DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 347 810 FL 020 206

AUTHOR	Dickerson, Wayne B., Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Issues and Development in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL), Volume 1, 1986.
INSTITUTION	Illinois Univ., Urbana. Div. of English as an International Language.
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	116p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Issues and Development in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL); v1 1986
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Applied Linguistics; Comparative Analysis; Consonants; Contrastive Linguistics; Dialects; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *Generative Phonology; Instructional Materials; Language Skills; *Listening Comprehension; Oral Language; Pronunciation Instruction; *Second Language Learning
IDENTIFIERS	*Singapore

ABSTRACT

This document consists of the premier issue of an annual international journal on the acquisition and teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL). Its six articles and their contributors are as follows: "Adapting and Applying Levinson's Concept of the 'Dispreferred Second' to the Review of the ESL Materials" (Lawrence F. Bouton); "Comparability of Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Findings in a Second Language Acquisition Study" (Yeon Hee Choi); "A Pedagogical Interpretation of Generative Phonology: V. Consonant Choice" (Wayne B. Dickerson); "Teaching ESL Listening Comprehension and Pronunciation" (Janice L. Moy); "Lects and Institutionalized Varieties of English: The Case of Singapore" (Mary W. J. Tay); and a review of James E. Flege's "The Production and Perception of Foreign Language Sounds," (Molly Mack). (LB)

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Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics

Volume 1
1986

Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL)

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

IDEAL is intended as a forum for research into the acquisition and teaching of English as a second language. Articles, review articles and reviews in any of the following areas are welcome: Teaching English as a second language, second language acquisition, varieties of English, neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, applications of computer technology to second language teaching and research. It is especially important that contributions of a theoretical nature make explicit the practical implications of the research they report.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

IDEAL is published once each year in the Spring. The subscription rate is $5.00 per year. Subscription and business correspondence should be addressed to:

IDEAL Subscriptions
Division of English as a Second Language
3070 Foreign Languages Building
707 South Mathews Avenue
Urbana, Illinois 61801
U.S.A.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

IDEAL invites authors to submit for consideration articles, review articles, and reviews that fall within the purview of the journal. Manuscripts submitted should conform to the general style sheet given on the inside of the back cover. For more information about the range of topics of interest to *IDEAL* and the editorial practices followed by *IDEAL*, please refer to the Editorial, Volume 1, 1986.

Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL)

Published by

Division of English as a Second Language
Intensive English Institute
University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign

IDEAL
Volume 1
1986

Contents

EDITORIAL

Two hundred years ago John Adams, second president of the United States, wrote with uncanny accuracy that English was destined to be "in the next and succeeding centuries, more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age." The vantage point of 1986 shows us how fast this prophesy is becoming reality. As English watchers know, the movement to make English "the language of the world" is gathering momentum year by year. We English language professionals--teachers and researchers alike--are part of this movement. In fact, having deliberately assumed some responsibility for its direction, we are among the active shapers of the movement. This journal, Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics, is intended to be an instrument in that shaping process.

Since this journal is concerned with a worldwide phenomenon, it is fitting that we enlist the participation and perspective of international scholars. Those whose names appear as members of the International Editorial Advisory Panel are international in two senses. First, they are internationally-recognized researchers, preeminent in the fields of English studies and applied linguistics. Second, by their interests they represent different areas of the globe where the growth of English is moving apace. For their support of this publication we want to express our sincere appreciation.

As we launch a new journal, we unfurl a new banner, Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics (IDEAL). The name and its acronym identify not only our subject matter but also our outlook on that subject matter.

ISSUES -- The winds of change have littered the language teaching/language research field with a myriad conflicting and competing theories and practices. We seek to address these matters and welcome articles that are issue oriented.

DEVELOPMENTS - Change has also brought growth in our understanding. We want to report on such developments--new ideas, different perspectives, innovative applications, refinements of concepts, improvements of investigative tools and techniques, breakthrough models. It is our hope that such reports will, in turn, stimulate further development.

ENGLISH - By its first position in the prepositional phrase, we want to reflect our priority. The focus of our journal is English--the learning and teaching of English. We expect, then, that research articles appearing in this journal will keep English foremost: the pragmatics of English, varieties of

English across cultures, bilingualism with English, English in second language acquisition, the testing and measurement of English competence, English orthography, etc.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS - Many branches of applied linguistics have their own special relevance to the teaching and learning of English. Studies are welcome which involve English on the one hand and on the other hand applied areas such as sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, translation, pragmatics, discourse analysis, error/contrastive analysis, variation analysis, or lexicography.

The name of the journal defines in the abstract the range of topics we wish to deal with. The articles in this first issue make a more concrete statement.

* research in English pragmatics and its relevance to ESL textbooks
* applications of generative phonology to the prediction of sounds from standard English orthography
* the issue of cross-sectional versus longitudinal sampling in a second language acquisition study
* the place of pronunciation and listening comprehension in one hundred years of ESL teaching
* specifications of a model that is adequate to describe institutionalized varieties of English
* a review of speech analysis research

The title of the journal has significance of one kind while its acronym has significance of another. The title has been the springboard for identifying relevant topics. The acronym, IDEAL, says much about our attitude toward these topics. However attractive the thought, we are not under the illusion that we are spreading utopian fare before our readers; we know we have not arrived at the ideal on any front. Yet, that is the direction in which we wish to move. IDEAL suggests the optimistic outlook of the seeker, the goal-oriented perspective of the runner, the positive expectation of the explorer. In that spirit, we also fully anticipate that the journal will evolve in form and content as the field itself evolves. Like the field, we expect the journal to become with time more and more adequate, satisfying, true to the facts, widely applicable, responsive to needs, and sensitive to concerns.

To evolve toward the ideal, we solicit high-quality contributions--articles, reviews, review articles--that are of long-lasting value, that is, informative for the present but also useful for future reference. In our estimation, language research has its greatest value when it not only enhances our understanding but also provides an adequate basis for practical decisions. We hope, therefore, that contributors will keep in mind the ultimate aim of IDEAL, that of improving the effectiveness and responsible practice of language teachers and language researchers

To aid contributors, we include with each issue (inside the back cover) a general style sheet to be followed when submitting manuscripts. Upon receipt, manuscripts will be subject to peer review. Multiple readers, each an expert in the area at issue, will be asked to read, evaluate and make recommendations on the disposition of each submission.

When the editorial board rejects a manuscript, the editor will furnish the author with a copy of the reviewers' comments maintaining their anonymity. This is done as a service to contributors. When a manuscript is accepted for publication, the editor will ask the author to participate in the process of bringing the contribution to print. The accepted manuscript will be returned to the author for revision, accompanied by a special style sheet. We expect each author to send back the article or review carefully reformatted according to the special style sheet. In this final form, the submission should be ready for photoreduction and reproduction.

This inaugural issue of Issues and Developments in English and Applied Linguistics stirs within us a sense of pride restrained by a sense of humility. Our pride is in having set into motion a vehicle that may stimulate a deeper understanding of English--its structure, it use, and its acquisition in diverse settings. Our humility arises from the recognition of how small a role we play in a task so large as understanding English in these different ways. Pride and humility work together in a constructive way. Pride in our efforts will keep us from being intimidated by the enormity of our objective. Humility will help us keep a proper perspective as we press on toward this objective--our ideal.

Before closing. the editors wish to recognize two sources of assistance to which we are indebted. First, from the School of Humanities we received encouragement and a partial subsidy for this venture. Second, Sheryl Dickerson applied her artistic talents to give us the cover design for IDEAL. To both we offer our sincere thanks.

Finally, the publication of this journal holds a special significance for the Division of English as a Second Language. We are witnesses to an ending. With the advent of IDEAL we mark the close of the TESL Studies era. We are also celebrants of a new beginning. IDEAL is an example and a symbol of the many forward-looking changes now taking place in the Division. In these respects, this issue represents a milestone in our history.

Wayne B. D' kerson
Editor (Chair)

ADAPTING AND APPLYING LEVINSON'S CONCEPT OF THE DISPREFERRED SECOND TO THE REVIEW OF ESL MATERIALS

Lawrence F. Bouton

Given the burgeoning development of pragmatics as a field of study and its importance to any serious attempt to approach language teaching functionally, the question should be raised as to how much attention textbook writers are paying to what pragmatics has to offer them. Using Levinson's concept of the dispreferred second (Levinson 1983:332-37) as an example, we will take a first step toward answering that question.

There is a general level of awareness among textbook writers that the language taught should be both grammatically correct and appropriate to the context in which it is presented. This general level of awareness may be responsible for the number of effectively used dispreferred seconds in teaching materials. We will find, however, that this awareness has not been translated into any comprehensive explicit teaching of the relevant pragmatic principles in the ESL texts. This is an important deficiency. Although pragmatic principles may be universal at some abstract level of consideration, at the level of day to day interaction, they often differ from culture to culture both in the situations to which they apply and in the manner in which they are implemented. Therefore, we can not assume that our ESL students will bring with them the pragmatic competence they need to function effectively in an American cultural setting. What they do not bring with them, they must learn, and helping them learn it is one important function of the ESL classroom if we are to prepare the students to communicate with native English speakers.

INTRODUCTION

Dialogues have long been used in ESL textbooks because of their value as teaching devices. They serve as models of the kind of communicative behavior that we want our students to emulate. Until recently, however, writers have had to depend largely on their own intuitions and creative skills to make their dialogues models of genuine interaction. Little was known concerning the pragmatic principles that guided participants in any interaction. In the absence of explicit, detailed knowledge of this sort, students and teachers alike were left to interpret a dialogue and to infer the principles underlying the interaction it represented largely on the basis of their own past experience. Much of what was learned was learned subconsciously and whether it was what the student needed depended on his or her cross-cultural sensitivity to such matters.

That scene is now changing. Research is beginning to make explicit the conventions by which we communicate. As our theoretical knowledge grows, so does the challenge before applied linguists to make the new insights more directly accessible to teachers and learners. This article is a response to that challenge focused on a narrow but important pragmatic concept, that of the dispreferred second (Levinson 1983:332-37).

In approaching our topic, we will first define and illustrate what a dispreferred second is, the form it takes and the function it plays in conversation. From this discussion will emerge a number of criteria that can be used to evaluate the effectiveness of any particular ESL text in teaching pragmatic principles. These criteria form the foundation for a discussion of dialogues and exercises found in some twenty ESL texts. In the process, we will not only notice ways in which these texts could improve their treatment of the pragmatic elements of conversation, but we will also enrich our understanding of the dispreferred seconds themselves.

THE CONCEPT OF THE DISPREFERRED SECOND

In 1973, Schegloff and Sacks pointed out that elements in a conversation often come in pairs (1).

(1) a A: Is that a new hair style?
B: Yeah. It was time for a new look.

b A: Would you shut the door on your way out, please?
B: Sure thing.

c A: Want to go to a movie tonight?
B: I can't. Sorry. I've got to study.

Requests, invitations, questions, accusations, even statements, seem to set up an expectation of a response to follow. Sometimes that response may not be immediate; instead, it may be delayed while intervening pairs are brought up and completed. In (2), for example, B's first turn is not a direct answer to A's initial question; instead, B asks A a question of his own. And A, on his next turn, does not answer B's question, but rather asks still another. (To make them easy to identify, the members of a particular pair are given the same subscript.)

(2) <u>Invitation > Reply</u>
A_1: How about some racquet ball?
B_2: What time?
A_3: When do you think we can get a court?
B_3: Probably around 3:00 would be okay.
A_2: 3:00 sounds good.
B_1: Okay. I'll meet you there.

It is not until the fourth turn that answers to the questions begin to come, and when they do, their order mirrors that in which their respective questions were asked. In short, the interaction consists of three different pairs, two of which are interrupted by pairs embedded within them, each of which is pertinent to the pair that it interrupts. What has happened, of course, is that B needed to know the answer to his question about the time of the proposed match before he could say whether or not he could play (B_2), and A needed advice about when a court would be available in order to suggest a time (A_3). But even though pairs are interrupted, there remains a sense that each will be completed before the conversation ends. Pairs like these have been called <u>adjacency pairs</u> (Schlegoff and Sacks, 1973).

Not all responses making up the second member of pairs like these would be considered <u>direct</u> responses. In (3), for example, A certainly does not answer B's question concerning identification, yet B clearly recognizes A's failure to do so as a negative response and, as a result, turns down his request for a beer. What's more, were we present at the time, we would undoubtedly concur in B's interpretation of A's behavior. B is justified in rejecting A's request if having identification is necessary in order for a person such as A to purchase beer.

(3) <u>Question > Relevant Embedded Pair > Answer</u>
A_1: Can I have a beer?
B_2: Have you got any identification?
A_2: What's that got to do with anything anyway?
B_1: Sorry, Mack. No identification, no beer!

It seems that if a challenge to the legitimacy of a question is taken as a negative response, it can round out the pair that the question initiates just as surely as a direct answer to it does. In fact, Levinson points out that there are several different kinds of responses other than a simple answer that can complete a pair of this type. For example, besides a challenge like that on turn A_2 (3), the person responding to a question can claim ignorance (and, perhaps, offer to try to find out what the questioner wants to know), as illustrated in (4).

(4) *Claim of ignorance*
A: Excuse me. Do you know who the speaker is at the seminar tonight?
B: No, I don't. But I'll see if I can find out for you.

Or the respondent can suggest another, better source from which to obtain the information requested of him, as in (5);

(5) *Suggest another source*
A: Can we get season tickets for the symphony series yet?
B: I'm sorry, I don't know the answer to that and the person who handles that isn't here right now. Can I have him call you when he gets back?

Or he can simply and explicitly refuse to answer, as in (6);

(6) *Explicit refusal to answer*
A: Tom, how much of a raise did you get this year?
B: Jack, I really just don't want to talk about it right now.

Or he can deny the validity of the presuppositions underlying the question itself, as illustrated in (7).

(7) *Denial of the presuppositions underlying the question*
A: How come you guys missed the meeting last night?
B: What do you mean, "missed the meeting"? We were late, but we were there.

But if there are several ways to complete a pair of utterances, not all the possible second parts of a pair are of equal standing. As Levinson points out, "there is a ranking operating over the alternatives such that there is at least one *preferred* and one *dispreferred* category of response." These two different types of response can be identified, Levinson goes on, by the fact that "preferred seconds are *unmarked* -- they occur as structurally simpler turns, [while] dispreferred seconds are *marked* by various kinds of structural complexity" (1983:307). To illustrate the dichotomy between the simplicity that Levinson finds in *preferred* seconds and the complexity of the *dispreferred* compare the responses in (8) and (9), respectively.

(8) Preferred second
A: Are you coming to the seminar tonight?
B: Sure enough.

(9) Dispreferred second
A: Are you coming to the seminar tonight?
B: No, [$_a$I can't. I've got to put the finishing touches on a paper I've got to deliver tomorrow and the darned thing is worth half my grade for the semester.$_a$]
[$_b$I wish I could though. It ought to be good.$_b$]

Not all dispreferred seconds are so long, of course, but these two examples do make vivid the potential difference in complexity between the two categories they represent. Actually, only two types of marker are used in (9). The first type, enclosed in the brackets labeled (a), is what Levinson terms an account, in which the speaker gives a reason why he must respond negatively to the other's question. The second type, enclosed in the brackets marked (b), shows B's appreciation of the value of what he will miss. These and other markers that Levinson lists and that might have been used in (9) fall into four main categories:

Figure 1: Types of Dispreferred Markers:

i. a SIGNIFICANT DELAY before the second is uttered -- in the form of a PAUSE, a SPACE TAKER such as "Well...," or "uh...er..," or the displacement of the second over a number of turns by REPAIR INITIATORS or other sorts of EMBEDDINGS;

ii. PREFACES such as the following: "uh...er...," "well...," or "hmmm..."; TOKEN AGREEMENTS before disagreements; APOLOGIES, if relevant; and QUALIFIERS such as "I [don't] think that...," "I don't know if...", HESITATION, etc.;

iii. some ACCOUNT of why the preferred second cannot be performed; and, finally,

iv. the actual DECLINATION COMPONENT.
(Levinson 1983:334)

Relying solely on these formal, criteria for the definition and identification of dispreferred seconds, Levinson set out to discover if there was a predictable set of relationships between a particular type of pair and the seconds it might contain that could be responsible for whether a second would be labeled preferred or *dispreferred.* What he found was a number of "recurrent and reliable patterns," on the basis of which he was able to construct a table like that in Figure 2. He noted, for example, that "refusals of requests or invitations are nearly always in dispreferred format, acceptances in preferred format" (Levinson, 1983:336). On the basis of such information, a speaker has only to know that his response was a refusal of an invitation, a disagreement with an assessment, or an acceptance of blame, etc., in order to realize that it should be marked as *dispreferred* (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Correlations of function and format in adjacency pair seconds

FIRST PART:	Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Question	Blame
SECOND PART: Preferred:	Accept	Accept	Agree	Expected Answer	Admit
Dispref'd:	Reject	Refuse	Disagree	Unexpected Non-Answer	Deny

(Levinson 1983:336)

What Levinson has given us, then, is first, a description of the dispreferred second, second, a list of markers by which such seconds can be recognized when we see or hear them; and third, a list of some of the general types of seconds that turn out to be *preferred*/*dispreferred* when they appear in different kinds of adjacency pairs. But this is not sufficient for the needs of the language classroom, where form must be joined to meaning. It is not enough for the learner to know that refusing an invitation is a dispreferred act and must be marked as such. He must also know what implications a particular response carries that earns it the label *dispreferred* and how *dispreferred markers* function to change those implications in the responses to which they are attached. Only when he knows these things will the learner be able to recognize and interpret dispreferred responses when he or others use them. Only then will Levinson's suggested rule for speech production, that we "try to avoid the dispreferred action - the action that generally occurs in dispreferred or marked format" (1983:333), be meaningful and useful in the language classroom.

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPLICATIONS OF DISPREFERRED MARKERS

Let us examine the first problem. What is the function of a dispreferred marker? Help in answering this comes from the fact that most of the same forms that Levinson refers to as *dispreferred markers* occur also in *preferred* responses such as that in (10). When they do, they undercut the positive force of the preferred response.

What is apparently an affirmative answer in (10) has been so diluted by B's delay, qualification, accounting, and show of appreciation, all of which are <u>dispreferred markers</u>, that A must wish he had never asked the favor in the first place.

(10) A: Would you be willing to give me a ride home tonight? My car's in the garage getting overhauled.

B: [$_a$Well..]., sure, [$_b$I guess I could]. [$_c$You live out pretty close to where I do.] [$_d$And we ought to help each other out when we can], [$_b$I guess]. Sure. Be glad to.

If dispreferred markers dilute the positive force of preferred responses, then those same markers might also dilute the negative impact of the dispreferred responses as well. A quick review of the various examples throughout this paper makes it clear that that is exactly what happens.

But what is there about dispreferred responses that makes it necessary to dilute their impact in neutral, tactful, what Joos (1967:23) calls "consultative" conversation? Levinson tells us very definitely that "the notion of <u>preference</u> here introduced is not a psychological one, in the sense that it does not refer to speaker's or hearer's individual preferences" (1983:307). Suppose, for example, that friends invite you to go to the opera with them. Suppose also that you do not like opera and that you have been working really hard lately and have been looking forward to just sitting home and watching your favorite "soaps" on TV. There is no way that you would prefer to accept your friends' invitation; turning them down is exactly what you want to do. Still, if you do decide not to go with them, your response will take the form of a <u>dispreferred</u> <u>second</u>. Levinson is obviously right. The personal preference of the speaker is not the primary factor underlying the distinction between <u>preferred</u> and <u>dispreferred</u> seconds. But if it is not, what is?

A possible answer comes from Goffman's discussion of the nature of the conventions governing a social encounter (1983:19). These conventions, he says, ritually enforce "the standards of modesty regarding self and considerateness for others generally enjoined by the community." Maintaining face, one's own and everyone else's, is a primary motivation for everything one says and does in conversation. A participant in an encounter, Goffman reminds us, should not "discredit his own tacit claim to good character or the tacit claim of the others that they are persons of social worth." Accordingly, what

Levinson has labeled a dispreferred second is one that, in the eyes of the community, threatens the personhood of the conversation partner or endangers the bond that can be supposed to exist between the partner and the speaker. Society finds such messages offensive and has decreed that they must be identified as such and their force diluted by the presence of various dispreferred markers. Although native speakers of English do use unmarked dispreferred seconds from time to time in their normal conversation, they usually risk seeming rude when they do. Any individual, native or non-native, who fails to distinguish properly between preferred and dispreferred responses, and to mark the latter appropriately, is in danger of being labeled as one who disdains those with whom he interacts. As Goffman notes, an act carries "implications regarding the character of the actor and his evaluation of his listeners, and [of]...the relationship between them" that goes far beyond the substance of that particular act itself (1983:21).

It is clear, then, that being able to recognize and mark dispreferred seconds in one's own conversation, and to interpret them correctly in the conversation of others, are essential elements of a person's pragmatic competence. Yet, behavior that is considered quite respectful, i.e., preferred, in one society may be dispreferred in another, and ways of marking dispreferred behavior may also vary. For example, Americans living in Spain have indicated that the Spanish, when involved in a lively discussion, are likely to state opinions directly contrary to what someone else has just said without using any dispreferred markers whatsoever. Though such behavior does not offend the other Spanish in the conversation, it often does seem aggressive and tactless to Americans involved. Another example stems from the fact that in a native English speaking culture, failure to answer a question is dispreferred behavior. Various authors, however, have indicated that among some tribes of American Indians, a person to whom a question is addressed may or may not reply to it immediately. In fact, that person may go on to talk about totally unrelated issues for as much as five to ten minutes before offering any answer at all (Phillips 1970; Basso 1972). Among these Indians, such behavior is not dispreferred and would not be marked as such. There would be no apology given, no account of why an answer was not forthcoming; nor would the Indians necessarily realize that a listener from some other culture might expect an apology in such a situation. But if the person whose question was disregarded was a native speaker of American English, that person would probably find such behavior to be dispreferred, and his native American conversation partner, rude. Problems like this arise, then, when the speaker does not mark something as dispreferred that should be marked that way according to the conventions of the listener's culture.

Problems can also occur when the situation is reversed. It is possible that the speaker will mark an utterance as dispreferred that would not be marked that way in the culture of the listener. For example, when an American says "I think that you may be wrong," the words "I think" and "may" would seem to indicate a genuinely tentative opinion, but this may not be the case. They may instead be a polite frame that the speaker uses when uttering a firmly held belief that runs counter to what another participant in the conversation has said, in order to mark his own comment as dispreferred in that context. When this is the case, if the listener fails to recognize the dispreferred markers "I think" and "may," for what they are, the true import of the utterance, i.e., polite but firm disagreement, is lost. Because of this ambiguity between the literal and phatic uses of dispreferred markers, it is always possible that they will be misinterpreted, even by native English speakers. But such miscommunication is especially likely between members of different cultures. Gary Althen and Virginia Gross (1984:9), point out that such a problem often arises when American university officials interact with foreign students:

> Americans typically say no in rather indirect ways, considering less ambiguous denials to be rude or insulting. They use everyday tones to say 'no'. 'I'm sorry, but I don't think that would be possible' [marking their denial both with an apology and with the qualifying phrase "I don't think..."]....Americans usually will understand that these statements mean 'no'....[But] students from many countries will pursue it, entering into a sort of negotiation with the staff member who tried to say 'no' and perhaps with other staff members as well.

As a solution to the particular problem they have described, Althen and Gross propose that people dealing with foreign students learn to meet them on their own terms and to omit the various dispreferred markers when they say "No". Just say "No!" counsel the authors, or "That is not possible." "Sometimes," they say, "it is necessary to say 'No' more than once and in a louder volume than usual. An American [they admit] might be insulted if he were spoken to in this way," but, they argue, "for a person who does not enter the situation with an American's assumptions, a loud clear 'No' serves the constructive purpose of making the answer unmistakable" (1984:9).

At first, the idea of meeting the foreign students "on their own terms," of trying to speak in a way that will be more clearly understood by them, seems desirable. The press of business in a university office can make it important for the staff to find an efficient way of communicating negative decisions clearly. It also limits the time available for those office workers to explain to their foreign clients that even though Americans may say "No" less loudly or directly, an American "No" still means "No." Perhaps these factors are what led several speakers at the 1985 NAFSA conference to recommend Althen and Gross's article as something definitely worth reading.

Although permitting the foreign student to operate on the basis of his own rules of conversation and trying to meet him on those terms may have its place in the International Students Office, it can not be the approach in the ESL classroom. There the foreign students must be taught to mark dispreferred utterances so that they will be properly understood by their native English speaking conversation partners and to interpret such utterances effectively when they come from others. In this way, they will be able to avoid unnecessarily offending those with whom they talk. They will also recognize the tactful softening of the dispreferred remarks of others as the speaker's attempt to save face for both himself and the hearer, and not as a weakening of the resolve behind the response itself. If we do not help our students to understand these things, their communication with Americans may prove as ineffective and frustrating as that described by Althen and Gross, at least until they have figured out for themselves what they need to know.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING ESL TEXTS

If we need to teach the effective use of dispreferred seconds in our classrooms today, what kind of support can we count on from the textbooks available to us? To get some idea of the answer to this question, we looked at twenty-four different ESL texts, all of which have been published within the past ten years, and all but four since 1980. The purpose was to gain a general picture of what the texts offer in this area. As the study progressed, the outlines of an effective approach to the teaching of dispreferred responses began to emerge. Underlying such an approach are principles growing out of what we have said so far. These became our guide in proceeding from text to text. The first of these principles is given here as P-1.

> P-1. Dispreferred responses are normally marked as such in the neutral, consultative English normally spoken in day to day interaction.

Our second principle is drawn from two different but related sources. First, Fraser, et al, (1980:70) tell us that "although the inventory of speech acts and performing strategies may be basically the same across languages, two languages (really what we mean here is a language-culture pairing) may differ significantly in terms of what you do when, and how." This claim applies to the use and interpretation of dispreferred seconds as illustrated by the examples of cross cultural miscommunication that we have just discussed. Specifically, while we will not have to tell the learner that dispreferred responses exist and must be marked as such, we will have to teach him what types of responses are construed as dispreferred in the American (or other English speaking) culture, how they are marked, and in what ways these factors are affected by different contexts.

The second point contributing to P-2 is made by Robinson. "Without intervention," she says, people select and interpret stimuli based on their own previous experience and expectations....'Meaningful context' affects perception. However, what is considered a meaningful context or predictable within a context differs across cultures as well as across individuals....Therefore," she says, "draw learner's attention to those aspects or interpretations which are the intended goal of instruction" (1985:18).

Taken together, what Fraser, et al, and Robinson tell us is that without explicit guidance, people will have difficulty perceiving when and how to employ dispreferred seconds in their conversation if the rules they must use differ from those of their own culture. From this, the second principle P-2 follows naturally:

> P-2. What constitutes a dispreferred response and how it can be marked in different contexts must be identified, modeled and explained to the learner, and appropriate practice provided.

When dispreferred responses occur unmarked in conversation, native speakers can recognize them and will interpret them either as inappropriate, with all that that implies, or as justified in terms of some context other than the neutral one mentioned in P-1. Native speakers often infer these contexts, e.g., to assume that the speaker in the dialogue is justifiably angry at the person whom he is addressing. With learners, on the other hand, the ability to recognize unmarked dispreferred seconds consistently and to infer contexts that make such seconds acceptable does not exist. Unless the reason for using an unmarked dispreferred response in any particular instance is pointed out to the learners, they will not be able to distinguish between those that are used appropriately from those that are not. As a result, they will be unable to interpret unmarked dispreferred seconds found in their texts effectively on their own, or to tell whether they should use the sentences containing them as models. From this we derive our third principle, P-3.

P-3. Unmarked dispreferred responses should not appear in the text unless contained within a justifying context which is explained in some way.

On the basis of these three underlying assumptions concerning features that should be present in any approach to dispreferred seconds in the ESL classroom, four questions seemed appropriate as tools for the review of the various texts:

Q-1. Were the various kinds of dispreferred seconds represented in the texts? If so, did they occur in meaningful contexts, e.g., dialogues and exercises that made clear when such utterances occur in normal conversation?

Q-2. Were dispreferred seconds appropriately marked?

Q-3. Was the student's attention directed to those elements that acted as dispreferred markers, to their function, and to the reason for their presence in that particular context?

Q-4. Were unmarked dispreferred seconds that would appear rude in neutral conversation given as models without mitigating contexts and appropriate explanation?

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME INTERACTIONS REPRESENTED IN TEXTS

Since dispreferred seconds occur so frequently in conversation, it is not surprising that almost all the texts containing dialogues had at least some. The extent to which they were appropriately marked varied from text to text. Our examination of texts will focus primarily on four of the five common situations mentioned by Levinson in which dispreferred seconds come into play: negative responses to questions, contradiction of another participant in the conversation, refusal of a request, rejection of an invitation, and accusations. Each of these situations, together with dispreferred markers appropriate to it, is illustrated in one of the following five examples.

Effectively Marked Dispreferred Seconds in ESL Texts

In (11), for example, we have a dispreferred response to a Yes/No question with an account used as the dispreferred marker; in (12), the response is to a request with an account and an apology serving as the markers; in (13), the response is to an invitation and the markers are an account and a show of appreciation; in (14), the response disagrees with a prior statement and is marked by an account, token agreement, and qualification; and in (15), the response is a admission of guilt, marked by an apology. In each of the examples, the different dispreferred markers are separated by brackets. In (14), OW_1's third turn is treated as a continuation of his dispreferred response begun in his second turn.

(11) Negative Response to a Question. Dispreferred Marker: an Account.

A: Is he married?
B: No, he isn't. [He's divorced.]
(Moesteller and Paul 1985:34)

(12) Denying a Request. Dispreferred Markers: an Apology and an Account.

A: Hey, Ann, give me a hand with this typewriter, can you? It's really heavy.
B: [I'm sorry], but [I hurt my back, and I'm not allowed to].
(Dunbar and Hieke 1985:29)

(13) Refusing an Invitation. Dispreferred Markers: a Show of Appreciation and an Account.

A: Let's go to the movies.
B: [I'd love to], [but I'd better study.]
(Werner 1985:99)

(14) Contradicting Another Participant. Dispreferred Markers: Token Agreement, Qualification, and an Account.

OW_1: Tell me, Jim, how do you feel about this new no-smoking rule in the office?
OW_2: Quite frankly, I think it's a good idea. As you know, I'm a pretty heavy smoker, and I have a feeling that it might help me cut down a little....
OW_1: [Yeah, I can see that.] [As for me, though, I'm not sure I can] go along with it.

OW_2: Why is that?
OW_1: [I feel it's discriminative. There are a lot of other things that people do that bother me. If I have to live with them, they should learn to live with my smoking.]
(Matreyek 1983(v.3):8-9)

(15) Admitting the Truth of an Accusation. Dispreferred Marker: an Apology.

Teacher to student:
A: "This paper is filled with misspelled words. Didn't you use your dictionary to check your spelling?"
B: "No, I didn't. [I'm sorry.]"
(Werner 1985:45)

Some dialogues contain intricate combinations of dispreferred markers that may be too complex for untrained teachers to sort out. Occasionally, too, markers will be used that are not mentioned in Levinson's discussion of the topic cited earlier (1983:334). Both these things occur in (16). At the point where this excerpt begins, Bob has been listening quietly to an argument between his friends (John, Sue, and Mary) about the need to protect farm land from overdevelopment. When John suddenly asks Bob his opinion on the topic, Bob's response amounts to a string of dispreferred markers, nothing else.

(16) Complex Combination of Dispreferred Markers

John: Bob, you've been very quiet up to now. What do you think about all this?
Bob: [laughs] [Well], [I, [you know], uh...] [the thing is], [uh John, uh...]
Sue: You mean you're not interested in politics?
Bob: [Uh], [well] [no], [I'm, I'm], [you know], [well], [I'm really], [uh...]
(Jones and von Baeyer 1983:27)

In this excerpt, Bob starts with laughter, a dispreferred marker that Levinson does not mention. Its function is to emphasize the bond between the speaker and the hearer(s) and to express the value that he places on that bond. He then uses the space takers "well," "the thing is...," and "uh...," hesitation in the form of repetition of "I'm," and another bondmaker, "you know." Whether Bob sees his response as dispreferred because he does not have an opinion on a topic that the others feel strongly about, or because his answer would run counter to the obvious interests of one or more of the other three, is not important; in fact, given the hedges that the authors have put into his reply to Sue, it is possible that she is right and that he has no interest in politics at all. What is important to us as ESL teachers is the variety of dispreferred markers that he uses. This is an excellent dialogue with which to teach some of these markers and how they function. But the teacher must know what she is doing if she is to be successful. Telling the students that Bob is simply stumbling along because he is embarrassed is insufficient. Even worse, such an explanation makes it sound as if dispreferred markers such as these are signs of an ineffective use of one's turn in an interaction, when what we have discussed up to this point indicates quite the opposite: ineffectiveness comes when a speaker fails to mark his dispreferred responses appropriately. Notice what would happen in this dialogue if the authors had removed all of those markers and had let Bob use <u>unmarked dispreferred seconds</u> to tell "the unvarnished truth" (17). (Note: The symbol (#) will be used to identify unmarked dispreferred seconds.)

(17) John: Bob, you've been very quiet up to now. What do you think about all this?
Bob: #I don't think about it at all.
Sue: You mean you're not interested in politics?
Bob: #No. I'm not.

What a different image this would create in our minds! The authors, then, have made Bob quite skillful in the use of dispreferred markers appropriate to this particular context, and have provided the students with an excellent model. At the end of the exchange, we are still not sure just why Bob did not answer John's question, none of the characters have been offended, and the relations between Bob and the others remain in tact. Unfortunately, when the teacher prepares to explain this to her class, she is on her own; neither the book nor the teacher's manual tells her what she needs to know if she is to describe Bob's turns accurately.

As these dialogues suggest, a great many of the dispreferred responses in these texts then are appropriately marked. As we indicated in P-2, these markers should be pointed out to the students and their functions explained. When this has been done, these markers can become a part of the pragmatic competence of the students and a tool for recognizing appropriately marked dispreferred responses in other contexts. Furthermore, as the students become aware of the types of responses that are marked as dispreferred, they can apply this information to their own speech and develop skill in marking their own dispreferred responses appropriately. At the same time, they should become less dependent on the dispreferred markers themselves when listening to others so that they can recognize and interpret such responses when their conversation partners leave them unmarked.

Unfortunately, the reality is that even in those texts in which the author's intuition has led him to use dispreferred responses and their markers well, there is little explicit instruction for student or teacher that will help to develop the student's pragmatic competence. This is one important weakness in the treatment of dispreferred responses in almost all presently available ESL texts. A second weakness, which compounds the first, is that authors often use examples consisting entirely of unmarked dispreferred seconds or mix the marked and the unmarked without identifying the latter by comment or context, and the students have no way of knowing that not all of the examples can serve as pragmatically appropriate models for normal conversation in a neutral context.

Handling Negative Responses to Questions

To begin our review of how ESL texts handle specific types of dispreferred seconds, we will turn first to their treatment of negative responses to Yes/No questions in the form of exercises made to look like short dialogues. Consider, for example, (18), in which the exercise focuses on contracting _not_ with the various forms of _be_. The negative answers necessary to practice this grammar point will be _dispreferred_ from a pragmatic point of view unless one of three things happens. First, the students can be told that these are only exercises and that it has no communicative validity, in which case pragmatic considerations would be irrelevant. Present pedagogical theory would, of course, frown on such an approach, and our authors clearly do not intend to follow that tack, since they have presented their exercises in the form of short conversational exchanges. Second, the authors can search for questions in a context that would normally require only a simply "yes" or "no" without any further embellishment. Such questions and such contexts are rather hard to find. Or, third, the authors can provide their negative responses with appropriate dispreferred markers. This latter course is the easiest to follow and certainly has the greatest value as a device for teaching the application of _the preference principle_ to Yes/No questions and their answers. Since Elbaum chose none of these three possible options, a negative response in her exercise should be treated as _dispreferred_, _unmarked_, and a pragmatically inappropriate model for students to follow.

(18) Answer the questions about all the students. Answer with <u>we</u>.
EXAMPLE: Are you (all) in a math class?
#No, we aren't. or #No, we're not.

1. Are you all from the same country?
[#No, we aren't.]

(Elbaum 1985:17)

In (18), only <u>unmarked dispreferred responses</u> are modeled; the question and answer patterns given as models in (19), on the other hand, illustrate the mixing of preferred responses with both marked and unmarked dispreferred responses that readers meet as they proceed through almost any of the books. Though these exercises appear on different pages, they are in the same form and model similar patterns, and so are potentially confusing. Nothing is said by the author at any time to distinguish among these patterns' pragmatically in any way.

(19)
A: Is he sad?
B: #No, he isn't.
A: Is he married?
B: No, he isn't. He's divorced.
A: Does he have children?
B: Yes, he does.

A: Are they happy?
B: #No, they aren't.
A: Is she married?
B: No, she isn't. She single.
A: Do you have children?
B: No I don't. I'm single.

(Moesteller 1985:12, 32, and 72-73)

The widespread use of models and exercises like these suggests that the authors, for the most part, are not really alert to the need to mark such responses or that in focusing on the grammar point involved in negative responses to Yes/No questions, they simply forget the pragmatic implications of the format they are using. The problem arises not only in exercises but also in dialogues, and not only in working with Yes/No questions and their answers, but also in relation to other pragmatic structures as well.

Handling a Contradiction

The inattention of authors to the pragmatic facets of communication affects other structures than negative responses to questions. For instance, the following dialogues involve the unmarked contradiction of one participant's comment by another. Imagine being Phillip in the conversation in (20), or B in the dialogue in (21).

(20) Phillip: I think Japanese cars are excellent.
Mary: #Really? I don't think so.
Phillip: Why not?

Mary: I prefer Italian cars. I think they are excellent.

(21) A: That deli never closes. It's open twenty-four hours a day.
B: #That's not so. It only stays open until five o'clock on Sundays.
(Glass and Arcario 1985:104)

On Mary's first turn, she contradicts Phillip directly and without the use of any dispreferred markers. Mary is not using the word think as a qualifier; if it were, it would be stressed. but in this case, the stress clearly falls on I and they, the two elements that highlight the contrast between Phillip's first turn and Mary's. At first glance, it might appear that Mary has provided an account of why she disagrees with Phillip on her second turn, but if that is what that turn is supposed to be, it is ineffective, since it neither compares the Italian and Japanese cars nor indicates any weaknesses in the latter that would lead to her negative judgment. A more appropriate response by Mary would have been something like "Really? Don't you think they could be a little sportier?" This question carries with it the implication of uncertainty and in that sense the question itself acts as a qualifier and a dispreferred marker. At the same time, it provides a legitimate basis for her low regard for Japanese cars, i.e., they are not sufficiently sporty, and thus is more effective as an account of why she disagrees with Phillip. As for B's comment in (21), it is a quibble and unjustified as a teaching device in any context except one in which the two participants are trying to decide whether they can go to the drug store on a Sunday evening or where the text makes clear its nature as a dispreferred second in this dialogue.

To see how disagreement with an assertion can be somewhat better handled in a dialogue, consider the excerpt in (22). What happens is that John and Ken each compliment the other on their respective cars and denegrate their own. For each character, this amounts to an implied contradiction of what the other has said. For this reason, each of the men prefaces his contradiction with a token agreement, which has the double function of acknowledging the compliment and acting as a dispreferred marker.

(22) Ken: Hey, John, that new Honda you've got is just beautiful.
John: [Yeah, it's a nice car, isn't it?] Yours is a lot fancier though. I really like those electric windows.
Ken: [Yeah], but our cars have something in common. Uh, they're both blue.
John: [That's right.] But they don't have much else in common.[2]

(Jones and von Baeyer 1983:53)

There are other interesting points illustrated by this dialogue. For example, it supports the link we have suggested between Levinson's <u>preference principle</u> and Goffman's conventions governing <u>social interaction</u>. It also demonstrates that pragmatic principles can be in conflict, in this case the principle discouraging disagreement and that encouraging modesty. And, finally, John handles the pragmatic challenges of the situation in the dialogue quite effectively, while Ken seems less skilled in this particular excerpt. From comparing the two characters we can learn an important characteristic of such dispreferred markers as accounts, and we can also see how the presence of such a comparison enhances the potential of the dialogue as a pedagogical device. We will now take each of these points up in order.

First, consider how this dialogue supports the link between Levinson's formal approach to dispreferred markers and Goffman's attention to the purpose underlying such devices. Notice that although each speaker disagrees with the other each time he responds, the fact that his disagreement is couched as a compliment tends to remove much of the sting that such dispreferred behavior might normally have. In effect, the compliments themselves seem to function as dispreferred markers of a sort. This is easily explained if the function of these markers is to preserve the face of the participants and the bond that exists between them as is suggested by Goffman's conventions. If, on the other hand, that is not the function of the marker, then the link between the markers and compliments is much harder to justify.

Second, Levinson (1983:337-39) has noted that the principle encouraging modesty and that encouraging agreement with someone else's prior assertion come into conflict every time one person compliments another. When this happens, he says, modesty usually wins. In (22), it wins again. Both Ken and John retain the image of modesty by rejecting the compliments of the other. Still, even in this context, disagreement is a dispreferred act and must be marked unless it is to have an adverse impact on the conversation. Suppose, for example, that instead of using token agreement at the beginning of his turn, each man had started with "No, you're wrong!" or ""I simply can't agree with you!" The dialogue could quickly have become an argument.

Finally, John and Ken are not equally effective in this dialogue. Both characters are in a situation in which they must disagree with compliments directed at them in order to maintain a show of modesty. Each starts with token agreement and then directs what seems to be a compliment back at the other. John does this well. But what Ken says on his second turn can not be taken seriously. He notes that his car and John's do have something in common, namely their blue color, but given what has already occurred in the dialogue, this remark only emphasizes the luxuriousness of his own car; it is not a compliment to John. Instead, it must be interpreted either as somewhat patronizing, or simply as a joke, though there is too little context for us to be sure which of these is intended. One thing that we can be sure of, however, is that the effect of Ken's remark is to force John to reassert the superiority of Ken's car, and that is certainly dispreferred behavior on Ken's part. By comparing the lines assigned to John with those of Ken in this way, we can help our students understand the strengths and weaknesses of each from a pragmatic perspective. In this particular dialogue, the comparison also leads us to an important fact: accounts, apologies, compliments, etc., must have at least surface validity to be effective as dispreferred markers. This will be developed in more detail later in the paper.

Another dialogue that provides a model for expressing opinions contrary to what someone else has just said is (23). Unlike the one we have just discussed, however, this one has no hidden conflicts between the preference principle and other pragmatic considerations. Even though the minimal context specified seems almost irrelevant to both the substance and the form of the dialogue itself, no harm is done in this case, since the dispreferred responses of both participants are well marked and the disagreements carried off smoothly. It would, therefore, be appropriate to any neutral context in which two friends are discussing a movie.

(23) Context: Two friends meet just before class.

F_1: I heard you went to see "Love Story" last night. What did you think of it?

F_2: I thought it was a pretty good movie. I enjoyed it.

F_1: Didn't you think that the story was a little too simple?

F_2: Uhmm, no. If you ask me, the simplicity of the story helped it a lot.

(Matreyek 1983 (v.3):8)

Notice that F_1 uses a negative Yes/No question as the means of stating a contrary opinion tactfully. The question form suggests at least some uncertainty on F_1's part and does leave room for F_2 to maintain the opinion with which F_1 disagrees. For that reason, even though Levinson does not include questions of this sort as dispreferred markers, it can be seen to fulfill that function, hedging the disagreement that it suggests with F_2's evaluation of the movie. At the same time, because it is a negative question, it does imply F_1's assumption that the movie was in fact too simple. That F_2 does take the question that way is seen in his use of hesitation and the deferential phrase "If you ask me...", both of which mark his disagreement with the opinion he infers from F_1's second turn.

Dialogues, then, when they follow pragmatic considerations appropriately, can be excellent tools for teaching students how to express opinions contrary to those held by others, so long as the authors and the teachers make explicit what the students are to learn. What is missing from (22) and (23), as well as from most other dialogues like these, is any explanation of what markers are used, how they function, or why they were necessary. In that sense, these dialogues are only half done. The same can be said of exercises. When well drawn, they can teach desirable ways of expressing contradictory opinions; when badly drawn, they will teach <u>dispreferred behavior</u> as if it were <u>preferred</u>. Exercises of this latter type are familiar to everyone. Take, for example, drills designed to teach students to relate positive and negative forms of a sentence as in (24) and (25).

(24) Each statement below is false. Change the statement to the negative. Then write a correct statement. Use a pronoun in the correction.

EXAMPLE: The President is young.
#The President isn't young. He is old.
(Elbaum 1985:30)

(25) Write sentences as in the example.
Example: Nobody liked him.
#That's not true. Everybody liked him.
(Finochiarro and Lavenda 1977:32)

Though neither of these exercises is written in the form of a dialogue, the sequence of the sentences implies such a structure. In that context, the last sentence in each, "He is old" and "Everybody liked him," might be mistaken for an account. However, each is merely a reassertion of the original disagreement. Since there is nothing here to indicate that direct confrontation of the sort modeled in these exercises is dispreferred, it seems clear that exercises such as these in fact teach the opposite.

One way of avoiding the potential in these exercises for unwittingly teaching the use of an unmarked dispreferred second is demonstrated by another type of exercise used by Elbaum, as illustrated in (26). Here she uses a new subject for the negative sentence. What she does is to make an affirmative comment about something and then require the student who reads that statement to ask another student whether that same thing is true of something else. This has the effect of demonstrating the relationship between positive and negative sentences without involving the student in a direct, unmarked contradiction of an earlier statement.

(26) A: San Francisco is in California. Is Chicago in California?
B: No. Chicago isn't in California.
(Elbaum 1985:31)

Although (26) provides a way of avoiding the problems of (24) and (25), there is little reason to believe that the author had this in mind, judging from the considerable number of exercises like the former two scattered through the text. It is doubtful that she was aware of the advantages associated with (26). And (26) has a problem, too: to employ exercises like it instead of like (24) and (25) would be to ignore the fact that we all become involved from time to time in contradicting what others have said. When we do, we must know how to contradict without being unduly offensive, by using the appropriate dispreferred marking.

The pragmatics of contradiction should not be omitted from the ESL course. One way of meeting it head on is found in a game suggested by Kirk (1984) and illustrated in (26). The game involves a student who pantomimes an activity while the others try to guess what it is. The pattern that she suggests for class discussion has each student stating an opinion contradictory to the guess of the student preceding him. The second student then gives an account of why he disagrees, i.e., he states what he believes the pantomime to be about.

(27) A: He's adjusting a TV set.
B: No, he isn't. He's fixing it.
C: He's not doing anything with a TV set. He's trying to find a station on the radio.
(Kirk 1984 (v.2):13)

Though the account is the only dispreferred second marker that Kirk uses in her example, others could easily by added if the teacher or the author wanted to include them.

Handling a Refusal of a Request

So far, we have examined the texts with regard to their treatment of dispreferred responses to questions and to preceding comments. A third pair that we have mentioned in this respect is one involving the refusal of a request. Here again, we find that while there are some excellent models for students to follow, they are seldom discussed explicitly. At the same time, there are often examples and exercises from which necessary dispreferred markers have been left out with no context or explanation to justify the omission.

Consider, for example, the following exercises in which preferred and unmarked dispreferred seconds appear as possible answers to requests in the form of Yes/No questions. The first, in (28) is focused on giving short answe s, both affirmative and negative. Here the students are supposed to be learning what constitutes an appropriate answer to specific types of questions from the point of view of syntax. What is to prevent them from inferring incorrectly that these answers are also appropriate pragmatically. What is more, (29) actually is a short dialogue used to introduce the modal could in its function of asking for permission. There is no question that it is intended to be used by the students as a model. But imagine the impact of the unmarked dispreferred responses that the student is learning here if he tries to use them in normal conversation outside the classroom.

(28) Ask if you can do something... — Some possible responses....

May I sit down? — Yes, you may.

Do you mind if I smoke? — No, I don't mind.
#Yes, I do mind.

Can I borrow a pen? — Yes, you can.
#No, you can't.
(Johnston 1981:5)

(29) A: Could I leave early today?
B: #No, you can't.
(Glass and Arcario 1985:39)

One should be alert to the pragmatic pitfalls inherent in working with particular types of pragmatic structures. Unlike the unmarked responses that we discussed earlier, there seems to be no easy way to soften the dispreferred nature of these by simply adding dispreferred markers to the problem answers in (28) and (29). The reason lies in the fact that the questions in these cases are a special type of request - a request for permission to do something. Negative short answer responses to these questions seem appropriate only when the person answering is in (or has temporarily assumed) a position of authority. People not in such a position usually respond along the line of (30).

(30)	Ask if you can do something....	Some possible responses....
	May I sit down?	I'm sorry. These seats are taken.
	Do you mind if I smoke?	I'd rather you didn't. Smoke bothers me a great deal.
	Can I borrow a pen?	I'm sorry. I don't have one.

Perhaps for that reason, there is no way in which "No, you can't" or "Yes, I <u>do</u> mind" will not be abrupt, somewhat rude, authoritarian and confrontational. Unfortunately, the answers that people normally use do not lend themselves to syntax-based, short answer exercises. But, then, one wonders how much need the student will have to respond with short answers to this specific type of question. The general short answer structure can be practiced with other types of questions more amenable to the focus of such exercises. If there is a need to practice the answers in (28) and (29), the context surrounding them must be made clear; otherwise, these examples will teach the students responses to requests for permission that are inappropriate to most situations in which the students will find themselves. If all of this is made clear at the time of the exercise, then a proper context will have been provided within which to learn the appropriate use of these questions and their responses. But there is no context given in texts from which the exercises were taken.

Perhaps one of the most troublesome exercises involving negative responses to requests is one in which one college roommate asks another to give her a ride to "the shopping mall." It is in dialogue form with blanks provided for students to fill with the appropriate form of specified verbs. When finished, the student should have what is given in (31); what would be his answers are underlined.

(31) Context: Stephanie is talking with her roommate, Jennifer.

Jennifer: "<u>Could</u> you <u>take</u> me over to the shopping mall tomorrow?"
Stephanie: #"No, I <u>can't</u>.

Jennifer: "C'mon, Stephanie. Don't be that way. They <u>are</u> <u>having</u> a big sale this weekend."

Stephanie: #"They <u>have</u> a big sale every weekend."

Jennifer: "But there <u>won't</u> <u>be</u> any more appliance sales until the next major holiday."

Stephanie: "Okay. Okay. <u>I'll</u> <u>take</u> you."
(Glass and Arcario 1985:181)

The problem is that we do not know how we are to treat the relationship between the speakers in this dialogue. Is Stephanie being portrayed as unpleasant? If the dialogue is read as if it were carried out on the neutral, consultative level of interaction, then she certainly is. There is no explicit clue in the text as to what Stephanie is supposed to say on her first turn other than what is given here. However, the only model for a negative short answer using the operator <u>can</u> that has been provided to the student at this point in the book is simply "I can't." Nor is he probably aware of the need to mark dispreferred responses, since there has not been any mention of such things. Hence, one would expect the students to use only that simple (but dispreferred) answer. Also, Jennifer says Stephanie is being difficult ("C'mon, Stephanie. Don't be that way."), and Stephanie's second turn is also argumentative without any of the softening that dispreferred markers could bring. Even Stephanie's third turn could easily be read unpleasantly, and to do so would be perfectly consistent with her characterization on her earlier turns.

One way of using this dialogue to teach pragmatic competence would be to have the class discuss and reenact it on the neutral, consultative level, with Stephanie saying the same thing but being more congenial and marking her dispreferred responses clearly. Following this tack would be a practice that has at least been implicit in what we have said about the other unmarked responses we have looked at. But these women are roommates and so could easily be operating on the <u>informal</u> level, where tact can take other forms, and Levinson's preference principle and Goffman's rules of interaction may be implemented differently. As Leech says in his discussion of his Tact Maxim, "The greater the solidarity force, the less a conflict situation is likely to matter"; the less the social distance between the participants, the less the need for tact in their interactions (Leech 1980:108, 116). How do we help the students make Stephanie express herself more congenially on this informal level? Will a change in tone of voice be sufficient? Which of the dispreferred markers would be appropriate? How do we know which of the two levels, formal or informal, we should use? And where do we find answers to these questions?

Certainly not from the text. Though Glass and Arcario, give us a great variety of dialogues in all kinds of contexts, they say nothing about principles of usage, differences in style, etc., not even about the general need to be wary of pragmatic concerns. Students and teachers are left to interpret these dialogues on their own, even though the students will be at least partially unaware of the clues necessary to do the job. This lack of guidance from the authors is especially serious, since the pragmatic competence that the students would need for such an interpretation is part of what they are supposed to be learning. The only comment the authors do make with regard to pragmatic competence and stylistic differences occurs in the preface, where they tell us that the "situational dialogues further demonstrate the use of colloquial English as the characters converse with friends, doctors, salespeople, teachers, and others" (Glass and Arcario 1985:iv). But they say nothing more, and without some explanation of how the context affects the speech patterns of the women in (31), nothing has been achieved by making those women roommates. If we deal with the dialogue on the consultative level, their being roommates is irrelevant; if we take their being roommates seriously, we are forced to teach the dialogue on the informal level, about which the teacher will have little systematic knowledge and the book offers less. This is a case where putting the material in context has confused rather than enriched the lesson.

Handling the Rejection of an Invitation

The last dispreferred second that we will look at is the rejection of an invitation. In (32) and (33) we have examples of effective, appropriately marked refusals, one simple, one complex. Notice that in an academic atmosphere, B's account of why he can not go to eat is absolutely acceptable; he need say no more. In (33), on the other hand, B uses a rather elaborate set of dispreferred markers to soften her rejection in an apparent effort to be sure that A will ask her out another time. In this case, we see space fillers, bondmakers, appreciation (twice), an account, and an apology. Also, notice that A actually offers her a second, indefinite invitation on his third turn, to which she also responds with appreciation.

(32) A: I'm starving. How about going to the deli for a sandwich before our next class? We've still got half an hour.
B: No, I need to go over my notes first.
(Glass and Arcario 1985:104)

(33) A: Say, I was wondering if you might like to go to a concert on Friday night...The Chicago Symphony is in town.

B: Oh, you know, I'd really like to, but I'm afraid I can't. I've already got some other plans for Friday night.
A: Oh, that's too bad...
B: I'm awfully sorry...
A: Oh, don't worry...Maybe some other time.
B: Sounds good...Let's keep that in mind, really. OK?
(Dunbar and Hieke 1985:66)

The next example, in (34), offers a sound model in a narrative format that explains the motivations that the characters have for their behavior.

(34) A little while later the doorbell rang and Maria went to answer it. It was Paula.
"Oh, hi, Maria. Hi, Mac. Are you two doing anything this evening? I was thinking of going to see <u>All That Jazz</u> and I don't feel like going alone."
"Thanks, but I have to study," said Mac regretfully.
Maria knew Mac was depressed and she wanted to stay with him. "I'd really like to go with you," she said, but I have to study too. How about tomorrow?"
(Lozano and Sturtevant, 1981:27)

Markers here include appreciation, an account and a bondmaker. Good as these dialogues are, however, there is nothing in text or teacher's manual to help the students to recognize the different dispreferred markers or to call attention to the need to use them. To their credit, the authors do put effective models in front of the students. As we have come to expect by now, this will not always be true. Dialogues (35) and (36), for example, are not good models. In addition, they pose a particularly interesting problem within the framework that we have been developing.

(35) A: I'm going to Christie's to do some food shopping. Want to come with me.
B: #Christie's Gourmet Shop! Are you kidding? They have the highest prices in town
(Glass and Arcario 1985:93)

(36) A: Why don't you and Bill join us for dinner at the hotel nightclub tonight? The four of us haven't gone out together for a long time.
B: #Bill doesn't like to have dinner at nightclubs. He says it is always too noisy to enjoy the meal.
(Glass and Arcario 1985:70)

These examples are different from most of the others that have been used to illustrate unmarked dispreferred responses. Here, in each case, B does give what seems formally to be an account, a reason for being unable to accept the invitation offered. According to Levinson (1983:334), that should be sufficient to mark B's response appropriately as a dispreferred second. In these cases, however, it is not. To discover why, we must understand the function of the dispreferred marker more deeply. When they are attached to preferred responses, we noted, their function is to dilute the positive force of those responses. Likewise, they dilute the negative impact of dispreferred responses. When we combined that fact with Goffman's claim that a primary motivation of the behavior in conversation is that of preserving the face of oneself and one's partner and the bond between the two, we concluded that the function of the dispreferred marker is to diminish the threat that the dispreferred second itself poses to face and bond. But what if an account or an apology does not serve that purpose effectively. Then it is not performing, in any sense, as a dispreferred marker. This means that we can not take Levinson's listing of markers like accounts and apologies literally. Not just any account or apology will do. To function as a dispreferred marker, the account or apology must have at least some bond and face saving power.

This then explains the failure of (35) and (36) to provide examples of an effective rejection of an invitation. In (35), B's reason for not accompanying A implies that A is a fool to shop at such an expensive place. Thus the reason itself seems a threat to A's face. What is more, A's invitation is "to come with [her]," which involves at least in part an offer of companionship. This means that B's rejection of the invitation threatens, at least temporarily, not only A's face but also whatever bond joins them, and yet is effectively unmarked. Considering that fact, a response that deals with both aspects of the invitation might be more in order: "No, thanks. I can't shop there. That place is too expensive for me. Besides, I've got to wash my hair and get to bed. Tomorrow's going to be a rough day."

In (36), B ignores A's comment that the two couples had not gotten together in a long time and simply rejects A's invitation because B's husband does not like nightclubs. She does not even suggest an alternative time or place to eat or that they do something else together. The implication in (36) is clear: B does not particularly care whether the two couples to get together; the long time that has elapsed since they were last together has been no problem for B. If the authors intend this interpretation of the refusal, then they have written the dialogue well. There is no indication, however, through either explanation or context that this is to be the interpretation of what was said. Without guidance from the text, it is quite possible that the two dialogues in (35) and (36) will be mistaken for models of effective dispreferred markers simply because an account seems to have been given.

Throughout this study, we have noted that while there were many dialogues and exercises that conformed to the principles for marking dispreferred responses, marking them appropriately, there were many that did not. Often the marked and the unmarked were intermingled in the same text, sometimes on the same page. But whether texts used dispreferred responses appropriately almost all of the time or only part of the time, they generally had one thing in common. There was very little explanation of what types of responses were preferred, how those that were dispreferred were to be marked, or what the effect of not marking them would be. The result is that for students using most of the texts reviewed, the responsibility rests squarely on the students and their teacher for realizing that a preference system does in fact exist with reference to one person's responses to another's questions, invitations, requests, etc. They must distinguish the preferred from the dispreferred, the marked dispreferred from the unmarked, and derive for themselves the difference in the impact that each of these has on a conversation. But this is not as it should be. Earlier in the paper, we heard from Robinson (1980) on this point. If we want people from other cultural backgrounds to get the intended message from our lessons, we must draw their attention to it. That suggests a deductive rather than an inductive approach to these pragmatic matters. As Celce-Murcia said in 1980 in relation to the study of English structure, "ESL teachers following a deductive-cognitive methodology should have at their disposal the rules or generalizations about the English language needed to implement such a pedagogical approach" (1980:46). Unfortunately, Celce-Murcia went on, such information was, for the most part, not available to the ESL teacher at that time; the same can be said of the information concerning the pragmatic aspects of English today.

GUIDANCE FROM TEXTBOOKS WITH EXPLICIT PRAGMATIC SENSITIVITIES

Of the texts reviewed, three were at least somewhat successful in attempting to address the issues of pragmatics directly. Each of these had excellent dialogues, tables of phrases to be used to express likes and dislikes, agreement and disagreement, and to make and respond to requests, etc. But it was the approach taken by each of these as they attempted to face the development of pragmatic competence head on that distinguished them from the others. What we will do is to look at an example of the devices that were unique to each book and discuss briefly their strengths and weaknesses so that teachers will be aware of these devices as potential classroom tools and can adapt them to their own use.

The first text to be considered is Mosaic I: A Listening/Speaking Skills Book (Ferrer and Whalley 1985). The device that this book offers that is especially useful is a direct comparison of two dialogues, one of which is pragmatically effective, while the other is not. For example, in (37), when dealing with the expression of likes and dislikes, the authors set up the following two conversations in which Ana turns down an invitation by Rafael, with a comment separating the two.

(37) Conversation 3:

Rafael: Hey, want to go to the concert with me on Saturday?
Ana: Oh, no,...I abhor that kind of music.
Rafael: Oh, well, I thought you might like it.
Ana: No, I don't have time for that sort of thing.

If we speak to our friends in this way, we might not have them for long. Here's a better way to handle this sort of situation.

Conversation 4:

Rafael: Hi - how about going to see that new play at the experimental theater tonight?
Ana: Thanks, but I don't especially like that type of theater.
Rafael: Oh, gee - I thought you would.
Ana: No, I dislike it because I don't usually understand what's happening.

(Ferrer and Whalley 1985:75)

The idea of setting up two dialogues that the students can compare is good. In this case, the focus was on the choice of abhor and don't have time for by Ana in the first dialogue. These had been listed by the authors as among the most extreme expressions of dislike available and the students had been warned to use softer terms when indicating their distaste for something. None of the other changes in the two dialogues are discussed. The appreciation move involving "Thanks" in the second dialogue is ignored, as are the <u>self-abnegation</u> on Ana's second turn and the various changes made in the language used by Rafael. These latter changes do not seem to contribute to any particular point, and the contrast would seem to have been sharper if his turns had been the same - or at least if the authors' purpose in making the changes had been made clear. The problem seems to be that the authors really have no systematic approach to the pragmatic facets of what they are teaching. The closest they come to giving pragmatic principles to their students is their offer of simple friendly advice, like that the two dialogues in (37), or general considerations like those in (38) regarding one's indication of his or her likes and dislikes:

(38) If you are going to make a statement indicating dislike, you might want to use an expression that would soften it - make it less strong. In most situations, the way to make a statement less strong is to introduce it with a gentler expression, one that is softer than the one that is normally used.

(Ferrer and Whalley. 1985:73)

None the less, these comments suggest that the authors are aware of the need to introduce the students to pragmatic considerations. Their technique of contrasting effective and ineffective dialogues provides a device for explicit and potentially valuable instruction.

A second ESL text that attempts to discuss pragmatic aspects of English directly is <u>Building Fluency</u> (Dunbar and Hieke, 1985). These authors do not contrast dialogues, but they do provide a set of study questions for each dialogue they offer, some of which deal specifically with the pragmatic impact of various elements of its structure. The excerpt in (39) illustrates this teaching device.

(39) "Conversation 3: Formal situation, group meeting of the Student Affairs Committee. Both A and B are members of the committee and are discussing a point at the meeting."

A: ...so I would recommend ordering three large ones.
B: I'm afraid I'd have to disagree with you there.
A: I don't understand.
B: Well, as I see it, those things are tremendously overpriced.
A: I suppose so, but I don't see how we have any other choice in the matter.
B: Don't you think we could contact the

purchasing department for some help on this?
A: Yes, I suppose so...I think you've got a point there.

Analysis Questions:
1. What does B mean when she says I'm afraid? Of what is she afraid?
2. Supply a synonymous expression for B's "as I see it"; for B's "the best way out."
3. At what point in the conversation does A change his mind?

(Dunbar and Hieke 1985:17)

Note: Of the dispreferred markers used in the dialogue, only those marked with an asterisk (*) below were mentioned explicitly by the authors in their "Analysis Questions."

*I'm afraid... I'd have to... *as I see it.
I suppose so, [but] Don't you think... ...,I think.
Well...

These exercises are on the right track; each question each deals with some facet of the pragmatics of the dialogue. To improve the questioning technique, we would only need to do more thoroughly what the authors have started. The text has a problem similar to that of Ferrer and Whalley, however. It lacks any real description of what the students need to know in order to do these exercises. There is very little explicit pragmatics instruction at all, except in these exercises and in tables of possible expressions, the latter being essentially unexplained.

One other thing making Building Fluency somewhat unique compared with the other books reviewed is its assignment of an entire section to the various uses of hesitation. One use that is mentioned there is that "sometimes [people] hesitate because what they are about to say may sound unpleasant to the listener" (Dunbar and Hieke 1985:115). The authors also point out that long pauses tend to make English speakers uncomfortable, so that speakers should find ways of filling their pauses somehow. There is one weakness here, however. The authors treat these pauses as if they reflect only the speaker's internal discomfort. During the analysis questions attached to the dialogue illustrating this use of hesitation, the authors remark that the speaker hesitating obviously wants to stop talking. Then they ask the students why. The answer is that he has been trapped into pronouncing a rather adverse judgment on a friend's willingness to work hard. But this answer gives the student the wrong impression, because it implies that the use of these hesitations is personal and not cultural when the facts are the opposite. In this sense, this book has the same weakness as the last one: a lack of a sense of pragmatics. It does not recognize Levinson's preference principle as part of a system shared in slightly varied forms throughout the culture.

The broadest coverage of pragmatics of all the books reviewed is in Functions of American English (Jones and von Baeyer 1983). Like the other two just discussed, its chief weakness is its lack of a well defined sense of pragmatics. The coverage is somewhat fragmented in that the discussions are self-contained and have no obvious sequence. However, this book has it definite strengths. Topics range from how to open and close a conversation to how to affect the turn taking process, how to agree or disagree, and how to express opinions, indifference, sadness and anger. Furthermore, there are some thirty of these discussions in eighty-nine pages, and the authors approach each of the topics in at least some detail. Exercises usually send the students around the room to practice with their peers what they have learned from the pragmatic notes. Though it does not have a unique approach to exercises, this book is the most comprehensive in its explicit, application of the principles of pragmatics to communication in English.

CONCLUSION

We began this paper with a formal description of how to identify what Levinson called dispreferred seconds, namely by recognizing the set of markers that are usually attached to them. But as the paper progressed, we found out considerably more about this structure. For one thing, dispreferred markers do not merely identify structures to which they are attached as dispreferred; in fact, many of these markers can occur with preferred responses on occasion. Even no accompanies the preferred response following a question like "Do you mind if I use your phone for a moment?" Since none of what we have been calling dispreferred markers occur only with dispreferred responses, their presence in any particular instance is not in itself sufficient to indicate that the speaker considers what they are attached to to be dispreferred. Instead, the value of these markers derives from the fact that whatever structure they are attached to, positive or negative, they serve to dilute its impact. It is this power that permits them to perform their true function when attached to dispreferred seconds, namely to prevent a response from threatening the face of the participants in a conversation - or at least to minimize its effect. It is this function that makes it crucial, in neutral, consultative contexts at least, that these markers be attached to dispreferred responses. But dispreferred responses can be identified only in terms of whether they pose a threat to the face of the participants in a participation or the bond between them. Levinson's claim (1983:336) that preferred and dispreferred turns can be defined in purely structural terms dissolves.

We also found that some of the markers themselves are not purely formal. It is true that hesitations, space fillers, and laughter are effective as dispreferred markers just by their presence; they are purely formal markers. But we have seen that other potential markers such as apologies, accounts, compliments and appreciation must be phrased in such a way that they do in fact dilute the impact of the response to which they are attached. Furthermore, whether a particular account or apology or show of appreciation or will prove effective in a specific context will almost certainly depend to some extent on the cultural background of the participants. For example, a man who turns down an invitation to do something with male friends because he has to go home and help his wife clean the house in preparation for a party they are having the next day will have given an account that would be more acceptable in the United States than it would be in many other parts of the world. Our students will understand tacitly at least that skill in using dispreferred markers is essential to being able to interact effectively with others. Because of the culture factor, however, they will not understand what constitutes a response requiring a marker and what exactly can function in that capacity in any given context in the English speaking community. From these facts, it follows that the student's skill in using these markers should be one of the elements of pragmatic competence that an ESL program makes a serious attempt to develop.

Unfortunately, as we have shown, little guidance in pragmatic matters is available from ESL texts. Our investigation shows that although many texts do have excellent dialogues using dispreferred second markers, many of those same books have other dialogues or exercises with completely unmarked dispreferred responses. These latter models would prove hostile for the ESL student, leading him to risk diminishing his own image and his relationship with his conversation partners, while encouraging him to think that he was behaving appropriately. The confusion of the good models with the bad seems to suggest a general lack of understanding of the preference system as Levinson describes it. What is more, it is doubtful that authors would be unaware of that particular facet of pragmatics but cognizant of all the rest. That, in turn, indicates a need for ESL authors, and teachers, too, to become more knowledgeable in these areas - and to make that knowledge functional in the classroom. Of course, like our knowledge of grammar, our grasp of the pragmatic considerations is only fragmentary, so that the ESL texts do not have a comprehensive system of knowledge to turn to. There is however, far more knowledge available than ESL authors are taking advantage of.

But this street is not one way. As we worked our way through the various ESL texts to see how much they conformed to what we know about dispreferred seconds, we found that we learned still more about those seconds from data gleaned from examples in the texts, and occasionally from a comment by a writer. From this it is apparent that both the linguist and the ESL teacher stand to gain by any concerted effort to give pragmatics in general and dispreferred seconds in particular a more comprehensive coverage in the ESL classroom.

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COMPARABILITY OF CROSS-SECTIONAL AND LONGITUDINAL FINDINGS IN A SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION STUDY

Yeon Hee Choi

This article questions the validity of the assumption that the results of cross-sectional data can provide information about the second language acquisition process that is as reliable as those of longitudinal data. On the basis of this assumption, the order of accuracy for morphemes at one point in time has been interpreted as the order of acquisition for these morphemes over time. Like Rosansky (1976), this study raises serious questions about this interpretation. The study reported here yields these conclusions. The longitudinal and cross-sectional orders from one learner do not always correlate. None of the synchronic orders truly represents the diachronic order. Furthermore, the rate of acquisition varies with each morpheme. Therefore, the interpretation of cross-sectional findings as a reflection of the second language acquisition process must be viewed with caution.

INTRODUCTION

Inspired by Brown's (1973) longitudinal study and de Villiers and de Villiers' (1973) cross-sectional study of children's acquisition of English morphemes, a number of researchers have investigated the 'order of difficulty or accuracy' or the 'order of acquisition' of certain English grammatical morphemes in the speech of second language learners. The fact that the order obtained from de Villiers' cross-sectional data correlated very highly with the order found in Brown's longitudinal data has led many second-language investigators to assume that cross-sectional studies can provide information about the second language acquisition process that is as reliable as information from longitudinal studies.

Using the methodology developed in first-language acquisition research, researchers have conducted cross-sectional investigations of morpheme use in the speech of second-language learners (Dulay and Burt, 1973,1974; Bailey, Madden, and Krashen, 1974; Fathman, 1975; Krashen, Sferlazza, Feldman, and Fathman, 1976). These morpheme-order studies have produced similar results and have been used to support the claim that there is an invariant order in the acquisition of morphemes among second language learners, regardless of age and language background. This claim has been made even though the researchers did not study the actual process of acquisition over time. The fact that the morpheme-order studies do not consider the way language is processed by the learner for the purpose of acquisition has been pointed out by Wode, Bahns, Bedey, and Frank (1978).

Morpheme-order studies have been criticized for their method of analysis, the value of the results, and the limited nature of the information provided. Rosansky (1976) doubts that valid conclusions can be drawn about the second-language acquisition process on the basis of cross-sectional findings, since she found none of the cross-sectional orders in a longitudinal study of one learner.

The Bilingual Syntax Measure (Burt, Dulay, and Hernandez, 1973) is an elicitation device frequently used in morpheme-order studies to gather morpheme data. The results obtained by using this test have been questioned by Rosansky (1976), Larsen-Freeman (1975), and Porter (1977). Porter suggests that the order of morpheme acquisition derived from data collected with the Bilingual Syntax Measure may be an artifact of the instrument used. In addition, Oller (1976) raises a question about the Bilingual Syntax Measure from an empirical point of view. He points out that the low reliability of this test cannot be defended by a claim that the low reliabilities indicate real changes in the learner's speech.

Several studies besides Rosansky's (1976) point out the importance of significant individual variability. Hakuta's (1974) longitudinal study of a Japanese girl learning English supports the claim that individual differences are important. Anderson (1977) also claims that the methods used in cross-sectional studies obscure and eliminate individual variations. To remedy this problem, he proposes an alternative method, "implicational analysis," which can be used to deal simultaneously with systematicity, variability, groups and individuals. Furthermore, he indicates that morpheme errors such as inappropriate substitution of morphemes can provide as much crucial information as the correct use of morphemes.

A morpheme-order analysis also provides only a limited account of the data, as pointed out by Fathman (1979). She notes that a relative rank ordering does not provide information about the actual structures produced. She suggests, therefore, that rank-ordered results be supplemented by results from other types of analysis which investigate the basic forms produced by learners.

Cross-sectional studies of morpheme-order have offered valuable insights into the second language acquisition process for the point in time at which the data are collected. However, it is doubtful if the results coming out of these studies could be interpreted as valid information for second language acquisition over time.

Since 1976 when Rosansky questioned whether rank orderings at one point in time would be interpreted as the order of acquisition over time, a few studies have been undertaken to investigate this issue (Kessler and Idar, 1979; Fathman, 1979). These studies compared two cross-sectional orderings widely separated in time to determine whether the orderings correlate with each other. They found that cross-sectional orders from different times were highly correlated. However, since these studies were based on data collected three or six months apart, important information might have been lost between the two collection times. Moreover, these studies did not really compare cross-sectional and longitudinal orderings.

The study presented below reexamines the question of whether cross-sectional findings in second-language acquisition research can be interpreted as reflecting the acquisition process over time. Unlike other morpheme-order studies, this study will analyze the use of morphemes in inappropriate contexts as well as obligatory contexts, in order not to lose crucial information about how a learner acquires and uses the morphemes.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The subject for this study was a Korean woman, Young. She came to the United States in the summer of 1983 with her husband. When data collection began, she had been exposed to an ESL environment for less than five months. She spoke Korean at home. During the period of data collection, Young enrolled in ESL classes which focused on both grammatical forms and communicative functions of English.

Natural speech data were collected six times over a period of five months. The data consisted of hour-long, audiotaped conversation-interviews between Young and the researcher. Interview questions were designed so that the desired morphemes would arise in the context of a somewhat natural conversation. Topics included family and friends, weekend activities, experiences in Korea and America, and future plans.

The fourteen target morphemes studied are listed with examples in Table 1. These particular morphemes were selected for analysis because: 1) they could be elicited easily in natural conversations; 2) they occurred

TABLE 1

Target morphemes with actual examples

Morpheme	Form	Example
Subj. Pron.	I, you, he, she, it, we, they	I lived in Daeku.
Obj. Pron.	me, you, him, her, it, us, them	He helped me.
Poss. Pron.	my, your, his, her, ours, their	I invited my friend and her husband.
Def. Article	the	I forgot even the name of the movie.
Indef. Article	a	I don't know how to use a bank.
Plural Reg.	-s	My mother sent me many gifts.
Possessive	's	We visited my husband's friend.
Copula Pres.	be, am, are, is	She is elementary school teacher.
Copula Past	was, were	When we leaved, Urbana was cold.
Past Reg.	-ed	We stayed in Greelie.
Past Irreg.	take-took come-came	I took trip to Colorado.
Aux. Pres.	do, don't	They don't have deep thought.
Aux. Past	did, didn't	I didn't meet her.
Third Person Reg.	-s	He likes seafood very much.

frequently enough to yield continuous data; and 3) they have been analyzed in other second-language acquisition studies. All allomorphs of the past regular, the plural regular, and the possessive were included but were not scored separately. When the phonological environment of a grammatical morpheme made it impossible to tell whether the learner used the morpheme or not, the morpheme was not scored, for example the possessive in the phrase, "Jaekyung's sister."

A morpheme was scored when it occurred in five or more contexts in a sample. Inappropriate contexts were included with obligatory contexts. To obtain the percentage of correct use, the number of instances of correct use in obligatory contexts was counted. This was then divided by the number of obligatory contexts combined with the number of inappropriate contexts. Since four correct uses of a morpheme in a total of five contexts would be interpreted as '80% correct use of the morpheme,' an 80% rather than a 90% criterion for correct use was used in this study. Thus, the acquisition point was defined as the first of two consecutive monthly samples in which the morpheme was used correctly 80% of the time or more.[1]

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this study the longitudinal and cross-sectional data for the learner were compared to investigate the validity of the cross-sectional results as a measure of acquisition across time. The longitudinal and cross-sectional orders of the seven morphemes acquired are displayed in Table 2. The longitudinal order is derived from the cross-sectional orders. As shown in Table 2, the orders of accuracy for the seven morphemes from month to month are not consistent, and none of the one-month cross-sectional orders represents the longitudinal order over five months.

TABLE 2

Longitudinal and cross-sectional orders of seven morphemes

Morpheme	Longitudinal order	Cross-sectional order 1	2	3	4	5	6
Subj. Pron.	2	1	2	1	2	3	1
Obj. Pron.	2	3	1	4	3	4	4.5
Aux. Pres.	2	4	3	5.5	5	1.5	7
Possessive	4	6	4	5.5	1	1.5	4.5
Cop. Pres.	5.5	5	5.5	3	6.5	5	3
Poss. Pron.	5.5	2	5.5	2	6.5	7	2
Aux. Past	7		7	7	4	6	6

A Spearman rank-order correlation between the longitudinal order and each of the six cross-sectional orders was computed (see Table 3). The longitudinal order correlated significantly with the second month and fifth month cross-sectional orders, but no significant correlation was found between the longitudinal order and the cross-sectional orders for the first, third, fourth, and sixth months. In other words, correlations between the cross-sectional and longitudinal orders were not consistent.

TABLE 3

Spearman correlations between the longitudinal order and cross-sectional orders of seven morphemes

	Cross-sectional order					
Longitudinal	1	2	3	4	5	6
order	.36	.96***	.32	.46	.73***	-.08

***p < .001

It is assumed in cross-sectional studies that the order of accuracy at a single point in time reflects the order of acquisition over time. However, the findings in this study do not support that assumption. The order in any one-month cross-section does not represent the overall order of acquisition. Furtheremore, since the cross-sectional orders from month to month fluctuate, no one cross-sectional monthly order truly represents the order of acquisition over time. Thus, cross-sectional orders do not reveal the order of acquisition but provide information only about the relative percentage of correct production at a single point in time, as Rosansky (1976) claims.

There is further evidence that cross-sectional results lack validity as a reflection of change over time. If the percentages of correct use of plural regular, past irregular, copula present, and possessive for Young's first month are compared (see Table 4), they can be ordered from the highest to the lowest : plural regular (65%), past irregular (62%), copula present (61%), and possessive (60%). If the cross-sectional order obtained from this month had been interpreted as an order of acquisition, Young should have acquired the four morphemes in the same order. But, Young acquired the possessive before the copula present and never acquired the plural regular and the past irregular. As Figure 1 shows, the percentages of correct use for plural regular and past irregular were stable over a period of five months. By the last month Young had not acquired them. On the other hand, the percentages for possessive and copula present increased gradually over time (see Figure 2). By the end of the five-month period, Young acquired them both. This finding would seem to indicate that the rate of acquisition varies with different morphemes and that care should be taken when drawing diachronic conclusions from synchronic findings.

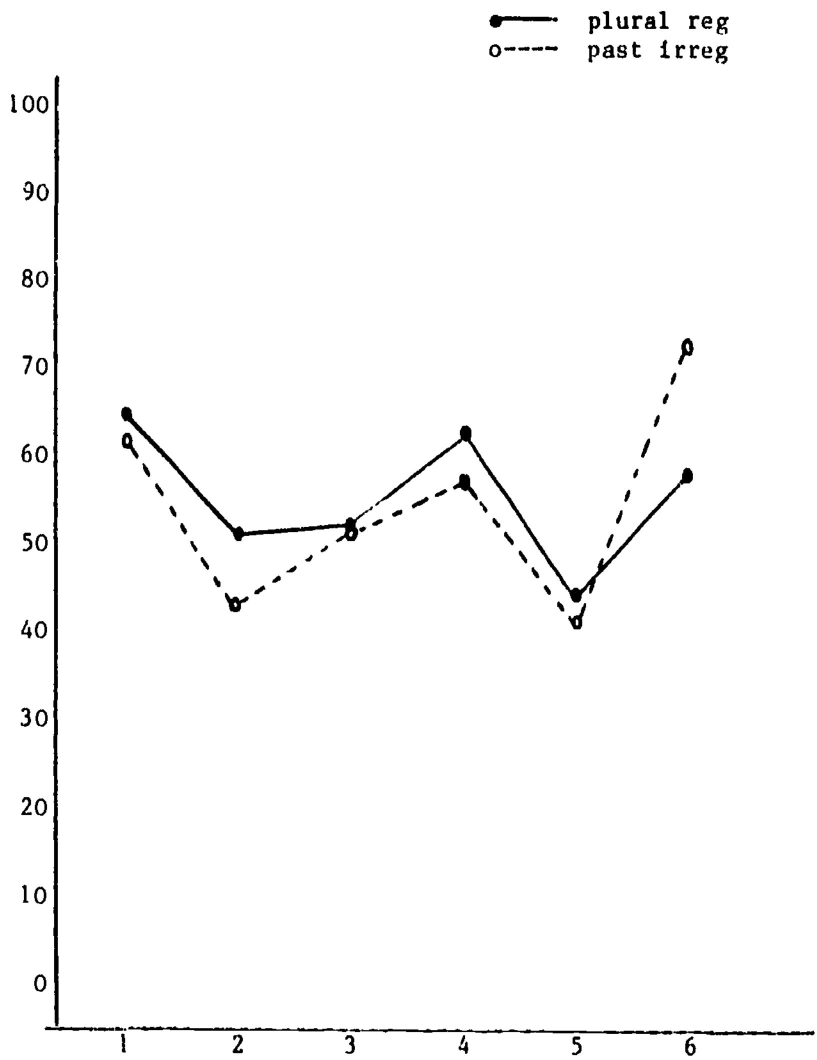
TABLE 4

The percentage of correct use of fourteen morphemes
at one-month intervals in the subject's speech

Morpheme		1	2	3	4	5	6
Subj. Pron.	%	(93)	(87)	(96)	(94)	(95)	(96)
	n	283	351	473	375	362	374
Poss. Pron.	%	(92)	74	(93)	(80)	(85)	(90)
	n	83	69	107	54	27	67
Aux. Pres.	%	(82)	(84)	(80)	(81)	(100)	75
	n	22	19	25	21	9	16
Obj. Pron.	%	(89)	(90)	(84)	(90)	(88)	(86)
	n	28	39	70	61	42	21
Plural Reg.	%	65	51	52	64	45	59
	n	52	88	96	58	51	71
Past Irreg.	%	62	43	51	57	42	74
	n	47	72	115	74	33	86
Cop. Pres.	%	61	73	(85)	(80)	(87)	(88)
	n	74	60	142	95	23	100
Possessive	%	60	(82)	(80)	(100)	(100)	(8[illegible])
	n	5	11	10	16	6	7
Past. Reg.	%	56	53	58	52	42	70
	n	34	53	60	42	19	44
Aux. Past	%		71	63	(82)	(86)	(83)
	n	3	14	19	22	14	18
Cop. Past	%	38	59	47	63	(80)	73
	n	34	29	49	27	15	35
Def. Article	%	31	35	61	60	70	65
	n	55	71	122	103	112	91
Indef. Article	%	27	30	39	49	42	39
	n	44	53	87	37	57	67
Third Person Reg.	%	6	0	13	8	5	13
	n	18	15	23	25	21	16

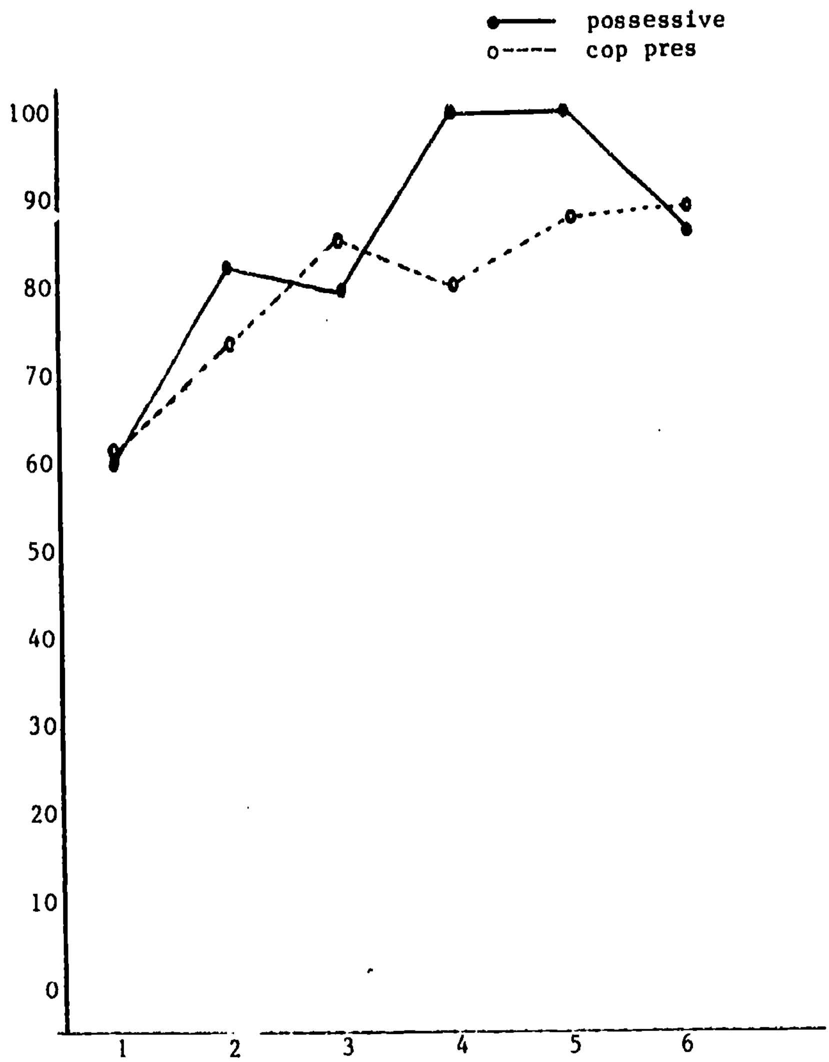
n=number of contexts; parentheses indicate percentages over 80%; blanks indicate samples not scored.

FIGURE 1



The percentage of correct use of plural regular and past irregular at one-month intervals in the subject's speech

FIGURE 2



The percentage of correct use of possessive and copula present at one-month intervals in the subject's speech

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the longitudinal and cross-sectional data of a Korean speaker acquiring English grammatical morphemes. It has questioned the validity of cross-sectional results of the second-language acquisition process with the following findings: 1) the longitudinal order and the cross-sectional orders from six samples for one learner do not always correlate; 2) the rank orders from month to month are not consistent; and 3) none of the cross-sectional orders truly represents the longitudinal order. Another finding is that the rate of acquisition varies according to the morpheme. That is, a learner may acquire one morpheme gradually while showing little progress in acquiring another morpheme. These findings support Rosansky's (1976) criticism of cross-sectional studies where the orders obtained are interpreted as the order of acquisition over time. In reality, cross-sectionally based orders provide valid information on the second language acquisition process only for the point in time at which the data are obtained. Thus, investigators should be cautious about their cross-sectional findings in order not to misinterpret them as reflecting real development over time. If acquisition-over-time is to be studied, then the research should involve a longitudinal examination of the second-language acquisition process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research reported in this paper is a part of my master thesis. I wish to express to my appreciation to Young Cho for participating in this study, and to Professors Wayne Dickerson and Howard Maclay for their advice and assistance in the original version of the research. Any errors in this study are my own.

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NOTES

[1]Other longitudinal studies, such as Brown's and Hakuta's, have set the acquisition point as the first of three successive samples in which the morpheme was correctly supplied in over 80% or 90%. The limited number of data collection sessions for this study, however, demanded an adjustment of the criterion level.

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A PEDAGOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY

V. CONSONANT CHOICE

Wayne B. Dickerson

In this final installment of papers concerned with the predictability of word-level phonology, we examine rules that learners can use to make accurate consonant predictions from standard orthography. The pedagogical device that captures consonant generalizations, the consonant correspondence pattern, is introduced and extensively illustrated.

INTRODUCTION

The premise of this and the preceding papers in this series is that the prediction of sounds is a worthwhile goal for learners to pursue. In our view, the learner's ability to predict sounds is as indispensable to good pronunciation as the ability to produce and perceive sounds. Having learned to distinguish and pronounce the vowel and consonant segments and the stress and intonation features of English, the learner's implicit question before speaking will be, Will I use my oral skills correctly in the words I say? For example, in the word geological, are the o's long, short or reduced? Are the g's in this word pronounced as /g/ or /ǰ/? Which syllable carries the greatest stress? The skill to predict sounds before speaking answers these questions and leads to more accurate speech than guessing does.

In this series of papers, we have shown that the research of generative phonologists has provided a good starting point for developing rules to help learners predict how words will sound. Out of necessity, spelling has replaced the underlying representation of words. Part II of this series illustrated how rules can be framed in terms of spelling in order to predict the location of word stress (Dickerson 1981). Parts III and IV demonstrated the value of spelling for determining the pronunciation of vowel letters (Dickerson 1982, 1985). In this installment, we show that English orthography also offers learners superb guidance in the matter of consonant choice.

The pedagogical consonant rules presented in this paper are called consonant correspondence patterns, abbreviated as con-cor patterns. Their general form and use are discussed in the first section below. Con-cor patterns make correct predictions from spelling for one of two reasons. Either the patterns accurately reflect phonological processes in the language. Or the patterns accurately reflect only a spelling practice. In the second section below, we examine spelling rules that mirror phonological rules. In the third section, we discuss rules that capture no more than a characteristic of the spelling system.

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCE PATTERNS

Consonant correspondence patterns are formulas that show the correspondence between a consonant letter and a consonant sound. They conform to certain conventions that make them efficient in the hands of learners. To illustrate the characteristics of con-cor patterns, we will use rules whose substance is discussed in a later section.

Notational Conventions

A con-cor pattern takes the form of an equation, where the equals mark (=) means 'predicts.' To the left of the equals mark is a spelling configuration. It consists of the target letter and any other information necessary to identify the context of the target letter. The additional information may consist of other letters, a degree of stress, a position at the beginning or end of a word, proximity to a prefix or suffix, etc. To the right of the equals mark is a pronunciation prediction. It is written in pedagogical symbols enclosed between hyphens (Dickerson 1982:76-77). To illustrate this rule form, the con-cor patterns which predict three of the sounds of c are given in (1) with examples.

(1)a	c+iV = -sh-	electri<u>c</u>ian
b	ce/i/y = -s-	electri<u>c</u>ity
c	c = -k-	electri<u>c</u>

A variety of notational conventions have been developed to express succinctly the spelling environment on the left side of the equation. Those that occur in the rules above are presented here; other conventions are introduced with their respective patterns.

+iV 'before an iV-sequence.' This is a position marker. iV refers to a large set of iV-sequences spelled with <u>ia</u>, <u>io</u>, <u>iu</u>. In <u>electrician</u>, <u>ian</u> is the iV-sequence.

/ 'may be replaced by.' One and only one letter on the left of the slash may be replaced by one and only one letter on the right of the slash. By using the slash, we collapse three rules in (1)c: ce = -s-, ci = -s- and cy = -s-. <u>Electricity</u> exemplifies the second of these rules.

Use Conventions

Con-cor patterns, like vowel quality patterns, often come in sets, all patterns in the set pertaining to a particular target letter such as the c in set (1). The order of patterns within a set is fixed according to the use convention of (2).

(2) Apply first the most specific pattern in the set.

For two reasons it is important to observe the order created by this convention. First, when analyzing a particular word, the use of this order can help us avoid errors that result from misapplying the patterns. Second, this order allows us to state the patterns in their simplest form. These are also the reasons that generative phonologists have adopted rule ordering conventions.

To see how rule ordering helps avoid mispredictions, consider the patterns in the c set above. All three example words in (1) contain the letter c. However, if we apply rule (1)c to the words of (1)a or (1)b, we will make wrong predictions. To avoid these errors, we must begin with the rule that has the most specific, or narrowly defined, spelling environment, namely, c+iV = -sh-. This rule contains greater detail than ci = -s- in (1)b. Next, we apply ce/i/y = -s-, because it contains greater detail than c = -k- in (1)c. Finally, we use (1)c. By this procedure, a more-specific pattern filters out words for which a less-specific pattern would make a wrong prediction.

Rule ordering also allows us to state con-cor patterns most economically. When we apply rule (1)b, for example, it should indicate that we have tried rule (1)a and found it inapplicable. The use of rule (1)b, then, implies the absence of the more specific environment found in (1)a. Similarly, rule (1)c implies the absence of environments found in (1)a and (1)b. While appearing to be the simplest rule, (1)c is in fact the most complicated. At the bottom of the hierarchy, it has the largest number of absent environments. In short, each rule can be stated more simply than the last because the use convention in (2) makes it unnecessary to describe where a pattern does not apply.

For a word like accuse, rule (1)c applies twice, once to each c, yielding -kk-. Within a word, we do not pronounce two identical consonant sounds in a row. Therefore, a second use convention is required, namely, the one given in (3).

(3) Pronounce only one consonant sound when you have predicted two identical adjacent sounds.

In generative phonology, this convention is known as Geminate Cluster Simplification.

The foregoing discussion of con-cor pattern conventions has prepared the way for a detailed examination of selected patterns in the pedagogical prediction system. We begin with patterns that reflect the workings of English phonology.

CON-COR PATTERNS REFLECTING PHONOLOGY

The most well known generative treatment of English consonant phonology is Chomsky and Halle's The Sound Pattern of English (1968), hereafter referred to as SPE. In this section, we examine the value of their treatment for pedagogical purposes. First, we discuss the differences between a technical generative rule and a con-cor pattern. Then, we present a careful comparison of several generative and pedagogical rules.

Rule Type: Alternation and Prediction

Consonant rules in generative phonology are designed to highlight phonological relationships among words. Specifically, the rules show how words from the same root, whose surface phonetic forms are quite different from each other, can be derived from a single underlying form. For example, in SPE Chomsky and Halle devise rules that relate the three sounds spelled with the letter <u>c</u> in <u>electric</u> [k], <u>electricity</u> [s], and <u>electrician</u> [š] to a single underlying /k/. Technical rules that account for differences between the underlying and surface forms of segments are called <u>alternation</u> rules. They convert given phonological segments into phonetic segments.

Alternation rules are for those who know English already. ESL learners are not among this group; they have no access to the underlying phonological form of an English word. As a consequence, their rules cannot be alternation rules. For purposes of rule development, ESL researchers must assume that rule users do not know the word they are trying to pronounce. This <u>No Prior Knowledge Assumption</u> (Dickerson 1983) leads to a different kind of rule, a rule that is capable of predicting pronunciations from an unknown phonological shape. Rules of this sort are <u>prediction</u> rules. They apply to words in their spelled form, the only form readily available to learners.

In some cases, alternation rules serve as the basis for prediction rules. In other cases, alternation rules are useless. Our discussion will concentrate on the former, namely, those rules, in pedagogical form, which contribute directly to the learner's predictive capacity. As we go along, we will introduce more of the conventions we have adopted for pedagogical rules.

Rule Comparisons: Generative and Pedagogical

Velar Softening. The voiceless [k] - [s] pronunciations in *electric* and *electricity* and the voiced [g] - [ǰ] pronunciations in *allegation* and *allege* are the subject of the Velar Softening Rule in SPE (239 [13]). In each case, the underlying form is a velar stop--/k/ and /g/ respectively--that changes when the following segment is a high-front vowel or glide or a mid-front vowel or glide.[1] However, since there is no evidence that the /k/ of *kitchen* and the /g/ of *give* ever change, despite their high-front environment, Chomsky and Halle posit two different underlying /k/ segments and two different /g/ segments. The velar that is subject to Velar Softening in derivations carries the distinguishing [+deriv] feature, hence, $/k^d/$ and $/g^d/$.

To bring the Velar Softening rule into the province of the learner, we must examine how the changes are represented in spelling. The voiceless case is straightforward. In all words, the voiceless velar that undergoes Velar Softening is spelled *c*; it is never spelled *k*. That is, the letter *c* corresponds, in most words, to the [+deriv] feature in the technical description. The environment in which *c* is pronounced as [s] is also easily represented by using the vowel letters, *e*, *i*, and *y*. The learner's rule was given earlier in (1)a, namely, ce/i/y = -s-. It is virtually exceptionless. The common exceptions are noted in (4).[2]

(4) Exceptions: *c*ello -ch-, con*c*erto -ch-, cres*c*endo -sh-, soc*c*er -k-

The voiced case of Velar Softening is more difficult. The velar that changes and the velar that does not change are represented in spelling as *g*. For the voiced velar, there is no spelling counterpart for the [+deriv] feature. Ideally, the voiced con-cor pattern would parallel the voiceless con-cor pattern, namely, ge/i/y = -j-. But there are words like *get* and *gift* that suggest problems with such a simple solution.

An investigation of g words reveals that the ideal rule holds with striking regularity in all but a few environments.[3] First, ge/i/y = -j- makes wrong predictions when the *g* is doubled, as in *logger*, *begging*, *twiggy*. This points to the con-cor pattern in (5), which is ordered before ge/i/y.

(5) gg = -g- biggest, priggish, foggy

Second, ge = -j- often fails when the *e* is part of a VV spelling pattern, as in *gear*, *geiger*, *geese*. From a pedagogical point of view, however, a pattern for *ge*V words is unwarranted. There are fewer than ten such words, and many are uncommon (e.g. *gewgaw*, *geezer*, *bogey*). The *ge*V words, therefore, become exceptions. Also exceptional are a few medial *ge* words, the most common of which are listed in (6).

(6) Exceptions: get (be-, for-), target, together, bagel, burger, tiger, eager, meager, auger, cataloger

Third, gi = -j- yields poor results when the gi occurs word initially or after a prefix. In this position (symbolized by a raised dot, ·), the -g- pronunciation is more than twenty times more likely than the -j- pronunciation. The new pattern, ordered before ge/i/y, is presented in (7) with examples. The common exceptions to note are listed in (8).

(7) ·gi = -g-   gift, begin, gild

(8) Exceptions: giant, gigantic, gibe, giblet, giraffe, gist, and all gin- words

In summary, the pedagogical counterpart of the Velar Softening Rule consists of one rule for the voiceless velar and three for the voiced velar. Excepting patterns with iV-sequences, to be discussed below, all other c words are pronounced with -k- and all other g words are pronounced with -g-, as shown in (9).

(9)

Voiceless	Voiced
ce/i/y = -s-	gg = -g-
c = -k-	·gi = -g-
	ge/i/y = -j-
	g = -g-

S-Voicing. In their interest to account only for alternations, Chomsky and Halle address no more than a fraction of the learner's problem with /s/ and /z/. Their rule of S-Voicing (SPE 242 [25]) deals with three cases of an underlying /s/ that becomes [z]. The root of consume and resume contains /s/; the root of gymnast and gymnasium contains /s/, and all words spelled with x, such as expire and exalt, contain /s/. Chomsky and Halle's rule which predicts [z] for the second example in each of these word pairs hardly touches the learner's dilemma, which is this. Nearly all [z] words in English are spelled with s and, excluding c words, all [s] words are also spelled with s.

It would take us beyond the scope of this paper to present the patterns required to predict the sound of s. Suffice it to say that the first two subrules above have a place in the pedagogical prediction system. The third subrule, which applies almost exclusively to the morpheme ex-, oversimplifies the facts and is therefore of little value to the learner.[4]

Spirantization. The function of the Spirantization Rule (SPE 242 [26]) is to convert underlying /t/ and /d/ segments into surface [s] and [z] segments before high-front vowels or glides in suffixes. It applies principally in cases such as correction, piracy and division. In the first word, the underlying /t/ (compare correct) becomes [s] (to be palatalized later). In the second word, the underlying /t/ (compare pirate) becomes [s]. In the third word, the underlying /d/ (compare divide) becomes [z] (to be palatalized later).

As can be seen, the Spirantization Rule is an intermediate step in the derivation of two of the three cases above (correction and division). Learners can handle the third case (piracy) more directly by using the ce/i/y = -s- rule. The technical rule, then, contributes nothing to the pedagogical prediction system. It is mentioned here because its influence will be obvious in the discussion of the Palatalization Rule below.

Y-Insertion. How do the words music, reputed, accuse and human come to have a [y] before the [uw]? In generative phonological systems, the [y] is inserted by rule before a particular vowel segment. The Y-Insertion Rule (SPE 243 [29]) not only accounts for the [y] in the above words, but it also plays a fundamental role in other derivations. For example, the reason we hear no [y] in ruler and junior is that the inserted [y] has been deleted by rule, as discussed under Y-Deletion below. Furthermore, the reason we hear [c] in virtue and [s] in issue is that the inserted [y] has palatalized the preceding /t/ and /s/ segments, as discussed under Palatalization below.

It is important for learners to be able to predict the presence and absence of [y] and cases of palatalization in novel words because of pronunciation problems they typically have in these areas. To make these predictions, however, they must first identify the spelling counterpart of the technical vowel segment that elicits Y-Insertion. It is given in (10) with examples. We call these y-ful spellings, abbreviated YS. The u must be a vowel letter but must not be followed by one consonant letter (C) at the end of a word (#) or by two consonant letters.

(10) Y-ful Spellings (YS)

any eu, ew spelling and
any u vowel letter except u in uC#, uCC, au, ou.

E.g. feud, eulogy, pew, huge, cue, menu, uniform

The pedagogical counterpart of Y-Insertion is given in (11). It reads, Before a y-ful spelling, pronounce [y]. This rule applies wherever a y-ful spelling occurs and thus accounts for the presence of [y]. The absence of [y] and the palatalization before y-ful spellings are treated below.

(11) ___YS = -y-

Palatalization. The Palatalization Rule presented by Chomsky and Halle (SPE 244 [37]) changes the alveolar segments /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/ into their palatal counterparts, namely, /č/, /ǰ/, /š/ and /ž/, when followed by [y] and an unstressed vowel. The rule shows up in two principal locations, before an inserted [y] and before an iV-sequence (which becomes yV in the derivational process).[5] Superb guidance from spelling is available for predicting palatalization in both locations.

In the technical rule system, a derivation involving palatalization before a y-ful vowel requires at least three rules, Y-Insertion, Palatalization and Y-Deletion (SPE 243 [29], 244 [37] and [38]). In the pedagogical rule system, we streamline the process by going directly to palatalization. Before unstressed y-ful spellings, the letters suggesting palatalization are those in (12). The con-cor patterns presented in (12) reflect the fact that palatalization before y-ful spellings is not a categorical, but a regionally variable, phenomenon. The first pronunciation given is found more frequently in educated British English than in educated American English. The consonant letter (C) and the vowel letter (V) in the Cs and Vs patterns signal voiceless and voiced sibilants, respectively.

(12)	Underlying	Spelled	Con-Cor Pattern	Example
	/t/	t	t+Y̌S = -ty/ch-	sanctuary
	/d/	d	d+Y̌S = -dy/j-	graduate
	/s/	Cs	Cs+Y̌S = -sy/sh-	pressure
		x	x+Y̌S = -ksy/ksh-	flexural
	/z/	Vs	Vs+Y̌S = -zy/zh-	visualize
		z	z+Y̌S = -zy/zh-	azure

In the pedagogical presentation, the last pattern is omitted because there are only two common words in English that fit it, azure and seizure.

In the generative analysis, Palatalization involving words with iV-sequences usually comes near the end of a lengthy consonant derivation. The pedagogical approach short-circuits the intermediate steps, going directly from spelling to a pronunciation prediction. A sample comparison of the two systems, pedagogical and technical, is given in (13). Underlining in the con-cor patterns identifies the letter or letters for which the prediction is made. For simplicity, Y-Insertion and Y-Deletion have been omitted from the listing of technical rules.

(13)	Con-Cor Pattern	Technical Rules
musician (music)	c+iV = -sh-	Velar Softening, (Spirantization), Palatalization
vacation (vacate)	t+iV = -sh-	Spirantization, Palatalization

question (quest)	s<u>t</u>+iV = -ch-	Palatalization
provision (provide)	Vs+iV = -zh-	Spirantization, Palatalization
permission (permit)	Cs+iV = -sh-	Spirantization, Palatalization
aversion (avert)	r<u>s</u>+iV = -sh/zh-	Spirantization, Palatalization
crucifixion (crucifix)	x+io = -ksh-	Palatalization

Several comments about the foregoing list may be helpful. First, the spirantization of /t/ is blocked by the preceding /s/ in <u>question</u>. The /t/ undergoes only Palatalization. Second, the underlying voiced and voiceless sibilant segments are again clued in spelling by the presence of a preceding vowel letter or a consonant letter. Third, there is some regional variation associated with r<u>s</u>+iV; the first variant is more common in British English than in American English. Fourth, the [s] hidden in the letter <u>x</u> is palatalized only when the iV-sequence is spelled <u>io</u>; there is no palatalization in <u>pyrexial</u>, <u>marxian</u>, <u>asphyxiant</u>. Finally, for pedagogical purposes, one more pattern has been added to the ones above, one that involves no palatalization, namely, g+iV = -j-, as shown in (14). This pattern is included in the set even though it restates the gi = -j- pattern in (9). Although redundant, the g+iV pattern solves a serious problem. If we predict the sound of <u>g</u> in words like <u>religious</u> and <u>contagion</u> using the earlier pattern, gi = -j-, we must say something specific about the <u>i</u> in these cases (with final iV-sequences) that is unnecessary to say about the <u>i</u> in words like <u>virgin</u> or <u>engine</u>, namely, that the <u>i</u> is silent. This fact about <u>i</u>, however, must be said about all the words of (13) and need not be repeated if g+iV is part of the palatal set.

(14) legion g+iV = -j- Velar Softening

<u>Y-Deletion</u>. Chomsky and Halle use their Y-Deletion Rule (SPE 244 [38]) for two purposes. First, as noted in the discussion above, [y] is deleted after serving to palatalize alveolar nonsonorants before unstressed vowels. Second, the rule attempts to accommodate a regional preference for deleting [y] before stressed vowels. Each of these cases merits consideration.

For the most part, the deletion of [y] after palatals is handled in the pedagogical treatment by not introducing Y-Insertion where the Palatalization Rule applies. However, where palatal consonants do not arise from palatalization, as in <u>chew</u>, <u>perjury</u>, the [y] inserted before a y-ful spelling must be deleted explicitly. The con-cor pattern serving this purpose is given in (15).

(15) j/ch__YS = Ø jewelry, Manchuria

The technical Y-Deletion Rule also identifies non-palatal environments where [y] is to be removed. One of these is after [r] and before stressed vowels, as in *rude*, *intrusive*. This formulation preserves [y] after [r] before unstressed vowels in order to account for words like *virulent*, *spherule*, *querulous*. In these words, however, [y] is optional. Furthermore, [y] never occurs in other [r] words like *ferrule*. As a simplification, then, the pedagogical rule deletes [y] after all [r]'s. This point is incorporated into rule (15) as rule (16).

(16) j/r/ch__YS = Ø   junior, ruined, brochure

The technical rule also deletes [y] in another non-palatal environment, namely, between [t, d, s, z, l, n] and a stressed vowel, as in *Tuesday*, *dew*, *pursuit*, *resume*, *allude*, *neuter*. While this part of the rule accommodates some regional dialects, it ignores many others where [y] is preserved after these consonants. To alert learners to this common variation and to give them the choice of several acceptable pronunciations, the pedagogical rule acknowledges the two variants, as shown in rule (17). The mark over YS stands for any degree of stress.

(17) t/d/s/x/l/n__ÝS = -y/Ø-   tune, duty, sue, exude, illuminate, nudity

With this rule, we complete the set of con-cor patterns that account for the inserted [y] in English. The patterns are those in (11), (12), (16) and (17). A fuller treatment of this set may be found in Dickerson 1985a.

Other Deletions. The underlying form of *sign*, *signal*, *signature* contains /gn/, a sequence heard in *signal* and *signature* but not in *sign*. The technical rule accounting for this alternation is G-Deletion (S[illegible] 241 [22]). The environment in which /g/ is lost is word final or before a basic weak ending such as -*ed*, -*ing*, -*er* (aj), -*er* (agent). In con-cor patterns, these two environments are collapsed into a single position marker, the raised dot (·). The pattern for this deletion is given in (18).[6]

(18) gn· = Ø   design, designing, designer

Other deletions reflecting phonological processes are given in (19) with examples.

(19)	stl = Ø	nestle (but not nest)
	sten· = Ø	fasten (but not fast)
	mn· = Ø	hymn (but not hymnal)
	mb· = Ø	crumb (but not crumble)

The con-cor patterns presented in this section are but a sampling of pedagogical rules reflecting English phonology.

These do, however, cover all of the major consonant alternation rules discussed in SPE. We turn now to con-cor patterns that express no more than regularities in the design of our spelling system.

CON-COR PATTERNS REFLECTING ORTHOGRAPHY

Pedagogical patterns that capture generalizations about the English spelling system are no less valuable to the learner than pedagogical patterns that capture generalizations about the English sound system. They both yield the same result; the learner can use them to determine from spelling what sound to pronounce. In this section, we deal with a selection of consonant patterns that are needed only because of the way English orthography happens to be designed.

Consonant Letters vs. Vowel Letters

Three letters in English spelling are regularly used as consonant letters and vowel letters. They are w, y and u. Before any predictions can be made with these letters, it is necessary to determine which group they belong to, a distinction that is entirely predictable.

W Patterns. For learners unfamiliar with English and its orthography, words like the following raise questions about the use of w, wage, sewage, prewar, thwart, while write. Four con-cor patterns are needed to clarify the situation. In general, it is the case that w at the beginning of a word or after a prefix (ˈ) represents a consonant, usually -w-. This allows us to distinguish the w consonant of wage and prewar from the w vowel of sewage. However, for this generalization to hold without exception, we must recognize and filter out two other uses of initial w, wr and wh. The first predicts Ø; the second predicts -wh- or -w- depending on regional dialect. The con-cor patterns in (20) summarize this information.

(20)	ˈwr = Ø	wring, rewrite (not dowry)
	ˈwh = -wh/w-	when, overwhelm (not arrowhead)
	ˈw = -w-	winter, underwear (not jewel)

The fourth pattern in the set accounts for words like dwell, swish, thwack. Since the pattern in (21) specifies no boundary or number of consonants, it handles not only the monomorphemic words above but also the w in compounds like sandwich, stalwart, teamwork. The only common exceptions are two and sword.

(21)	Cw = -w-	twice, dwarf, always

In all other cases w is a vowel letter. Specifically, it is part of a VV spelling pattern, as in glow, newest, lawless, flower.

Y Patterns. Only one pattern is needed to identify a y consonant. The pattern in (22) leaves y as a vowel letter after vowels and after consonants, as in playing, boys, sly, style. It also leaves a few of exceptions, listed in (23).

(22) 'y = -y- yes, unyielding

(23) canyon, halyard, lanyard, lawyer, sawyer, picayune

U Patterns. More challenging is the distinction between u consonants and u vowels. There are two types of consonant patterns involving u. In one type, the u is in the environment of q and g. In the other, the u is adjacent to s.

In general, u after q or u after g and before a vowel letter signals a consonant letter. This guidance, however, does not specify the pronunciation of u, which may be either silence (Ø) or -w-. The following patterns make that identification possible.

The u consonant patterns fall into three groups, qu, gu and ngu. Within each group, it is important to identify what follows the u. Is it a weak ending (+W), such as -age, -ous, -al, -ist, -ent, a basic weak ending (+B), such as -e, -ed, -ing, -ish (aj), or is it a vowel letter (V) unassociated with an ending? The patterns in (24)a, b and c, show what difference these possibilities can make.

(24)a	qu+B = Ø	unique, torqued, cliquish
	qu+W = -w-	equal, frequent, sequence
	quV = -w-	quick, quiet, square
b	gu+B = Ø	plagued, intriguing, voguish
	gu+W = V	contiguous, ambiguous
	guV = Ø	guest, ambiguity
c	ngu+B = Ø	tongued, haranguing, meringue
	ngu+W = -w-	linguist, language, unguent
	nguV = -w-	penguin, languid, lingua

In various ways, this set of patterns can be collapsed to a manageable size for learners. First, qu+W and quV can be treated as quV = -w-. Second, there are only three words fitting the gu+W pattern, two of which are given above. These are better as exceptions to be memorized. Third, gu+B and ngu+B make the same prediction. They can be collapsed as gu+B = Ø, which can be merged with qu+B in turn. Finally, ngu+W and nguV can be treated as nguV = -w-. The result is a set of four patterns rather than nine, as displayed in (25). The exceptions are few; the common ones are listed in (26).

(25)	q/gu+B = Ø	guV = Ø
	quV = -w-	nguV = -w-

(26) Exceptions: argue, ambiguous, contiguous, bouquet, conquer, etiquette, liqueur, liquor, languor, mannequin, mosquito, piquant, queue, jaguar

The second type of pattern for the u consonant accounts for the -w- sound in words like suave, persuasion. Pattern (27) has only two exceptions, ensuant, suable.

(27) ·sua = -w-   dissuade, suavity

Beyond the five con-cor patterns for u (those in (25) and (27)), u is a vowel letter, as in plug, luck, rouge, pound, launch, feud, cue, gnu.

Silent Letters

We have had occasion already in this section to mention the Ø prediction in some con-cor patterns, namely, in ·wr = Ø, g/qu+B = Ø and guV = Ø. Besides these, the history of English orthography has introduced a few more silent letters that must be recognized by any reader of English. Some of these are listed in (28) with examples.

(28)a	·kn = Ø	knight
	·mn = Ø	mnemonic
	rh = Ø	rhymes

If the develc... of English orthography had trimmed away such silent letters and had represented w, y and u consonants with letters different from w, y and u vowels, few of the patterns in this section would be necessary. As it is, readers must become acquainted with con-cor patterns that attempt to compensate for these problems. Fortunately, English spelling, as a system apart from the phonology it represents, is so regular that predictions can be made with great accuracy.[7]

CONCLUSION

With this paper, we bring to a close a series of reports on efforts we have made to expose the English sound system by looking at it through the English spelling system. Our attention has been focused on the workings of word-level phonology--vowels, consonants and word stress. As all linguists know, the sound system of English, like the sound system of every language, is profoundly well organized. What is not so well known is that a very large portion of our elegant phonology is accessible through ordinary spelling. It is accessible not only to the linguistically-trained but also to the linguistically-naive. This point brings into focus a significant fact about the way we write English. Although diffusing some light, written English provides a remarkably transparent window on spoken English.

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NOTES

[1]The Velar Softening Rule converts an underlying $/k^d/$ to [c], an intermediate-level segment that is subsequently changed to [s] by the Spirantization Rule, discussed below.

[2]As noted earlier, c+iV predicts -sh-, a rule discussed under Palatalization below. Similarly, c+eV predicts -sh-, as in ocean, palmaceous.

[3]The corpus used in this study is Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 1984 and the 120,000 word dictionary in the WordPerfect Version 4.1 (1985) word processing program.

[4]The SPE rule says that the /s/ becomes voiced when it immediately precedes a stressed vowel. The fact is, ex- before a stressed vowel is not simply [egz], it is variably [eks] or [egz].

[5]The iV-sequences discussed here have no stress on the V. When the V is stressed, palatalization is variably present, e.g. judícial -sh- but judíciàry -sh/s-, iní·ial -sh- but inítiàte -sh/s-.

[6]The SPE rule is stated in such a way that it can also account for the loss of /g/ in words like paradigm.

[7]Pedagogical materials utilizing the con-cor patterns discussed in this paper may be found in Dickerson (forthcoming, a and b).

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TEACHING ESL LISTENING COMPREHENSION AND PRONUNCIATION: AN OVERVIEW

Janice L. Moy

What role have listening comprehension and pronunciation played in ESL teaching methodologies? This article traces a one-hundred year history of interest in these two areas, finding that listening comprehension and pronunciation have switched positions along the way. Listening comprehension has come from relative obscurity to a position of prominence, while pronunciation, once a cornerstone in several methodological houses, has gradually lost importance. Throughout this period of ESL activity, various pedagogical tools, techniques and procedures have made their appearance and filled the repertoires of listening comprehension and pronunciation teachers. Many of these teaching practices are discussed. The article closes with a general assessment of the two ESL areas and an encouraging projection for their future.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, many ESL instructors and curriculum developers have been reconsidering the roles of listening comprehension and pronunciation in the general ESL curriculum. The priority which these skills should have in a general curriculum, as well as the techniques and materials which should be used for instruction, have received considerable attention. No universal solutions have been found; perhaps none can be found.

The purpose of this paper is to look at the broader context in which these current questions exist. It will not attempt to give final solutions to the questions which have been raised in the recent past, but to provide a key to the understanding of those questions. First, there will be a discussion of the roles of pronunciation and listening comprehension in various popular language - teaching methods/approaches. Second, an overview of tools and techniques used to teach these skills will be given. Finally, concluding this review, is a brief discussion of trends for the future of teaching in these two skill areas.

PRONUNCIATION AND LISTENING COMPREHENSION IN VARIOUS METHODS

The past hundred years have seen the rise of many methodologies and approaches in foreign or second language teaching, each taking a position on the role of pronunciation and listening comprehension in teaching and learning. These positions, of course, have been as varied as the methodologies themselves.

Grammar-Translation

During the later decades of the nineteenth century, enrollments expanded in modern foreign language courses in American secondary schools. However, no change in methodology accompanied that growth. Prior to this time, the Classical Method had been used to teach Greek and Latin. When the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) was founded in 1883, it approved the adoption of this methodology for teaching modern foreign languages.

In the Grammar-Translation Method, as this Classical Method came to be called, most instruction was in the student's native language rather than in the target language. Primarily seen as an intellectual discipline, foreign language courses focused on the study of grammar and the use of translation (mostly of written works). Some attention, however, was given to the development of aural comprehension. Students were expected to know the rules of sound-symbol correspondence in the target language, applying this knowledge in taking dictations. According to Rivers (1981), students often became quite adept at taking dictation. However, a lack of exposure to everyday listening situations resulted in students being confused when actually encountering the target language.

Listening was not the only skill that received little attention in the Grammar-Translation Method. In general, the oral skill was also neglected. Although some oral reading was done, there was no emphasis on correct pronunciation. Oral communication had low priority. Consequently, students instructed using a Grammar-Translation approach to second language study were often embarrassed when trying to speak that language (Rivers 1981).

Listening comprehension and pronunciation shared a common position in the Grammar-Translation Method, a role of minimal importance in comparison to that of other skills. Proponents of this method saw little need to focus on listening comprehension and pronunciation in order to reach their goals.

Direct

In the early part of the twentieth century, emphasis in foreign language study shifted from reading and study to speaking and listening. This move toward studying modern languages for communicative purposes demanded a response in language teaching methods.

The Direct Method was the first response to the new focus in language learning. This method used only the foreign language being taught, bypassing the well-established translation phase.

Because students "learned a new language through direct association of words and phrases with objects and actions, without the use of the native language by teacher or student" (Rivers 1981:32), the methodology was termed "direct."

To accommodate the learner's desire to acquire the target language for communicative purposes and as a reaction against the Grammar-Translation Method, the Direct Method placed a strong emphasis on the development of aural-oral skills. Since learners anticipated using the language with native speakers, native-like proficiency was considered the ultimate goal for second language students. Students no longer needed to be totally confused or embarrassed when face to face with native speakers.

The Direct Method advocated listening before speaking, following the perceived order of first language acquisition, although not all proponents agreed on the length of the listening period.

Besides listening to discourse, there was also an emphasis on listening to and interpreting sounds. Phonetic analysis greatly influenced language teaching at this time; it was not uncommon for students to take dictation in phonetic notation. Accuracy in listening to the details of speech was considered as much a part of the development of native-like proficiency as was listening to the message itself.

If Direct Methodists believed that one learns to understand by listening, they were equally convinced that one learns to speak by speaking. Direct Method classes strongly emphasized speaking; from the time the speaking skill was introduced in the course, all oral communication was in the target language. Part of the development of the speaking skill involved close attention to correct pronunciation. Whether the goal was acceptable pronunciation (Rivers 1981) or native command (Jesperson 1904), students and teachers during this period believed in the importance of extensive training in pronunciation. Students were taught the new sound system from the beginning of the course using the newly developed International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Once again, focus was as much on detail as on discourse.

Whether or not students succeeded in developing native-like, aural-oral skills, it is quite clear these were the goals of the Direct Method. In practice, listening comprehension and pronunciation received attention befitting the major roles they played in the theory of language learning held by those subscribing to the Direct Method.

Reading

Within a short period of time, however, many complaints were heard about the new method. Its results were questioned, and many people contended that it was much too time-consuming to be practical. In 1929, The Coleman Report, the result of an MLA-sponsored study, revealed that most American students studied a foreign language for only two years. Based on the findings of the report, it was determined that the only reasonable goal compatible with such a short period of foreign language study was the development of the reading skills. The Reading Method was used in an effort to reach that goal.

Two approaches to this reading focus emerged. One school found itself reverting to Grammar-Translation methods, despite the professed goal of having students read and understand written texts directly without translating from the target language to the native language (Rivers 1981). Those adopting the Grammar-Translation approach paid little attention to listening comprehension. Since some oral reading was done, pronunciation was important for classroom intelligibility (Brown 1980). In general, however, pronunciation had low priority. Authentic pronunciation was not a matter of concern, and whatever pronunciation hints that were given were explained in terms of native-language sounds (Bowen 1972).

The other school, influenced by Harold E. Palmer, adopted an oral approach to reading, an approach more in tune with the Direct Method. A basic assumption held by this group was that "facility in reading could not be developed unless the students were trained in correct pronunciation, comprehension of uncomplicated spoken language, and the use of simple speech patterns" (Rivers 1981:36). Courses usually began with an oral phase in which students became familiar with the target-language sound system and learned to speak and understand simple phrases. Later, some oral reading was done in class, and comprehension questions were often asked and answered in the target language.

The latter approach seems to be a more widely accepted account of the Reading Method than is the former. However, in spite of the fact that the Reading Method did include pronunciation and listening, these two skills were not developed to the extent necessary for successful oral communication.

Audiolingual

During the period in which the Reading Method was dominant, interest in foreign language study progressively declined (Chastain 1976). The extent of this decline became apparent in the early years of World War II when qualified interpreters were needed to work in sensitive military positions. To remedy this situation as quickly as possible, the help of the American Council of Learned Societies was enlisted (Rivers 1981).

The method developed for use with military personnel focused on the listening and speaking skills. Rooted in structural (descriptive) linguistics and behavioral psychology, "firmly grounded in theory" according to Brown (1980:242), this new method proved far more successful and less time-consuming that previous methods for the purpose of teaching oral-aural communication skills. The Audiolingual Method (ALM) as it came to be known, impressed so many foreign language teachers that it prevailed in foreign language teaching from the early post-war years until the late 1960's.

Listening was the first skill area introduced, because theorists believed that this skill preceded all others. How much this area was actually "taught" as a skill in its own right is questionable. Students were introduced to segmental and suprasegmental features of the sound system quite early in their study of the language. All material for the development of the speaking skill was presented orally, requiring students to listen and respond in various ways. Because of procedural techniques, students received a lot of practice in listening, particularly to language spoken at native-speaker rates together with the various phenomena of fast speech. As a result, students in ALM programs developed a high level of proficiency in the areas of auditory memory and aural discrimination (Chastain 1976).

However, it appears that listening was merely the "handmaid of pronunciation" (Dunkel and Smith 1983) or speaking, in spite of the theoretical priority given to the listening skill. Students developed their skill in this area more because of constant exposure to the oral language than because of concerted efforts to focus on the development of listening comprehension. Students' comprehension exposure was limited to material they had learned for productive purposes.

Pronunciation played much the same role that it had played in the Direct Method- a very central one (Bowen 1972). The goal of developing a near-native accent in the target language meant that pronunciation training received high priority. Practice, in the form of patterned drills and minimal pair exercises, was the means by which this native-like accent was developed. Although some questioned the amount of carry-over from classroom to unstructured, unfocused situations, a 1964 study by Scherer and Wertheimer showed that ALM students had better oral skills than students of the Grammar-Translation/Reading era did (Chastain 1976).

Clearly, Audiolingualists believed in the development of oral and aural skills (although not to the exclusion of reading and writing). In practice, they implemented their belief with overt pronunciation drills, but did not give equal attention to listening comprehension, as their theory suggests they should have. Nevertheless, the Audiolingual period placed more emphasis on these areas than on other skills, and gave listening and pronunciation major roles not accorded them by many other popular methods.

Cognitive

By the late 1960's, however, much of the enthusiasm for the Audiolingual Method had disappeared. As early as 1965, Carroll recognized that the audiolingual habit theory was ripe for major revision, particularly in the direction of "joining with it some of the better elements of the cognitive code-learning theory" (1965:221). The 1970's saw the rise of Cognitive Code-Learning as a major approach to language teaching.

The reaction against the Audiolingual Method and the gravitation toward the Cognitive Approach owes its origins to two sources, one theoretical, the other empirical. The Audiolingual Method had as its foundations structural linguistics and behavioral psychology. By the mid-1960's, however, both of these cornerstones were meeting strong challenges from generative-transformation linguistics and cognitive psychology, respectively. With its theoretical bases under question, the Audiolingual Method began to lose ground. A second force eroding the bastion of Audiolingualism was research indicating that ALM practices were not as necessary or beneficial as previously claimed (Chastain 1976). Thus, a general shift in philosophy combined with some empirical data undermining the supremacy of the Audiolingual Method legitimized the rejection of the old order, setting the Cognitive Approach on the throne.

Cognitive Code-Learning was an approach rather than a methodology, an approach that emphasized a return to deductive learning. Rivers (1981) discusses the key features of this approach:

- alternation among varied patterns in drilling
- emphasis on meaningfulness
- attention to visual symbol systems
- conscious attention to and understanding of the important features of material being learned
- use of as many associations (visual, audio, etc.) as possible to increase retention

It is quite evident from this short list that many of the basic assumptions of the Audiolingual Method were being modified or rejected.

One axiom rejected was the notion of skill ordering. Unlike the Audiolingual Method, the Cognitive Approach advocated teaching all skills at once. Althou there was an emphasis on the development of competence before performance, of the receptive skills (listening and reading) before the productive skills (speaking and writing), there was no period of delayed exposure to any skill. Chastain (1976) proposed an ordering in which a grammar point was deductively presented then practiced with grammatical forms in contextualized exercises. Reading and listening materials would follow, with communicative opportunities bringing up the rear. Thus, although suggesting a certain sequence for presentation, this ordering was at the lesson or unit level, rather than at the curriculum level.

In the Cognitive Approach, listening comprehension began to be recognized as a skill in its own right. With renewed emphasis on the development of the receptive skills, more attention was paid to an ordered, carefully-considered presentation of listening comprehension tasks. Chastain (1971) presented a cognitive approach to language teaching and suggested listening exercises at the phoneme and discourse levels.

If listening comprehension was finally being recognized as an important skill, pronunciation began losing ground. According to Prator and Celce-Murcia (1979:4), pronunciation was "de-emphasized since it is considered futile for most students to try to sound like native-speakers." Chastain (1976) echoes this view, emphasizing that communication ability far outweighs pronunciation ability and that the latter may have little to do with the former. He concedes the value of some attention to pronunciation, but the techniques he suggests for attending to pronunciation features are consistent with the cognitive approach: explain, use diagrams, model. In short, this skill area should not be over-emphasized since proficiency may be neither possible nor necessary.

The Cognitive Approach was a turning point for both listening comprehension and pronunciation. Many approaches or methods since the Cognitive period have continued to emphasize listening comprehension and to de-emphasize pronunciation.

Interpersonal Methodologies

In the later half of the 1970's, no single method or approach dominated language teaching theory. This period witnessed the birth of a variety of approaches, many reflecting the growing awareness of and concern with affective variables in second language learning. These new methodologies tended to be learner-centered and interpersonal. Four methodologies/approaches of this period will be discussed briefly: The Silent Way, Community Language Learning, Suggestopedia, and The Comprehension Approach.

The Silent Way. The Silent Way was originated in the early 1960's by Caleb Gattegno and explained in his Teaching Foreign Language in Schools the Silent Way (1963). The more well-known and popular version, the "new" Silent Way, was an expression of Gattegno's work in the late 1970's.

According to Stevick (1980), the principal interpreter of Gattegno's work, the Silent Way is primarily a philosophy of education rather than a set of techniques. However, the materials and techniques used by Silent Way associates are probably more well-known than the philosophy that underlies the methodology. These include the famous rods, colors, and charts and the extensive silence of the instructor.

The principles that underlie the Silent Way provide a basis on which these more apparent techniques and procedures rest. A fundamental principle informing all practice is that teaching is subordinate to learning. Therefore, the method is extremely inductive, allowing students gradually to come to a cognitive understanding of the materials. As part of this process, students are allowed to make mistakes, and instructors are allowed to use gentle "correction" techniques. Students neither hear nor use their native language; no translation is done. Rather, new language material is introduced in small, well-defined bits so that the learner can identify it and work with it without the burden of too much new information.

Listening comprehension and pronunciation are not neglected by the method. Since students hear only the target language and must form hypotheses about its forms and functions, intensive listening is required (Newton 1974). According to Rivers and Temperley (1978:76), "Gattegno encourages early listening to tapes and disks of different languages, so that students gradually come to recognize characteristics of the language they are learning." For the most part, the listening focus of the Silent Way seems to be intensive rather than extensive, listening for detail and analysis rather than for the meaning of extended discourse.

Some pronunciation teaching is included in this methodology. Students are introduced to the sound system of the target language before any meaningful expressions are learned. According to Stevick (1980), this procedure of separating sounds and meaning is followed so that students do not encounter two learning items at the same time, thus freeing them to focus completely on the one new item being introduced. The use of color-coded phonics charts reinforces the new phonetic material being introduced. While native-like pronunciation does not seem to be a goal of the Silent Way, pronunciation does play an important role in the method (Celce-Murcia 1983), and care is taken to develop intelligible speakers.

Listening comprehension and pronunciation skills are considered important in the Silent Way. The type of listening varies little from that required by the Audiolingual Method. Pronunciation has more emphasis than it does in many other methods, although the Silent Way does not emphasize the development of native-like pronunciation.

Community Language Learning. At the same time that Gattegno was developing the Silent Way, Father Charles Curran was introducing the concept of Counseling-Learning. Counseling-Learning theory is an application of counseling techniques to the teaching/learning situation. According to Stevick (1980), the method actually merges counseling and teaching. Classes become "groups," students are referred to as "clients," teachers are called "counselors," and the students/clients are the focus of attention. The role of the teacher/counselor is to facilitate learning by creating an atmosphere in which interpersonal relationships can be developed and anxiety reduced. Curran believed such a situation could eliminate "defensive" learning, thus freeing the student/client to be "counseled."

The extension of Counseling-Learning into language learning contexts has been called Community Language Learning (CLL). CLL advocates, like those of the Silent Way, believe that the method is primarily concerned with educational theory rather than technique. Still, as with the Silent Way, certain aspects of technique have come to characterize the method. These techniques include having students/clients sit in a circle around a tape recorder which records the session. The students generate sentences in the native language which are translated into the target language by counselors (knowers) outside the circle and repeated in the target language by the student/client initiating the particular utterance. After several minutes of conversation according to this model, the tape is reviewed and linguistic points from the student-generated data are discussed.

As in the Silent Way, students/clients must listen intensely in order to repeat the target language utterances. This intensive listening and the review of tape recordings of their own attempts at target-language conversation provide the bulk of listening experiences in CLL situations. The counselor may give target language monologs which the clients listen to and attempt to decode. Listening, however, does not receive much focused attention apart from its role in the development of other skills.

The pronunciation work in CLL, like all Community Language Learning exercises, is learner-generated and -controlled. CLL has developed the concept of a "human computer," a role played by one or more counselor/knowers. To practice pronunciation, the client feeds a target language utterance to the "computer." The human computer repeats the utterance. Clients match their own production to that of the computer and may repeat as often as they choose. The computer repeats after them, responding only to what it is given. In this way, clients control the "drill" and practice those things they consider important.

The amount and form of repetition by clients within the circle also seems to have some effect on pronunciation. Stevick (1980:152) states, "If the target language sentences are broken into the right size pieces, pronunciation is good. In fact, it is more faithful to the knower's pronunciation than I have heard by any other method." Whether this subjective evaluation is accurate is, of course, unknown. If it is accurate, the cause of this phenomenon and its transfer to normal discourse would make an interesting study.

Suggestopedia. Another method developed by someone outside of language teaching is Suggestopedia (also called Suggestology). Created by the Bulgarian psychiatrist Georgi Lozanov, Suggestopedia is not strictly a language teaching method; Lozanov claims that the principles of Suggestopedia can be applied to any learning situation.

Basically, the Suggestopedic method was designed to counteract any negative "suggestions" that might inhibit learning. Crucial features of the method are the attempt to boost the confidence of the learner and the need, therefore, to have class sessions in a very relaxed atmosphere. Associated with the method are the use of music as a relaxing/teaching technique and the close interaction of the class members. Lozanov believes that conditions such as these optimize learning and allow learners to develop a communicative ability in a second language.

A major technique employed by instructors using this method is dialog reading. For each unit, students listen to a lengthy dialog read three times by the instructor. This listening task appears to be the only focused listening activity used in the method. Students are exposed to aural stimuli during communication activities; however, listening in those situations seems to be a by-product of exercises with a different focus.

During one of the three readings of the dialog, the instructor makes comments on pronunciation. No pronunciation instruction is given, per se, but a lot of repetition is involved (Celce-Murcia 1983). According to Madsen (1979), a common criticism of Suggestopedia is that students' speech is somewhat inaccurate grammatically and phonologically. Celce-Murcia (1983) concurs, stating that students become fluent in their errors but have reasonable pronunciation (given the lack of instruction).

It appears that none of the traditional skills receives much attention in Suggestopedia. Communication is the goal and orientation of the method. Development of the skills of listening comprehension and pronunciation are important only to the extent that they are needed for some undefined level of communicative ability.

Comprehension Approach. The fourth interpersonal theory under discussion is the Comprehension Approach, a model which encompasses the work of Winitz, Asher, Belasco, and Postovsky. The Comprehension Approach promotes the primacy of comprehension, particularly aural comprehension, in language acquisition. This view is largely based on a belief that second language acquisition parallels first language acquisition and that competence must be developed before performance. According to Winitz (1981), there is a growing body of research data giving strong support to these basic beliefs.

The Comprehension Approach combines aspects of several older methods. As in the Direct and Audiolingual Methods, listening precedes speaking. In the Comprehension Approach, the period of listening is quite extended, other skills being delayed for an unspecified period of time. Like several methods, it is "cognitive" in the sense that rules are acquired through personal discovery and inference. All rule-learning is implicit.

Listening comprehension is the major focus of this approach. Comprehension is the goal of all exercises and lessons. This approach is evident in Asher's Total Physical Response and Winitz-Reeds' Aural Discrimination Method. Both delay work on speaking in order to concentrate on developing the listening skill. In the Total Physical Response approach, physical actions serve to indicate comprehension. In the Winitz-Reeds method, students listen to utterances then select from among a set of pictures the one that represents the utterance. Both methods attempt to apply the basic theories of the Comprehension Approach.

Listening comprehension in this approach is not a haphazard prelude to speaking. Students are systematically exposed to sentences in the target language for comprehension purposes only. Comprehension of meaning is stressed, although gradual understanding of form is assumed.

The Comprehension Approach makes a strong assertion about the acquisition of the speaking skill: conversation will (just) develop as the result of understanding (Winitz 1981). Speaking, as such, is not taught, nor is pronunciation. The approach does not discount the value of good pronunciation. Like the speaking skill, the pronunciation skill seems to develop naturally. In a study by Robbins Burling, et al. (1981) on Bahasa Indonesia, taught by the Comprehension Approach, it was reported that students developed remarkably good pronunciation. Burling concluded that large doses of listening convey the essentials of phonology, thereby minimizing the need for explicit instruction in pronunciation.

If listening comprehension was largely neglected by many methods of the past, it has now assumed the major role in one new approach. Pronunciation, while a valued skill, is left to develop on its own.

Communicative Approach

In the early 1970's, a movement which emphasized the development of communicative competence began. The phrase, communicative competence, has become a byword of the late 1970's and early 1980's, although there seems to be little consensus on the meaning of the phrase.

According to Littlewood (1981), communicative competence means teaching language functions as well as forms. First, linguistics forms are discussed. Then, communicative meanings and functions are considered. Students have many opportunities to use language to communicate. This view seems to echo the philosophy exemplified by Bruder's MMC: Developing Communicative Competence (1974). This text was an early attempt to do what Littlewood advocates, namely, to provide focused instruction on linguistic forms followed by opportunities for more realistic communication.

Savignon (1983) completely rejects this view of communicative competence. She disagrees with the traditional four-skill approach to language acquisition with its emphasis on the development of linguistic competence. Rather, she advocates the four-component description of communicative competence presented by Canale (1983): grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence. This description includes the forms and functions which Littlewood believes comprise communicative competence and the communication included by both Littlewood and Bruder. However, Savignon extends the definition of communicative competence so that communication has the primary role. Linguistic competence is only a part (in fact, a small part) of the picture. It is not neglected; however, it does receive less emphasis than either Bruder or Littlewood suggest it should receive.

Since definitions of communicative competence differ, it is difficult to define exactly the place of pronunciation and listening comprehension in this approach. Both Littlewood and Savignon emphasize listening comprehension. Littlewood devotes an entire chapter to the development of this skill, giving examples of many different kinds of activities. Generally, these activities involve selective listening rather than listening for general meaning. On the other hand, the activities suggested by Savignon focus on listening for the gist of a message, a technique very much in keeping with her view of communicative competence.

Once again, pronunciation seems to receive less emphasis than the other skills. Littlewood makes no mention of it. Savignon mentions it briefly. However, Savignon (personal communication) does not entirely reject the idea of providing pronunciation instruction. In her own classes, she gives some attention to discrete features of pronunciation. No drills are conducted. Students are not expected to achieve native-like pronunciation. Appropriately, pronunciation targets are chosen after students are monitored during communication activities. Pronunciation is not totally ignored; it is perceived as a small part of linguistic competence, which itself is a small part of communicative competence.

It appears that the roles of listening comprehension and pronunciation in the Communicative (Competence) Approach are the reverse of those in many of the earlier methods. Listening comprehension receives much attention; pronunciation receives little.

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

A variety of tools and techniques have been developed to facilitate second-language teaching. Some of the more common ones used in teaching pronunciation and listening comprehension will be presented below; however, the value of these techniques will not be discussed.

Pronunciation

Pronunciation teaching has been a focus of foreign language teaching for many years and several tools and techniques exist to develop this skill. These will be discussed in three categories: intuitive procedures, analytical procedures, and innovative devices.

Intuitive Procedures. According to Kelly (1969), the oldest and simplest tool is imitation, or mimicry. Nearly all of the methods discussed above employed this technique, though in varying degrees. Some methods, such as Community Language Learning, focus on this technique almost exclusively for pronunciation training. Other methods continue it with a variety of other procedures.

Most imitation has been teacher-modeled, and there are advocates (Parish 1977) of the importance of exact imitation of teacher-generated stimuli. Some learner-modeled practice through mimicry has been used in Community Language Learning with less strict imitation than Parish recommends. Whatever the type of mimicry used, imitation has been and remains a basic technique for any training in speaking a foreign language.

Another intuitive technique has been "training" in perception. "Listen only. Do not repeat." has been a standard procedure for many years. Perception training has been expanded through aural discrimination exercises described with the analytical procedures below.

Combinations of imitation and oral reading have been used in a variety of forms for decades. The Direct Method used oral reading to practice the suprasegmental features of stress and intonation. Today, it is still suggested as part of the training in pronunciation by Rivers and Temperley (1978) and Kelly (1969), among others.

Rhymes, poems, and songs which are read and/or memorized are suggested by Rivers (1981) and Allen and Valette (1972). Again, these tools were popular in the Direct Method and are still included in many pronunciation classes today, particularly for work in stress and intonation.

The use of tongue twisters is another technique advocated by Allen and Valette (1972) and, at the later stages of training, by Kelly (1969). Sentences like "Sally sells sea shells by the sea shore" are used to practice certain segmental phonemes.

Finally, the reading and/or memorization of dialogs is recommended as a technique by Rivers and Temperley (1978) and Allen and Valette (1972). These dialogs can be used for segmental and suprasegmental practice.

Practice is the most intuitive procedure of all. It has been suggested by virtually every author who considers pronunciation important. The form of practice advocated has varied from mimicry to the use of various drills and exercises similar to those used in grammar teaching. However, the consensus has been that some form of oral practice is vital to the improvement of pronunciation (Acton 1983).

Analytical Procedures. Over the past century of language teaching, a variety of analytical procedures have been used for training in pronunciation. Particularly since the advent of phonetic and phonemic analysis, training in aural discrimination has become a technique used in pronunciation teaching. Dixson (1975) considers it even more fundamental than production practice. Paulston and Bruder (1976) included it as one of the first parts of their pronunciation lessons. Generally, aural discrimination practice involves the use of minimal pairs in a variety of exercise types.

The development of phonetic analysis was followed closely by the creation of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Since then, the use of some form of special symbols in pronunciation teaching has been a debated issue. Some methods, particularly the Direct Method, have relied heavily on phonetic symbols as a pedagogical tool. Others have questioned their value. Despite the controversy, a special script representing the sounds of the target language is a tool which is available and has been used by many pronunciation teachers.

The development of phonetic analysis also provided the basis for the other widely used tools of explanation and articulatory description. These techniques were particularly important in Cognitive Code-Learning, and Chastian (1976) strongly suggests their use in pronunciation teaching. Information such as voicing, point and manner of articulation are provided so that students can understand the sounds they are attempting to produce. Terminology used in explanations may be very technical, although Cant (1976) and Parish (1977) suggest the use of simple terms.

With the appearance of generative phonology came advocates of distinctive features as a tool in the foreign language classroom. This procedure was supported by Leahy (1980) and is a perfect example of articulatory description of the more technical sort.

To aid in explanations and articulatory descriptions, a variety of charts and diagrams have been suggested. Finocchiaro (1969) and Chastian (1976) advocate the use of diagrams as a pronunciation teaching aid. Followers of the Silent Way also make use of carefully designed phonics charts to facilitate pronunciation teaching.

Nonsense syllables (for example, ba, ka, fa) have been used since Greek and Roman times, according to Kelly (1969). Their use has continued in the twentieth century and has been expanded to real words in minimal pairs, words that differ only in one phoneme. Exercises using minimal pairs were the most common techniques for pronunciation practice in the 1950's and 1960's (Kelly 1969). Finocchiaro (1969) suggests their use, adding that meanings of the words might be given.

To expand on the concept of minimal pairs and make them more meaningful, Utley (1975) suggests the use of minimal sentences, and Bowen (1972) has devised the "contextualized minimal pair." Both of these concepts extend listening/discrimination practice beyond the word level, a level which Robinett (1978) suggests might prove boring in classroom use.

Another analytical procedure which has been used is contrastive analysis, a comparison of the target language and native language, usually to predict areas of difficulty for second language learners. Lado (1964) advocates the use of contrastive analysis for this purpose. Parish (1977) believes that contrastive analysis is a somewhat helpful tool. Chastain (1976), a fairly strong advocate, includes many exercises based on contrastive analysis in his suggestions for pronunciation teaching. To some degree, contrastive analysis has also been used as a tool for deciding which sounds should be contrasted in the aural discrimination drills discussed above.

Several analytical procedures have been developed as applications of the theory of generative phonology. These techniques involve the prediction of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes. The use of spelling patterns to predict vowel and consonant phonemes has been advocated by many, notably Dickerson (1975, 1978, 1981, 1984), Dickerson and Finney (1978), Cronnel (1972), and Kreidler (1972). Dickerson (1984) emphasizes that rule-learning without oral practice has little effect on pronunciation.

Finally, the use of the developmental approach of speech therapists has been suggested. Celce-Murcia (1983) includes this system of approximations to target sounds among the techniques found in foreign language pronunciation classes. Chastain (1976) also seems to suggest the application of this approach in second language teaching.

Innovative Devices and Techniques. Several authors have described the use of innovative devices and techniques. Along with hand signals, deBot and Mailfert (1982) suggest utilizing body movements, kazoos, and the jazz chants popularized by Carolyn Graham (1978). According to the authors, these techniques and tools are helpful for teaching the suprasegmental features of language.

Another technique suggested by deBot and Mailfert (1982), James (1976), and Vardanian (1964) is the use of electronic equipment, such as the oscilloscope, to visualize suprasegmental patterns. deBot and Mailfert report some success with this technique.

Gilbert (1978) describes a variety of tools for teaching segmental and suprasegmental features. Vanishing letters, arrows and stop signs, and stretchy vowel letters are used to teach various phonetic features.

Schumann, *et al.* (1978) discuss the use of hypnosis in pronunciation, a follow-up to an article by Guiora, *et al.* (1972) on the use of alcohol to lower inhibitions and promote "flexibility" in articulation. Schumann reports inconclusive results from research with this new technique.

Listening Comprehension

Listening comprehension has been called the "long-neglected skill." Indicative of this neglect is the distinct lack of tools and techniques for teaching listening comprehension. Two procedural categories will be discussed below, preliminary considerations and suggested activities.

Preliminary Considerations. Three issues appear with some regularity in the literature on teaching listening comprehension. They have an effect on materials development and, therefore, on classroom activities.

The first consideration involves the type of language input for listening activities. Many authors advocate taping the natural (conversational) speech of native speakers. Stanley (1978) reports on the use of taped interviews with native speakers for use in the classroom. Simpson (1981) suggests a similar activity. Herschenhorn (1979), Sittler (1966), and Belasco (1972) are among many others who advocate using real language samples as listening comprehension teaching material.

A second consideration is the pace or speed of the target language input. Rivers (1981), Taylor (1981), and Pimsleur, Hancock, and Furey (1977) all suggest native speaker rate interrupted by longer-than-normal pauses at natural points in the utterances. This procedure seems to have few, if any, opponents.

The third consideration is the development of listening skills or strategies. Rivers (1981) and Morley and Lawrence (1971) have emphasized the need to develop listening comprehension skills. They believe that this goal can be accomplished by incorporating certain learning strategies into the classroom exercises. According to Rivers (1981), these strategies (or stages) include: identification, selection, (guided and non-guided), short-term retention, and long-term retention. The development of auditory memory underlies all of these strategies. These basic stages represent a tool or technique by which instructors can organize and present aural material and train students in the listening comprehension skill.

Classroom Activities. At present, little is known about listening comprehension from a theoretical perspective. Thus, most pedagogical techniques or tools involve types of activities to be used in the classroom. Paulston and Bruder (1976) discuss five techniques and five classroom activities representative of those techniques. The first technique involves the phonologic code. Students discriminate sounds, identify stress and intonation patterns, and recognize sound-symbol correspondences. These activities are similar to the pronunciation techniques discussed above.

A second technique is decoding structures. Dictation is the most common activity representing this technique. It is, perhaps, the most common, longest-lived listening activity, although Cartledge (1968) suggests that it is a tool for practice, not a teaching procedure. Sutherland (1967), on the other hand, claims that dictation is a learning device for decoding oral symbols into written ones. He states that students can discover what they do not hear by taking dictations, and can practice chunking aural input. Sawyer and Silver (1961) support this view. The selective dictation discussed by Bebout (1980) and listening cloze procedure reported by Oakeshott-Taylor (1979) are new variations on this old teaching technique.

Another technique used in listening comprehension training involves listening for a message. Students must solve problems and/or answer comprehension questions from aural input. The activities in Morley's Improving Aural Comprehension (1972) represent this technique. Also, the activities employing radio broadcasts described by Farid (1975), Liesching (1980), Hafernik and Surguine (1979), and Brinton and Gaskill (1978) reflect this technique. Several types of exercises are provided; students must listen to the language sample(s) and complete the exercises.

A fourth technique is listening for variations of style. Herschenhorn (1979) suggests interviews with native speakers and tapes of native speaker conversations as possible sources for this type of listening practice.

A final technique is listening for the total meaning of a passage. The listening and notetaking activities discussed by Farid (1978), Otto (1979), and Zappolo (1981) are activities for developing this skill. Godfrey (1977) includes paraphrasing and predictive and retrospective listening as ways to promote listening for total meaning.

FUTURE TRENDS IN LISTENING COMPREHENSION AND PRONUNCIATION

The past hundred years of foreign language teaching has witnessed a wide variety of methods, approaches, techniques, and tools for teaching various skill areas. Some methods/approaches have emphasized listening comprehension, others have emphasized pronunciation. Some methods/approaches have focused on both skills; others have ignored both. Within these various methods and approaches, techniques and tools ranging from simple repetition to the use of sophisticated machinery have been employed to accomplish the learning objectives.

These methods, approaches, tools, and techniques have survived periods of acclaim and rejection, being reintroduced (reinvented) several times. No aspect of methodology, no tool or technique from the past, seems to have been either permanently accepted or laid to rest. The frequent resurrection of elements of the past, though perhaps in somewhat different settings, leads one to wonder if, indeed, there is anything truly new being developed.

What is seen presently in foreign language teaching and what can be projected for the near future may or may not seem new. Certainly, listening comprehension has arrived and is being taken seriously as a skill area deserving much attention. In the spring of 1983, the first conference devoted exclusively to listening comprehension teaching was held. Dunkel and Smith (1983) emphasize the need for developing students' listening fluency and claim that many commercial materials are now available to accomplish this goal.

The re-emergence of the idea of listening before speaking, as seen in the works of Asher (1969), Winitz (1981), Postovsky (1974), Nord (1981), and Boyd and Boyd (1982) may have a growing influence on second language teaching, or it may continue to hold a indeterminate position in a variety of approaches. Again, research in this area may yield results which will shape pedagogical practices.

Natural speech, with all the phenomena of fast speech, is a popular listening target at present. Interest in it is apparent not only in research, but also in available classroom materials such as Maley and Moulding's Learning to Listen (1981). Material for listening to natural, conversational speech should continue to be available.

Another booming area within the listening comprehension domain is listening for note-taking. Books, tapes, and videotapes provide university-bound students with lecture material from which they learn to take notes.

Whatever specific trends develop within listening comprehension, it is doubtful that this skill area will soon be relegated to the position of passive handmaiden of the speaking skills.

Pronunciation now appears to be suffering much the same fate listening comprehension did for many years--that of being neglected. Most recent methods, while perhaps not completely ignoring pronunciation, have focused more on communication. The message has become more important. Implicitly or explicitly, these methods render the judgment that as long as inaccuracies do not obscure meaning, pronunciation need not be a major concern for students or teachers.

Even among pronunciation teachers, there seems to be a desire to be on the "communication" bandwagon. A workshop at TESOL '83 in Toronto was entitled "Developing Communicative Materials for Teaching Pronunciation." Possibly because of its novel title and its implications, the workshop drew a large crowd. Disappointingly, presentation involved a return to a lot of mimicry not very cleverly set in a supposedly "communicative" context. Still, the presenter believed that a communicative approach was being demonstrated and was convinced that such an approach was necessary. "Communication" in the oral skills area makes saleable material.

One trend among those authors still emphasizing pronunciation rather than communication teaching seems to be in the application of generative phonology. Some newer pronunciation texts are including such applications, teaching students to predict correct pronunciation from learned rules. Some texts focus almost exclusively on prediction, with little attention to production. Students learn to predict sounds but may not be able to articulate those sounds. Too much attention to rules without sufficient attention to practice creates a situation the reverse of that usually seen where students can make sounds but not know which sounds belong in which words. It is important to strike a balance between the development of prediction and production skills.

The future for pronunciation teaching may not be as dismal as recent methods would suggest. Theories clash with facts. Methodologists paint one picture of the need for pronunciation instruction; classroom practitioners paint another. It is hard to convince those teaching recently-arrived refugees that pronunciation difficulties do not seriously interfere with communication. Among classroom teachers who are trying to cope with the realities of unintelligible speech, pronunciation is a topic of enduring interest. While pronunciation may not soon enjoy the position of importance it held in times past, it will surely not remain as neglected as it has been in recent years. Situations where pronunciation help is desperately needed do not vanish because they are theoretically unmanageable; they persist and require a serious and helpful response from the teaching community.

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LECTS AND INSTITUTIONALIZED VARIETIES OF ENGLISH: THE CASE OF SINGAPORE

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This paper is an attempt at formulating the minimum requirements of an approach to the study of institutionalized varieties of English. Singaporean/Malaysian English (SME) is examined as a test case to show how a particular approach may in fact fail to handle the most crucial considerations in non-native Englishes. The lectal continuum approach initiated by Bickerton for pidgins and creoles and popularized by Platt and Weber for Singaporean/Malaysian English is shown to be inadequate as a model of description. It is argued that an adequate approach to SME must have these minimum characteristics: psychological and sociolinguistic reality, ability to capture its uniqueness as a variety of English, to describe discoursal features, and to handle the most crucial considerations such as intelligibility, creativity, transfer of features from other languages, code-switching, and pedagogical forms.

I should like to begin by defining the terms used in the title of this article. The term institutionalized refers to the non-native varieties of English which have developed in many multilingual countries formerly colonized by Britain and the United States.[1] Examples of such countries are Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, and Nigeria. Typically, in these countries, English has been used not only for international purposes but also for intranational purposes. For example, in Singapore, English is used as an official language in education, government, business, and even as a lingua franca in interethnic communication.

The word lect suggests language variation. Thus, there is dialect (variation according to geographical region), sociolect (variation according to socio-economic class), and idiolect variation according to individual, possibly idiosyncratic usage). When the word lect is used with reference to Singaporean Malaysian English, it suggests that Singaporean-Malaysian English is not a homogeneous variety of English but a variety with various subvarieties, where variation depends not only on user factors such as level of education, social class, but also on use factors such as the degree of formality.

Platt (1977:84), for instance, characterizes Singaporean English in terms of an acrolect, the mesolects, and a basilect:

> Singaporean English is a speech continuum, comparable to the post-creole continuum in Jamaica described by DeCamp (1971b) or in Guyana described by Bickerton (1975). There is a whole range from the 'lowest' variety, the basilect, through the medium range, the mesolects, to the 'highest' variety, the acrolect.

Two basic facts underlie the argument used in this article. First, there is such a thing as linguistic variation. Second, non-native varieties of English do exist, not just as deviant forms or interlanguage of native Englishes but as independent varieties in their own right, worthy of serious research and academic discussion.

It might also be helpful to point out that the background to my thinking in this article is the result of several years of research on Singaporean English, some ten years' experience teaching ESL to Singaporeans, and of course, observation and introspection as a native Malaysian and nativized Singaporean.

This article has three main aims, first, to formulate the minimum requirements of an approach to the study of institutionalized varieties of English; second, to review the existing descriptions of Singaporean/Malaysian English in the light of this approach; third, to suggest the implications of all this for theories and descriptions of language, and for theories of second language acquisition and second language pedagogy.

ELEMENTS OF AN ADEQUATE APPROACH

Intelligibility

One of the arguments often used to justify teaching Ame 'can English or British English or any form of native Eng..ish to non-native speakers is the argument of intelligibility. It is often assumed that unless people speak English like native speakers, they cannot expect to be understood. But intelligibility is very complex and not very well understood. Like bilingualism, intelligibility is not an all-or-none phenomenon. It is not a question of someone being completely unintelligible or completely intelligible, but a question of the extent to which one is intelligible. Perhaps it is time we asked some sociolinguistic-type questions about intelligibility, i.e., who is intelligible, about what, to whom, where, when and why. (For further discussion, see Smith (1983), especially chapters 6 and 7).

The 'who' question should distinguish between the speaker of a native variety of English and the speaker of a non-native variety of English. Notice that it is defined as native or non-native. As Tay (1982a) puts it, the term <u>native speaker</u> evolved in monolingual communities and should either be refined for use in multilingual communities or abandoned all together.

Under the 'who' question, we also have to consider a whole complex of factors about the speaker (in the case of speech) and the writer (in the case of writing). Some of these are age, (the difference in intelligibility between a child and an adult), level of education and social class (the difference in intelligibility between a bus driver and a university professor). For Singapore with a very high percentage of language learners, we also need to distinguish between those who are already proficient speakers of English and those who may have had most of their education in Mandarin and are only beginning to learn English.

The 'what' question considers the subject matter. Thus to the layman, ordinary conversation may be expected to be more intelligible than, say, a specialist lecture in atomic physics.

The 'whom' question considers the audience in the case of speech and the reader in the case of writing. The importance of this question is, regrettably, not often sufficiently realized in language teaching. For example, if a Singaporean, Indian, or Nigerian can communicate intelligibly with his fellow-countrymen in English but not with Americans in the United States, how useful is it to try to upgrade his English by making him sound more American? If he is planning to be an immigrant, there might be some point but if he is planning to spend only five years of his life in the United States as opposed to the next fifty years of his life back home, would not such efforts be rather pointless? After all, he will have to shed his American accent once he gets home if he is to be accepted by speakers of English in his own country.

The 'where' question considers the locale of the speech or writing. Is the conversation taking place in a quiet room with good acoustics or over a telephone line with a poor connection? These considerations will doubtless affect intelligibility.

The 'when' question considers the timing of the discourse. Was the person tired, emotionally upset, nervous, in a hurry, or was he/she relaxed? As teachers, we must have come across students who normally speak and write intelligibly but who perhaps suddenly seem much less intelligible under the pressure of an examination because of nervousness, lack of sleep, and so on.

The 'why' question is self-evident and asks: Why should the speaker/writer be intelligible in the first place? Do doctors write illegibly because they do not want patients to read the diagnosis and prescription? Do lawyers make their language so abstruse because they have to protect themselves against the law? In a multilingual country, one of the reasons why some people code-switch is to make sure that part of what they want to say is not intelligible to the person who does not speak that language. If such is the case, lack of intelligibility is in fact an aim of discourse.

The first requirement of an approach to the study of institutionalized varieties of English, then, is that it should be able to handle the question of intelligibility. In order to illustrate this, two texts of spontaneous speech as given below.

(1) Semi-formal, spontaneous, spoken.

.. As I'm a Chinese .. by birth, I'm more familiar with Chinese customs, especially since my sister just got married last week, <u>(you) see.</u> So I remember that just a week before the wedding, we had this.. <u>exchange of gifts session.</u> Her fiance at that time brought over some <u>canned ribs</u>, <u>pork ribs</u>, yes, about .. twenty-eight (of) cans of them. And then we return about fourteen of them. And then they <u>brought along some jewelry</u>, four <u>types</u> of jewelry - in fact, a pair of earrings, a necklace, a <u>bangle</u> and a pendant. So we had <u>to accept all of that</u> because it's meant for girls, <u>(you) see</u>. And after that, we had a feast for our relatives who were there and a week later, on the actual day of the wedding, he came over with (a) .. a basket of fruits which we retain half and return the other and since she was my elder sister, we six sisters went along with her, to her <u>hubby's</u> place. At that time, we <u>snapped</u> a lot of photographs, <u>you see</u>. And when we reached, (reached) his (his) mother's place, there was a red altar with large <u>joss sticks</u>, gigantic ones, in fact, and she had to bow down twelve times, and kneel down nine times to three generations, one to his .. great-grandparents, one to his grandparents, and one to his <u>deceased</u> father. And after that, we went on to the Toa Payoh Garden to snap some photographs. And later on, in the night, there was a Chinese .. wedding dinner at the Oasis Restaurant. And that's generally the pattern of Chinese marriages in Singapore.

The speaker of text (1) is female, about 20 years of age, a second year undergraduate at the National University of Singapore. She had had all her education in Singapore schools where English was the medium of instruction. She had never lived outside Singapore. Her main/native language was Hainanese (a dialect of Chinese), but the languages she currently uses are Hainanese, Mandarin and English. She had also studied French and Japanese. She was given only about two or three minutes to think about the subject 'Marriage' and then told to speak. The recording was done in a sound-proofed recording studio in the English Department at the National University of Singapore.

When the tape was played to British listeners living in the London area, certain problems of intelligibility emerged. The parts of the text which were missed by at least fifty percent of the listeners are underlined. Interestingly enough, pronunciation was not the main problem. A number of listeners wrote pot instead of pork (1. 7), banger instead of bangle (1. 11), a set instead of accept (1. 12) because that was what these words sounded like on the tape. However, the use of the wrong tense did not bother the listeners at all. Thus for line 8, all the listeners wrote returned instead of return. Similarly, in line 17, retain was heard as retained and return as returned by all the listeners. The three major obstacles to intelligibility were in fact discourse markers, lexical items and the mixing of styles and registers. First, as an example of discourse markers, take the expression you see used three times in the text, in lines 3, 13 and 20. This device is used by the speaker to indicate rapport with the audience. It is similar in effect to questions like: Do you follow? Are you with me? None of the British listeners heard this although one-hundred percent of the Singaporean listeners did. Second, unfamiliar lexical items or collocations such as joss sticks, (1. 22), snap photographs (1. 20,28), types of jewelry (1. 10) presented problems of intelligibility to the British listeners but not to the Singaporeans, as one would expect. Third, the use of the colloquial word hubby for 'husband' in line 10 and the formal word deceased for 'dead' in line 26 in an otherwise semi-formal piece of discourse presented problems of intelligibility for the British but not the Singaporean listeners.

(2) Informal, spontaneous, spoken.

Last time .. have (car). Now no have. Using motorcycle. My friend give it to me _la_! Why you laugh? .. Hey! Bernard ask me bring you along with me .. to Lorong 7. I meet you after 4 at Orchard .. four thirty .. _can_ .. that day he ask me to go and enjoy .. he got relative down there .. I don't want .. he is not there already _la_ .. not there _la_ .. no that day I meet him .. I ask him about the car .. he want one thousand, _man_. I said I pay him eight, _la_ .. I told Bernard like that .. I told him, I pay you more a bit _la_. He want one thousand no less _la_!

Text (2) is a fragment of a telephone conversation recorded near a public phone booth in a cinema lobby. This text is quite different from text (1). It is a completely informal conversation, marked for informality by the use of the particles _la_, _man_ and the use of _can_ without a subject. The speaker is using the low variety (the basilect) of Singaporean English and is obviously not as well educated as the speaker of text (1).

The intelligibility of text (2) would be vastly different for Singaporeans and non-Singaporeans. The speaker in text (2) obviously has no problem communicating with his friend on the phone, but if he were to speak like that to an American living in Urbana-Champaign, he would not get very far.

Creativity

Another characteristic of institutionalized varieties of English is the creativity that arises from languages in contact. A small sample is given below to illustrate what can happen to the English language even in a small country like Singapore.

(3) You can get a genuine _nonya_ set lunch for $6.50 at a little-known cafe on Waterloo Street. The Monte Cristo Cafe on the seventh floor of the Catholic Welfare Centre is run by two _babas_ .. I especially enjoyed the _rojak istimewa_. This cost $2.50 for a medium serving that would have cost $1.50 at a _hawker centre_. (_The Sunday Times_, "Sunday Plus," 7/17/83:10).

(4) a The leaves of the tree _rustled like a new sarung_.

b It was as soft as kapuk. (Lee Kok Liang 1964:8-9)

(5) a Teh is tea, teh-o is tea without milk, and teh-o-kosong is tea without milk and sugar.

b Kachauration means big brother, disturbance, inconvenience from Malay kachau and the English suffix -ation. Similarly, salarity means big mistake, from Malay salah and the English suffix -ity.

c Kena played means got played out, from Malay kena for getting something bad and English played for played out.

d A: What do you call the parents of cowboys?
B: I don't know, what do you call the parents of cowboys?
A: Cow peh (father) and cow boo (mother).

The pun here hinges on the English cow, the Hokkien words peh for 'father' and boo for 'mother' and a knowledge of the Hokkien phrase cow peh cow boo which means 'to complain incessantly.'

Examples (3) and (4) taken from written texts and example (5) from Eh Goondu by Toh Paik Choo show what could happen in informal conversation.

In example (3), notice the underlined words nonya, babas, rojak istimewa, and hawker centre. The first three expressions are all Malay words and the last one, a nativized Singaporean/Malaysian English expression. One could, of course, rewrite the text in English English but it would involve a great deal of circumlocution. It might read something like this, in (6).

(6) You can get a genuine set lunch cooked in the tradition of the local Straits-born Chinese who are ethnically Chinese but who speak Malay as their native language ... The Monte Cristo Cafe ..... is run by two local Straits-born Chinese men ... I especially enjoyed the special mixture of vegetables. This cost $2.50 for a medium serving that would have cost $1.50 at a place where there are a lot of stalls selling food freshly cooked on the spot.

Such rewriting is quite unnecessary as the text is immediately transparent to a Singaporean and to anyone who has been to Singapore.

Example (4), taken from one of the short stories by Lee Kok Liang, a Singaporean writer, shows how a writer may use an institutionalized variety of English to good effect by creating new expressions which are more meaningful in the socio-cultural context of Singapore than elsewhere. As soft as kapuk would be meaningless to one who does not what kapuk is and has never felt it. But so would the expression as soft as eider down to someone who has never seen or felt eider down.

The examples in (5) show the variety of devices that may be used in information conversation to nativize English. In (5)a, teh-o is from two Teochew/Hokkian words (Teochew and Hokkien are dialects of Chinese) meaning 'tea' and 'black' literally; teh-o-kosong adds a third word of Malay origin meaning 'empty'. The word in (5)b, Kachauration, an emphatic form meaning 'big brother, disturbance, inconvenience,' is formed from Malay kachau 'disturb' and the English noun-forming suffix -ation. Similarly, salarity is formed from Malay salah and the English noun-forming suffix -ity. The expression in (5)c is formed from a Malay word kena with all its implications of something bad having happened, and an English word played used in the sense of 'played out.' The pun in (5)d is particularly ingenious. To understand it, one has to know that peh means 'father' and boo means 'mother' but that the expression cow peh cow boo means 'to complain incessantly'.

Code-Switching

Apart from intelligibility and creativity, code-switching between the different sociolects in English is also an important characteristic and one that must be adequately accounted for in a descriptive model. Consider the examples of code-switching in (7) taken from a short story, "Everything's Arranged," by the Malaysian author, Siew Yue Killingley (1968). This short story, set in Kuala Lumpur, is about two Tamil-speaking Malaysian University students, in the days when arranged marriages were the norm, at least for Malaysian Tamils.

(7) a Sitting in the lounge watching the distracting and excited girls rushing by with packed cases, longing to go home to decent food, Rukumani asked Devanayagam, "This time you think you can write or not? Can send to Amy's house what? My mother likes her mother. I can easily go there to get your letters. Can just put 'Miss Amy Wong.' She knows your writing and won't open."

"I think so can," replied Devanayagam, "but helluva difficult man. See ah, my sisters brothers all, running all over the house and if I write they'll ask if I'm learning and want to look. Also ah, if I go to post office that clerk at the post office can see me. He's a joker, so sure to tell my father I send love letters. But still try la!"

b "Who that young chap?" Mr. Sambanthan asked, trying to keep the note of suspicion out of his voice.
"I told you at the station, Pa. He's Johnny Chew and he's in my class. He often helps me with my work. He is very brilliant."
"You know where his father working?"
"Income tax."

c Dearest Deva,

I think of you very often but maybe you have forgotten me. I received your letter about your proposed marriage. If you agree to that I cannot do anything to prevent it and I hope you will be very happy. But I shall never forget you and hope that spiritually we shall remain close like brother and sister. I too have some sad news to tell. My parents want me to marry a distant relation whom I have never met. I think he is going to be a B.A. but they don't mention his name. I have great troubles here and I wish you could save me. Why is it that we have to be separated and bear such terrible burdens?

Yours ever-loving,

Ruku

In passage (7)a, Rukumani and her boyfriend, Devanayagam, speak to each other in an informal variety of English marked by the use of particles <u>what</u>, <u>la</u>, <u>ah</u>, <u>man</u> and some syntactic simplifications. Notice, however, that the voice of the narrator (lines 1-3) is in formal English. In passage (7)b, Rukumani speaks to her father in a more formal style of English (possibly acrolectal). She does this perhaps to show respect to her father but it is equally possible that she wishes to emphasize the distance between them and to discourage him from questioning her further about Johnny Chew who he suspects is her secret lover. Rukumani's father speaks to her in a more 'mesolectal' variety possibly because he has less education and that is the only 'lect' he can use fluently. In passage (7)c, Rukumani writes a letter to Devanayagam after they have been apart for some time. Whereas previously she had spoken to him in a very informal variety of English to show solidarity, familiarity, rapport and intimacy, she now writes in a very formal style to emphasize the opposite of all these characteristics. The change in medium alone from speech to writing is insufficient to account for this change of style. (See also Lowenberg 1984.)

Pedagogical Norms

Finally, the question of pedagogical norms is very important for the institutionalized varieties of English. A number of questions appear to be relevant here. One question is that of creativity. When is creativity genuine creativity and not simply the result of lack of proficiency in English? If a student writes 'the exhausted fumes of the car' instead of 'the exhaust fumes of the car' in an essay about traffic jams, is he/she simply ignorant about certain noun formations in English, or do we credit him/her with creativity for implying that even the fumes coming out of the exhaust are exhausted? Should the mixing of registers, so typical of even educated Singaporeans, to be tolerated or made a teaching point because it poses problems of international intelligibility? What about differences in rhetorical norms? For example, the use of proverbs in Chinese is considered a mark of learning but cliches should be avoided when writing in English because their use shows a lack of originality. How does one grade an essay about how to mend a bicycle puncture which begins as in (8)?

(8) The sun was shining very brightly. The birds were singing sweetly. I was feeling very happy as I was riding along on my brand new bicycle. Suddenly I felt a puncture.

An adequate description of an institutionalized variety of English must be able to accommodate these questions. (See, for example, B. Kachru (1986).)

EVALUATION OF EXISTING APPROACHES

Let me now move on to review the existing approaches to Singaporean/Malaysian English. The pioneering work done by R.K. Tongue entitled The English of Singapore and Malaysia (1974, 2nd ed. 1979) has the following strengths. It contains useful examples of Singaporean English; the data are accurate and have never been questioned by Singaporeans for their genuineness, and it is a useful book for teachers to show how Singaporean/Malaysian English differs from British English. Tongue's treatment, however, suffers from several weaknesses. First, it lacks a theoretical foundation. It treats Singaporean/Malaysian English not as a system on its own but as a deviant form of British English. Second, it is prescriptive, without having a good basis for prescriptivism. Tongue uses the term substandard where non-standard would have been more appropriate. Crewe in a book entitled British English and Singaporean English (1979) attempts to help Singaporeans get rid of Singaporeanisms by presenting a series of exercises where individual sentences have to be corrected to make them look more like British English. His book is still used by some teachers in Singapore. Unfortunately, the criteria used by Crewe for determining what is 'acceptable' and what is not are quite unclear. His examples of both British English and Singaporean English have been called into question by both Britishers and Singaporeans.

Platt and Weber's work, English in Singapore and Malaysia (1980), is a much more scholarly work in a number of ways. The advantages of their approach are as follows. It describes Singaporean/Malaysian English as a system on its own, unlike the earlier work by Tongue and Crewe. The idea of a lectal range makes it possible to compare and explain lect shifting as in the examples of code-switching discussed above. It also helps to overcome the myth of a monolithic, homogeneous variety of Singaporean English. Despite these advantages, however, the approach has serious limitations as a model of description for an institutionalized variety of English. First, although Platt realizes that Singaporean English is not a post-creole continuum because unlike creoles, it did not develop from a pidgin, he nonetheless adopts the post-creole continuum described by DeCamp and Bickerton. The result is that while it makes it easy to compare the so-called basilect with other varieties of Pidgin English such as Tok Pisin (New Guinean pidgin) or Hawaiian Pidgin English, it fails to capture the uniqueness of Singaporean/Malaysian English as a variety of English. In both texts (1) and (2) cited earlier, there are characteristic features of Singaporean English at the level of discourse but, because Platt's model is sentence-based, it cannot handle these features. Another serious flaw in Platt's model is the confusion between uneducated speech and the informality of an educated speaker. He calls both these basilectal. Thus text (2) would be basilectal as would the example of code-switching in (3). But while text (2) is marked for uneducatedness by expressions such as no have and more a bit, the dialogue between Rukumani and Devanayagam in (7)a shows none of these features because they are university students. An even more serious inadequacy of Platt's model is that the different lects are extremely difficult to identify in actual discourse and lack sociolinguistic and psychological reality. In a course on the phonetics of English that I taught to third year undergraduates at the University of Singapore some years ago, I played recordings of Singaporean speakers and asked my students to identify the sociolinguistic background of the speakers using criteria such as age, sex, educational background, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. They were able to do this very quickly. However, classifying the recordings according to the different lects as described by Platt was problematic. When the students started collecting data themselves, they found acrolectal speakers extremely hard to come by and basilectal speakers, more often than not, were clearly marked for uneducatedness. If, in fact, the mesolect is the main lect found in formal speech, a distinction between a formal and informal variety might be more realistic, and would be quite adequate. By stressing variability, Platt's model is also particularly ill-disposed to a consideration of pedagogical norms. There is no explicit recognition of a norm; equal status or/even, perhaps, greater importance seems to be given to the basilect because it strikes a non-Singaporean as the most interesting and colourful. Little attention is given to the educated variety of Singaporean English, the most important variety in language education. Tay (1982b) has filled this gap to some extent. Finally, the question of intelligibility and creativity arising from transfer of features from other languages cannot be handled by Platt's model.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

What are the implications for theories and descriptions of languages, second language acquisition, and second language pedagogy? In the area of theoretical linguistics, in-depth analyses of features found in nativized varieties of English can enrich an existing theoretical model, verify it, or create a completely new model. We are beginning to see that the native speaker is a myth in multilingual communities, that the institutionalized varieties of English cannot be described adequately within the conventional descriptive model used for the established varieties of English such as British English and American English. The bilingual's grammar and creativity, when described within a bilingual rather than a monolingual framework, may radically alter the theory of grammar. Even the process of code-switching in a situation where a number of unrelated languages are in close contact with each other presents challenges of a theoretical nature. (For further discussion, see Y. Kachru (1985), Lowenberg (1984), and Nelson (1985).)

In the area of applied linguistics, the institutionalized varieties of English must be considered in theories of language acquisition, methods, curricula and materials. Instead of indiscriminately labelling any non-native speaker's English as an interlanguage, or characterizing it in terms of fossilization or using the term discourse accent to describe discourse different from native English discourse, one needs to compare the proficient and non-proficient speakers of English within the same speech community, first.

Just as one would not characterize American English purely in terms of what high school students speak and write, it would be absurd to characterize Singaporean English in terms of the language of someone who has had only a primary 6 level of education in English.

As far as curricula and materials are concerned, how does one teach the use of English in social situations when normally an informal variety of English is mixed with, say, an informal variety of Hokkien? If one introduces the type of English that is useful at cocktail parties, the student would perhaps be able to function well the next time he attends a cocktail party, but how important is such a function for the average Singaporean? A hierarchy ought to be worked out of social situations in which only English is used in order to decide what to include in a communicative syllabus of English. I think we are still a long way from facing these issues squarely. Singaporean students have often pointed out to me quite perceptively that some of the textbooks sound artificial when they try to reproduce local dialogue using English. But seldom have they been called upon as native Singaporeans to explain why these textbooks sound artificial and what can be done about this situation. Always, the foreign specialist has to be flown in, often at great expense, to be the sole and final arbiter.

To conclude, I would like to stress that research on the institutionalized varieties of English would benefit not just from the intuitions of native speakers from a predominantly monolingual society, but equally from the insights and intuitions of bilingual and bicultural persons who use a nativized English in their own speech community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was first presented as a paper at a DESL Colloquium, University of Illinois, Fall 1985. I would like to thank Braj B. Kachru, Director of the Division of English as a Second Language, for inviting me to read the paper.

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NOTE

[1]The terminology used here follows B. Kachru (1982:39) where 'institutionalized' varieties are distinguished from 'performance' varieties that have developed in countries such as Japan and Germany, where English is used mainly for international communication.

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REVIEW

The production and perception of foreign language speech sounds. James E. Flege. In Human Communication and Its Disorders, Volume 2. H. Winitz (ed.). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1986. Pp. 1-172 (prepublication).

Reviewed by Molly Mack
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Although it is somewhat unorthodox to review a chapter in a book, rather than the book itself, Flege's contribution to Harris Winitz' forthcoming volume is so comprehensive that it warrants a review of its own. Indeed, Flege's chapter can serve as a guide to and summary of important research in foreign-language speech perception and production undertaken over the past several decades.

Interest in foreign-language speech perception and production is hardly new. Over seventy years ago, Ronjat (1913) presented a study of the linguistic system of his bilingual child, while over one hundred years ago, Ribot (1882) described the perceptual and productive deficits exhibited by bilingual aphasics. What is relatively new, however, is the burgeoning of experimentally based research in the perception and production of L2 speech. This flourish of investigative activity is due, at least in part, to the increasing use of psychometric techniques and digital devices in foreign-language research. Such techniques and devices can provide precise and detailed results in experiments crucial for testing hypotheses regarding the structure of the developing (or developed) non-native phonetic system. But perhaps more importantly, there has been a general increase of interest--across a variety of disciplines--in the study of the linguistic systems of bilinguals. At present, research on foreign-language speech perception and production may be found in journals devoted to speech and language, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, second-language pedagogy, psychology, psychophysics, and cognition.

Thus, Flege's review of recent work in foreign-language speech perception and production provides a valuable contribution to a rapidly growing field. Although his concern here is almost exclusively with studies which have utilized "objective measures or systematic subjective methods of observation" (4), this does not result in an overly narrow view of an admittedly complex topic. Rather, it permits ready comparison of hundreds of speech experiments whose hypotheses, paradigms, and results frequently differ.

Flege begins his chapter with an introduction in which he states his three-fold goal:

> to identify and develop theoretical issues of importance with regard to the production and perception of sounds found in a foreign language; to systematically review research dealing with these issues; and to identify topics of special importance for future research (3).

Flege then proceeds to provide theoretical and practical justification for the study of foreign-language phonetics, and he defines a number of key terms (e.g., bilingual, L2 learner, foreign accent, interlanguage phonology, and phonetic category prototype) used throughout the chapter.

The body of the chapter is divided into seven major sections--"Effects of a Foreign Accent," "Factors Causing Accent," "Phonological and Phonetic Factors," "Perceiving L2 Speech Sounds," "Mechanisms Causing Accent," "L2 Production and Perception Studies," and "Emergent Issues and Theories." These headings provide a sense of the range and comprehensiveness of his discussion. Within the chapter, he addresses such topics as quantitative differences in accent, the relative contribution of age and experience to accurate L2 production, the critical-period hypothesis, the effects of phonological and phonetic transfer, phonological filtering, individual differences, and the function of sensory feedback in production. In addition, he provides a fairly lengthy discussion of two of the perhaps most frequently studied entities in L2 speech research --the English /r/-/l/ contrast and voice-onset time (VOT).

In addition to summarizing and synthesizing studies and commenting upon their implications, Flege presents a variety of hypotheses regarding research results. For example, in discussing reasons why accented speech may be perceived negatively by native speakers, Flege suggests the following: (1) Such speech may be downgraded (perceived negatively) because it is difficult to understand and may cause discomfort or "cognitive stress" in the listener; (2) some of the patterns of accented speech (e.g., the substitution of /d/ and /t/ for /ð/ and /θ/ in English) may be associated with "non-standard" dialects; (3) certain accents may come to function as social dialects in areas in which native speakers of different languages live near one another (as bilingual native speakers of French and English do in Quebec); and (4) listeners may react negatively toward any variety of speech which they do not recognize as a dialect of their own language (19-20). Not surprisingly, his receptivity to a variety of hypotheses lends to Flege's review a refreshing lack of dogmatism, and it implicitly encourages the reader to arrive at his/her own conclusions regarding the research discussed.

Besides presenting the reader with a veritable array of testable hypotheses, Flege also proposes a number of experiments which have not yet been conducted, but which could provide valuable insight into specific issues. In fact, he actually designs one (82-83). In this case, he suggests a specific experimental paradigm and describes the subjects, stimuli, dependent and independent variables, and possible outcomes. In so doing, Flege literally hands the reader a recipe for an experiment on L2 speech production. One recognizes that this is a dedicated researcher speaking. He has many ideas and hypotheses which he openly shares--hoping, no doubt, to strike a responsive chord in individuals interested in conducting the experiments he proposes.

In spite of its many merits, some aspects of Flege's review must be called into question. Two points in particular deserve attention. The first concerns his definition of the word _bilingual_. The second involves the actual organization of the chapter.

In the introduction, Flege states that, for the purposes of this chapter, the word _bilingual_ will be reserved "for those seemingly rare individuals who have demonstrated a native-like mastery of both L1 and L2" (5). Aside from the fact that most researchers do not use the term bilingual in this rather restricted fashion (see, e.g., Weinreich, 1953; Albert & Obler, 1977; Grosjean, 1982), Flege's use of it could put him in the rather curious position of having to claim that there may actually be no bilinguals. Note, for example, his comment regarding the production of VOT in L2 speakers: "It appears that even highly experienced L2 learners seldom match L2 native speakers in producing the VOT in similar L2 stops" (125). And, with respect to their perception of VOT, Flege states that "we must tentatively conclude that individuals who speak two languages cannot function as perfect bilinguals at the level of speech perception" (127). (It is interesting to observe that, if we subscribe to Flege's interpretation of bilingual, then the term _perfect bilingual_, as used above, becomes redundant.) If, to be a bilingual, a speaker of two languages must demonstrate "a native-like mastery of both L1 and L2," and if a speaker of two languages exhibits non-native-like production and/or perception even _only_ in terms of VOT, then it would seem that such a person cannot, according to Flege, be considered a bilingual. This hardly seems reasonable, especially in light of the fact that there are millions of individuals who live in bi- and multilingual societies, who speak at least two languages fluently, but who do not speak either one or both of their languages in a native-like manner--if, by native-like, we mean monolingual-like. (I am assuming that this is Flege's intended meaning although, in all fairness to him, he does not specifically equate _native_ with _monolingual_.) In fact, as Kachru (1982) and others have pointed out, the traditional native-speaker yardstick may no longer be valid for measuring the linguistic competence of vast numbers of individuals in bilingual communities in India, Africa, Malaysia, and elsewhere.

A reasonable alternative to defining bilingual in a rather restrictive sense is simply to precede it with one of several adjectival modifiers (e.g., balanced, subordinate, fluent, etc.). The resulting term should be relatively uncontroversial, and it is reasonably clear. This option is, of course, one which has been used by many L2 researchers.

The second point to be addressed concerns the organization of Flege's chapter. Given the nature of the topic, it would seem most reasonable to divide the chapter into two main sections--one devoted to production and one to perception. However, as it is organized, the chapter contains some sections devoted to production or to perception or to both. One unfortunate consequence of this is that it is difficult to identify and locate analogous topics in production and perception, of which there are many. Furthermore, it is not clear why there is a major section entitled "Perceiving L2 Speech Sounds" but none entitled "Producing L2 Speech Sounds." The presence of a single lengthy section devoted to production and perception studies is likewise puzzling. These studies should have been integrated into the other sections of the chapter.

In spite of its somewhat confusing organization, Flege's review of the literature in foreign-language speech perception and production remains an extremely important work. His treatment of theoretically significant research is sound and accessible without being simplistic, while his suggestions for further work are both stimulating and creative. For those involved in foreign-language research, this compendious chapter provides relevant insights, good general discussion, and an excellent bibliography. For those whose primary interest is in foreign-language pedagogy, it provides valuable information regarding specific aspects of the learning/acquisition process.

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