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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this periodical publication is to present works in progress by students and professors (generally based on research carried out at the University of Pennsylvania) on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in this volume include the following: "Inequality in Language: Taking for Granted" (Dell Hymes); "Standardization in Andean Languages" (Rodolfo Cerron-Palomino); "Language, Thought, and Culture: Combining Bilingual/Multicultural Education" (Tom Meyer); "Orthography in the Target Language: Does It Influence Interlanguage Phonology?" (Kira Ogorodnikova); and "Stress in Japanese English: Evidence from Native Perceptual Judgements" (Brian D. Teaman). (JL)

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Volume 8, Number 1 / Spring 1992

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Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

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May, 1992

From the Editors:

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

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

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

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Inequality in language: Taking for granted

Dell Hymes

University of Virginia

Social meaning includes evaluation of languages themselves. Linguistics often say all languages are equal. This is true in regard to potential, not true of actual state. All varieties of language share with pidgins and creoles the condition of being the result of a particular history of use, specialization, elaboration and loss. There are historical reasons for conflating potential and actual. It defends against misleading notions. Still, social change should be based on accurate knowledge of social reality. One can insist that all varieties are deserving of respect and study, without claiming that they are equal in what communities can do with them. Indeed, such a claim, when refuted by experience, may cast doubt on the call for respect. The dialectic of potential and actual comes together in narrative. Every community has narrative, but its role is not everywhere the same. Oral narrative has an organization of lines and relations among lines that is largely out of awareness, and of great potential complexity and effect. Whether innate or not, such organization may well be universal. A conversational narrative from northeastern Philadelphia, analyzed here, shows implicit interlocking patterns of a kind pervasive in Native American languages of the Columbia River and found as well in song texts of the Finnish Kalevala tradition. The role of tense alternation is detailed. Such patterning adds to what can be known of universal properties of discourse. It can enhance respect for disregarded languages and varieties, and, for Native American texts, be a form of repatriation. Members of narrative communities can share in such analysis. Indeed, much that linguists discover and take for granted can be liberating for those to whom it is unknown. Such knowledge, what can be called "elementary linguistics," should be part of general education.

Preface

Let me thank the Graduate School of Education, and the Wolfson family, for inviting me to give this lecture. It is sad to speak in memory of a younger friend and colleague. But it is not everyone who accomplishes so much that others gather to keep their memory alive. I hope these remarks are a worthy tribute and will contribute to that end.

One of Nessa's accomplishments, as you know, was the building of a program in TESOL, and, more generally, educational linguistics. Someone in the position of

dean can think such a thing desirable, but it can happen, and last, only through the efforts of faculty.

I should like to suggest something of the importance of such an accomplishment. I should like to suggest that a program in educational linguistics is in a strategic position to advance linguistics in general and to contribute to beneficial social change. It is in a strategic position because by necessity it must study not only language, but also social life. And it must do so in close attention to what people both can and can not do. It deals everyday with issues of actual competence. Put abstractly, it deals everyday with the dialectic between actual and potential ability, with the realities of inequality.[1]

Inequality was a theme of one of Nessa's books, and a continuing concern. I want to address three aspects of it. Each involves a kind of taking for granted. One has to do with something we know, but may forget. One has to do with something we may think we know, but do not. The third has to do with something we are only beginning to know.

I will talk in terms of 'language.' Most people do, including linguists, and the issue of inequality is historically associated first of all with the notion of 'language.' Ultimately, of course, the true subject is not language in the sense of 'a language,' but repertoire–the mix of means and modalities which we actually practice and experience. Study of communicative repertoire makes issues of inequality all the more salient, if only because it inescapably involves choice among alternatives.

Potential equality

The first aspect has to do with assumptions and knowledge that linguists tend to take for granted–that all languages, and varieties of language, are (potentially) equal. That users of any have a right to life, liberty (autonomy) and the pursuit of meaning.

This assumption of the equality of all varieties of language is taken for granted by most linguists, but is foreign to many outside the field. The foreignness is clear to those who work with bilingual education, or otherwise on behalf of minority languages. Within 'theoretical' linguistics, where models of syntax and the like are discussed, the matter is not likely to arise or, if it does, the focus is on potentiality.

Linguistics is rather recent as a separate discipline. The Linguistic Society of America was founded only in 1924. Many of its founders were conscious of a need to dispel misconceptions about language. They were conscious of working against popular, and even learned, conceptions which relegated many languages, especially

unwritten languages, to a 'primitive' status, lacking sufficient vocabulary, or even regularity of grammar. Much of the general linguistics of the time appeared a projection of acquaintance with the languages of one region, Europe. To combat such preconceptions was an important part of the mission of linguistics itself. Boas, Bloomfield, Sapir, Whorf and others took it as part of their mission.

This egalitarian perspective was extended to varieties within a language. It was clear that many notions of correctness had grown up, even been invented, in the course of instructing an aspiring middle class in verbal manners. Seen against the history of the language, and against other languages around the world, many preferences of pronunciation, or construction, were arbitrary. Many explanations of preferences were secondary rationalizations. The choice of a standard had little to do with intrinsic qualities, much more to do with politics, class and location.

In sum, structural differences among languages were not to be ranked on a scale of superiority. Differences within a language had social meaning for its users, and might be ranked by them, but such rankings were not intrinsic to the linguistic features themselves. They were the result of secondary association. One and the same pronunciation of 'bird' ([båid]) might be stigmatized in New York City, admired in Charleston.

The great, liberating consequence of this was to sever the age-old connection between verbal trappings and personal worth. Character does not come in one accent alone; intelligence has many voices.

We so take this for granted within linguistics now that we may forget to teach it. I remember my shock in an anthropology course some years ago at Penn when a chance question revealed that a student had just those notions about 'primitive' languages that, one came to assume, the labors of Boas, Bloomfield and Sapir had driven from the land. I had said nothing about them in class. Were it not for the chance question, the student would have passed through the class with such notions intact.

The truth is that we must never take for granted that what we take for granted is known to others. Elementary assumptions of linguistics can be liberating for those to whom they are unknown. The task of confronting misconceptions about the status of languages, as languages, may never be over. A victory which seems old, won in the past, by those such as Boas and Sapir and Bloomfield, continues to need to be won. In the United States there are those, progressive to the core, who are surprised that someone they know studies 'Indian languages.' "Are they really languages?" our daughter was asked by such a person. With regard to the languages of the Aborigines

in Australia, Blake (1991) reports: "Even among highly educated people the question is still asked, 'Do these people have real, full languages?' (vii). The book is intended to illustrate at least that this is the case, and to encourage further inquiry."

Wherever there is a variety of English that differs from a certain standard, there will be those who will see it, not as different, but as deficient. The burgeoning creativity of those in Africa and Asia and the Pacific, replanting English, cross-breeding English, their novel integrations of resources, add color and beauty to the world, if we can see them so. To those who can see them as configurations of their own (cf. Kachru, 1990).

The same kind of task may continue to be true indefinitely with what can be called the 'hidden injuries of accent.' I have argued in the past that even if everyone spoke a recognizable standard English, there would be those who would create a hierarchy out of adverbs, and lament the decline of the language. We are far from so *recherché* a state.

Students may come to a class in sociolinguistics, believing their normal speech intrinsically inferior, and leave with that sense of stigma never having become known. Last spring, my wife Virginia took on a large undergraduate class in sociolinguistics. The size of the class was frustrating; the students mostly anonymous faces. She decided to ask each student to write a journal, which she would read and respond to. From this she learned experiences and meanings as to language, of difference vs. deficiency, right vs. wrong, that would otherwise have been invisible.

Here are two successive passages from one journal:

(1a) I grew up in Akron, Ohio, but my extended family lives in the mountains of Southwest Virginia. My maternal grandfather was an uneducated coal miner who spoke spit-fire fast in an accent so stepped he was unintelligible to my ear. He had trouble understanding what I said also. Strangely the rest of my family often had to interpret for my grandfather and me. I lived in Virginia for a few years after graduating high school and before I joined the Army. While in Virginia I worked at a Pizza Hut in a small town. I had to adopt a mountain accent and change my idioms for others to comprehend me.

There were times when I understood my grandfather. He made up some neat metaphors and had a good sense of humor. He nicknamed my sister, Kathy, "Cackleberry"–a chicken egg. He pronounced this something like "cakburr," to my recollection.

(1b) My mom has lived in Ohio for over thirty years and no longer has a mountain accent. One of my sisters at 16 years old married a 'boy' and lived in Buchanan County, VA. for a few years. She has two small daughters, a 3 year old and a newborn, and is getting a divorce. Ashliegh, my 3 year old niece, speaks with a heavy mountain accent

which my mother ridicules and tries to change. Ashliegh [sic] is the smartest little girl I've ever known. She has a great command of language. My sister is living with her two daughters with my mom in Ohio, which is why my mom tries to get Ashliegh to talk right.

Sometimes one finds evidence of successful change:

(2) The concept of the linguistic variable is something I had never really given any consideration until I started working as a guide at Monticello. Although I had noticed, especially when I first came to college, that certain people pronounce words differently or use different phrases, I never considered the ramifications or causes of this variation. Being from a small town in Southwest Virginia, I have a 'thick' southern accent. The accent is noticeable as what is probably considered Highlands Southern. I'm just now realizing that not only geographical factors but also family and friends play a large role in linguistic development. Phrases such as "I reckon", "I'll have a pop", and "What's for supper?" are commonplace in my family and have been in my own speech. I learned early in my college career that such phrases are understood by many people yet even so they often warrant strange looks and even giggles. Through the course of time I began to change my speech patterns to fit in to what I considered to be the norm here at school By doing so I have basically taught myself (or convinced myself) that the way I speak here is more correct.

My work at Monticello however showed me that although my Southwest Virginia lingo differed from that in Charlottesville so does this lingo differ from that in Calif., Alaska, Louisiana, Australia and England. In a job where I had to be conscious of my speech forty hours a week under performance pressure I began to take more of an interest in the way the tourists at the house spoke when addressing. I noticed immediately that maybe I wasn't so blatantly wrong in my speech in the past and perhaps I can overcome my embarrassment of it. People everywhere have differences that go far beyond just differing accents. This is not to say that I will continue to say "I reckon" here at UVA (instead I may say "I suppose"), because there is an inherent value assigned to speech patterns, and I feel that people accept the validity of others' comments based upon how the comment has been made. I now realize though that I am not alone in this and that everyone has their own variation on language none of which is inherently better than the other.

It made a difference to one student to learn that she spoke 'Highland Southern.' That what she and her family spoke had a name. A name added identity, and a degree of legitimacy.

Several students remarked that they realized that at some point they had had to, or would have to, master 'standard English,' but that learning about diversity of language from the standpoint of linguistics/sociolinguistics made a difference. They

could separate the fact that it was socially necessary from prejudice against other forms of speech, including their own.

Taking linguistic assumptions for granted may happen even where it should be obvious that one should not. This was brought home to me recently in talking with an anthropological colleague who works in the Caribbean. He stressed the force of prejudice in education against Jamaican Creole, the living dominance of the view that only standard English counts, the way it affects what is done and who can do it. That should not have surprised me. But in the last thirty years the study of pidgin and creole languages has grown immensely. Thirty years ago, there were only a few scholars, a few significant studies. Now the literature grows so fast that even a specialist can hardly keep track. And the subject influences other branches of linguistics. Languages that were of interest to few are accepted as worthy of study by all. Interest in such languages flourishes so bountifully within the field that attitudes outside the field fade if one is not in direct contact with them.

In our own classes, there are very likely students who have the kinds of misconceptions we tend to forget. And for whom common practices of teaching and evaluation may be harmful. Indeed, we may have to face in our society an increasing authoritarianism like that in England. Here, as there, there may not only be practiced, but mandated, the costly policy of teaching a single standard that Harold Rosen protests in a recent essay, "The Nationalisation of English" (1991). Diversity of accent may be accepted in principle; so may the appropriateness of different styles to different situations. Yet the practice may be oppressive, Rosen argues, if there is no allowance for contestation and negotiation.

Insofar as the issue is the primacy of (standard) English, there is really no issue except a symbolic one, or perhaps a covert one. Students do recognize their social system, and that in it one language, and a version of that language, not their own, is firmly in place, with a social meaning for others that may not be their own (Edelsky, 1991, ch. 2). It still makes a difference if one recognizes the circumstances, does not 'misrecognize' them, understands that they might be otherwise (cf. Bourdieu, 1991).

In this context, one should note the widespread assumption that the brain has room for command of only one language. If that were true for Americans, they would have to be classed as biologically deficient, since multilingualism is a normal accomplishment in most of the world. Difference of language is not in itself divisive, although of course it can become the symbol of conflict in certain economic and political circumstances. A good way to make a language a symbol of conflict is to repress it.

Actual inequality

As linguists, we often act as if the kind of equality just discussed is the whole of the story. Rankings of languages, and of features of languages, is secondary and arbitrary. Where differences exist, the important points are (a) relativity, and (b) potential equality (or equivalence). Those who call attention to actual lack of equivalence may be stigmatized. As to abilities, the preferred image is the representative anecdote of Chomskian theory, the generalized unfolding ability of the child.

Each of these involves an equation of the potential with the actual. The ideal picture is poignant against the realities of our world, where pregnant women may not have enough to eat, and where judgments of subordination can be enforced.[2]

We may shut out findings that suggest actual inequality. Our methodological relativism–all languages are equal in the sight of science–is translated into the ideology that all languages are equal in the sight of humankind, or should be. Of course they should be when the evaluation is based on unfamiliarity or prejudice. But people often know perfectly well that they can accomplish some things in one language or variety that they can not in another. Sometimes the reason is a secondary prejudice, a matter of acceptability. Even then, knowledge that the privileging of one pronunciation or style over another is arbitrary does not remove the privilege. And sometimes the reason is truly a matter of what can be done. Any language has the potential to become a language in which scientific medicine is practiced. Most languages do not now have the vocabulary, discourse patterns, and texts.

The projection of actual equality echoes an older time, and the rise of linguistics in the nineteenth century. The origin and history of peoples was a nineteenth century preoccupation. Linguistics rose to intellectual prominence through its success in tracing common origins backward, subsequent diversification forward. The implicit picture was of the peopling of the world by groups marked by a single, autonomous language.

This implicit picture has continued well into this century. It was the unstated premise of discussions of linguistic relativity. The Hopi language might shape the Hopi view of the world because, it was implied, it was the only language the Hopi learned and used. The language was autonomous. Whatever came to expression in it, or did not, had its origin and explanation among the Hopi.

We all know that the world we live in is one in which communities with a single, autonomous language are scarce. Since the emergence of what Immanuel Wallerstein calls 'the world-system,' the great process affecting languages has not been separation and diversification, but contact and reintegration. Of course there has always been multilingualism, and, within a monolingual group, a plurality of styles or registers. Ways of using language have always been defined in relation to each other, have always been potentially in competition with each other. This has become the general case. Not only varieties, but most languages themselves probably now are alternatives within a repertoire. Most are not autonomous. What they can express is partly a function of their niche within the ecology of a community and larger society, influenced by policies and funding for schools, resources for printing, and the like.

When I entered linguistics, the rightness of the equality of all languages was so certain that it was believed, and argued, that one can express anything in any language, translate anything into any language. that all languages are equally complex. Not that one had evidence. The statements were simply consistent with, elaborations of, an insurgent and triumphant world view.[3]

These statements were felt consistent with a belief in the cognitive relativity of languages. In effect, equality of function but with different structures, different styles. We took delight in differences, in surprises, in the wonderful way another language might do something.

Some of you may have entered linguistics when another world view became triumphant and, for a while, believed and argued that there were essentially no cognitive differences, that differences of structure were superficial and without significant effect. Linguistic relativity, which had seemed obviously true, came to seem obviously wrong. Whorf, whose name had became attached to the notion, had seemed important and interesting, if not necessarily right; now he seemed naive (and to some still does).

One of the rewards of living a long time in the same line of work is that people bring back the tunes, the golden oldies, of one's youth. Now the study of metaphor and cognitive bases for grammar lend a certain respect to Whorf (Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987, 1990, 1991). Emphasis on difference once made Whorf seem bad, to Joshua Fishman and others, insofar as difference might imply incapacity. Now emphasis on difference can be seen to reinforce respect for minority languages and Whorf has a role to play (Fishman, 1982). Peter Mühlhäulser and Rom Harré (1990) find it perfectly obvious that Whorf's claims are true for the individual, who internalizes particular kinds of social meaning in learning the person-marking of a language.[4]

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Perhaps one can live long enough to see accepted within the core of linguistics the consequences of a world of only partly-autonomous languages, and varieties of language. A world in which the development of a given language or variety for a certain purpose may have a cost which will not be met. In which it is recognized that the same language name does not entail the same means and abilities. In which it is recognized that the dimensions which govern the development of pidginization and creolization govern the development of all languages.

The historically derived character of any language has to do with:

(a) scale of linguistic means, having regard both to outer form (simplification, complication) and inner form (reduction, expansion) in its various levels and domains;

(b) provenience of linguistic means, that is, confluence of traditions;

(c) scope of social role (restricted, extended), having to do with use within a group as primary or secondary means of communication, and between groups as well.

(d) contexts, with regard to selection and channeling of its use; motivation and identification on the part of persons involved; the communicative repertoires of the persons involved; relations to other linguistic norms. (Hymes, 1971:83).[5]

Contact and integration within a repertoire entails change in one or more of these dimensions. Since the emergence of a 'world-system,' hardly any language has escaped such change. Some have expanded, some contracted, in use and consequently in means as well. A wide range of processes–standardization, pidginization, creolization, obsolescence–are aspects of a general history. It will take some time to develop adequate pictures for all this, an understanding comparable to that achieved for 'genetic' diversification. But at least it is clear that the potential equivalence of all languages, and users of language, is not adequate as a picture.

The social meaning of language, in other words, of a language, is a function not only of immediate context, but also of persistent context. Over time, some possibilities of meaning, expressive as well as referential, poetic as well as pragmatic, have been cultivated, and others not. The means are at hand for indicating and shaping some kinds of meaning, and not for others. Some kinds of expression have a cost that others do not. Means of speech are sometimes evaluated in terms of characteristics that are not secondary, but intrinsic.

This is so even under conditions of primacy and autonomy. Languages, varieties, verbal repertoires adapt and evolve, developing some means and meanings and not others. Navajo over time became a language for dealing with the American Southwest, not so apt for snow, more adequate for maize, and the kind of cosmology expressed in Pueblo tradition. Every translator knows that there are things which can

be done in one language that can not be done in another. It is only if one divorces meaning from form that one can claim that there is completeness of translation. Given pages enough and time, that meaning, that effect that takes one line in the original can be explained. But still the meaning is not the same. Meaning is partly a matter of means. Elaboration, explanation substitute or insert the meaning of a different genre. What was funny or trenchant or compelling in the sound profile of a single line is not as a disquisition. The hearer or reader is changed into a student of a text, no longer an active participant in immediate recognition.

Intrinsic difference is all the more the case when a language or variety is constrained. (I have mentioned East Sutherland Gaelic, closely studied by Nancy Dorian; cf. my discussion of what Bloomfield reports about the Menomini, White Thunder (Hymes, 1974, ch. 3, pp. 71ff.).[6]

And as everyone knows in daily life, and especially those in the work of education, it is a fallacy to equate the resources of a language to the resources of (all) users. Knowing English may still leave someone inferior as a narrator to someone in a Native American or African American language tradition. Every community is diverse in relative command of the possibilities of the language(s) available. When one considers literacy, we are likely to live in a world in which almost everyone is 'literate' in some sense, yet command of literacy is cruelly stratified–often because the conditions under which children are introduced to literacy perpetuate inequality (Hymes, 1987), sometimes because the kind of literacy expected may alienate them from their communities (Edelsky, 1991, ch. 8, 'Risks and possibilities of whole language literacy: alienation and connection').

One must be willing to recognize that lack of equivalence is endemic to the world. Stigmatizing those who call attention to it (Whorf, Bernstein) is not a help. The help that is needed is to describe and compare such cases, to develop the ability to recognize and analyze recurrent types of case, and to address what can be done. An important part of that help can come from those who necessarily address the actual inequalities of minority languages and language learners. If human beings are not only language-using animals, but also goaded by the spirit of hierarchy, as two elements of Kenneth Burke's definition have it, then there will never be a lack of need for such work.

Oral Narrative

These two aspects of our language situation, of the world today, potential and actual, come together in narrative. Every community has narrative. Evidently it rests on an ability that is inherent in human nature, that is possible everywhere, perhaps as an aspect of the ability for language itself.

Like so much of language, much of the organization of oral narrative is out of awareness. We may take it for granted, but that is out of relative ignorance, not knowledge.

Nessa's dissertation was a pioneering contribution in this respect. She traced the use of the conversational historical present. Everyone is aware that in English a change into the historical present may dramatize what is said, convey immediacy. Instead of 'And then I saw...,' 'And then I see....' What no one realized until her study was that some occurrences of the historical present in conversation can not be explained that way. That whatever else may be the case, switching into and out of the historical present in conversation marks the beginning and end of a part of what is being said. The change itself is significant, segmenting the story. It is a device for giving narrative organization, unconsciously so

Some years ago, Virginia and I independently began to analyze one of the narratives Nessa had recorded in the light of kinds of patterning we had found in Native American languages. She encouraged us in this. I would like to share with you now such an analysis of one of her favorite examples. We refer to it by its first line, 'She's a widow' (Appendix).

I should point out that this analysis is the last of several. Although some narratives follow an obvious pattern rather mechanically, many do not. They use principles shared with other stories, but somewhat individually; they have rhythms partly their own, an architecture that varies and emerges. One has to live with such a story for a while, become sensitive to its details and themes, try alternative ways of being true to both. The first analysis may be only one of a series of approximations. That has been the case with this story. The present analysis does seem to recognize every detail; to be consistent; to show a coherent development of themes.

To recognize the patterning of oral narratives, one must start with their lines and the ways in which lines constitute verses. One must go on to recognize relations among verses that constitute larger rhetorical forms. This is the step that few so far have taken.

The story is presented here in two forms. The first is the form in which it was published as part of the evidence for the conversational historical present–a continuous sequence of prose (Wolfson, 1982:25-7; 1989:140). The second presents the story as a sequence of lines.[7]

The shape of the sequence is indicated by certain conventions. One or more lines may go together in what can be called a verse. The first (or only) line of a verse is flush left. Verses may go together in what can be called a stanza. Between stanzas there is a space. Stanzas may go together in what can be called a scene. A scene is identified by lower case Roman numbers at the margin.

There appear to be two common types of organization in oral narratives. For many traditions, the unmarked, or default relation among elements is that of sets of two and four. For other traditions, the unmarked relation is that of sets of three and five. English itself is not uniform. Traditional stories from the British Isles, so far as we have observed, use two and four. Storytellers in the United States typically use three and five.

At one point it seemed that this narrative might be organized in relations of two and four, with four scenes overall. Possible parallels in the opening of stanzas suggested as much. Further review brought awareness of an awkward separation of parts of a conversational exchange at two points: of failure to recognize as verses, two lines marked by initial capitalization and final period; and, failure to grasp that parallel remarks about "making everything up" were ending points of parallel sections. All this fell into place when the narrative was seen as having five scenes, whose internal relations were three and five as well.

In traditions whose unmarked pattern is three and five, a striking rhetorical relation, one that occurs in widely separated languages–in the Chinookan family of the Pacific Northwest–in songs in the Kalevala tradition of Finnish, and in northeast Philadelphia English, is a relation of interlocking. In a sequence of five elements the first three may go together as a sequence of action, and the last three go together as well. The third element is a pivot, simultaneously ending one sequence and beginning another. In the arithmetic of such narratives, 3 + 3 can equal 5.

The relation of interlocking holds throughout 'She's a widow' and does so at several levels. At the level of the story as a whole, its five scenes interlock. The first three state a situation, report an opportunity and strategy, and reach an outcome, acceptance of the bid. At the same time, the third scene initiates three steps of acceptance: of price, certificates, date of settlement.

The stanzas within all scenes but the first (1-5) are linked by interlocking as well. Thus, the second scene (6-59) has five stanzas. The first two are marked initially in terms of summertime (AB), and the last two are marked finally in terms of 'making up a lot of things/everything' (DE). The first pair bring in the realtor and the narrator; the last pair bring in the narrator's wife in conversation with the realtor. These two pairs of stanzas are linked by a pivot (C). In this central stanza, the narrator finds out the true amount that had been bid for the house. That discovery is the outcome for the stanzas in which he becomes involved in an effort to buy the house (ABC). The discovery evidently also alerts him to a possible plan, and is the onset of the stanzas in which he initiates it. In sum, stanza (C) is at one and the same time the outcome of one series of three stanzas (ABC), and the onset of another (CDE).

The third and fourth scenes (lines 60-84, 85-103) each consist of pairs of conversational exchange. In each there are four pairs of conversational exchange, followed by a later call and an acceptance. In each the third pair is pivotal in that the narrator's wife (in iii), or the narrator (in iv) states a condition as outcome of what has so far occurred, and as onset of conclusion. The following (fourth) pair has the realtor say that the widow will not go for it. The final (fifth) pair has the later call and acceptance. Again, we have AB(C)DE.

The fifth scene (lines 104-42) turns on dates. The first stanza has the narrator say he will try to get January, rather than October. The second stanza has him change the agreement that way and insist. The third stanza has the widow refuse January. That in itself is a unified sequence of three stanzas. This conclusion of one three-part sequence proves to be the onset again of another three-part sequence. The next stanza is a response and a next step to the refusal of January. It begins with with a three-part sequence itself, ringing changes on months and dates:

"So then my next date was December,
and she went to November,
and I finally pushed her to November 18th"

and the third line, concluding that sequence of dates, initiates a further sequence and outcome within the verse:

"and I finally pushed her to November 18th
and that's where we got it,
and, uh, she did back off."

The first outcome is arrival at a third date, the second and final outcome is her refusal yet again.

A word further on the organization of this final scene. It is not surprising to find a scene organized as pairs of verses throughout, as is the case with scenes [iii] and [iv]. It does seem surprising to find just the last three stanzas of a scene as pairs, when the first two stanzas are not, the first scene having three verses, the second five, and clearly so. Just the first three verses have interchange between the narrator and his cousin. Just the next five verses have interchange between the narrator and the realtor.

But the same principle of change of stanza with change of participants applies to pairs of verses in what follows. Just the next two verses involve the realtor and the widow. And their outcome—

'So he took it back to her
and she called the deal off.
She wouldn't accept January'

is a third step, and outcome, in sequence with the preceding stanzas.

In the next two verses the participants change yet again. Now it is just the narrator and the widow who are involved. The two verses have indeed a strong marker of beginning, for this narrator, not just 'So' but 'So then' (cf. line 104, where 'So then' begins the scene as a whole). And the verses are internally linked by repetition of the words, and topic, 'back off.'

At the level of steps of action, also, if 'She wouldn't accept January' (third stanza) is the first step in a sequence of responses to the narrator's proposed settlement date, for her to back off is the second.

The third step comes in the next pair of verses. Its conclusiveness is signalled by 'finally' with regard to the widow, and the flat statement of final date:

She <u>finally</u> went –
we settled at November 18th.

Pairing is an obvious pattern when what is narrated is conversational exchange. The pairing here may be something of a change of pace, for intensification of effect. Certainly each of the pairs is a step in the action of the whole. The first three

stanzas have an outcome in the first pair, the first refusal. The narrator undertakes to try to get January, insists on January to the realtor, January is refused. At the same time the pair of verses containing the refusal is the start of another three-step sequence, refusal, backing off, acceptance. Each of these steps is evidently a point of structure at the level of the stanza.

The last two lines return the story to the present. No more widow, realtor, cousin or wife, or house to be bought. The lines seem to address the hearer, almost explicitly, changing what is said from a story to direct conversation, but at the same providing a final twist to all that has been recounted. Perhaps it is not an accident that the lines rhyme ('now' 'now'), analogous to a closing Shakespearean couplet, or to the formal words which return a Native American myth to the present.

On alternation of tenses

The analysis, and especially the analysis of the last scene and its last three stanzas, gains further point and support by attention to the use of tenses.

Use of the conversational historical present in relation to past and general present was indeed the focus of Wolfson's treatment of the narrative. Other writers have returned to the longstanding notion of the historical present as in itself expressive. Johnstone (1990:82-83) notes Schiffrin's claim (1981) that the historical present is an evaluative device, and advances the hypothesis that in her own data from Fort Wayne there is an evaluative role restricted to "the say/go system" (that is, to the use of certain verbs in attributing dialogue). She cites a story in which, whenever there is a tense difference in attributing discourse, it is the authority figure (police officer) whose words have the marked form, non-past for a past event; the nonauthority figure always has the unmarked past tense.

This story from Philadelphia is one source of Wolfson's finding that neither tense is marked in itself, that what is marked is the switch, that indeed the past may be the marked tense. A verse analysis of the story underscores this observation.

The short introductory scene begins with the general present (twice) and then has the past (twice). The second scene is entirely in the past for its first stanza (A), the past, general present and past for the second stanza (B), the past, general present and past for the third stanza (C). The fourth stanza (D) begins in the past (twice) and then introduces a convention of the narrator, namely, that communicative acts are in the present tense ('calls,' 'figure' (followed by quoted thought), 'gets on the phone,' 'says'). It is the third and fifth verses of this stanza, an intermediate and closing culmination,

that have past tense ('told, 'made up'). The fifth stanza (E) has two verbs of saying, then like the fourth closes in the past ('made up').

The central scene, the third, has five pairs of verses. The first four pairs are verbal exchanges between the realtor and the narrator's wife. All use 'says.' The fifth pair is the outcome, the first of three outcomes for the theme of the story, acceptance, and its two verbs are in the past ('got' 'was accepted').

The fourth scene follows the model of the third. There are four pairs of verbal exchange, all in the present, and a fifth pair for the outcome, acceptance. Here the fifth pair is also in the present ('get a call'), and quoted speech ('okay, she's accepted'). The present tense of 'get a call' can not be explained as communicative, because of the contrast with 'got a call' at the end of the preceding scene. It seems that the present tense becomes so much the unmarked tense that it carries through the whole scene and into the next, for the fifth scene begins by repeating 'get,' followed by non-communicative verbs now also in the present: 'do,' 'picks up,' 'take,' 'goes,' 'walk in,' 'sign,' as well as 'says.'

The present continues through the end of the second stanza (B) save for one verb not in the present, which, Wolfson observes (1982:36) expresses the real estate agent's astonishment when he discovers that the date was changed ("all of a sudden he looked at the agreement").

The remainder of the story is in the past tense. This highlights the narrator's last assertive demand ("Deal's off" [line 128]). This ultimatum is parallel to the final demand in each of the preceding two scenes. There the demand comes at the end of the fourth stanza. Here it comes at the end of the second.

What follows in all three scenes (iii, iv, v) has to do with acceptance. In [iii] and [iv] acceptance is quickly told in a single pair of verses, short and sweet as it were. Scene [v] might have ended that way as well. (When relations of three and five prevail, the third stanza is often a concluding stanza.) Here the third stanza (C) is a surprise (given the immediate acceptance in the preceding scenes), a complication. a bit of last minute suspense. The drama is expressed, not by tense change, but by position and elaboration.

There are three steps: stanza (C) reports refusal to accept, stanza (D) a backing off, stanza (E) acceptance at last.

The sequence of past tenses in these lines can be seen as equivalent structurally to the concluding past tense of scene [iii]. In this context it is the present tense of stanza (E) at the end of scene [iv] that stands apart. As suggested above, the present tense here seems not a *sforzando* but part of a continuity of line.

All this indicates that the expressive or evaluative role of tense change should be interpreted in relation to specific narrators, even specific narrations, and that interpretation of tense change may depend upon a structure of lines, verses, stanzas and scenes.

Overview

We see here a thoroughgoing shaping of personal experience. A mode of shaping which in the Sun's myth by the last Kathlamet Indian of the Columbia River able to recount myths undergirds and articulates a wrenching vision of the end of a people. A mode of shaping, which, perceived, gives point and proportion to what may have seemed to lack it, revealing meaning through implicit relations. Like much of syntax.

Perhaps better than anything else, oral narrative is an indication of the relation between potential and actual in language, the dialectic between potential equality and actual inequality. Every normal child may be born with the potentiality for such shaping, but not every community gives such shaping the same place. Oral narrative is central to a traditional Native American community, marginal perhaps to ours. Evidence there of the nature and shaping of the world, here something that can be dismissed as 'anecdote.' Even when languages survive, there may be no one who any longer has the old skills, or is encouraged to develop them anew. In this aspect of language, many communities may have been richer before Columbus than they, and many of us, are now.

Too little is known of the life of oral narrative to say very much. All one can say is that it appears likely that language carries with it everywhere the possibility of giving experience the form of story, richly shaped, by means of equivalences and internal relations that make it a kind of poetry. The one universal definition of poetry is organization in terms of lines. That is what we see in this narrative recorded by Nessa. When it comes to the possibility of poetry, Homer walked with the Macedonian swineherd, Li Po with the headhunting savage of Assam.[8] Recognition of this dimension of narrative may make it possible to find more meaning in, give more weight to what is sometimes dismissed as gossip or anecdote, yet is the only articulate form some experiences and lives achieve. It is already clear that recognition of this dimension can show narratives from Native American communities, perhaps dismissed by some as repetitively dull, to be significant works of art. The working out of this dimension of traditional narratives, recorded in the past by non-Indians, can be part of repatriation (Hymes, 1991).

In sum, there lies before us a vast work, that of discovering forms of implicit patterning, largely out of awareness, relations, a universal potential, whose actual realization varies. Recognition of its presence and possibility can enhance respect for, appreciation of voices of others. Not guarantee that what is said is true or admirable, but a **continuation of the tradition** of discovering in the oral what has not been recognized, of discovering in the oral relationships and values that have been thought to be restricted to the written. Not only do unwritten languages have grammar and regularity of change; their narratives have shape–often a thoroughgoing architecture.

Elementary linguistics

At the outset I suggested that a program in educational linguistics must necessarily attend to the dialectic of potential and actual in language.

I would like to make a final observation in that regard. There are many established varieties of linguistics . I would like to suggest one more term, relevant to all the topics touched upon. One often thinks of branches of linguistics in terms of the study of groups of languages: Germanic, Romance, Chinese, Finno-Ugric, Athapaskan, Niger-Congo (including Bantu), etc. Sometimes one thinks of the study of types of language, such as tone languages, ergative languages, pidgins and creoles, or the study of aspects of language, such as phonology, semantics, historical linguistics. If there is any simple contrast, probably it is that between 'theoretical linguistics' and 'applied linguistics.'

These two labels can be misleading. Those who work with practical situations do not merely apply the findings of 'theoretical linguistics,' for the simple reason that 'theoretical linguistics' does not take into account much of what needs to be known. It abstracts from social life altogether, or, if it models social life, abstracts from its actual patterns, often in an a priori way. Practical situations require a knowledge of language in use, and in terms of the situation itself. They require description of features of language and features of social life together. Application is not a matter merely of implementation, but a matter of acquiring new knowledge. Practical problems are a point of integration, of emergent configurations, if you will, a point at which the cases on which an adequate theory of language in use will depend.

Beyond this contrast between 'theoretical' and 'applied,' there is what one might call 'elementary linguistics.' It is the linguistics someone needs, not to write a grammar, but to read one. To recognize that two transcriptions of a word in a language of concern are not significantly different. To discern that something has

recurred in a conversation or a narrative. It is the linguistics that every student of human life should know, that one would like everyone to know, the linguistics that should be part of general education, indeed, of elementary education.

Such a linguistics would be equivalent to elementary 'literacy' in linguistics. It would give a grasp of the sounds and forms of language in general. It would enable those not linguists to make use of material of concern to them.[9] It would enable them to recognize in narratives points of recurrence and relations of shape. It would enable students at leading universities to understand that when someone says 'fightin,' they have not dropped a 'g,' but substituted one sound for another, an alveolar nasal for a palatal velar. It would mean not having to start over again from scratch in every course about language at a leading university. It would mean not having to explain the term 'aspect' to speakers of a language (English) in which it is pervasive. It is a linguistics that would enable people who can recognize and name so much of what is around them to recognize and name the elements of that which makes naming possible, language itself. And to approach the many social aspects of language, literacy, bilingualism, ethnic identity, and the like, in realistic terms.

Such an elementary linguistics would involve values that have been earned by experience: understanding the potential equality of all languages; understanding the secondary origin of most social meaning and evaluation of varieties of language; understanding as well that disparate historical circumstances shape languages differently, affecting what can actually be done with their resources now.

Elementary linguistics is ultimately a contribution to the well-being of linguistics itself, no doubt, but it is first of all a contribution to society. And it is where linguistics is undertaken to contribute to society that one can most hope for that contribution to be made.

Linguistics is so fascinating that it is easy to forget its connections with the world around it. It is where linguistic work is connected with practical problems and the circumstances of actual communities that one is most likely to realize the need to stress the potential equality/equivalence of all languages, grounded in human nature—to recognize the actual inequalities that obtain, to be brought face to face with the difference it can make to share with others understandings linguists may take for granted.

A field such as educational linguistics is in such a position. Its day to day experience can be linked to a general good, a humanistic goal, the understanding of the actual life of language and the sharing of that understanding with others.[10]

[1] This makes it close kin of sociolinguistics, of course, and it is no accident that it is in educational linguistics, and applied linguistics more generally, that questions of communicative competence are most actively discussed.

[2] These points about the Chomskian representative anecdote, and its poignancy, first came to me in preparing a paper in 1967 for a conference on language and education.

[3] Such statements continue to be made. A manuscript I recently read (December, 1991) makes several, including the assertion that five-year-old children arrive at school knowing 95% of the rules of their language. The purpose is to defend the variety children may speak against prejudice. But 95% of what? Is there an accepted count of the number of rules of English? of any language?

Again, a book has just come out in a second edition (Aitchison, 1990) that argues that in language change disruption and therapy seem to balance each other in a perpetual stalemate, and that a language never allows disruptive change to destroy the system. It does so to argue against prejudiced views of language change. But the statements seem disingenuous if Eastern Sutherland Gaelic and other obsolescent varieties are considered languages. It seems not to allow for the elaboration that leads to a creole.

These arguments seem couched in terms of a tacit equivalence of all varieties, between potential and actual equality. To seek equality by assuming that it already exists everywhere, needing only to be recognized. My point is that social inequality, social change, social challenge, have linguistic effects, and that calling the world equal will not make it so. Actual equality is something to be achieved. We can not expect to achieve it, and to overcome belief in its absence, by asserting as true what no one knows, or by denying experiences many have had.

[4] For extended and thoughtful discussion of the current state of the subject, see Lucy (1991) and three books expected this year (1992a, 1992b, 1992c).

[5] What precedes generalizes to all languages the characteristics of pidginization and creolization, as indicated by a survey of information two decades ago (Hymes, 1971: 83). It was a point of that essay that pidgins and creoles were complex configurations of processes more widely shared.

[6] The example is taken up more fully in the original article of 1967, and in somewhat different form as the beginning of ch. 2 of Toward linguistic competence (1973, 1984).

[7] Neither Virginia nor I have heard the tape of the narrative. We have worked from the text as presented in Nessa's dissertation, and as published in her monograph of 1982 (pp. 25-7), and in a later article (1989: 140). In doing so, Virginia particularly has paid scrupulous attention to the details of the transcription. Commas, periods, and capitalization have been consistently used as indications of verses in the light of her experience with a variety of English oral narratives.

[8] To adapt Sapir's well known sentence about linguistic form (1921: 219).

[9] This past summer (1991) I received a letter from Coos Bay, Oregon, from the man in charge of cultural heritage for the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians. He knew that almost 40 years ago I had sought out the last speakers of those languages, and learned something at least of Siuslaw. We drove down. He himself (Donald Whereat) was a Coos descendant, and knew nothing of the language, but he had systematically gathered together everything that had been done and was known about the language, including correspondence among those who had studied it. He was without illusions or ideology. He simply needed help in understanding what he had gathered–to begin with, the differences in the symbols used by two linguists at different times to write the language. Virginia undertook to provide him first with an understanding of the sounds of his own English, and then, through that, with an understanding of the respects in which the sounds of Coos were different. He could have

learned the symbols, the logic of their presentation in a chart, and the descriptive terms, at any time in his life. It was almost an accident that he reached someone to share the information with him. There must be many such instances of alienation from knowledge of one's own heritage for lack of elementary linguistics.

[10] A version of this paper will appear in the proceedings of the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics (GURT) for 1992. I am grateful to Dean James Alatis for the opportunity to share something from Nessa's research with that audience.

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ERIC

Appendix

"She's a widow"

She's a widow. [i] ["She's a widow"]
She's a widow,
she put the house up originally during the winter for forty-five--
with Langsdorf.
She couldn't move it.

Came summertime, [ii] [opportunity, strategy]
she handed it over to Larry Snyder at --
thirty-seven five.
So they had a couple people in--
the bids were--
she had a bid for thirty-five
and got stubborn
and didn't take it.

So as the summer went,
she got sick,
and she's in the hospital now,
and she's living in an apartment
and uh --they--
when I went to see it,
the guy says to me,
says, "We got a bid for thirty-three-- thirty-four,"
says, "If you bid thirty-five," he says,
"You'll get it."
I said, "Okay, let me think it over."

And I went home
and I called my wife's cousin who's a realtor.
Well, his partner knows Snyder well,
so he called him up.
The bid was for twenty-seven, five!

So I figured
they could do the same thing I was going to do.
So he calls me up the next day
and I figure,
"Look, I could always bid a little higher than the guy
and work my way up."
So he calls me the next day,
and I told my wife exactly what to say. [stanza continued]

So he gets on the phone
and so my wife says,
"Look, we're not talking land,
we're talking house.
"The house isn't worth it
and it needs a lot of work."
You know,
and we made up a lot of things ....
"We have to paper and paint it."

So he says,
"That you have to do in any house."
So she says,
"Yes, we have to lay down new floors;
the rugs are no good"
(the rugs happen to be in good shape).
"We have to--
there's too much shrubbery,
we have to tear out some of the shrubs."
(The shrubbery around the house is magnificent
if it's done right,
if it's done right).
So we really made up everything.

[iii] [bid accepted]

So he says to my wife, he says,
"Well, what would you bid?"
So she says,
"It's stupid for me to talk," she says,
"You got a bid for thirty-three, thirty-four," she says,
"Why should I even talk to you?
"It ain't gonna be anywheres near."

So he says to her, he says,
"Well," he says,
"the person at thirty-four backed out."
So she says, "Oh yeah?"

He says,
"Yeah," he says,
"What would you bid?"
So she says, "Twenty-eight."

[stanza continued]

He says, "Oh," he says,
"No, that she'll never go for."
So she says,
"Okay, that's my bid, Mr. Smith.
"You want it,
fine.
"You don't,
fine."

Got a call that afternoon.
It was accepted!

[iv] [certificates accepted]

So I go to see the house--
I go to sign the contract,
I look at the contract
and I says, "I ain't signing this."

He says, "Why?"
I says, "I want a plumbing certificate.
"I want an air conditioning certificate,
"I want a heating certificate,
"and I want a roof certificate."

So he says, "Really, we won't guarantee..."
I says, "I don't want guarantee,
"I want certificates,
from certified people that it's in good shape,
"and I want the right to bring in any of my guys."

So he says, "She won't go for it ... this, that..."
So I says, "Aah, don't be silly," I says,
"Look, you just take it to her."

So I get a call back about a day later,
"Okay, she's accepted."

[v] [settlement date accepted]

So then I get a --
now what I do is,
I pick up this thing,
I take it to my cousin,
he goes to someone,

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he says, "Settlement's no good.
"She's got us for forty-five days."
In October she wanted to settle.
So I says, "Okay, I'll try to get a January
"and I'll play around with that."

So I walk in
and I sign a check for twenty-eight hundred dollars,
and I says to him, I says,
"Now," I says,
"Take this back to her."
So he picked up the agreement--
all of a sudden he looks at the agreement.
He says, "Well," he says,
"This uh date was changed."
I says, "That's right.
"Settlement."
I says, "Now you take it
and show her the check.
She wants to play around fine.
Deal's off!"

So he took it back to her
and she called the deal off.
She wouldn't accept January.

So then my next date was December
and she went to November,
and I finally pushed her to November 18th
and that's where we got it,
and, uh, she did back off.
I didn't expect her to back off, though,
with a check of twenty-eight thousand dollars.

Cause she knew it was settled, you know,
the deal was there.
She finally went--
we settled at November 18th.

And I got to sell my house now-- [epilogue]
three weeks now."

'She's a widow' profile

[i]	A	a	1	'She's a widow'
		b	2-4	'She's a widow ' ... (triad)
		c	5	'She couldn't move it' (ending point)
				[Opportunity, strategy]
[ii]	A	a	6-8	Came summertime
		b	9-10	So they... --...--
		c	11-13	she.....'didn't take it' (triad)
	B	a	14-18	So as the summer went...and uh -- they--(quintad)
		b	19-23	when I went to see it,... "you'll get it" (quintad)
		c	24	I said, "---"
	C	a	25-6	And I went home/ and
		b	27-8	Well..., so he called him up.
		c	29	twenty-seven, five!
	D	a	30-1	So I figured....
		b	32-5	So he calls me... /and I figure, "---"
		c	36-7	So he calls me/and I
		d	38-43	So he../and so "---"
		e	44-6	You know/made up a lot of things/ "---"
	E	a	47-8	So he says...
		b	49-58	So she says...
		c	59	So we really made up everything
				[iii] [Bid accepted] [realtor and wife]
[iii]	A	a	60-1	So he says to my wife..
		b	62-6	So she says, you've got 33-34
		c	67-9	So he says to her....at 'thirty-four' backed out.
		d	70	So she says...
		e	71-3	He says,
		f	74	So she says, 'twenty-eight'
		g	75-6	He says
		h	77-82	So she says
		i	83	Got a call that afternoon
		j	84	It was accepted!

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[iv] [certificates accepted] [realtor and husband]

[iv]	A	a	85	So I go...
		b	86-88	I go, look, says "..." (triad)
	B	a	89	He says
		b	90-3	I says
	C	a	94	So he says
		b	95-8	I says
	D	a	99	So he says
		b	100-1	So I says
	E	a	102	So I get a call
		b	103	"accepted"

[v] [settlement date accepted]

[v]	A	a	104-10	So then I--, now what I do is,..., he says "--".
		b	111	In October settle
		c	112-3	So I says...'January'...
	B	a	114-8	So I walk in...."---"
		b	119-20	So he...
		c	121-2	He says, 'date changed'
		d	123-4	I says,
		e	125-8	I says,
	C	ab	129-30, 131	So then.. /She wouldn't accept January
	D	ab	132-6, 137-8	So... (quintad)/I.../...
	E	ab	139-40, 141-2	Cause... ; She finally went...
[epilogue]			143-4	And I got sell my house now.../ now.

In sum:	*[i]*	*abc*	*she*
	[ii]	*AB(C)DE*	*narrator + realtor; wife + realtor*
	[iii]	*ab cd (ef) gh ij*	*wife and realtor*
	[iv]	*ab cd (ef) gh ij*	*narrator and realtor*
	[v]	*AB(C)DE*	*narr. + realtor, realtor + she, narr. + she (3 times)*
	[epilogue]	*couplet*	*narr + audience*

Standardization in Andean languages[1]

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This paper discusses current efforts to standardize the two major Andean languages: Quechua and Aymara. The author reflects on the difficulties in gaining consensus on standardizing the phonology, grammar and lexicon. He offers specific recommendations on how to deal with neologisms and proposes the creation of a pan-Andean entity to resolve the issue of standardization.

Preface

Today, I will discuss the state of the art in relation to language standardization as far as the so-called "major languages" of the Andes, Quechua and Aymara, are concerned. I will focus particularly on work done at the level of graphization, grammatication and lexication, in the senses defined by Ferguson (1968) and Haugen (1983). As will be seen, most of the decisions taken in such matters result from a purely descriptive treatment, largely "leaving the language alone," and therefore without a real concern for aspects such as standardization, codification and language development. As such, Andean languages are still treated as transitional mediums towards Hispanization and not as ends in themselves.

Such a purely descriptive and synchronic treatment of language standardization is due, in my opinion, to two well-known and extremely deeply-rooted biases: the emphasis placed on dialectal differences among local varieties, and the neglect of a long tradition of grammatical and lexicographic studies of the languages concerned which go back to the middle of the sixteenth century.

As for the first bias, there is the strong proclivity to register, sometimes in a detailed fashion, the differentiating features which set the local varieties apart (the dialectologist acting as a language codifier would like to see the results of his fieldwork reflected in his "standardization"). This atomizing vision of language doesn't allow for the discovery, beyond observable but mostly superficial differences, of

common and underlying forms and features which, no doubt, comprise the communicative competence of the speakers. According to the second bias, the descriptivist acting as codifier neglects the philological and grammatical traditions of the major Andean languages, overlooking them as if the languages had been recently discovered. The antinormativist dogma ("leaving the language alone") prevents the descriptivist from realizing that, in matters of codification, most of the problems which are presently discussed were actually pointed out and discussed in the past, and some of the solutions proposed then could perfectly well be reconsidered with great advantage today (Mannheim, 1984; López, 1988). I will make some observations in relation to the experience accumulated so far in matters of corpus planning.

Phonological and grammatical aspects

What I see at present–in spite of the disruptive activities of foreign entities (for example, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura en Aimara [Commission on Aymara Literacy and Literature]) as well as of local institutions (academies of Quechua)–is a general consensus in favor of the use of a unified alphabet not only within each country, but also at the international level, thanks to the joint efforts of institutions committed to that goal. It is to be expected that in spite of the fact that the respective alphabets were developed following more or less common criteria–phonological, sociological, pedagogical and practical–and without dismissing the fact that the sociolinguistic and dialectal realities are different within each country (as far as Quechua is concerned, the situation is more complex in Peru than in Ecuador, and in Ecuador more than in Bolivia), the alphabets are nevertheless not free from traces typical of the descriptivistic dogma.

Thus, for example, there still persist transcriptivist tendencies which seek to imitate pronunciation exactly, overlooking the fact that codification presupposes the development of alternative registers for the language, aside from or parallel to the oral system. Implicit in this practice is another more subtle fact–that, consciously or unconsciously, what is being proposed is a notational system for the foreigner or for the Spanish-speaker, both of whom are ignorant of the languages being codified, but who would benefit from a transcriptional system as an aid to pronunciation. However, we know that no alphabet–at least within the so-called literary languages–teaches us how to pronounce. What we must ask at this point is: For whom is the writing system being proposed?

Another descriptivist trace which still persists among the proposed alphabets (especially in the Bolivian case and, until quite recently, also in the Peruvian) is that they are introduced as if they were phonological inventories (with points and manners of articulation), and not real alphabets. Aspects such as spelling or even the names of the characters are totally neglected. All of this seems to indicate that, unconsciously, there is not the slightest intention of putting a writing system into practice for the languages concerned; again, a transitional solution is being adhered to. This also explains why the need to prepare a manual of orthography was never perceived, as if the process of graphization concludes with the postulation of a phonemic-graphemic inventory only. This is particularly astonishing, especially when we know that there have been several previous attempts at formulating rules of orthography and punctuation, such as those proposed by the Bolivian Quechuist Berríos (1904: iv). This indicates to what extent it is detrimental to neglect the grammatical tradition mentioned above.

Standardization in Quechua

Now, I would like to outline some of the aspects which have not been thoroughly considered in the formulation of the alphabets of Quechua, and which are relevant to attaining an authentic codification.

a. In the treatment of the syllable final stops in Cuzco-Puno as well as in Bolivian Quechua, here we still see the concretist-transcriptionist practice, which doesn't incorporate theoretical advances made by variationist theory and its notion of pandialectal grammars (Bailey, 1975), nor does it take into account the postulates of the ethnography of communication and its notion of communicative competence. In the case of the Quechua language, there is a considerable amount of dialectal evidence which allows postulating abstract segments, overriding their more concrete manifestations, without necessarily postulating segments attributed to the protolanguage. The advantages of the proposed solution can be seen, for example, in the fact that it is no longer necessary to add new graphs such as *sh, f* or *j*. Thus, for example, words such as 'five', 'wing' or 'hut' are written as *pichqa, rapra* and *ch'uklla* instead of *pishqa, rafra* and *ch'ujlla,* respectively. Note that by taking into account such a proposal, it is perfectly possible to unify the writing system of Southern Peruvian Quechua, as is being done presently, and as has also been implemented (although gradually) in Bolivia. This kind of solution affects not only the syllable final consonants as such, but also the standardization of certain suffixes which suffered from sporadic changes, such as the genitive, the inclusive, the obviative subordinator, etc.

b. Another aspect which should be contemplated is the treatment of cases of polymorphism. It is my conviction that, in such cases, one form should be postulated, preferably the most conservative one. Take, for instance, the durative *-chka* or the dynamic *-yku.* As is well-known, both suffixes present a large amount of variation: *-ska- -sqa- -sya- -sha- -sa-,* for the first case, and *-yku- -yu- -y-,* for the second. In cases such as these, it does not seem to me recommendable to postulate forms which, although perfectly valid in oral speech, clearly deviate from more conservative and easily "recoverable" forms even in the most innovative variety, depending on the style of the speech used. Otherwise, it will be simply impossible to standardize the writing system; writers will keep writing as they wish.

c. Yet another aspect which should be reconsidered is the eclecticism assumed by some Bolivian Quechuists in relation to the issue raised in the writing of three or five vowels (cf., for example, Albó 1987). According to the official Bolivian alphabet, one can either write with three or five vowels. This decision, far from contributing to the standardization of the language, actually evades the problem and creates chaos in the writing system. Thus, the very same scribe can write *sunqu, sunqo, sonqo, sonqu* ('heart') or *wiqi, wiqe, weqi* ('tear'), and so on. I contend that, in such cases, one has to be more decisive even if it means taking a vote among the members of the committee in charge of standardization. Incidentally, this type of decision has a long tradition in the history of Spanish, going back at least to the beginnings of the XVI century, as Nebrija ([1517] 1977) pointed out.

d. It is also time to reconsider certain letters which were eliminated with negative consequences for the pan-Quechua unification of the writing system. Again, this has been done by neglecting the philological-grammatical tradition of the Spanish language as well as that of Quechua. Thus, we have, for example, the elimination of *h* or the argument against the use of *k* and *w.* To argue that the letter *h* is silent in Spanish and thus cannot be employed in Quechua (or in Aymara) is a clear misunderstanding of the problem. One has to ask again: for whom is the writing system being developed? Due to preconceived opinions such as these, the alphabets of Ecuador and Bolivia incorporate *j* instead of *h,* and, in the first case, *hu* instead of *w.* The use of the letters *k* and *w* was questioned in Ecuador based on their supposedly recent English and/or German origin. I would like to point out that the letter *k* was used in the XVII century by the Spanish grammarian Gonzalo Korreas. As for the *w*, it has been used in Quechua and Aymara at least since 1821. These preconceived opinions hinder any attempt towards a real unification of the Quechua writing system along the whole Andean area.

e. We should also take into account the urgent task of preparing manuals of orthography. For this purpose, it is obviously important to make a careful study of the written materials available. Most of them, however, are not detailed enough to serve as good illustrations of the variety of uses of punctuation marks, for example. It should be recalled that the literary masterpieces of the past do not serve as viable indicators for punctuation since the underlying principles differed. As I have said, however, there exist pioneering efforts within this area, such as that of Berríos.

f. The extreme fluctuation of the laryngeals (aspirated and glottalized consonants) within so-called "Inca-Quechua," where the same word registers these consonants or not depending on the dialectal area, should make us consider whether it is worthwhile to represent them in the writing system for these varieties which in fact share a considerable common and uniform vocabulary. An alternative favoring a less differentiated solution to the problem of the above mentioned consonants was pursued in the XVI century. The best proof that such a solution works are the thousands of pages of literary works in Quechua (and Aymara) produced within a 65-year span (1584-1649). This practice–directed towards the re-unification of Quechua–was hindered by the creole and mestizo Quechuists, mainly from Cuzco, who endorsed the mistaken idea that orthography must reflect the actual pronunciation of the language. The consequences of that campaign were detrimental to the so-called General Quechua developed by the former Quechuists. I think that a solution in the spirit of the colonial grammarians should be reconsidered, if the intention is to orthographically unify the language. But this presupposes, obviously, overcoming prejudices like the preference for a "minimal pair" orthography (according to which, if there is a pair of lexemes which differ by one distinctive element, and even if one of these elements occurs only in a few words, a new letter is proposed to accommodate that difference). This minimal pair orthography disregards the fact that one doesn't write lists of words only, and that the context prevents any ambiguous interpretation. It is appropriate to recognize here the Ecuadorian solution to the problem of the aspirated consonants: the writing system simply ignores them.

Standardization in Aymara

With respect to this language, I should mention that there has been no systematic attempt at codifying it so far. Instead, the usages of traditional grammarians and scribes prevail, as well as an adherence to usages introduced by the followers of the descriptivistic tendency, especially at the phonological and morphological levels. As for the latter, it is a curious fact that a taxonomic grammar such as that of Hardman,

Vásquez, and Yapita (1988) was adopted as if it were a standardized grammar. This is clearly a gross error because the linguistic facts presented in it correspond mostly to the speech of a few idiolects and, even worse, there is no attempt at standardizing the language. It is not surprising that the authors didn't seem worried at all about the many alternants, even though the basic forms could have been easily derived. On the contrary, a sort of exotic vision is predominant throughout the whole book, where levelled forms are presented with indexes going from 1 to 5, ignoring the fact that there are dialects or registers within the same speech where such apparently levelled forms are clearly distinguished. For example, the first and second person verbal suffixes in La Paz Aymara are neutralized in a unique form, *-ta,* whereas in the Huancané (Perú) and Northern La Paz varieties they are distinguished as *-tha* and *-ta,* respectively. Standardization in Aymara is only in its beginning stages. I will point out some of the problems which should be taken into account regarding standardization of this language.

a. What is urgently needed is a codification of the language, a normative grammar, because the existing manuals, be they traditional or modern, are intended only as guides for learning Aymara as a second language. As such, they were not written in order to standardize the language at all. In such cases, as it is easy to realize, there is no concern for the evaluation of competing forms, for example.

b. At the graphization level, in spite of assertions made by the proponents of the official alphabet (approved in 1983) claiming that it is phonemic, it clearly turns out to be phonetic once it is put into practice. Of course it is "phonemic" as far as the segmental inventory is concerned; but when it is employed in actual writing, one cannot avoid representing words and forms variably, with different shapes, as a result of the operation of morphosyntactically-conditioned phonological processes. Since most of the syntactically-conditioned vowel truncation in Aymara is predictable, there is no reason to "transcribe" the alternations; they are easily recoverable. In trying to reflect the pronunciation in the writing system, what one sees is a subliminal concern for the foreigner or for the non-Aymara-speaking population. Thus, the written system is conceived as an aid to the non-Aymara speaker. Obviously, in the face of a sentence such as *uka ch'ĺyara anuxa qutaru hali* 'that black dog runs towards the lake,' only those who don't know the language could possibly read it out letter for letter, instead of *uka ch'ĺyar anux qutar hali,* which is the actual pronunciation. Once more, the question arises: for whom is the alphabet intended?

c. As I have said, the narrow phonemic description (or better, transcription) of the language, as a result of the lack of a real standardization, leads to

the proliferation of pseudo-homophones (such as, for example, the five *-ta* suffixes); and to an unnecessary number of long vowels. These can be easily avoided provided we focus on more conservative dialects where no lengthening compensation arises. Such is the case of the first person future marker. Whereas in La Paz it is realized as vowel lengthening, in the northern dialects its realization is *-nha,* and so on (thus, *sarä* 'I will go' instead of the conservative form *sara-nha).*

d. As for the practical and sociological criteria cited by the proponents of the official alphabets of Peru and Bolivia, it would not be unfair to say that the decision favoring the use of dieresis for marking vowel lengthening and the use of *x* to represent the postvelar consonant were completely unfortunate. Not only is it easy to omit the dieresis (as already happens in Spanish, where even linguists omit it in a word such as *lingüística)* but the use of *x* makes the language overly exotic, especially in view of the fact that a similar consonant exists in Spanish, which is written as *j.* But once the *h* was supplanted by *j* to represent the glottal aspirated consonant, it became necessary to select another letter for the postvelar. As a result, similar words in Quechua and Aymara are written differently (thus, for example, *hucha* 'fault' in Quechua and *jucha* in Aymara).

Lexication

In relation to the lexical codification of the Andean languages, after the monumental work of González Holguín ([1608] 1952) for Quechua, and Bertonio ([1612] 1984) for Aymara, we have not seen a lexical codification as exhaustive or with such careful semantic control. Since then, several vocabularies and lexicons written for the benefit of the Spanish-speaking reader have appeared, all of which try to accommodate the Andean semantic base within the lexemic molds of the Spanish language. Thus, standardization of this aspect is a task yet to be begun. It is shocking to realize that the need to compile dictionaries in Quechua and Aymara with a thorough semantic control of the entries in the same language has only been felt during the last two decades. Here also, unwillingly or not, the implicit posture of the lexicographers was in favor of assimilationism. That is why I welcome the efforts of Ecuadorian colleagues for their *Shimiyuc Panca* (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 1982), which, in spite of its provisional character, constitutes the very first attempt at providing us with a monolingual Quichua lexicon which is not simply ancillary to Spanish. It was in this spirit that we also conceived our *Vocabulario razonado,* now in press (cf. Ballón Aguirre, Cerrón-Palomino and Chambi).

It should be clear that most, if not all, of the modern dictionaries cannot be taken as models of lexical standardization (not even those which have come out lately for Aymara). They also suffer from the old bias of the structural-descriptivist trend, and, of course, from the phonological analysis imposed on the language. Some modern dictionaries are lexicons prepared exclusively with a linguistic-dialectological criterion, more concerned with the registration of forms than with the semantic definitions of the entries. The error lies, however, in the fact that those dictionaries are taken as a frame of reference for correct spelling. It does not take much time to realize that the notion of norm is completely absent. Not only do the same authors lack coherence in their own orthographic notation, but, paradoxically, deviating forms are taken as archetypes while the genuine ones appear as mere variants. Thus Cusihuamán (1976), for example, gives *mihuy* 'to eat', *puhu* 'spring', *wahay* 'to call', etc. as the "basic" forms for *mikhuy, pukyu* and *waqyay,* respectively. In addition, there is no concern for unifying the vocabulary, since the prevailing tendency is to stress the dialectal situation, showing the differences rather than pointing out the similarities. Again, it is the interest of the linguist rather than that of the codifier which prevails. In this respect, it is comforting to note again the efforts made by the Ecuadorian colleagues, who are trying hard to lexically unify the dialects (turning competing lexical items into synonyms). I too have tried to formulate a *Common Southern Quechua Basic Dictionary* (Cerrón-Palomino, 1990), which unfortunately has had no possibility of being published so far. Also in this spirit, and as a first approach, I have prepared, with the aid of two other colleagues, a vocabulary related to agricultural activities, trying to define the entries on the basis of definitions provided in Quechua by informants (Ballón Aguirre, Cerrón-Palomino & Chambi, in press).

With respect to efforts thus far on lexical elaboration, there is a general consensus favoring a self-reliant or nativistic solution in coining new terms for new concepts. There is, in that sense, a rather nationalistic attitude, which challenges any kind of indiscriminate borrowings. Such an option appears explicitly in, for example, Montaluisa (1980) and Zúñiga (1987). The latter summarizes the conclusions arrived at during the First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing held in 1983.

The nativistic solution has been severely criticized by those who adhere to assimilationism, the SIL members among them. Weber (1987), an SIL linguist, strongly criticizes the conclusions arrived at in the above mentioned workshop, as being too puristic. Weber's is, actually, a defense of free borrowing. As can be seen through proposals made so far in lexical elaboration, whether in Ecuador or in Peru, the nativistic solution clearly differs from that of traditional purism. In no way is it intended

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to purge the native lexicon through a witch-hunt, which is clearly absurd. On the other hand, one should not forget the internal colonial situation which characterizes the Andean societies and their languages. It is not the same to be a purist in a context of oppression where there is large scale or massive borrowing in a vertical fashion, from the dominant language to the dominated one, as among any of the European languages, where, grossly speaking, borrowings go horizontally and symmetrically from one language to another. As Ninyoles (1975) would say, in such a situation, not being a purist is the same as being disloyal to one's own language. Therefore, an option in favor of purism doesn't exclude the borrowing of words provided, on the one hand, that the loans already form an integral part of the lexicon (= spontaneous borrowing); and, on the other hand, that when faced with new concepts, the loans are selectively chosen, after the nativistic resources have been exhausted (= programmed borrowings).

I would like to discuss two aspects related to the process of coining words–of induced neologisms. One of them has to do with the limitations of the native option, and the other with the phonological and/or orthographical representation of foreign neologisms.

There are several alternatives which imply a self-reliant option: (a) derivation and composition, (b) semantic expansion, (c) rescue of words (either obsolete or from different dialects), (d) semantic calque, and (e) descriptive periphrasis. It is the latter which appears to be the least advisable, as proven by practice. In fact, coining by description results, formally, in either heavy phrases or even sentences; and semantically, in extremely descriptive and concrete expressions which are far from practical. This is especially incompatible with two of the most elementary properties that characterizes the lexicon of a standardized language: clarity and conciseness. In view of this, and once all the chances for an elegant and precise nativistic solution are exhausted, one might sooner resort to borrowing, especially if alternative loanwords spontaneously admitted already exist. Note how Bertonio ([1612] 1984: *Prólogo),* at the beginning of the XVII century, had already suggested a similar solution, when faced with the problem of the early Spanish borrowings in Aymara. In fact, he says: "Thus [the Indians] will understand better if we tell them *cãdelero* 'candlestick,' or *candrillo apanima* 'bring the candlestick': rather than *cãdela saataaña apanima* 'bring the instrument where the candle stands up'; for although the second is proper to the language, the other is best received and used ..." Note the extreme vagueness of the periphrastic expression 'instrument where the candle stands up,' as compared to 'candlestick.'

As for the second aspect–that related to the formal nativization of the neologisms of foreign origin–there doesn't seem to any general consensus yet. The positions adopted range from those who propose spelling (and pronunciation!) in terms of Spanish orthography to those who call for a full Quechuization or aymarization, following the assimilatory mechanisms of the native languages. These extreme positions reflect, no doubt, opposing ideologies, and, each in turn guarantees a uniform solution–at least in theory–to the written representation problem of the loanwords, although it is easy to see which one would result in a higher cost in implementation. In the Peruvian case, they opted for full nativization of the borrowings. However, given the complex sociolinguistic situation of the country–with dialectal areas penetrated in different degrees by the Spanish language–I think that one should reconsider the categorical nature of the alternative chosen. Experience demonstrates that one single pattern of nativization for the whole language isn't workable. Although in the so-called "Indian blot," a full adaptation of the loanword to the canon of the recipient language seems justified (which is true for Aymara also), the same cannot be said for the remaining Quechua dialect areas. For these, a partial accommodation of the foreign words would be advisable, taking into account the full incorporation of foreign segments into the native phonological component of the dialects. Thus, for example, not even in the most remote areas of the Peruvian Central Highland, would it be possible to find speakers who would say *tipluma* 'diploma=diploma', *kawiltu* 'cabildo=council', *suyru* 'suegro=father-in-law', etc. instead of *dipluma, kawildu,* and *suydru,* respectively. It is clear then, that the solution to the problem lies in a non-unique pattern of writing loanwords, although it will impede an eventual unification of the orthography. Be that as it may, there does seem to be consensus that loanwords do not have to be written as in the donor language, as the assimilationists (including the academicists) would prefer. Here, a minimum of autonomy is required: each language should be written following its own orthographic system.

To conclude, it would be advisable, in view of the observations made, to assume a common task directed towards the standardization of the Andean languages in a more systematic and functional manner, avoiding *ad hoc* solutions arising during the preparation of pedagogical texts, as well as in the production of other types of materials, including translations. What is required is a permanent pan-Andean consultant entity in charge of standardization and working within a more centralized framework. This is fully justified because we are working within the same linguistic family (or within the same stock, if we include the Aru languages), and because there exists a general consensus in favor of a nationalistic option with regard to the process

of coining words; hence it should be obvious that the same solutions could be considered. In fact, an international workshop held at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, in October, 1989 proved that such a joint treatment of the problems could be extremely profitable (see Ministerio de Educación y Cultura [1990] for the final report).

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Language, thought, and culture: Combining bilingual and bicultural/multicultural education

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This paper argues for the development of a new type of combined bilingual and bicultural/multicultural program or curriculum based on recent research. Some issues concerning bilingual education are addressed, followed by a short review of the findings of ethnographers concerning cultural differences in the classroom. The applicability of the Whorf hypothesis to the field of language education is considered. Finally, observations done at Potter Thomas elementary school are incorporated to illustrate the need for and potential of the type of program proposed.

Language barriers

Bilingual education has been a part of Western civilization since before the industrial revolution. It has been involved in many different political/cultural battles, and consequently has undergone many transformations. Currently, in the United States, a situation exists in which there is a tension between the group whose language is already the language of power and oppressed groups which have a strong desire to gain empowerment through recognition of their own language(s). Therefore, bilingual education has become a politicized and a highly emotional issue as the oppressed group struggles for more power and the group which already has power struggles to keep it.

This conflict becomes more apparent when one examines the differing goals of the three most common bilingual education models. The first type, transitional bilingual education, leads to language shift, cultural assimilation, and social incorporation. The second type, maintenance bilingual education, leads to language maintenance, strengthened cultural identity, and civil rights affirmation. The third type of bilingual education, enrichment, leads to language development, cultural pluralism, and social autonomy. In short, while the group struggling for power endorses the use of a

maintenance or enrichment bilingual education, the group which already has power views transitional bilingual education as a rational solution to a language "problem." As a result, the largest proportion of bilingual education programs in the United Sates are transitional, because these programs receive the largest amount of funding from the government which is largely run by the people of power.

> Bilingual education involving nonprestigious, ethnically marked languages today tends not to be substantially controlled by the speech communities served thereby but, rather, to be controlled by ethnically different or by transethnified elites engaged in transitional/compensatory efforts rather than maintenance or enrichment efforts, (Fishman, 1982:5).

This is an ironic twist in the history of bilingual education since in the past it was the people of power who valued bilingual education and were educated in two languages, while the oppressed people remained monolingual:

> elitist formal education in particular has traditionally been bilingual since elites could most easily devote the time, effort, and resources required for an educational process in which the target language/variety and process language/variety were discontinuous and in which the latter was given little if any formal written recognition (Lewis, 1976 [cited in Fishman, 1982:2])

This type of thinking has been rediscovered in the Canadian French immersion program (Genesee, 1987) in which an English speaking community has come to realize the benefits of being bilingual. The people have decided that it is to the benefit of the entire community to be bilingual.

Cultural barriers

What should be apparent is that whenever two language groups come into contact, there is usually a simultaneous contact between two or more ethnicities. "A link between bilingual education and ethnicity is one of the most widespread assumptions concerning bilingual education" (Fishman, 1982:6). This type of bicultural or multicultural contact may also occur when people who speak the same language come into contact. [1]

In the recent past, many ethnographers have begun to apply their methods of research to the classroom situation in which people of different language backgrounds and different cultures come into direct contact with each other. Ethnography in education has been extremely useful as a means of investigating and describing the

different backgrounds which individuals bring to the classroom and presenting these differences as possible explanations for the performance of oppressed children in the public school system.

For example, Philips' (1972) ethnographic study of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in central Oregon offered some interesting insights into how the norms for language use differ across two cultures. Although the Native American children learned English as a first language, teachers still described the children as having "problems" in the classroom. Teachers described their students as sullen, hostile, or lacking attention, and having "difficulty comprehending and participating in the structured verbal interaction between teacher and student" (Philips, 1972:167). Through careful analysis of her ethnographic data, Philips concluded that the Warm Springs Indians do not have any real linguistic or mental deficiencies; rather, the source of their "problems" stems directly from the teachers' misunderstanding of the Native American norms for interacting through speech in the classroom.

In an ethnographic study by Erickson and Mohatt (1982), the researchers observed, videotaped, and conducted interviews at a lower primary school on an Odawa Indian Reserve in Northern Ontario, Canada. Erickson and Mohatt entered the school to examine teaching styles of Native American and non-Native American teachers. They were particularly interested in how teacher authority was exercised over the students. What Erickson and Mohatt found was that differences did indeed exist between the teaching styles of the non-Native and Native American teachers of the Odawa community. They found that Native American teachers tended to address the class as a whole and did not often address individual students, while non-Native teachers addressed individual students more often and aimed directives at individuals. Other differences were apparent in

> the relative amounts of time spent by the teachers and children in main classroom activities, such as beginning the school day, recitation, small group instruction, individual seatwork and instruction, and leaving the room to go to recess. More subtle are such things as the overall pacing in each of these classrooms scenes and in the sequencing between scenes (143).

Erickson and Mohatt found that while both teachers taught the same material, they had different cultural approaches to teaching.

In another instance, teachers of the Kamehameha Early Education Project (K.E.E.P.) found that by incorporating features of "talk story" (a Hawaiian speech event) into the reading lessons, the children's reading abilities improved considerably

(Boggs, 1976; Au & Jordan, 1980). Erickson and Mohatt summarize the findings of the Odawa and K.E.E.P. studies, "by discovering the small differences in social relations which make a big difference in the interactional ways children engage the content of the school curriculum, anthropologists of education can make practical contributions to the improvement of minority children's school achievement" (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982:170). Therefore, there are differences other than language which exist in the classroom. These differences can often impede academic performance; however, when teachers gain a better understanding of the differences, their teaching improves and so does the performance of the students.

Perhaps one of the clearest examples in which the linguistic needs and the cultural needs are juxtaposed comes from the study done by Shirley Brice Heath on the Trackton and Roadville Communities (Heath, 1983). Heath found that the children from Trackton did not acquire the same skills as did the Roadville children in terms of "learning language, telling stories, making metaphors, and seeing patterns across items and events" (343). As a result, they did not perform at an academic level equal to that of the Roadville children. On the other hand, while the Roadville children "seem to have developed many of the cognitive and linguistic patterns equated with readiness for school...they seem not to move outward from these basics to the integrative types of skills necessary for sustained academic success" (343). Heath found that when the teachers brought the students' ways of "talking, knowing, and expressing knowledge" (1983:343) to the classroom, some Roadville and Trackton children did better academically.

The important thing to note here is that neither group was performing well academically. This is perhaps not as surprising for the Trackton children (who did not enter school with skills compatible with those necessary for school) as for the Roadville children (who seemed "ready" for school). Apparently there are factors other than the language factor which contribute to the good or poor performance of the children. If it were only lack of English skills which affected school performance, the Trackton and Roadville children should have had an equal level of performance, and this was not so. These results led Heath to come to three conclusions:

> *First,* patterns of language use in any community are in accord with and mutually reinforce other cultural patterns, such as space and time ordering, problem-solving techniques, group loyalties, and preferred patterns of recreation. In each of these communities, space and time usage and the role of the individual in the community condition the interactional rules for occasions of language use...

> *Second*, factors involved in preparing children for school-oriented mainstream success are deeper than differences informal structures of language, amount of parent-child interaction, and the like. The language socialization process in all its complexity is more powerful than such single-factor explanations in accounting for academic success.
>
> *Third*, the patterns of interactions between oral and written uses of language are varied and complex, and the traditional oral-literate dichotomy does not capture the ways other cultural patterns in each community affect the uses of oral and written language (344).

It is clear that while language is one barrier which must be overcome, there are other barriers which are equally important. Cultural differences, which can often be more difficult to uncover and perhaps more difficult to teach, also affect the academic performance of children.

Language, thought, and culture

The Whorf hypothesis, which was first introduced in 1956, attempts to make a connection between language and culture. Currently, the hypothesis has taken two forms: a strong form and a weak form. Proponents of the strong form believe that language directly influences thought and consequently the view of the world, whereas supporters of the weak hypothesis believe that language to some extent affects thought and the view of the world. Whorf writes:

> There are connections but not correlations or diagnostic correspondences between cultural norms and linguistic patterns...*there is a relation between a language and the culture of the society which uses it* [emphasis mine] (1956:159).

It is therefore important to preserve every language, regardless of how obscure the language may seem, because languages contain important cultural information which may prove important for human advancement. Although Whorf was never able to conduct more research on and finalize his theory, he certainly was working with the idea that language and culture somehow influence each other. It is better not to separate language and culture but better to view them in a sort of symbiotic relationship (see Figure 1).

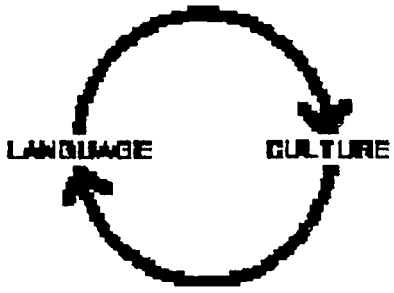

Figure 1

If it is true that language affects culture and possibly our view of the work, it is important that educators begin to tap into the valuable language resource which may exist in the classroom. Through language, teachers could help foster an understanding of other cultures while helping children understand different ways of viewing the world. Perhaps many would like to believe that this normally happens in a bilingual classroom; after all, there are few settings in which it would be more logical to teach language and culture together. Unfortunately, it is too often assumed that program which is bilingual, also has as its goal the teaching of two cultures, and this simply is not the case.

A good example of a program which does emphasize both language and culture is the Canadian French immersion program. As Genesee writes, "immersion students are expected to come to respect and appreciate French Canadians and their culture through their school experience" (1987:17). The Canadian English speaking community which Genesee writes about has come to understand and value (perhaps idealistically) the importance of another language and culture.

Critics believe that the Canadian French immersion program is not applicable to the situation in the United States. It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest that such a program would currently work in the U.S.A., but the rationale behind the French immersion program is a rationale which needs to be fostered in the U.S. As Carol Brunson Phillips states:

> My belief is that culture is not the problem nor that differences are, nor that diversity is a root cause of inequality. It is the response to these that is. Rather than *difference* itself, it is the response to difference that is the problem. Rather than *culture* itself, it is the attitudes about culture that are the problem. (1988:44).

If citizens of the United States could begin to realize the true benefits of knowing two or more languages and understanding two or more cultures, society could only benefit. Instead, programs in the United States insist on using transitional or maintenance

models, which may be effective at solving the language "problem," but often fall short of confronting the cultural "problems." These cultural differences have a great impact on the academic performance of oppressed children as Philips, Erickson and Mohatt, Au and Jordan, and Heath have explained.

Potter Thomas Elementary

One example of a bilingual education program which appears to be successfully addressing the language needs of the students is the program at Potter Thomas elementary school in North Philadelphia. Hornberger writes, "Potter Thomas' two-way maintenance program functions as an oasis of optimism in the midst of a neighborhood plagued by poverty, drug-trafficking, and crime" (1991:20). My first impressions were similar.

October 9, 1991

Today was my first visit to the Potter Thomas Elementary School in North Philadelphia. It was a sunny day but not even the sun could outshine the gloom I felt as I rode the subway and the bus through what is probably the most economically depressed area in the city. I could tell I was entering the Puerto Rican community by all the signs and billboards I saw written in Spanish as well as by the Puerto Rican flags waving in the wind. I saw run-down homes everywhere, graffiti everywhere (even on the run down homes), jalopies, and the streets and sidewalks sparkled with broken glass. I could not help but wonder what I had gotten myself into. As I neared the school, I noticed that there were no windows and no playground; only a building with graffiti on it and a big ugly fence surrounding it. I walked around the school once looking for the entrance, and finally gathered enough courage to approach a man sweeping the street to see if he knew where the entrance was. He told me where it was–I had walked right past it–I was looking for shiny glass doors like the ones on my school in the suburbs of Allentown, PA. "How different everything is from what I grew up with," I thought as I approached the huge steel doors which the school calls an entrance.

As I timidly entered the school I was overwhelmed with a much different feeling–the school was alive and people were friendly. Everyone–teachers, students, administrators–went about their business and almost everyone was speaking Spanish...

Since my first visit, I have grown to like my visits to the Potter Thomas School. In most of the classrooms I have observed, it appears as though the students are interested in listening to the teacher whether s/he speaks in Spanish or English, and it is apparent that the students are becoming bilingual.

October 21, 1991

I enter the classroom at 2:00 p.m. This is a 4th grade Spanish as a Second Language class which is mixed with seven African-American and seven Puerto Rican

students. The teacher's name is Ms. Rodriguez and she begins the lesson by pointing to words which she has written on a sheet of paper. The list includes words such as, "las ventanas," "la chimenea," "el techo," "la puerta," "el garaje." She speaks in Spanish and asks students to point to the items in the classroom as indicated by the word on the list. At times, she asks the students questions about things in the room and the student answer in Spanish.

For the next part of the lesson, the teacher writes the word "comida" on the chalkboard and asks the students in Spanish what they eat. Some students call out responses like "leche," or "cereal"–all responses are in Spanish. The teacher then takes out some flashcards with pictures of food on them. The teacher asks what type of food is pictured on the flashcard, the students respond in Spanish, and the teacher repeats the correct response:

Teacher: "¿Qué es esto?"
Student: "Es pan tostado."
Teacher: "Muy bien. Es pan tostado."

This type of teacher-student interaction continues for approximately 14 flashcards and at 2:20 p.m., the teacher begins to tape the flashcards to the board in preparation for the next lesson.

It is at this point that I realize that virtually all of the students are paying attention and most are very well behaved. Furthermore, most of them are participating.

This lesson is perhaps representative of what occurs in a second language classroom at Potter Thomas. The same type of behavior is demonstrated and the same type of material is covered by the "Anglo" students in the classes which are conducted in English and the same goes for the "Latino" students.[2] Overall, the students pay attention and it is apparent that Spanish and English are being learned.

Although most of the teachers at Potter Thomas are bilingual, there are still a few monolingual teachers which are "left over" from before the school became bilingual. On November 18, 1991, I observed the classroom of one such teacher.

It is 1:58 p.m. when I enter the room of Mr. Hawkes (who all the students call Mr. B) which is a first grade Anglo classroom with 29 students. The students are finishing up an art lesson with a prep teacher and some of the students are cleaning their desks, washing their hands, or talking to each other. The classroom is not arranged like the other classrooms, i.e., the desks are arranged in rows and all facing the front of the room like they would be in a traditional classroom. As the prep teacher leaves, Mr. Hawkes walks to the front of the room and says, "Excuse me, ladies and gentlemen at the sink,..." and continues standing at the front of the room waiting for the children to quiet down. He then says aloud to the classroom, "How could you help us please? and the students begin to sit down at their desks with their hands folded–they obviously have done this before. The teacher begins to thank individual students, "Thank you, Carlos," Thank you, Francis–while we're waiting for the others..." (instructs a student to pass out the 'boards' and the student does so). The teacher continues when he feels the class is ready. "Last Friday we were talking about emotions and feelings...I can't

hear Abner because other people are talking, what could you do to help?" he asks one of the students, and the student gets quiet. (2:05PM) The teacher continues, "Last Friday we were talking about emotions–Remember what some of the feelings were we talked about last Friday?–Who can tell me some of the emotions we talked about?–Carlos."

Carlos: (mutters something)
Teacher: I can't hear you. Bernadette.
Bernadette: Happy.
Teacher: Good (writes on the board) Francine.
Francine: Shy.
Teacher: Good.

This continues for quite a while and I begin to think about how this compares to my own childhood schooling. Next, my mind begins to make connections and I find myself comparing this classroom, headed by an Anglo male, with the other classrooms headed by Latinos/as. The differences in teaching styles strike me as similar to those pointed out by Erickson and Mohatt and other ethnographers...

After reflecting on this thought for a while, I decided that there truly were differences in the teaching styles of the Latino teachers and the Anglo teachers. I found from my observations that the Anglo teachers seemed to direct more questions or comments at individual students whereas the Latino teachers tended to address the group as a whole. The two Anglo teachers had their classrooms arranged in the traditional manner with rows of desks all facing forward while the Latino teachers I observed arranged the desks in groups of two or more. In addition, the Anglo teachers seemed to ask more questions in order to get students to behave or uttered phrases which indicated annoyance such as, "I'm waiting," or, "I don't like what I see." I did not find any evidence of these techniques for classroom management among the Latino teachers. They were more likely to approach the child, and without saying anything, fix the child in his/her seat or often just looked at students to show disapproval. Finally, although it may not be apparent from the vignettes included here, the Anglo classrooms seemed much more organized and the children more behaved than in the Latino classrooms which often seemed to have more student-student interaction while the teacher was talking.

Conclusion

These fieldnotes come from a limited number of observations in eight classrooms; therefore, no generalizable conclusions can be reached. However, the question of whether or not some important student needs are being overlooked must be raised. There appear to be distinct differences between the teaching styles of the

Anglo and Latino teachers which (if the findings of ethnographers such as Philips, Erickson and Mohatt, and others are heeded) could affect the academic performance of the children. Potter Thomas appears to be meeting the language needs of the children through the two-way maintenance program, i.e., the language barrier is being overcome; however, I am led to believe that the cultural barriers are not being overcome as successfully. It is too often assumed that a bilingual program is automatically bicultural/multicultural. This does not appear to be the case at Potter Thomas. The Anglo and Latino students are often separated throughout the day, providing little contact with members of the other culture, and there is little contact with teachers who are native speakers of English because most of the teachers are native speakers of Spanish.

It is not my intention to criticize the program as ineffective because it does not necessarily meet all the needs of the students–I know of no program that does. However, I would like to suggest that the program could be improved by addressing both the language and cultural barriers. Even if the language barrier is overcome, students still may struggle due to the different cultural experiences they bring to the classroom as they leave the protective linguistic and cultural environment of the bilingual school. Indeed, research is currently being done at the Middle Magnet School in North Philadelphia (a *transitional* bilingual school where many students go after Potter Thomas) which may lead to valuable insights as to how students adjust to the different environments of the schools. If this research yields results similar to previous research concerning cultural differences in the classroom and their effects on performance, then a program or curriculum should be developed which breaks down both linguistic and cultural barriers, thereby giving more oppressed children the chance for "success."

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[1] While ethnicity and culture are two very different terms, for the purpose of this paper the terms will be used interchangeably because, in general, the members of the language groups are of the same ethnicity and share much of the same culture.

[2] It should be noted here that the terms "Anglo" and "Latino" are the terms which the school uses to classify the students according to their mother tongue.Therefore, even African -Americans and Latinos/as who speak English as a first language are considered to be "Anglos."

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Orthography in the target language: Does it influence interlanguage phonology?

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This study examines orthography as one source of non-targetlike phonetic output and focuses on the acquisition by speakers of American English of vowel reduction in Russian, a salient feature of the Russian phonetic system which is not reflected in the graphics of the Cyrillic script. The researcher conducted a structured interview and administered reading, arithmetic, and listing-from-memory tasks which included the same lexical items as those elicited in the interview. She drew the following conclusions from the data: 1) A non-targetlike pattern of vowel reduction can be attributed to the influence of the graphic representations of lexical units; 2) NS-NNS interaction influences phonetic accuracy; 3) The pattern of vowel reduction for highly familiar words remains constant across various tasks.

Introduction

Research in interlanguage (IL) phonology has been developing in two main directions: L1 transfer, and the influence of universal articulatory and perceptual restraints. Transfer from L1 is acknowledged by many researchers to be the most influential factor shaping IL phonology. Ioup, for example, presents strong evidence to "support the commonly held belief that L1 interference is more prevalent in phonology than in syntax" (1984:13). Major (1987) claims that phonetic and phonological similarities between L1 and L2 are important factors influencing the rate and acquisition order of L2 pronunciation.

The role of transfer, however, has been somewhat downplayed ever since Contrastive Analysis (CA) came under attack because of methodological weaknesses (James, 1989:370). According to Lonna Dickerson (1974), CA fails to explain the variable rules of interlanguage phonology because transfer itself, both positive and negative, works so variably. For example, the same L1 feature transfered into L2 may result in a range of phonetic productions depending upon the individual speaker and

upon the context and style used (Dickerson, 1975). The impact of style on interlanguage phonology will be discussed below in the section on method.

Variability in L1 transfer can be explained, in part, by Eckman's Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH) (1977, 1981a, 1981b). MDH is based on the assumption that there is a universal scale of markedness which is presumably valid for all languages. Markedness implies inherent difficulty and infrequency of use. According to MDH, the probability of L1 transfer into L2 depends on whether corresponding areas in L1 and L2 are marked or not. Eckman's Interlanguage Structural Conformity Hypothesis, according to which "the universal generalizations that hold for the primary languages hold also for interlanguages," (1991:24) found experimental support for at least two implicational universals.

This study will investigate a third source of non-targetlike phonetic productions, besides transfer and language universals, in the acquisition of Russian as a foreign language by the native speakers of American English (AE). Learning Russian in a formal classroom setting puts heavy emphasis on reading as a source of input. This has implications for IL phonology, which is inevitably affected by the written representations of the meaningful units in the target language.

The acquisition of one complex phenomenon found in Russian--vowel reduction will be analyzed. In standard Russian, о or е sound types do not occur in unstressed position. In unstressed position о is pronounced as а and е is pronounced as і. The unstressed я (a letter which designates an а vowel after a palatalized or soft consonant)[1] is also pronounced as an і. Generally speaking, the orthography of standard Russian does not mark the reduction of vowels in unstressed position.

The rules of vowel reduction and the discrepancies between pronunciation and graphic representation are taught at the very beginning of first year Russian. However, as is often the case, "taught" does not necessarily mean "learned" and even less--"acquired." Despite explicit instruction to the contrary, students still memorize part of the vocabulary in graphic rather than phonetic representation. What usually happens is this: high-frequency words, often used in oral output both by the teacher and the students, become memorized in their sound shape. Other, less frequently used words remain stored in the memory in their graphic representations.

Eventually, most non-targetlike forms disappear, unless fossilization takes place at a relatively early stage. An immersion program in Russia usually proves to be especially helpful. In a phonetic study of the oral performance of American learners of Russian, the researcher has shown (Ogorodnikova, 1990) that, after a semester of

study in Russia, Oral Proficiency ratings have increased from Novice-High to Advanced.[2]

American English also has vowel reduction; unstressed vowels may lose their phonetic quality and become a schwa. There are no articulatory constraints involved. Vowel reduction in Russian, as described above, involves pronunciation of a and i--vowel types not only familiar to native speakers of American English, but also belonging to the universal triangle of vowels found in almost every known language of the world (Trubetzkoy, 1969:99-120).

This pilot study was designed, first of all, to examine how Russian vowel reduction enters the IL of American learners: Does it cause difficulties resulting in non-targetlike productions? What are the sources of these productions? Exactly what factors influence the NNS's linguistic behavior in each particular case of vowel reduction? How do NS-NNS interactions influence the NS's phonetic output? Studies devoted to phonological/phonetic aspects of NS-NNS interactions are very scarce (Zuengler, 1985).

The preliminary hypotheses to be tested are:

1. A non-targetlike pattern of vowel reduction involving pronunciation of unstressed vowels as they are spelled will be found in both reading and in spontaneous speech.

2. There will be more non-targetlike productions in the NNS's independent output than in her output repeating key words from the NS's previous utterance. In the latter case, the NNS can adjust her pronunciation using a model for imitation.

3. There will be different occurrences of non-targetlike patterns of vowel reduction in pre-stressed and post-stressed position. It is predicted that more non-targetlike productions will occur in post-stressed position for two reasons. First, because the end of the utterance (word, phrase, sentence) is usually pronounced less intensively than its beginning. For example, active lip rounding for a final o will tend to disappear. Second, inflected word endings, which contain important grammatical information, are especially drilled in the classroom and tend to be pronounced in an exaggerated way with non-targetlike vowel reduction.

4. The pattern of vowel reduction will be different for different tasks. First, these tasks require and allow for different amounts of attention to the phonetic shape of the utterance. Second, reading with a graphic representation visually present may result in pronunciation more based on orthography than on sound shape.

Method

For the purposes of this study, a technique of data collection has been developed which takes into account the on-going debate concerning the influence of speech styles and various tasks on phonetic performance in L2 as well as the type of data which most accurately reveals the NNS's interlanguage. This technique compares the NNS's performance in a structured interview with her performance on a list-reading, a simple addition, and a list-recitation task.

Tarone was one of the first to encourage gathering spontaneous speech data (1978:18). In her view, IL "appears in its most systematic, consistent form only when speakers pay the least amount of attention to the form of their language" (1982b:69). "...Styles range from the superordinate style (in which the most attention is paid to language form) to vernacular style (in which the least attention is paid to language form)" (1982b:69). Vernacular style is likely to be found in spontaneous speech. To elicit speech data which is as spontaneous as possible, a structured interview on a range of topics familiar to the subject was developed .

Beebe (based on Labov 1966, 1972) shows that there is a much higher rate of phonetically targetlike productions in the listing data (reading lists of words) than during the interview conversation. Listing supposedly creates optimal monitor conditions (1980:443). A reading-list is included, however, for two reasons. First, Sato has found a greater incidence of targetlike phonetic productions occurring in the "vernacular style" (conversation), than in the "careful style" (reading). She has found that "the task of text recitation clearly required a high degree of attention to language form on the part of the learner. Yet the percentage of targetlike word-final cluster production on this task was less than half that for conversation for one of the samples" (1985:195). Sato provides what seems to be a probable explanation of her controversial findings: Tasks which require a great deal of attention may not favor phonetic monitoring which ranks low on the list of demands on the learner. The second reason for including a reading-list is the assumption that the influence of orthography may manifest itself in a different way when the actual spellings are visually present.

Since the influence of task type on targetlike production is controversial, four elicitation techniques were used: a structured interview, reading, listing-from-memory, and solving simple addition problems. The structured interview allows for collecting a reasonably representative body of quasi-natural conversation between the researcher and an American learner of Russian.

First, the basic vocabulary of first-year Russian was chosen because it generally consists of words that have the highest frequency of use. Bryn Mawr College's first-year textbook *Russian: Stage One* (Bitekhtina, et al., 1991) was used because the subject is a Bryn Mawr student. Unfamiliar lexical items were avoided. The fact that the words used for the data elicitation here are on the list for first year Russian implies that they are actively known in second and consecutive years. Words, mostly nouns and adjectives, which had unstressed о, е and я were chosen.

Second, a list was drawn up of conversational topics appropriate for Novice-High and Intermediate level speakers on the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) scale. This scale consists of four basic levels: Novice, Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior. Novice speakers are not able to sustain a natural conversation; they usually speak in words and word clusters and do not reach the sentence level. Intermediate speakers can talk about personal topics. The higher the level of proficiency on the OPI scale, the less the amount of non-targetlike phonetic realizations. According to the OPI standards, a superior speaker, by definition, cannot have a strong accent. Thus, intermediate level of oral proficiency seems to be the most acceptable for our purposes.

Third, an outline of the interview was prepared, based on chosen key words which develop the following topics:

Family
Personal dates (date of birth, age in different grades, etc.)
Daily schedule for each day of the week
Seasons
Weather
Food
Health

The researcher conducted the interview and guided the conversation in order to get the subject to produce the required lexemes. In some cases, the NNS produced the chosen key words herself. For example, when asked to describe her routine for each day of the week, she produced the desired names for the days of the week. Discussion of seasons and weather involved the names of the months and types of weather, etc. In other cases, the researcher would ask questions already containing the target key word. For example, "Does your **father** work?" (**father** being the key word). The subject would answer: "Yes, my **father** works, but my mother does not."

Fourth, after the interview, the subject was asked to perform several tasks in order to compare her pronunciation in the interview with:

Reading: words and phrases and numbers from 1 to 21;
Recalling lists from memory: days of the week, months;
Simple addition involving numbers from 1 to 21.

Items included in these tasks were supposed to have occurred in the NNS's speech during the interview. The interview as well as the other tasks were tape-recorded.[3] In the transcript, the interviewer's questions were included in order to determine whether a key word in the NNS's output was a repetition of the trigger in the preceding utterance of the NS or was independently produced by the NNS.

Written instruction in English was given to the subject before the session. The subject is a third year Russian student with a probable OPI rating of Intermediate-Low.

The tape-recording of the interview was analyzed by the researcher, a trained phonetician. All deviations from the standard pattern of vowel reduction were marked on the transcript with the help of phonetic signs. In addition, cases where the NNS repeated a key word from the NS's previous utterance were noted. The following data was collected.

1. Raw scores for non-targetlike pronunciation of the following three vowels: o instead of a; e instead of i; 'a instead of i
2. Raw scores and percentages of non-targetlike productions for both the NNS's independent output and for her output repeating the key word from the NS's previous utterance.
3. Percentages of total numbers of the NNS' non-targetlike and targetlike productions for pre-stress and post-stress positions.
4. Similar computations for the NNS's productions on the reading, listing-from-memory and simple addition tasks.

Results

Tables 1 and 2 show the raw scores for cases of non-target like vowel reduction in spontaneous speech (the interview).

Table 1 Independent output

	Pre-stress position			Post-stress position		
	Non-target	Target	Total	Non-target	Target	Total
o-/->a	23	50	73	11	6	17
e-/->i	19	17	36	10	29	39
'a-/->i	5	-	5	1	3	4
Total	47	67	114	22	38	60

Table 2 Repeating a key word

	Pre-stress position			Post-stress position		
	Non-target	Target	Total	Non-target	Target	Total
o-/->a	13	51	64	3	10	13
e-/->i	10	19	29	4	17	21
'a-/->i	1	1	2	-	-	-
Total	24	71	95	7	27	34

Table 3 summarizes total results (last row) from Tables 1 and 2 converted into percentages in order to demonstrate what percentage of the total number of cases of vowel reduction was non-targetlike and what percentage was targetlike in obligatory contexts for vowel reduction.

Table 3 Vowel reduction in obligatory contexts

	Independent output		Repetition of NS's key word	
	Non-target	Target	Non-target	Target
Pre-stress	41%	59%	25%	75%
Post-stress	37%	63%	21%	79%

Analysis of results in Table 3 suggests that there might be a tendency towards more targetlike pronunciation when the NNS repeats the key word from the NS's previous utterance as compared with her independent output. This in itself, if corroborated by subsequent research involving representative data and using the appropriate statistics, may be an interesting finding. It highlights the influence of interaction upon the adjustment of the NNS's phonetic output. But, as mentioned above, American learners do not seem to have many intrinsic articulatory difficulties in achieving a targetlike pattern of vowel reduction in Russian. In this study, the pronunciation of a and i vowel types was required, which is not difficult for a native speaker of AE. On the other hand, if the target vowel had been 'ы' which is relatively difficult for American learners of Russian, the pattern of non-targetlike productions probably would have been different

33% of all the NNS's productions of words with vowel reduction in the interview were non-targetlike. This relatively high percentage of non-target phonetic realizations cannot be dismissed.

Table 4 contains results for additional tasks performed by the NNS: reading, simple addition problems and listing from memory. Percentages were computed only for pre-stress position. It is not surprising that there are very few cases of post-stress

reduction-- this material was controlled by the researcher and post-stress reduction was deliberately not included because post-stress reduction occurs most often in verbal endings or in noun endings in oblique cases and at this stage the researcher is mainly interested in the phonetic shape of lexical morphemes.

Table 4 Vowel reductions in reading, addition, and listing

	Pre-stress position			Post-stress position		
	Non-target	Target	Total	Non-target	Target	Total
Reading	17 (43%)	23 (57%)	40	3	1	4
Addition	13 (46%)	15 (54%)	28	-	6	6
Listing	06 (50%)	06 (50%)	12	-	-	-

The results in Table 4 do not allow one to draw any definite conclusions because of the small numbers. However, I may speculate in the most tentative way that addition and listing from memory show similar patterns of vowel reduction as the NNS's independent output in the interview, whereas the NNS's output adjusted to the NS's pronunciation contains the least non-targetlike productions of either the interview or the tasks.

My main interest is in investigating the influence of orthography on pronunciation. One would expect that reading, with its direct, visual contact with the written forms of the words, would result in a higher incidence of non-targetlike productions, but my results do not confirm this. If later, more representative samples also show that reading does not show significantly higher levels of non-targetlike production, then we can speculate that for high-frequency words (such as were used in this study) the NNS's pronunciation of words while reading is based upon recognizing and recalling from memory their correct pronunciation as often modeled by the teacher and not upon the phonological decoding of orthographic representations.

Another possible explanation for why there are not more non-targetlike productions during reading is that reading allows for phonetic monitoring and, particularly, favors monitoring for reading rules. This relates to the question of phonetic monitoring in conversation. There is no simple answer in light of the controversial data discussed above pertaining to this issue.

According to Tarone (1982) and Beebe (1980), informal spontaneous conversation presumably involves less monitoring. On the other hand, the pressure of communication is extremely high for intermediate speakers. Conversation for an

intermediate speaker inevitably implies a lot of monitoring: synthesizing grammar and vocabulary in order to produce comprehensible output. This, in turn, makes phonetic monitoring less probable, as all the channels are already busy. The situation becomes even more complicated when we try to account for words and expressions that are memorized by the NNS as chunks in their targetlike form as modeled by the teacher such as the oft-repeated Russian phrase for "Repeat, please!"

The task of citing lists from memory seems to entail somewhat different psycholinguistic requirements than those of an interview situation which requires the production of spontaneous speech. It involves practically no grammatical or linguistic creativity: It provides a "pure" case of retrieving words from memory and might give insights into how lexical items are stored there.

The purpose of the additional tasks was to compare the pronunciation of the same lexical items across different tasks. Results of this study suggest that the pattern of vowel reduction for highly familiar words remains constant across various tasks. This is clear from the NNS's pronunciation of numbers, days of the week, and months.

Discussion

This study was conceived in order to demonstrate quasi-experimentally that IL phonology of American learners of Russian is influenced by the graphic representations which are in conflict with the phonetic shape of the lexical units.

It has tried to demonstrate that there is a systematic pattern of non-targetlike vowel reductions not induced by any intrinsic articulatory constraints on the part of a native speaker of American English. AE also has vowel reduction as well as a and i vowel types in its phonetic system.

The results obtained in this study suggest that non-targetlike production scores are somewhat higher for the NNS's independent output than for her repetitions of the key words from the NS's immediately preceding utterance.

Discrepancy in the results for vowel reduction in pre-stressed and post-stressed position were too small to show that post-stressed position favors either non-targetlike or targetlike productions.

The small amount of data obtained from the reading and listing tasks does not permit any meaningful quantitative comparisons. However, superficial analysis of this data encourages further investigation of the following hypothesis: as far as highly familiar vocabulary is concerned, tasks requiring different amounts of attention and therefore presumably different amounts of phonetic monitoring may not result in

different rates of non-targetlike productions. This may not hold true for less familiar words.

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[1] Consonant palatalization is traditionally marked in Russian phonetics with a " ' ".

[2] For description of ratings see Byrnes, et al (1989).

[3] Two interviews were conducted using the same method and were recorded. In this paper, we will discuss only one of them.

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Stress in Japanese English: Evidence from native perceptual judgements

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In this pilot study looking at interlanguage prosody, normal and contrastively focused constructions in English were collected from four L1 English speakers and four L1 Japanese speakers. These productions were then played to six native English speakers to see how well they could identify the stress placement of the utterances. The judgements were used as a diagnostic tool to study the salient characteristics of problems in non-native stress productions. It was found that stress placement was easier to recognize in native speaker tokens, although it was not clear what features of stress were most important to the judges. Possible explanations and the directions they suggest for further study in second language prosody are given.

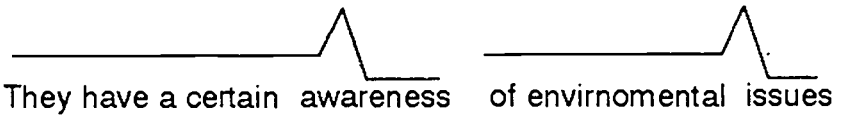
Introduction

The study of prosody is a relatively untouched aspect of second language acquisition (SLA) research. There have been few studies of prosodic development or descriptions of prosody in second language learning.[1] This lack of analysis continues, in spite of the suggestion that prosody might be more important than segmental effects in determining L2 comprehensibility (Gilbert, 1990). This is a very strong claim and will not be possible to test without first understanding interlanguage prosody in a clear way. One important aspect of prosody in English is stress. Not only does stress help identify and locate words, but the main stress of a phrase acts as a locus for intonational contours. This study will look at stress of two different types, normal and contrastive, in order to begin to understand how well stress variability is controlled by Japanese speakers of English.

This study was motivated by casual observations in the classroom that Japanese English speech often seems to be characterized by a relatively level pitch with high rise-falls on the nucleus of the intonational phrase. The intonational

contours of these speakers often seem inappropriately insistent. Although there seem to be certain characteristics of the pitch contour that determine the oddness of these types of sentences, sound properties of the intonational phrase play only a part; pragmatic differences also have an effect. An example of this is shown in (1). These intonational contours[2] seem perfectly normal on their own. The problem is their juxtaposition. To put two declarative intonations of roughly the same contour on this phrase seems inappropriate. The focusing of both "awareness" and "issues" suggests different pragmatic intentions if only one intonation peak were found on either element. Explaining characteristics of interlanguage intonation involves not only an understanding of its characteristic intonation and stress, but also a consideration of pragmatic concerns.

(1)



I will first look at the realization of sentence stress in different pragmatic contexts. The sentence "I have a red dog" has a standard declarative pitch contour as shown in (2a). In (2b) a contrastively focused counterpart is shown.

(2)

The way that contrasting elements are highlighted in standard English is to simply move the nucleus of the intonation contour from the normal position ("dog" in this case) to the contrasted element ("red"). Some background in stress and intonation in Japanese and English is necessary before discussing the current study and results.

Accent and Intonation in English and Japanese

While contrastive analysis and error analysis have fallen into disfavor as explanatory theories in SLA, the influence of transfer cannot be disregarded (Ioup, 1984). I argue that due to the complexity of accent and intonation coupled with the inherent variability

of interlanguage systems, a thorough understanding of the relevant L1 and L2 systems will not only be helpful, but it is necessary. The most logical beginning point for understanding characteristics of the interlanguage data is to first look at stress and intonation in the L1 and the target language.

Japanese and English prosody have been the subject of many recent studies which provide a thorough descriptive and theoretical basis with which to approach second language data.[3] Beckman (1986:5) distinguishes English as a prototypical stress-accent language and Japanese as a prototypical non-stress-accent language. Van der Hulst and Smith (1988) use the term "pitch-accent" to describe Japanese. Though the form differs for both languages, accent functions to mark certain syllables distinctively–distinguishing words like cóntent and contént in English, and distinguishing the Japanese words *háshi* 'chopsticks', *hashí* 'bridge,' and *hashi* 'edge.' Stress also functions to delimit words in a string just as the verb and noun are stressed in the English sentence 'he dránk a cóffee.' In Japanese, accent is not such a reliable indicator in marking words in a string, since it is possible to have extended stretches containing no pitch accent (compare the pitch-accented 8a, b and c with the unaccented counterpart in 13, noting the extended high-pitched, unaccented portion of 13). Japanese and English are similar in that they have lexical accent, which means that accent cannot be predicted, it must be specified for each word.[4]

Perceptually, there are three aspects to stress-accent in English: pitch, length and loudness. Fry (1958) tested these three parameters by eliciting judgements of synthesized tokens while carefully varying pitch, length and loudness. Pitch was found to be the most perceptually significant variable, followed by duration and then loudness. In spite of the significance of pitch, Lea (1977) found that an algorithm for recognizing stress worked best if length and volume were also taken into account.

Current analyses of English intonation posit a connection between stress as discussed above and the intonational phrase. The most accentually prominent point–a stressed position–can then be used to "hang" one of a selected number of intonation contours. The metrical structure of words and/or phrases can be added to intontational contours by matching the "*" in the metrical string of (3) to the * of the intonational contour shown in (4). The "(L)H*+M" contour with an optional Low tone associated with the onset and a High fall to Mid-level could be added to these simple structures to yield the same basic elongated call.[5]

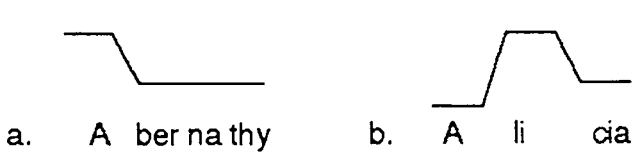
(3)

*	*
A bernathy	A li cia

(4) (L) H* +M (Calling contour)

In this case, the **H*** would be linked to the stressed syllable and the **M** tone would link with the coda syllables. In Abernathy, "A" would be linked with the high tone, while the other syllables would be associated with an **M** tone. Note that this word has no onset, so there is no material to align with the optional low. "Alicia," on the other hand, would get the optional **L** tone placed on the onset "A," while "li" would get a **H** tone and "cia," as the coda, would be associated with the **M**. Example (5) shows the resulting intonation contours that would result from the combination of the metrical structures represented in (3), with the contour of (4). Note that the difference between 5a and 5b is simply the existence of an onset to the nucleus in "Alicia" while "Abernathy" begins with an accented syllable.

(5)



To understand English pitch as it is realized in phrases, it is important to keep separate the two different levels: stress assignment and the intonational contour. This understanding of the independence of stress and intonation as well as their interaction is crucial to understanding English prosody.

Japanese works differently. The shape of a pitch contour is determined by the pitch accent of individual words with phonological rules and focus constraints create a contour of the lexical pitch accents. While it is a simplification of the processes, it is easy to substantiate the claim that the pitch properties of individual words contribute to the overall intonation of phrases in ways that are not possible in English.

To demonstrate how the pitch properties of words determine different possible intonational phrases, I will refer to an example given by Kurasawa-Williams (1992). The basic phrase is shown in sentence (6).

(6)

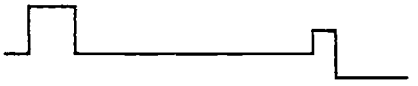
Yonémoto-san	no	ozyóo-tyan
Yonemoto-HON	GEN	woman-DIM

[Mr. Yonemoto's daughter]

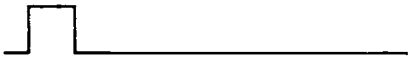
The Japanese phrase has pitch accents on two words in this phrase (indicated by the accent marks). Different kinds of focus allow for three different pitch patterns associated with (6). The questions 7a, 7b and 7c, force focusings that yield three different intonational phrases shown in 8a, 8b and 8c.

(7) a. Was it Mr. Yonemoto's son or daughter who called?
b. Whose daughter is coming?
c. Who is coming?

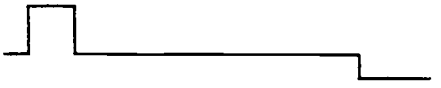
(8)



a. Yonémoto-san no ozyóotyan



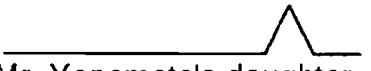
b. Yonémoto-san no ozyóotyan



c. Yonémoto-san no ozyóotyan

English only allows two patterns for one intonational phrase. So, in English, 9a would be an answer to both 7a and 7b. While 9b would be an answer to 7c.

(9)



a. Mr. Yonemoto's daughter

b. Mr. Yonemoto's daughter

Therefore, Japanese allows up to three different possible intonational phrases for two pitch-accented words[6] while English allows only two possibilities for two stress-accented words in the same pragmatic context. This difference is due to the fact that

pitch is an inherent property of words in Japanese and rules of phonological focus as shown here depend crucially on the pitch-accent properties of the words in the sentence. In English, there is only the option of moving the nucleus of the pitch contour from "daughter" to "Yonemoto."

Now that a basic sketch of Japanese and English accent and intonation has been discussed, a few general statements concerning the differences between these two languages can be delineated.

(10)

accentless words: Japanese has accentless words, English does not.

stress accent: Accent in English involves pitch, loudness and length while Japanese uses only pitch (Beckman 1986).

pitch accent: In English, the intonational phrase is made by applying a pitch contour to a metrically marked phrase while in Japanese the pitch properties of words contribute more to the realization of pitch.

How then, do these differences pose problems for Japanese speakers learning English? The existence of accentless words would seem to be a greater problem for English speakers learning Japanese than for Japanese speakers learning English. For Japanese speakers, English represents fewer possible stress types since English words are free be accented on any syllable, but must be accented on at least one, while Japanese words are free to have no accent at all.

Stress accent would seem to be a more serious problem for Japanese learners of English, since this division of labor is quite foreign to these learners. A Japanese learner of English is faced with a language that relates any one of a number of intonational contours to the same metrically marked string, whereas Japanese has constraints on pitch contours that are derivable only by understanding the underlying pitch properties of words.

The third aspect, a different phonetic realization of accent, seems as though it would be extremely difficult to acquire. English and Japanese both have abstract accent but this accent is realized quite differently. As Lea (1977) has shown, native speakers of English manipulate the three parameters of pitch accent in complicated ways to mark stressed words in context. Not only are the relationships between pitch and intensity potentially complicated, duration alone seems almost intractably complex. Van Santen and Olive (1990) have attempted to derive an algorithm which would model duration in English vowels. They look at several factors that contribute to

vowel length such as vowel type, consonantal context and position in a phrase and find extremely complex interactions between the different variables. That the L1 learner has the capacity for reproducing these variants is amazing in itself.

The study

The research that will be described in this section will first look at how native speakers perceive native and non-native stress. These perceptions will be used as a basis for a discussion of the interlanguage English productions. There were two major phases to the pilot study: a data-collection phase and a judgement phase. The data-collection phase involved an activity used to generate natural speech with different types of normal and contrastive stress. The judgement phase used the data generated in the first part to elicit native-speaker judgements of English stress-accent. The judgements were used as a diagnostic tool to determine the salient characteristics of problems in non-native stress productions.

Data Collection

Subjects

Volunteers were solicited from students of English as a second language and Japanese as a second language at the University of Pennsylvania. Four native Japanese speakers (NJS) and four native English speakers (NES) participated. All participants were college graduates and had some abilities in both languages. The researcher, who was trained in the ACTFL oral proficiency rating system, estimated that the level of the NJSs ranged from "intermediate-mid" to "advanced-high." Two of the NJSs had been in the U.S. for more than two years and two had been in the U.S. for less than a year. Impressionistically, the two with the most time in the U.S. were more proficient than the other two.

Materials and Procedure

Materials were prepared in order to elicit noun phrases with pitch-accents located in normal and non-normal (i.e. exceptionally focused) positions. Pictures were used instead of written material so that natural speech could be elicited. The task allowed speakers to use language to solve a problem, not just language for language's sake. Reading sentences would have failed to control adequately for communicative goals.

Two pairs of picture cards were prepared. Each card had a 4x4 grid with 10 pictures and 6 blank spaces. The blank spaces were added to make it more difficult for the participants to go through the exercise in a "list-like" repetition of phrases, with none of the variation in stress desired. Participants were placed in pairs and asked to orally compare the pictures on their card with the pictures on their partner's card. Pairs consisting of all possible combinations were used. There were two NES-NES pairs, two NJS-NJS pairs, and four NES-NJS pairs. After an item was compared, each participant was asked to determine whether there were 0, 1 or 2 differences between the picture on their own card and the picture on their partner's card. Each participant recorded the number of differences on a separate piece of paper. For example, if the first person had a picture of a red dog as shown in 11, the partner could have any number of differences in their picture such as those represented by sentences 12a-12d.

(11) I have a red dog.

(12)	a. I have a BLUE dog	1 difference (adjective)
	b. I have a red CAT	1 difference (noun)
	c. I have a red dog (too)	0 differences
	d. I have a BLUE CAT	2 differences (adjective and noun)

These are only sample sentences; participants were free to complete the exercise using any phrasing they chose. A professional quality cassette recorder and stereo microphone were used for recording.[7]

Native Speaker Judgements

Subjects

Six graduate students in Linguistics volunteered to make judgements. These subjects were asked to participate because it was thought that they would be more consistent in making judgements of the sort required. Researchers have found that it is difficult to get reliable results on stress judgements.[8]

Materials and Procedures

The recordings of the data were digitized and tokens were segmented from the digitized speech. Some "Adj + Noun" phrases elicited were not used because they

overlapped other speech or were barely audible. The final number of tokens segmented for this experiment was 153 including 73 native and 80 non-native segments. These tokens were segmented within the intonational phrase in which they appeared such as: "I have a red dog," "next, a red dog," or "red dog." Judges listened to the tokens through headphones as a computer program randomly chose one of the 153 tokens. They were asked to make one of three judgements for each token: whether stress was on the noun, on the adjective, or even. The judges were allowed to listen to the token up to five times. It was thought, that by allowing for repetitions, the judges would make more reliable judgements. However, they were encouraged to make their judgments in as few listens as possible. If each subject used only the number of repetitions actually needed to make a judgement, this number of repetitions could be used to provide a measure of the difficulty of judging the stress in that token. Information was stored on number of listens as well as on which stress type was judged.

Results

Repetitions

The number of repetitions needed varied from one to three; therefore, the maximum of five listens was not needed. In Table 1, the mean number of repetetions needed to make a judgement are listed. The numbers clearly demonstrate that judges needed to listen to non-native tokens more than native tokens. The first column, the mean number of listens, shows that there were between 1.0 to 2.0 mean listens. There were many tokens that only needed to be listened to once. For the native tokens, 40% were not repeated by any of the judges, while only 24% of the non-native tokens were unrepeated. These repetitions might reflect the difficulty of perceiving stress, however, other factors might also be involved–such as difficulty in overall comprehension due to segmental effects.

Table 1 Number of tokens needed to make a judgement

Mean	native tokens	non-native tokens
1.0	30	19
1.2	25	22
1.3	09	19
1.0	09	12
1.6	0	04
1.8	0	03
2.0	0	01
TOTAL	73	80

Agreement among judges

Amount of agreement among the judges is a better measure of difficulty in judging stress, because it directly addresses the question of stress and not just overall difficulty in comprehension of the token. Agreement was judged "high" if at least four out of the six judges agreed on the token as either noun-stressed, adjecive-stressed, or even-stressed. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 High agreement tokens

native		non-native	
54/73	74%	44/80	55%

Native speech samples elicited a much higher agreement among the judges. It is clear that there is a definite L1 effect. Table 3 rank orders the eight speakers by language in respect to the number of high agreement tokens. In this example, American English speakers are represented by NES1, NES2, NES3 and NES4 and Japanese speakers by NJS1, NJS2, NJS3 and NJS4.

Table 3 High agreement tokens: By individual speakers

Subject	High Agreement/Total	Percent
NES1	16/18	89
NES2	13/17	76
NES3	13/19	68
NES4	12/19	63
NJS1	12/19	63
NJS2	12/20	60
NJS3	11/19	58
NJS4	9/22	41

There was a much higher tendency for agreement on the NES tokens than the NJS tokens. The native speaker "NES1" had 18 total tokens played to judges and 16 tokens were agreed on by five or more of the judges. NJS4 only produced 9 of 22 high agreement tokens. It is clear that there is an L1 effect, since the non-native speakers were never above 63%. However, there was a lot of variability in judgements of native speech; considering native vs. non-native speech does not totally account for this variability.

Table 4 below gives more information by showing not only the high tokens, but also the non-high tokens.

Table 4 Agreement among judges for different tokens (by L1)

Judges agreeing	English L1 subjects		Japanese L1 subjects	
No.	No.	%	No.	%
6	19	26	10	13
5	19	26	18	23
4	16	22	16	20
3	17	23	34	43
2	02	03	02	03

Although Table 2 shows clear differences in the perception of native and non-native speech, Table 4 shows it more clearly. The number of tokens where only three judges agreed was 23% for the natives and 43% for the non-native tokens.

Discussion

There are some general comments to be made regarding the results discussed above. First, Japanese learners are capable of producing stress forms that are categorically perceived by native listeners. All tokens used for the judgement test were not categorically perceived for NESs or NJSs. Secondly, the NJS subjects who participated in this study showed what might be developmental effects. The more advanced learners produced forms that were more often agreed upon by the native judges. This potential for development, or at least differential competence in stress would indicate that this is a variable worthy of further study.

There are clear indications of differences in how tokens produced by different speakers were perceived, but nothing has yet been said about what the cause for these differences in stress judgements might be. Why did the NJSs perform at a much lower level overall, compared to the NESs? In order to explore the possible sources for differences, I will first begin by discussing the three problem areas discussed above in 10. There seemed to be no evidence that learners interpreted English words as being accentless. This possibility should not be ruled out, however, since this was a small group of learners, none of whom were in the earliest stages of learning English. Learners of lower proficiency levels, different learners, or these same learners under different circumstances might do so. I have observed in casual situations that sentences are sometimes ended with no fall which would seem to indicate that the speaker was behaving as if there were no accent on the final word, where there should have been.

The second difference listed in (10), stress accent, probably has some effect, and might be a variable that is not manipulated properly. All of the syllable nuclei were measured for all of the tokens. It seemed that the NJSs varied little in the length of the syllable nucleus whereas the NESs lengthened stressed syllables to a greater extent. The database was not controlled for in terms of syllable shape to an extent great enough to warrant broad conclusions about length. An experiment that controls more for syllable shape will be necessary to explore this difference more fully.

The final difference listed in (10), pitch accent, seemed to have a great effect. Although it is not possible to formalize the demonstrated effects at this point, it seems clear that certain phonological rules of "pitch-accent" are operating on the English productions of these speakers. (8c) shows two pitch accented words in Japanese in a neutral context (no special focus on either term). If we look at the same phrase but with accent only on *ozyóo-tyan,* the result is a hat-shaped intonational pattern (13). This type of phrasing was observed on many tokens.

(13)

a. Hiraoka-san no ozyóotyan

In summary, each of the three major differences related in (10) seem to yield some interesting possibilities, but more work is needed to understand the characteristics of interlanguage stress productions by Japanese speakers of English. Further studies will be needed with larger numbers controlling for different levels of proficiency. For each of the different hypotheses, a data-set will need to be constructed that will explore the specific variables in a more complete way.

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[1] A few of the more significant studies of second language prosody have been Backman (1977), Sethi (1982), Cruz-Ferreira (1980; 1987; 1989), and Berkovits (1980).

[2] The contours used in this paper are stylized, they do not represent certain phonetic factors such as downdrift and segmental effects since they are meant to represent only the phonologically significant aspects of the intonational contour.

[3] Some of the representative examples of approaches to English are Liberman (1975) and Liberman and Pierrehumbert (1984). For Japanese, see Poser (1984), Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988), and Haraguchi (1988). Beckman and Pierrehumbert (1986) and Beckman (1986) compare Japanese and English.

[4] Here, I mean only to contrast English and Japanese with other languages where accent is much more predictable, and with very few exceptions. Autosegmental analyses have been offered for English in Halle and Vergnaud (1989) among many others. For Japanese, a comparable analysis has been given by Haraguchi (1991). These analyses show that accent is much more predictable than seems to be possible on a superficial level, however, the fact remains that the system is much less predictable with Japanese where there are many minimal pairs like the *háshi -hashí - hashi* paradigm as shown above. English has fewer examples, with réefer- refér, díffer-defér, and pérvert-pervért being differentiated solely by stress for many speakers (Flege & Ocke-Schwen, 1989).

[5] The basic line of this argument comes from Liberman (1975) however there is some influence in the notation used by Pierrehumbert (1980). For the purposes of this paper, I have deviated from both of their systems in order to simplify the argument; it does not weaken the argument.

[6] For all of the possible permutations of accented and unaccented nouns and adjectives in Japanese, 9 different pitch contours are shown in Kurasawa-Williams (1992) and Tearman (1992).

[7] Central air conditioning caused an audible hum on the tape which made the quality of the tapes of less than optimal quality, though they were good enough to proceed with further analysis.

[8] (See Lea [1977] for an extensive discussion of methodology in stress judgements).

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