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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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Do Sentences in the Second Language Grow Like Those in the First? *

Kellogg W. Hunt

It seems now to be established that schoolchildren who are native speakers of English embed a larger and larger number of sentence constituents as they get older. This developmental trend can be demonstrated by having them rewrite a passage made up of exceedingly simple sentences. The developmental trend is demonstrable both in speech and writing. And skilled adult writers carry the same tendency still farther-at least in their writing. Various applications suggest themselves: (1) it should be possible to discover whether this trend is universal: whether it is characteristic of the development of native speakers of all languages; (2) perhaps, too, this measure might be found useful in measuring a person's command of a second language; and (3) since Mellon has shown that American seventh graders can be taught to carry this tendency farther than they normally do, it is possible that drill in sentence-embedding should be part of second language instruction.

At the outset it is important to distinguish between language acquisition and language development, just as Chomsky and other linguists distinguish between language competence and language performance. The two pairs of terms correspond to each other. Competence is what an infant acquires in his native tongue. Performance is what he develops during his school years. By 'competence' Chomsky means the rules for producing the infinite variety of sentences of a language. Those rules can be written down in a book. Presumably those rules also exist in a completely different form in the brain cells of any language user. To some extent those rules are inborn by virtue of the fact that we are born with the brains of humans, not apes, or dogs, or bees. To some extent those rules are acquired after we are exposed as infants to some particular language like Swahili, Arabic, Japanese, or English. During the first few years of life we acquire the rules of language. Excellent research has been done recently showing how one early set of rules gives way to a more mature set and how that second set gives way to a third that is still closer to an adult set. All this is the study of acquisition, the acquisition of 'competence' in the technical sense.

Acquisition occurs fast. Most of the rules which could produce an infinite variety of adult sentences are acquired by the time a child enters school, though it may be that a relatively few rules are not acquired until much later, perhaps never by some people.

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* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1970,

Mr. Hunt, Professor of English, Florida State University in Tallahassee, in 1964 was the recipient of the First National Council of Teachers of English Award for Distinguished Research. He is the author of *Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels* (NCTE, 1965).

But for all this, everybody knows that the sentences spoken by children first entering school are different from those spoken by people graduating from school. Some development obviously occurs during the school years. It is this development, not acquisition, that I have studied. I have not studied the acquisition of rules, but the use of rules; not competence in the technical sense, but performance.[1]

It happens to be the case that little people speak little sentences and big people speak and write big sentences. We all know that from casual observation. What I want to do is to give one dimension of this bigness. To describe this dimension the transformational model of language happens to fit the performance model, the developmental model.

According to transformational theory one sentence can be embedded inside another. That is, we can take as main clause a sentence like *Aluminum comes from bauxite* and we can embed inside it a sentence like *Aluminum is a metal.* By a transformation the output can become *Aluminum, a metal, comes from bauxite.* We can embed a couple of other

Figure 1

DEEP STRUCTURE

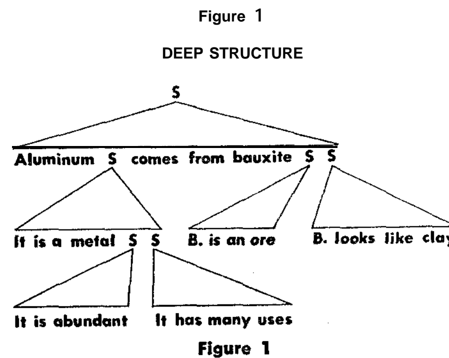

Figure 1

sentences *(It is abundant, It has many uses).* Thus we produce *Aluminum, an abundant metal with many uses, comes from bauxite.* We can embed a couple more *(Bauxite is an ore, Bauxite looks like clay).* Thus we can produce a still longer output: *Aluminum, an abundant metal with many uses, comes from bauxite, a clay-like ore.*

Now let me describe a laboratory-like experiment in which schoolchildren of elementary and secondary ages, and some adults, actually did rewrite sentences like those I have just presented.[2]

Children from grades 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 in the Tallahassee public schools were used—five grades at two year intervals covering an eight-year span.

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1 Kellogg W. Hunt, "How Little Sentences Grow into Big Ones," ed. Alexander Frazier, *New Directions in Elementary English* (NCTE, 1966); "Recent Measures in Syntactic Maturity? *Elementary English,* 43 (November, 1966), 732-739. Both are reprinted in Mark Lester, *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

2 Kellogg W. Hunt, *Syntactic Maturity in Schoolchildren and Adults,* Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Serial No. 134, Vol 134, No. 1, (University of Chicago Press, 1970).

From each grade 50 children were carefully chosen such that their scores on standardized intelligence or achievement tests would give us a normal distribution from high, to middle, to low.

In addition to these 250 schoolchildren, 25 adults who had recently published articles in *Harpers* and *Atlantic* participated in the experiment. Presumably these were skilled adults.

Furthermore, 25 high school graduates who had been out of school an average of 10 years and who were all employed as firemen also participated. The reason to include them, supposing them to be average adults, was to see whether they wrote more like skilled adults, or more like twelfth graders.

The problem given to the children and adults was designed to control what they said but not how they said it. Everyone said basically the same thing. In this way differences due to content or subject matter were all ruled out: the only differences in the output of one writer as compared to another was put there by the writer himself.

The passage given them to rewrite consisted of thirty-two sentences of connected discourse describing the manufacture of aluminum and written by Roy O'Donnell. These input sentences were extremely short, shorter than those normally spoken by even kindergarten children. Each was, of course, a single clause. The instructions said to rewrite the passage "in a better way," but not to leave out any of the information. I will not duplicate here all thirty-two sentences, but the first six were the ones I have already shown to you.

The rewritings of these 250 schoolchildren and 25 adults were then analyzed, and every syntactic change made by every writer on every input sentence was tabulated. The items so tabulated came to about ten thousand, and they indicate clearly certain developmental trends.

The most comprehensive finding in the experiment was that as schoolchildren get older they tend to embed a larger and larger number of sentences within some uppermost S constituent. Skilled adults carry the tendency still further. Stated another way, older children embed a larger and larger number of reduced sentences inside a main clause.

The actual means for each grade appear in Figure 2. You will see that they increase substantially at every interval. Here is one way to describe the means. If you give fourth graders about thirty sentences, as we did, you get about three of thirty embedded. Fourth graders embed a sentence about one tenth of the time. If you give eighth graders the same thirty sentences as input, they embed about eighteen of them in about twelve main clauses. Twelfth graders embed about twenty-two in about eight or ten main clauses. Skilled adults embed more than four per main clause on the average. That is, out of thirty inputs they embed about twenty-five under five main clauses. Average adults, the 25 firemen, scored between the average twelfth grader and the skilled adults, but much closer to twelfth graders than to skilled adults. For every one of the intervals between grade levels and also up to skilled adults, the difference was

EMBEDDINGS PER GRADE

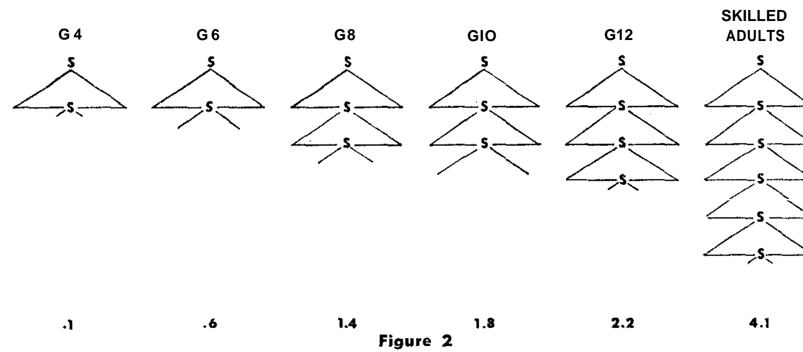

Figure 2

statistically significant. There can be no doubt that a developmental tendency is present.

Not only is this measure related to chronological maturity, but also to mental maturity. On this syntactic measure students in the high IQ third scored above the middle IQ third, and those in turn scored above the low IQ third. This was the case in each of the five grades. Furthermore the difference between the high IQ third's scores and the low IQ third's scores was significant at the .005 level at every grade. So among children of the same age and in the same grade scores on the syntactic measure are related to scores on IQ tests.

Let me return to Figure 1. This sentence is an actual sentence written by a skilled adult. Notice some of the linguistic consequences of his multiple embedding. First, note that some words are deleted in the course of embedding. That means that the skilled adult is more succinct, more economical. He says more in fewer words than are said in six sentences with no embedding. Such is the first corollary of multiple embedding. Secondly, note that the words surviving after the deletions are then added to the main clause, thus lengthening it. Obviously, the more embedding, the longer the clause. That is the second corollary of the increase in embedding.

We would expect the correlation between the two counts to be quite high. To check that correlation we counted the number of embedding for each of the 275 writers and also counted the mean number of words per clause for each of them. We found the correlation to be .85 out of a possible 1.0. To be significant at the .01 level the correlation needed to be no higher than .15, so we see that this correlation of .85 is very high. At the same time, we can see why the correlation is not perfect: some embedding add one word, while others add two or three. It takes two one-word embeddings to affect the length as much as one two-word embedding. Nonetheless, such differences average out in the long run, and the correlation is very high, though not perfect.

Any statement that has just one main clause I have called a T-unit, short for 'terminable unit.' The name comes from the fact that it is gram-

matically allowable for any statement containing one main clause, with or without subordinate clauses, to be punctuated with terminal marks at both ends: a capital at one end and a period or question mark at the end. Any T-unit can be punctuated as one sentence. In that sense this unit is terminable. But people write sentences containing two or more main clauses, and those sentences contain two or more T-units, so a T-unit is not always the same as a sentence, though often it is.

From what we have already seen we would expect that as children get older and do more embedding, their mean clause length increases, and their mean T-unit length increases too. In this experiment such is indeed the case. Across every grade interval there is an increase, and there is further increase for skilled adults.

In summary, then, T-unit length and clause length are cheap and easy measures of syntactic maturity. But the measure that has psycholinguistic interest and educational significance is the number of embedding.

A wisely skeptical listener might say, "This is all very interesting, and if we were teaching copy editors or rewrite men, then this would be pertinent. But we are not. We are teaching writers, not rewriters, speakers, not translators. This experiment concerns rewriting, not writing."

But that skepticism has already been answered in previous research.

In a study published six years ago[3] it was shown that both the T-unit length and the clause length of schoolchildren increases with age in the original, free writing which they ordinarily do in their English classes. Skilled adults carry the increase still further in their published articles. The written samples for that study were from grades 4, 8, and 12, and the skilled adult writers were from *Harpers* and *Atlantic.*

In a comparable study by Roy O'Donnell and others [4] the same tendency was shown to exist in the connected oral discourse of children from kindergarten to grade 1, to grade 2, to 3, to 5, to 7. Across every grade interval the T-unit length increases and the clause length increases too.

If this is a natural tendency in both speech and writing and if it shows up under controlled laboratory conditions too, then one supposes it to be a deep-seated characteristic of the maturing mind. How it relates to concept formation and the other aspects of cognitive thought processes no one knows.

But the experiment shows a few more things about the language aspects of sentence maturity. At the outset I remarked that all writers said "basically the same thing." I used the word "basically" as a -hedge. These writers did not really all say the same thing. Successively older writers added more of one kind of meaning. A set of six sentences embedded into a hierarchy does not say the same thing as an otherwise iden-

3 Kellogg W. Hunt, *Differences in Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels,* CRP 1998, USOE, 1964; *Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels* (NCTE, 1963).

4 Roy O'Donnell, William J. Griffin, Ramond C. Norris, *Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children: A Transformational Analysis,* (NCTE, 1967).

tical set laid out in a linear sequence. The hierarchy itself is a meaning, an organization. The hierarchy specified which sentence is uppermost, which sentences are of secondary significance, which are of third level significance. Notice that a sentence negation negates the uppermost assertion only. Notice, likewise, that a sentence question applies only to the uppermost assertion. The main assertion is the uppermost S. All embedded sentences are merely entailed. When sentences are not organized hierarchically but instead are arranged in a linear sequence, the reader himself must establish the interrelationship among them. He must discover whether the following sentence contradicts the former. Or does it extend the previous sentence? Does the following sentence go back several sentences and pick up an earlier idea? The reader must supply these inter-sentence relations himself, ordinarily. But when a writer consolidates several sentences into one hierarchy, he provides these interrelations for the reader. The mature writer does more of the thinking for his reader than the immature writer does.

Let me illustrate this extra meaning that is provided by the more mature writer. The input sentences used in this experiment describe several steps in the manufacture of aluminum. They said, "Workmen extract these substances from the bauxite. They grind the bauxite. They put it in tanks." This linear set does not show that the grinding is a means to an end, extraction. But successively older writers expressed that meaning either by using a purposive infinitival such as "To extract . . . they grind . . . and put . . ." or some other construction as "They . . . extract . . . by grinding . . . and putting." A meaningful node is added along with the embedding.

I would suppose, too, that a hierarchical arrangement of sentences would be easier to remember than a linear set. We can arrange the many bits of information into a certain number of chunks of a certain size which we then label with a secondary code. These chunks we then regroup into other larger chunks which we label with a tertiary code. These top level chunks will be few enough to process mentally, yet by going back down from one node to another we recall the multitudinous bits that otherwise would be too many to handle at one time. This is only vague psychologizing which I can neither formalize nor demonstrate. But I fancy you all know the feeling I describe. You get caught in a tangle half way through a sentence. You must go back and reorganize the bits before you can finish the sentence.

The last aspect of syntactic maturity that I will touch on concerns the relative scores made by black children and white children. A year ago, two graduate students made a pilot study in the fourth grades of the Tallahasee public schools. One study was on the syntax or oral language,[5] and the other on the syntax of written language.[6] They chose at

5 Mike Pope, "The Syntax of the Speech of Urban (Tallahassee) Negro and White Fourth Graders" (unpubl. diss., Florida State University, 1969).

6 Robin Huber, doctoral candidate, Florida State University.

random 30 black children and 30 white. Each child viewed two silent movies and then talked about them and also wrote about them.

We had good reason to expect that the group with the higher IQ scores would turn out to have the longer T-units, at least in writing. For in 1966[7] we had found that fourth graders with highly superior IQ scores wrote T-units significantly longer than fourth graders with average IQ scores. In the twelfth grade we found that same significant difference. The correlation between T-unit length for all fourth graders and total IQ scores on the Wechsler-Bellvue was found to be .44 and the correlation with the verbal IQ was .5, not high, but significant. So T-unit length does correlate significantly with IQ scores for fourth graders-at least when they are all white as they were in this study just cited.

In the two fourth-grade studies, the white children scored about 12 IQ points higher than the blacks, as usually happens. But in T-unit length for oral language there was no significant difference between blacks and whites. And in T-unit length for writing there was none either.

This finding of no significant difference in syntactic maturity is like the finding of another study done three years ago in east central Alabama. The researcher, Richard Graves,[8] wanted to do a black-white comparison and also an upper class-lower class comparison. I will not describe all the criteria used to separate the classes, but he used both occupational and educational criteria.

From the students who fit those class criteria he chose at random 20 upper class whites, 20 upper class blacks, 20 lower class whites, 20 lower class blacks. In IQ scores he found that each of his four groups were about 15 points apart—that is, a standard deviation. The IQ means were these: upper white 122, upper black 101, lower white 85, lower black 66.

All individuals wrote on three different subjects, producing about 500 words each. Students were interviewed orally, and tape recorded. He then got T-unit length for all samples.

When he lumped together blacks and whites but compared upper with lower, he found a significant difference in T-unit length between the upper class as a whole and the lower class as a whole both in speech and in writing. When he lumped together the upper and lower whites as a group, comparing them with upper and lower blacks as a group, he found a difference in IQ scores of 17 points. But in T-unit length there was no significant difference either in speech or writing.

IQ tests seem to indicate a difference in mental maturity which T-unit length scores contradict—or at least fail to confirm. Let me point to another instance from the Alabama study. Between upper class black students and upper class white students there are twenty points difference

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7 Kellogg W. Hunt, *Sentence Structures Used by Superior Students in Grades Four and Twelve, and by Superior Adults,* CRP 5-0313, 1966.

8 Richard Graves, "Language Differences Among Upper and Lower Class Negro and White Eighth Graders in East Central Alabama" (unpubl. diss., Florida State University, 1967).

in IQ scores but in T-unit length there was no significant difference. Any notion of language deficit that is inferred from performance on IQ tests alone needs to be confronted by data from studies such as this.

Notice that the kind of language maturity measured by T-unit length is not affected by dialect differences in pronunciation nor by dialect differences in word form. A non-standard pronunciation or a failure to use the plural or the possessive inflection is not even recorded. The ability to make multiple embedding develops at a much deeper level. Though it is too early to come to a final opinion, the present evidence is that T-unit length is dialect free but language maturity sensitive, and that the language of black children, even when different, is equal.

Finally, let me pose two questions. First, is it true of all natural languages—Swahili, Chinese, Arabic—that native-speaking children tend to increase the number of embedding per main clause as they move from infancy to adulthood? If the answer should turn out to be "Yes," then we would be tempted to make certain other speculations. A most uninteresting speculation would be that this tendency shows merely the effect of practice over the years. A much more interesting speculation would be that this tendency somehow mirrors the greater organizational capacity of the mature mind.

If the answer should be "No," that other languages, or at least non-Indo-European languages, do not show this tendency in their native speakers, then we would need to conclude that this characteristic is merely stylistic—as arbitrary as whether one writes from left to right or right to left. Such a finding would indicate that this phenomenon has no larger psychological interest.

The second question is this: Supposing someone learns a second language as an adult, is his rate of development in the second language as slow as it was in the first, even if he uses his second language in his daily life? Or does it happen instead that the mature ability developed in the first language is quickly applied to the second as soon as he has internalized the new rules and the new vocabulary? Those are the two questions I wish you would answer.

Vol 4 No 3 Sep 1970

Report on an Experimental Group-Administered Memory Span Test

David P. Harris

"Memory span" tests, in which sentences of increasing length and syntactical complexity are dictated to students for oral repetition, have recently been used experimentally as measures of foreign language achievement and proficiency. The apparent necessity of administering such tests individually has, however, tended to complicate and restrict their use. This paper summarizes an experiment in which a 16-sentence memory span test was group-administered to 112 university-level students of English as a second language by having the students write down each sentence after one hearing. The major findings were that (1) a group-administered test is practicable and may be scored reliably by at least two methods; (2) performance on the experimental test correlated quite highly (from .73 to .79) with performance on standardized listening and grammar tests of English as a foreign language; (3) as anticipated, the dificulty of the test sentences appeared to be determined very largely by their length and syntactical complexity.

Introduction

There has recently been increasing interest in memory span tests as measures of achievement in language learning. Typically, such tests have consisted of a series of sentences of increasing length and, sometimes, of grammatical complexity, which are dictated to the student for oral repetition. The student is scored on his ability to reproduce the original sentences.

One serious problem with such tests is that they have had to be individually administered, thus making the testing of large numbers of students extremely difficult. Moreover, it is no easy matter to rate short oral utterances as they occur, and the alternative—recording the student's sentences for post-test scoring-will considerably complicate the testing process.

In 1966, J. B. Carroll suggested that

> there is no reason why [memory span tests] could not be adapted to group testing, e.g., by requiring the student to write down, from one auditory presentation, sentences of increasing length and complexity.[1]

The experiment reported in this paper was designed to test the practicality of a group-administered memory span test for college-level students

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Mr. Harris, President of TESOL (1966-69), is Professor of Linguistics and Director of the American Language Institute, Georgetown University. He is the author of *Testing English as a Second Language* (McGraw-Hill, 1969) and *Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English as a Second* Language (Prentice-Hall, 1966).

[1] John B. Carroll, "Psychology: Research in Foreign Language Teaching: The Last Five Years," *Language Teaching: Broader Contexts* (Northeast Conference Reports, 1966), p. 35.

of English as a second language, following Carroll's suggestion. It was hoped that the experiment would provide answers to at least three questions:

1. Could a memory span test in which students write their responses be scored in a satisfactorily reliable way?
2. Would the scores on such a test show a high correlation with scores on standardized tests of the pertinent English language skills?
3. Would such a test support the theory that sentence difficulty is consistently related to length and grammatical complexity?

Description of the Test

The test consisted of 16 sentences constructed according to the following specifications:

1. The sentences were paired in length, the pairs growing progressively longer;
2. The second sentence in each pair was made somewhat more complex syntactically than the first;
3. The sentences were made to sound reasonably like spoken English and included only lexical items likely to be familiar to students at practically any level of English proficiency.

Some explanation of specifications (1) and (2) is required.

First of all, sentence length was determined by the number of words, words being defined as segments of writing separated by spaces.[2] Although there are other methods of measuring sentence length, this procedure proved sufficient for assuring at least that the earlier test sentences were generally shorter than those toward the end of the test, not only in their written form but, more importantly, as specimens of speech. That the latter was true may be demonstrated by reading the two halves of the test aloud at uniform speed: it takes about 50 percent longer to read sentences 9-16 than to read sentences 1-8.

Second, it was decided to use clause subordination as the principal criterion for syntactical complexity. Thus, subordinate clauses were generally avoided in the odd-numbered sentences, while at least one or two such constructions-and sometimes more-were included in the even-numbered sentences. Our rationale was that instruction in subordination normally comes rather late in ESL instruction, and therefore our subjects, taken as a group, might be expected to find sentences with subordination more difficult to comprehend and repeat than those consisting of one independent clause built up with adjective and adverb modifiers, or two independent clauses joined by the common coordinators.

A preliminary form of the test was administered to 34 foreign students attending the American Language Institute of Georgetown University in October 1968. On the basis of an item analysis, the test was slightly

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2 An exception was the very familiar place name *New York,* which was treated as one lexical unit.

revised. The examiner's script for the revised version appears at the end of this report.

Administration of the Revised Test

The revised test was administered to all classes of foreign students attending the American Language Institute of Georgetown University in July 1969. It was separately administered in each classroom, and therefore was never given to more than a dozen students at a time. To avoid possible anxiety among the students, both the teacher and the examiner referred to the test as a 'dictation exercise'. The same examiner—a native speaker of English from Wisconsin—read the test sentences in all the classes. Each sentence was read just one time, and the examiner did not proceed to a new sentence until she believed that all the students had finished their writing. (See the test directions.) The students wrote their sentences on uniform answer sheets consisting of lined paper with a sentence number on every fourth line.

Description of the Subjects

A total of 114 students took the test; however, the papers of two students observed to be flagrantly copying were subsequently discarded. Table 1 shows the geographical origins of the 112 students comprising the sample.

The students ranged in English proficiency from 'low-intermediate' level (those with only rudimentary English training) to 'advanced level' (those considered almost ready to enter an English-speaking university), with most in the 'high-intermediate' and 'advanced' categories. All the students had recently taken two standard tests of English as a second language: the English Usage Test and the Listening Test of the American Language Institute, Georgetown University.[3] Table 2 summarizes the performance of the 112 subjects on the two tests.

First Scoring Procedure and Its Results

It was first decided to score the papers on how accurately the students appeared to have understood the spoken stimuli. In this scoring, no attention was paid to *grammatical accuracy* as such; what counted was the degree to which the student sentences reflected the *meaning* of the original.

Scoring was done by six Institute teachers, each paper being independently rated by two teachers, care being taken that teachers did not

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[3] Both are multiple-choice tests which are scored on a 0-100 point basis. The English Usage Test is a measure of the foreign student's control of the grammatical structures of English. The areas covered are (1) noun, adjective, and pronoun forms; (2) word order patterns; (3) verb forms and the use of modals: (4) choice of prepositions. The Listening Test consists of a series of short questions and statements spoken just one time. The student indicates his comprehension of the questions by choosing the one logical answer from among the four alternatives printed in his test book. He indicates his understanding of the statement by selecting the one accurate paraphrase from among the four printed alternatives.

TABLE 1

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF THE 112 STUDENTS

Geographical Areas	*N*
Latin America	44
Far East and Southeast Asia	44
Middle East	9
Europe (Rumania)	9
Africa	4
Other	2

TABLE 2

ENGLISH-PROFICIENCY TEST SCORES FOR THE 112 STUDENTS

Scores	*Usage Test*	*Listening Test*
90-99	25	23
80-69	20	21
70-79	22	26
60-69	18	21
50-59	11	5
40-49	7	8
Below	9	8
Mean	70.12	72.09

rate their own students. Prior to scoring any papers by themselves, the six readers met in a practice session during which they read a common sample of actual test papers and discussed scoring standards. It was agreed to score each sentence on a 1-5 point scale, thus giving a possible range of 16-80 points for the total test of 16 sentences. The following guidelines were provided for scoring:

5 = Accurate throughout. Very minor changes are permitted: "John is *in* school" instead of *"at* school," etc. One-word omissions are permitted if the omission does not affect the meaning of the sentence: "I'll tell her *(that)* you want to see her," etc.

3 = Subject reached end of sentence but distorted meaning *somewhat.*
Example:
Stimulus: "If you're not too busy, let's walk to the store."
Student: "If we'll not to be busy, let's go to the store."

1 = Unacceptable performance, including incomplete sentences in which the subject lost the thread of the utterance half-way through.
Example:
Stimulus: "It was already late when he called to tell us he couldn't come."
Student: "It was always late when we come home."

Scale values of 4 and 2 were used for sentences that seemed to fall between the 5 and 3 or 3 and 1 ratings.

In reading and scoring the papers, teachers put no marks on the papers themselves. Scores were recorded on a standard rating sheet, which was removed before the paper was given to the second reader.

Column (1) of Table 3 shows the total scores received by the 112 subjects when the papers were scored on the basis of content accuracy. It will be observed that the scores cover quite a large range, with the mean just slightly above the 50 percent mark.

Whenever one is using a test whose scoring depends on the subjective judgment of the scorers, he must be concerned about the reliability of the

TABLE 3

MEMORY SPAN SCORES FOR THE 112 STUDENTS WHEN RATED FOR (1) CONTENT ACCURACY AND (2) GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY

Scores	(1) Accuracy of Content N	(2) Accuracy of Grammar N
71-80	12	14
61-70	19	17
51-60	28	29
41-50	20	24
31-40	12	13
21-30	12	10
Below	3	5
Mean	52.02	51.04
SD	15.70	15.98

TABLE 4

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEMORY SPAN SCORES GIVEN BY TWO READERS WHEN RATING CONTENT ACCURACY (N= 109)

Points Difference	N	Percent of Cases
0-1	31	28
2-3	37	34
4-5	25	23
6-7	10	9
More	6	6

scoring. As described above, three steps were taken to secure a reasonable degree of standardization in the scoring of the memory span tests: (1) two readers scored each paper; (2) scoring guidelines were prepared for the readers; (3) the readers were trained for their task at a special practice session. Table 4 shows the difference between the two ratings given 109 papers-all those in the sample except for three that had been scored by all the readers during the practice session. It will be observed that the two ratings given each paper tended to be quite close: in 85 percent of the cases the difference was no greater than 5 points. Inasmuch as the two ratings were then *averaged* to give each student's score for content accuracy, a difference of 6 points or less did not appear to be large enough to require restoring. (There were, however, 10 papers where the difference exceeded 6 points, and these papers were scored by a third reader, and the results of the three ratings were averaged.)

A second, more formal, check of the reliability of the two ratings was made by computing the correlation coefficient.[4] It was found that the first and second ratings correlated .966—a very high correlation, indeed, especially considering the method of scoring,

Still a third check of the reliability (i.e. stability) of the ratings appeared essential—one to determine whether scoring standards tended to shift in the course of time. It would have been best if the six readers had done all their scoring together within a one- or two-day period; however, to accommodate the readers, we allowed them to take their papers home and read them at their leisure. Consequently there was a danger that they would change their standards during the approximately ten days covered by the readings. Therefore, when all the tests had been scored, six papers were xeroxed, without any identification of the writers, and were restored by

4 All correlation coefficients reported in this paper were computed by the Pearson product-moment formula.

five of the original six readers. Papers were selected so that students on a broad range of English proficiency levels were represented and so that each reader was reading four new papers and rereading two which he had scored before. Results showed that the mean of the 5 re-ratings was in all six cases within 6 points of the mean of the original pair of ratings, but that 5 of the 6 papers were given a slightly *lower* rating the second time. Thus it was concluded that a reasonable degree of stability was maintained throughout the scoring, but that scoring standards did tend to become slightly stricter with experience. Clearly, it would have been preferable to have had the readers do all their scoring in one or two 'joint sessions', stopping periodically to rate a paper together to reestablish common standards.

Second Scoring Procedure and Its Results

Some of the teachers who rated the tests on the basis of content accuracy subsequently expressed concern over our decision to ignore grammatical errors. It was therefore decided to score the papers a second time, this time rating the performance purely on grammatical accuracy, with no regard to how closely a subject had retained the meaning of the stimuli. This time each paper was read only once, three of the original readers dividing the 112 papers among themselves. The basis of the scoring was as follows:

5 = Grammatical throughout. (The meaning of the sentence may be different from the original, or the sentence may be somewhat shorter than the original through the dropping of grammatically unimportant elements.)

3 = Sentence contains one grammatical error, including the omission of a grammatically essential element such as a subject or verb. (See above comments on sentence meaning and shortening.)

1 = Sentence contains two or more grammatical errors (see above) or is so brief or fragmentary as to constitute no real sample.

Inasmuch as only one reader scored each paper, another informal check of scorer reliability was necessary. Twelve papers were accordingly given to a second reader for scoring. It was found that in 10 of the 12 cases the difference did not exceed 4 points. (In the other two cases the difference amounted to 6 or 7 points.) On the basis of this evidence and of our experience with two raters in the previous scoring, it was decided that one rating would be sufficiently accurate for the purposes of this experiment.

Column (2) of Table 3 shows the scores attained by the 112 subjects when the papers were scored purely for grammatical accuracy. It will be seen that the results were extremely similar to those obtained from rating the papers for content accuracy (Column (1) of Table 3). This is further illustrated by a comparison of the scores received by each subject on the two kinds of ratings. As shown in Table 5, in 80 percent of the cases the difference between scores for content accuracy and grammatical accuracy

was no greater than 5 points. Thus, as would be anticipated, the correlation between the two types of ratings was extremely high: .942. Probably this similarity between the two ratings was inevitable, given the nature of the test. For a sentence to receive the highest content-accuracy rating, 5, the sentence had to be grammatically accurate. On the other end of the scale, when a student was unable to comprehend a sentence and therefore wrote only in fragments, the rating under both scoring systems was the lowest possible, 1. Thus there was definitely some overlap in the two sets of rating criteria.

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO MEMORY SPAN RATINGS (Content Accuracy and Grammatical Accuracy) for the 112 Students

Points Difference	*N*	*Percent of Cases*
0–1	18	16
2–3	43	39
4–5	28	25
6–7	9	8
8–9	7	6
More	7	6

It should be noted, however, that there were 14 instances (representing 12 percent of the total sample) in which the scoring difference reached or exceeded 8 points, a few cases showing a differential as great as 16 or 18 points. An examination of these 14 sets of ratings showed that 9 of the students received higher scores for content accuracy and 5 were rated higher for grammatical accuracy. These data caution us against assuming that grammatical-accuracy and content-accuracy ratings are always equivalent, even though there seems to be generally a great similarity between the two.[5]

Other Findings

1. *Correlation of Memory Span Ratings with Objective Test Scores.* The memory span ratings were correlated with scores on the two multiple-

5 Particularly interesting, in this connection, was the rather large number of sentences in which the student, having only partially understood-or remembered-the stimulus, was able to create a grammatical sentence of his own. Examples:

Stimulus: If you're not too busy, let's walk to the store.
Student: If you are not busy you can just lock the door.

Stimulus: John is at school, and his brother is working at home.
Student: John and his brother go to school from their home.

Stimulus: I'm sure we could get the work done a lot faster if more of the students would help.
Student: I'm sure I'll get the word as soon as the students can help.

choice measures, the English Usage Test and the Listening Test, the following results being obtained:

a. Correlation between grammatical-accuracy ratings and scores on the Listening Test: .732.

b. Correlating between content-accuracy ratings and scores on the combined Listening and Usage Tests: .735.

c. Correlation between content-accuracy ratings and scores on the Listening Test: .761.

d. Correlation between combined content-accuracy and grammatical-accuracy ratings and scores on the combined Listening and Usage Tests: .793.

These data demonstrate, first of all, that the short memory span test correlates quite highly with the standard multiple-choice tests of auditory comprehension and grammatical structure. That correlations (a) and (b) are slightly lower than correlation (c) seems logical, inasmuch as the two measures correlated in (c) are the most directly comparable in terms of the skills they are designed to assess.[6] And on this basis it would seem reasonable that correlation (d) would be the highest of all, inasmuch as there is a direct relationship between the two types of memory span ratings and the two criterion measures.

2. *Effect of Increasing Sentence Length and Varying Syntactical Complexity in the Memory Span Test.* It will be recalled that, in the construction of the memory span test, efforts were made to increase the length of the sentence pairs throughout the test and to alternate between syntactically 'simpler' and syntactically 'more complex' sentences. Table 6 shows

TABLE 6
MEANS OF THE CONTENT-ACCURACY RATINGS FOR THE 16 TEST SENTENCES

Sentence No.	*Mean*	*Sentence No.*	*Mean*
1	4.46	9	3.78
2	3.52	10	2.88
3	3.97	11	3.09
4	3.80	12	2.94
5	4.04	13	2.54
6	3.15	14	1.72
7	3.05	15	2.64
8	2.41	16	3.00
Odd No's,	3.88		3.01
Even No's.	3.22		2.64

[6] Moreover, any explanation of the high correlation between content-accuracy ratings and Listening Test scores must take into account the retention factor in the Listening Test, where the students must keep the oral stimulus in mind while reading and considering the four printed alternatives.

the mean of the content-accuracy ratings for each of the 16 sentences. It will be observed that (1) the sentences in the first half of the test—the shorter sentences—did tend to be easier than those in the second half; and that (2) in 7 of the 8 pairs of sentences the odd-numbered item—constructed to be syntactically simpler—was somewhat easier than the even-numbered item. The one exception was the last pair of sentences, where it seems probable that the modifiers used to build up sentence 15 to the desired length simply constituted too much detail to be held in the students' memory.

An interesting side question was whether the raters would find greater difficulty rating the odd- and even-numbered sentences. Inasmuch as the odd-numbered items had a simpler clause structure and had to be built up with word- and phrase-modifiers, it was hypothesized that student distortions of these sentences might pose greater scoring problems. Indirect evidence on this point is provided by Table 7, which shows the total difference in score points between the two content-accuracy ratings given each of the 16 sentences. It will be seen that the raters did, indeed, tend to disagree somewhat more on the evaluation of the odd-numbered items, though the overall difference was not very substantial.[7]

Summary and Conclusions

1. The experiment reported in this paper demonstrated that a group-administered memory span test can be reliably scored and will yield fairly high correlations with carefully constructed multiple-choice tests of grammatical structure and auditory comprehension.

TABLE 7

Difference in Points Between the Two Content-Accuracy Ratings Given Each of the 16 Sentences (N= 109)

Sentence No.	*Total Points Difference*	*Sentence No.*	*Total Points Difference*
1	16	2	42
3	23	4	22
5	27	6	23
7	42	8	34
9	49	10	35
11	36	12	34
13	33	14	17
15	48	16	39
Total	274		246
Mean	34.3		30.8

[7] It will be observed from Table 7 that the greatest difference between the two ratings for even-numbered items occurred with item 2, the shortest of the sentences. This sentence began with the clause "There goes the man," and this proved extremely difficult for the subjects, only one-third of whom accurately reproduced the above construction. The most frequent variants were "There was a/the man" (31 percent of the subjects); other re-creations included "They were the men," "There's a man," 'That was the man" and "It was the man."

2. To be reliable and valid, the memory span test must be long enough to yield stable results and secure a broad range of scores, but still be short enough to maintain student concentration to the end. A test of 16 sentences appears to meet these criteria.

3. Generally speaking, very similar results will be obtained whether the memory span test is scored for content accuracy (that is, the degree to which the subjects are able to reconstruct the precise wording of the test sentences) or for grammatical accuracy (the extent to which the subjects can construct grammatically acceptable sentences). Perhaps the most valid set of rating criteria would be one that took both abilities directly into account.

4. Acceptable rater reliability for such a test can be secured by (1) preparing precise rating criteria, (2) training the raters for their task, and (3) basing each student's score on at least two independent ratings.

5. Like any other short, individual language measure, the memory span test has very definite limitations, and it would be most unwise to base important decisions about individuals (such as admission to classes or determination of course grades) on this one measure alone. As a classroom device for evaluating achievement in a narrow range of language skills, or as one component in a comprehensive test battery, however, the group-administered memory span test shows considerable promise.

Script for the Revised Memory Span Test

Directions— This is a dictation exercise. I am going to read 16 sentences to you. After I read each sentence, you are to write it down after the number of the sentence on your sheets. I will read each sentence JUST ONE TIME, and so you must listen carefully. Do not begin to write until after you have heard the complete sentence. After you have written the sentence, please look up at me so that I will know that you are finished.

If you have any questions, please ask them now. I will not be able to answer any questions after we begin the exercise.

1. My old friend became president of the company.
2. There goes the man I was talking about.
3. Jane was a history teacher at the university last year.
4. If you're not too busy, let's walk to the store.
5. John is at school, and his brother is working at home.
6. No matter who you ask, the answer is always the same.
7. We plan to go to London right after our last class tomorrow morning.
8. It was already late when he called to tell us he couldn't come.
9. Jack studies in the library, but most of the other students study in their rooms.
10. We found it very hard to believe the story he told us about his brother.

11. Last night I finished my lessons early and went for a long walk in the park.
12. As soon as Mary comes back home, I'll tell her that you want to see her.
13. It began to rain very hard last night just as we were taking Mary's mother to the train.
14. I'm sure we could get the work done a lot faster if more of the students would help.
15. One of my English teachers went to college in New York, and another one studied at a university in the South.
16. Bill started to walk to the post office, but then he remembered he had left the letter in his room.

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Bilingual Education in Sociolinguistic Perspective *

Joshua A. Fishman and John Lovas

One of the avowed purposes of bilingual education is the maintenance and development of linguistic and cultural diversity. The authors believe that realistic societal information is needed for realistic educational goals. This information, which goes beyond that normally available in school records and county census data, is here described and presented as an aid in deciding what kind of bilingual program to establish. Four broad categories of bilingualism (transitional, monoliterate, partial, and full) are defined and discussed in terms of their societal implications.

Bilingual education in the United States currently suffers from three serious lacks: a lack of funds (Title VII is pitifully starved), a lack of personnel (there is almost no optimally trained personnel in this field), and lack of evaluated programs (curricula, material, methods). However, all in all, we are not discouraged. We live in an age of miracles. If we have reached the stage where even Teachers of English as a Second Language are becoming genuinely interested in bilingual education then, truly, the remaining hurdles should soon fall away and the millenium arrive in our own days!

As public educational agencies finally begin to develop programs in bilingual education for the 'other-than-English-speaking' communities in the United States, those who are committed to the notion that cultural diversity is a natural and valuable asset to this country (and the world) might be expected to simply set up a cheer of approval and to urge that we get on with this shamefully delayed task without further delay. Though I number myself among those who value the maintenance and development of cultural and linguistic diversity in the United States, it is not entirely clear to me that *that* is what most of the existing and proposed bilingual education programs have as their goal. Further, even those programs that do explicitly state goals of language and culture maintenance often seem to overlook an important dimension in planning their efforts, an oversight which could seriously limit the success of these bilingual programs per se.

Needed: Realistic Societal Information for Realistic Educational Goals

Since most existing bilingual education programs in the United States provide only educational, psychological or linguistic rationales for their efforts the insights into societal bilingualism recently advanced by socio-

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linguists have not yet been incorporated into their designs. Thus, many programs are attempting language shift or language maintenance with little or no conscious awareness of the complexity of such an effort when viewed from a societal perspective.

Let us try to be more explicit about the kinds of difficulties that may develop for bilingual education programs if school planners are not aware of the language situations in the communities to which these programs are directed:

1. The school may attempt a program aimed at language maintenance (e.g., developing high performance in all skill areas of mother tongue and second language, and promoting use of both languages in all major societal domains) in a community actually in the process of language shift. Thus, the school's efforts could be cancelled out because it did not take account of community values or preferences.
2. Conversely, the school may attempt a program aimed at language shift (e.g., developing competence in the second language only and extending its use to all major domains) for a community determined to maintain its own language in many (or all) social domains. Again, the school could fail (or achieve very limited success) because it ignored the sociolinguistic dimension of the problem.
3. Even if the school program and community objectives are fortuitously congruent, the school program may not take account of important characteristics of the speech community, e.g., (a) the existence of one or more non-standard varieties (in one or more languages) whose school appropriateness as a medium or as a subject must be ascertained from the speech community itself; (b) differential use of these varieties by members of the speech community from one societal domain to another and from one speech network to another.

Schools often adopt simplistic notions, e.g., that there is only one 'real' kind of Spanish and one 'real' kind of English and that everyone everywhere uses (or should use) this 'one kind.' Such notions are obviously untrue.

Four Broad Categories of Bilingual Education Programs

It may be instructive to propose a tentative typology of bilingual education programs based on differing kinds of community and school objectives. Each of these types will be briefly illustrated by an existing or proposed bilingual education program for some Spanish-speaking community. In presenting this typology of bilingual education programs, I would like to distinguish clearly between them and English-as-a-second-language programs. The latter are programs which include no instruction in the student's mother tongue as part of the program. Andersson (1968) makes this point quite clear:

> Bilingual education in a Spanish-speaking area may be defined quite simply as that form of schooling which uses both Spanish and English as media of instruction. Bilingual schooling has often been confused with the teaching of English as a second language (ESL).

Another point about this typology is that it is *not* based on student and schedule characteristics such as proportion of students speaking a certain language and proportion of time devoted to each language (Gaarder, 1967; Michel, 1967; Andersson, 1968). Rather it looks to the kinds of sociolinguistic development implied in the program objectives, and suggests that various kinds of programs assume and lead to particular societal roles for the languages taught.

Type I. *Transitional Bilingualism.* In such a program Spanish is used in the early grades to the extent necessary to allow pupils to 'adjust to school' and/or to 'master subject matter' until their skill in English is developed to the point that it alone can be used as the medium of instruction. Such programs do not strive toward goals of fluency and literacy in both languages with opportunity throughout the curriculum for the continued improved mastery of each. Rather, they state goals such as "increasing overall achievement of Spanish-speaking students by using both Spanish and English as media of instruction in the primary grades." Such programs (consciously or unconsciously) correspond to a societal objective of language shift and give no consideration to long range institutional development and support of the mother tongue. An example of such a program can be found in the grant proposal of the Los Cruces (N.M.) School District No. 2 for support of their Sustained Primary Program for Bilingual Students. Perhaps the best way to characterize this program would be to cite the three primary objectives against which the program is to be evaluated:

1. To increase the achievement level of Spanish-speaking youngsters through the use of a sustained K–3 program.
2. To determine whether Spanish-speaking youngsters achieve more in a program that utilizes instruction in both Spanish and English or in a program that is taught in Spanish only.
3. To involve the parents of the Spanish-speaking students in the educational program as advisors and learners, thus enriching the home environment of the child.

The entire proposal makes no mention of measuring performance in Spanish, or continuing Spanish in the curriculum past grade 3, or of making any survey of the language situation in the community.[1] Such programs are basically interested only in transitional bilingualism, i.e., in arriving at the stage of English monolingual educational normality just as soon as is feasible without injuring the pupil or arousing the community.

Type II. *Monoliterate Bilingualism.* Programs of this type indicate goals of development in both languages for aural-oral skills, but do not concern themselves with literacy skills in the mother tongue. Thus, such programs emphasize developing fluency in Spanish as a link between home and school, with the school providing recognition and support for the lan-

[1] Other transitional programs, as mentioned by John and Homer (1970), are the Follow-Through Project at Corpus Christi, Texas, and the various informal programs for Puerto Rican students in New York City and elsewhere which depend on the use of 'community aides' in the classroom.

guage in the domains of home and neighborhood; but it does not concern itself with the development of literacy skills in the non-English mother tongue which would increase the formal domains in which the child could use the language. This type of program is intermediate in orientation between language shift and language maintenance. The likely societal effect of such a program might be one of language maintenance in the short run, but, given the exposure of students to American urban society which stresses and rewards literacy, it might well lead to shift. One example of such a program can be found in Christine McDonald's proposal for the El Rancho Unified School District in Pico Rivera, California. The program is designed for pre-school children and their parents, and would focus particularly on reading-readiness activities. The proposal envisions a teacher fluent in Spanish and acceptance of the parents' and children's home language. However, the focus of the program would be on ultimately developing literacy in English with no reference to similar development in Spanish. Bilingual programs for American Indians frequently fall into this category, because, in many instances, there is no body of written literature for the child to learn in his mother tongue. Obviously the intellectual imbalance between English literacy and mother tongue illiteracy poses a difficult situation for any maintenance-oriented community, particularly if it is exposed to occupational mobility through Englsh.

Type III. *Partial Bilingualism.* This kind of program seeks fluency and literacy in both languages, but literacy in the mother tongue is restricted to certain subject matter, most generally that related to the ethnic group and its cultural heritage. In such a program, reading and writing skills in the mother tongue are commonly developed in relation to the social sciences, literature and the arts, but not in science and mathematics.[2] This kind of program is clearly one of language maintenance coupled with a certain effort at culture maintenance (perhaps even cultural development should the program result in the production of poetry and other literary art forms). In general, the program in the Dade County (Florida) Public Schools (as described in its administrative guide fines and also in Rojas, 1966) exemplifies this type of bilingual education. The program provides special instruction in English in all skills for all Spanish-speaking students who need it. Additionally, the program provides formal instruction in reading and writing Spanish with emphasis on Spanish literature and civilization as subject matter. Other areas of the curriculum do not utilize Spanish as a medium of instruction. Other programs of this type are conducted by numerous American ethnic groups in their own supplementary or parochial schools (Fishman, 1966). Such programs imply that while the non-English mother tongues are serious vehicles of modern literate thought, they are not related to control of the technological and economic spheres. The latter are considered to be the preserve of the

[2] The Rough Rock Demonstration School (Navajo) initially tended to follow a program of this kind (John and Horner, 1970).

majority whose language must be mastered if these spheres are to be entered. Nationalist protest movements since the mid-nineteenth century have consistently rejected any such limiting implication.[3]

Type IV. *Full Bilingualism.* In this kind of program, students are to develop all skills in both languages in all domains. Typically, both languages are used as media of instruction for all subjects (except in teaching the languages themselves). Clearly this program is directed at language maintenance and development of the minority language. From the viewpoint of much of the linguistically and psychologically oriented literature, this is the ideal type of program, as illustrated by these comments:

> Since one of our purposes is as nearly as possible to form and educate balanced, coordinate bilinguals—children capable of thinking and feeling in either of two languages independently—instruction should, we believe, be given in both languages . . . (Michel, 1967)

> An education, both in and out of school, which respects these basic principles [to gain "progressive control of both languages" and "a sympathetic understanding of both cultures"] should hopefully produce after us a generation of bilingual who really are fully bilingual as well as bicultural. (Andersson, 1967)

Programs such as these enable us to examine the difference between developing *balanced competency in individuals* and producing a *balanced bilingual society.* Though bilingual societies might find individuals with highly developed competency in all skills and domains very useful in a variety of interlocutor roles (teachers, translators, business representatives), a fully balanced bilingual speech community seems to be a theoretical impossibility because balanced competence implies languages that are functionally equivalent and no society can be motivated to maintain two languages if they are really functionally redundant. Thus, this type of program does not seem to have a clearly articulated goal with respect to *societal* reality.

Several examples of this type of program exist, but all of them are small pilot or experimental programs. The Coral Way Elementary School (Dade County, Florida) and the Laredo Unified Consolidated Independent School District (Texas) are two frequently cited instances which exemplify this kind of program (Gaarder, 1967; Michel, 1967; Andersson, 1968). In the Coral Way School, students receive instruction in all subjects in both languages, English in the morning from one teacher, Spanish in the afternoon from another teacher. At Laredo Unified, students receive all instruction from the same teacher who uses English half the day and Spanish the other half. The evidence so far suggests that these programs are quite successful, but looking at them from the view of the functional needs of the community, there is serious question whether they should serve as ideal models for large-scale programs. As social policy they may

[3] Mackey (1969) refers to such limited bilingual programs as being of the 'Dual-Medium Differential Maintenance' Type.

well be self-defeating in that they require and often lead to significant social separation for their maintenance rather than merely for their origin.[4]

Needed: Societal Information in Establishing a Bilingual Education Program

Various types of bilingual education programs make implicit assumptions about the kind of language situation that exists in a given community and about the kind of language situation that ought to exist in that community. Program developers should make their assumptions explicit and attempt to test the validity of these assumptions by gathering various kinds of data regarding the societal functions of community languages and existing attitudes toward them, both before and during the development of bilingual education programs.

Gaarder (1967) suggests that the way in which a school or community goes about establishing a bilingual program will largely define the structure the program will take. That assumption underlies the suggestions here for gathering information beyond that normally available in school records and county census data as part of the process of deciding whether to establish a bilingual program and what kind of program to establish, if the first decision is affirmative. In this early stage of development the following information seems minimal, if the school and community are going to make conscious, explicit decisions about an appropriate bilingual program:

1. A survey that would establish the languages and varieties employed by both parents and children, by societal domain or function.
2. Some rough estimate of their relative performance level in each language, by societal domain.
3. Some indication of community (and school staff) attitudes toward the existing languages and varieties, and toward their present allocation to domains.
4. Some indication of community (and school staff) attitudes toward changing the existing language situations

This information would allow citizens, board members, administrators, and teachers to decide which type of program (or combination of program types) would be most appropriate to the community, both in terms of the *existing* language situation and in terms of the *direction and extent of change in* that situation.

Once a decision to develop a program is made, more detailed information would be required, particularly for determining the materials and

[4] Mackey (1969) has dubbed such programs as being 'Dual-Medium Equal Maintenance' in type. The Rough Rock Demonstration School currently tends in this direction.

[5] For an introduction to domain-related applied sociolinguistic description see Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1968b). For the theory underlying such description see Fishman (1967).

methods most appropriate to achieving the program's objectives. Such information might include the following:

1. A contrastive analysis of the major languages and/or varieties used in the community and any languages or varieties being introduced in the school.
2. An analysis of the phonological, grammatical, and lexical variables that most clearly distinguish varieties.
3. More detailed measures of student performance by language and domain.

Data of this sort would allow curriculum specialists and in-service training instructors to choose and/or develop instructional materials and methods appropriate to the students in the community, ideally avoiding the traps of (a) teaching them what they *already* know or (b) teaching them what they don't want at the expense of *developing greater skill in the domains which the community recognizes and wants developed.*

Conclusions

After a hiatus of more than half a century (Fishman, 1968a) we are just now recentering the first stages of genuine bilingual education at public expense. We are just overcoming the deceptive and self-deluding view that teaching English as a second language is, in itself, all there is to bilingual education. We are just beginning to seriously ponder different curricular models of real bilingual education. This paper stresses that such models have societal implications, make societal assumptions, and require societal data for their implementation and evaluation.

We are just beginning to realize that public schools should belong to parents, to pupils, to communities. We are just beginning to suspect that these may be legitimately interested in more than learning English and affording better and bigger TV sets. We may soon arrive at the disturbing conclusion that it is not necessarily treasonous for pupils, teachers, parents, and principals to speak to each other in languages other than English, even when they *are* in school, even when they *know* English too, and even when the languages involved are their *own mother tongues!*

However, we still have a very long way to go. We still do not realize that the need for bilingual education must not be viewed as merely a disease of the poor and the disadvantaged. We still do not realize that alternative curricular approaches to bilingual education make tacit assumptions and reach tacit decisions concerning the social roles of the languages (or language varieties) to be taught. We still do not realize that these assumptions and decisions can be empirically confirmed or disconfirmed by sociolinguistic data pertaining to the communities that our programs claim to serve. By and large, we still do not know how to collect the societal data we need for enlightened decision making in the field of bilingual education.

We are learning all of these things the hard way—which may be the only way important lessons are learned in the world of public education—but we are learning! Thank God for poor Mexican-American parents and their increasingly short tempers. Because of their number and their growing organization our grandchildren have a chance of getting a bilingual public education in the United States without necessarily being either poor or even Hispanic.

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*Bilingual Education in BIA Schools**

Evelyn Bauer

Because of a persistent lack of success in enabling Indian students to equal the academic achievement of the general school population, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is taking a close look at bilingual programs and related research as a possible answer to retardation among their non-English-speaking students. In this paper a brief survey of the history of bilingualism in the Bureau is presented which includes the program to promote native-tongue literacy, begun in the late 30's, and the Navajo Five-Year Program. Present day programs, such as those at the Rough Rock and Rock Point Schools, bilingual materials development, and projected projects, including a Navajo bilingual kindergarten program and a reading study similar to that carried out in Mexico by Nancy Modiano, are described.

A combination of depressing academic achievement test results and an interest in innovative and possibly successful programs around the country involving students that have much in common with our own has led the Bureau of Indian Affairs to a serious examination of approaches to educating Indian students which may hold a greater promise of success than we have enjoyed in the past. The most promising of these approaches is that of bilingual education, that is, the use of some combination of the student's mother tongue and English to transmit academic content and to foster the child's development in both languages.

We have examined Florida's Dade Country program closely and feel that, although many of the problems of Cuban refugee students are quite different from those of American Indians, much of what is being done can be adapted to our situation. The same is true of Thomas Horn's bilingual project being carried on through the University of Texas and the San Antonio schools. We have looked at Rough Rock School, where although we have little as yet in the way of test results, we have a great deal of popular approval of the school's inclusion of native tongue and culture, and of its involvement with the community.

Of interest to us also have been the research findings of Modiano in Mexico,[1] of Grieve and Taylor in Ghana,[2] of Pedro Orata in the Philippines,[3]

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the TESOL Convention, March, 1969.

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1 Nancy Modiano, "Bilingual education for children of linguistic minorities," *American Indigena,* XXVIII, (April, 1968), 405-413.

2 D. W. Grieve and A. Taylor, "Media of instruction: a preliminary study of relative merits of English and an African vernacular as teaching media," *Gold Coast Education* (1952), 36-52.

3 Pedro T. Orata, "The Iloilo experiment in education through the vernacular," *The Use of Vernacular Lannguages in Education.* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), pp. 123-131.

and of Tore Osterberg in Sweden,[4] all of which seem to support the superiority of at least initial mother-tongue instruction over the national language.

We have been impressed, too, with the proliferation of staff training opportunities. In 1969, the Experienced Teacher Fellowship section of the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) offered four programs in bilingual education, with a year's fellowship under the direction of Miles V. Zintz at the University of New Mexico, including bilingual instruction methods and materials development for Indian as well as Spanish-speaking pupils. Summer workshops in bilingual education were offered by the University of Arizona, San Diego County, and Southwest Texas State College.

Interest in bilingual education, or at least in the use of the mother tongue in the classroom, is not new in the Bureau. Reversing what had been a long-established policy in the treatment of American natives-that is, their assimilation into the mainstream culture at the cost of *their* culture, their language, and their separate identity—the Bureau, under the direction of Willard W. Beatty, set out in the late thirties to promote native-tongue literacy among Indian adults and young people. At that time, almost nine out of every ten Navajos were non-English speaking, and the need to convey information to adult Navajos had become acute.[5] In addition, there was a growing awareness of the failure of Indian children to adapt to an English language curriculum at the beginning levels.

An alphabet limited to the keys found on a modern typewriter (thereby eliminating a number of symbols which had been used previously and greatly simplifying the diacritical markings) was developed by Oliver LaFarge, the novelist, and Dr. John P. Barrington, a linguist with the Smithsonian Institution. A pre-primer, primer, and reader in English and Navajo titled *Little Man's Family,* with text by J. B. Enochs, a former Bureau teacher, was followed by the *Little Herder* stories and the *Prairie Dog Fairy Tale* by Ann Nolan Clark, another Bureau teacher. Preparation of the Navajo text was handled by Robert Young, Edward Kennard, Willetto Antonio, and Adolph Bitany. In the fall of 1940, Kennard, Young, and Bitany began to introduce the reading and writing of Navajo into reservation schools. Illustrations for the texts were done by Gerard Nailor, a Navajo who had been trained at what is now the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, a Bureau high school. Materials prepared for adults included accounts of technical programs such as soil conservation, livestock management, water development, health, sanitation, and disease control. Native Navajo speakers weer taught to read and write Navajo and were employed to work with doctors, scientists, teachers, and other technicians as interpreters.[6]

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4 Tore Osterberg, *Bilingualism and the First School Language* (Vasterbottens Trycheri AB-Umea, 1961).

5 Willard Beatty, "Introducing Written Navajo," *Indian Education* 46 (November 1, 1940), 3-4.

6 Hildegard Thompson, "Use of Indigenous Languages in the Development of Indian Americans in the United States," a talk delivered at the Fifth Inter-American Indian Conference, Quito, Ecuador (October 17-25, 1965), p. 5.

A monthly newspaper printed in Navajo proved valuable in communicating to the Navajo information on activities of the Tribal Council, as well as national and world news. A Navajo-English dictionary was also published at this time and proved valuable to native interpreters in their attempts to understand the technical vocabularies they were dealing with.

In addition to the Navajo materials for students, bilingual readers were written and printed for the Hopi and for the Sioux.[7] In response to requests from Pueblo and Papago leaders, English-Spanish texts were also prepared. Using these texts, it was assumed that reading and writing would be taught first in the child's mother-tongue and attempted in English only after control of oral English had been achieved.

There is little to be found in the way of evaluation of this literacy program. In 1944, Robert Young, writing in *Indian Education,* a Bureau field letter, found the results of the use of native language in the classroom "highly encouraging." Teachers had lost their fears and misgivings, and people in remote reservation areas were welcoming written Navajo and requesting that it be used for all forms and regulations so that they would know what they were being asked to sign. Young felt there was good reason to believe that writing would spread among the Navajo. He expressed hopes that the Navajo themselves would ultimately become the authors and that the Navajo language would serve their needs until such time as they no longer had need for it.[8] Hildegard Thompson, former Director of Education for the Bureau, felt that the status of many of the present-day Navajo Council members was due to their fluency and literacy in Navajo which was a direct result of this program. She also pointed out that the bilingual readers served as a valuable link between home and school since children were encouraged to take their readers home and read to their illiterate parents. It is likely that this might well have been the beginning of a change in the feelings of Navajo parents toward the schools, which had always seemed so alien.

World War II, with its drain on personnel and funds, seems to have been at least partially responsible for the end of the native literacy program. Many of the linguists and native teachers who had been involved were assigned to the Army Special Services Branch to teach Indians. (It is interesting to note that the Navajo language was used as an Army code—one which was never deciphered by the Japanese.)

A second example of a Bureau project which made use of native language was the Five-Year Program which began in the mid-forties. It was not possible to accommodate in the immediate area all the Navajo children who desired schooling, and, as a consequence, a large part of a generation was

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7 Edward A. Kennard, "The Bilingual Education Program," a paper presented at a conference on Styles of Learning Among American Indians at Stanford University (August 8-10, 1968); and Willard W. Beatty, "More Indian Service Publication: Indian Education No. 90, (October 1, 1943).

8 Robert Young, "To Read and Write Native Language," *Indian Education* No. 98, (February 15, 1944), 8.

growing up illiterate. Space was available in Bureau boarding schools in other areas which was made available to Navajo youths from twelve to sixteen years of age with little or no previous schooling. Since most of these students had no English, it was necessary to make extensive use of Navajo. In the first three years of this program, a teaching team consisting of an English-speaking teacher and a native-speaking instructional aide gave instruction in Navajo and English. Ideas were first introduced in Navajo by the aides, then followed up by an English presentation. As students progressed, the amount of English increased. However, even after English became the chief medium of instruction, Navajo was still employed to determine how well students had understood the material presented to them in English.

The Five-Year Program expanded to an enrollment of over 5,000 pupils annually, spread over eight schools, and was highly successful in terms of finding employment for its graduates. It is felt that this success would not have been possible without the heavy reliance on the use of Navajo speakers and the Navajo language.[9]

Although native-speaking aides have been responsible for some form of bilingual instruction in Bureau schools for many years, it has only been in the past few years that planned programs of instruction involving mother-tongue and English, and extending beyond the beginning levels, have resumed the trend initiated in the thirties and forties.

In 1968, a Title III-sponsored program at the Bureau Day School in Taos, New Mexico, where failure in teaching reading had been attributed to a lack of oral mastery of English, attempted to teach reading in the native tongue first—Tiwa in this case. Tiwa was also used as the language of classroom instruction, with a period of oral English as a part of each day. A special orthography including the phonemes of both Tiwa and English was taught to beginning and first-grade pupils, who began reading with a familiar Tiwa story. The plan included introducing Roman orthography in the second and third grades with a continuation of the special script both for the introduction of new work and continued reading in Tiwa.[10] Other aspects of the program were the inclusion of Indian culture and the use of modern math curriculum with emphasis on manipulation and concrete experience to provide the basis for later verbal abstractions.

Because of staff difficulties and community conflict, the program was discontinued after its first year and no satisfactory evaluation was made.

Both Rough Rock and Rock Point, Bureau elementary schools located in Arizona, include reading instruction in Navajo and Navajo culture in their programs. Rough Rock also had formal instruction in Navajo-as-a-second-language for non-Navajo speakers.

After experimenting with various ways of using Navajo in the classroom—

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9 See L. Madison Coombs, *Doorway Toward the Light,* for a full account of this program. (Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, 1962).

10 Evelyn Bauer, Field Trip Report, May 3, 1968.

small group reading and talking in Navajo with older children, and math and social studies help in Navajo for younger children—Wayne Holm, Rock Point's principal, submitted a proposal for a bilingual program outlining the following plan of operation as feasible:

Navajo Beginners would be taught to read in Navajo using Irvy Goosen's *Let's Read Navajo* and locally-prepared readiness materials. Beginners, first- and second-graders, would be taught science, social studies, and health in Navajo with summaries in English. By the third and fourth grades, English would become the language of instruction, with Navajo being used when necessary, with the exception of fifth- and sixth-grade units on Navajo studies, which would continue to be taught in Navajo. Mr. Holm suggested that activities having to do with Navajo mythology, singing, dancing, and public speaking might be offered as voluntary after-school activities. Navajo-speaking aides or teachers would work closely with English-speaking teachers in the lower elementary grades.

The full program has yet to become a reality. However, Rock Point's present program does include a bilingual kindergarten with Navajo teacher and an English teacher working together, and a Beginning Room (BIA schools have a transitional year in their curriculum) in which Navajo reading is taught. Navajo reading has also been introduced in grades two through five.

A contract with the Northern Arizona Supplementary Education Center (NASEC) in Flagstaff, Arizona, has revived the development of native literacy materials begun in the thirties. NASEC is currently developing bilingual primary texts, filmstrips, and tapes in Hopi and English. Future plans include the development of the same types of materials in White Mountain Apache. The stories used in the texts are being recorded from native informants and transcribed in native tongue and English. At present, preschool materials and primary texts are being prepared, and plans are to go on to intermediate and secondary levels in the future.

NASEC plans to use native-speaking teachers and aides, who, after being taught to read in the vernacular, will teach older students. The more able students will then, under supervision, teach the younger children. A selected group of schools will be used to try out the materials which will then be evaluated, revised, and offered for general use.

The interest generated by the Bureau's bilingual efforts of the past few years and, indeed, the national and international attention given to bilingual programs involving all groups who do not enter school with a command of the national language make it likely that these programs will continue and expand.

On October 11-12, 1968, the first of two project-planning meetings for a bilingual kindergarten program for Navajo children was held at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. The Center invited speciglists in early childhood education, linguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropology, ESL and related fields. The first meeting was devoted to the educational, cultural, and linguistic goals of such a program; to curriculum content; to

problems related to the use of Navajo as a medium of instruction; and to the use and teaching of English in kindergarten activities. The preparation of Navajo and non-Navajo teachers was discussed at the remaining sessions.[11] As a result of these meetings, a pilot bilingual program for Navajo children, involving six classes, was begun. If the pattern of bilingualism adopted for the experimental kindergartens is successful, we may have a model on which to base all Bureau kindergartens, and from which to build a continuing program at the first- and second-grade levels.

Although Navajo has been the chief area of concentration in the past and will most likely continue to be so because of the size of its population, there has been much interest recently in Alaskan native groups. A project has been submitted which proposes to develop curriculum materials for the teaching of Inupiat (Northern Eskimo), and Kutchin and upper Tanana (Athabascan), Alaskan Native dialects, at the fourth-grade level. This program would, over a five-year period, prepare similar materials down through the first year.[12]

On the basis of research conducted with other non-English-speaking groups, which leads us to believe that a child reads more easily in a second language if he has first made the association of the written symbols with the sounds of his first language, the area of reading research is high on the Bureau's list of priorities. A study of the problems of teaching English in Bureau schools done by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1967 made the recommendation that ". . . three pilot classes in reading the mother tongue be initiated in comparable schools, with children of the same age and approximate ability who know no English and whose native languages are different, and that these classes be matched with control classes whose introduction to reading is in English."[13] As soon as it is feasible to do so, this will be pursued.

The problems of providing bilingual programs for Indian students no longer seem insurmountable although, certainly, time and adequate funding will be needed to lay the groundwork. Some materials exist for the Navajo, Hopi, Sioux, and Eskimo; but texts for other groups can be developed only after extensive descriptive language work and the development of a suitable orthography has been completed.

The training of native-speaking personnel to assume major responsibility for classrooms will also require time and funds, but internship programs which make it possible for natives to further their education and an increasing interest on the part of native aides in becoming professionals are making inroads.

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11 Ruth E. Wineberg, "Information Exchange," *English for American Indians* (Winter, 1969), BIA, 30-31.

12 Alaskan Native Bilingual Literacy—a Title III proposal submitted to the Office of Education by D. W. Webster and Frank Darnell, December, 1968.

13 Sirarpi Ohannessian, ed. *Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians: Report and Recommendations* (Washington, D-C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967).

Decisions must eventuality be made as to the type of bilingual program which is best for our students. Of interest is a comparative study now being made by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory (SWCEL) in Albuquerque, examining the effectiveness of four different combinations of Navajo and English with Navajo children in grades one through three. In one approach, for example, all aspects of the program would begin in Navajo and gradually shift over to English during a two-year period. In another, the oral language program would be in English from the beginning and content instruction in Navajo with a gradual phasing into English over approximately a one-year period. In this approach, reading, which would begin after six months of the first year, would be entirely in English.[14]

One of the major problems at this point, is, I believe, that of determining objectives which in turn will affect our decisions on curriculum content and method. Whereas Dade County and San Antonio are educating students for participation in truly bilingual societies with a strong possibility of students receiving even post-high-school work in the mother tongue, it is unlikely, at least in the near future, that even members of our largest group, the Navajo, will find themselves part of a truly bilingual Navajo-English culture in the Southwest. And except for the New Navajo Community College located at Many Farms, Arizona, use of the Navajo language for higher education does not seem practicable.

If we were to define our goals for bilingual education with our Indian students at this point—which may well be premature—I think mother tongue would be considered most useful as an effective bridge to eventual instruction in English and as a means of avoiding both the progressive academic retardation so common in our Indian students and the damage to the child's self image induced by the rejection of his language and culture.

14 "A Comparative Study of Four Approaches to Bilingual Education," a proposal submitted to the Office of Education by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., May 15, 1968.

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*The Concept of "General-Specific" and Its Application to The/A and Some/Any**

Ruth Hok

The general-specific concept applied so widely in academic and philosophical concerns is defined as a matter of thinking in wholes, and in parts as they relate to wholes; or alternatively, taking a broad view versus a restricted view. This concept is examined as the key to the native English speaker's use or non-use of *the* and *a,* as well as to his choice between *some* and *any.* Finding support in Miller's unitization theory of human knowledge with Mandler's hierarchical adjustment of it, the argument presented here suggests that in handling the various units a 'repositioning' process occurs resulting in a view which may be termed either macro- or microscopic, and that it is on this that the speaker's verbal choice depends. In other words, it is the adjustment of the view from general to specific that explains the fact that 'non-count' nouns on occasion become 'count,' that (regardless of the negative or affirmative construction of the sentence) *some* is used as distinct from *any.*

The New York Times Magazine Section for February 9, 1969, reports that when one of our expert demographers deplored the fact that somewhere in the world a woman gives birth to a child every thirty seconds, a man in his audience rose with clenched fist and shouted, 'We must stop that woman!'

In the grammar of that account is illustrated what I would like to discuss here: the grouping of meaning concepts into a system of the general and the specific as a logical and effective way of approaching language phenomena. It is a matter of thinking in wholes, or in parts as they relate to wholes. In this way it would seem that the role of the brain's cognitive activity could be increased in the language-learning process without the sacrifice of efficiency we have come to appreciate in 'systematized' presentations.

In studies of human psychology, organizational variables have assumed a new importance. George Mandler's experimental work, for instance, appears to support his hypothesis that not only does memory not exist without organization but that 5 ± 2 determines the number of items within each category as well as the number of categories—arranged hierarchically—that the human brain can remember. Of particular interest here is the type

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1969.

Mrs. Hok, who for many years has been associated with teacher training at the English Language Institute, University of Michigan, is presently on leave and teaching at the American University in Cairo. She has published in *Language Learning.*

of category he discovers is automatically established. In our terms it seems to be one of general-specific nature:

> For example, a list [of randomly selected items] may contain a "furniture" cluster; the S recalls "table" and "chair", then recalls some other items, checks the list and on seeing "table" and "chair" may then give additional items from the furniture category.[1]

But setting up the categories and establishing them in hierarchal order is only the beginning; we must hypothesize a process for using them. This, I think, is to be found in the ability of the human mind to 'reposition' itself. The word *focus* is not an unusual one in the literature-but its meaning always seems to be 'the view from there.' It is this repositioning ability that allows us to use *this Saturday* to apply at one time to the past Saturday and at another to the future Saturday with seldom any ambiguity. Also, it is thanks to this repositioning ability that we can think about the future and talk about the past and the future of that future:

> Next year, I am going to live in New York where I expect to study law. By that time I will have finished my English course.
>
> (Similarly about the past.)

As we shall see, 'repositioning' has great bearing on our interpretation of categories: after it has taken place, we then view a concept microscopically as a category unto itself; or microscopically as a unit within a category, or as separated from other categories.

Over the years, there has been no dearth of attempts to establish rules for using the so-called definite and indefinite articles, *the* and *a.* But for teachers of the language, the results have been more discouraging than helpful.

Sayo Yotsokura's 1963 structural analysis[2] of a corpus resulted in 38 formulae, only 17 of which (she was sorry to have to conclude) could be relied on in the old-fashioned sense of a rule. Lois Robinson felt compelled in her popular text to list some 44 rules in order to cover the subject.[3] Various other treatments have little bearing on the teaching problem since they start with the assumption that *the* is already in the sentence. There is also an abundance of the nice categorical statements designed to give comfort but which do not square with the facts. (For instance, found in a Romanian teaching English text: *the* is always used after a preposition.)

The usual structural approach to the problem of the use or non-use of the articles is to divide the nouns they do or do not accompany into count and non-count (variously called common, proper; mass, collective, abstract) usually on the basis of whether there exists a plural form:

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1 George Mandler, "Organization and Memory," *Psychology of Learning and Motivation,* Vol. I (New York; Academic Press Inc.), p. 337.

2 Sayo Yotsukura, *A Structural Analysis of the Usage of the Articles in English,* unpubl. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963.

3 Lois Robinson, *Guided Writing and Free Writing,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) , pp. 37-45.

e.g., *pen, pens vs. gold.* (Note that although *pen* and *pencil* are countable, *chalk* is not. Similarly, *money* cannot be counted although *dollars* can.) The rule that results from this division is clear and reliable: in the singular form a count noun (e.g., *pen)* must be preceded by either *the* or *a.* This seems to take care of 17 of the 44 rules mentioned above. But what about the rest?

To return to our[4] woman with all the babies: The demographer might have said either: *Somewhere in the world a woman gives birth . . . .,* or *Somewhere in the world the woman* (not the man of the species) *gives birth. . .* According to our structural rule, *woman* is the singular form of *women, so* either *the* or *a* must be used. But which? With the singular count nouns, will it be *the* or *a?* With the non-count nouns, will it be *the* or nothing? If we reach for the general-specific rule, how can we explain that *a teacher in a small school* is less specific than *the teacher in* a *small school,* or that *coffee from Central America* is more general than *the coffee from Central America.*

Thinking of woman in the abstract,[5] our demographer might even have said: *Somewhere in the world woman gives birth. . . . . .* , and if he were writing, he could carry it a step further into the abstract (to the prototype?) through the device of a capital letter: *Somewhere in the world Woman*[6] *gives birth. . .* And, of course, even the abstract can take on *the: Somewhere in the world the Woman gives birth. . .*

We find, then, that there are three ways of making a noun specific, definite, unique, particular:

1. No *a* or *the:* John, London, Charity, Woman, etc.

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4 Note that here I use a device which relieves the student of having to make a choice between *the* or *a;* viz., traditionally-called possessive adjective. A traditionally-called demonstrative adjective *(this, that; these, those)* works in a similar fashion, as do the so-called partitives, and numbers *(many* women, *two* women). *Cf.,* for instance, Fries' 'determiners,' *Structure of English,* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), p. 89.

Except perhaps for the partitives, all of the determiners mentioned here would fall under the heading of what I am calling 'specific,' indicating a microscopic adjustment. In the demographer account, it was the switch of the adjustment which causes the confusion—from macro to micro, from a *woman* to *that woman.*

5 Concerning the use of terms to represent the abstract, it is interesting to note that in Sweden in the current struggle for sexual equality, it is contended that a church has fostered sexual discrimination because nowhere in the Bible does it say that women have souls: only 'man' has a soul, according to the Bible, it is said. In the Svenska Dagbladet for Wednesday, April 24, 1968, appeared a Lutheran cleric's explanation that the controversy here stems from a question of translation that had been discussed in 548: viz, whether the Latin masculine word *homo* could be applied to woman. The decision based on examples of its use in the Vulgate had been in the affirmative.

6 A N.Y. Times Music Reviewer on January 19, 1969, makes his point in this way. He states that a Wagner's sex in "Tristan and Isolde" is primal, that . . . 'he does not deal with man and woman; he deals with Man and Woman. . . . in "Der Rosenkavalier" [on the other hand,] there are no Jungian archetypes, only human condition; and instead of a monumental "Liebestod" we get a bittersweet and hauntingly beautiful trio that in effect tells us that life will go on as it always has gone on.'

2. Use *a:* a teacher in a smaIl school, a voter in the U. S., etc.
3. Use *the:* the world,[7] the President, the sugar in my coffee, the voter in the U. S., the Woman, etc.

Thus we end up with the fact that *the, a, Ø* (zero) can all be 'specific'; we have a difference without a distinction. The question is: specific in relation to what? To arrive at a useful analysis, we must change the tack. Consider:

Corn was planted in summer.
Corn was planted in a summer.
Corn was planted in the summer.

Let us start with consideration of the last one and think in terms of categories: *in the summer* is selected from a class of differents; i.e. summer versus spring, winter, and fall. The view is microscopic.

In a summer is selected from a class of sames; i.e., a class of 'summers'; this is one out of many summers. There is no distinction to be observed. The view is macroscopic.

In summer is 'summer,' the name of the abstract, a category unto itself as specific as are John or London or the Congress, or the sun. Again, the view is macroscopic.

And so, depending on what position your mind has taken, i.e., what category your mind is working from, you can plant corn *in summer, in a summer,* or *in the summer.*

This accounts for the fact that the once-upon-a-time rule does not necessarily hold: i.e., 'If you introduce a subject with *a* the next sentence uses *the.'*

Consider: 'Once upon a time there was a beautiful maiden who lived in a castle. Now a beautiful maiden in a castle in those days had long golden hair.' Structurally, the last sentence is just as possible as: 'Now the beautiful maiden in the castle in those days had long golden hair.' The sequence of articles *a, the* does not, then, necessarily prevail—however commonly it does. It would seem rather that it is the speaker's selection from possible categories which determines. In this case, we could analyze that *a maiden* was selected out of the class of maidens and then *the* was used to separate it from everyone else one might talk about.

Similarly for the superlative: *the sweetest sugar* is chosen from a category of varying degrees of sweetness.

To summarize: The 44 rules or 38 formulae, it would appear, can be reduced to this:

1. Count nouns in the singular must use *the* or a.
2. Non-count nouns and plural count nouns may use *the* or *Ø.*
3. The choice between *the, a, Ø* depends on the speaker's position (i.e., the category he is working from) and his view:

[7] Cf. "the world" in the account of the demographer above.

a. Category of sames: *a* for count
Ø for non-count
The view is macroscopic.

b. Category of different: *the* for count and non-count.
The view is macroscopic.

c. Category of naming the concept: Ø
The view is macroscopic.

Schematized, No. 3, or the choice between *the, a, Ø* would appear thus:

	Count	Non-count
I Category of naming the concept (macroscopic view)	Ø + plural form (pens, women)	Ø (gold, music, London)
IIA Category of sames (macroscopic view)	a + singular (a pen, a woman)	Ø (gold, music)
B Category of different (microscopic view)	the + singular or pl. (the pen, the pens,) (the woman, the women)	(the gold, the music, the London that I know)

In macro-microscopic terms, we can say that the English speaker is using the macroscopic or general focus when he says 'Corn was planted *in summer'* or *'Pens* are useful' or *'Women* give birth. . .' and maintains that focus even though he selects one of the discrete items to talk about: 'Corn was planted in *a summer'* or *'A pen* is useful' or *'A woman* gives birth. . .' There are no distinctions to examine. A sample is selected to represent the whole. But the focus becomes microscopic or specific when he introduces *the:* 'Corn was planted in *the summer,' 'The pen* is useful' *'The woman* gives birth. . .'

As a practical procedure, then, if we sort out the words like *pen* (singular count), one of the three possibilities is eliminated; a choice must be made between *the* or *a. (A* to indicate that positioning has taken place for the macroscopic view and that a sample has been selected; *the* to indicate the positioning has taken place for operation of the microscopic focus either on a category as a whole as distinct from other categories: *the gold, the pens, the women;* or on an item within a category: *the pen, the woman.* Note that repositioning of the focus is necessary again to the wide angle if *women* is the subject.) And this takes care of approximately three-fourths of the noun occurrences (to extrapolate from occurrences in Dr. Yotsukura's corpus).[8] The rest is a matter of deciding whether we are talking about simply the name of an entity (non-count, plural count, proper nouns) in which case we use no article unless we wish to turn the microscopic focus on,

8 Yotsukura, p. 64. 78 out of the group of 104 nouns she worked with could not stand in subject position in the singular without an article.

9 A special aspect of the problem are those nouns which change meaning depending on whether they are count or non-count: e.g., *paper, a paper.*

and then, as for the singular count nouns, we choose *the.*[9] If for some reason of our communication, we decide to turn a usual non-count word into count, repositioning takes place, and as from the category of *pens* we choose a sample *a pen,* so from the category, for instance, of *wines,* we choose a sample *a wine.*

Some and Any:

To state that some is used in the affirmative statement and *any* in the negative: ('I want some pencils' 'I don't want any pencils') is to state a structural correlation which although convenient and useful for students of the language cannot be held as *the* rule for English.

When we examine matters more closely, we find that native speakers use *any* and *some* in both negative and affirmative statements: 'He didn't want some of the usual advice, he wanted some money'; 'I want anything you will give me, but I don't want any trouble.'

And certainly *anything* is quite affirmative if contrasted with *nothing* thus: 'I want anything. He wants nothing.'

We turn then to the lexical meaning of *some* as distinct from *any.* But dictionary definitions are not much help. The Webster's International, Third Edition, for instance indicates that *some* is 'unspecified' and *any* is 'indeterminate.' Defined in this way, the words seem synonymous; the distinction is hardly palpable.

The knot begins to unravel when we consider that the truth of the statement will allow us to say: 'There are salt mines somewhere in Michigan,' but we cannot say 'There are salt mines anywhere in Michigan.' Similarly: 'Michigan is somewhere in the U. S.' but not 'Michigan is anywhere in the U.S.' In other words, meaningwise, if it is anywhere, it is somewhere but not vice versa: If it is somewhere, it is not necessarily anywhere. Thus, *any* is more inclusive than *some.*

It seems, then, that what we are working with is a category of non-specific. And that within this category there are units whose relations in turn are that of general and specific: general wholes in relation to specific parts. Again, the speaker must make a choice in the position and then in the scope.

To understand this more clearly, we set the non-specific category in a hierarchy which includes the specific category of *all,*[10] *every,* and *each.* Let us think in terms of circles on circles. For the bottom circle: Our position is specific as we view *each* bounded by *all.* The view is macroscopic. If, however, we should wish to examine *each* individually, we would adjust the view to microscopic:

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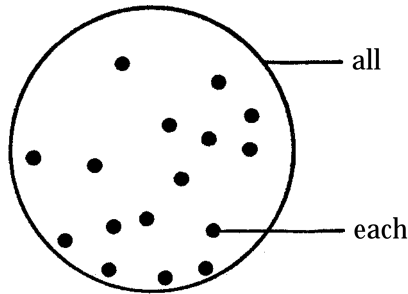
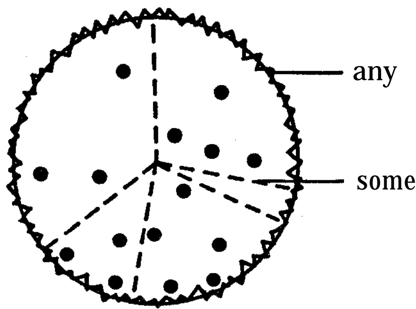
10 The negative of *all* is *none* or *nothing.* But it is a little difficult to work in an audio-visual way with *nothing,* so we are forced to leave it aside for now. It would simply be the absence of what we have here.

I reserve *every* for count entities and, for our purpose here, use *all* which refers to both count and non-count. Note that *every* is never used as a pronoun.



Superimposing another circle, we reposition ourselves to the nonspecific and *all* projects itself as *any.* Again we are using the macroscopic view. Narrowing our focus, we pick out parts of *any* as *some:*



Thus each whole becomes in turn a part.

Whole		Part
All	is to	any; as
any	is to	some; as
some	is to	each.

In this way may be explained how some can serve as part for noncount ('I want bread. I want some bread.') as well as plural for *a* in count-noun situations ('I want a pen. I want some pens.')

Now, let us adjust our view from macroscopic to microscopic as we order the elements thus:

all/every
any
some
each

As we proceed down the scale narrowing the focus, we move in the direction of a more restricted view. Proceeding up the scale and widening the focus, the view is broadened. Consider:

What do you want to do tonight? Answer:

	Specific	Non-specific
	Nothing	
or:		Something
or:		Anything
or:	Everything	

Thus, if 'Somewhere in the world a woman is producing a baby every thirty seconds,' this results in fewer babies than if we said that this occurs 'anywhere' in the world, and certainly fewer than if we said 'everywhere.'

Defined as such, the negative and affirmative constructions of the sentence take care of themselves.

Also, defined in this way, it is easy to understand that specific *some* stands at times for the more inclusive, general whole *any:* 'Is somebody home?' or 'Is anybody home?'; 'I want some bread.' or 'I want any bread.'

And yet, when it is necessary, it is possible to make a distinction: 'Michigan is somewhere but not anywhere in the U. S.'

Through repositioning and appropriate adjustment of the scope, we can in turn regard each of the various parts as wholes. The language device is the word *of:*

I want all of any books you have.
any of any
some of any
each of any

Give me all of some apples left in that basket.
any of some
some of some
each of some

Do you need all of each dollar I earn?
any of each
some of each
each of each

From the practical point of view of teaching everyday usage, lessons should be set up to indicate that in the affirmative sentence, we usually speak-at least in object position—in terms of parts ('I want some pencils') rather than in terms of the whole ('I want any pencils').

A neat teaching trick—and one that works with the 'naturalness' of the language—appears to be one used in Sweden: The test for whether their one form *någen* (n: *någet)* should become English *some* or English *any* is the English word *whatever* (Swedish *vem som helst;* n: *vilket som hekt).* Thus: 'I want any bread whatever.' Otherwise, *någen (någet)* becomes some: 'I want some bread.'

Similarly in French, where the forms *de* and *quelque* may both be one of two in English *(some* or *any).* Testing with *whatever* (French *n'importe* or *que ça soit)* should make the learning of the inclusive nature of English *any* simple enough.

The idea of establishing categories or sets is not new. It is as old as grammar itself, and, even in the lexical field, the concept of class and sets is at least as old as Roget's Thesaurus. And yet what theoretical model do we have for teaching a Thai student that 'farming may not be the spine of the country although it may be its backbone'; or an Italian that 'a man is never a column in his community although he may be a pillar,' or a Japanese that when a woman goes on a diet it is not because she wants to be 'lean and raw-boned'?

Noam Chomsky on p. 77 of *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* refers to the need for 'concrete proposals . . . (which) . . . involve techniques of subclassifying based on distributional similarities.' What I have tried to develop here is the possibility of using the general and specific concept as a criterion for establishing a set or category of which the individual item in a set can be referred to either in its relation to the other items in the set or as an entity unto itself with the possibility of becoming part of, or set in contrast to, another set. From the point of view of the discipline of psychology, the unitization theory of Miller and its hierarchical adjustment by Mandler would seem to provide us a model.

But whatever it is that is involved here, and however ultimately it is found best handled, the element we are dealing with is surely the one that helps us to evaluate how appropriate the husband's arithmetic is as he watches his chubby wife on the bathroom scales happy because she has lost six pounds.

'If I add correctly,' he says, 'that makes 936 pounds you have lost since we have been married.'

In the last analysis, the question seems to be: When is it appropriate to talk about the part?—When about the whole?

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*The Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Language and/or Dialects An Oversimplification**

Rodolfo Jacobson

A great deal of emphasis has been placed recently on the fact that the approaches to second language teaching and second dialect teaching are so similar that the instructor of standard English can indeed teach a speaker of non-standard dialect by merely applying the principle of teaching English as a second language. It is my contention that despite many overlapping characteristics the teaching of a second dialect requires a methodology of its own to accomplish satisfactory results. As a result of the development of materials for a graduate program in English sociolinguistics, which will be implemented at the State University of New York College at Cortland, the following characteristics in second dialect teaching have emerged: (1) *Psychological Aspects:* The motivation for learning the dialect of persons who, because of their higher income, belong to a different socio-economic class involves psychological barriers that have to be overcome; (2) *Sociological Aspects:* The concept SOCIAL DIALECT is still not entirely devoid of a patronizing attitude as a result of which Standard English is felt to be the English *per se,* whereas non-standard varieties of English are merely dialects acceptable only, in certain situations; (3) *Cultural Aspects:* The earlier, usually negative assessment of the speech patterns of the non-educated man have prevented us from analyzing the culture and from tracing the historical development in any way comparable to that of other languages; and (4) *Linguistic Aspects:* It is now generally accepted that a non-standard dialect, say, Black English, is a linguistic system in its own right. On the other hand, its lexicon does not seem to possess the same degree of independent status. As a matter of fact, Black English and Standard English vocabularies, despite some differences in lexical frequency, coincide in the majority of instances; their phonological and syntactic systems, however, do not. It is therefore concluded that for a program in the teaching of standard English to speakers of a non-standard, dialect to be scientifically sound, the instructor must take into consideration the specific problems of the speaker and adapt second language teaching accordingly.

It has been assumed that the teaching of English to speakers of other languages and the teaching of Standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect have very many common traits. In light of this assumpion it has been suggested that identical or at least very similar techniques

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can be used to teach English to both. On the other hand, there are differences between the acquisition of English by a speaker of a language other than English and such acquisition by a speaker of a non-standard dialect. It is therefore the object of this study to examine some of the differences between the acquisition of a second language and that of a second dialect and to suggest, very tentatively, what directions should be taken in the future to determine the extent to which second language methodology can safely be used in the teaching of a second dialect.

Standard English, a Common Goal

Standardization of a language

In his study of language standardization, Punya S. Ray asserts that

> we ordinarily speak of standardization in relation to tools. . . . When this concept is applied to languages, we stress their toollike character: A language is from this point of view only an instrument of communication, not a symbol of revelation, only a means, not an end. And we pursue the analogy to raise questions about cheapness, dependability and uniformity.[1]

Thus, the standard dialect of language X owes its status, not to its linguistic quality, but to the need for an economical, dependable and uniform tool of communication. Hence, the standard dialect, say, Standard American English, merely reflects the arbitrary choice by its speakers depending upon the external history and should therefore be assessed accordingly.

Standard English, reality or abstraction

Standard English may be defined as the kind of English that is spoken by the educated man in this country. We hear it in schools and offices, in law courts and science labs and yet it is difficult for us to pinpoint the exact degree of uniformity that we require of a person's speech to identify it as standard. We do permit a certain number of regional phonological features and even lexical peculiarities but we reject all so-called grammatical violations. On the other hand, we may occasionally accept certain grammatical oddities when they are slips of the tongue or intentional distortions. And yet, we all know when a man speaks Standard English and when he does not. Standard English appears to be an abstract notion depending upon, not the total observance of a given set of features, but rather the high percentage of such observances. And in effect, Labov has shown that the speaker of Middle Class English has at times a number of features in his speech that would qualify for non-standard English but the rareness of the occurrence of such features prevents us from identifying such a man as speaker of a non-standard dialect.[2]

Standard English and the speaker of *other languages*

Whether a reality or merely an abstraction, Standard English is the variety of English which the speaker of other languages expects to learn.

1 Punya Sloka Ray, *Language Standardization* (Mouton & Co., 1963), p. 11.

2 William Labov, *The Study of Non-standard English* (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), p. 24.

The foreign national as well as the member of a non-English-speaking minority have both set for themselves the goal of learning the "most dependable and uniform" variety of English in order to communicate effectively with Americans or English-speaking fellow-citizens, as the case may be. Even if they knew in advance that they would communicate mostly with New Englanders or that they would live in the inner city, their goal would still be Standard English and not the eastern variety of the Northern Dialect or the type of English spoken by the Black population in our urban centers. On the other hand, if these speakers of another language should fail to master Standard English, their speech does not qualify as a non-standard dialect of English but will be considered *broken English,* a form of English that is marked by interferences from another language. As a general rule, the speaker of another language is not consciously aware of the fact that his goal is to speak Standard English. For him, Standard English is just English because the variety of English that he is trying to learn does not carry any social significance.

Standard English and the native speaker

The native speaker of English in America is usually conscious of the socio-economic class to which he belongs. By the same token, he is interested in the class membership of the person with whom he speaks and tries to identify him socially by means of the dialect that such a person uses. The identification of a man's class dialect represents, at the same time, a disguised value judgment of the man himself. More specifically, the speaker of Standard English tends to reject a person belonging to a lower socio-economic class or a different ethnic group under the pretense of rejecting him because of his failure to speak the prestige dialect. As a result, a person's use of non-standard English becomes a question of social status and so does the use of Standard English. The acquisition of Standard English is therefore no longer merely a question of another speech type but becomes a matter of social identify. Thus, motivation to learn surpasses in importance the ability to learn, obviously the reverse situation of what is the case for the non-native speaker.

Psychological Aspects of the Acquisition of English

Motivation

Motivation is crucial in any learning process. Two distinct forces may block a person's motivation to learn Standard English, his indifference or his outspoken hostility, of which the latter is more difficult to overcome than the former. Different reasons have been given to justify why a speaker of a non-standard dialect should learn the prestige dialect, i.e., to improve his economic level, to move up on the social scale, to increase his educational achievements; but none of these is convincing because no promise can actually be made to the effect that, if he learns Standard English, he will get a better position or a higher salary, that he will be accepted without

reluctance to become a member of a higher social class, or that he will encounter no difficulties whatsoever in climbing the ladder of educational achievements. It seems therefore unrealistic to stimulate his interest or to try to overcome his hostility by making promises whose fulfillment lies beyond our control. It is only in our own attitude toward language, toward dialects, toward racial issues that we can motivate our students. A closer human relationship, an understanding of their problems, an awareness of their cultural and linguistic identity seems to be the only means to promote the motivation which is the necessary condition for the acquisition of Standard English.

Motivation is usually of a much lesser magnitude for the speaker of another language. If he wishes at all to communicate with an English speaking person, he is already sufficiently motivated to learn the language. On the other hand, he may not need or wish to communicate with a native speaker of English. A foreign national, for example, whose political views differ significantly from those in the United States, may not wish to learn the language spoken in this country, expressing by means of this refusal his own political view. I have often found this attitude in Latin-American schools. Thus, we have here a comparable negative attitude toward Standard English, not because of the student's class consciousness, but because of certain nationalistic tendencies abroad. Motivation can be promoted also here, if the teacher has the right attitude toward language, recognizes objectively the value of the two languages and the two cultures, and succeeds in making a clear distinction between language and politics. The defense of political views should obviously be divorced from language instruction abroad when an interest in English as a language is to be promoted.

Perception and production

There are reasons to believe that the speaker of a non-standard dialect decodes both the standard dialect, which he hears in schools and offices, and his own non-standard dialect, which he speaks at home and with his friends on the street. To encode a message, however, the non-standard speaker uses only the vernacular. Some scholars suggest that this is an indication of the fact that the encoding process is not necessarily the inverse of the decoding process. On the other hand, we must take into consideration that a Non-standard English-speaking individual is constantly exposed to Standard English and can probably not help but learn how to decode it. The lack of motivation to learn Standard English seems never to be strong enough to prevent a person from trying to understand what is being said. Class consciousness does not enter into play, since successful decoding does not have to be revealed.

The speaker of another language is in a less fortunate position, although it can be assumed that he is more likely to be successful in the decoding than in the encoding process. To be sure, instructors of English as a second language know how difficult it is for their students to perform well in an

oral comprehension exercise carried on at normal, that is, native speed; but the learner is relatively better off when he tries to understand than when he speaks.

Sociological Aspects

Language and dialect

The distinction between languages and dialects is a moot question. The traditional argument on the basis of mutual intelligibility is too semantically oriented and the fact that national boundaries often cut through territories with ethnically related populations complicates this issue even further. The recent attempt of American sociolinguists to correlate language with competence and dialect with performance brings us into the realm of far more promising deliberations. As a matter of fact, Labov's conclusions in this respect

> agree with the general point of view expressed by Chomsky that dialects of a language are apt to differ from each other in low-level rules, and that superficial differences are greater than those differences found (if any) in their deep structures.[3]

Let us therefore assume, at least for the purpose of this discussion, that a given language, say, English, is the overall linguistic system and that a dialect, any dialect of English, is the superficial manifestation of that system conditioned by the geographic, social, functional, or occupational forces that act upon it.

Geographic and social dialects

Geographic dialects are easy to understand. The common man in America travels widely and experiences personally the regional variations as they occur here and elsewhere. The American mobility has helped him appreciate more fully many of the findings in present-day dialect geography. Social dialects are more difficult to understand because they are not as easy to verify. An individual does not usually move up or down the social scale, hence the data of Labov, Shuy, or Stewart are mostly unfamiliar to members of other social strata. A deeper understanding of social dialect differences can easily be achieved if the general attitude regarding *social* dialects changes. Even among the data gathered by *regional* dialect geographers, several features are also socially significant. As a result, the geographic and social aspects of our rural dialects could easily promote an increased interest in the social dialects of urban centers.

Prestige dialect,—language or dialect

It still is quite common to think in terms of a standard language and one or more non-standard dialects. 'Language' seems to stand here for *good, acceptable* and 'dialect' for *bad, sloppy* and *lazy.* It is true, we have substituted for the prefix *sub-* the more neutral *non-,* but the language-

3 William Labov, *The Study of Language in its Social Context,* (unpublished; 1969) , p. 62.

dialect dichotomy, as it is currently used, still perpetuates the old fallacy. If we do not mean it, let us be careful in our choice of words.

Cultural Aspects

Foreign culture

The foreign national who is a speaker of a language other than English is a product of his own native culture. He identifies himself as such and shows by means of his behavioral patterns that he understands and respects his traditions. Identity and self-respect are therefore not at issue. The acquisition of a new language is not a cultural problem because he does not intend to give up his own cultural framework and to substitute the target culture for it. The English instructor, here as well as abroad, does not question the value of the learner's native culture, taking it for granted that the latter will absorb in his classes as much cultural and linguistic information as is possible without relinquishing his native cultural patterns.

Non-English heritage

The member of a non-English-speaking minority, such as the Mexican-American, the Puerto Rican, the American Indian, holds, culturally speaking, a somewhat weaker position in that his self-identity and self-respect depend to a great extent upon the strength of his own tradition and his ability not to jeopardize his group membership by his desire to learn English. In other words, his cultural security is dependent upon finding a compromise formula by which he sees himself as a member of a pluralistic society who, at the same time, is loyal to his native language and culture, is a citizen of this country, and speaks the language of the majority.

The member of the black community holds the weakest position for a number of reasons. His culture has not yet been defined very clearly. Although his African heritage is known, systematic studies tracing the cultural and linguistic developments of the American Negro are still very few. More research in this field is needed to describe the historical sources of Black English.

Identity and self-respect in light of cultural background

A man's identity and his self-respect seem to emerge as significant factors to promote his motivation to learn English as a second language or Standard English as a second dialect. The strength of the belief in one's own culture and the respect for his own speech remove the emotional barriers that prevent him from wishing to learn Standard English. Once these barriers are removed, the prestige dialect ceases to be White Man's talk and becomes the general tool of communication for which alone a standard dialect is intended. Hence, the greater respect for Black English, one of the most outstanding traits of modern sociolinguistics, could eventually lead to a broader acceptance of Standard English. The just appraisal of the *home talk* will increase the learner's interest in the *school talk,* a fact that might lead to the production of a large number of bidialectal speakers,

who, without reluctance or apprehension, would be able to shift from one dialect to the other just as a bilingual speaker shifts from one language to the other without often remembering when and why he shifted and which language he had spoken when he conveyed a certain message.

Linguistic Aspects

The source language or dialect as a linguistic system

It is a well known fact that modern second-language-teaching methodology owes a great deal to the recent studies in contrastive linguistics. Thus, second-language-teaching materials are based on the assumption that the source language, that is the learner's native language, is a self-contained linguistic system and the target language is an equally independent system. Our goal as teachers of English as a second language is, accordingly, to enable our students to transfer from their native speech to Standard English with a minimum of phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical interferences. Whether we accomplish this by using a structural or a transformational approach may be significant in a number of ways[4] but does not alter the issue regarding the systemic difference between the two languages: two different languages are two distinct linguistic systems. When we deal with two dialects of the same language, the situation is no longer obvious. Taken in isolation, a non-standard dialect, say, Black English, is of course a system in its own right, just as Spanish or French or an American Indian language. Compared to another English dialect such as Standard English, Black English appears to be closely related to it, in such a way that the difference between the two dialects seems only to involve the restructuring and possibly reordering of a relatively small number of rules which affect very little the deep structure of English. Labov argues to this effect that, when we look at English dialects from the viewpoint of similarity rather than differentiation

> the differences do not appear very great. They are largely confined to superficial, rather low-level processes which have little effect on meaning.[5]

Since the main body of dialect differences seems not to affect the semantic or "deep structure" level, he finds it

> increasingly plausible to write pan-dialectal grammars in which the differences between the various dialects will appear as stages in the evolution of the language as a whole—to some extent in a linear series, but also as a set of parallel and competing lines of development.[6]

All this seems to lead to the realization that Standard English and the non-standard dialects of English are not isolated systems but rather subsystems of the same language.

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4 William C. Ritchie, "Some Implications of Generative Grammar for the Construction of Courses in English as a Second Language," *Language Learning,* (1967).

5 William Labov, *The Study of Non-standard . . .,* p. 39.

6 *Ibid.,* p. 40.

Deep and surface structure differences

Several sociolinguistic studies based upon the dialect data gathered in Detroit, New York City, and Washington support this view that most of the distinctive features of Black English represent only surface structure differences. On the other hand, constructions such as *he always be foolin' around,*[7] *he with us, this is John mother, axe Albert do he know how to play baseball*[8] seem to go much deeper. Standard English *he is with us* contrasts with Black English *he with us* to the effect that the BE-copula occurs in the former but not in the latter. The absence of the copula in Black English has been compared to the absence of the copula in languages like Russian. Therefore, if we consider, in a contrastive study of English and Russian, that the presence or absence of the copula constitutes—as I think we do—a deep structure difference, then we should do the same when we contrast Standard and Black English. The *degree* of depth, of course, may vary in a non-standard dialect, and we may hold that the pair axe *Albert do he know how to play baseball* vs. *ask Albert if he knows how to play baseball* illustrates a deeper contrast than the pair *this is John mother* vs. *this is John's mother.* It is therefore quite possible that future research in sociolinguistics will show that two subsystems, in addition to differing in surface structure, also possess a number of deeper oppositions at various crucial points of the entire grammatical system.

Deep structure differences between English and, say, Spanish or French are of course quite obvious. The difference between two language systems goes all the way down from deep structure to the physical manifestation of the speaker's performance. Hence the mastery of a second language can only be achieved when the learner has acquired the 'deep' knowledge of the target language together with the ability to project this knowledge to to surface.[9]

Competence and performance

Despite some deep structure differences between Standard English and Black English, it is however reasonable to assume that the two subsystems differ predominantly in their surface structures. In the discovery of surface differences, the social dialectologist has evidently gone in full circle and returned, regardless of his generative model, to the premise of structuralism that the grammar of a language can be discovered from a corpus. The revival of discovery procedures and the restriction of intuition may come as a shock to the theoretical generativist, but the competent manipulation of data; not only by the generative dialectologist but also by the generative historical linguist, seems to suggest that the compromise between a careful analysis of physical data and a rule-oriented interpretation of these data can be very successful

7 *Ibid.,* p.9.
8 *Ibid.,* pp. 40, 46.
9 William C. Ritchie, *op. cit.*

Performance as a starting point suggests itself as an appropriate procedure also in teaching, as long as the instructor goes beyond mere imitation and seeks to develop linguistic competence in his students.

Summary

Similarities in second language and second dialect acquisition

I have attempted to show some of the similarities and differences between the teaching of English to speakers of other languages and the teaching of Standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect. The confrontation of the two approaches may have been disappointing for some but may have proved to be instructive for most. ESOL and SESOD are identical only in few aspects. Both are, of course, concerned with the acquisition of speech patterns; both share the same specific goal, Standard English; and both involve, during its production, difficulties for the learner. This rather small list of similarities stands in contrast to a long list of differences, a fact that may suggest that a unified approach represents an oversimplification of our problem.

Differences between the two types of speech acquisition

The acquisition of Standard English by speakers of other languages and by speakers of a non-standard dialect seems to differ at least in seven ways, i.e., in *motivation,* in *the perception of Standard English,* in *the social significance of Standard English,* in *the cultural heritage and its inflence on man's identity and self-respect,* in *the source language/dialect as system,* in *deep structures,* and in *matters of performance.* The limitation of space prevents me from restating these differences in detail. Such restatement may however be found in Appendix A at the end of this article.

It seems logical at this point to suggest that, in view of the fact that ESOL and SESOD differ in more ways than they agree, their methodologies should, by the same token, not be the same. The use of TESOL methods alone can therefore not be expected as panacea to teach Standard English to, say, speakers of Black English. A modified TESOL approach should therefore be conceived with a stronger focus on differences rather than similarities.

Toward a modified TESOL approach

The need for an independent SESOD methodology has prompted the State University of New York College at Cortland to design a graduate program in English sociolinguistics for prospective and experienced English teachers as well as for various types of liberal arts graduates. The College offers training in both areas, *English to Speakers of Other Languages* and *Standard English to Speakers of a Non-standard Dialect,* but with special attention to the latter. The two specializations are taught in the same program because of some similarity between ESOL and SESOD but without implying that the same approach can serve in either case. Quite to the

contrary, the students shall be alerted to the existing differences such that they may, as teachers of English as a second language employ certain techniques and as teachers of Standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect, certain others.

The Cortland Project differs from related programs in a number of ways:

(1) The curriculum is cross-disciplinary in nature and exposes the student to a variety of fields in order to broaden his background in psychological, sociological, cultural, and linguistic matters;

(2) The program allows for nearly no electives. It is a very compact package within which the student can only take the courses that have been designed especially for this particular program;

(3) The "foreign language" requirement for this program can only be satisfied if the Master's candidate has an average knowledge of the native language or dialect of his prospective students, hence Spanish, an American Indian language, Black English, or a non-standard dialect from a rural community would all qualify;

(4) Field experience shall be provided, in particular for those whose interest lies in SESOD. They will observe classes in inner city schools, practice-teach there, and may tutor persons enrolled in various regional programs for the disadvantaged;

(5) Research will be greatly encouraged. The students are expected to carry out, under the guidance of our staff, at least one major research project and submit the results of the investigation, in form of a term paper for the "Directed Study" Course as partial requirement for the Master's degree. The data for this paper can be gathered on field trips or in libraries according to the inclination of each particular student.

To give the reader a more concise picture of the Cortland training program, I am directing your attention to Appendix B showing the correlation between the various cross-disciplinary aspects on one hand and the titles and descriptions of the courses on the other.

Conclusion

It seems to follow that the teaching of Standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect should be based on a cross-disciplinary approach that helps the learner overcome the barriers resulting from sources other than linguistic ones. The right assessment of the role of a standard dialect, the appropriate attitude toward geographic and social variations, the belief in the value of one's own culture and vernacular, all these factors are crucial to promote and/or increase the wish to learn Standard English as the desirable uniform tool of communication in the United States. All other implications are to be excluded. With only linguistic aspects to consider, the instructor's role seems to be more akin to that of a person who teaches English to native speakers. A number of TESOL oriented drills should of course be incorporated in the approach in order to build into the learner's mind the set of restructured and reordered rules and to achieve the desired automaticity in the response. Hence, a limited use of second-language-teaching methodology appears appropriate to cope with the specific problems of a non-standard

English-speaking learner. However, the major emphasis should be placed on the fact that the speaker of non-standard English is, after all, a native speaker of the language, who, rather than seeking competence in a language unknown to him, wishes to acquire new ways of performing in the same language.

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APPENDIX A

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO TYPES OF SPEECH ACQUISITION: *ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES* AND *STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT*

A. Difference in motivation

The speaker of another language usually wishes to function adequately in a Standard English-speaking environment, whereas the speaker of another dialect may and often does not see the reason why he should adjust linguistically to the environment of a different social class.

B. Difference in the perception of Standard English

The speaker of another language does not comprehend Standard English, nor any other variety of English for that matter, whereas the speaker of a non-standard dialect seems to have usually no comprehension problems.

C. Difference in the social significance of Standard English

The speaker of another language does not correlate the target language or dialect with the social class of its speakers, whereas the speaker of a non-standard dialect sees in Standard English a set of speech patterns that, like a shibboleth, mark the speaker as a member of an alien social group.

D. Difference in the cultural heritage and in its influence on man's identity and self-respect

The speaker of another language is the product of a different culture and his identification with his culture gives him self-respect, whereas the speaker of a non-standard dialect is often unable, for reasons beyond his control, to understand clearly his cultural heritage, a fact that may affect his identity and make him underestimate the adequacy of his vernacular.

E. Difference in the source as system

The native speech of the speaker of another language is a linguistic system that is, regardless of any genetic relationship, totally independent from English, whereas that of the speaker of a non-standard dialect is not an isolated system but rather a subsystem of the English language.

F. Difference in the deep structures

The speaker of another language must build into his mind the deep structure of English in order to acquire mastery of the target language, whereas the speaker of a non-standard dialect already possesses the main body of English deep structure and is only expected to make some adjustments to it in order to become conversant in Standard English.

G. Difference in matters of performance

The performance in Standard English by the speaker of another language will result from the learner's acquisition of deep and surface structure rules as well as of an appropriate lexicon, whereas the performance in Standard English by a speaker of a non-standard dialect requires only the adjustment of a few deep structure and of a larger number of surface structure roles whose internalization permits him, not to speak a new language, but to shift to a different dialect.

APPENDIX B

Cortland Project in English Sociolinguistics-Correlation between basic aspects and curriculum

Aspects	Curriculum	Description
Psychological	Teaching English to Speakere of Other Languages (in part) Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects (in part)	Motivation, perception, production
Sociological	Language Variations in American English with Emphasis on Social Dialects Field Methods in Sociolinguistics	Language variations in general—speciflc data from dialect geography—social dialectology and its methods
Cultural	Ethnology of the Negro in the New World Races and Minorities	History of the Black culture from its African beginnings to the present day—Minority problems in America
Linguistic	Grammatical Analysis of American English Seminar in the English Language	Theoretical background in English linguistics with attention to major grammatical theories
	Grammar of English and Spanish	Contrastive study of English and Spanish for those interested mainly in the Spanish speaker
	Directed Study	Research in TESOL and SESOD
Methodological	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (in part)	TESOL methodology and the extent to which it is applicable to SESOD
	Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects (in part)	Techniques only applicable to SESOD
	Language Testing for TESOL and SESOD Teachers	TESOL testing techniques and their Applicability to SESOD

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*Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study**

James K. Bachmann

To examine differences in nonstandard grammatical usage among and between Negro and white working-class informants a sample of 24 individuals was selected. It was thought that the speech of kindergarten children would show greater differences than that of adults. Accordingly, Negro and white children and their parents were interviewed in Alexandria, Virginia, a southern dialect area. Four tasks involving free conversation, description of pictures, repetition and direct eliciting were presented to each informant. The expectation that the amount of nonstandard usage would vary according to the type of task administered was confirmed, especially among the adults. Four of the five statistically significant differences involved the Negro children. The two significant differences between Negro children and white children (use of zero copula and the uninflected present tense verb with third person singular subject) were no longer significant between the adult groups, suggesting that the differences become less pronounced with age. No significant differences were found between the adult informant groups. Negro children had significantly greater usage of the form *hisself* and of zero copula than did their parents, and the white children had greater usage of the form *was* with plural subject. The size of the sample was limited by the number of available white and Negro children with comparable family backgrounds. It was possible, however, to construct a model for in-depth analysis using different eliciting techniques which might be helpful for future studies.

From research in the fields of sociolinguistics and dialect geography there have emerged three hypotheses with respect to the speech of Negroes compared to that of whites. First, the evidence from the Linguistic Atlas project, as reported by Atwood, is that there is little difference in the linguistic usage of Negroes and whites of similar socioeconomic status. Secondly, it is hypothesized that Negroes have a separate dialect with its own phonological, grammatical, and lexical features. Third, there is the position that some language features, while not exclusive to Negroes, are used more often by them than by whites. It is this third position, with respect to grammar, that the data from my own investigation tend to support.

It becomes evident from reviewing the literature, that the methods used to collect and analyze data will strongly influence the conclusions drawn from any study of the social distribution of language features. In the Lin-

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1970.

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guistic Atlas project, for example, direct eliciting was the primary method of obtaining data. If an investigator wanted to elicit the past tense form of the verb *freeze,* he could ask what happened the last time the informant put water in the coldest part of the refrigerator. Here the informant's attention is drawn directly to certain language features which are being investigated. More recent investigations have attempted to draw the attention of the informants away from the speech forms themselves and onto the message being communicated by using free conversations, and by having the informants respond to pictorial stimuli. Another recent technique, that of asking informants to repeat standard English utterances, has elicited a surprising amount of nonstandard speech, perhaps because of the short time between stimulus and response or because there is a kind of immediate translation which takes place. An investigator asking an informant to repeat *Ask him if he can go* may get as a response *Ask him can he go.*

My own investigation utilized all these techniques in a study of nonstandard grammar among working-class families of Alexandria, Virginia, near Washington, D. C. The study compares the speech of both Negro and white children, and their parents, in a Southern dialect area, whereas previous studies had centered on children or adults alone, or on informants living outside the South. From these studies there developed the term Nonstandard Negro English, perhaps without adequate investigation of the great similarity which might exist between Nonstandard Southern Negro and Nonstandard Southern White varieties of English.

The term nonstandard is an imprecise one, yet we might say negatively that it is a variety not ordinarily used by educated people of a given speech community in formal situations. There is no doubt that it is systematic, rather than consisting of careless deviations from a more pure variety.

The sample type as well as the eliciting techniques appear to affect linguistic data. In the Alexandria study it was thought the nonstandard English was most likely to be found among families whose parental occupations were of the blue-collar type, whose formal education was that of high school graduate or less and whose place of residence could be described as modest. It was also thought that nonstandard grammar would be more evident among kindergarten children, who had not yet been exposed to formal grammar instruction, than among adults.

The Director of Elementary Education of the City of Alexandria and the Kindergarten Supervisor granted permission for the investigator to visit kindergarten classrooms in order to gather data for the study. A sample of twelve kindergarten children plus twelve parents was selected for interviews. The kindergarten children attended the two public elementary schools which in the judgment of the school officials best represented blue-collar worker families in Alexandria. This judgment sample may have led to different results than a random sampling of all kindergarten children from working-class families.

There were four subgroups in the sample with six persons in each group.

The subgroups were Negro children, white children, Negro adults, and white adults. The number in each group was limited by the number of white children in the kindergarten classes which were predominantly Negro, since there were to be equal numbers of individuals in each subgroup. The small number of informants permitted the investigator to do in-depth interviewing with a variety of techniques.

The fieldwork design had the investigator arrange all the children's interviews himself after he had observed them for three days in their classroom setting and had participated in their daily activities. When rapport had been established with a child, he was asked if he would like to come with the investigator to tell some stories. The answer was always affirmative. Then the investigator would escort the child to a small separate room in the school where a tape recorder was set up. The investigator told the child that he had a surprise, that the child could hear his own voice if he spoke near the microphone.

The investigator started the recorder and asked three questions, one about the name of the informant, another about his age, and a third about the number of his brothers and sisters. A replay of the tape invariably pleased the child. Then the investigator indicated that he could hear more of his voice as he answered more questions. This procedure usually sufficed to induce the child to express himself orally, especially since the investigator had become a familiar figure around the school.

The adult interviews were arranged by telephone. It was explained to the parents that the schools were permitting the investigator to collect speech samples from the children, and that samples from the parents were desired also, for comparison. A note explaining the project had been sent from the kindergarten teacher previous to the phone call. It is perhaps significant that there were no interview refusals on the part of either the parents or the children.

The questionnaire is another part of an investigation that can influence the results. The questionnaire for the Alexandria study contained items selected from previous urban language studies, such as those conducted by Labov, Shuy, and Baratz. The children's questionnaire had four parts. The first part consisted of questions asking for narrative. They were concerned with favorite television programs, children's animal stories, what policemen and firemen do, play activities, and other members of the family. These questions succeeded in bringing out the use of third person singular present tense verb forms such as *She works* or *She cook;* use or not of the verb *be* in expressions like *He a truck driver* or *He's my father;* the past tense of the verb *be* for plural subjects as in *They were in the other room* or *They was at school;* the use or not of inflected *be* with verbs ending in *-ing* as *in They're playing* or *They singing;* and, to a lesser extent, multiple negatives and the use of *don't* or *doesn't* for third person singular present negation *(He don't have no toys* and *That doesn't sound like me).*

Part II of the children's questionnaire consisted of ten pictures which portray animals in various everyday activities such as eating, playing, visiting, and sleeping. This type of stimulus was effective for checking the use of inflected be with verbs ending in *ing.* It also evoked the use of *those* or *them* in expressions like *those bears* or *them chickens.*

Part III was a series of fifteen statements which the child was asked to repeat. These statements were adapted from Garvy and McFarlane's study in the Baltimore City Public Schools, but the vocabulary was altered to be more suitable for the younger children in the Alexandria project. In general, nonstandard forms elicited in the repetition appeared to about the same extent in the other parts of the interview.

Part IV involved direct eliciting. The informant was asked to complete the sentence, for example, "If someone does something all alone without any help, he does it by. . . ."

The adult questionnaire contained the same general categories as that of the children. Amount of nonstandard usage varied, however, from one category to another. In general, the order of likelihood of the occurrence of nonstandard forms was free conversation, descriptive speech, repetition, and direct eliciting. The repetition questions often produced an exact repetition, but variant forms were used in other parts of the interview.

After the interview was over, too, changes occurred in the speech of the adults, but not in that of the children. One informant, asked to give the opposite of *That dog wants some food* during the interview, said, "The dog doesn't want any food," but when the interview was over and part of it was being replayed to her, she said, "That don't sound like me."

Other examples of changes after the interviews were these:

During: "I think he can tie his shoes by himself."
After: "He was doin' that by hisself."

During: "I want some of those pencils."
After: "Get them dogs outs here!"

During: "My friends were at the party."
After: "They was at school."

The children who were interviewed, on the other hand, did not appear to be nervous or on guard when talking in front of the tape recorder. Their speech during the interview did not vary greatly from what the investigator had heard in the kindergarten classroom; conversations before and after reflected the same type of grammatical usage. Grammar features recorded from different parts of the interview were almost always the same. It would be interesting to determine at what age different styles begin to appear in children's speech.

Having commented on the methods of the investigation, let us turn now to the results, which are summarized in the table below. The test hypotheses were (1) that Negroes would show a higher proportion of

nonstandard usage than would whites, and (2) that children would show a higher proportion of nonstandard usage than would their parents.

A statistical difference significant at the .01 or .05 level confirms the hypothesis. It is important to use confidence levels in sociolinguistic analysis because, otherwise, seemingly high percentage differences may have come about because of chance or because of sample error. A seemingly high difference in percentage of nonstandard usage of 15 or 20 percent may turn out upon statistical analysis to be not significant. Such was the case in comparing Negro and white adults in the Alexandria study. There were no significant differences between the Negro and white adult groups, although the higher percentage of nonstandard usage recorded in the Negro group appeared to be significant. Similarly, a situation reported by Roger Shuy in Detroit where there was a 17 percent difference in group usage among blacks and whites turned out to be not significant when I applied the same statistical test I applied to my own data. The test was suggested to me by Dr. Edith Huddleston of the National Institutes of Mental Health.

TABLE 1

TYPES OF PROBLEMS	*W vs. N ADULT*	*W vs. N CHILD*	*W CHILD vs. ADULT*	*N CHILD vs. ADULT*
(1) *He my* friend		.01		.05
(2) He *run*		.05		
(3) Double Neg.				
(4) They *was* here.				
(5) He *don't* know			.05	
(6) He hurt *hisself*.				.01
(7) See *them* dogs.				
(8) They hurt thei(r) self				

As shown in Table 1, the two most highly significant differences (.01), and two of the three less significant differences (.05), involved Negro children. The two significant differences involving problems (1) and (2) when comparing white and Negro children were not significant in comparing the white adults with the Negro adults. These data suggest that differences between the races decrease with age.

In column four, two significant differences were found when comparing the Negro children with their parents. One significant difference appeared when comparing white children with their parents. Larger samples might have revealed more significant differences.

It is interesting to note that the two features that varied according to race among the children, problems (1) and (2), reflect parallel grammatical usage in the West African Languages studied by Turner.[1] The

[1] Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

question of possible influences of an African substratum on the English spoken by Negroes is still wide open.

Finally, I should like to make some recommendations for future studies based on my own experience. They have to do with the selection of informants, the questionnaire, and outside consultants. The informants should represent well the population being studied. A random sampling would be ideal. A good method of finding informants is through the school system, though this limits the population to those who have school age children. There is less likelihood of interview refusals with the help of school officials.

The informants need to be put at ease when being interviewed. The more friendly the interviewer and interviewee are toward each other, the more likelihood there is of obtaining spontaneous speech. In addition, it was found helpful to play back portions of the interviews to encourage the interviewees to speak.

Secondly, with respect to the questionnaire, since different stimuli gave different results, it would be advisable, especially when dealing with adults to include more than one kind of eliciting technique. It may be possible to include comments made after the interviews as a separate technique.

Third, outside specialists can be of great help in an urban language study. Consulting with a child psychologist, a sociologist, and a statistician will undoubtedly clear up many of the problems that may be encountered. The statistician, especially, can give advice on sample size and selection, and point out the information that would be necessary to establish levels of statistical significance. Thus social language study is truly an interdisciplinary affair.

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Toward Standard English Through Writing An Experiment in Prince Edward County, Virginia*

Sarita G. Schotta

The overall objective of this project is to make available to the teachers at Prince Edward County High School relevant English-as-a-second-dialect (ESD) theory, methods and materials. Particuar goals include the determination of (1) linguistic items which deviate from SE, (2) optimal ranking and sequencing of these items, and (3) procedures which are optimal given the cultural and linguistic context of Prince Edward County. Since written variants are more easily controlled by amateur ESD teachers, it was decided that the corpus of non-SE forms would be obtained by a random selection of written samples (in-class themes, etc.). The occurrences of all linguistic items which are suspected of deviating from non-SE are recorded and ranked as to frequency. (For instance, unique expressions are classed as idiosyncratic and are not passed on for consideration by the faculty.) Characteristic non-SE forms such as (1) omission of past tense markers (occurring particularly whenever the sentence contains adverbs which indicate past tenseness) and (2) omission of the possessive markers can then be reinforced by the entire English staff as well as other members of the faculty. It is expected that by the end of this academic year favorable results will continue since (1) teachers and students are working toward specific linguistic goals which are realistic and appropriate in terms of their educational objectives, (2) the acquisition of SE through writing involves less emotional stress than when approached through speech and requires less skill on the part of the instructors, and (3) the program maximizes both the teachers' and students' time since the materials are so carefully tailored to region, age, ability, and interest.

I Introduction

The purposes of this paper are the following: (1) to propose a new approach to establishing English-as-a-second-dialect (ESD) programs in schools which are isolated from professional ESL personnel, (2) to report on the procedures applied at Prince Edward County High School in Virginia, and (3) to discuss linguistic features which typify the speech of the Negro students at Prince Edward County High School.

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Section 11 describes problems which seem inherent in setting up an END program to be administered by regular classroom teachers. Next, there is a brief description of the use of *in-plant training* as an alternative to the education of teachers in ESD techniques in special university programs. Finally, the application of in-plant training in the preparation of ESD materials for use in Prince Edward County High School is discussed.

Section III outlines events that have been critical in shaping the socio-linguistic setting of Negro speech in Prince Edward County and in perpetuating social and linguistic separatism among Whites and Negroes.

Section IV contains a description of the corpus and an explanation of why the corpus was drawn from *written* rather than *spoken* samples. Also discussed is the grouping of writing samples into formal and informal sets. Closing the section are comments regarding correlations between linguistic characteristics of the sample and the grade, age, and sex of the students.

Sections V, VI, VII, and VIII outline the main linguistic features of the corpus. Section V deals with the phonological representation of the students' speech, for although only written language samples were studied, these data were gleaned from certain spellings which were assumed to be phonemic. Sections VI and VII concern the grammar of the verb and noun phrases found in the sample. Further grammatical characteristics of the corpus, such as double negatives and double superlatives, are briefly outlined and illustrated in Section VIII. A discussion of sentences that deviate drastically from Standard English (hereafter SE) concludes the section.

The final portion of the paper, Section IX, suggests areas of related research.

II Problems Associated with Introducing ESD Techniques in Prince Edward County

The central problem in introducing ESD training at Prince Edward County High School is not unique with that institution, since skilled linguists and ESD experts are in short supply in most of the United States. And, although hundreds of school administrators and classroom teachers are *aware* of the existence of ESD techniques and literature, many teachers lack the confidence and skill necessary to cope with the bidialectalism and the accompanying socio-linguistic problems of Negro children. Moreover, teachers often have too many personal and political commitments to make objective appraisals of the school's needs and to formulate viable programs.

These difficulties, which arise primarily due to the scarcity of trained personnel, are compounded by the lack of economic and educational resources. For instance, it is not economically feasible to train *each* teacher who needs to have some competence with ESD techniques in the traditional classroom. In Virginia, for example, neither the teachers' colleges nor the junior colleges offer such courses of study. For teachers who hold

regular classroom assignments, ESD is, for all practical purposes, unavailable. The economic constraints of traveling to a university center virtually guarantee that few teachers can afford to acquire the requisite linguistic and language teaching skills necessary for the planning, implementation and execution of a successful ESD program.

The Use of In-Plant Training in the Dissemination of ESD Techniques

Rather than ignore the need for ESD, or wait for what we consider the optimal situation to develop (that is, local centers of continuing education for adults where teachers can acquire new skills, in this case ESD training) the following alternative is proposed. This alternative concerns a type of adult education known as *in-plant training* in industrial and business circles. Rather than attempting to develop skills in *existing* personnel within an organization, an outsider (a consultant) is retained. This consultant assesses the objectives, resources and goals of the organization and provides the training necessary for the resident staff to operate a program (in this case, an ESD program).

Preparation of ESD Materials for Use in Prince Edward County

The procedure followed, in preparing a preliminary program for Prince Edward County High School is outlined here merely in order to illustrate a set of tactics that were operable in the social and linguistic context of Southside Virginia. During the fall of 1969, the consultants held a planning meeting at the high school with the language arts staff, the librarians and the principal.

The instructors discussed the problems they encountered in teaching SE to their classes, which are practically all Negro. The instructors (most of whom are Negro) were firm in their resolve that papers should be written only in SE. In spite of their most arduous efforts, however, they succeeded in correcting less than half of the Negro English (hereafter NE) they read in the daily assignments. The instructors realized that they treated the NE forms in an unsystematic manner according to their own particular tastes and current priorities.[1] In short, the language arts teachers realized that their difficulties were primarily rooted in their well-intentioned but haphazard evaluation procedures. By the end of the session, we had determined the low prestige features of NE that were of major concern to the teachers. Estimates were then made concerning the frequency of these items in the students' speech and writing relative to the frequency of the corresponding SE forms.

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1 For a discussion of the application of operations research techniques to the problems of sequencing language materials, see Sarita G. Schotta, "Optimal Sequencing of Second Language Instruction: An Operations Research Approach." read at the Program of the 32nd National Meeting of the Operations Research Society of America, Chicago (November, 1967) and a later version of that paper which dealt more specifically with sequencing and ESL, "A New Approach to Sequencing in Second Language Instruction," TESOL Convention, Chicago (March, 1969).

The main objective of the Prince Edward County program was to enable the students to differentiate between SE and NE dialectual forms and to help them control the distribution of both dialects. The instructors, well aware of the students' capabilities with NE in both vocal and written responses, said that only a few students consistently used SE in their written work. The students using SE in written responses showed, however, an inconsistent use of SE in vocal responses. Given the teachers' concern regarding the students' use of NE in their written work, and the lack of opportunity for the students to speak SE due to the ethnic and sociolinguistic composition of the community, the instructors were eager to apply ESD techniques to written language before attempting to alter the students' speech behavior. In order to assess the control that students could exercise over written SE, it was necessary to obtain a written corpus that would reflect, as accurately as possible, both informal (personal) and formal (impersonal) written styles.

A second set of objectives dealt with making the instructors as well as the students more aware of the subtleties of NE. A third set of objectives concerned the determination of the social and geographical parameters of the NE dialect. Fourth, the language arts teachers were to be exposed to some of the principles of linguistic analysis so that they could independently derive greater use from commercial materials. The consultants believed that an acquaintance with linguistic principles would enable them to tailor their programs to the needs of specific classes and students.

In order to coordinate the gathering of the data, one of the English teachers agreed to serve as the liaison between the school staff and the consultants' office. This individual collected over 500 samples of writing from randomly selected classes. These papers were searched for forms which typified NE and which distinguished NE from SE. These items were given a hierarchal arrangement and the corresponding SE structures were investigated. The immediate goals at this point were (1) to increase the students' awareness of the SE forms using a specified sequencing of the data and (2) to help them determine the sociolinguistic distribution of these items.

III Some Causes of Dialectal Separatism in Prince Edward County

The purpose of delving into the past of Prince Edward County High School is to lay the groundwork necessary for understanding the linguistic separatism of this rural Southern community. For, unless we look at the past events and their social manifestations, it would be difficult to explain why the residents of such communities have perpetuated the use of Negro and White dialects. Although the majority of the population of Prince Edward County can be considered long-time residents, the term *melting pot* is hardly applicable. Disregarding the obvious socio-economic problems which separate most White and Negro communities in the South,

the most recent (and certainly the most publicized) polarization in Prince Edward County has resulted from matters relating to education.

On May 17, 1954, after the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation, a group of Whites known as the Defenders attempted to establish the Prince Edward Educational Corporation. The goal of the Corporation was the collection of money for private education. It was not until 1959, however, that the serious decision to close the public schools in Prince Edward County was made.

That action provided the only instance in American history in which a locality, faced with the choice of either complying with a federal court order or terminating public education, chose to close its schools.[2] Although the public schools were reopened in 1964, the Academy (a private school for White children) continued to operate. Consequently the public schools, such as Prince Edward County High School, currently enroll only a small percentage of the White students. The consultants believe that the existence of what are essentially segregated schools has reinforced and even sharpened the dialectal contrasts between the White and Negro dialects in Prince Edward County.

IV A Description of the Corpus

The portion of the corpus used in this paper consists of 500 writing samples of seventh and ninth grade students at Prince Edward County High School. Since some of the samples consist of more than one page, the total page count was 596. These particular data were gathered over a week's time during the winter of 1969, but these data are consistent with data collected at other points in the school year.

The Use of a Written Corpus

A written corpus was used in preference to a spoken corpus for the following reasons: (1) given the sociolinguistic environment of the county, the students would have found it difficult to relate spoken SE in their own home, church and social life, (2) a written corpus is easier to gather and collate for the lay-linguist than phonological data, (3) a written corpus is less personal so far as the informant is concerned, and (4) a written corpus can be more easily compared and examined than can tapes, which have to be transcribed for convenient use.

The Solicitation of Formal and Informal Samples

The corpus is composed of formal and informal papers. The informal papers represent casually written, in-class themes which were to be turned in but not evaluated. The formal papers, on the other hand, were written after the teacher told the students that, although the themes would not be graded, an out-of-town judge would read the papers and would select

[2] A complete and very readable account of this period in the history of Prince Edward County is found in Bob Smith, *They Closed Their Schools* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1965).

the best ones for prizes. For both the informal and the formal papers, the topic and the length of the paper were left to the discretion of the student.

It is interesting that the students were quite uniform in selecting topics concerning workaday matters for the informal papers. Impersonal themes, on the other hand, some of which were quite philosophical, were used for the formal papers. Below are the informal and formal titles used by five students.

Informal Topic	Formal Topic
"My Sister"	"Disadvantages of the War in Vietnam"
"My School"	"Two of the Biggest Problems That Are Facing the World Today"
"Basketball Game"	"Vietnam Policy"
"Drag Racing"	"The North Pole"
"Basketball"	"Negroes Comes to America"

The fact that most of the students responded to informal and formal designations with different types of topics was encouraging because it indicated that the students were sensitive to stylistic levels. This awareness was further illustrated by the control of SE which the students showed in the formal papers. Compared with the informal compositions, the formal papers, for the most part, contained only traces of NE. This capability with SE was quite interesting, considering that teachers had expressed doubt that many of the students knew any SE.

Correlation of Linguistic Characteristics with Race, Grade, and Sex

In order to assist the consultants, the teachers coded each paper as to the race, grade, and sex of the writer. It turned out that there were so few White childrens' papers in the sample that it can only tentatively be suggested that there is evidence of a White non-standard (hereafter Non-SD) English as well as a Negro Non-SD. In other words, even though the White pupils' papers were not considered representative of SE, the Non-SD forms did not necessarily overlap those found in the Negro students' papers.

The distinction of grade does not necessarily indicate the chronological age of the pupils. In fact, only two grades are represented despite the fact that the students range in age from eleven to nineteen. The age of the students seems much more closely correlated with the choice of topics rather than with any linguistic phenomena.

As we might suspect, the girls' papers (particularly the judged papers) exhibited more characteristics of the standard than did the boys' papers. And, in general, the girls' papers were neater, and the handwriting clearer.

V Phonological Characteristics Inferred by Written Samples [3]

It is assumed here that the students' writing is somewhat phonemic; that is, that it reflects pronunciation. It is certainly *not* the purpose of this paper to investigate whether or not certain changes are purely phonologically based, or whether they are grammatically controlled.[4] Occasionally, however, it will be necessary to comment on this question.

Neutrulization of /t/ and /d/ in Final Position

Several of the handbooks on English phonology note that /d/ has voiceless allophones (i.e., [dt] /[d̥]) in final position. However, for many of these children the contrast between /d/ and /t/ in final position seems to be completely neutralized. For instance, <d> may be substituted for <t>.

(1) #131 **I am an average student**

More often, <d> and <t> are deleted in final position.

(2) #24 **My husban . . . about my husban . . . he is suspos to go**
(3) #219 **Mose people doesn't like cats**

Even when the students copied directly from a book, <d> and <t> are often deleted.

(4) #122 COPIED **Booker didn't know where or how far the school was . . . After a few days pass Booker started out to school . . . After several days pass Booker reach the city of Richmond**
(5) #37 COPIED **And I though I might have to answer any questions**
(6) #149 COPIED **Cocaine is produced from the cocoa tree. Cocaine is use as a stimulant but it affect the mind and the body. If it is use too often it can cause death**

Due to the use of /t/ and /d/ as preterit markers, the absence of <t> and <d> with verbs, which by virtue of their contexts would be preterit in SE, raised the issue of whether the lack of /t/ and /d/ in final position is phonologically or grammatically determined.

(7) #127 **They had finish school**
(8) #64 **Black and White are still confuse**
(9) #48 **Around 8:00 o'clock in the morning we stoppe and eat**

* In the following discussion, the examples are numbered consecutively throughout the paper. The number following the double cross sign (#) identifies the writer. The word *COPIED* (which always appears in caps) indicates that the pupil took the data from a printed source (i.e., a textbook). These examples were included to show that a child transposes his spoken language into a written text which he is *copying!*

4 Some of the difficulties in determining whether or not certain items in Negro dialects result from phonological or grammatical change are outlined in William Labov, "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Non-Standard English," which appears in *Teaching Black Children to Read,* edited by Roger Shuy and Joan Baratz (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969).

There is also evidence of epinthetic /t/ occurring after /s/.

(10) #10 **I guest you wouldn't want to go**
(11) #371 **he was very nist [nice]**

Post-Vocalic /r/

The deletion of post-vocalic <r> infers that post-vocalic /r/ is lacking in the students' speech.

(12) #28 **During the time the Prince Edward County Public schools we closed**
(13) #247 **I can have some money to spend doing the week**
(14) #299 **But around a week a ma it got broke**
(15) #263 **in oder**

There is also evidence that the students substitute allophones of /r/ for /1/.

(16) #383 **My dog is a pretty litter dog**
(17) #234 **for the litter ones . . . When the litter one love to jump and run**
(18) #279 **Ones apon a time ther was a letter turtle**
(19) #370 **slavely [slavery]**

Some vowels may be given r-coloring or they may even metathesize with /r/.

(20) #48 **desternation [destination]**
(21) #279 **this porm was wrote**
(22) #368 **To see the animals and brids sing**
(23) #51 **thorgh [through]**
(24) #222 **Brids are the most beautiful thing**

Deleted Unstressed Syllables

Frequently unstressed syllables are deleted.

(25) #29 **special [especially]**
(26) #43 **probley [probably]**
(27) #69 **usely [usually]**
(28) #61 **differ kind [different kind]**
(29) #129 **diffent places [different places]**

VI Verb Phrase Structure

Morphology

Certainly one of the most typical characteristics of NE in Prince Edward County is the absence of the third-person singualr, present tense marker Z. The corpus abounds with such examples.

(30) #20 **I think because he put things . . . He seem to be very concerned . . . if he forget something . . . and she forget something**

(31) #34 **It seem to be doing well**
(32) #105 **Why do Danny act funny . . . He don't have money**
(33) #400 **she weigh about 1051bs . . . she make good grades** . . .
she respect every one . . . she don't come to school

Even when students copy from their text, the Z marker may be deleted.

(34) #35 COPIED **This add greatly to the pollution of air . . . In some places automobiles is the chief cause of air pollution . . . This happen when pollutants** . . .

Another striking characteristic of verb morphology is the extension of the weak preterit marker T to strong verbs.

(35) #51 **he was all ways the last to be choosed**
(36) #105 **throwed out**

There are many examples of the preterit participle being used for the preterit.

(37) #7 **they sung there favorite records**
(38) #297 **But then they seen some birds in the sky**

The opposite case also occurs.

(39) #153 **Of all the thing I could have wrote about**
(40) #40 **I had fell in love with him**
(41) #418 **Man have did wonder on land**

A form which is not found at all in the standard dialect is also used.

(42) #95 **I have brake up with him**

Verb Syntax

The largest number of Non-SD forms in the verb syntax show (1) the application of deletion rules with regard to the copula and (2) the lack of number concord between the subject and verb.

The copula can be deleted (1) before a predicate nominative:

(43) #101 **That what any one girl**
(44) #83 **You know it something to think about**
(45) #416 **a judge a person qualified to decide**

(2) before a predicate adjective:

(46) #266 **It real nice**
(47) #360 **He still kind of small**
(48) #47 **she about 4½ months old**

(3) before a locative adverb:

(49) #300 That where all the people come

and (4) before the -ING progressive aspect marker:

(50) #299 **but so far it ticking good**
(51) #81 **One day I sitting at my house**

(52) #61 **I going to write about the time I went to North Carolina**
(53) #408 **I just want you to know what happening in the world today.**
(54) #94 **and I always doing it**
(55) #247 **Some people always asking for money**
(56) #272 **I just writing about an animal.**

Rarely, however, is BE substituted for the copula.[5]

(57) #10 **Some people be glad when they go to the office they be sent home for a week or even two week**

Lack of Number Concord

The lack of number concord between the subject and verb nearly always involves a verb which is either an auxiliary verb in the sample sentence:

(58) #48 **Until 1 o'clock so we was sitting in the car**
(59) #41 **I think Prince Edward County H.S. Are Improving**

or else is homophonous with an auxiliary verb (excluding modals):

(60) #146 **Most of my friends is a majority of both sexes**
(61) #209 The **rabbit he is brown . . . he have long legs and he have white tail**

Subjects which are either marked for plural number or are inherently plural occur with singular verbs:

(62) #93 **we tared going together and has been going together**
(63) #179 **"Negroes Comes to America"**
(64) #150 **"How I feel About the Education That the Children in South Vietnam Isn't Getting"**
(65) #270 **AU my teachers is very nice**
(66) #8 **Sylvester Lynch and Linda was secretly in Love**
(67) #219 **Mose people doesn't like cats**
(68) #49 **When the team have the student bodies behind them**
(69) #44 **everyone that go there never comes back**
(70) #66 **Everybody like it around my way**

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[5] For an analysis of BE in NE, see "Tense and the Form *be* in Black English' by Ralph W. Fasold, Language, 45:4 (December 1969) 763-776. Without commenting on the regional and social distribution of BE, Fasold writes that "The Negro dialect, Black English, has a distinctive use of *be* as a main verb . . ." (p. 763). Later he says that "the bulk of our work is based on tape-recorded conversations collected as part of the Detroit Dialect Study . . . or in the work of the Urban Language Study of the Center for Applied Linguistics (p 765). The contrasts between the distribution of BE in Fasold's study and in the data from Prince Edward County may be due to either stylistic differences (a *spoken vs. written* corpus) or regional differences (Detroit vs. rural Virginia). In any case, such differences in distribution point up the importance of regionally-oriented studies of NE (such as the Prince Edward County project) in the preparation of pedagogical materials.

Many of the examples consist of a singular subject accompanied by a plural verb.

(71) #349 **There were a man who lived in the woods by his lone some self**

(72) #204 **and the boy name were Lewis**

(73) #66 **Free Me Are a very nice record**

(74) #348 **There were a man who won many of medal for brevery**

Verb Syntax and Narrative Technique

The use of the present tense form in a narrative passage has the effect of making the story more relevant and pertinent to the time of its telling.[6]

(75) #51 **The one day he hear some boys**

(76) #131 When **I was 7 years of age I join the Race Street Babtist Church of Farmville**

(77) #40 **Then I chang up . . . and I dance a little wile**

(78) #78 **this was once a man I knew who drink wine all the time**

(79) #136 **COPIED First place he went to was a hardware store . . . Maybe today I will find a job Billy said to himself as he walk along**

The possibility that such forms result (even partly) from phonological change is strengthened by (1) the use of the *present* when the future tense is required by the context:

(80) #2 **and I write again when I have more time**

and (2) the substitution of the *present* for a progressive form:

(81) #210 **Saturday I was work on the tractory . . . Saturday I was work.**

The following phrase also suggests a lack of familiarity with the standard syntax and semantics of the past progressive:

(82) #7 **The show at the Masque last night was featuring the Dells, Delfonics, moments and Emotions. It lasted for two hours.** . . .

VII Noun Phrase Structure

Morphology

The morphology of nouns is typified primarily by (1) the deletion of the Z possessive marker on common and proper nouns, (2) the substitution of nominative pronouns for possessive pronouns and (3) the tendency toward neutralization of plural and singular nouns.

6 A striking characteristic of these papers is the frequent attempt to involve the reader in the writer's activity and interests. This desire for participation on the part of the hearers (or readers, in this instance) seems to be a core-feature of Black Southern society. This seems to be particularly the case with regard to sermons, prayer meetings, and other gatherings.

Possessive Nouns

Most possessive nouns do not show the Z marker. Illustrations of both common and proper possessive nouns follow.

(83) #253 **"My Little Cousin Birthday Party"**

(84) #295 **For you to get a good night sleep**

(85) #57 **I am my Daddy Baby**

(86) #339 **The man wife was killed by the one**

(87) #47 **My dog name** . . .

(88) #419 **The school principal name is Mr. Penn**

(89) #13 **My homeroom teacher name is Mr. Moldenhauer**

(90) #29 **to pick me up at Sally house**

In a unique example containing two noun adjuncts (both of them possessive in terms of their semantics), only the second one is marked for case.

(91) #214 **and then I went to one of my mother friends house**

Since /s/ is deleted in final position on non-possessive nouns such as *eclipse*

(92) #174 **Saturday is the day of the eclip . . . The eclip that came.** . . .

and in most plural nouns,

(93) #107 **we went on a trial way bus**

it is tempting to claim that the loss of final /s/ (like final /t/ and /d/) is partly phonologically based. And examples such as

(94) #179 **"Negroes Comes to America"**

and

(95) #422 **"The men going to the Moon,"**

further suggest that /s/ and Ø can alternate in final position.

Possessive Adjectives

Still other examples are provided by a possessive pronoun marked with the Z marker.

(96) #29 **I stop by a friend of my's house**

And the following illustrations of nominative pronouns (or even object pronouns) in a possessive role indicate that the case distinction of possessive (genitive) and subject (nominative) /object has been neutralized.

(97) #221 **I do not know where you hat is**

(98) #41 **will improve in many of it activities**

(99) #309 **I like to go to party with me friend**

Plural Nouns

The absence of the plural marker Z is quite noticeable in this corpus. For instance, there may be a lack of number concord between a subject and the predicate nominative.

(100) #222 **Brids are the most beautiful thing**

In a series of plural nouns only a few of them may bear the plural inflection.

(101) #67 **and brought me some new clothes and some new shoes and some new Record and some school supply**

(102) #98 **An animal with two legs are pupils, animal with four legs are dogs, cats, lion, rat, pigs, cows, rabbits, and goats**

(103) #15 **there are lions, tigers, Bears, monkey, Giraffe, Kangaroos, snakes, zebras**

There are several instances when the numerical designations precede nouns which are unmarked for number distinctions.

(104) #112 **I have 2 brother and 3 sister**

(105) #255 **I have 3 sister and 2 brother**

(106) #3 **I think six teacher**

(107) #69 **Doing the day many thing happen at the school . . . taking seven class**

The lack of attention to number contrast is borne out further by double plurals such as *childrens* in

(108) #253 **She had nice big children like me for instance**

or

(109) #349 **This poor lone some man had no childrens,**

and the use of a singular noun instead of the suppletive form. For instance, we find *man* in

(110) #325 **Then he became one of the greatest man of history.**

Similar examples which do not contrast the singularity and plurality of nouns are taken from samples which were copied from a book.

(111) #124 COPIED **What so difference about these two areas of land . . for its name sound to be a place of lovely evergreens and flower**

The determiners *the* and *a* often are not found in sentence initial position, as in

(112) #341 **Number one soul singer is James Brown.**

In fact, in copied samples the students sometimes omit determiners.

(113) #136 COPIED **First place he went to, was a hardware store.**

Frequently determiners are absent in sentence medial position, as in

(114) #14 **Pool is game I like**

and

(115) #158 **I think six or seven class is to much for a boy or girl that is behind grade.**

The is not obligatory before superlative adjectives,

(116) #325 **Then he became one of greatest men of history**

VIII Additional Grammatical Features of the Corpus

The terms *lack, absence* and *deletion* are *used* in this paper only to indicate that a particular SE form does not appear in this corpus. These words are not to be interpreted as meaning that NE forms are inferior. Rather, they indicate only that the NE forms differ from SE and that the difference can be explained by deletion rules.

Other typical Non-SD items which appear in the corpus include double negatives consisting of (1) Not + Negative Adverb, as in

(117) #258 **she don't never get mead or angray,**

(2) NOT -t- Negative Pronoun, as in

(118) #274 **Well, I don't have nobody**
(119) #244 **we don't no nothing,**

and (3) NOT + Negative Determiner,

(120) #408 **People don't have no talent.**

There are also examples of double superlatives,

(121) #250 **Styles is the most crazyest boy in the class,**
(122) #159 **My ninth grade school year is turning out to be one of the most happiest years of my life,**
(123) #253 **The most funniest thing that happen,**

as well as an occasional use of a double comparative construction,

(124) #77 **to make it more healthier.**

Another interesting aspect of the corpus is the inconsistency in distinguishing gender. A rather spectacular example was gleaned from one paper in which a student was writing about her own dog.

(125) #383 **she is a big animal . . . he is a good watch dog . . . she loves to play and she know when I got home from school and when she . . . she is a very smart dog. He is always jolly and friendly to everyone.**

The following five examples have been quite difficult for inexperienced speakers (inexperienced in the sense that they have almost no exposure to Non-SD) to interpret. In brief, these syntactic examples seem to contrast at a very deep level from SE. The native English speakers who have attempted to read these sentences compare this experience to their foreign language experience. Although they recognize the individual words, they

do not possess immediate access to the projection rules required to interpret them.

(126) #60 **I would let a student that I know would be quite, get's its work to be in charge**

(127) #44 **This hospital I gave a nickname, in title, "The Disappeared."**

(128) #67 **I bought them because Savie my sister from by them, for me for Easter**

(129) #68 **They were not the band that were pland to been coming the band was pland to come did not make it. if not he would had never went to so much trouble**

(130) #122 **Most children of this wouldn't had thought of an education**

IX Suggestions for Related Research

The immediate goals include more sampling of Prince Edward County High School and a collection of data from the elementary school. Ways of drawing samples from the adult community will also be investigated. These sets of data will be compared with data from their White counterparts. This comparison will be important to the teachers since Prince Edward County High School is beginning to attract more and more students from the private Academy. In essence, the classroom teacher can look forward to bidialectal classes, and these teachers realize the need to be prepared to handle the situation as competently as possible.

Distant goals include contrasting some of the rural NE dialects (such as that of Prince Edward County) with the NE urban dialects of Richmond and Norfolk in order to identify the paralinguistic and linguistic features of each group. Of far greater social significance would be a study of the linguistic abilities and attitudes of delinquent Negro children and an investigation into whether or not SE is a realistic goal for these individuals. Towards these ends many conversations with the state and regional directors of the Virginia Consortium on Law Enforcement and Crime Prevention have been held.[7]

A proper long-range objective of ESD instruction is to educate members of our society about bidialectalism so that individuals who are native speakers of a dialect not shared by members of the dominant culture will be able to participate in both professional and social roles. An understanding and acceptance of bidialectalism, a linguistic phenomenon paralleled in so much of the world by bilingualism, is a worthy and necessary goal for an ethnically heterogeneous country such as ours. Unless we pursue that objective, the three children who wrote the following examples cannot be expected to make worthwhile contributions in a highly skilled and technological society.

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[7] The following works furnish insights into the relation of crime (particularly delinquency) and linguistic disabilities: Herbert Bloch and Gilbert Geis, *Man, Crime and Society* (Random House, 1962), Sheldon Glueck, *The Problem of Delinquency* (Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1965), Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Family Environment and Delinquency* (Harvard University Press, 1968).

(131) #246 **A pig is an Animal that has four legs a nose two eyes and a tail. A pig stay in the pen or run around in the yard. It's what we get some of meat such as sauge, ham chilling pigfeet tenderlawn spar Ribs Backbone hog head and ard People Raced pig because they can't buy the food in the Store**

(132) #17 **I hear a lot of fowlkes complaining about curses put on them by another individual, about there life being cut short because they didn't do what a friend ask them too.**

(133) #138 **I lived in a county where school where closed. When I reach the age of six school where still close. The floor at holes in it and we had a tin heater . . . I left their in the four grad in when to another**

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*Starting English Late**

Joyce Valdes

When the League of Mexican-American Students of Houston requested that the administration of the University provide English instruction for the Spanish-speaking custodians and groundskeepers on campus, every effort was made to comply with the request. Complications developed at once, but results indicate that strong motivation can overcome almost insurmountable difficulties in an adult course. The first complications were of a psychological and sociological nature. The men varied in ages and ability to speak English and were embarrassed to reveal their inadequacies to one another. The second type of complication was pedagogical. Theory again did not work out in practice, but the enthusiasm of the men and the dedication of one of the teachers worked together to produce gratifying results. Ultimate progress was achieved in the program; but since testing is tabu, the estimate of that progress must be informal

We are no doubt agreed that the most desirable time to start foreign language study is during the pre-schooI years, before patterns of the native language are too firmly set. However, we must adjust to situations, and when we are faced with adults who need to learn English, then we must search for the best method of teaching them. The point to remember is that blanket rules cannot be applied, as each group has its own character, and each program must be geared specifically for its own target. To make this point I should like to share with you a recent experience at the University of Houston.

When the League of Mexican-American Students requested that the administration provide English instruction for the Spanish-speaking custodians on campus, every effort was made to comply with the request. This eagerness on the part of the administration may be partly explainable by its delight in learning that the word *request* had not passed out of the student vocabulary, but there were other, more humanitarian reasons involved.

Unemployment in Houston is not a major problem, but under-employment is a matter of great concern. Most of the custodians at the University of Houston are native speakers of Spanish with a very low level of English proficiency, a fact which explains, for the most part, their holding such low-income jobs. Admittedly, some are intellectually slow and probably are capable of little beyond the work they are doing, but many others would be enabled, by conquering the language barrier, to move up and out into a new environment. The university wanted to help make such a move

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* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1970.

Miss Valdes, Associate Professor and Chairman of English as a Second Language, University of Houston, has published previously in *TESOL Quarterly* II 4 (Decmber, 1968).

possible. For some reason, the personnel office was assigned the task of putting the program into operation.

Upon being called into consultation with the planning committee to devise the program, I immediately projected, mentally, what needed to be done. We would, quite naturally, first have to determine the level of proficiency of each man in order to set up homogeneous sections, not to exceed 10 in number. The men would be advised of the hour at which they would be tested, and I would administer my own cleverly devised examination. The results of this examination would point the way toward classification and separation into sections. Then we had only to inform our trained teaching assistants of the opportunity to do this highly meaningful work—and to make some extra money—and we would be in business. Since I was not the first to speak in the committee meeting, I was saved the embarrassment of revealing my ignorance.

The director of the physical plant, an enlightened and concerned Anglo with years of experience in working with Mexican-Americans, understood his employees well and was aware of many complexities of which I should have been aware had I not been so comfortably ensconced in my little rut of methods and materials. The chief custodian, a Mexican-American who has advanced to his white-collar position through intelligence, rapport with his co-workers, and a good command of English, agreed with the physical plant director on almost every detail. They were both convinced that without very careful handling, the men would reject the proposal, even though the lessons were free and they were to be given an hour of free time from their work every day to attend classes.

First, there were sociological problems. The years of rejection by the Angles has caused the Mexican-Americans to reject the Anglos in turn. Anything that gives the impression that a Mexican-American is trying to emulate the Angles causes him to be scorned by his peers. I once had a student come into my office and ask if he could take my English as a second language course. I asked where he was from, and when he said San Antonio I had to tell him, regretfully, that as central Texas was not considered a foreign country—at least by other Texans—he was ineligible for the course. He argued, quite logically, that the place of his birth was irrelevant, as English was a second language for him. He elaborated on the problems of trying to become proficient in English in a Mexican-American community and stated that he could not speak English in his own front yard without a neighbor yelling at him, "Hey, what's the matter? You trying to be an Anglo, or something?" "Anglo" is the term he used in telling it to me—what his neighbor would really say remains shrouded in circumspection. This anti-Anglo attitude would inevitably affect the men who were to be invited to take English lessons. The idea that their language was inferior to English, ridiculous as such a conception may seem, must be carefully avoided, as well as the idea that *they* were in any way inferior because they did not speak English. Obviously, a meeting could not be

called to tell them, in effect, that we were going to teach them our language so that they would have a chance to become as good as we are.

Further, aside from the sociological problems, there were psychological problems as well. Many of these men had very little education; a few were illiterate, even in Spanish. Some, especially the older men, could hardly remember ever having been in a classroom, if indeed, they ever had; and the thought of going was far from welcome. They would be embarrassed, feel silly, like little children, going into a classroom and studying lessons. Besides, for the others to find out how little they knew, and to be witnesses to their mistakes, would be an unendurable loss of dignity. Naturally, the young ones were likely to have the superior knowledge of English, and the older men feared the loss of the respect that was due them from the young. Their feelings of inadequacy would hardly be relieved by being faced with a college professor at the front of the room. So it was that when I stated, apologetically, that I had not the time to teach the classes myself, it was explained, gently that I would not be allowed to, anyway. I was needed to help select and train the teachers. It was urged that the men would resent being taught English by anyone who was unable to speak their language with ease. That eliminated my trained teaching assistants. To sum up, then, all we had to do was find a bilingual nonprofessor with a specialty in ESL who could remove the atmosphere of the classroom from the fact of the classroom. Something had to give—and what gave was the ESL training. We decided that the teachers were to be found along the perpetrators of the scheme—the League of Mexican-American Students (LOMAS), themselves. Like the men, they were native speakers of Spanish, but they had already overcome the language barrier. They were young, but that was all right too, as it would give the men something to feel superior about. The word was sent out to the LOMAS president, and a meeting was held to give the students the information as to where and when they should apply. We had three classes to cover, and three applicants showed up. Two of them seemed quite promising, and the other seemed all right. In my enthusiasm I was quite sure that in a week of intensive training I could get these three young people ready to teach, adequately prepared in the oral-aural method. Reality can be dream-shattering. In the week intervening before classes were to begin, there was only one hour when the three teachers and I could get together for a training session. I am not against crash courses, but this was patently ridiculous. When they left, one really understood what it was all about and evidently became an excellent teacher. Under these circumstances, that's not a bad average.

Meanwhile, the chief custodian—whose name, by the way, appropriately enough, is Salomon—approached the men in a tactful manner. As one of them, he could do what none of the rest of us could do. Twenty-five custodians signed up, most of them hesitantly and doubtfully. They were willing to give it a try. How did we know how to classify them in order to form our homogeneous classes? No, not by my cleverly devised exami-

nation. All testing was tabu. But I had a better resource than any test ever compiled. My wise Salomon, who knew all of the men, simply told me how much English each man knew, and where he should be ranked among the three classes. Forgive me, TOEFL, but this really is the most effective placement method I have ever encountered.

Classes began in mid-May and were scheduled to run for twenty weeks. Some of you will have already foreseen some of the difficulties we encountered. Our teachers, being students, found it impossible to meet all their classes during the final examination period, just two weeks after the beginning of the classes. Having been pronounced anathema, I realized that it was useless for me to volunteer to substitute for them, so classes were disrupted when they had hardly begun. Then two weeks into the summer session, one of the teachers, a young lady who had graduated in June, decided to go home to the Rio Grande Valley. At the moment I was devastated, but it all turned out for the best. The especially good teacher, Berndardo, agreed to take over her class, which met immediately after his own. When I discovered that she had been committing a cardinal sin in the ESL classroom, I could hardly regret her departure—she had been conjugating verbs. And after a whole hour of ESL training! Through the summer, there were other times when the teachers could not meet their classes, and Roberto formed a habit of simply not showing up about once a week. The psychological effect of this practice is obvious. Fortunately, his was the smallest class.

Bernardo's classes, on the other hand, thrived, and he dropped by my office fairly often for advice and to look over my ESL library. I had suggested that he use no text in class, which was good advice in the beginning, but as the enthusiasm of the men and their confidence in themselves grew, they came to desire the security of a textbook, something tangible, something they could show their families. I suggested *English Through Pictures* as being perhaps best suited to their group. If they had been ashamed to study English in the beginning, that shame was certainly gone now.

But the final blow came in early August when Bernardo, who was graduating in summer school, came in and announced that he was quitting. So what if he had been admitted to graduate school at the University of Michigan? Was that any reason for leaving this lucrative post at $1.75 an hour? There were still several weeks to go, and no one in sight to help out. Another appeal to LOMAS resulted in nothing. Finally, in desperation, to avoid welshing on our twenty-week promise to the men, I asked one of my own foreign students, a young man from Mexico City who was making a low B in my freshman ESL course, to take the class. At least he spoke English better than the men did and knew the method, since I had been using it on him, from time to time, throughout the summer. And so the three classes straggled and struggled along through most of September, and the first session was at an end. We had actually accomplished a great deal, yet we did not lose our humility. We had a lot to be humble about.

We spent the fall semester recuperating and plotting changes. Most

of the men wanted to continue, but not with student teachers. They would prefer an older, more settled Mexican-American with no complications about his own school work. However, the men in greatest need were those on the night shift, from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. They work at night because at these hours they rarely see anyone and therefore it doesn't matter much that they speak no English. No classes had been provided for them in the first session, so it was decided to concentrate on them this time, with classes beginning at 9:30 p.m. and running to 11:00, the first half hour being their own time, for four nights a week. Where do you find an English teacher, especially a middle-aged Mexican-American male, to teach at those hours? I was at a loss; but remember, the action was still in the hands of the personnel office, which did the obvious thing—put an ad in the newspaper. No English professor would ever think of anything so simply practical.

Surprisingly, there were twenty-five to thirty responses to the ad, most not qualified. One young female who had just graduated from a college in the East as a physical education major had had a couple of courses in Spanish as an undergraduate and saw this as a great opportunity to brush up before taking a trip to Mexico. Out of five good applicants two men were chosen to teach two classes meeting at the same time, and the others were placed on standby as substitutes. Both teachers are rather elderly men who are doing the work because they think it is important, not because of the money, although the remuneration has gone up somewhat. Both seem well qualified. For example, one of them worked for many years in the Rio Grande Valley teaching English to the employees of a large citrus fruit company The classes seem to be going swimmingly, the men relating well to the teachers. The men had enjoyed the young people and had been eased into the idea of being students again by having teachers toward whom they could feel paternal, but now they were past that stage and ready to be more serious about it. The mature Mexican-American men with experience in ESL were just what they had asked for, and they seem perfectly content with their choice. There is a higher percentage of illiteracy among those in the night classes, and the men are now asking for help in learning to read and write.

The session has been shortened to ten weeks, but a new session will probably begin soon after, continuing the work of the first. A break at the end of ten weeks, the "completion" of something, is designed to heighten the sense of achievement.

Perhaps the true measure of the sucess of this venture is the rate at which the personnel office is receiving applications for custodial jobs from non-English-speaking Mexican-Americans. There are far more than there have ever been before, and we like to believe that it is because the word has gotten around and our program is in demand.

While our trial-and-error method seems to have worked for us, as far as it has gone, I cannot guarantee that it would work in another situation, no matter how similar. I still maintain that each situation must be analyzed before a program is settled upon. At the University of Southern California

the Spanish-speaking custodians are being taught English under an entirely different philosophy from ours, apparently with at least equally satisfactory results. Before I'll concede that our rather elaborate philosophy is either false or exaggerated, I'll conjecture that Californian Spanish-speaking custodians must be somehow different from Texan Spanish-speaking custodians.

ERIC-TESOL Documents

The following are TESOL documents which have been selected from those processed by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics and entered in the ERIC system. Articles from *TESOL Quarterly* or materials which have been reviewed in *TESOL Quarterly* have been omitted.

Where indicated, hard copies (HC) and microfiche (MF) of the full text are available through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, The National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014. Copies of documents must be ordered by the individual ED numbers. Prices are given for microfiche (MF) and hard copy (HC). Payment must accompany orders totaling less than $5.00. For orders totaling less than $3,00, add $.50 for handling. In the U.S. add sales tax as applicable. Foreign orders must be accompanied by a 25 per cent service charge, calculated to the nearest cent.

ED 035 853 *The Nature and Diagnosis of Interference Phenomena.* NORMAN DENISON. *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching;* v4 n3-4 p1–16 Oct. 1966. MF $0.25 HC $0.95.

The recognition of the systematic nature of the interference of the mother tongue when learning a second language is among the most significant advances in linguistics for the teaching and learning of foreign languages. The work of Weinreich showed that interference between language systems—the absorption of loan words, calques, and phonological, morphological, and syntactical features from one language to another—did not happen by some mysterious process in mid-air or in mid-history, but in the nervous systems of bilingual speakers. The more individuals there were who were bilingual in the two languages of the region, and the greater their community prestige, the more chance there was of their own "interfered-with" speech habits being adopted by monolingual speakers of the surviving language. Rather than linguistically analyzing and comparing two languages to predict possible errors on the part of the learner, the author feels it safer to analyze the errors that are actually made and then start looking for the reasons in the system. He warns that "systematic perceptual distortion" in both pupil and teacher can produce faulty diagnosis of an error where an awareness of structural factors is lacking. An illustration of misdiagnosis on the phonological level is given in a contrasting of English and Urdu stop consonants.

ED 035 857 *On the Structure of the Verb in a Dialect of American Negro English.* MARVIN D. LOFLIN. 25 p. 1967.

Identifiable relational entities in the Auxiliary (Aux) structure of Nonstandard Negro English (NNE) enter into different sets of relationships from identifiable relational entities in the Aux structure of Standard English (SE). Specifically, there is an absence of "have + en" structures; there is no agreement between subjects and verbal forms other than "be"; "-ed" and unmarked verbs traditionally identified with SE present tense may be neutralized; and "be" functions as a tense. These facts about NNE raise prob-

lems about the ways we might account for differences between SE and NNE and about accounting for differences between language varieties in general. Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific & Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151 (AD-660 701, MF $0.65, HC $3.00) Prepayment requested.

ED 035 858 *English Linguistics, An Introductory Reader.* HAROLD HUNGERFORD, ed.; and others. 491 p. 1970.

The readings in this volume have been selected for college level and graduate students of English who need an introduction to English linguistics which is neither too advanced or specialized, but has a broad range of interests. The editors (Harold Hungerford, Jay Robinson, and James Sledd) have prepared this anthology to use in their own teaching, in conjunction with a generative grammar. The first section, "Theories of Language and Languages: Some Grammars," contains selections by Edward Sapir, Goold Brown, Otto Jespersen, Henry Lee Smith, Jr., and Noam Chomsky. Authors of papers in Part H, "Dialectology," are Sapir, Elmer Bagby Atwood, Harold Orton, Uriel Weinreich, Sledd, and William Labov. Authors of papers in Part 111, "Historical Linguistics," are Sapir, Winfred Lehmarm, Paul Kiparsky, Leonard Bloomfield, Einar Haugen, and Stephen Ullmann. Each section is prefaced by an introduction by the editors; each selection is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the author. Study questions follow each selection. Scott, Foresman and Company, 1900 East Lake Avenue, Glenview, Illinois 60025.

ED 035 863 *An Introduction to the Historical Development of Black English: Some Implications for American Education.* ORLANDO L. TAYLOR. 21 p.; Presented at the Institute on Speech and Language of the Rural and Urban Poor, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, July 15, 1969. MF $0.25 HC $1.15.

In discussing the rich linguistic history of Afro-Americans, the author points out that black people had a linguistic system when they came to the New World and frequently had a knowledge of a form of English which had been influenced by Black Portuguese and West African languages. Despite many assertions to the contrary, Black English, "the variety of English spoken or understood by many persons of Afro-American descent," is not a deficient use of Standard English. It represents a logical linguistic evolution typical of people who have been exposed to many different languages. Attitudinal and philosophical changes are needed with respect to the utilization of Black English in the schools. The teaching of Standard English as a tool language is a tenable goal for American education, so long as it does not preclude instruction in Black English. These points suggest a re-evaluation of how teachers should meet the educational needs of black children. They imply a need for a number of revisions and additions to contemporary education in such areas as materials, curriculum, teacher preparations, and certification. (A bibliographical listing of recent references concludes this paper.) Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C., Language in Education Program.

ED 035 873 *Uses of Programmed Materials in Teaching Reading and Aural Comprehension.* KARL C. SANDBERG. 8 p.; Paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages), New Orleans, Louisiana, November 26-30, 1969. MF $0.25 HC $0.50.

This paper describes some of the problems pertaining to teaching reading and aural comprehension in English as a second language, suggests some of the potential uses of programmed learning in solving them, and reports on

some of the approaches developed at the Economics Institute of the University of Colorado. While an increasing amount of adequate materials for teaching speaking and writing is available, the approaches, techniques, and materials for teaching reading and aural comprehension remain basically the same as 20-40 years ago. Programmed materials based on sound linguistic analysis and concentrating on the right problems can "free the student from the lockstep of the class." To help the foreign student develop skill in reading, which requires a passive recognition of perhaps ten times as many words as the student can get by with actively, the author suggests an intensive concentration on the teaching of grammar structures and function words. (The latter account for about 50 percent of the words on any given page of prose, and are generally much more difficult for the student to learn than content words.) The author, of Macalester College, Saint Paul, Minnesota, reports briefly on a graded, three-level course in aural comprehension which is self-testing and self-correcting: correct answers are on tape.

ED 035 876 *A Microwave Course in English as a Second Language (For Spanish Speakers).* DERORAH A. HARDING; and others. 257 p., 3 vols; 134 p., composite vol; 38 p., teachers vol.

The distinctive feature of this "microwave" course (based on Stevick's approach to foreign language teaching) is the emphasis on communicative use of each structural element as soon as it appears. The principal component is a series of short "cycles," each beginning with the introduction of new material and ending when that same new material has been used for communication. The course contains 107 cycles presented in a bilingual format: English on the right-hand page, with the corresponding colloquial translation in Spanish on the left. Grammatical and cultural notes to the student, in Spanish, appear after most cycles. Prefacing each of the three volumes is a short explanation of the "microwave" approach; included at the end of every volume are suggestions for settting up "lifelike situations" in the classroom, discussion topics, pronunciation aids, a list of irregular verbs, and an alphabetical index of the vocabulary items used in the text. The accompanying Teacher's Manual provides a fuller discussion of the general principles underlying the methodology followed in the course; general guidelines for teaching the cycle, review, reading and writing, pronunciation, grammar, and cultural patterns; and specific instructions for teaching each cycle. This course appears separately bound in three volumes or in a composite edition. Lingoco Corporation, 1043 Coast Boulevard South, La Jolla, California 92037 (Books 1-3 $2.60 each. Composite volume $6.50, Teacher's Manual $1.25).

ED 035 877 *A Handbook* of *Bilingual Education.* MURIEL R. SAVILLE; RUDOLPH C. TROIKE. 69 p. 1970. MF $0.50 HC $3.55.

The introduction to this handbook for teachers and administrators in bilingual education programs states: "Half of the children in the world are bilingual, and approximately one fourth of the people in the United States can communicate in more than one language. About ten percent of our population speaks a language other than English natively. For thousands of the children who enter school each year, English is a foreign language." In the first chapter, the authors present a historical view of bilingualism and discuss some of the controversial points raised by educators. (A glossary of linguistic terms used is provided.) In Chapter II, the linguistic, psychological, social, and cultural factors involved in bilingual education are considered. Chapter III outlines suggestions for setting up bilingual programs, the need for which

must first be recognized by the local school board and superintendent. In Chapter IV, a brief description of English phonology and points of English grammar as they contrast with Spanish and Navajo illustrate some common teaching problems. Chapter V discusses curriculum and language teaching and offers some practical teaching suggestions based on traditional axioms adapted to bilingual education. The final chapter, stressing the importance of evaluation, discusses language and intelligence tests and home condition questionnaires.

ED 035 879 *Child Black English in Northern Florida: A Sociolinguistic Examination.* SUSAN H. HOUSTON. 57 p. 1969. MF $0.25 HC $2.95.

The writer, who feels that the chief differences between Black English (BE) and White English (WE) are phonological and not syntactic, reports on a sociolinguistically oriented examination of that variety of English spoken by children in rural Northern Florida (CBE /Fla). Twenty-two black children between the ages of nine and twelve were taped individually and in group interviews over a period of two weeks. Observations of this and other data led to a postulation of a specific linguistic "register," or range of styles of language. The "school" register, which the children used during the first interviews, was non-fluent and distinctively different from the "non-school" register, in which they were verbal, fluent, and articulate. Implications of this distinction between registers are discussed in the light of disparate theories of the relationship between BE and WE, and their pedagogical applications, particularly in the teaching of reading. In presenting a linguistic analysis of CBE /Fla, the author lists phones, a probable inventory of phonemes, and their phonological rules. She found four main morphosyntactic deviations from standard WE, namely the use of "be" in the present tense. Appended is a sample transcription of "The Three Little Pigs," as told by a verbally gifted eleven-year-old boy in CBE/Florida.

ED 035 881 *Teaching English to Speakers of Choctaw, Navajo and Papago; A Contrastive Approach. Indian Education Curriculum Bulletin No. 6* [Part I, English for Speakers of Choctaw. THURSTON DALE NICKLAS]. 53 p. 1969. MF $0.25 HC $2.75.

This article, the first of three in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' *Curriculum Bulletin Number 6,* edited by Sirarpi Ohannessian and William Gage of the Center for Applied Linguistics, is an attempt "to help break the language barrier" which exists for the many Choctaw children who lack proper skill in speaking English. Some Choctaw children know no English upon entering school; others know a little, or speak it as a first language learned from Choctaw-speaking parents. For these children it is necessary, the author feels, to teach English as a second language, emphasizing the oral skills. The simplified analysis of English and Choctaw presented in this paper contrasts important features of the two languages, and points out for the classroom teacher certain sounds and grammatical structures which can be expected to be the most difficult for Choctaw students learning English. Facial diagrams and detailed explanations illustrate how to teach the students to pronounce difficult sounds. Examples of different pattern drills, some of which may be used as games, . . . suggested for teaching difficult grammar points. This paper is prefaced by a discussion of problems pertinent to second language learning and teaching by the editors, and concludes with a bibliography of references of special interest to the teacher. See related documents ED 035 882 and ED 035 883.

ED 035 882 *Teaching English to Speakers of Choctaw, Navajo and Papago; A Contrastive Approach. Indian Education Curriculum Bulletin No. 6* [Part II, English for Speakers of Navajo. DOROTHY A. PEDTKE AND OSWALD WERNER]. 74 p. 1969. MF $0.50 HC $3.80.

This study, prepared especially for teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, provides specific information on some of the main problems that Navajo speakers have in learning English, explains some of the important cultural and linguistic features of the Navajo language that cause learning difficulties for Navajo students of English, and suggests types of exercises suitable for the classroom. The format consists of sections on (1) historical and cultural information about the Navajo people and their understanding of the world around them; (2) the phonology of Navajo compared with English; and (3) several points of the morphology and syntax of Navajo compared with the nearest parallel patterns in English. (The second and third sections are based on theoretical comparisons of the two languages, and on actually observed mistakes in English made by Navajo speakers.) Following the main body of the study are sample words, phrases, and sentences that illustrate the patterns being practiced. This paper, the second of three in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' *Curriculum Bulletin Number 6,* includes a preface and introduction by the editors, Sirarpi Ohannessian and William W. Gage of the Center for Applied Linguistics, and an appended reference bibliography for the teacher. See related documents ED 035 881 and ED 035 883.

ED 035 883 *Teaching English to Speakers of Choctaw, Navajo and Papago; A Contrastive Approach. Indian Education Curriculum Bulletin No. 6* [Part III, English for Speakers of Papago. MADELINE MATHIOT AND SIRARPI OHANNESSIAN]. 47 p. 1969. MF $0.25 HC $2.15.

The primary concern of this paper is to point out to the teacher differences between the sound features and the grammatical categories of English and Papago. In addition, some syntactic patterns are also compared, generally from the point of view of the meanings they convey; the lexical structures of the two languages have not been included. The purpose of providing the teacher with this information is to make him aware of differences between the two languages which may cause difficulty for Papagos learning English. "Suggestions for the Classroom," which follow most of the section in the paper, contain samples of the type of materials that may be used in the class; other examples based on the same models, or similar material, may be found in the references listed in the appended bibliography. This paper is the third and final study in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' *Curriculum Bulletin Number 6,* edited by Sirarpi Ohannessian and William W. Gage of the Center for Applied Linguistics. An introductory section by the editors is included. See related documents ED 035 881 and ED 035 882.

ED 035 885 *University Resources in the United States and Canada for the Study* of *Linguistics: 1969–1970.* ALLENE GUSS GROGNET; JUDITH BROWN. 207 p.; Sixth revised edition. 1970.

This issue of *University Resources* provides information on degrees, courses, and faculty in the field of linguistics. The number of institutions covered, 146, is almost double that of the 1965 edition, with 64 schools mentioned for the first time. Also new is coverage of Canadian institutions. Teacher Training in English as a Foreign Language has been omitted since current information can be found in the Institute of International Education's *English Language and Orientation Programs in the United States,* New York,

1969. (See ED 034 997abstracted in *TESOLQuarterly,* IV,2, June, 1970.) Included in this edition are those institutions which, on the basis of available information, offer at least three courses in the field of general linguistics or linguistics and related disciplines. Colleges and universities are listed in alphabetical order with information on the following: (1) department, department chairman, degrees offered; (2) staff; (3) course offerings or course areas; (4) summer workshops, seminars, institutes; (5) institutes, language and area centers, research programs; (6) name and address of the office from which to obtain further details. Information on annual summer institutes, a tabular index of universities and their programs arranged by state, and an index of languages appear at the end. Publications Section, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 ($4.00) .

ED 035 886 *The Language Research in Progress System of the Center for Applied Linguistics.* VOY VARLEY. 26 p. 1969. MF $0.25 HC $1.40.

Language Research in Progress (LRIP) is a facility for the rapid exchange of information among researchers on current work in all fields pertaining to human communication. It is concerned with current documented research, details of which are submitted voluntarily by investigators. The system consists of (1) a collection of document files containing background materials of research projects; (2) a three-way card file system ordered by project number, investigator/institution, and subject category; and (3) a thesaurus. Contributors supply filled-out Project Description Forms, abstracts, or current documents. LRIP puts out hi-annual Reports listing research current in the previous six months and runs a service supplying on request abstracts for the project descriptions listed in the latest Report. Its principal problem is that of persuading investigators to contribute project information of sufficient detail and currency. Appended are (1) the LRIP Project Description Form; (2) the LRIP-User Two-Minute Checklist; (3) two tables showing the departmental affiliations of 200 users of LRIP and their professional specialties and fields of interest; and (4) A Cost Study of the LRIP System, by Douglas Campion. Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C., Language Information Network and Clearinghouse System.

ED 035 889 *The Trainee Teacher and His Practice Class: Fifty Pointers for the Student-Teacher.* ALUN L. W. REES. *Lenguaje y Ciencias;* v33 Sep. 1969 "Special Number." 49 p. MF $0.25.

This handbook, based on the author's experience of supervising the English practice classes of trainee teachers, was originally compiled for the specific use of students at the National University of Trujillo, Peru, and consists of a list of pointers embracing the most prevalent of trainees' shortcomings observed over a period of years at all levels of secondary school. Although special emphasis is given to the problems of non-native English speaking teacher-trainees operating under adverse teaching conditions, it was felt that the wider applicability of the modern audio-lingual techniques that are given practical application in the text would make the handbook of value to all those concerned with classroom language teaching, and it has thus been published as a special issue of *Lenguaje y Ciencias.* The publication is divided into eight chapters; "The Teacher's Appearance"; "Set Routine"; "The Teacher and His Lesson Plan"; "Presenting New Material"; "Conducting Practice"; "Admonishing and Praising"; "Homework"; and "The Teacher and His Class." There are, in addition, two appendices: "Model Lesson Plan" and "Form Showing Convenient Summary of Student's General Lesson

Plan"; and a short annotated bibliography. Departamento de Idiomas y Linguistics, Universidad National de Trujillo, Trujillo, Peru.

ED 035 891 *Receptive Competence, Productive Competence, and Performance.* RUDOLPH C. TROIKE. 7 p.; Article in Report of the 20th Annual Round Table Meeting on Ling. and Lang. Studies, Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects; 1970.

Recent experimental work in teaching standard English to speakers of nonstandard dialects of English has shown that such speakers often have a good receptive command of the standard dialect, and readily re-encode stimuli presented in the standard dialect into their own nonstandard forms. This fact shows that some modification is needed in the concept of understanding" as "analysis by synthesis," and suggests that *a* distinction is necessary between "receptive competence" and "productive competence." Whereas the latter may be inferred to a large extent from free performance, the former is not so directly attested, and special eliciting techniques are required in order to get at it. Materials and methods for second-dialect teaching need to give greater recognition to receptive competence and its relevance for developing productive competence in speakers. This recognition may have importance for second language-teaching, as well as for native-language-teaching, programs in the schools. Publications Department, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007 (Monograph Series No. 22, $2.95).

ED 035 892 *Transformational Theory and English as a Second Language/ Dialect.* CHARLES T. SCOTT. 12 P.; Article in Report of the 20th Annual Round Table Meeting on Ling. and Lang. Studies, Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects; 1970.

Noam Chomsky's numerous criticisms of formerly well-accepted beliefs about the nature of language learning (e.g., in his review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior)* have led to a diversity of views regarding the potential application of transformational theory to the teaching of English as a second language/ dialect. It seems clear, moreover, that his criticisms have shaken the faith of many teachers in the efficiency of the audio-lingual approach to second language/dialect teaching. While Chomsky's views have been directed towards problems in the general theory of human language acquisition rather than to principles involved in the teaching and learning of second languages/ dialects, the writer of this article does not think that it has been a mistake on the part of ESL specialists to attempt to relate his views to the latter situation. This paper explores a number of notions developed in transformational theory which appear to have direct bearing on a theory of language acquisition; these notions are discussed with a view to their relevance in the second language/dialect situation. Tentative conclusions concerning the pedagogical effects of these notions are drawn, with appropriate distinctions made between effects on the teaching of English as a second language and as a second dialect. Publications Department, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007 (Monograph Series No. 22, $2.95) .

ED 036 784 *Handbook for Teachers of English as a Second Language; Americanization-Literacy.* ROY W. STEEVES; AND OTHERS. 85 p. 1969. MF $0.50 HC $4.35.

This publication contains guidelines and suggestions to assist teachers of English as a second language in conducting programs that are oriented to-

ward Americanization and literacy. (It is particularly directed toward those newly assigned teachers who do not have a background in teaching English as a second language.) The authors present points to consider concerning the student, the teacher, and the administrator. Also presented is a suggested curriculum outlining what the student may be expected to master in the sound system, structure, vocabulary, and language skills on four sequential levels. A discussion of the audiolingual approach, textbook selection, evaluation, and a list of references in adult education conclude this handbook.

ED 036 786 *Writing to Create Ourselves: A Manual for Teachers of English and Creative Writing in Bureau of Indian Affairs Secondary Schools.* Indian Education Curriculum Bulletin No. 2. 186 p.; 1969. MF $0.75 HC $9.40.

This guide book, the result of several years' work with Indian young people, offers suggestions and ideas based on the principle that a student's writing improves in direct proportion to the amount of writing he does. To supply enthusiastic motivation is the first essential of all English teaching. Writing can best begin from individual personal experience rather than from the abstraction of an exercise to be corrected. Even students with the most mediocre natural gifts may be encouraged to write better than they otherwise would. The effectiveness of the method described in this guide is that it "makes the Indian or Eskimo student recognize that English can be a vehicle for a much broader area of his experience than he has permitted it to embrace so far." Suggestions for motivating individual student interest, topic selection, writing and rewriting practices are discussed by Terry Allen in the light of her lifetime of work in American Indian education. The foreward and sections on teaching and writing poetry, by John Povey, are based on his years of interest in discovering African authors and encouraging them to use the English language as a medium of creative expression.

ED 036 788 *Easy Crossword Puzzles for People Learning English.* WALTER POWELL ALLEN. 46 p.; 1956.

The crossword puzzles in this booklet were worked out as a type of language-learning game and have been used as an exercise in vocabulary building, practicing prefixes, suffixes, and word forms. They may be used as class and individual exercises and also as a form of team competition. The puzzles (20) are arranged in the order of vocabulary difficulty, the grading being based largely on Thorndike and Lorge's Teacher's *Word Book of 30,000 Words.* A key to the puzzles appears in the back of the book. English Language Services, Division of Washington Educational Research Associates, Inc., 5550 Wilkins Court, Rockville, Maryland 20852 ($0.85)

ED 036 791 *Essentials of English Phrase-and Cluase-Structure in Diagrams, with Commentary.* ROBERT A. HALL, JR. 35 p.; 1969.

This material was designed to present the essential features of English phrase and clause structure, for the benefit of both native speakers and learners of English as a second language. The author has followed a "deliberately electric" approach. The diagrams are developments of the type discussed and exemplified in Hockett, 1958, and Hall, 1964, combining a "quasi-tagmemic" approach (identifying the positions of "slots" in which forms of various classes may be used) with a graphic presentation of the possibilities open to a speaker once he has chosen a given syntactic path. Where useful, transformational formulations have been adopted (in as simple a form as possible), especially in stating relationships among clause types. The "Commentary on Phrase-

Structure Diagrams" chapter treats noun, pronominal, numeral, adjectival and verbal, prepositional, conjunctional, and headless or egocentric, phrases. The second half of the main work, "Commentary on Clause-Structure Diagrams," treats declarative and imperative clauses, subordination, and minor clauses. Teaching suggestions, bibliographical references, and illustrative diagrams complete the volume. Chilton Books Educational Division, 401 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106 (Order number 2259 $3.40)

ED 036 795 *ELS Teacher Education Program.* 7,000 p.; 26 vols. workbooks; 20 packages worksheets; 28 vols. reference books; 1967.

The ELS (English Language Services) Teacher Education Program is an experimental multi-media self-instructional course in the techniques of teaching English to speakers of other languages. It is designed as an alternate approach to conventional teacher-training methods, providing the means of producing new teachers without requiring a professional training staff. The course includes (1) 26 programmed workbooks covering English phonology and grammar, principles of language learning, classroom techniques, and general teaching methodology; (2) 163 8mm sound films; (3) 140 audio tapes; (4) 20 packages of worksheets, participation forms, and other training aids; and (5) 28 volumes of professional reference books in linguistics, methodology, phonology, and grammar. A "learning console," which seats the trainee in complete privacy, is equipped with a sound projector, tape deck, lamp, fan, two speakers, head phones, and accessory electronics. The trainee reads lessons, listens to tapes, observes demonstration films, arid practice teaches in simulated classroom situations. The course is designed for an estimated 200 hours of self-paced independent study, at the end of which the trainee responds "automatically and correctly to actual classroom situations and student needs with appropriate teacher behavior and teaching techniques." English Language Services, Division of Washington Educational Research Associates, Inc., 5550 Wilkins Court, Rockville, Maryland 20852.

ED 036 796 *Paragraph Writing.* FRANK CHAPLEN. 164 p.; 2 vols.; 1970.

The aim of this book is to help students of English (as a second language) to write clear, concise paragraphs. The basic requirements of good paragraph writing are discussed in detail, and illustrated with many examples. In addition, numerous exercises are provided which are designed to help students come to a fuller understanding of the facets of good paragraph writing covered in the book. A feature of the book is the writing assignments. These cover a wide range of subjects, and are graded in difficulty. Their purpose is to relieve the student of the problem of deciding what to write, and thus enable him to concentrate on the problem of how to put into practice what he has learned in the first part of the book. The accompanying teacher's edition contains, in addition to the student's material, a guide for the teacher and a key to the exercises. Oxford University Press, Inc., 200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

ED 036 797 *English Around the World.* WILLIAM F. MARQUARDT; AND OTHERS. 575 p.; 4 vols.; 1970.

A feature of this aural-oral program for teaching English language skills to non-English-speaking children in the primary grades is the colorfully illustrated, international context in which the pupils are introduced to customs and styles from around the world. The course consists of (1) teachers' guidebooks with detailed instructions for lesson preparation and presentation, and "extended language activities"; (2) pupils' skills books which present the

lesson content; (3) posters with accompanying teachers' booklet, vocabulary-developing display cards, and word cards; (4) practice pad/test books containing exercise materials for language pattern practice; and (5) record albums presenting conversations, songs, and patterns in a range of voices and regional variations. Level One materials (which prepare the pupils for reading and writing) and Level Two materials (with the execption of the guidebook and practice pad, forthcoming in 1970) are available from Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview, Illinois 60025. Level Three materials are forthcoming in 1971.

ED 036 798 *Teaching English as a Second Language.* Revised and Enlarged. MARY FINOCCHIARO. 478 p.; 1969.

This revised edition of the author's 1958 publication, aimed to "help teachers or language specialists make the transition from linguistic and educational theory to actual teaching practice," includes the following units: (1) Planning for Language Teaching and Learning, (2) Teaching English as a Second Language, (3) General Methods of Teaching, (4) The Role of the Supervisor, (5) Evaluating the Program, and (6) Material and Texts. Appended are some concluding remarks on second language learning, a glossary of useful terms, a listing of resources and texts, and a subject index. Harper& Row, Publishers, Inc., 49 East 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

ED 036 799 *English as a Second Language: From Theory to Practice.* A Synthesis of Lectures and Demonstrations Given Between 1960 and 1964 for the U.S. Department of State. MARY FINOCCHIARO. 143 p.; 1964.

Designed for use both in the United States and abroad, this manual for teachers of English as a second language is concerned with "minimum essentials" and is written in lay language. In the first chapter, the author deals with the nature of language and language learning; some features of the English language; students, school, and community; and contributions of other sciences. In Chapters II and III, she discusses curriculum development and language skills and in Chapters IV and V, materials and techniques of instruction, testing and evaluation. In the final chapter she offers practical suggestions for dealing with such classroom problems as overly large groups, slow or disinterested students, and disparity of linguistic backgrounds and age. Appended to this guide are definitions of useful terms, a bibliography, some additional resources, and an index. Regents Publishing Co., Simon and Shuster, Inc., Educational Division, 1 West 39th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018 ($1.95).

ED 036 804 *TESOL, 1967-68: A Survey.* KENNETH CROFT. 36 p.; 1970. MF $0.25 HC $1.90.

The first part of this survey is an introduction to the development of the TESOL Organization (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and its professional activities, such as teacher training and experimental work with teaching English as a second dialect. The second part is the 1967–68 international TESOL bibliography, which lists works in the following fifteen categories: (1) Surveys and Bibliographies, (2) Teaching in Specific Places to Specific Groups, (3) General Methodology, (4) Pronunciation, (5) Grammar, (6) Reading, (7) Composition, (8) Vocabulary, (9) Literature (10) Testing, (11) Teaching Aids, (12) Teacher Training, (13) Bilingual Education, (14) Standard English as a Second Dialect, and (15) Other Related Matters. TESOL, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 20007 ($1.00).

ED 036 805 *Aural Comprehension Tests and How to Prepare Them.* DESMOND P.COSGRAVE 12p. *The Modern English Journal;* vl nl Feb. 1970. MF $0.25 HC $0.70

Aural comprehension tests, which are designed so that the student can give non-vocal reactions to orally-presented problems are valuable for two reasons: they provide the teacher of English with an objective and accurate measure of the pupils' comprehension and can also be given simultaneously to a large group of students. According to the author, it is very important that this kind of test be properly prepared, taking into consideration that the structured oral approach must use meaningful alternatives based on expressions already practiced in class. These tests are best administered with a tape recorder or a language laboratory to eliminate possible subjectivity in the teacher's voice, and are apparently most successful when the answer form is completion, single response, or supplying a sentence to describe a situation. When using contrastive elements, it is best not to give widely varying alternatives; although three alternatives are preferable, some structures will not permit this. The author further suggests ways of preparing the test script so it will be meaningful and ways of checking the reliability y of the test itself. He emphasizes that the aural comprehension test cannot measure a student's speaking ability. Seido Language Institute, 20-1 Ohara-cho, Ashiya-shi, Hyogo-ken, Japan (Annual Subscription, $2.50).

ED 036 806 *Some Uses of Tape Recordings in the Classroom.* DAVID SELL. *The Modern English Journal;* vI nl February 1970. 15 p. MF $0.25 HC $0.85.

The main premise of this article is that tape recordings can be a very useful tool to the classroom language teacher. The author points out that the tapes are ideal for the habituation type of learning (dialogs, memorization, repetition, etc.) which is preliminary to the communication stage of language learning. He is mainly concerned with five types of habituation learning-dialogs, narratives, drills, quizzes, and tests. He gives samples for each type of recorded practice (active and passive participation), illustrating the rationale for each procedure. He points out that being able to stop and repeat the recording also prevents monotony and fatigue for both the teacher and student. It is also easy to adapt the recorded drills for use as quizzes and tests. In his section on the use of tape recordings for more advanced levels, the author discusses how the recorder can expand the student's exposure to different dialects and language styles. Seido Language Institute, 20-1 Ohara-cho, Ashiya-shi, Hyogo-ken, Japan (Annual Subscription, $2.50).

ED 037 702 *The Medium of Instruction (Mother-Tongue/Second Language) and the Formation of Scientific Concepts.* PETER STREVENS. 15 p.; Paper delivered at the Rehovot International Conference on Science and Education in Developing States, Israel, August 1969. MF $0.25 HC $0.85.

The author poses this question: When the learning of science is carried on in a foreign language, is the extent and nature of concept-formation different from that required of the student who learns science entirely in his mother tongue? Because the term "scientific concept" is ambiguous, the author suggests five distinct definitions-four groups of "generalizing concepts" and one group of "scientific concepts." While the generalizing concepts form part of the general education of most young people who reach the secondary level, the scientific concepts are specific and peculiar to various branches of science. It is important that the complexity of concepts presented at each stage not go beyond the capacity of the individual student. The same is true for language study; the problem is that many languages do not contain equivalents

of the verbalizations of scientific concepts, so when scientific concepts are being learned, there could exist a certain "conceptual distance" between the two languages. The author suggests that language teaching emphasize detailed observation rather than subjective response.

ED 037 707 *Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect to Primary School Children in Hilo, Hawaii.* Volume I. ROBERT O. H. PETERSON. 220 p.; 1969. MF $1.00 HC $11.10.

This document describes a four-year program designed to develop and test a method for teaching standard English to nonstandard dialect speakers in the first four grades of elementary school in Hilo, Hawaii. Chapters in this first volume are (1) Introduction, (2) Project Site and Evaluation Strategy, (3) Instrumentation, (4) Development of Lesson Materials, (5) Presentation of Lessons, and (6) Conclusions and Recommendations. Appended is a contrastive analysis of Standard American English and the Hawaii Islands Dialect of English. ED 037 708 contains the Teacher's Guide and Lessons.

ED 037 708 Teaching *Standard English English as a Second Dialect to Primary School Children in Hilo, Hawaii.* Appendix B: Teacher's Guide and Lessons. Volume II. ELAINE E. SUGAI; MIYOKO SUGANO. 707 p.; 1969. MF $2.75 HC $35.45.

This document comprises the teacher's guide and lessons for teaching standard English to kindergarten through third grade children in Hilo, Hawaii. Sections are (1) Teachers's Guide, (2) Audio-Visual Aids, (3) Phonemic Symbol List, (4) Phonology Lesson Section, and (5) Structure Lesson Section. Appended are a short glossary of terms, acknowledgments, and bibliography. See ED 037 707 for Volume I.

ED 037 714 *Two Ways of Looking at Error-Analysis.* PETER STREVENS. 11 p.; Prepublication draft. 1969. MF $0.25 HC $0.65.

In this paper the author discusses "error-analysis"; its emergence as a recognized technique in applied linguistics, with a function in the preparation of new or improved teaching materials; and its new place in relation to theories of language teaching. He believes that error-analysis has suddenly found a new importance, and from being mainly a technique for short-circuting the practical difficulty of bilingual comparison it has become a vital source of information about the progress of a learner towards his eventual competence in the language and a crucial component in the search for adequate theories of language learning and language teaching.

ED 037 715 *A Spoken Word Count.* LYLE V. JONES; JOSEPH M. WEPMAN. 60 p.; 1966.

This word count is a composite listing of the different words spoken by a selected sample of 54 English-speaking adults and the frequency with which each of the different words was used in a particular test. The stimulus situation was identical for each subject and consisted of 20 cards of the Thematic Apperception Test. Although most word counts are for written language, this spoken one was specifically undertaken to develop a base level from normal spoken language so that later a contrastive linguistic analysis of the verbal efforts of adult aphasic patients could be made. Three types of word frequency lists results— (1) words in the order of relative frequency of use, (2) words

organized alphabetically within part-of-speech classes, and (3) words ordered alphabetically throughout. Language Research Associates, 175 East Delaware Place, Chicago, Illinois 60611. ($3.50).

ED 037 716 *A Spoken Word Count (* Children—Ages 5, 6, and 7). JOSEPH M. WEPMAN; WILBUR HASS. 94 p.; 1969.

Relatively little research has been done on the quantitative characteristics of children's word usage. This spoken count was undertaken to investigate those aspects of word usage. and frequency which could cast light on lexical processes in grammar and verbal development in children. Three groups of 30 children each (boys and girls) from middle-class background were used. No child had any apparent speech or hearing handicap; all were from relatively urban areas and came from English-speaking homes. Each child was shown a 20-card form of the Thematic Apperception Test and was asked to tell stories for the pictures displayed on the cards. Each story-telling session lasted one hour and was tape-recorded. For each age group there are three word lists: (1) words ordered by frequency of use, (2) words categorized by part-of-speech classes, and (3) words alphabetically ordered. The codification procedure and the rationale for each frequency list are explained in detail. Language Research Associates, 175 East Delaware Place, Chicago, Illinois 60611 ($6.50) .

ED 037 720 *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City.* Urban Language Series No. 6. RALPH W. FASOLD; ROGER W. SHUY; eds. 158 p. MF $0.75.

There are three approaches to the nonstandard dialects of Negro inner-city children: eradication; biloquialism, sometimes called functional bidialectism; and appreciation of dialect differences with no attempt to change speech patterns. The essays in the present volume are all written from the biloquialist point of view, which advocates that inner-city children be taught standard English to facilitate their functioning in the greater society without being encouraged to give up their home language. Whereas most past biloquialist discussions have offered only more-or-less programmatic suggestions of philosophies and possible methodologies, the articles in this volume attempt to offer practical solutions to the language problems of inner-city Negro children. The articles are: William A. Stewart, "Foreign Language Teaching Methods in Quasi-Foreign Language Situations"; Joan C. Baratz, "Educational Considerations for Teaching Standard English to Negro Children"; Ralph W. Fasold and Walter Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect"; Irwin Feigenbaum, "The Use of Nonstandard English in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison"; Walter Wolfram, "Sociolinguistic Implications for Educational Sequencing" (ED 029280, abstracted in *TESOL Quarterly,* III, 4, December 1969) ; Roger W. Shuy, "Teacher Training and Urban Language Problems" (ED 030 116). Publications Division, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($5.00).

ED 037 721 *A Non-Contrastive Approach to Error Analysis.* JACK C. RICHARDS. 37 p.; Paper presented at the TESOL Convention, San Francisco, March 1970. MF $0.25 HC $1.95.

This is a discussion Of another phase of bilingualism—-structural difficulties in the target language of the student which impede his second language acquisition. The paper focuses on errors in learning English which do not derive from transfers from another language, and which cannot be predicted from contrastive analysis. These are intralingual and developmental errors; they

reflect the learner's competence at a particular stage and illustrate some of the general characteristics of language acquisition. To best investigate and distinguish among interlanguage, intralingual, and developmental errors, the author studied speakers of varied languages; the diverse cross-section reduced greatly the possibility of mistaking intralingual errors for language interference. He concludes that an analysis of errors should lead to an examination of teaching materials and the underlying language-learning assumptions. There is an appendix of typical intralingual and developmental errors.

ED 037 722 *Language & Reading: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* DORIS V. GUNDERSON, comp. 278 p.; 1970.

This compilation consists of a series of articles on selected aspects of reading problems. In her preface, the compiler insists upon the educational value of examining several perspectives on the same problem; thus, this book contains discussion by linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and specialists in certain fields of medicine. There are three main sections— (1) Reading and Language, (2) Reading Research, and (3) Reading Problems. The first section contains papers concerned with language and theories of reading, and includes some discussion of beginning reading. Papers in section two deal with research: the direction in which reading research should go, a conceptual analysis of reading, and a research study on perceptual training. The third section includes several articles which discuss factors contributing to reading disability, a discussion of the confusing use of the term dyslexia, and a paper on reading disability in Japan. The final paper is a current look at the state of reading instruction. Publications Section, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($8.00).

ED 037 723 *Linguistic Change in the Colonial and Immigrant Languages in the United States.* GLENN G. GILBERT. 18 p.; Revised edition of paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, San Francisco, December 1969. MF $0.25 HC $1.00.

This paper deals with three problems encountered in the areaI study of "colonial" and "immigrant" languages (used in Haugen's sense) and examines how data presented in tabular or map form can assist in their solution. They are: (1) the mechanisms by which the speakers of various dialects of a single language-dialects which are often mutually unintelligible in Europe-make themselves understood in the new situation; (2) the compilation of glossaries recording the lexical "adjustments" brought about by a socio-physical environment ranging from somewhat different to much different from that of Europe; and (3) idiolectal versus communal effects of wholesale bilingualism over large areas. The author maintains that a process similar to the creolization of a pidgin or contact language takes place in interdialectual situations involving the immigrant generation as opposed to succeeding generations. He discusses the use of theory oriented (rather than data oriented) elicitation procedures and questionnaires for both phonology and syntax in the light of recent theories of rule reordering and rule additions in areal linguistics.

ED 037 724 *The Language Development Project; A Pilot Study in Languuge Learning.* A New York State Urban Aid Project. Mid-Year Report, February 1969. 70 p. MF $0.50 HC $3.60.

The Language Development Project is designed to provide assistance to disadvantaged primary-grade children who are learning English as a sec-

ond language or who use non-standard speech patterns. Materials and special teaching techniques used in the project were originally developed at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL) for use with English-as-a-second-language learners in San Antonio, Texas. SEDL materials in the areas of "Self-Concept" and "Science" were purchased from the Laboratory, and the children use these special language development materials on a daily basis. In addition, they receive assistance in language development during their other instructional time. This document contains a list of schools and staff involved in the project, a schedule of workshops and visitations, an outline of the duties of the demonstration teachers, and a comprehensive evaluation of The Language Development Program's first year (1967-68). See related documents ED 037 725 and 726 for subsequent reports.

ED 037 725 *The Language Development Project; A Pilot Study in Language Learning.* A New York State Urban Aid Project. End-Year Report, June 30, 1969. 97 p. MF $0.50.

The format of this report is similar to that of other reports on The Language Development Project. See ED 037 724 and 726 for descriptions of the project and the format of the reports. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.]

ED 037 726 *The Language Development Project; A Pilot Study in Language Learning.* A New York State Urban Aid Project. Mid-Year Report, January 31, 1970. 70 p. MF $0.50 HC $3.60.

This document comprises a report on The Language Development Project during the first half of the 1969–70 school year. It contains sections on the background of the project; its organization, staff training, and activities; materials used in the project; evaluation; and plans for the Spring term. Appended are various schedules for teacher-training workshops, visitations, and monthly meetings, agendas for workshops and the Winter Leadership Conference, and several memoranda and forms that were sent out during the Fall term. See related documents ED 037 724 and 725.

Announcements

1971 TESOL CONVENTION

New Orleans

Jung Hotel

March 3-7

The Convention Chairman, Allen Tucker, would like to call your attention to the fact that the 1971 Convention will include an extra day in order to allow more time for the kinds of profitable discussions and meetings typical of TESOL Conventions.

MANUSCRIPT FORMAT FOR TESOL QUARTERLY

All manuscripts submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* for possible publication should be double-spaced with each footnote typed directly below the line to which it refers.

An abstract of two hundred words or less should accompany all manuscripts submitted. The abstracts of papers which are published will be forwarded to the Modern Language Association for inclusion in the MLA Abstract System.