen on the Jig-Saw task because the equal control given to both NNSs and NSs over the information needed to carry out this task would outweigh any effects for gender differences. The other tasks, with their initial and/or potential imbalances of information control between NS and NNS would provide evidence for the sensitivity to gender predicted in Hypotheses 2 - 4.

Hypothesis 6: The results predicted in Hypothesis 2 would be most evident in Information Gap 2 and the Opinion Exchange tasks. This was because the NSs were told to begin the Information Gap 2 task by holding all information about the picture to be drawn. The NNSs needed access to this information in order to carry out the task. Thus, the female NNSs, as predictably more frequent signallers, would take greater advantage of opportunities to signal for information they could not understand.

As for the Opinion Exchange task, it was believed that this would provide *potentially* equal opportunities for male and female NNSs to signal their NS interlocutors. However, in light of the open-ended nature of this task type, and the possibility for NS domination, it was believed that the female NNSs would take greater advantage of signalling opportunities brought about as NSs raised most of the points to be discussed.

Hypothesis 7: The results predicted in Hypothesis 3 would be most evident in Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange tasks.

Hypothesis 8: The results predicted in Hypothesis 4 would be most evident in the Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange tasks.

Both male and female NNSs would begin the Information Gap 1 task by holding all information about the picture to be drawn, but as male NNSs were predicted to be greater receivers of NS signals and responders to those signals, it was believed that such a predicted effect would be more apparent on this task. It was also believed that, along with the Information Gap task, the Opinion Exchange task would provide the strongest context to support Hypotheses 3-4. Based on the results of Pica et al. (1989) with female NSs, it was believed that, compared to female NNSs, the male NNSs would take greater advantage of the open-ended nature of this task to respond frequently to signals from both male and female NSs and to do so with modified interlanguage output.

Hypothesis Testing and Data Analysis:

All transcripts of interactional data were coded based on the categories of the Framework displayed in Appendix I.

Hypothesis 1 was tested by counting and comparing the number of signal and response utterances (i.e., utterance types 2 and 3 in the framework shown in Appendix I.) per total number of utterances across the four dyad categories and the combined cross vs. same-gender dyads.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 were tested by counting and comparing the number of signal utterances (type 2) per total number of utterances produced by (for Hypothesis 2) and received by (for Hypothesis 3) male vs. female NNSs across the four dyad categories.

Hypothesis 4 was tested by counting and comparing the proportion of modified responses (Utterance types 3-d and 3-e) per total number of response utterances produced by male and female NNSs across the four dyad categories.

Hypotheses 5-7 were tested by further dividing the data which had been used for testing Hypotheses 1-4 into the tasks from which these data had been collected.

Results and Discussion

Analysis of data and X^2 testing of results found little direct support for the hypotheses of the study. Thus, no support was found for Hypothesis 1, which had predicted that more negotiated interaction would occur in cross-gender pairs of male NS-female NNS and female NS-male NNS than in same-gender pairs of male NS-male NNS and female NS-female NNS. Nor was support found for Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 which had predicted distinctions between male and female NNSs such that female NNSs would produce more signals, male NNSs would be given more NS signals, and male NNSs would produce more modification of their speech in response to NS signals. The lack of evidence to support these hypotheses, in turn, brought about rejection of Hypothesis 5, which had predicted that results of testing Hypotheses 2-4 would hold on all tasks except Jig-Saw.

Hypothesis 6, which had predicted that females NNSs would produce more signals than male NNSs on Information Gap 2 and Opinion Exchange tasks, was also rejected as was Hypothesis 8, which had predicted that male NNSs would produce greater proportions of modified to unmodified responses on the Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange tasks. The remaining hypothesis of the study was not rejected completely, but was given only partial support. Thus Hypotheses 7, which had predicted that male NNSs would be given more NS signals on Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange tasks, was shown to be significant only for the Opinion Exchange task.

Even though the results did not support predictions regarding the effects of NNS gender, NS-NNS gender pairing, and communication task on features of negotiation, follow-up analyses of these results did reveal several consistent patterns for both gender and task variables: negotiation and negotiation utterances appeared to be affected by gender, but it was the gender of the NS rather than the NNS member of the dyads which seemed particularly crucial. The types of tasks in which the NS - NNS dyads engaged also played a role in negotiation, as there were differences in the frequency of negotiation signals and modified responses produced during the different task types. These follow-up analyses are addressed in more detail in the discussion of results below.

Hypothesis 1: No support was found for Hypothesis 1, which had predicted that more negotiated interaction, i.e., greater proportions of signal and response utterances to total utterances, would occur in cross- than same-gender NS-NNS dyads. Instead, the opposite was indicated. As shown in Table 1, the proportions of signal and response utterances were actually larger among the same-gender dyads compared to cross-gender dyads, i.e., 20% vs. 18% for the sum of the four tasks in which they engaged. Although this was not a significant difference, $(X^2 = 3.76$, d.f. = 1, n.s.), it was only .08 below the figure of 3.84 required for significance at the .05 level. As

such, it indicated a trend for significance in the opposite direction of what Hypothesis 1 had predicted.

Closer examination of the data revealed that this trend in favor of the same-gender dyads was due to the relative lack of negotiation in cross-gender dyads composed of male NSs - female NNSs. As shown in Table 1, the proportions of signal and response utterances to total utterances for the sum of the four tasks were a similar 19% for male NS - male NNS, 20% for female NS - female NNS, and 21% for female NS - male NNS, but only 16% for male NS-female NNS. Statistical analysis showed significant differences between same-gender dyads of female NS - female NNS vs. cross-gender dyads of male NS- female NNSs ($X^2 = 20.22$, d.f. =, $p < .05$). However, there were no statistically significant differences for same-gender dyads of male NS - male NNS vs. cross-gender dyads of female NS - male NNS ($X^2 = 3.21$, d.f. =, n.s.).

In summary, contrary to the prediction of Hypothesis 1, negotiation was not greater among dyads of cross vs. same-gender. Rather, results showed that negotiation was significantly greater among same gender dyads for female NNSs and about equal in both same and cross-gender dyads for male NNSs (see table 1).

Table 1
Negotiated Interaction in Relation to Gender Pairing and Task

Frequency and Percentage of NS-NNS Signal + Response (S+R) and Other (OTH) Utterances. Total Utterances on Information Gap 1 (INFO GAP1), Information Gap 2 (INFO GAP 2), Jig-Saw (JIG-SAW), Opinion Exchange (OPINION EXCH.), and sum of the four tasks (SUM OF TASKS) by Male (M) and Female (F) Native and Non-Native Speakers (NSs and NNSs).

		INFO GAP 1			INFO GAP 2			JIG-SAW			OPINION EXCH.			SUM OF TASKS		
		S+R	OTH	TOT	S+R	OTH	TOT	S+R	OTH	TOT	S+R	OTH	TOT	S+R	OTH	TOT
M NS - F NNS	n	187	703	890	251	880	1131	35	685	720	22	379	401	495	2643	1427
(CROSS GENDER)	%	21	79		22	78		5	95	5	95	16	84			
F NS - M NNS	n	204	702	906	164	473	642	149	756	905	80	304	384	597	2242	8370
(CROSS GENDER)	%	23	77		26	74		16	84		21	79		21	79	
M NS - M NNS	n	271	904	1175	206	743	949	120	684	804	46	378	424	643	2709	3352
(SAME GENDER)	%	23	77		22	78		15	85		11	89		19	81	
F NS - F NNS	n	256	824	1080	259	592	851	103	869	972	27	276	303	645	2561	3206
(SAME GENDER)	%	24	76		30	70		11	89		9	91		20	80	
SAME GENDER	n	527	1728	2255	465	1335	1800	223	1553	1776	73	654	727	1288	5270	6558
(COMBINED)	%	23	77		26	74		13	87		10	90		20	80	
CROSS GENDER	n	391	1405	1796	415	1358	1773	184	1441	1625	102	683	785	1092	4887	5979
(COMBINED)	%	22	78		23	77		11	89		13	87		18	82	

Additional analyses revealed that the types of tasks in which the dyads engaged was a discriminating factor in the quantity of their negotiation relative to their total interaction. This finding was consistent for both cross and same-gender dyads. Thus, for cross-gender dyads, signal and response utterances were 22% and 23% of the total number of utterances on the Info. Gap 1 and 2 tasks respectively, but only 11% on Jig-Saw and 13% on Opinion Exchange.

Similarly, in same-gender pairs, signal and response utterances were 23% and 26% of the total utterances on Info. Gap 1 and 2 respectively, but only 13% on Jig-Saw and 10% on Opinion Exchange. These patterns suggested that negotiation was greater when, at the beginning of a task, opportunities for information control were given solely to one member of the NS-NNS dyad. Negotiation was not as frequent when initial information was shared between both members of the dyad, whether explicitly, as in a Jig-Saw task, or implicitly for the Opinion Exchange task.

Hypothesis 2: No support was found for Hypothesis 2, which had predicted that female NNSs would produce more signals than male NNSs. As shown in Table 2, both female and male NNS signal utterances were 11% of their total number of utterances on the sum of the four tasks, with frequency data revealing no significant differences between them ($X^2 = .035$, d.f. = 1, n.s.).

Table 2
Frequency and Percentage of NNS Signal (S) and Other (OTH) Utterances/Total (TOT) NNS Utterances

		INFO GAP 1			INFO GAP 2			JIG-SAW			OPINION EXCH.			SUM OF TASKS		
		S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT
F NNS to M NS	n	14	428	442	113	336	479	11	330	341	5	161	166	143	1285	1248
	%	3	97		24	76		3	97		3	97		10	90	
F NNS to F NS	n	31	436	467	109	253	362	16	384	400	1	112	113	157	1185	1342
	%	7	93		30	70		4	96		1	99		12	88	
Total F NNS to M NS + F NS	n	45	864	909	222	619	841	27	714	741	6	273	279	300	2470	2770
	%	5	95		26	74		4	96		2	98		11	89	
M NNS to M NS	n	23	530	553	87	209	2965	34	288	322	9	137	146	153	1164	1317
	%	4	96		29	71		11	89		6	94		12	88	
M NNS to F NS	n	22	423	445	63	198	261	38	375	413	3	175	178	126	1171	1297
	%	5	95		24	76		9	91		2	98		10	90	
Total M NNS to M NS + F NS	n	45	953	998	150	407	557	72	663	735	12	312	324	279	2335	2614
	%	5	95		27	73		10	90		4	96		11	89	

Closer analysis of the signal data revealed that, in some instances, frequency of signals among female NNSs was conditioned by the gender of their NS interlocutor and the task types in which they engaged. Thus female NNSs tended to signal more frequently when they interacted with female NSs than with male NSs. This was especially apparent on Information Gap tasks, reflecting another facilitating effect for this task on negotiation as had been revealed in testing of Hypothesis 1. On the Information Gap 1 task, female NNS signals constituted 7% of their total utterances when interacting with female NSs, but only 3% of their total utterances when interacting with male NSs. This difference was significant. ($X^2 = 5.81$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). Significant differences were found on the Information Gap 2 task, as female NNS signals were 30% of their total utterances when interacting with female NSs and 24% of their total utterances when interacting with male NSs. ($X^2 = 4.51$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). As can be seen in these results, when female NNSs participated in tasks on which either they or their interlocutor held initial control over

information, they were more likely to signal for help with L_2 input from their female than male NS interlocutors.

On the other tasks of the study, in which both NSs and NNSs had initial control over task-related information, female NNSs were found not to make significant distinctions in their signals to male and female NSs. On the Jig-Saw task, female NNS signals were 4% of their total utterances to female NSs and 3% to male NSs ($X^2 = 0.314$, df = 1, n.s.). On the Opinion Exchange task, in which female NNSs signals were 1% of their total utterances to female NSs and 3% to male NSs, there were too few tokens to be tested for statistically significant differences.

Unlike female NNSs, the frequency of male NNS signals was not conditioned by the gender of their NS interlocutor. Thus, male NNSs did not display significant differences in their signals to female and male NSs. On the Information Gap 1 task, male NNS signals were 5% of the total utterances to female NSs and 4% to male NSs ($X^2 = 0.353$, d.f. = 1, n.s.). On the Information Gap 2 task, proportions of signal to total utterances were 24% to female NSs vs. 29% to male NSs ($X^2 = 1.95$, d.f. = 1, n.s.). On the Jig-Saw task, these proportions were 9% vs. 11% ($X^2 = 0.378$, d.f. = 1, n.s.). Greater differences were found on the Opinion Exchange task, i.e., male NNSs signals were 2% of their total utterances to female NSs and 6% to male NSs, but, again, as in female NNS interaction on this task, there were too few signal tokens to be tested statistically. Overall, results showed that the frequency of male NNS signals to male vs. female NSs was not affected by their initial control over task-related information.

Table 3
Frequency and Percentage of NS Signal (S) and Other (OTH) Utterances/Total NS Utterances

		INFO GAP 1			INFO GAP 2			JIG-SAW			OPINION EXCH.			SUM OF TASKS		
		S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT	S	OTH	TOT
F NS to M NNS	n	77	384	461	8	373	381	33	459	492	31	175	206	149	1391	1540
	%	17	83		2	98		7	93		15	85		10	90	
M NS to M NNS	n	108	514	622	5	648	653	21	461	482	13	265	278	147	1888	2035
	%	17	83		1	99		4	96		5	95		7	93	
Total F + M NS to M NNS	n	185	898	1083	13	1021	1034	54	920	974	44	440	484	296	3279	3575
	%	17	83		3	97		6	94		9	91		8	92	
F NS to F NNS	n	96	517	613	17	472	489	33	539	572	12	178	190	158	1706	1846
	%	16	84		3	97		6	94		6	94		8	92	
M NS to F NNS	n	79	97	369	448	3	649	652	6	373	379	6	235	94	2620	1714
	%	18	82		0	100		2	98		3	97		5	95	
Total F + M NS to F NNS	n	175	886	1061	20	1121	1141	39	912	951	18	407	425	232	3326	3578
	%	16	84		2	98		4	96		4	96		6	93	

Hypothesis 3: Hypothesis 3 that male NNSs would be given more NS signals than female NNSs was supported only on the Opinion Exchange task. As shown in Table 3, the proportion of NS signal utterances to total utterances directed to male NNSs on the Opinion Exchange Task was 9%, whereas this figure was 4% for female NNSs. This difference was statistically significant

($X^2 = 8.39$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). Few differences were found among NS signals to male vs. female NNSs across the other three tasks. Thus, on the Information Gap 1 Task, NS signals were 17% of their utterances to male NNSs and 16% of their total utterances to female NNSs. On the Information Gap 2 Task, these figures were 3% to male vs. 2% to female NNSs, and on the Jig-Saw Task, they were 6% to male vs. 4% to female NNSs.

Hypothesis 3 had predicted that the frequency of NS signals to NNSs would differ according to NNS gender, i.e., whether the NNSs had been male or female. Results showed that NNS gender did affect the frequency of NS signals to NNSs on the Opinion Exchange task, but, for the other task types, it was the gender of the NS signal producer which had a more differentiating effect than the gender of the NNS signal receiver. Proportionately more of the total number of NS utterances given as signals came from female (9%) than from male NSs (6%), ($X^2 = 16.92$, df = 1, p < .05). Differences between signals given to NNSs by male and female NSs were significant for:

(a) Male and female NNSs on the sum of the four tasks: thus, as displayed in Table 3, signals to male NNSs constituted 10% of the total utterances produced by female NSs vs. 7% of the total male NS utterances. ($X^2 = 6.62$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). Similarly, signals to female NNSs were 8% of the total female NS utterances vs. 5% of male NS utterances ($X^2 = 12.77$, d.f. = 1, p < .05).

(b) Male NNSs on the Opinion Exchange Task: also shown in Table 3, female NS signals were 15% of their total utterances to male NNSs, but male NS signals only 5% of their total utterances to male NNSs. ($X^2 = 15.40$, d.f. = 1, p < .05).

(c) Female NNSs on Jig-Saw Task: again, as indicated in Table 3, female NS signals were 6% of their total utterances to female NNSs, while male NS signals were only 2% of their total utterances to female NNSs. ($X^2 = 6.63$, d.f. = 1, p < .05).

Hypothesis 4: No support was found for Hypothesis 4 that male NNSs would produce more modification of their speech in response to NS signals than would female NNSs. As shown in Table 4, proportions of modified responses to total response utterances by male vs. female NNSs were about the same for the sum of the four tasks (46% by males and 48% by females, $X^2 = 0.21$, d.f. = 1, n.s.).

Overall, results for testing Hypothesis 4 were of little statistical significance. Thus, as shown in Table 4, on Opinion Exchange, male NNSs produced greater proportions of modified responses than female NNSs. However, this difference was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 2.69$, df = 1, n.s.). On Jig-Saw, male NNSs actually produced smaller proportions of modified responses than female NNSs, but again, this result was not significant ($X^2 = 1.34$, d.f. = 1, n.s.).

Table 4
Frequency and Percentage of NNS Modified Response (MD)
and Other (OTH) Response Utterances/Total (TOT) NNS Response Utterances

		INFO GAP 1			INOF GAP 2			JIG-SAW			OPINION EXCH.			SUM OF TASKS		
		MD	OTH	TOT	MD	OTH	TOT	MD	OTH	TOT	MD	OTH	TOT	MD	OTH	TOT
F NNS to M NS	n	36	42	78	2	1	3	2	4	6	1	5	6	41	52	93
	%	46	54		67	33		33	67		17	83		44	56	
F NNS to F NS	n	42	46	88	11	6	17	17	17	34	7	6	13	77	75	152
	%	48	52		65	35		50	50		54	46		51	49	
Total F NNS	n	78	88	166	13	7	20	19	21	40	8	11	19	118	127	245
to M + F NS	%	47	53		65	35		48	53		42	58		48	52	
M NNS tro M NS	n	41	69	110	4	2	6	10	14	24	8	4	12	63	89	152
	%	37	63		67	33		42	58		67	33		41	59	
M NNS to F NS	n	40	40	80	6	2	9	10	22	32	27	16	43	83	81	164
	%	50	50		67	33		31	69		63	37		51	49	
Total M NNS	n	81	109	190	10	5	15	20	36	56	35	20	55	146	170	316
to M + F NS	%	43	57		67	33		36	64		64	36		46	54	

Additional observations, as indicated through Table 4, revealed that under several conditions, it was again NS gender that played a more critical role than NNS gender in NNS modification of their responses. Thus, for both male and female NNSs on the sum of the four tasks, there was greater modification of responses during their interaction with female NSs than with male NSs, although these differences were not significant. Male NNSs modified 51% of their responses to female NSs vs. 41% to male NSs ($X^2 = 2.30$, d.f. $= 1$, n.s.). Female NNSs modified 51% of their responses to female NSs vs. 44% to male NSs. ($X^2 = 0.75$, d.f. $= 1$, n.s.).

This pattern was also apparent on a number of specific tasks. Thus on Information Gap 1, male NNSs modified 50% of their responses to female NSs vs. 37% of their responses to male NSs. Again, however, the difference was not significant ($X^2 = 2.57$, d.f. $= 1$, n.s.). On Jig-Saw, female NNSs modified 50% of their responses to female NSs vs. 33% to males, and on Opinion Exchange, female NNSs modified 54% of their responses to female NSs vs. 17% of their responses to males. Unfortunately, the frequency of modified responses on these tasks was too small for purposes of statistical testing.

Hypothesis 5: No support was found for Hypothesis 5 which had stated that Hypotheses 2-4 would be supported on all tasks except Jig-Saw. The most obvious reason for this result was, of course, that so little support had been found in testing Hypotheses 2-4 on the three other tasks. However closer analysis of its impact on NS-NNS negotiation revealed a complex pattern of distinctions and similarities for Jig-Saw in relation to the other tasks.

The greatest distinction between Jig-Saw and the other tasks was found in testing Hypothesis 2. As shown in Table 2, male NNSs produced significantly greater proportions of signals than female NNSs on this task, but it was the only task on which they did so. (10% for male NNSs vs. 4% by female NNSs, $X^2 = 22.32$, df $= 1$, p $< .05$). On the other three tasks, the difference in proportions of signal to other utterances was either much smaller or barely evident.

Another distinction between Jig-Saw and the other tasks was shown by the results of testing of Hypothesis 4. Contrary to the prediction made in Hypothesis 4, male NNSs were found not to differ significantly from female NNSs in their production of modified responses on the sum of the four tasks. There was, however, a tendency toward a smaller proportion of modified responses by male NNSs on Jig-Saw compared with the other tasks. As shown in Table 4, 36% of male NNS responses were modified on Jig-Saw, whereas male NNS modified responses were 43% on Information Gap 1, 67% on Information Gap 2, and 64% on Opinion Exchange.

One of the strongest similarities between Jig-Saw and the other tasks was found in testing results of Hypothesis 3. Here, proportions of signal utterances produced by male and female NSs were about equal within tasks. As shown in Table 3, NS signals on Jig-Saw were 6% of their total utterances to male NNSs and 4% of their total to female NNSs. NS signals on Information Gap 1 were 17% of their utterances to male NNSs and 16% of their utterances to females. On Information Gap 2, NS signals were 3% of their utterances to male and 2% to female NNSs.

Hypothesis 6: Partial support was found for Hypothesis 6, which had stated that compared to male NNSs, female NNSs would produce greater proportions of signal utterances on Information Gap 2 and Opinion Exchange tasks. This prediction for female NNSs was supported only for the Information Gap 2 Task during interaction with female NSs. As shown in Table 2, female NNS signals were 30% of their total utterances to female NSs whereas male NNS signals to female NSs were c. ⋅⋅ 24% of their utterances ($X^2 = 4.51$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). On the Opinion Exchange task, male . ISs actually produced more signals than female NNSs, although, as shown in Table 2, very few signals were produced by NNSs of either gender on this task.

One consistent pattern for both male and female NNS signal production on the Information Gap 2 task was that far greater proportions of NNS utterances were produced as signals on this task compared to the other tasks of the study. As shown in Table 2, of the total number of utterances produced by male and female NNSs, 27% and 26% respectively, were signals, whereas male and female NNS signals were each 5% of their total utterances on Information Gap 1, 10% and 4% of their respective utterances on Jig-Saw, and 4% and 2% respectively on Opinion Exchange. This was consistent with other findings of the study in which negotiation features were found to be more frequent when, in order to complete a task, NNSs needed to obtain information controlled initially by their NS interlocutors.

Hypothesis 7: Partial support for Hypothesis 7, i.e., that male NNSs would be given significantly more NS signals than females on Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange than on the two other tasks, was found only for the Opinion Exchange task. As noted in the discussion of Hypothesis 3 and shown in Table 3, male NNSs were given 9% of the total NS utterances as signals on Opinion Exchange, but female NNSs were given only 4%. This difference was statistically significant ($X^2 = 8.39$, d.f. = 1, p < .05). Both male and female NNSs received

greater proportions of NS utterances as signals on Information Gap 1 than on the other tasks, but there was little difference between them, i.e., male NNSs were given 17% of the total NS utterances as signals compared with 16% for female NNSs. On the Information Gap 2 and Jig-Saw Tasks, the respective figures were quite small, i.e., 3% to males vs. 2% to females and 6% to males vs. 4% to females.

Hypothesis 8: Hypothesis 8, which had predicted that modified responses by NNS males would be most evident on Information Gap 1 and Opinion Exchange tasks, was not supported. As shown in Table 4, proportions of modified to unmodified responses on this task were 64% for male NNSs vs. 42% for female NNSs, but this difference was not significant ($X^2 = 2.69$, df = 1, n.s.). The results predicted by Hypothesis 8 were actually least evident on Information Gap 1, as more modified responses were produced by female than male NNSs on this task (47% for female NNSs vs. 43% for male NNSs).

Summary of Results

Results of follow-up data analyses revealed few differences in relative quantity of negotiation among same-gender dyads of female NSs - female NNSs and male NS - male NNSs and cross-gender dyads of female NS - male NNSs. There was less negotiation in cross-gender dyads of male NSs - female NNSs than in these other NS - NNS dyads. In addition, greater amounts of negotiation were found for both cross and same-gender dyads on Information Gap Tasks 1 and 2 than on Jig-Saw or Opinion Exchange Tasks.

In terms of negotiation signals *produced by* NNSs, there were no significant differences between male and female NNSs overall, but differences between them were revealed when their signals were compared on the basis of NS interlocutor gender. Thus female NNSs gave more signals to female NSs than male NSs. This was especially apparent on the two Information Gap tasks. male NNSs did not differentiate their signals acccding to NS interlocutor gender.

With regard to negotiation signals *given to* NNSs, it was found that both male and female NNSs were given more signals from female NSs than by male NSs. For male NNSs, this pattern was most pronounced on the Opinion-Exchange Task; for female NNSs, the pattern was most apparent on the Jig-Saw Task.

In terms of modification of their responses by NNSs, the most noteworthy differences between male and female NNSs were revealed only on the Opinion Exchange task, but these were not statistically significant. Differences were also found when NNS modified responses were compared on the basis of NS interlocutor gender. As such, greater NNS Modification of responses was found during interaction with female NSs than with male NSs, especially for male NNSs on the Information Gap 1 Task and for female NNSs on Jig-Saw and Opinion Exchange,

but the relative frequencies of these responses were either not significant or not sufficient for statistical analysis.

In summary, results did not show a clear-cut role for NNS gender as a discriminating factor in frequency of negotiated interaction and its associated opportunities for comprehension of input, feedback on production, and modification of output. What emerged from the testing of hypotheses and analysis of results was a complex interaction of both gender and task type in providing and inhibiting these opportunities. Overall, however, in most of the results which had implications for facilitating NNS negotiation, comprehension and modified production, female NSs and Information Gap tasks appeared to play a more critical role than the other interlocutor and task variables analyzed in the study.

Observations, Implications, and Directions for Further Research

As emphasized throughout the review of results, very little support was found for the eight hypotheses regarding the role of learner gender in features of negotiated interaction and its associated opportunities for language learning. This was not a total surprise, however, as the hypotheses had been motivated by a very restricted empirical base of a few related studies. What was somewhat surprising, however, was that the role of gender in providing language learning opportunities was revealed more clearly in terms of the NSs rather than the NNSs who participated in the study. The group of female NS subjects was more consistent than the male NSs in working with *both* male and female NNS subjects in promoting negotiation, inviting requests for clarification of input, and providing signals for NNSs to clarify their output and modify their responses.

These NS contributions may have been due to sociocultural factors which had not been taken into account in the original design of the study since its focus was on NNS linguistic and interactional behaviors and its hypotheses had been motivated by research on these areas. Thus, the female NSs of the study, may have been behaving toward the NNS subjects in ways which have been observed in comparison studies of interactions involving male and female NSs in U.S. society (as reviewed by Wolfson 1989). What that body of research has shown is that, in their interactions with other American English NSs, females work harder to sustain conversation, provide more support, and engage in greater accommodation. Linguistically, therefore, they ask more questions and invite more responses than have been shown by male NSs of American English. Evidence of this pattern of linguistic behavior is revealed in the following excerpts of the female vs. male NSs as they interacted with male and female NNSs. As can be seen, the female NSs were less likely to discontinue a negotiation when NNSs seek clarification:

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Female NS

 it's an oval oval
 which is um like an egg
 like an egg um ...
 but it's up against the house so its like oval on
 one side and the other side is next to the house
 to the one side and
 ok it's oval on the side like facing the yard
 like an egg, the shape of an egg, ok?
 and then it's right up against the house,
 it's like right next to the house,
 like this is the front of the house
 and it would be right next to it

Female NNS

 like an egg? um

 oval?

 ah

Male NS

 does the TV have antennas?
 eas, like two things coming up in the back
 antennas? ah ...
 ok, we'll pass

Female NNS

 terrace?

 eh ...

Female NS

 like part of a triangle?
 a triangle is a shape um it has three sides
 three straight sides
 yes it does look like a mountain peak, yes
 ok two of them, right? one on each side?
 a line on each side of the-
 little lines on each side?
 like a mountain?
 all right

Male NNS .

 what is triangle?
 a peak?
 a peak?
 only line only line?

 yes
 yes
 yes

Male NS

 convertible?
 does it have a roof?
 open or closed?
 I don't have time to be too fancy so
 this is it. What else?

Male NNS

 what's that?
 no
 closed

Drawing also from the work of Wolfson, the different interactional behaviors found among the male NS-female NNS dyads compared to the similar behaviors found among the three other dyad types can be explained against the backdrop of Wolfson's Bulge Theory (Wolfson 1986, 1988). According to Wolfson, greater negotiation tends to occur when interactants who are neither intimates nor total strangers perceive possibilities for friendship. The male NSs and female NNSs may have seen fewer of these possibilities in their coming together for purposes of this study than did the other subject dyads.

Finally, the cultural background of the NNSs may have had an impact on the different interactional behaviors observed. It is possible that the NNSs brought to their interactions with NSs rules for interaction in Japanese society such that the female NNSs were reluctant to signal when they could not understand the male NNSs or to negotiate toward mutual comprehension when they themselves could not be understood. It is also possible that the female NNSs had

experienced fewer previous interactions with male than with female Americans and were thus uncertain as to how to negotiate with the male NSs in this study.

Since this study was carried out on members of, broadly speaking, only two cultural or ethnic groups, it was not possible to separate negotiation patterns which were attributable to one or the other group from those which arose from the interaction of both groups. Not was it possible to know the extent to which gender, culture, and ethnicity were discrete or inter- related variables in the study. This dilemma points to need for further research on interaction between NSs and NNSs across a variety of cultures. It would be important to know, for example, whether the patterns observed among the American F NSs in the study are also found in their interaction with NNSs other than Japanese. Such findings would have implications for interaction in English language classrooms which are typically heterogeneous in the gender, cultural background, and ethnicity of NNS students.

What was also surprising was the limited support found for hypotheses regarding the effects of the jig-saw task on features of negotiation. The Jig-Saw task was not found to be as distinctive from the other tasks as had been predicted. Instead, it was the Information Gap tasks which showed more distinctiveness in that they provided the most clear-cut context for NS-NNS negotiation. One possible reason for this was that the Jig-Saw task had been designed in such a way that made it simply too easy for subjects to carry out. The visual information available to both NSs and NNSs regarding the pictures of houses used in this task may have left less need for them to request clarification or negotiate message meaning than was the case for the Information Gap tasks. In these latter, as picture description and replication tasks, visual information was held initially by only the describing participant, such that the replicating participant had to request this information in order to carry out the task.

Further, the Information Gap and Opinion Exchange tasks gave to the NSs and NNSs greater responsibility for generating the amounts of information conveyed, shared and elaborated upon. The Jig-Saw task, instead, provided participants a set number of items and details to exchange. Although opportunities for participants to embellish these details were available in the Jig-Saw task, the design of the task made the possibility for such embellishment less open to the discretion of its participants.

Differences between the Jig-Saw task and the other two tasks have thus confounded the information control factor under study. Results are therefore tentative regarding the role in negotiation played by this specific task and by information control as represented through the different task structures employed in the study. The present study distinguished information control features on the basis of the structure of information distribution and exchange among task participants. In future studies, care must be taken to control also for amount and type of initial information available to them.

Conclusion

This study has shed a small amount of light on the question of the roles of learner and interlocutor gender in providing opportunities for language learning through interaction. Further research is needed, however, to provide a substantive answer to this question. Yet before moving on to such research, it may be important to reflect on the more basic question of what role interaction, itself, plays in the language learning process.

Along with other researchers noted throughout this paper, we have suggested that the negotiation toward mutual comprehension which arises during interaction provides NNSs with various kinds of opportunities for second language development, i.e., the opportunities to receive comprehensible input, to gain feedback on production, and to modify interlanguage output, that are particularly focused because of the task structures behind these interactions. However, SLA theory has yet to articulate sufficiently the process whereby learners' understanding of L2 meaning, exposure to feedback on their production, and modification of interlanguage are linked with their internalization of L2 rules and structures and retrieval for subsequent use. Until such an articulation is accomplished, further insights into gender-based differences in interaction involving language learners may serve to identify parameters of their social discourse, but bring little to bear on the nature of L2 learning process. Our study was based on the assumption that languages are learned through interaction; however it is this very assumption which itself must first be tested through what we have come to realize is more urgent research than we ourselves have undertaken.

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[1] Earlier versions of the present paper were presented at the Boston University Conference on Language Development, October 1989 and the Second Language Research Forum, University of Oregon, March, 1990. This research was supported by grants from the Ivy League Consortium on Language Teaching and Learning and the University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation. This study is one component of a continuing research project on "Language Learning through Interaction," initiated in 1983. For their assistance to us in data collection, we would like to thank Richard Young, director of the University of Pennsylvania English Language Program and the faculty and staff of the Program and the staff of the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education.

[2] Other research has been carried out on the "expertness" factor but, unfortunately, not in conjunction with gender variables. Studies by Selinker and Douglas (1985), Woken and Swales (1988), and Zuengler (1989) have shown that L2 "learner expertise" or "learner knowledge" can influence learners' self- and other-perceptions and, in turn, have an impact on their discourse. Areas affected can include politeness features in speech addressed to NNS experts vs. non-experts and amount and type of their control over topic and floor. Differences in linguistic behavior to and by NNSs have been identified even when the same NNS subjects were observed in both expert and non-expert roles, e.g., when speaking on matters related to their professional work vs. matters not as relevant to job-related knowledge.

APPENDIX I

Framework for Coding Data on Negotiated Interaction

1. (Trigger) Utterance(s):

NS	NNS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	children they visit uncle few day

2. Signal directed toward form/meaning of Trigger:

2a. Question/statement/phrase/word which does not incorporate Trigger:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	what?	children they visit uncle few day	what?

2b. Question/statement/phrase/word which repeats Trigger without linguistic (i.e., semantic or morphosyntactic) modification:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	the children are visiting their uncle for a vew days?	children they visit the children they visit	

2c. Question/statement/phrase/word which linguistically modifies all or part of Trigger:

2c1: semantically: through synonym. paraphrase, example, analogy, descriptors, and/or interpretation:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	one week?	children they visit uncle few day	they will stay a week?

2c2: morphologically: through addition, substitution, or deletion of inflectional morpheme(s):

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	children they visited few day?	children they visit uncle few day	they visited for a few days

2c3: syntactically: through segmentation, with relocation (subject to object, object to subject) (S > O, O > S), topicalization or incorporation into phrases/clauses):

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	uncle he have for few days?	children they visit uncle few days	their uncle has the children?

2c4. syntactically: through segmentation, without relocation (S > O, O > S), topicalization, or incorporation into phrases/clauses:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	few days?	children they visit uncle few day	few days

3. Follow-up Response:

3a. Question/statement/phrase/word which switches to a new topic/supplies information generally related to topic, but not directed toward form/meaning of Signal:

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| the children are visiting their uncle for a few days he lives in Florida | children they visit few days? | uncle few day uncle he live Florida | for a few days |

3b. Statement/phrase/word which repeats Trigger without linguistic (semantic or morphosyntactic) modification:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	children they visit few days?	uncle few day children they visit uncle few day	for a few days?

3c. Statement/phrase/word which repeats Signal without linguistic (semantic or morphosyntactic) modification:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days one week	one week?	children they visit uncle few day a week	a week?

3d. Statement/phrase/word which linguistically modifies all or part of Trigger:

3d1. semantically: through synonym, paraphrase, example, analogy, descriptors and/or interpretation:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days the children are staying with my brother for a few days	what?	children they visit uncle few day children they stay my brother few day	what?

3d2. morphologically: through addition, substitution, or deletion of inflectional morpheme(s):

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days the children have gone to visit their uncle's home for a day or two	what?	children they visit uncle few day children they visiting uncle few days	what?

3d3. syntactically: through segmentation, with relocation (S > O, O > S) topicalization, or incorporation into phrases/clauses:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days their uncle has the children for a few days	what?	children they visit uncle few day uncle he have children few days	what?

3d4. syntactically: through segmentation, without relocation (S > O, O > S), topicalization, or incorporation into phrases/clauses:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days for a few days	what?	children they visit uncle few day few days	what?

3e. Statement/phrase/word which linguistically modifies Signal

3e1. semantically: through synonym, paraphrase, example, analogy, descriptors and/or interpretation:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days almost one week	one week?	children they visit uncle few day almost a week	they will stay a week?

3e2. morphologically: through addition, substitution, or deletion of inflectional morpheme(s):

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	one week? they will stay a week?	children they visit uncle few day	
no, two weeks		no, two week	

3e3. syntactically: through segmentation, with relocation (S > O, O > S),topicalization, or incorporation into phrases/clauses:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	they stay one week?	children they visit uncle few day	they will stay a week?
their uncle would like them to stay a week		uncle want them stay a week	

3e4. syntactically: through segmentation, without relocation (S > O, O > S),topicalization, or incorporation into phrases/clauses:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days	they stay one week?	children they visit uncle few day	they will stay a week?
one week		a week	

3f. Confirmation or acknowledgement without linguistic modification:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days yes	one week?	children they visit uncle few day yes	they will stay a week?

3g. Indication of difficulty or inability to respond:

NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days I'm sorry, I don't know how to say it better	what?	children they visit uncle few day is difficult to say	what?

4. Comprehension Signal/Continuation Move

4a. Comprehension Signal:

| NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days almost two weeks	one week? I see	children they visit uncle few day almost two weeks I see	they will stay a week?

4b. Continuation Move:

| NS	NNS	NNS	NS
the children are visiting their uncle for a few days almost two weeks	one week? and when will they return?	children they visit uncle few day when return?	they will stay a week? almost two weeks

APPENDIX II

JIG-SAW: NNS and NS reproduce unseen sequence of (HOUSE) by exchanging uniquely held portions of the sequence.

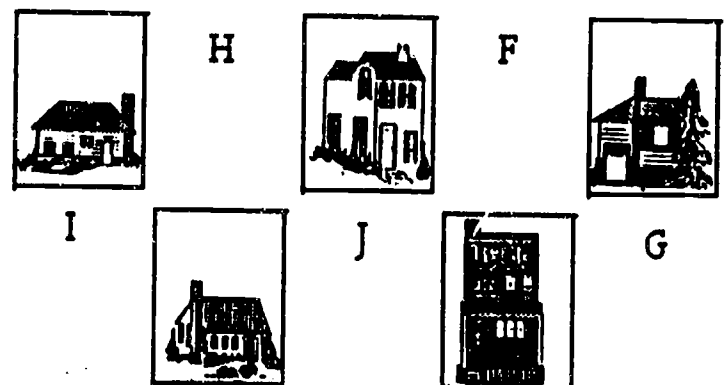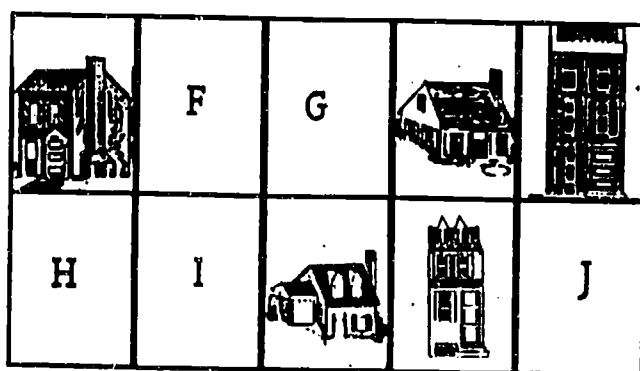Initial information control shared evenly between NNS and NS.
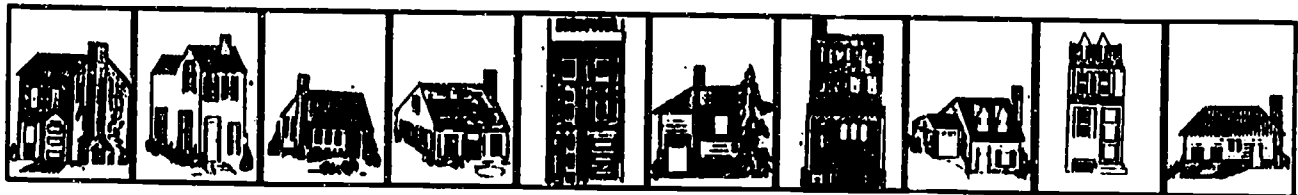
HOUSE SEQUENCE HIDDEN MASTER
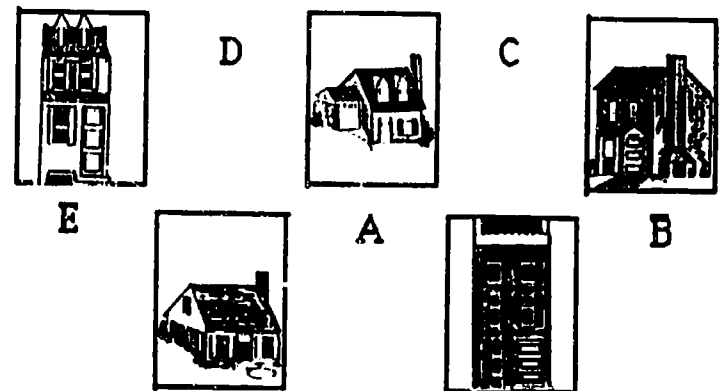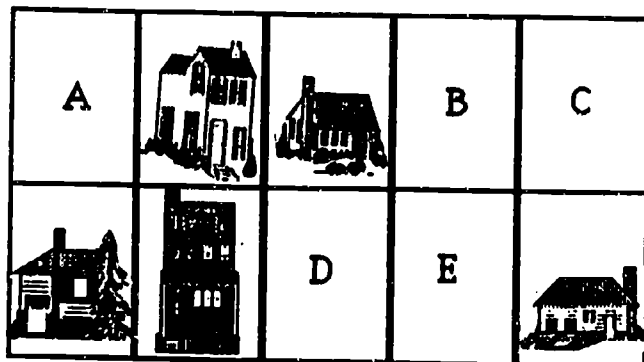
Scrambled Houses

PARTICIPANT A PACKAGE

Scrambled Houses

PARTICIPANT B PACKAGE

size reduced for display purposes

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The "other language":
Language planning in Belgium[1]

Michele Valasek

This paper focuses primarily upon the status planning activities and ensuing legislation that has influenced the use of Netherlandic and French in the northern provinces of Belgium.[2] Following a brief overview of the major historical trends in language use within this geographical area, this paper traces several of the major social and economic factors that crystallized eventually into political issues.

Belgium Today

The territory now known as Belgium covers 11,781 square miles and hosts ten million inhabitants. As an independent state, Belgium has existed only for a little over 150 years. Despite its brief history, the country has experienced intense controversies concerning language use and choice, both at the individual and regional level. The central government, albeit unwillingly, has been thrust into the role of an active language planning agency. The work of the government in this respect has resulted in what has been characterized as "the heaviest linguistic legislation in the world" (Baeten Beadsmore, 1980: 147). This steady diet of legislation, much of which is now embodied in the country's Constitution, has ultimately reshaped the unitary and centralized nation-state created in 1830 into a highly decentralized and semi-federal structure.

Belgium presently is divided into four linguistic regions as legislated by the language laws of 1932 and 1963 and later upheld by the constitutional amendments of 1971 and 1980. These four regions are: a monolingual Netherlandic linguistic region, a monolingual French linguistic region, a monolingual German linguistic region, and the bilingual Netherlandic-French region of Brussels.

The major linguistic border runs in an east-west direction and divides the country in half. The northern part consists of four provinces which are referred to as "Flanders." In addition, the linguistic border runs through the province of Brabant of which only the northern part is Netherlandic-speaking. In these northern provinces, Netherlandic is the official language of public administration, education, and business. The southern part of the country, referred to as "Wallonia," includes four provinces as well as the southern tip of the province of Brabant. French

is the official language of these provinces. Although not physically visible, the linguistic border nevertheless constitutes a line of demarcation separating the country's two major ethnolinguistic groups, namely the Netherlandic-speakers in the north and the French-speakers in the south. In the eastern section of the French province of Liege, bordering the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and West Germany, small German-speaking areas are protected by language laws. Finally, Brussels, the country's capital, situated in the Netherlandic part of the province of Brabant, is officially recognized as bilingual in French and Netherlandic. Despite its bilingual status, the capital is predominantly Francophone. It is presently estimated that approximately 56% of the country's population resides in Flanders, 32% in Wallonia and 11% in Brussels. The percentage of German-speakers is estimated to be 1% of the total population (Wardaugh, 1987: 204).

The preceding description however is an oversimplification of the nation's linguistic situation. For example, one finds areas in which a language other than the official one receives "protection." Thus, language laws ensure specific linguistic rights to both French-language minority areas in Flanders as well as to Netherlandic-language minority areas in Wallonia. Similarly, specific linguistic rights are extended to certain German-language minorities within the French-language region. In addition to the three languages mentioned above, a wide variety of French, Netherlandic, and German dialects are commonly used within each province. Thus, Belgium's linguistic diversity encompasses not only several official languages but also a panoply of dialects.

Belgium before the Fourteenth Century

Belgium's north-west linguistic cleavage far predates the creation of Belgium as an independent state. As early as the third century, groups of Salien Franks settled in Flanders which was then part of the Roman Empire. The Franks encountered little resistance in these sparsely inhabited areas and were therefore able to maintain their Germanic language without interference. The southern regions of Wallonia, also under Roman rule, were more densely populated than their northern counterparts and consequently assimilated the Franks that infiltrated their confines. This assimilation led to the loss of the Germanic language and to the adoption of the Romance speech of that region (Mallinson, 1970). Thus, already by the fifth century, at which time the Romans were retreating from their former territories, the Germanic vernaculars were commonly used in the north while Romance languages ruled the south. It is thought that by the eleventh century, the east-west linguistic border mirrored that of today (Huggett, 1969).

From the fifth to the fourteenth century, this territory, with the exception of the area encompassing the episcopal principality of Liege, experienced numerous battles between rival European powers. The territory was at the mercy of the ever-changing alliances and treaties that successively subdivided, parcelled out and reunited this geographical area. The inhabitants of

these regions neither identified with nor attempted to establish a unified territory encompassing both Flanders and Wallonia. Their feelings of national identity as well as their desire for self-rule were demonstrated only at the level of the Principalities (Rousseau, 1977). Despite the fact that the area changed hands frequently, the presence of Netherlandic speakers in the north and of French speakers in the south remained a constant feature of the area.

Beginning in the Middle Ages, French language and culture grew in prestige. By the thirteenth century, French had become the literary language of Wallonia and the lingua franca of the commercial fairs. At the same time, Flanders, which boasted considerable economic prosperity and urban development, was also the cradle of a prestigious Netherlandic culture enjoying international renown (Lyon, 1971).

Belgium: Fourteenth Century to Nineteenth Century

From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, Belgium fell successively under the rule of the House of Burgundy (1384-1555), the Spanish Habsburgs (1555-1714), the Austrian Habsburgs (1714-1794), the French (1794-1814), and the Dutch (1815-1830). Despite this succession of ruling powers, the east-west linguistic border remained unchanged. However, in addition to this geographical frontier, there emerged a new linguistic cleavage reflective of social status. More specifically, the higher echelons of Flemish society gradually adopted French while shifting away from the use of Netherlandic. By the 1800s, a "social language barrier" (Haegendoren, 1970: 17) separated the Flemish educated elite from the rest of the Flemish population.

During the reign of the Dukes of Burgundy (1384-1555), who were vassals of the King of France, French began to find favor among the territory's nobility and high clergy. Although not of widespread use in Flanders, French was nonetheless becoming symbolic of the wealthy and powerful of the northern provinces (Mallinson, 1970). The reins of power subsequently fell into the hands of the Spanish Habsburgs. Although Philip II of Spain (1555-1598) attempted to impose Spanish as the language of the royal courts (Ruys, 1981), French was by that time firmly entrenched among the nobility (Ruys, 1981).

The predominance of French as the language of culture and power became further pronounced during the Austrian era (1714-1794). Although Austrian rule was not accompanied by a language policy (Polasky, in Lijphart, 1981), Gallicization of the upper classes gained impetus as French became the language of "high society" across Europe (Vroede, 1975: 16). Not only was it the language of the nobility and high clergy but it was also embraced by members of the upper-middle class seeking to climb the social ladder. Their motivation was spurred by the fact that French was favored as the administrative language between the Austrian authorities and their

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conquered territories (Vroede, 1975). It was therefore a necessary tool for those aspiring to positions within the government (Polasky, in Lijphart, 1981).

As the Austrian era approached its end, the first stirrings of concern about the Frenchification of the Flemish provinces began to surface among members of the Netherlandic-speaking intelligentsia. In 1788, Verlooy published a treatise entitled "Memoirs of the neglect of the mother tongue in the Low Countries." In it, Verlooy urged the inhabitants of Flanders not only to preserve and develop their own language but also to resist the spread of French (Vroede, 1975). Notwithstanding the importance and subsequent impact of such writings, the territory's elite had little reason to abandon its ticket to higher status. Consequently, Frenchification of the upper strata of Flemish society continued unimpeded for well over a century.

In 1794, following an unsuccessful attempt to create and maintain an independent state, the Austrian Netherlands (i.e., present-day Belgium) as well as the heretofore autonomous Principality of Liege were invaded and occupied by French troops. France annexed its new territories and divided them into nine "*departments*." French was declared the national language and a policy of linguistic assimilation was immediately put into effect. Thus began a new chapter in the Frenchification, or "*verfransing*," of Flanders. The government's goal to create a unified and linguistically homogeneous territory rapidly led to the systematic replacement of Netherlandic by French in the territory's judicial, administrative and educational domains. As regards the nation's educational system, after twenty years of French rule, the secondary schools were yielding totally Frenchified students and consequently French had, as a matter of course, infiltrated the heart of the Flemish middle-class (Vroede 1975). The Gallicization of Flanders' upper-classes was only slightly impeded in 1815 when Holland took over the reins of power.

This shift in power (1814-1830) was accompanied by a shift in language policy. King William I of Holland, seeking to unify his southern and northern territories, attempted to impose Dutch upon his newly acquired provinces. To this end, in 1819, the King stipulated that Dutch be gradually introduced as the official language of both administration and law (Kossman, 1978). William I also instituted a much needed elementary school system throughout the country. These schools used only Netherlandic in Flanders while their Walloon counterparts were expected to eventually shift to the use of Netherlandic. However, the majority of these language laws went unheeded due to the strong and continued resistance of both the Walloon and the Flemish bourgeoisie (Vroede, 1975).

It should be noted that despite the proximity of Flanders to the Dutch United Provinces, Flanders had had little contact with its northern neighbors since the Dutch had been recognized as independent from Spanish rule in 1648. The creation of the Dutch United Provinces had been accompanied by a widespread emigration of the Netherlandic-speaking intelligentsia from Flanders, still under Spanish rule, to Holland. Subsequently, a wide array of dialects developed in

Flanders due to the lack of contact with the more standardized northern variety, the very poor educational system, and the Frenchification of the educated elite. Thus, many of the Flemish inhabitants spoke varieties of Netherlandic substantially different from that spoken in the north (De Schryver, in Lijphart, 1981). Furthermore, the Flemish viewed their northern neighbors as Protestant enemies propagating their religious beliefs and attempting to control the educational system of a highly Catholic region. In sum, Flanders neither welcomed Dutch rule nor its policy of Dutchification. The general population's animosity towards the Dutch was a valuable asset to the territory's Francophone bourgeoisie during its fight for independence in 1830.

Belgium emerged from the revolution of 1830 with all of the components necessary for the linguistic disputes that have plagued the nation to date. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Frenchification of the middle and upper-middle classes had gained momentum in Flanders. A diglossic situation in which Netherlandic was spoken in the home while French was used in education and business was increasingly more common among this segment of Flemish society (Ruys, 1981). At the same time, a minority of Flanders' intelligentsia was voicing its fears concerning the maintenance of the Netherlandic language. In sum, the newly recognized state of Belgium comprised a French-speaking bourgeoisie, a variety of Netherlandic dialects spoken in the north, a variety of German dialects spoken in the east and a variety of French dialects spoken in the south.

Birth of a Nation

In 1830, Belgium was proclaimed a constitutional monarchy. The unitary nation-state was designed with a strong central government located in Brussels, the nation's capital. The Constitution of 1831 introduced, if only in principle, the freedom to use the language of one's choice. More specifically, Article 23 stated that "The use of language shall be optional. The latter may be regulated only by law and only for acts of public authority and judicial proceedings" (Polasky, in Lijphart, 1981: 34). Thus, the Constitution, which had to wait until 1967 to be officially translated from French into Netherlandic, protected the individual's right to choose the language he spoke in non-official domains.

However, in the domains of public administration and judicial affairs, Article 23 empowered the country's ruling class to impose French. Willekens (quoted in Polasky, in Lijphart, 1981: 43) points out that "...the word optional or by free choice, in no sense meant equal administration for the two languages; it meant freedom for the officials to use the language of their choice at their pleasure, with no regard for the everyday language of the citizens." Thus, the supremacy of French was sanctioned not only by custom but also by the lack of precision in the nation's fundamental law. Furthermore, a law of 1831 recognized only the French version of

official documents as having legal validity. Therefore official recognition did not extend to the translations provided for the Netherlandic and German-speaking provinces (Vroede, 1975).

The adoption of French as the language of government, the courts and higher education can be explained by a variety of factors. One should bear in mind first that the independent state had been created and fashioned by its Francophone bourgeoisie which had been accustomed to using French since Austrian rule. This bourgeoisie consequently implemented the use of French in the official domains under its control. Second, those in power estimated that, in a country hosting a wide variety of Netherlandic dialects, the use of one standardized language would be administratively more efficient (Mabille, 1986). Furthermore, the Francophones were also reacting against previous Dutch rule and its accompanying attempts at Dutchification (Gutmans, 1969). Hence, the choice of French was also a means of asserting the nation's independence from Holland.

Finally, the voting system instituted at the birth of the nation awarded control of the political arena to the nation's privileged minority. Only those with higher education, or those fulfilling a specific property qualification were given the right to vote. This franchise system placed the reins of power in the hands of only 0.1% (46,099 voters) of the country's population (Fitzmaurice, 1983). Those holding the right to vote, whether from Flanders or from Wallonia, constituted a linguistically homogeneous group of Francophones. Thus, from its inception, the Belgian state conferred advantages upon a numerical minority (1.8 million) speaking a dominant language. The majority of the population (2.4 million), being Netherlandic speakers, held neither political nor economic power.

The Flemish Movement and the Language Laws

The Romantic Movement that swept over Europe during the nineteenth century fired the enthusiasm of a handful of Flanders' Netherlandic-speaking intelligentsia. These writers and teachers were the founding fathers of what the French-speaking press baptized the "Flemish Movement." It began as a linguistic and cultural movement that was devoid initially of economic demands (Vroede, 1975). The Movement endeavored only to redress what it considered to be an unjust situation in which Netherlandic was denigrated. However, as discontent grew among the Flemish population, the status of Netherlandic rapidly became symbolic of Flanders' social and economic oppression by the nation's Francophones.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the character of the Movement was rapidly changing. Initially, the Flemish Movement drew its support from the Netherlandic-speaking intelligentsia as well as from the ranks of the lower middle-class (Vroede, 1975). In contrast, by the end of the nineteenth century, it boasted members, called Flamingants, representing a wide spectrum of Flemish society (Vroede, 1975). This growing support can be explained by a variety of factors.

In part it was encouraged and reinforced by the actions of the Catholic party which was invariably a member of the various government coalitions of the time. This party received most of its support from the northern provinces and consequently was receptive to the passing of legislation that would appease its Flemish electorate. This electorate, since the Constitutional amendment of 1893 which granted at least one vote to all males over the age of 24, had not only increased significantly in number but had also become aware of the political power it wielded.

Consequently, the Flamingants, now in a position to elect Parliamentary representatives sympathetic to their cause, possessed political bargaining power which had to be reckoned with. In addition, since the royal decree of 1864 stipulating that the standardized version of Dutch Netherlandic was to be adopted as the linguistic norm in Flanders, the Flemings now possessed one linguistic variety upon which they could focus their hopes and demands. Finally, the Flemish Movement had successfully harnessed the escalating dissatisfaction in the northern provinces concerning the economic discrepancies existing between Flanders and Wallonia. More specifically, with regard to the state's economic development, it should be noted that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the southern provinces had rapidly developed into a bastion of the industrial revolution. Wallonia boasted thriving industries associated with, among others, coal mining and steel manufacturing.

On the other hand, with the exception of the prosperous port of Antwerp, the northern provinces relied primarily upon an agrarian economy and small family-based textile industries. During the mid-1800s, this textile industry faced increased foreign competition and encountered severe difficulties selling its products on the international market. In addition, the agricultural community suffered from poor harvests, the potato blight of the 1840s and foreign competition. As a result, growing numbers of the Flemish population were both unemployed and poverty-stricken. These unemployed had little choice but to move or commute to the more industrialized Francophone provinces of the south (Haegendoren, 1979). For those who moved to the southern provinces, linguistic and cultural assimilation was par for the course. Hence, the Flamingants, realizing that one means of arresting the Frenchification of the Flemish population was to provide employment within the northern provinces, were making more and more economic demands of the government by the turn of the century.

From a political viewpoint, the Movement was weakened by ideological dissension among its members. Although supporters of the Flemish cause, the Flamingants were divided between the two major political parties of the time, namely the Liberal Party and the Catholic Party (Ruys, 1981). Thus, in order to obtain the desired reforms, the Flamingants exerted pressure upon the parties that they respectively supported. Despite these ideological differences, the Movement's supporters organized committees and associations which outlined their major grievances in the form of petitions submitted to Parliament.

The Flamingants' demands rapidly extended to the right to use Netherlandic in the administrative, judicial and educational domains in Flanders. As the Movement became increasingly more politically active and organized, it began to wage campaigns aiming to embody their linguistic demands in the nation's legislation. Each language law was a hard-won victory and generally represented a compromise between the government's desire to maintain the status quo and the activists' stubborn refusal to accept French as a sine qua non for full membership in the nation's political and economic life.

With regard to the language legislation promulgated before the turn of the century, it should be noted that, due to the low prestige of Netherlandic and the prevalent belief among the state's ruling classes that Flemish was of limited inter-national value, bilingualism at a national level was never considered. Rather, the language legislation aimed only to permit the use of Flemish in administrative and educational domains in Flanders and Brussels. While Wallonia would remain monolingual, Flanders and Brussels would be bilingual.

Belgium: Early Twentieth Century

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Flamingants had successfully obtained the right for Netherlandic to be used in the Flemish administration, lower courts, as well as in Parliament (see Appendix 1). Furthermore, in what was to become known as the "Equality Law" of 1898, Netherlandic translations of laws and Royal decrees were granted the same legal validity as the French versions. In this manner, Netherlandic gained recognition as the nation's official language next to French. It should be noted that these laws did not stem from a fundamental change in the attitudes of the nation's Francophones towards the Netherlandic Tongue and its speakers (Vroede, 1975). They were initially conciliatory measures granted to appease what was considered to be a small minority of trouble-makers. These trouble-makers were viewed as bullying the masses into believing that the maintenance of their "patois" was a sign of ethnic solidarity (Wilmotte, 1912: 109). This attitude was exemplified by the fact that Walloon opposition to the Equality Law delayed the voting of the law by the Senate for two full years.

With regard to education, the fight to institutionalize Netherlandic as the sole medium of instruction in the secondary school system of the northern provinces was to span a century (see Appendix 2). In 1850, the government conceded to the teaching of Netherlandic as the second language in the state secondary schools of Flanders. The legislation of 1883 made Netherlandic the sole language of instruction during the first two years of secondary schooling. However, this law also specified exceptions in which instruction in French had to be provided.

The First World War was a turning point for the Flemish Movement. Prior to the war, the majority of the Flamingants were also supporters of the unitary state. However, during the war, an increasing number of the Movement's supporters began to advocate a more autonomous

Flanders. This change in political stance found support among the Flemish troops, under the command of French-speaking officers, who were defending the Ijzer front. The Front Movement, or Frontism, advocated the creation of a federal state in which Flanders would govern itself and in which Netherlandic would be the only official language (Mabille, 1986). Nonetheless, the Front Movement remained patriotic and in no way collaborated with the occupying German forces. In contrast, there were small groups of Flemish radicals, called Activists, who advocated Flemish nationalism and viewed collaboration with the German occupying forces as a justifiable means of obtaining an autonomous Flemish state. Due to such collaboration, at the end of the war, the rank and file of the Flemish Movement came under harsh attack from the nation's French-speakers. Consequently, the Flamingants had to wait until public hostility receded before their demands would be once again considered.

Between the wars the Flemish movement gained in strength. It not only benefited from the support of an increasing number of educated Netherlandic speakers, but it also boasted a stronger representation among the political figures of the time. This political backing had been reinforced through the constitutional amendment of 1921 which granted only one vote per male over the age of 24. Consequently, the nation's Francophone elite could no longer reap the political benefits of the plural voting system instituted in 1893. The full strength of the northern provinces demographically growing population would henceforth have to be catered to by the Catholic, Liberal and Socialist parties.

In 1926, the Education Act created Netherlandic-speaking sections at all levels of the Flemish state secondary schools. However, French-speaking schools continued to exist in the northern provinces, and French remained the medium of instruction for certain subjects throughout the nation's educational system. This act also specified that schools in Brussels should shift to the exclusive use of French during the third year of secondary schooling. Hence, both in Flanders and Brussels, Gallicization of the Flemish upper classes was not seriously jeopardized.

With regards to higher education, the Flamingants had been requesting a monolingual Netherlandic-speaking university since the turn of the century. The Flemish militants had focused their hopes upon the hitherto French monolingual university of Ghent. They realized that as long as higher education remained in the hands of French-speakers, Frenchification of Flanders would continue unimpeded. Furthermore, the interdependency of higher education, political power and economic prosperity had been drawn to their attention through Lodewijk de Raet's "An Economic Programme for the Flemish Movement" published in 1906 (Ruys, 1981). Thus inspired by the belief that higher education in Netherlandic wo' .d open the doors to economic and political power for the nation's Flemish community, the Flamingants exerted political and social pressure in order to obtain a Netherlandic-only university. Despite the prevalent belief shared by the Francophone population that Netherlandic was "unfit to serve as a vehicular language in higher education"

(Ruys, 1981: 62), the Flemish militants had only to look to their Dutch neighbors for proof that their language could indeed be successfully used in the transmission of cultural and scientific information (De Smet, 1974).

The Flamingants' demands were under consideration just before the outbreak of World War I. However, the Germans, in an attempt to draw the inhabitants of Flanders to their sides, opened Ghent University as a monolingual Netherlandic institute from 1916 to 1918. This university, known by the general population as "von Bissing University," became a symbol of Germany's "*Flamenpolitik*" and hence of German occupation and war-time collaboration. As a result, the nation's Francophone population resisted the reopening of the university as a monolingual Netherlandic institute. This Francophone resistance may also be explained by the bourgeoisie's fear that such a university would create a Netherlandic-speaking elite which would jeopardize the Francophones' privileged position within the country (Kossman, 1978).

Nonetheless, in 1923, following widespread and continued pressure by much of the Flemish population, Ghent University opened a Netherlandic section and thus became bilingual. The government hoped that these measures would appease the Flamingants' demands. Such was not the case. The Flemish militants feared that the university's French section, using the nation's prestigious language, would continue to attract students who would otherwise have attended its Netherlandic counterpart (Kossman, 1978). Consequently, the Flamingants continued to demand that the university shift to the exclusive use of Netherlandic. Their efforts were rewarded in 1930 when the government granted the university a new charter which make it the nation's first monolingual Netherlandic institute of higher education.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Belgium harbored a growth in Flemish nationalism which expressed itself in demands for either the establishment of a federal state or that of a completely autonomous Flemish nation. The major parties voicing such demands included the right-wing "*Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond*" (V.N.V.) which had emerged out of a complete reorganization of the Front Party in 1933, and the "*De Vlag*." In addition, the interwar years witnessed an increase in the number of both moderate and radical Flamingants requesting the exclusive use of Netherlandic in the administrative domains of the northern provinces (Kossman, 1978). In order to quiet the demands of these Flamingants, as well as to attempt to ward off the threat of federalism or separatism, the government passed the language laws of 1932. These laws stood in sharp contrast to the legislation that had been passed to date.

More specifically, they introduced the concept that "language could be a function of geography" (Sherman Swing, 1980: 73). This concept was expressed through the creation of territorial monolingualism in the administrative domains of both Flanders and Wallonia. These laws recognized Brussels as bilingual and specified that the administration of the nation's capital should reflect its bilingual status. In addition, the existence of the linguistic border was legally

recognized and it was specified that the exact location of the latter could be modified depending on the results of each decennial census.

These Language Laws also introduced the principle of monolingualism within the nation's school system. Thus, students would attend monolingual French-speaking schools in Wallon'a and separate monolingual Netherlandic-speaking classes in Flanders. In Brussels, the law maintained the principle introduced by the Education Law of 1914, namely that elementary school students would be taught in their Mother Tongue. Hence, children residing within Brussels would attend either French-only or Netherlandic-only classes depending on the language commonly used in the home. However, it should be noted that these laws did not eradicate all of the French-speaking sections of Flemish secondary schools and that they did not apply to private schools (Ruys, 1981).

Furthermore, the legislation permitted the use of "transmutation classes" in which French-speaking students in Flanders and Netherlandic-speaking students in Wallonia were initially taught in their home language while gradually being introduced to the language of the province. In fact, these classes were frequently used by Francophone parents residing in Flanders as a means of eluding the language laws and, by so doing, providing a French-speaking education for their children (Sherman Swing, 1980).

Despite the limitations of the language laws pertaining to education, one should bear in mind that the development of a monolingual Netherlandic school system played a crucial role in providing Flanders with an educated elite which no longer accepted the unquestioned supremacy of French within the nation's borders. Netherlandic had evolved from being the language of the poor and rural to being that of law, medicine, business as well as politics. Consequently, the Francophone elite was increasingly forced to admit Netherlandic speakers into its midst. In addition, the schools were gradually propagating the use of a single standardized variety throughout the northern provinces (Gutmans, 1969).

Territorial monolingualism was further reaffirmed by the legislation of 1935 which stated that all of the courts of law in Flanders would henceforth have to use Netherlandic. This law also stipulated that proceedings using French would be declared void. In this manner, the government clearly specified control mechanisms and instituted penalties for infringements of the legislation.

From 1940 to 1944, Belgium was once again occupied by German troops. This German occupation was accompanied by substantial collaboration from the extremist factions of the Flemish Movement that had been advocating separatism in the years preceding the war. Consequently, the Flemish Movement once again fell into disrepute following the liberation. Many French-speaking newspapers went as far as advocating that the language laws be revoked (Ruys, 1981). The Movement had to wait patiently until the 1950s before such anti-Flemish feelings subsided (Witte, in Witte et al, 1984).

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In the late 1950s and early 1960s, "Community Parties" (Fitzmaurice, 1983: 171) advocating federalism found increasing support among the inhabitants of Flanders as well as Wallonia. Belgium, as a unitary state, was thus being questioned by members of both its northern and its southern provinces. Since the late 1950s, the "*Volksunie*," which was a more moderate party than the V.N.V. that had fallen into disrepute following the war, attracted the substantial popular backing from the Flemish community. This party became a strong and active member of the mainline political system during the 1960s (Augustinus Ter Hoeven, 1978). The major Francophone parties included the "*Front Democratique des Francophones*," representing the interests of the French-speakers in Brussels, and the "*Rassemblement Wallon*" which drew its support from Wallonia. The latter catered to the fears of the Walloons regarding the shift in the balance of power entailed by Wallonia's decreasing birth rate as compared to Flanders' hearty demographic increase. The major focus of the *Rassemblement Wallon* was not upon the protection and promotion of the French-speakers' culture and language. Rather, it stressed the economic development and well-being of Wallonia's Francophones. This party echoed the French-speakers' growing concern over Wallonia's economic problems, which stood in sharp contrast to Flanders' increasing economic strength. As such, the *Rassemblement Wallon* has been noted to initially embody "economic nationalism" whereas the Flemish movement was initially characteristic of "cultural nationalism" (Mughan, 1978). However, it should be noted that both the Netherlandic and the French nationalist parties advocated and defended economic, cultural and social issues. Mughan (1978: 37) points out that the development and support of these parties show "that the politicization of the language cleavage in Belgium is not a transient phenomenon." To the contrary, these parties reflect "the permanent expansion of the established party system to include parties of ethnic defense" (Mughan, 1978: 37).

With regard to the nation's post-war economic development, Flanders as well as Wallonia witnessed a reversal in their prior economic statuses. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Wallonia had begun to show signs of economic stress. By the 1950s, the southern provinces were increasingly suffering from the decline of their outmoded heavy industries, as well as the depletion and closing of their collieries. Conversely, since the turn of the century, Flanders had not only discovered important coal supplies but had also begun to benefit from increased industrialization. Although the two World Wars as well as the depression of the 1930s had temporarily restrained Flanders' economic growth, by the second half of the century the northern provinces were enjoying considerable economic prosperity.

Flanders' newly-found economic strength added fuel to the fires of the Flamingants' grievances. Their demands increasingly focused on the language border, namely that it be permanently delineated without options of changes after decennial censuses, and that the limits of bilingual Brussels be permanently fixed to its existing 19 boroughs.

The language law of 1963 addressed both of these issues. This legislation differed from that of 1932 in that it "carried with it the explicit vision of a future in which semi-autonomous sub-nations would coexist in a federation" (Sherman Swing, 1980: 88). These laws defined three monolingual territories (Wallonia, Flanders and the German-speaking areas) and maintained the bilingual status of Brussels. The linguistic border was permanently drawn and, as a consequence, could no longer be altered following census findings. The bilingual agglomeration of Brussels was limited to its existing 19 boroughs. The legislation went as far as to specify that the language of the region had to be used for all official business documents as well as business interactions. With regard to education, these laws maintained monolingual education in each linguistic region and marked the end of the "transmutation classes." This legislation applied to both state and private educational facilities. Furthermore, in Brussels, education in the child's mother tongue was upheld and language inspectors could verify that each child attended an educational facility of the appropriate language. Parents living in Brussels had to wait until 1970 before the principle of the "*Liberte du pere de famille*" was restored, thus permitting them to once again choose the language of their children's education. These 1963 Language Laws, later upheld by the constitutional amendments of 1971 and 1980, not only reaffirmed territorial monolingualism but also stipulated penalties for infringements of the legislation.

As stated above, the nation's capital was confined to its existing 19 boroughs. However, much to the anger of the Flemish community, the laws of 1963 assigned a special administrative status to six additional boroughs situated on the periphery of the capital. These Netherlandic boroughs, known as the "*communes à facilite*," would henceforth have to provide French-speaking administration and education for their French-speaking residents. These *communes à facilite* have been, and continue to be, the center of linguistic disputes. In order to fully understand the controversy enshrouding these boroughs, one must examine the discrepancy between Brussels' official bilingual status and its primarily Francophone population.

Brussels is situated in the Netherlandic-speaking part of the province of Brabant. Prior to French rule, it harbored a predominantly Netherlandic-speaking population. However, during the French era, Brussels became increasingly more Francophone. As success within the city was to a large extent conditional upon one's knowledge of the French language, Gallicization of the population continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whereas the Netherlandic-speakers comprised 66.6% of the capital's population in 1846, they represented 46% in 1910 (Vroede, 1975) and were estimated to represent only 20% in 1979 (Lefèvre, 1979).

In addition to the Frenchification of the Brussels agglomeration, the Flamingants watched with growing dismay as the "oil stain" (Vroede, 1975: 71) spread to the boroughs surrounding the capital. As more and more Francophones moved into these suburbs, they began to demand French-speaking administration and education. The Flamingants viewed these demands as yet

another sign of "*gebiedsroofd*" (territory theft) which had to be halted at all costs (Levy, 1978). Thus, the militants fought to maintain monolingual Netherlandic administration and education within these boroughs. Despite Flemish activism, the language laws of 1963 granted the above mentioned linguistic privileges to the six suburbs in question. In 1971, their special administrative status was revoked and the boroughs became dependent upon the Netherlandic administrative region of Hal-Vilvoorde. However, the special linguistic rights granted to their French-speaking populations were maintained and remain in vigor to date (CRISP 534: 24).

Constitutional Amendments

The language laws and constitutional amendments that followed the legislation of 1963 upheld the principle of territorial monolingualism previously introduced. However, the constitutional amendments differ from prior legislation in that they embodied in the state's fundamental law the end of Belgium as a unitary nation-state. The very structure of the state was reshaped in that the central government was no longer solely responsible for all legislative and executive acts. These amendments resulted from the pressure exerted through both the traditional party system and the Flemish and Walloon community parties. The inhabitants of Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels respectively fought to safeguard their political and economic interests.

The Constitutional Amendments of 1971 delineated the boundaries of the four linguistic territories of Wallonia, Flanders, the German area, and Brussels. Article "107 quarter" created the three economic regions of Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. The councils of these regions cannot legislate upon linguistic or educational issues. Rather, they focus upon such matters as economic development, the environment, urban development, and unemployment. Of relevance to the subject at hand is Article "3 ter" which recognized three Cultural Communities: the French Cultural Community, the Netherlandic Cultural Community, and the German Cultural Community. These Communities differ from the "Regions" in that the "regions are geographical concepts, whereas the communities are linguistic and cultural entities" (Fitzmaurice, 1983: 111). The French and Netherlandic Cultural Communities were endowed with Cultural Councils which have the power to pass decrees, holding the same weight as laws passed by the national government, in the following areas: national and international defense; the use and illustration of the language of that community; some aspects of language use in schools; language use in public administration with the exception of the judiciary and military domains; language use in the social relations between employers and their personnel as well as in all official business transactions. In sum, the Cultural Communities were granted the right to share with the national government the power to legislate on language matters. With regard to such Community legislation, it is not surprising that the Council of the Flemish Cultural Community has tended to pass more decrees concerning language use than the Council of the French Cultural Community.

The Constitutional Amendments of 1980 further clarified and refined the devolution of power to the community and regional levels. The Communities, the term "Cultural" having been eliminated in 1980, were granted more rights to pass decrees. The institutions of the Flemish Community and Region were combined into one. Thus, they use only one set of institutions: the Flemish Council and the Flemish Executive. The French Community and the Walloon region remained separate with their own institutions: the Council of the French Community and the Executive of the French Community, the Walloon Regional Council and the Walloon Regional Executive. With regard to Brussels, it was stipulated that the Flemish Community would oversee the capital's monolingual Netherlandic institutions whereas the French Community would look after its monolingual French institutions. The national government would be responsible for the capital's bilingual institutions, as well as for language legislation concerning the six *communes à facilite*. Hence, the linguistic rights, granted to these boroughs by the language laws of 1963 cannot be modified by decrees of the Flemish Community Council. Furthermore, the national government remained responsible for linguistic legislation affecting the constitutionally recognized linguistic minorities contiguous to the east-west language border, as well as for the country's German-speaking area.

Conclusion

When examining the language planning activities undertaken by Belgium's government, it becomes evident that the goals of the linguistic legislation have changed over the years. As such, this legislation reflects the evolution and the complex interplay of the social, cultural, political, and economic characteristics specific to this nation-state.

Initially the language legislation stemmed from the demands of the Flemish militants seeking to defend and promote their language in the northern provinces. Their linguistic demands neither aimed to make Flanders monolingual in Netherlandic nor to impose Netherlandic in Wallonia. As such, the Flamingants' demands did not initially question, nor jeopardize, the linguistic rights of the nation's Francophones.

Once the right to use Netherlandic in Flanders had been granted, the government was pressured into instituting territorial monolingualism in Flanders and Wallonia while protecting the bilingual status of Brussels. This legislation did not merely jeopardize the linguistic rights of the Francophones residing within the northern provinces but eventually led to the eradication of these privileges.

During the third wave of language planning activities, language legislation became embodied in the nation's Constitution. Due to the growing strength of the Flemish and Walloon movements, the state was restructured and the French and Netherlandic ethnolinguistic communities were granted a measure of power over language planning activities. Language

planning in Belgium is now characterized by a situation in which there is neither complete delegation of power to the various linguistic groups nor total centralization of legislative powers. It should be pointed out that throughout the second and third waves of language planning activities, Brussels has remained a bone of contention that has yet to be resolved to the satisfaction of the Flemish, Walloons, and Bruxellois.

In summary, Belgium is now constitutionally divided into four linguistic territories, three linguistic and cultural communities, and three economic regions. Presently, territorial monolingualism has made it possible for Netherlandic to be used in all of the domains in Flanders that had once been monopolized by French Although French-Netherlandic bilingualism remain significantly more common among the inhabitants of the northern provinces as compared to their southern counterparts, the Flemish now have the option of choosing whether or not they will learn Belgium's "other language."

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[1]This paper was written for a class on language planning taught by Dr. Nancy Hornberger.

[2]Activities associated with corpus planning for French, Netherlandic, or German will not be addressed. It should be noted that speakers of these three languages look to France, Holland and Germany respectively for the linguistic norm to be adopted. Hence, corpus planning activities in Belgium have been limited.

Appendix I:
Legislation affecting language use

1831: Voting of the Constitution. Article 23: "The use of language shall be optional. The matter may be regulated only by law and only for acts of public authority and judicial proceedings."

1831: Decree stipulating that only the French version of laws has official recognition. The Netherlandic or German translations have no legal value.

1864: Royal decree stating that the standardized version of Dutch Netherlandic is to be adopted as the linguistic norm in Flanders.

1873: Netherlandic can be used in the lower courts of Flanders.

1878: Netherlandic can be used in public administration of Flanders.

1884: Postage stamps become bilingual.

1886: Founding of the Royal Flemish Academy of Languages and Literature in Ghent.

1886: Netherlandic can be used in the Belgium Parliament.

1888: The first Netherlandic speech is made in the Belgian Chamber.

1893: Constitutional Amendment which establishes a general, multiple franchise. Every male citizen of 25 is granted at least one vote. Depending upon property owned and professional qualifications, each voter can have up to 3 votes.

1898: The Equality Act: French and Netherlandic texts of law and royal decrees are granted equal legal validity.

1918: King Albert's speech in which he assures the Flemish population that both national languages would be treated equally, and that the issue of a Netherlandic-speaking university would be addressed.

1919: The treaty of Versailles grants Belgium the German-speaking areas to the east of Liège.

1921: Constitutional Amendment: universal equal male suffrage is instituted. Proportional representation and compulsory voting are maintained.

1921: Language laws stating that all business conducted between Ministers and provincial authorities has to take place in the language of the region.
The military forces are divided into two sections: one French section and one Netherlandic section.

1928: Voting of a bill concerning the language used in the army. French-speaking and Netherlandic-speaking recruits are placed in different units. The recruits receive their training in the language that they commonly use.

1929: A general amnesty is proclaimed for activists.

1931: A member of parliament makes the first proposal concerning a constitutional amendment which would make the unitary state into a federal state.

1932: Language laws are passed stipulating:
- -the creation of two monolingual regions: Flanders and Wallonia; and one bilingual region: Brussels;
- -that public administration, army, and law courts would use only Netherlandic in Flanders and only French in Wallonia;
- -that the administration of the nation's capital was to be bilingual;
- -that each government ministry would include French and Flemish sections;
- -the official recognition of the language frontier;
- -that census findings would be used in determining the language to be used in administration.

No penalties are stipulated for infringement of these laws.

1935: Flemish courts of law would use Netherlandic. The law stipulates that court proceedings using French in Flanders would not be considered valid.

1938: Royal decree creates two advisory cultural councils (Flemish and French).

1938: Law stressing monolingualism in the army.

1947: Last census including questions concerning languages spoken. Results released in 1954.

1959: The government puts into effect its economic recovery program.

1960: Radio and television services are separated into two autonomous sections: BRT (Netherlandic) and RTB (French).

1961: Law stipulating that no more questions concerning language use would be asked in census questionnaires.

1962: Law concerning the Belgium diplomatic corps. A special effort will be made to hire Netherlandic-speaking diplomats.

1962: Bill concerning the language border. Certain areas are transferred from Flanders to Wallonia, and other areas are transferred from Wallonia to Flanders.

1963: Language laws stipulating:
- -the creation of three monolingual regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and the German areas in which all public administration is to take place in the language of that region;
- -that Brussels remains bilingual;
- -that the six "Communes périphériques" (six communes à facilité) are granted a special administrative status. The boroughs' Francophone inhabitants are granted special linguistic rights in terms of French-speaking education and administration;
- -that the language border would no longer change because of census findings.

1967: The constitution is officially translated into Netherlandic.

1971: Constitutional amendments specify that:
- -the four linguistic territories are constitutionally recognized;
- -Belgium be divided into three economic regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.
- -Belgium be divided into three cultural communities: French, Netherlandic, and German.

-Cultural autonomy is granted to the French community, the Netherlandic community, and the German community.

-henceforth the cabinet has to have the same number of French-speaking and Netherlandic-speaking ministers.

1971: The special administrative status of the six *communes à facilité* is revoked. However, the special linguistic rights granted to their French-speaking populations are maintained.

1973: Decree of the Flemish Cultural Council stipulating that all business in Flanders should be conducted in Netherlandic.

1977: Each of the three regions (Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels) is granted considerable economic autonomy. Each region is granted its own assembly.

1980: Constitutional amendments which give more power to each of the three communities.

Appendix II:
Language laws and education

1835: Louvain University is officially opened as a monolingual French institute of higher education.

1842: Primary schools in Flanders are allowed to teach in Netherlandic.

1850: Flemish secondary school system has to teach Netherlandic as the second language.

1883: Netherlandic becomes the sole language of instruction during the first two years of secondary schooling in Flanders. Instruction in French has to be provided for those students desirous of continuing their education at the university level. Instruction in French has to be provided for students who did not speak Netherlandic.

1890: Louvain University introduces its first Netherlandic courses.

1910: Law stipulating that private Catholic schools in Flanders have to use Netherlandic when teaching certain subjects in the secondary schools.

1914: Schooling becomes compulsory.

1916-1918: The Germans open Ghent University as a monolingual Netherlandic institute, known as "von Bissing's University."

1921: All *athenees* (secondary schools) in Flanders have to provide a Netherlandic section.

1921: Education at both the primary and the secondary levels are to be conducted in the language of the region. Brussels has to ensure that Netherlandic-speaking schools are available for Netherlandic-speaking students.

1923: The University of Ghent becomes bilingual.

1926: Netherlandic becomes the obligatory language of instruction in the Flemish lower secondary school level.

1930: University of Ghent becomes a monolingual Netherlandic institute of higher education.

1932: Education laws are passed stipulating that:
- primary education has to be given in the language of the region;
- the regional language become the vehicular language of secondary schools;
- transmutation classes are permitted;
- children in Brussels would be taught in their mother tongue;
- the first modern language of all schools is to be the language of the other region;
- Walloon sections of secondary schools are allowed to continue;
- The French-speaking minority in Flanders keep their linguistic rights.

1963: The Ministry of Education is separated into a French ministry and a Netherlandic ministry.

1963: Language Laws are passed stipulating that:
- regional monolingualism is mandatory for both state and private schools;
- transmutation classes are eradicated;
- children residing in Brussels would be educated in their mother tongue.

1966: The French and Netherlandic sections of Louvain University become autonomous.

1968: The linguistic disputes concerning the University of Louvain lead to the fall of Vanden Boeynants' government. It is decided that the French section of the university would move to a new campus in the French section of the province.

1968: European Court of Human Rights decides that the Belgian government has the right to impose monolingualism in education.

1969: The Free University of Brussels splits into two separate monolingual universities: the U.L.B. (French), and the V.U.B. (Netherlandic).

1971: Parents living in Brussels can choose their children's language of education.

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