

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 353 816

FL 020 897

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 TITLE Challenges to the Proficiency Movement: The Issue of Accuracy.
 PUB DATE Nov 92
 NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (26th, Chicago, IL, November 20-22, 1992).
 PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
 DESCRIPTORS Curriculum Design; *Educational Strategies; Educational Trends; *Error Correction; *Error Patterns; *Language Proficiency; Rating Scales; Second Language Instruction; *Second Languages
 IDENTIFIERS *Accuracy

ABSTRACT

Failure to progress on the language proficiency scale is often due to lack of linguistic accuracy. Even motivated students are sometimes unable to improve proficiency ratings beyond a particular level. Pedagogical factors contributing to this problem include: focus on form and meaning at the same time; fossilization; overuse of communicative strategies at the expense of form; lack of careful articulation and continuity in curricula, from level to level; and textbooks that are not explicit enough or contribute to information overload. Curriculum strategies for dealing with the accuracy problem include: curriculum design for long-term (as contrasted with short-term) linguistic objectives; structuring class activities at the appropriate level; error correction that is manageable for the student; awareness of students' negative reactions to error correction; involvement of students in error correction; active encouragement of classroom participation; and attention to the design of achievement and proficiency tests. The challenge for teachers is to maintain the balance of function and form. An 18-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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ED353816

**Challenges to the Proficiency Movement:
The Issue of Accuracy**

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Abstract

Failure to progress up the proficiency scale due to linguistic inaccuracy is not uncommon. Many students who are highly motivated to advance in proficiency are nevertheless unable to improve their proficiency ratings significantly after they have reached a particular level. Factors contributing to this problem can be conceptual confusion about the role that linguistic accuracy plays in language proficiency, lack of concern about linguistic forms, as well as other pedagogical conditions. In this paper, discussions about factors contributing to linguistic inaccuracy are provided, as well as specific curriculum and classroom considerations which may serve as effective strategies in dealing with the linguistic inaccuracy problem.

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Challenges to the Proficiency Movement: The Issue of Accuracy

1. The issue of accuracy in language proficiency

A Certified Oral Proficiency Tester of Mandarin Chinese gave his third-year Chinese students who were fluent and enthusiastic speakers of Chinese an Oral Proficiency Interview in September: one third of his students were rated Intermediate High. By the end of the academic-year program in May, one third of the students who were rated Intermediate High in September progressed to Advanced Level; the remaining two thirds did not increase their rating. The teacher realized that it was the lack of accuracy that prevented this latter group from making any significant progress.

* * * * *

Over the past few years at the beginning of a summer intensive program where the students came from all over the United States, quite a few students wanted to move down to the level one Chinese program instead of staying in their level two program. The reasons these students gave were similar: in their home institutions, their instructors did not use English and the students had problems understanding and internalizing many of the linguistic structures. Fearing that they did not have a sound base in the target language, they wanted to return to a point where they did not have to unlearn so much.

These are not hypothetical stories¹. While there is hope for those students who chose to start over again to build a solid linguistic foundation, it might be difficult for those students who stayed at the same Intermediate High Level after one year of instruction to move up the scale. Why are there so many students who are highly motivated to advance in proficiency that are nevertheless unable to improve their proficiency ratings significantly after they have reached a particular level? How can we bring the students along so that we are producing potential Superior Level speakers of the language and not early fossilized speakers? I believe this is a question we can not afford to ignore.

¹ They are the author's personal experience.

In this paper, I will examine factors contributing to linguistic inaccuracy, as well as specific curriculum and classroom considerations which may serve as effective strategies in dealing with the linguistic inaccuracy problem. First, I would like to provide some background related to this issue.

1.1. Communicative competence and linguistic competence

The history of foreign language teaching has witnessed the shift from grammar translation, to audiolingualism, and to cognitive approaches. The goals of instruction have also changed from how much one knows about the language to the degree to which one can function with the language. Directly related to these functional and notional orientations is the concept of communicative competence.

The concept of communicative competence is not new to the field of second language acquisition (Hymes, 1972; Savignon, 1983). Sandra Savignon defined communicative competence as "the ability to function in a truly communicative setting--that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more interlocutors" (1983, p. 8).

Theodore Higgs and Ray Clifford (1982) found Savignon's definition of communicative competence unclear with respect to the role of linguistic accuracy:

What she means when she says that "linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total informational input", however, is not immediately clear, since linguistic competence can scarcely adapt itself to anything. (p. 58)

After looking over examples of experimental strategies mentioned by Savignon, Higgs and Clifford determined that what she really means by saying that "linguistic competence must adapt itself" is that "the student should be ready to abandon the linguistic system per se of the target

language and instead seek out other communicative strategies for making himself understood."
(p. 58)

Alice Omaggio (1986) also discussed the neglect of linguistic accuracy in the notion of communicative competence:

For a period of years in the early to middle part of the decade [the 1980s], communicative competence became synonymous, in the minds of some researchers and practitioners, with a disregard for grammatical accuracy, and second language learners were considered communicatively competent if they got their meaning across to a listener, even if their grammatical accuracy was relatively low." (p. 3)

The apparent conflict about which aspects communicative competence should cover is not easily resolved. And this conceptual confusion has become an important theoretical factor contributing to the problem of linguistic inaccuracy. Another conceptual confusion concerns what role accuracy should play in language proficiency.

1.2. Proficiency and Accuracy

How well one must perform in order to communicate successfully? The question that needs to be asked is not merely "Is the learner able to communicate?" but "What was he/she able to communicate, and how well?" The question of "what" requires consideration of both the topic or context of the communication and of the language function that must be performed in that context. The question of "how well" entails judgements of linguistic accuracy and cultural authenticity. The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines use three coexisting and interrelated hierarchies of criteria to distinguish levels of proficiency: first, the global tasks or functions performed with the language; second, the contexts or content areas (topic) in which the language can be used; and last, the accuracy features. Accuracy features define how well the speaker performs the tasks pertinent to those contexts and content areas and to the text types

produced. The accuracy criterion relates not only to linguistic structures, but also to precision of vocabulary, the use of cohesive devices, the appropriate use of register and other sociolinguistic factors, and so on. Given the interrelated nature of these three criteria, no judgement of general language proficiency should be made without considering all three.

Proficiency-oriented curricula are normally designed with respect to the ACTFL trisectional criteria. In designing a proficiency-oriented curriculum, it is important to specify whether the goal of the program is to produce Intermediate Level speakers of a language, Advanced Level speakers of a language, or Superior Level speakers of a language. If a four-year college or university language program aims to produce Superior Level, linguistic competence should be an important component of the curriculum, since at the Superior Level a learner must have a sound linguistic base to handle the tasks at that level. If our ultimate instructional goals are to produce Superior Level speakers rather than to prepare students for tourist-level activities, the lack of attention to linguistic forms may inadvertently create an insurmountable obstacle to achieving our instructional objective. It may work to the disadvantage of students who wish to develop higher levels of proficiency.

While there are other important theoretical factors contributing to linguistic inaccuracy, at this point I would like to move on to some pedagogical factors.

2. Pedagogical Factors contributing to linguistic inaccuracy

2.1. Focus on form and meaning at the same time

The question of whether or not learners can direct their conscious attention to form and meaning at the same time is of increasing interest to second language acquisition

researchers. Some research suggested that in the early and intermediate states of second language acquisition, learners have problems consciously attending to form and meaning simultaneously because of the limited capacity for processing involved in conscious attention, and because conscious processing during learning in general is serial and effortful in nature. In a study of 202 English-speaking students of Spanish, the subjects were given four tasks: attending simultaneously to meaning and to an important (i.e., communicative) lexical item, attending to meaning and a grammatical functor, and attending to meaning and a verb form (VanPatten, 1990). Recall of meaning was lowest of the last two tasks, where learners focused simultaneously on form and meaning. Larsen-Freeman (1991) proposed an approach that recognizes that all language units have three dimensions (form, meaning, and use) and that it is the teacher's task to systematically focus on only one of these dimensions at a time, shifting the focus as the needs of the learners shift from moment to moment in a given lesson. Yet classroom teachers, especially those who exclusively use the Natural Approach, often request that students focus not only on the content of the message but on its grammatical form as well.

2.2. Fossilization

Closely aligned with the discussion of focus on form is the issue of fossilization. Linguistic fossilization refers to developmental errors that become stationary errors. In other words, for some learners, errors seem to be so ingrained that correction is almost impossible. Some learners may fossilize early, say, at the Intermediate Level. Some may do so a little bit later, at the Advanced Level. Some learners seem to move ahead, but others have to unlearn a great deal in order to make any significant progress. Higgs and Clifford (1982) reported

evidence from studies at the CIA Language School that learners often "fossilize" at either Level 1+ (corresponding to ACTFL Intermediate High) or Level 2+ (corresponding to ACTFL Advanced High) on the proficiency scale if grammatical inaccuracies are not corrected early in the language acquisition process. Similar results were reported in academic-year programs by John Carroll (1965) and Rebecca Valette (1991). The barriers that prevent learners from progressing up the proficiency scale, include, among others, first, approaches to language acquisition that provide little or no corrective feedback and second, the possibility that learners have internalized inaccurate forms for such a long time that their "subsequent modification or ultimate correction is rendered difficult to the point of impossibility, irrespective of the native talent or high motivation that the individual may originally have brought to the task" (Higgs and Clifford, 1982, p.74).

2.3. Street learners and school learners

In studying the phenomenon of fossilization, it is useful to discuss the linguistic behavior of school learners and street learners. Fossilized structures are a chronic problem among street learners of the language (Higgs and Clifford, 1982; Walker, 1989; and Valette, 1991). Most terminal cases began their language training in unstructured overseas work or study settings. When street learners are overwhelmed by the abundance of the target language information, driven by the immediate need to communicate, and coupled with the fact that, for cultural reasons native speakers seldom correct foreigners' linguistic errors, street learners tend to focus on the communicative tasks at hand to the detriment of linguistic forms. Due to the lack of feedback or error corrections, the street learners are seldom aware of their linguistic errors; or, when they do know, they normally do not have the motivation to correct them because of their

successful communication with the native speakers. Even when the street learners eventually realize the magnitude of their linguistic mistakes when their error-ridden language has caused communication failure, it may be already too late. Their linguistic errors have become so systematized that they are almost impossible to eradicate.

School learners can also fossilize if they are exposed to inaccurate models and internalize inaccurate forms. Higgs and Clifford (1982) reported evidence of fossilization in school learners caused by teacher's inaccurate input and lack of error correction:

The terminal cases whose foreign-language background had included only an academic environment all came from language programs that either were taught by instructors who themselves had not attained grammatical mastery of the target language--and hence were unable to guide their students into correct usage -- or by instructors who had chosen not to correct their students' mistakes for philosophical, methodological, or personal reasons. (p. 68)

Students' inaccurate linguistic input can also be an important factor contributing to linguistic inaccuracy. In the era of learner-centered instruction, students constantly hear their own language and the language spoken by their peers in classroom or in dormitories in immersion programs. We have students who acquire inaccurate forms, because we tell them to prepare skits, let them prepare them at home or in groups or pairs, and have them write and memorize what they are preparing. Sometimes we are so busy that we do not have time to correct them. Sometimes in classroom oral practice we rush to communicative activities without enough proper guided practice. Often, students can function in a general way, but precision is missing. There are too many little mistakes in their speech. As a result, over time the student's own output and their peers' language become the learner's acquired input. Since it is very difficult to unlearn a skill, fossilization can occur.

2.4. Overuse of communicative strategies

Overuse of communicative strategies can also be an important factor leading to linguistic inaccuracy. Higgs and Clifford (1982) reported that heavy use of communicative strategies by Peace Corps volunteers and other diplomatic personnel often resulted in terminal 2/2+ proficiency ratings. Omaggio (1986) also discussed the phenomenon of overuse of communicative strategies and its effect on fossilization:

Errors that are potentially fossilizable can result from heavy communication demands made on their interlanguage, demands that force them to use strategies like approximation, word coinage, circumlocution, translation, language switch, appeals for assistance, and mime, or else to abandon their message altogether or choose to avoid the topic. (p. 277)

Overuse of communicative strategies can happen when instruction is not structured at the appropriate level. If we ask our students who can only handle tasks at the factual level to perform tasks at the abstract level, and if we ask the students to handle a situation where they do not have much of the vocabulary, it is natural that they will resort to whatever communicative strategies they have at hand. Overuse of communicative strategies for too long a time can result in early fossilization.

2.5. Lack of articulation

Heidi Byrnes (1990) defines articulation as the "well motivated and well designed sequencing and coordination of instruction toward certain goals" (p. 281). Of the different kinds of articulation identified by Dale Lange (1982), vertical articulation is the most important one for our purposes here. Vertical articulation is the "continuity of a program throughout the length of the program" (p.115). It deals with internal flow of a program from its beginning to its completion and defines how specific learning goals can be attained. In order to achieve

vertical articulation, instructors must come to an agreement on the goals of the entire program, the learning outcomes for each year, the choice of materials that relate to the goals and learner outcomes of the entire program, instructional strategies to help students to achieve stated outcomes, and evaluation strategies to examine the achievement of expectations at each stage. Lack of articulation can result in designing unrealistic curriculum objectives as well as the underpresentation of many fundamental linguistic forms.

In a language program with three or four levels being taught by three or four teachers who have never talked to each other about articulation, everyone suffers, especially the students. In an unarticulated language program, with each level unrelated to the others, students may be taught differently, use different materials, and be tested for different outcomes. As a result, the students may keep moving from one level up to another without receiving systematic and sufficient training on many fundamental linguistic forms -- a phenomenon directly related to linguistic inaccuracy.

2.6. Textbook Constraints

In many textbooks, grammatical explanations are not explicit enough or the information on linguistic structures causes an overload. In the former case, the lack of comprehensible input for internalization can lead to linguistic inaccuracy, especially when there is no well-trained linguist on the target language teaching the language. In the latter case, the overload of text materials may not leave the instructor with sufficient time for intensive treatment of the linguistic structures (Valdman, 1978; Ariew, 1982). Teaching is constrained by learning. In other words, there are constraints on how much a person can internalize within a particular time period. Driven by unrealistic expectations for the students to function with the target language, or by

the need to finish a particular textbook, many teachers, as well as students, may choose to emphasize the communication aspects of the language learning to the neglect of linguistic accuracy. In some cases, instructors may be fearful of offering any linguistic explanation because they are afraid of being accused of over-emphasizing grammar.

3. Curriculum and classroom consideration

In a proficiency-oriented curriculum, students are encouraged to create with the language and express their own meaning from the beginning of instruction. And, therefore, errors should be expected. But if we are to produce more than survival-level speakers of the language, we should be concerned about form from the very beginning of our instruction. Omaggio (1986) states as one of her five basic suggestions: "There should be concern for the development of linguistic accuracy from the beginning of instruction in a proficiency-oriented approach." (p.36). Higgs and Clifford are even more insistent on the importance of an "accuracy-first" program as they ask us to recognize "the ultimate role that linguistic accuracy plays in the achievement of true communicative competence, in which it truly does matter how the message is transmitted." (Higgs and Clifford, 1982; p. 77). Vigorous action needs to be taken in our instruction to take the problem into account. In the following sections, I will overview some curriculum and classroom strategies which deal with the accuracy problem.

3.1. Short-term- vs. long-term-oriented curriculum

First, it is useful to distinguish between a long-term- and a short-term-oriented curriculum. Curriculum planning and development is similar to market investment. A quick bottom-line mentality can lead to a short-term-oriented curriculum which does not generally

produce students with a sound linguistic base. On the other hand, a long-term-oriented curriculum can potentially produce well-rounded speakers with a sound linguistic foundation. Just as in the market place, so in foreign language instruction. There is a positive correlation between the degree of investment and the maximum growth of the learners' proficiency level. Linguistically, a short-term-oriented curriculum does not produce learners with a strong foundation in terms of accurate phonology, accurate structures, and accurate vocabulary. Depending on the resources available, including the amount of investment and care, products of a short-term-oriented curriculum may not be able to score higher than the Intermediate Level or Advanced Level, unless they have a lot of energy and really want to unlearn a great deal. In a long-term-oriented curriculum, healthy language development is the focus of curriculum and classroom consideration, since measures are taken to prevent early fossilization. Although after three or four years, most graduates of our academic language programs are not Superior Level speakers of the language, especially for those Type 3 and Type 4 languages defined by the Defense Language Institute, in developing our curriculum, efforts should be made to equip our students with a sound linguistic base for their further significant progress after graduation.

3.2. Structuring activities at the appropriate level

One step in moving toward accuracy in a long-term-oriented curriculum is to minimize the amount of mistakes that would occur when students are speaking more freely. One way to achieve this is to have students speak at the right level, guiding them with needed structures and vocabulary so that they are likely to come up with correct forms. It is easier than coming back later and trying to correct too many mistakes. A situation that is so open-ended, in which students are trying to bring in a lot of things they do not know how to say, does not work very

well in moving toward accurate speech. It should be mentioned that errors in skits prepared extemporaneously do not create a fossil. They are part of the growing process. But the more the things that students hear and generate can be structured as accurate speech, the better off we are in the long run in the program.

3.3. Error correction

3.3.1. Avoid correcting more than the students can handle

While we need to structure our classes so that students can come up with accurate input and output, and encourage accurate memorization, we want to pay attention to error correction. But, when it comes to correcting errors, we want to avoid correcting more than the students can handle. The good students who make one or two mistakes on their papers will probably look at their corrections and profit from them. For the weaker students, if the teacher has to correct too many mistakes, the students are not even able to look at all these corrections, not to mention fully understand their errors. Even the good idea of providing cues in the students' compositions and asking them to fix their own mistakes only works best for students who do not make too many mistakes.

3.3.2. Be aware of students' negative reaction to error correction

We also need to be aware of students' negative emotional responses to their teachers' in-class error correction. You (1991) reported that while the majority of her subjects felt positive about their teachers' correction, slightly more than one third of her subjects reported negative feelings about their teachers' in-class error correction. While sixty-five percent of her subjects wanted their teachers to correct them whenever they made mistakes, thirty-five percent wanted to be corrected only when their mistakes interfered with their communication with others. In

adult second language acquisition, there are strong egos and the high level of affective filter. If the focus of a classroom activity is not on forms, correcting students' mistakes may not help lower the level of the students' affective filter. Even during guided practice, we should avoid simply pointing out students' mistakes. Hints can work well for students who are sensitive to correctness. Many times providing a correct version in a positive and skillful way works better than simply pointing out the students' mistake.

3.3.3. Involve students for error correction

Over the past couple of summers I taught beginning intensive Chinese class. Since we had students with mixed language learning backgrounds and had to cover a lot of materials in nine weeks, the curriculum was designed so that much of the learning took place out of class through cooperative learning. Students were required to do work outside of class, because in class we wanted to do conversation and oral work. We had a system of pair work and group work. Since the students' backgrounds varied so much, we paired or grouped very weak students with very strong ones. But with all of their small mistakes of the weaker students being corrected by one or two helpful people, the teacher could concentrate on the errors which are much harder to eradicate and on the communicative aspects of the language learning in office hours and in class. This system can also encourage accurate memorization since the students were required to have the teachers correct their mistakes during office hours before memorizing their skits. By tutoring the weaker students, the stronger students can also learn something from the correction. This system works well when measures are taken to prevent the strong students from dominating the pair and group work, and to avoid didactic tutors paired with sensitive students in need of help.

3.4. Promoting classroom participation

Paying attention to linguistic accuracy does not imply that students should never be encouraged to communicate meanings beyond those for which they have adequate linguistic competence. Some risk taking is necessary in second language learning. The use of risk-avoiding strategies does not normally lead to further learning. Errors should be accepted as an inevitable and natural part of language learning. Errors can be used to diagnose and determine the learner's current internalized rule system, and can be used to improve their ability to control that language.

The point here is that while we should be mindful of the problems of linguistic inaccuracy, we should encourage students to participate actively in class, since interaction using the language is essential to developing communicative skills. If students do not establish the habit of interaction, it becomes very difficult for subsequent teachers to promote participation (Higgs and Clifford, 1982; Omaggio, 1986).

3.5. Establishing and analyzing achievement and proficiency tests

A proficiency-oriented curriculum should include discrete tests, periodic proficiency tests, as well as placement tests. Each of these tests is designed to diagnose a different aspect of language learning, and no single type can replace the others (Oller, 1983; Spolsky, 1989).

It would be an excellent idea to give both an entry and an exit Oral Proficiency Interview to students, and then further analyze the interviews to identify students' patterned errors. Currently, the author is conducting both quantitative and qualitative research into examinees' performance on both the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview and the Center for Applied Linguistics' Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview. I believe such research can shed some light

on our understanding of the linguistic inaccuracy problem and can promote healthy language development.

Conclusions

Numerous factors can contribute to the problem of linguistic inaccuracy. The basic challenge facing our profession in the era of proficiency movement is to maintain the delicate balance between function and form. And as we all know, the balance is not easy to achieve. Over-drilling of linguistic forms itself does not typically lead to meaningful communication. But without linguistic precision one can not communicate well. If our goal is to achieve truly communicative competence through effective instruction, the issue of accuracy can not be ignored.

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