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Biculturalism: Some Reflections and Speculations*

Christina Bratt Paulston

This paper explores in a speculative fashion the process and characteristics of becoming bicultural. The basic argument is that becoming bicultural is an eclectic process which results in an idiosyncratic mixture of the two (C1 and C2) cultures with one basic "cultural competence" but with two sets of "socio-cultural performance" (in Keesing’s 1974 terms).

My colleague Thomas Scovel talks about a phenomenon which he calls "the hypothesis of professional weakness." By this term he refers to the occasional tendency one finds in stutterers to become speech pathologists, the slightly loony to become psychiatrists, and childhood weaklings like O. J. Simpson (with rickets) to become professional athletes; in other words, characteristics of the self motivate the choice of professional field. It is exactly such a self-exploratory urge that provided the surface motivation for this paper. More seriously, most of the work I have done during the last few years has been on bilingual education, an educational institution which in the United States is referred to in one breath as bilingual/bicultural education by some. What do they mean by bicultural?

There is virtually nothing written on biculturalism. The card catalog at Pitt’s Hillman Library has exactly five entries under Biculturalism—all dealing with Anglo-French relations in Canada. Anglo-Canadians are not my idea of an outstanding example of biculturalism, but indeed Webster’s definition is perfectly clear: "the existence of two distinct cultures in one nation." It seems that we have changed the meaning of the word, but without arriving at any generally agreed on sense.

The way bicultural is used in recent dissertations is invariably in the sense of the almost slogan-like “bilingual/bicultural education programs,” where such

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*This article is the written version of my TESOL presidential address in Miami, 1977. I have deliberately kept the somewhat chatty style of the original in order to underscore the speculative, non-scholarly nature of the paper. I owe thanks to many individuals who have shared with me their own introspections and insights into the nature of biculturalism; without their contributions I could not have written the paper.

Dr. Christina Bratt Paulston is Professor of Linguistics and director of the English Language Institute, University of Pittsburgh. She served as President of TESOL in 1976-77. Her many publications include From Substitution to Substance: a Handbook of Structural Pattern Drills (with M. Bruder); Implications of Language Theory for Language Planning; Developing Communicative Competence: Roleplays in English as a Second Language (with Britten, Brunetti and Hoover); Procedures and Techniques in Teaching English as a Second Language (with M. Bruder).

The following information is relevant for interpreting my comments. I was born and grew up in Sweden until I was 18 at which time I came to the United States, of which country I am now a citizen. Subsequent to 1960, I have spent some seven years living abroad in Morocco, India, Peru, as well as in Sweden.
dissertations typically ignore the bicultural element and rather examine either language proficiency or self-concept. To no surprise, Chicano children in Spanish/English programs show increased self-concept—but the Anglo and Black children in such programs do too (Paulston 1977)—which leaves me wondering even more just what bicultural means.

In this paper I want to consider three questions: (1) Is there, and can there be, such a thing as being bicultural in a fashion similar to which one can be bilingual? (2) If there is, and it is far from as obvious as one might think, then what is it? (3) Finally and briefly, what are the implications for the schools, for the universities, for any institutions which deal with members from another culture? I must point out that these are very elusive topics and I readily admit the speculative nature of my comments. In my readings I have drawn primarily on anthropology, social psychology and clinical psychiatry, all of which share the problem of soft data. When social psychology does get down to hard data, I find that for my purposes the results become trivial. I have found insightful interpretations along the lines of those in Seward’s Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict and Brislin’s et al. Cross-Culture Perspectives on Learning to be far more helpful in sorting out the issues involved.

Just as helpful have been the numerous interviews and discussions I have had with other bicultural individuals, as they have crossed my path during the two or three years this paper has been in the writing. I have been careful not just to introspect and generalize from my own experience because two facts have become clear from these interviews: 1) bicultural individuals do not agree on whether one can be bicultural, and 2) there are different types of bicultural individual.

1. Some Considerations of Culture

Definitions are boring, but one cannot very well consider biculturalism without first considering what is meant by culture. Anthropology deals exhaustively with culture and, as we will see, defines it in various ways, but the caution needed is that the emphasis is always on the patterned behavior of the group—not on the behavior of individuals who cross the boundaries of ethnic groups.

Roger Keesing (1974) reviews the conflicting theories of culture within the discipline of anthropology. He distinguishes between two major paradigms. The first encompasses those theories which see culture as an adaptive system serving to relate human communities to their ecological settings and cultural change primarily as a process of adaptation and (what amounts to) natural selection. For gaining an understanding of biculturalism, such an approach is clearly not fruitful.

The other major paradigm, according to Keesing, includes the ideational theories in which culture can be interpreted as, a) a cognitive system, with inferred ideational codes lying behind the realm of observable events (Goodenough, Frake, Metzger and Williams, Wallace); as b) a structural system: Levi-Strauss "views cultures as shared symbolic systems that are cumulative creations of mind;
he seeks to discover in the structuring of cultural domains—myth, art, kinship, language—the principles of mind that generate these cultural elaborations’ (Keesing 1974:78); or as c) a symbolic system of shared symbols of meaning. More recently, Schneider has expanded and clarified his concept of culture. Since Schneider’s contrast between “normative” and “cultural” levels is conceptually important, it is worth quoting him at greater length as he clarifies it:

Where the normative system . . . is Ego centered and particularly appropriate to decision-making or interaction models of analysis, culture is system-centered . . . Culture takes man’s position vis-a-vis the world rather than a man’s position on how to get along in this world as it is given . . . Culture concerns the stage, the stage setting, and the cast of characters; the normative system consists in the stage directions for the actors and how the actors should play their parts on the stage that is so set (as quoted in Keesing 1974:81).

However theoretically interesting all this is, it is still not very helpful to our particular problem. In fact, in using most of these theories as a conceptual framework, one would be forced to conclude that logically a person cannot be bi-cultural. But Keesing goes on to what he calls a conceptual sorting out, where he distinguishes between a cultural and a socio-cultural system:

Sociocultural systems represent the social realizations or enactments of ideational designs-for-living in particular environments. A settlement pattern is an element of a sociocultural system, not an element of a cultural system in this sense. (The same conceptual principles might yield densely clustered villages or scattered homesteads, depending on water sources, terrain, arable land, demography, and the peaceful or headhunting predilections of the neighboring tribe.) A mode of subsistence technology similarly is part of a sociocultural system, but not strictly speaking part of a cultural system (people with the same knowledge and set of strategies for subsisting might be primarily horticulturalists in one setting and primarily fishermen in another, might make adzes of flint in one setting or shells in another, might plant taro on one side of a mountain range or yams on the other side) (Keesing 1974:82).

This is beginning to sound very much like langue and parole, and indeed the conceptual untangling Keesing suggests for culture is very familiar to us: he suggests the notion of cultural competence as an analog to linguistic competence:

Culture, conceived as a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles, and varying between individuals in its specificities, is then not all of what an individual knows and thinks and feels about his world. It is his theory of what his fellows know, believe, and mean, his theory of the code being followed, the game being played, in the society into which he was born. It is this theory to which a native actor refers in interpreting the unfamiliar or the ambiguous, in interacting with strangers (or supernatural), and in other settings peripheral to the familiarity of mundane everyday life space; and with which he creates the stage on which the games of life are played. We can account for the individual actor’s perception of his culture as external (and as potentially constraining and frustrating); and we can account for the way individuals then can consciously use, manipulate, violate, and try to change what they conceive to be the rules of the game. But note that the actor’s “theory” of his culture, like his theory of his language, may be in large measure unconscious. Actors follows rules of which they are not consciously
aware, and assume a world to be "out there" that they have in fact created with culturally shaped and shaded patterns of mind.

We can recognize that not every individual shares precisely the same theory of the cultural code, that not every individual knows about all sectors of the culture. Thus a cultural description is always an abstracted composite. Depending on the heuristic purposes at hand, we, like the linguists, can plot the distribution of variant versions of competence among subgroups, roles, and individuals. And, like the linguists, we can study the processes of change in conceptual codes as well as in patterns of social behavior (Keesing 1974:89).

One reason for this form of untangling is that it will allow him to deal with the difference between a collective ideational system and the psychodynamics of the individual—a problem which is at the conceptual heart of biculturalism. I will come back to this later because I believe that it is not until we can understand this relationship that we can understand what it means to be bicultural.

Keesing goes on to suggest that anthropologists should conceptualize culture as cultural competence, only within the wider concern of socio-cultural performance. He concludes:

Conceiving culture as an ideational subsystem within a vastly complex system, biological, social and symbolic, and grounding our abstract models in the concrete particularities of human social life, should make possible a continuing dialectic that yields deepening understanding. Whether in this quest the concept of culture is progressively refined, radically reinterpreted, or progressively extinguished will in the long run scarcely matter if along the way it has led us to ask strategic questions and to see connections that would otherwise have been hidden (Keesing 1974:94).

I should not at all be surprised if the sorts of questions we have to ask about the nature of biculturalism might not contribute to seeing and understanding "connections that would otherwise have been hidden."

What one needs to do next is to break down culture learning, i.e. C, learning, into its component parts to see just what it is you acquire as cultural competence. I shall ultimately argue that a bicultural individual—unlike a bilingual (although he can function with two sets of performances)—has in fact only one set of cultural competence and further that this competence is partially eclectic and shows nowhere near the same conformity between individuals as does linguistic competence.

Before I do this, however, I would like to sidetrack in order to mention some aspects of biculturalism or becoming bicultural which I find important, but which do not fit neatly—or rather which I cannot fit neatly—within my framework. Eventually they will have to be fitted, but for now I will just mention them.

2. A Digression

Bicultural status seems almost always to be gained as a resident in the other country or culture. As I shall discuss later, becoming bicultural is not just a cognitive process which can be carried out apart from the members of the culture. In this aspect becoming bicultural differs from becoming bilingual. It is per-
fectly possible to learn a foreign language from non-native speakers. (As a matter of fact, I never had an English teacher who was a native speaker.) It is also possible to become bilingual without becoming bicultural, while the reverse is not true. Many, naively to my mind, claim that to become bilingual is to become bicultural; but apart from trivialities, this need not follow. Israeli counter intelligence is said to have agents of native Arabic proficiency; yet who would want to argue that these agents have embraced Arabic culture at any significant level, such as religion and world-view? But bilingual they are.

I myself became fluent in French the years I lived in Morocco, but I certainly did not learn any French culture—those cultural rules I learned were Arabic even though through the medium of French. As a matter of fact, I disliked the French colons in Morocco and their attitudes towards the Arabs and had virtually nothing to do with them. Attitudes and perceptions are enormously important in becoming bicultural, because one does not really emulate behavior one disapproves of, at least not at any deeper level.

Of crucial importance is whether or not the process of becoming bicultural is voluntary or involuntary, whether it represents integration or forced assimilation. The topic surfaced frequently in the interviews, and it is clear that the origin of the contact situation is one reason for the fact that being bicultural means different things to different people.

Consider the many children born of British parents who grew up in the Commonwealth. They certainly no longer belong in Kenya or the like, nor do they feel at home in England. "I just feel that I don't belong anywhere," said my friend. This odd feeling of belonging nowhere is frequently reported on by people who grew up in a contact situation.

Some have used the concept of "third culture" to deal with the phenomena of "the cultural patterns created, learned, and shared by members of different societies who are personally involved in relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other" (J. & R. Useem 1967). In other words, in the contact between two cultures, a third culture becomes created, as in the American colony in India with its subgroups of missionaries, businessmen, and government officials, etc. For my questions it is not a useful concept, as it lumps together all those factors which I would like to tease apart.

We emphasize the notion that one culture is not better than another, only different, with the result, I think, that this mind-set obscures the process of becoming bicultural. When I lived and taught in a small rural town of some 300 families in southern Minnesota, I was always odd man out—and eventually came to accept at some subliminal level that there must be something wrong with me. And of all unlikely places, I found my bearings again in Tangier, where I felt in a sense as if I had come home. Tangier of course was nothing like Sweden, but it had a fairly large cosmopolitan European settlement and it was easier for me to relate to them than to puritan Minnesota. At this level it is not true that one culture is not better, or rather, perceived as better, than another—the selection of cultural traits is based on evaluation.
3. Becoming Bicultural

Everett Kleinjans (1975) suggests a model for learning a second culture which provides a framework for thinking about the dimensions of not how but what we learn in learning a C. The model has three categories: Cognition, Affection and Action, and each domain has a number of levels from superficial down to profound.

Under cognition we find the following subtypes: Information, Analysis, Synthesis, Comprehension, and Insight. Cognition deals with knowing the what and why about another culture and can partially be learned outside the culture itself. Briefly, information deals with encyclopedia type facts; person, places, events, dates (cf. the bicultural component of the bilingual programs). Analysis separates out parts of the culture, such as family system, education process, religion, art, language, etc., while synthesis integrates the meaningful relationships of the parts. Whereas synthesis deals with facts or existing elements, comprehension deals with new items, with anticipation, extrapolation, and prediction.

This sort of knowledge about other cultures is enormously important for people like us who constantly deal with persons from other cultures. Let me give you some examples. In the English Language Institute, we had a Saudi student who because of poor work, excessive absences and attitude was not allowed, according to Institute rules which he knew well, to register for the next term. Mary Bruder, our Associate Director, came to see me. "Throw him out" said I. "But he promised" said Mary. I suppose I said something like "promises schmomises." But Mary pointed out to me—who should have known—that when Arabs promise, they usually keep their promise. So the young man was called into my office, duly raked over the coals while he piteously, and I must admit, charmingly, promised all the while. "If you had our book here," he said. "It's all right," said I most seriously, "you may promise to Allah." So the young man, eyes heavenward with lifted hand swore to reform his errant ways. He also signed a most solemn written agreement/promise, which Mary had composed for the occasion. My guess is that our prediction that he will shape up is accurate.\(^2\)

Another example concerns a Peruvian student from Puno, a Quechua Indian who came to see me because he was feeling sick and nauseated, could not sleep, and in fact wanted to go home, an enormous sacrifice on his part since he had a full scholarship at an American university, the chance of a lifetime. Now, Quechuas distinguish between somatic and psychosomatic illnesses, and for the latter they seek the help not of a physician but of a curandera, who cures by mildly magical rituals. I checked to see whether he had seen a physician, which he had. "Well," I said, "what you need is a curandera, not me," and went on to explain to him the symptoms of culture shock. As he looked at me wide-eyed, I

\(^2\) As this article goes to print, I reluctantly submit the following addendum. Our prediction was wrong, but not for the expected reasons. The young man subsequently succumbed to emotional distress which incapacitated him for the serious work of intensive language learning. Three of his colleagues did pull through, similarly given a second chance. The episode also illustrates how difficult it is to identify incipient disturbance cross-culturally.
explained that in all likelihood at least two thirds of his group were going through the same symptoms he had. When I added that probably he also found the food terrible and that he sorely missed rice with his meals, he clearly thought I was clairvoyant if not a curandera. I forebore to mention that every student we have ever had from rice eating cultures has had that complaint. When he realized that his symptoms really were normal for his situation he went away smiling, saying "Doctora, we have a saying that suffering is the 'salsa de la vida.'" The next time I heard about him was after his first term at his university where he had amassed the respectable GPA of 3.57. Clearly, not only is it useful for us to know about other cultural rules, it also is helpful to the people we deal with.

Finally, by *insight* Kleinjans means the ability to not only look at a culture from the inside but to see the world outside as the people of that culture see it. When I told Mary about the Saudi promising to Allah we both smiled, partially I suppose out of goodwill, but more because, although at the time it was a most appropriate Arab thing to do, it struck me, at least, as a very un-American thing to do; to call your student in and make him promise to God that he will do his homework on time just isn't the thing American professors are supposed to do. It is probably unconstitutional.

But this ability to look at the same phenomenon, or rather to be able to interpret what the same phenomenon means from the viewpoint of two cultures, is, I think, a hallmark of the bicultural individual. My husband sometimes says, "what would your parents say if they saw you now?" and it is exactly this kind of bi-focal view he has in mind. Although my behavior is socially appropriate as far as he is concerned, he is teasing me for deviant behavior according to Swedish rules.

But note that all of this has only to do with the head, so to speak; none of it has anything to do with the attitudes and feelings people have towards other cultures.

Under the *Affection* domain, Kleinjans posits the following levels: Perception, Appreciation, Reevaluation, Reorientation, and Identification. *Perception* and *Appreciation* simply refer to the coming to know and to like aspects of another culture, food and music as well as aesthetic and moral values. It is hard for me now to think that Arabic music once just sounded like awful noise or that I thought Peruvian food was dreadful. Over time I learned to appreciate both. I eventually also learned to function with a different system of, time, but I rarely appreciated it. It is, at superficial behavior levels, perfectly possible to understand and even to be able to behave in ways one still dislikes.

*Reevaluation* is the process of changing one's values. "It might mean a shift in priorities, the giving up of certain values for new ones, or an enlargement of one's value system." *Reorientation* means changing the direction of one's life, "spurred by values he has adopted from the second culture." *Identification* is becoming one with the people of the other culture, "A person changes citizenship." At these levels I don't believe it is possible to be bicultural. When I took out U.S. citizenship, I had to give up my Swedish citizenship; I could not have
both. And so it is with conflicting cultural values; in the same way as one just
can’t believe in the overriding importance of consensus and conciliation of
group interests at the same time as one believes in confrontation and the over-
riding rights of the individual in solving problems.

So what happens, I think, is that the individual picks and chooses. Some
aspects of culture are beyond modification. Many Americans comment on my
frankness, but Swedes never do. Now I wouldn’t want to claim that Swedes lie
less than Americans, but I do think there is more emphasis on the value of
always telling the truth or saying nothing in the socialization process of Swedish
children. I know some people dislike me for it, and still I don’t change because
I simply cannot. But many aspects of culture are within the bounds of modifica-
tion; one can learn to be half an hour late and not consider it moral slackness;
one can learn to eat with one’s fingers and still feel like an adult. But such modifi-
cations mainly concern surface behavior, behavior one can switch off and on.

Now, to my mind, one of the major questions which remains to be dealt
with is that of acquiring a cultural competence which is based on two cultural
systems. Are some patterns more salient than others, are some reinforcements
stronger than others, are some values more inherently right than others?

We can find some directions for beginning to think about this problem in
(at first glance) an unlikely source: Robert Edgerton’s monograph Deviance: A
A Cross-Cultural Perspective. Now I am most specifically not claiming that being
bicultural is deviant behavior, but I wonder if some of the same processes in-
volved in deviant behavior may not also be involved in becoming bicultural.

To wit. Edgerton, in this very carefully reasoned work, discusses the dif-
culty anthropology has had in accounting for deviant behavior. All societies
have cultural rules for appropriate behavior, yet all people misbehave. True,
what is appropriate behavior in one culture is deviant behavior in another and
vice versa; yet all people misbehave and some more than others. Why? After
a review of various theories which seek to explain deviance (social strain theory,
subcultural conflict theory, psychological defense or commitment, biological de-
fect, human nature), Edgerton considers the data of deviance from a cross-
cultural perspective; data which need not concern us here, however fascinating
it is. His attempt to link temperament and deviance does concern us, however.

Individuality of temperament is a genetic predisposition to react to an en-
vironment in certain ways. Temperament as such is largely unyielding to cultural
pressure, and he draws on the work of Thomas, Chess and Birch (1968) in this
formulation. People are born with varying patterns of temperament, and these
are relatively difficult to change. He goes on to say that societies therefore, can
easily choose to define some children as bad and others as good. But it should
be equally true that individual who are given a chance to pick and choose be-
tween two cultural systems can equally easily choose to define some cultural
traits as good and some as bad and pick accordingly. I am sure that is what I
have done. But what I like and dislike does not conform to any one culture; it is
an idiosyncratic mixture of Swedish and American cultural competence even
though I am capable of appropriate socio-cultural performance, in Keesing’s terms, in both cultures.

I think one thing that happens with or in bicultural eclecticism is that the bicultural individual becomes more impervious to sanctions he does not like. (I am not absolutely sure about this, but many of the informants also said this was how they felt.) For example, when a Latin American colleague tells me that I am being anal compulsive about time, I just shrug off the comment and claim Swedish status. But that does not stop me at all, when my mother hurries me because I am five minutes late, from informing her that Swedes are guilt-ridden, super-ego bound, hysterical about time, and claim American status.

An obvious difference between bilingualism and biculturalism is that when you speak Swedish or English, it is perfectly obvious which set of rules you are drawing upon. But with behavior it is not necessarily true just which cultural system your performance rules belong to. This can be a cause for problems, especially with very fluent speakers, as the addressee will fail to recognize another cultural system at work and instead merely see deviant behavior. As Virginia Allen has pointed out, it may be quite useful to keep a foreign accent.

Sometimes behavior may be deviant to both cultural systems. Occasionally on the street, by the bus stop next to my department, there are some black school boys who beg money for bus fare. Their mothers would have their hide, if they only knew, but friendly whites exclaim over black social conditions and pay off their collective guilt with a quarter. The boys’ behavior is deviant to both cultures; the boys, however, accurately bank on whites’ ignorance of acceptable black behavior and so run their game successfully. I suspect most bicultural individuals, consciously or not, occasionally run the same sort of game where the individual claims status of the other culture when in fact his behavior is highly idiosyncratic and outside both his ideational cultural systems.

Sometimes it happens that the individual is not allowed to pick and choose between his two cultures but will have conflicting values imposed on him. The result is often some form of psychopathology. Seward in her fascinating collection of case studies (1958) documents the stress of such individuals, like the Japanese Nisei boy torn between his desire to espouse modern egalitarian values and the imposition of his father’s strictly traditional Japanese values. His response to such conflict was mental breakdown, the inability (refusal?) to function with any cultural rules.

4. Implications for Education

In language teaching we are increasingly making the distinction between our teaching and the students’ learning, with the emphasis on the latter. This dichotomy becomes very obvious when one is talking about biculturalism. Culture can be taught only at a cognitive level. Such information is important especially for foreign students studying in the United States. Teaching culture at this level may seem trivial, like telling Muslim students that as long as they buy kosher meat they need not worry about pork, but learning such rules re-
duces anxiety and culture shock. Such rules carry the advantage that the learning of them rarely entails approval or endorsement, which is not true of cultural rules or patterns in the affective domain. Foreign students are sensitive to having foreign values imposed on them while they usually don’t mind learning “local” eccentricities, which is of course how others’ rules strike one. Learning cultural trivia-rules is learning to get around in another culture.

An important aspect of culture which falls under the cognitive domain is learning sociolinguistic rules or what Hymes calls “communicative competence” (1972), the appropriate (to the target culture) social use of language. For example, it is not enough to teach the Japanese wh-questions like “How old is your daughter?” They also need to learn that it is not appropriate to ask, as I was asked a few years ago, “How old are you to have been promoted to Associate Professor?” (Paulston 1975).

In bilingual/bicultural education the referent of “bicultural” is almost invariably the mother tongue culture, the culture the children already know. One is reminded of Lado’s parodical stereotype of “Mexicans endlessly dancing around a hat” (1957) when one sees the superficial cognitive level which passes for bicultural teaching. “At the end of this lesson, the children will be able to correctly identify the Mexican flag” is a verbatim quotation from such a curriculum which purports to be bicultural. Apart from the confusion of nationalism with culture, the teaching of such facile, non-functional facts under the guise of “bicultural” merely becomes a deterrent in such programs where the goals rather should be an affirmation of native values and a positive attitude towards the home culture. It should also be clear that any support of culture learning or culture maintenance in the affective domain necessitates teachers who are members of the same home culture as the children, not just bilingual in the home tongue and English.

But by the time children come to school they have already internalized a great deal of the home culture and what they very much need, if they are to succeed in school, is to learn the cultural ways of mainstream America. Susan Philips (1970) discusses this problem in her work on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation for which she uses Hymes’ notion of communicative competence in accounting for the children’s school failure. The children’s native ways of speaking and strategies for learning are very different from those of the Anglo schools; consequently, “Indian children fail to participate verbally in the classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking.”

Educators cannot assume that because Indian children (or children from other cultural backgrounds than that which is implicit in American classrooms) speak English, or are taught it in school, that they have also assimilated all of the sociolinguistic rules underlying interaction in classrooms and other non-Indian social situations where English is spoken (Philips 1970:95).

I think today most bilingual program personnel make no such assumption, but rather they assume that the teacher will adjust his ways, and so culture inter-
ference in the classroom will be minimized. This is exactly what some of the teachers whom Philips observed did; they adjusted their teaching to ways appropriate to Indian culture. But the ultimate result was not what they had expected. It was the very students with teachers sensitive to Indian cultures who were the first to fail once they went to school off the reservation; this situation leads Philips to comment that:

The teachers who make these adjustments, and not all do, are sensitive to the inclinations of their students and want to teach them through means to which they most readily adapt. However, by doing so, they are avoiding teaching the Indian children how to communicate in precisely those contexts in which they are least able, and most need to learn how to communicate if they are to do well in school (Philips 1970:88).

She ends her paper by saying that the children must be taught “the rules for appropriate speech usage,” i.e. that they must be taught the ways of speaking acceptable to the dominant culture. As we have seen, beyond a superficial level, culture learning entails firsthand exposure to members of the Cₗ, and it follows, however unpalatable some will find this statement, that the children must have access to Anglo teachers, if they are to learn the rules of mainstream culture. It will be the students’ choice what aspects, if any, of mainstream culture they care to incorporate into their bicultural make-up, and no school or curriculum can dictate that choice. But to deny them the opportunity of choice I find reprehensible.

It is this same opportunity of choice which necessitates not only Anglo teachers but also the home culture component in a truly bilingual/bicultural program in order to avoid the wholesale imposition of the second culture’s values which occasionally results in pathology of the kind Seward discusses. Students in the public schools who are members of ethnic minority groups in the United States will have been exposed, albeit in varying degrees, to American mainstream culture all their lives. They will learn to become bicultural and they will suit themselves in the doing of it. We may say "How typically Mexican" or "How very Puerto Rican," but we never say "How very typically Puerto Rican-North American bicultural behavior" for the simple reason that being bicultural is an individual matter which does not lend itself to stereotyping. Nor can it be taught. Becoming bicultural is an eclectic process, and what a bicultural program should hope to do is to allow the student the right to pick and choose his own individual make-up as a bicultural person from the two cultures and the members of those cultures he is exposed to in the school.

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...Say 'Evans ELT'
Sexism and TESOL Materials

Pat L. Hartman and Elliot L. Judd

The paper explores the treatment of women in currently used ESL materials, starting with an analysis of the portrayal of the sexes in current textbooks. Some observations are that women are often less visible than men, are often the butt of many jokes and are often placed in stereotypical roles and assigned stereotypical emotional reactions. Illustrations in the books serve to reinforce the biased linguistic patterns previously noted.

The paper then proceeds to discuss terms which have been labelled as prejudicial against women by writers who have been analyzing the question of sexism and the English language. Among the points discussed are the use of the word man as both an independent word and as a bound suffix, the generic he, the boy/girl distinction, and titles used to refer to men and women. All features were found to bias the portrayal of women in the texts.

A general discussion follows of what the terms "prescriptive" and "descriptive" linguistics mean and whether or not professionals in TESOL should advocate linguistic change.

The paper concludes with some suggested changes which can reduce the bias now present in the portrayal of women in ESL materials without sacrificing the overall educational goal of effective and realistic teaching of the English language to non-English speakers.

Language learning is necessarily a culture-learning process. In fact, a traditional rationale for foreign language learning has been the expansion of the individual's cultural horizons, the development of tolerance for cultural diversity, and the acquisition of more data for deciding where one fits in the world. It is neither possible nor desirable to separate the linguistic aspects of a language from its surrounding culture; on the contrary, the presentation of culture in language classes is usually set forth as an explicit goal. For instance, the TESOL Guideline for the Certification and Preparation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages in the United States advises the effective ESL teacher to:

help his students gain awareness of and respect for similarities and differences between the English-speaking culture and their own cultural heritage . . .

help his students gain knowledge of American social customs, traditions, folklore, history and literature in such a way as to contribute to their mastery of the language and culture, and their future educational and social development (TESOL 1972)

This is, of course, a big order. While nearly everything we choose to
teach in an ESL classroom has cultural implications—from the selected vocabulary to the wording of grammar drills to the topics of reading passages—nevertheless, most of our selection goes on at an unconscious level. Only a small portion of our culture is approached cognitively in the classroom: a smattering of ritual, arts, social organization and overt behavioral patterns. We bring to the forefront of consciousness only those cultural issues that we deem important, according to the dictates of our political and ideological consciences.

ESL materials are thus bound to reflect both the explicit and implicit attitudes of the writers and their societies, attitudes which are likely to change over time. In some cases, however, written material are relics of societal attitudes which no longer reflect the present-day realities of the domestic, academic, and work worlds. For example, a hypothetical text which portrays Americans as white, Anglo suburbanites out of a "Father Knows Best" mold may accurately transmit the values of the writer and some teachers while failing utterly to point out the diverse values of our pluralistic society. Only when we become conscious of the gap between such materials and the real culture of daily interactions can we get on with the business of making the texts more representative of real language and culture in daily interactions.

In this article, we want to call attention to one such area where the mirror of culture is distorted: the image of the sexes in our society. We will first argue that many ESL texts in current use present needlessly stereotyped portrayals of men and women, whether through one-sided role allocation, overt put-downs, or simple omissions. Following that section, we will focus on the thornier issue of the sex bias of language itself and how this bias is manifested in the materials. Finally, we will explore the question of what to do, if anything, about these two types of sex bias in ESL. The implication will necessitate a consideration of the more general issue of prescriptivism and the extent to which personal or political inclinations may be allowed to shape, not just describe, cultural expression.

1. Images of the Sexes

We have reviewed a number of ESL texts for the sole purpose of assessing the image of women and men that they present to the student. Most of the texts are widely used, and, we believe, representative of books now available in the field. All have been published within the last twelve years. Most are American, with a few British publications included. We wish to stress that the overall quality of the texts is not under consideration; some of the books that have unfortunate images of the sexes are pedagogically excellent in other respects.

In several of the texts reviewed, women suffered most obviously from low visibility. Our analysis of the number of male and female referents in several of the books showed that in most cases male referents heavily outnumbered the female. Sex was determined by counting the sex-linked nouns,
proper names or titles (John/Mary, Mr./Mrs.), or non-generic pronouns. In *Steps to Composition* (Alt and Kirkland 1973) the ratio of male to female referents was found to be 63% to 37%; *On Speaking Terms* (Harris and Hube 1975) showed 64% to 36%; and *English Sentence Structure* (Krohn 1974) yielded 73% to 27%. When a grammatical pattern *is* being taught, authors generally seem to opt for a male rather than a female referent. A notable exception to the count was *No Hot Water Tonight* (Bodman and Lanzano 1975), where referents are approximately balanced between the sexes.

A scarcity of women can also be noted in the longer selections that are found in reading texts. Most of these feature historical accounts, current events and fiction. In *Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English* (Harris 1966) only five of the selections feature women, none of whom are particularly inspiring role models: Mother Goose; a character from *Pride and Prejudice*; Mary Outerbridge, who introduced tennis to the United States; Shakespeare's wife; and the women of Oberlin and other women's colleges. In American *Folktales* (Binner 1966), women have leading roles in three of fifteen stories.

More blatantly offensive than omission is the use of women as a class as the butt of jokes. It has been claimed that both women and men laugh harder at jokes about women than at jokes about men; at any rate our society does not discourage this form of sexism. However, in an era when Earl Butz could be toppled by a racist joke, the necessity of including such witticisms as the following in a text that is going to teach culture along with language is at least questionable:

- Cats and women have a great deal of curiosity (Frank 1972, I: 10)
- Like a woman, it (the weather) is very changeable (Baskoff 1971:1)
- Never underestimate a woman—if you’re not talking about her weight or her age. (Rutherford 1975:239)
- Marriage is a matter of give and take; if he doesn’t give what you want, take it! (Rutherford 1975:240)

A special category of slurs against woman as a class is the new genre of jibes trivializing feminism. A Dialogue from *Idioms in Action* ends a discussion of American women as conformists with this exchange:

- Sam: You’re forgetting the women’s liberation group.
- Mimi: You mean those horrible girls without bras and girdles.
- Sam: They only want to show themselves as they really are. Natural.
- Mimi: I would rather be unnatural.
- Sam: And beautiful!
- Mimi: You say the nicest things . . . once in a while.

Aside from omission, the most pervasive sexism we noted is the shunting of women and men into stereotypical roles. This is not to claim that men and women do not often fit these roles, but rather, that the true variety of human characteristics, which do not depend on sex but on individual inclinations, is not being reflected. Surely the same effort which has been given to eradicating racial stereotypes can be exerted to benefit our sexual images. A book portraying
Blacks chiefly in the roles of football players, field laborers, singers and watermelon lovers would be offensive in America today, not because Blacks are not sometimes found in these roles, but because such images by implication discount the full participation of the race in the diversity of human life; similarly we women and men need to see ourselves represented in ways more closely approximating our own multiformity.

Among the stereotypes encountered is the overemotional female, where women are linked to the traditional "female" instabilities. They are easily frightened, in one instance by a movie (Franklin et al. 1976: 132), in another by mice (Frank 1972 I:154). One is angry over a forgotten anniversary (Hirasawa and Markstein 1974:112). One nags her husband (Frank 1972 II: 167); another faints (O'Neill 1970: 81). The stereotypicality of these images becomes more readily apparent if one imagines a text in which a male appears in each of these instances.

While the male is being helpful and patronizing (Franklin et al., 1976: 12ff), kindly going so far as to buy his wife a washer and dryer to relieve her drudgery (Frank 1972 I:113), the female is talking too long on the phone (Harris and Hube 1975:73), looking for an excuse to buy a new wardrobe (Scaun et al., 1971:72), keeping her husband waiting while she dresses (Frank 1972 II: 124), conniving to find a wealthy husband or lover (O'Neill 1970:35, 88,124, a triple reference) and bemoaning the unmarried state at age 35 (O'Neill 1970: 119). While men exercise to build muscles by lifting weights and by other strenuous methods, women use "rhythmic movements and modern dance" to reduce, build calf muscles, develop arches, stand up straight, and move gracefully (Scaun et al. 1971:51-52). The sexes even read newspapers differently, the men reading the sports pages while women enjoy the fashions, homemaking sections, and advertisements (Scaun et al. 1971:96-97). When the sexes go shopping, the man looks at equipment, while the woman buys a nail file and needles (Franklin et al. 1976:43). Are these realistic of all, or even a majority of American males and females, especially when no qualifications are provided?

Stereotypical roles are widely prevalent in reference to household work and child care, which are still relegated overwhelmingly to women. Women cook, bake, clean, polish, mend, sew and wash. If men are assigned household tasks at all, they consist, without exception, of painting, gardening, repairing malfunctioning appliances or automobiles, or taking out the garbage. Mothers appear holding or feeding or walking babies, but fathers seldom have anything to do with them, except for taking a son to a ball game or sharing outside chores with him (Among others see Dodson and Sedwich 1975).

Children also appear in stereotypical sex roles. In one picture composition series, boys appear in six pictures, girls in four. The only picture in which a girl appears without boys depicts a small child crying when her dog runs off with her ball. In contrast to this passive, weak image, boys without girls are shown juggling dishes, trying to catch the reflection of the moon, and
clowning in a classroom. In the three pictures where both sexes appear, the boys are taking the active role—climbing a tree, rowing a boat, approaching the lions’ cage at a zoo—while the girls just watch, in the last case one shrinking with, fright behind her mother (Bryne 1967).

Written exercises further the dichotomy between the roles of boys and girls. One example, so blatant as to be humorous, was found in a series of sentences using linking verbs with noun complements. All the sentences except the one in question deal with inherent properties of the subject noun. For example:

Dogs are animals.
Tadpoles become frogs.

Yet there in the midst of these immutable truths is the amazing juxtaposition:

Boys become men.
Girls become housewives (Alt and Kirkland 1973:2).

As might be expected by this time, occupations likewise deviate but rarely from traditional expectations. In Developing Communicative Competence (Bruder et al. 1975), 129 characters are presented: 72 males, 31 females, and 26 whose sex cannot be determined from linguistic clues. The roles of the men in the book are quite diverse: student, landlord, doctor; ambassador and his aide, professor of Spanish, store manager, stock boy, real estate agent, policeman, ambulance driver, towtruck operator, flight controller, pilot, media anchorman, army general, senator, priest, motel manager, and school principal. A number of these jobs are considered prestigious in English-speaking culture. Women, on the other hand, are limited to the roles of student, bank employee, nurse, stewardess, salesgirl, and housewife. This division of labor seemed fairly typical in the books we reviewed, although in a few there was an occasional bow to changing times in an inclusion of a token Congresswoman (Alt and Kirkland 1973: 73) or female lawyer (Harris and Hube 1975:3) in otherwise stereotypical job allocations.

As already noted, pictures may also serve to reinforce the traditional images. We think it worthwhile to mention, however, that there is a revealing difference between drawings and photographs. Drawings come from the societally influenced imagination of the artist and seem usually to portray easily recognizable clichés. Conversations in English (Dobson and Sedwick 1975) is a book specifically designed to portray common scenes of American life that will stimulate necessary vocabulary. Nevertheless, the scenes exaggerate the sexual division in our society. Few grocery stores or department stores are exclusively the domain of women, nor are men any longer the sole occupants of the news office or political rallies; yet, these are the exact portrayals in the text. And while women still do a lot of housework, surely it is unimaginative and impolitic to show a series of five pictures on housework where women are doing everything.

Texts using photographs rather than drawings seem to be telling a dif-
ferent story, yet one that does not necessarily indicate that the writers of the
text have made a quantum leap toward social consciousness. *English for Today*
(Slager et al. 1975) is a series in which most roles are traditional, although
the majority of the articles are sexless and there does seem to be an occasional
burst of feminism. The photographs, however, show women in a variety of
occupational roles not reflected by the text itself. Perhaps photographs capture
a reality that has not yet thoroughly impressed itself on our more conservative
imaginations.

2. The Sex Bias of English

Along with the resurgence of feminism and the reexamination of sex-role
expectations has come, especially in the last decade, an awakening interest in
the overt and covert sexist characteristics of the English language itself. Excellent
brief overviews on the state of the controversy appear in the NCTE publication
*Sexism and Language* (1977); in Thorne’s and Henley’s collection entitled
*Language and Sex*; and in Robin Lakoff’s work *Language and Woman’s Place*
(1975). On one side are those who argue that the English language is both
elegant and socially adequate if only we will abide by the rules and not go
tampering with editorially-accepted usage. On the other side are those who
point out numerous and pervasive instances where language perpetuates the
invisibility, trivialization or stereotyping of women.

Among the most frequently noted problems of sexist usage are the various
generics. *Man*, we are taught, refers to the entire human race. We are further
led to believe that such usage is consistent and unconfusing to those who under-
stand the language. Nevertheless, as Julia P. Stanley points out, a consistent use
of generic terms for people is largely mythical, and *man* is often used to refer
to humankind in one breath while excluding women in the next (1977). The
language has, after all, changed a bit since the sentence “The Lord has but one
paire of men in Paradise” (OED, c. 1597) seemed normal. Confusion about the
reference of *man* has been shown to exist in the minds of both children and
adults (Miller and Swift 1976:20-32). The same objections apply to the use
of the generic *he* (*Everyone should do his own homework*) and to occupational
and positional titles when *man* is used in titles (craftsman, journeyman, news-
manship, statesman and, of course, the oft-maligned chairman).

As unsatisfactory as these titles are, their sexist status is reinforced rather
than mitigated by the invention of female counterparts to titles that are
themselves not marked for the masculine sex: thus author is supplemented by
authoress, director by directress, sculptor by sculptress, usher by usherette,
etc. These attempts to label the female version of the position only serves to
underline the assumption that a women in one of these roles is a deviation
from the norm.

To counteract the linguistic implication that women are out of place as
newsmen, chairmen, foremen, or workmen, there has been a recent trend toward
exorcising the offending sex-linked suffix, -man, and substituting other terms,
including the controversial chairperson, which has become a sort of loyalty test for linguistic politics.

Problems also exist in the terminology used to refer to individual women. Perhaps the most offensive to many women is the use of girl, or one of its compounds, when speaking of an adult, when boy should not be used in a parallel situation. Unfortunately examples of this usage are still not hard to find in ESL textbooks:

All the salesgirls are required to dress neatly (Frank 1972 I: 105)
The girl is on her honeymoon (O'Neill 1970:33)
The girl copying masterpieces in the museum is an art student
(Alt and Kirkland 1973:94)

Titles constitute another sensitive area. The use of Ms. as an alternative to denoting marital status is only beginning to reach the textbooks. Of perhaps greater significance to present texts is the attitude toward women that may be reflected by the presence or absence of any title with a male or female name. Our analysis of sex-identifiable names in four current ESL texts (Figure 1) showed three with a significantly greater percentage of full or titled names, as opposed to first names, among the males than among the females. Although hardly conclusive evidence, this could reflect the lesser status of women in our society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>TITLES</th>
<th>FIRST NAME</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris &amp; Hube</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt &amp; Kirkland</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krohn</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bruder</td>
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Another factor related to the first-naming of women is the hesitancy over using the untitled last name in isolation. While it has been common usage to use only the last name of a male, especially when referring to him in a professional capacity, the isolated female last name is less frequently found. In one ESL reader, for example, Margaret Mead is repeatedly referred to as Miss Mead (not even Dr. Mead), while male authorities in the same book are frequently cited by last name only (Hirasawa and Markstein 1975: 11-12). Since the article in question was adapted from another publication, the inconsistency is not entirely attributable to the authors of the textbook; the usage is, however, common editorial policy in many American publications. The rationale for such usage is that it shows more "respect" for the female; in practice, however, it may serve to call unnecessary attention to the sex of the authority, implying, whether intentionally or not, that sex is an important factor in evaluating the authority’s contribution. An additional effect may be relevant to the
tally of names and titles above: when the same woman's name appears frequently in an article, "the irony is that to avoid the cumbersome repetition of social amenities they are soon reduced to first-name status." (Miller and Swift 1976: 102).

Another way in which language has been seen to perpetuate stereotypical images of the sexes is in certain words which are sexist in their very definition. Among these are feminine and masculine, manly and womanly, manish and effeminate. These words imply that certain behavior is appropriate to one sex but not to the other. Since there is, after all, a distinction between the sexes, the dichotomy between the pairs seems at first to be innocent enough. The difficulty arises in the culturally-based labeling of behavior which defines each word. The full noxiousness of these terms becomes apparent only when we realize that the words are a reflection of the rewards and penalties given to us by society when we perform in accordance with or contrary to sex role expectations. A man is positively reinforced for being manly: strong, brave, resolute, virile (Random House Dictionary 1966); while a woman is reinforced for being feminine: weak and gentle; and womanly: not masculine, having womanly decorum, modesty (Random House Dictionary 1966). Mannish and effeminate are wholly negative words indicating that certain qualities which would be acceptable and perhaps even praiseworthy in one sex are aberrant and reprehensible in the other. Taken as a set, such sex-linked words are tools for keeping all of us, men and women, in our places. Their use in textbooks should consequently be reexamined.

A subtler convention of language is the ordering of sex pairs like male and female, Mr. and Mrs., brother and sister, husband and wife, which are usually ordered with the male first, with the single exception of ladies and gentlemen. While this may be a minor point, such automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women and could, with only a little effort, be avoided by mixing the order.

Since sexist usage is built into our language habits, it is little wonder that textbooks, including ESL texts, model this usage to their students. Nor is it surprising that the usage is specifically taught, as a perusal of any current grammar text will show. What to do about the problem, however, is not immediately apparent, even to those who believe that the language is indeed discriminatory.

3. Prescriptive or Descriptive?

Many of us like to believe that recognition of a problem is, the greatest step toward solving it. Nevertheless, those linguists and language teachers who are interested in combating sexism in language may seem at first glance in danger of landing with a thud on the "wrong" side of an old issue: Is it our business to prescribe "correct" language usage, or to describe it as accurately as possible? ESL teachers are not generally liable to charges of prescriptivism because of their reliance on the competence of the "ideal native speaker" as a model.
In this case, unfortunately, the "ideal native speaker" is often sexist. Should social consciousness, therefore, mandate that ESL teachers model and teach a purified form of English to their students, or teach the wrongness of sexist forms, as teachers of native speakers once taught the wrongness of ain't and gonna? Or should ESL instructors plead that since there is no present escape from the sexist nature of our society, sexist language is an accurate and inevitable representation of American reality, and that no effort toward reducing sexism in the classroom should be made?

Neither extreme is attractive. The first risks subjecting our students to ridicule over changes that are not yet a reality. (Imagine sending the unsuspecting graduate out with "foreperson" instead of "foreman" or "tey" instead of the generic "him.") The second extreme abdicates the responsibility for exposing the student to a major cultural and linguistic issue and to a vital and changing language.

The most satisfactory solution may be descriptive after all: an accurate description of the language must include a recognition of the controversy surrounding the issue. Present forms can be taught along with those new forms which are gaining some acceptance, such as Ms., chairperson, and everyone. . . . their. The new or controversial nature of such usage should be noted in materials or in class, and handled in a fashion similar to that used for colloquialisms. That is, students should be made aware that as language changes some usages are appropriate for one situation or person, but not for another. For instance, students should realize that although many women now prefer the title Ms., an exclusive use of that title may irritate other women who find it personally offensive. As Miller and Swift warn in their guidelines about usage, "to address someone’s great grandmother as Ms. could be insensitive" (Miller and Swift 1976:157).

This type of explanation in class or texts inevitably requires that a social stance be taken, and yet many ESL teachers believe in leaving their political and social ideologies outside the classroom. We suggest that in some issues objectivity is a myth. There are, we hope, few teachers who feel compelled to be neutral on the subject of racism; most of us simply assume that racism is an evil that is taking a long time to eliminate, and we do not hesitate to express our opinion on the subject, even if we have students who may in their own culture engage in a form of racism. The idea is not to attack the cultural values of the student, but to express our own values. The very controversy surrounding sexism in language may be to the advantage of the learning situation. Language learning can sometimes be a very tiresome business, for all our efforts. Built-in controversy can both stimulate learning of the immediate item, and rouse interest in a comparison with the student’s own language conventions.

4. Toward Change

Some of the texts published in the last year or two show a marked consciousness of the need for broader images of the sexes. One notable instance
shows up in the difference between the two editions of *Modern English* (Rutherford 1968 and 1975), while the newer edition still contains sayings that are unnecessarily demeaning to women, there has obviously been an effort to supply more varied role models for both sexes and to deal explicitly with sexual equality as a social issue.

Nevertheless, we suggest that change will come too slowly unless we make an effort to further it. Stereotypical images are far too ingrained on our unconscious imaginations to allow us to produce nonsexist ESOL materials without thinking about it. No one, not even the ardent feminist, is immune.

Recognizing the need for change, several major publishing houses have proposed guidelines to minimize sexism in their publications. In 1975 the NCTE adopted a formal policy statement which pledged to encourage nonsexist language and which was accompanied by official guidelines (Nilsen et al. 1977: 181-190). We believe that similar guidelines are overdue for TESOL.

Whether constructing sentences for illustrations of the day’s lesson, or making up a unit quiz, or writing the new, definitive textbook, ESL professionals should review their own writings (and pictures) for the sexual attitudes they portray. As a beginning point for thought and discussion, we present some considerations we feel should be made.

A. Image

In sentences, stories, dialogues and pictures:

1. Have remarks which are demeaning to sex as a class been avoided?
2. Is there a roughly equal quantity of sex-linked referents?
3. Are both men and women shown in a variety of roles? Are men shown with children, doing dishes, cooking a meal, etc.? Are women depicted as strong, courageous, and active, not just delicate, pretty and affectionate?
4. Where ridiculous people are portrayed for humor, have the sex-linked clichés been superseded by fresher, more imaginative material?

B. Language

1. Is a true generic, instead of *man, mankind, he, workman,* and so on, used wherever possible without being too awkward linguistically?
2. Are trivializing sex-linked words, such as *poetess, astronette,* and *lady lawyer* avoided?
3. Is controversial usage discussed?
   a. Casual forms such as *everybody . . . their* have been around since Shakespeare and are common even in educated speech. The pros and cons and social implications of these forms should at least be discussed, even if the teacher does not favor such usage in formal English.
   b. Attention to new forms such as Ms. or to unsolved problems such as *Dear Sir* may be an opportunity to inject some interesting dispute
which may serve as a realistic lesson on the unsettled, and sometimes unsettling, nature of language.

c. Sensitivity to the social situation in which controversial language is used should be encouraged.

Although we know that this list might be greatly expanded, we hope it serves the purpose of providing some solutions to the situations described in the paper and helps us to gain an understanding of the question of sexism and TESOL.

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A Mechanical, Meaningful, and Communicative Framework for ESL Sentence Combining Exercises*

Patrick T. Kameen

Although numerous controlled experiments have revealed and confirmed the fact that sentence combining (SC) exercises greatly enhance syntactic growth and bring about statistically significant improvement in students’ overall writing quality, there are at present no materials presenting a systematic, comprehensive SC program designed to provide intermediate and advanced ESL composition students with an understanding of and practice in the wide range of syntactic and stylistic options at their disposal during the composing process. Such a program would provide a carefully sequenced progression of activities from skill-building exercises to skill-using exercises designed to stimulate autonomous language use in the composition classroom. It would help students discover the range of choices within the structure of the language and thereby increase their self-confidence in writing.

This article lays the groundwork for the sequencing of SC exercises aimed at accomplishing these goals. Following a discussion of the theoretical foundation for SC exercises is a description of a three-stage sequencing of exercises, each successive stage corresponding to a less-controlled level within Paulston’s (1970) framework of mechanical, meaningful, and communicative exercises.

The past fifteen years have witnessed a great deal of controlled research into the effects of sentence combining (SC) practice on students’ writing ability. This research has revealed and confirmed a number of important points concerning the value of SC exercises in a composition curriculum. Mellon (1967) has shown that SC practice does not lead to overly-complicated, confusing, or contorted writing (the opposite claim having been firmly held by many critics of SC). Miller and Ney (1967, 1968) have discovered that the rapid syntactic gains brought about by a combination of oral and written SC exercises correlate with improved writing quality. In 1971, Vitale et al., found that even short intensive practice with SC exercises produces significant growth toward syntactic maturity. O’Hare (1973) has proved that SC, when it is not in any way dependent on instruction in traditional or transformational grammar, enhances syntactic growth and leads to greatly improved overall writing quality. SC has also been shown to be sufficiently powerful to guide students in almost any syntactic direction the instructor might choose. In one case (Daiker et al. 1978),

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the syntactic direction chosen helped the students write free compositions that, in terms of holistic, analytic, and forced-choice methods of rating, were judged to be of significantly higher quality than compositions written by a control group. In another case (Crymes 1971) ESL students who practiced SC exercises involving nominalizations wrote compositions containing more nominalizations than did an ESL control group. Perron (1976) has discovered that various types of SC exercises supplemented with games and activities expedite syntactic growth. Combs (1975) has confirmed both O’Hare’s and Mellon’s findings while at the same time demonstrating that, even after a two-month period of no instruction in SC, the original writing quality gains achieved by an experimental group remained statistically significant, suggesting that practice with SC may have a lasting effect on students’ writing performance. Finally, Klassen’s research (1977) has confirmed the claim that a systematic, comprehensive SC program given to ESL students in an intensive course substantially expedites growth toward syntactic maturity, and that this enhanced growth is retained after a period without SC practice.

In the hope of promoting the use of SC exercises in the ESL composition classroom, I have classified these exercises into three distinct types, with each type corresponding to a less-controlled level within Paulston’s (1970) sequencing of mechanical, meaningful, and communicative exercises. This classification also reflects an expansion on Strong’s (1976) suggestion for the use of a combination of signaled and unsignaled SC exercises. The criteria on which this three-stage classification is based are: (1) level of built-in control, (2) number of correct solutions, and (3) level of difficulty for intermediate and advanced ESL composition students.

1. Mechanical SC Exercises

The most highly-controlled and least difficult exercises are the mechanical exercises—those for which there is, by design, only one correct solution. In doing these exercises, the students can simply read the clues and perform the required linguistic operations in order to arrive at the one correct solution.

These exercises can best be used to familiarize the students with the overall goals of SC practice, that is, with the notions of using subordination and bound and free modification in writing sentences of increased length and effectiveness, thus leading the students “out of the shelter of the simple sentence and the compound sentence with and and but” (Rivers and Temperley 1978, p. 302).

In the initial stages of a SC program, a place should be found for these mechanical exercises, for they virtually guarantee success and thereby help the students develop the level of self-confidence they surely need in order to compose freely. Obviously, there are two drawbacks to using an extended regimen of these exercises. First, the fact that the students can arrive at the solution without a great deal of thought partially defeats one of the major purposes of SC exercises—exercises that should help build up the students’ memory powers and give them valuable practice in controlled writing. The second drawback
to using a steady diet of these exercises is that they are clearly mechanical substitution exercises which do not allow the students to express the given information in their own words or through using their own ideas, and thus do not prepare them for the type of complex thought they will need to express themselves in free writing.

Therefore, in order to get our students beyond this mechanical level of language, we must lead them into the meaningful and communicative levels of language if we hope to accomplish what Prator (1972) refers to as the "gradual and orderly transition from activities that emphasize the development of basic linguistic skills to activities designed to encourage free communication of thought" (p. 140).

**Examples of Mechanical SC Exercises**

Directions: Combine and condense the sentences in each group into only one sentence according to the following directions:

**CAPITALIZATION**
Clue: Delete all capitalized words found in the given sentences.

**PARENTHESES**
Clue: Clues in parentheses at the end of a line should be inserted into an appropriate place in that line.

**SOMETHING**
Clue: The word SOMETHING in capital letters is simply a place holder for information found in another line. Decide what information is being replaced by the SOMETHING clue and replace the word SOMETHING with that information.

**INSERTION** (-/-)
Clue: The -/- clue indicates that you are to insert information into this space. This clue is given for embedding that you might find hard to discover.

**Examples:**

**A.**
1. That is the leader.
2. THE LEADER IS world famous.
3. THE LEADER’s country produces quantities of petroleum. (WHOSE)
4. THE QUANTITIES ARE large.
5. PETROLEUM is the fuel. (WHICH)
6. THE FUEL is most needed by the nations.
7. THE NATIONS ARE industrialized.

That is the world famous leader whose country produces large quantities of petroleum, which is the fuel most needed by the industrialized nations.

**B.**
1. The students -/- seemed happy. (ALTHOUGH)
2. THE STUDENTS arrived early for the Michigan Test. (WHO)
3. SOMETHING soon became clear to us. (IT . . . THAT)
4. Many were hoping FOR SOMETHING. (THAT)
5. They would never have to study English again.

Although the students who arrived early for the Michigan Test seemed happy, it soon became clear to us that they were hoping that they would never have to study English again.

**2. Meaningful SC Exercises**

The second type of exercise in the sequence, the meaningful exercise, is characterized by much less control, fewer signals, and by the fact that there
are a few correct solutions, not just one. These less controlled exercises encourage the students to insert and delete items of their own choice and permit them to use a wider range of structural and stylistic variants in arriving at a correct solution. Rather than doing these exercises "on sight," the students must work through them more slowly, putting the pieces together, rearranging the components as one would the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, all the while searching for an expressive and succinct solution.

These exercises offer three advantages not offered by mechanical exercises. First, the more limited number of clues that control the structure can be selectively placed at exactly those points where the instructor would predict that the students might encounter the most problems or where a previous error-analysis of the students' compositions has indicated special problem areas (see Angelis 1975). Because of this, these exercises are ideally adaptable to the individual needs of each class, allowing the instructor to decontrol the exercises at certain points while still sufficiently controlling the exercises so that the students do not become frustrated.

The second advantage is that the students' selection of a certain solution over perhaps two or three other solutions can serve as a springboard for short discussions of stylistic choice, including such things as audience effectiveness, naturalness of expression, and acceptability (see Nugent and LeDuc 1977:112), all this pointing out to the students the large number of options at their disposal during the composing process. This is of course the heart and soul of a comprehensive SC program, for our aim is not just to get the students to write something but to get them to write more effectively so that what the students say is determined by what they want to say, not limited to only those things that they can say.

The third advantage is that these exercises are perceived more as challenging language puzzles than as grueling drills. The game-like nature of these exercises invites the students to freely venture at a solution, expressing a freedom and spontaneity within a non-threatening atmosphere not often found in the composition class (see, for example, Strong 1976 and Mellon 1969). Within this kind of atmosphere, a whirlwind of discussion about the relative effectiveness of various syntactic and stylistic alternatives is not uncommon. Notice that there are at least three possible combinations for the following group of sentences.

Example of a Meaningful SC Exercise

c. 1. We had handed out the tests. (AFTER) ()
    2. The students moaned.
    3. The moaning was loud.
    4. THEY WANTED to let us know SOMETHING.
    5. They were surprised at SOMETHING.
    6. The test was difficult. (HOW)

(a) After we had handed out the tests, the students moaned loudly, letting us know that they were surprised at how difficult the test was.
3. Communicative SC Exercises

The third and final type of exercise in the sequence, the communicative exercise, is characterized by the least control, the absence of signals, and by the fact that there is a wide range of correct solutions. To the maximum extent, communicative exercises encourage the students to explore structural and stylistic variants, to rearrange the given sentences as they choose, and to select what they feel is the most effective expression of the given information. We should fully expect that the students, while doing these communicative exercises, will "fumble and hesitate in a problem-solving approach to language learning, but (that) they are developing communicative ability and enjoying it" (Paulston 1976:250). This fumbling and hesitating makes these non-rhetorical exercises more closely approximate the rhetorical processes of free composition.

However, just as communicative drills are still drills (see Paulston 1970), these exercises are still drill-type exercises in controlled composition, not free composition. The built-in source of control is the information given—information that partially controls what is said, but not how it is said. The reason that there is only partial control over what is said is explained by Hunt (1970): It is true that the sentences given provide the students with all the content information for writing fully-formed sentences; however, there is a great deal of difference between what a hierarchically combined group of sentences says, and what the same set of sentences arranged in a linear sequence says, for the "hierarchy itself is a meaning, an organization" (p. 200).

Since there is no best answer to these communicative exercises, individuals and small groups should be encouraged to present their different solutions. As before, these differences can serve as launching pads for short discussions that direct the students’ attention to the syntactic and stylistic options that surface during the SC process. Notice the number of possible combinations in the following example.

Example of a Communicative SC Exercise

D. 1. The composition student hurries through his assignments.
2. The composition student is typical.
3. He sees no reason for something.
4. He learns to write more effectively.
5. He just waits for something.
6. The semester ends.

(a) The typical composition student, seeing no reason to learn to write more effectively, hurries through his assignments, just waiting for the semester to end.
(b) Because he sees no reason to learn to write more effectively, the typical
composition student hurries through his assignments, just waiting for the semester to end.

(c) Seeing no reason to learn to write more effectively, the typical composition student hurries through his assignments, just waiting for the semester to end.

Before implementing a SC program in the composition classroom the instructor should keep in mind that these controlled exercises are not identical to free composition. These skill-building exercises should play a supporting role within a larger framework of writing, complementing rather than replacing practice in free composition. However, we can reasonably expect a transfer of learning from SC exercises to free composition if we make a concerted effort to relate options that surface during these a-rhetorical exercises to problems encountered during the rhetorical process of composing (see, for example, Strong 1973b and Nugent and LeDuc 1977).

Since these exercises are designed to encourage students to explore a wide range of options and to manipulate increasingly more complex variants in expressing the given information, the expected combinations should be, as Mellon (1969) has pointed out, "far longer and more grammatically complex than the average of those the students (normally write), or would be expected to write subsequently, even as skilled (native-speaking) adults" (p. 79). It should also be kept in mind that although all the examples I have provided here can be combined into a single sentence, the number of sentences could be substantially increased such that the expected combinations would be of paragraph or essay length (see, for example, Strong 1973a).

Finally, SC exercises are not only skill-building techniques, but also language-enriching puzzles (see Mellon 1967, 1969). Because of the dual nature of these exercises, then, the students may reap both tangible and intangible results—tangible results in the sense that their writing quality will have improved, intangible results in the sense that they may overcome the crippling "blank-page paralysis" (Potter 1975:7) from which they often suffer, and become less reluctant to express themselves in writing with some level of finesse and with some degree of confidence in a new and strange language.1

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1 I am indebted to Professor Christina Bratt Paulston, whose keen insights and kind criticism contributed to the final form of this classification. Whatever inadequacies remain are entirely my own.
Sentence Combining


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Using News Broadcasts in the ESL/EFL Classroom

Donna Brinton and William Gaskill

This presentation reports on the independent experiences of an EFL instructor in Germany and an ESL instructor in the States using TV and radio broadcasts in the classroom. The videotaped broadcasts consisted of BBC’s "News of the Week," a weekly in-depth broadcast; those used for the audio presentation were two-minute news capsules from station KFWB in Los Angeles.

Particular emphasis was placed on various techniques to adapt the taped broadcasts for the classroom and on various types of materials used to complement an audio or video-taped presentation. Discussion centers on the use of simple short-answer questions, true-false questions, short essay questions, and cloze passages to assure student comprehension of the broadcast. A further phenomenon explored is the degree of vocabulary recycling noted by both instructors during their in-class use of news broadcasts.

The instructors present their findings on the positive aspects of the presentations, including improved student comprehension of broadcasts, increased interest on their part in issues, and better understanding of the government and institutions of the target culture.

One commonly noted aspect of language learning is that students who are technically advanced in the other major skill areas perform at a less advanced level in the area of listening comprehension. The problem is an acute one for foreign language majors in the American university system due to the almost exclusive focus on literature and literary analysis. Thus, when students are confronted with the task of listening to "live" rapid native speaker speech such as that heard on radio, television and in films, students are unable to comprehend the actually spoken language. Rivers (1966), Belasco (1970) and others suggest that this deficiency in the area of listening skills reflects not so much on the learner as on the lack of adequate classroom materials used to train the students’ listening skills. In order to bridge this gap and give students a broader exposure to the spoken language, numerous calls have been made too supplement existing materials with samples of live language from the media (e.g., Newmark and Diller 1965; Rivers 1966; Belasco 1970; Chastain 1971; Epting and Bowen, forthcoming). While there is agreement on the use of live materials in the classroom, little has been written in the field of English as a Second Language detailing procedures for the implementation of these materials in the classroom.

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Mr. Gaskill is in the Ph.D. Linguistic program at the University of California, Los Angeles, and teaches ESL in their Extension program.
In comparing our separate experiences with news broadcasts in the EFL and ESL classroom, we have both come to feel that, in combination with a defined set of procedures and integrated over an extended period of time, news broadcasts can be a positive influence in the EFL/ESL classroom. In examining the literature relevant to the use of news broadcasts in the language classroom, we note that our findings bear a striking resemblance to those of language instructors outside the realm of ESL.

A major source of literature on using live broadcasts involves experimentation in the French language classroom (Felt 1953, 1961; Monnot and Monnot 1974; Therrien 1973; and Grigsby 1977). Mohr and Lally (1973) advocate the use of short wave radio broadcasts in teaching German. While the literature is largely anecdotal, a number of common observations concur with our findings:

1) Students are at first overwhelmed by live speech, and in particular by high speed news broadcasts.
2) While initial lessons are time-consuming both in preparation and providing students with necessary in-class explanation of news items, the work is rewarded with regular recycling of news items and vocabulary; in many cases, the class becomes involved in a variety of real topics which provide a basis for reading and discussion.
3) Some type of supplementary material, e.g., comprehension questions, transcripts or cloze passages, is needed to accompany live broadcasts and to facilitate student comprehension.
4) Improvements are noted in student enthusiasm and motivation.
5) Improvement in the target language extends beyond the boundaries of listening skills.

A variety of techniques have been used in developing supplementary materials for taped news broadcasts. In some instances, students are required to transcribe a short broadcast to the best of their ability, then discuss the transcripts and the problems they encountered with their instructor (Belasco 1969; Mohr and Lally 1973; Monnot and Monnot 1974). In other instances, students are provided with transcripts or partial transcripts to aid them in the listening process (Felt 1953; Therrien 1973; Monnot and Monnot 1974). Many techniques have been used to check and assist students in the comprehension of live materials. Along with information on transcription procedures, Allen and Vallette (1972) outline a variety of questions and activities which can be used with live material, including general comprehension questions and oral and written paraphrasing. Herschenhorn (forthcoming) advocates the use of Wh-questions as a pre-listening activity. Felt (1961) has experimented with a wide range of comprehension activities including oral and written short-answer questions, true-false questions and cloze passages.

Although, as indicated by the above secondary literature, neither the concept of using news broadcasts nor the procedures which we are suggesting are entirely novel ones, we feel that a description of our separate experiences opens
the way for further experimentation with this technique in the field of ESL. We also feel that a strong testimonial for the implementation of live language tapes in the classroom evolves from its respective success in the two very different contexts described below.

What follows is a description of the procedures we have employed in using news broadcasts in the classroom. Our own experiences differ in several respects. The discussion by Donna Brinton concerns the use of comprehension questions with VTR news broadcasts in a German secondary school; that of William Gaskill involves cloze transcriptions with radio news broadcasts in adult ESL intensive courses in the Los Angeles area. We believe that the striking similarity of our separate experiences, despite the variation of techniques used and the divergence of the, student populations involved, speaks strongly for the value of teaching listening comprehension skills through taped news broadcasts.

1. The Use of Videotaped News Broadcasts in the EFL Context

Videotaped news broadcasts were used in advanced EFL classes at the German Gymnasium once a week for approximately six months. The levels at which the broadcasts were introduced correspond approximately to grades 11-13 at an American high school. Students at the German high school begin their English instruction in grade five; therefore, the student population in question had had from 6-8 years of prior English instruction at the time the news broadcasts were introduced. As the method of instruction used at the Gymnasium was primarily grammar-translation, the students’ comprehension of actual spoken English was extremely low in comparison to their reading comprehension.

The number of hours per week of English instruction received by the students is five. Three of the five hours were taught by the regular English instructors, native speakers of German. Two hours were taught by the coauthor, a native speaker of American English, for the express purpose of improving the students’ comprehension and production of spoken English. There was total freedom in the choice of materials and methods used, and there was no prescribed curriculum for the two hours of native speaker instruction.

At the outset, the instruction included the reading and discussion of articles from *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. It was determined that the students’ primary strength lay in the area of reading comprehension; spoken language comprehension, however, was weak. Similarly, regarding the productive skill of speaking, students were either unable or unwilling to participate in discussion concerning the materials read. Thus, though the magazine articles offered the advantages of being relevant and appropriate in terms of level of difficulty, it was felt that the students’ needs were not really being fulfilled.

The idea of introducing news broadcasts into the classroom was a direct result of student complaints that they were never given a chance to hear live English. In addition, the instructor hoped by means of the broadcasts to increase the level of student motivation in the EFL classes. Following the
introduction of news broadcasts into the classroom, the time of instruction was divided as follows: One hour per week at each level was devoted to the news broadcasts themselves, and the second, or follow-up hour, was devoted to the reading and discussion of magazine articles which related to the issues in the news broadcasts.

The videotaped materials were prepared for use in the classroom in the following manner: After the weekly taping of the broadcast, a transcript was prepared to facilitate glossing vocabulary for the students and preparing listening comprehension questions. Due to the length of the broadcast, which was unsuitable for the one-hour period of instruction, a decision was next made regarding which sections to cut (usually the shorter ones, or those of less global interest). A second edited version of the tape was then prepared which varied from 12-15 minutes in length. Subsequently, an English-English gloss of unfamiliar key vocabulary was prepared. The Oxford English Advanced Learners’ Dictionary was used extensively in preparing the gloss since all students in the advanced English classes were required to use it in their EFL classes. As a final step, several kinds of listening comprehension questions were prepared. In the more elementary classes, a combination of true-false and multiple-choice questions was decided upon as the most appropriate means of testing the students’ listening skills. This method was used for grades 11-12. At the grade 13 level short-essay questions were added.

The procedures for in-classroom use were relatively simple. The students were given a two-page handout consisting of the vocabulary gloss and the comprehension questions. Pre-listening activities included a discussion of unfamiliar vocabulary. In the student handout, each word was defined and put into a sentence which related to the context in which it would ultimately appear in the broadcast. Following the discussion of the vocabulary, the students were asked to quickly read through the comprehension questions. The edited version of the videotape was then viewed once, while students concentrated on understanding the gist of the report. Next, the students were asked to read through the comprehension questions and answer the ones they could. Guessing was encouraged. Following this step, the tape was played a second time. The students were then allowed to recheck their answers, and answer any questions they had left initially unanswered. Occasionally, students would request to view the tape a third time to reconfirm their answers to the comprehension questions. The final step of the procedure involved checking the answers. This was done on a class basis, with the instructor requesting the correct answers from the students. Peer correction was encouraged; often, discussion of issues tangential to the news item evolved during this section of the lesson. Such discussion centered on varied aspects of the broadcast, ranging from the actual content of the news item to cultural discussion to comments on the pronunciation of different speakers. The short-essay questions were collected by the instructor and returned with corrections to the students the following week.

The decision to use true-false and multiple choice items to test the stu-
Students’ listening comprehension skills was made because both types of questions provide a type of pre-listening activity—in a sense, a preview of what is to come. Thus, before actual contact with the live variety of English, students were able to familiarize themselves with the context of the news report and the item-specific vocabulary; additionally, they were able to focus on the central issues alone.

The student handout was intended to help the students overcome their initial anxiety at not being able to understand the totality of the broadcast. Students had often discussed the problem of becoming lost in a conversation or discussion because they had not understood a particular word or sentence. It was thought that, by directing the students’ attention to the more central issues of the news broadcast, the frustration of not understanding the more peripheral issues would be minimized.

One unexpected outcome of the use of the comprehension question format was the manner in which both types of questions generated student discussion. The most frequent type of discussion emerging from the comprehension question format was disagreement over whether a question was, in fact, true or false. In this sense, even badly-worded questions could be viewed positively, since they encouraged students to disagree with the teacher and/or their peers. During the course of such discussions, students remained in the target language, and incorporated vocabulary specific to the broadcasts into their speech patterns. A secondary type of discussion which ensued concerned why choice (a) was correct as opposed to choice (c), etc. Again, there was a large amount of student-generated discussion which had been virtually nonexistent before the introduction of news broadcasts into the EFL classroom.

Despite their initial difficulties in comprehending the broadcasts, students reacted favorably to the technique. No doubt, the technique provided a welcome relief from the rigidity of the grammar-translation method normally employed in the teaching of English at the school. Nonetheless, the students themselves provided other reasons why they felt the news broadcasts were of value for their acquisition of the language: primarily their exposure to English as it is actually spoken throughout the world. Prior to the introduction of news broadcasts, most students had been exposed in the classroom only to the variety of standard British English spoken by their German teachers. It was not uncommon, however, during the course of one news broadcast, for the students to hear not only the carefully enunciated BBC English of the newscaster, but also standard American English, varieties of Irish English, Colonial English, and even non-native English as spoken by various foreign politicians and diplomats. One particularly thrilling moment for the students was to hear their own Chancellor speaking English; another was the realization that Henry Kissinger did, in fact, have quite a heavy German accent.

In the affective domain, the news broadcasts seemed responsible for increased motivation in and outside of the classroom. Students inquired as to the time and channel of the BBC broadcast in order to be able to watch it on
their own; they also reported an increase in their viewing of other English
language broadcasts and requested a wider variety of programs to be shown
in the classroom; some students reported listening to other news broadcasts
to self-check their comprehension.

In class, this increased motivation manifested itself in increased participa-
tion in discussions of the *Time* and *Newsweek* articles. Prior to the use of broad-
casts, as mentioned, student motivation was low, and students participated in
in-class discussions only when called on to do so. Though recognizing that
knowledge of English was an extremely important skill to acquire for future
study at the university level, students were unwilling to expand any additional
effort in a class which was not being graded (grades were assigned by the
core English teacher, not by the native-speaker instructor). Following the in-
troduction of the news broadcasts into the classroom, students clearly felt more
confident of their ability to express themselves in English, and participated more
freely. Often, topics viewed during the BBC broadcast could be expanded upon
in depth during the second hour of instruction through the use of magazine
articles. In the discussion of the magazine articles, students appeared to have
actively incorporated much of the vocabulary which had been introduced dur-
ing the news broadcast lessons.

2. The Use of Radio Broadcasts in the ESL Context

This section focuses on techniques for using radio broadcasts in three dif-
ferent ESL classes at UCLA Extension. Two of the classes in which the broad-
casts were used were part of an intensive language program with five hours
of instruction per day, one class of the "low intermediate", one the "advanced"
level. In these classes, radio broadcasts were used three days a week in the
period designated for listening comprehension, thirty to forty-five minutes at
a time. The third class was an intermediate class in the UCLA Extension Eng-
lish series. This latter class met for two and a half hours twice a week; the radio
broadcasts were used for about thirty minutes once a week. The taped broad-
casts were used throughout the ten-week period of the classes. Students in all
three classes were from a wide variety of language backgrounds.

The decision to use radio tapes grew out of an attempt to provide practice
to complement Morley's *Improving Aural Comprehension* (1972). Initially,
weather reports were used to give students practice in listening to numbers
spoken at a fast rate. Subsequently, a one minute news report was taped and
played for the low intermediate students. Neither a transcript nor questions
were prepared in advance, rather students were asked only to briefly summarize
the different news items they had heard. Although discouraged by the speed
and unfamiliar vocabulary, the students expressed an interest in listening to
more, and requested transcripts.

Most of the broadcasts used in the three classes were taped from KFWB
AM radio in Los Angeles. KFWB broadcasts news, weather and sports continu-
ously throughout the day; thus it afforded easy access to short news broadcasts.
For all classes, essentially the same procedures were followed in taping broadcasts and preparing accompanying materials. A short news report, approximately one minute in length and including four or five brief news items, was taped on an audio cassette and, then transcribed. Next, a cloze passage was prepared from the transcribed broadcast. The decision to use cloze passages was based more on practical considerations than on theory. As mentioned above, students had so much initial difficulty listening to a broadcast that a transcript seemed necessary. However, it was felt that omitting some parts of the text would challenge the students and generally make the lesson more interesting. No precise system was used in deleting items from the transcript. Frequently, the decision regarding what to omit was related to the grammar structures which were being taught at the time of the broadcast, e.g., verb tenses, phrasal verbs, prepositions, etc. With news stories which unfolded over several broadcasts and which had been discussed in class, specific news-item vocabulary was often omitted. For example, in the advanced class where news of the U.S. coal strike was reported regularly, words related to the topic such as strike, picket lines, and injunction were deleted.

The procedures for using the materials in class were also quite simple. In order to give the students an overall impression of the news broadcast for the day, the tape was played twice before the cloze transcriptions were distributed. In the lower intermediate class, five simple short-answer or true-false questions were written on the board prior to playing the tape. These questions were intended to focus the students’ listening and to build confidence. Once the cloze transcriptions were distributed, the tape was played again three times, and students attempted to fill in the blanks. Cassettes and very short broadcasts permitted frequent repetition without loss of classroom time.

After students had had three opportunities to fill in the blanks in the cloze transcriptions, they were given time to check over their responses and spelling with students sitting near them. Students were often able to help one another with vocabulary and other questions about the news items: the instructor circulated from group to group, primarily to observe and answer questions. Occasionally, controversies arose as to what was said and students requested that the tape be played again to resolve specific questions. The instructor then wrote the correct responses on the board so that students could check their own work. Student responses on the cloze transcripts were neither collected nor graded. In some cases, the tape was played once more. In other instances, discussion of the news items and vocabulary began immediately.

Discussion of the broadcast varied according to the ability of the class. In the advanced class, students were often asked first to orally summarize each news item before proceeding with specific questions about the item or about vocabulary in the item. Once a general frame of reference had been established, it was easier to encourage students to use the context to help guess the meaning of unfamiliar words. In the intermediate class, the instructor asked questions about the individual news items to check overall comprehension. Again, it was
easier to discuss specific questions about the items and the vocabulary once students understood the general idea.

When students had no previous knowledge of a particular news event or of the context in which it occurred, it was necessary to spend extra time discussing a news item and providing students with background information. In all three classes, a lot of time was taken at the beginning of the ten-week session to discuss specific news items and also news-related vocabulary. Background topics included brief explanations of U.S. institutions, local and national politics and geography. At first such explanations seemed time-consuming, but they invariably proved to be worthwhile since news items, vocabulary and references to topics which were discussed were recycled in subsequent news broadcasts with amazing regularity. To avoid teacher-dominated discussion of news items, students who had specific information about a news item were encouraged to share it with their fellow students.

In the intermediate classes, the cloze procedure was used throughout the course; however, an increasing number of words were omitted. Attempts were made to encourage intermediate students to summarize news items both orally and in writing. In the advanced class, cloze transcripts were used for several weeks and then discontinued in favor of more open-ended discussion questions or summaries of the items. Often, however, advanced students were given a transcript of the news broadcast so that vocabulary, syntax and news items themselves could be discussed in more detail. In all classes, five to ten vocabulary items were selected from each broadcast for the students to learn, and weekly quizzes were given to encourage students to review the vocabulary.

Although no testing was carried out to determine the value of using news broadcasts in the classroom, there were many positive indications. Students were obviously enthusiastic about the news broadcasts, and they rated them highly in course evaluations. At the beginning of each term, the students asked how they could find KFWB on their own radios and from their remarks in class and in private, it was clear that they listened to radio and television broadcasts more frequently and understood more than they had prior to the class. It was especially satisfying for the instructor to see students taking the initiative in following a particular news story on their own; from time to time, students would report further developments which they had heard or read at home.

3. Conclusions

In reviewing our experiences in the use of news broadcasts in the classroom, there are several points that we would like to reemphasize. First we wholeheartedly endorse the use of live news broadcasts in the EFL and ESL classroom. Although we cannot empirically document the specific gains in student learning, motivation and enthusiasm, we both acknowledge a strong conviction that the live broadcasts made a positive contribution to our classes and to the students’ progress in learning English. Unlike so many classroom
activities, newscasts bring reality into the classroom and enable the students to focus on substantive issues. Furthermore, and especially in the ESL context, we see the instructor fulfilling a vital role in the learning process: In the preparation of materials, the teacher provides the student with aids which are rarely available elsewhere; and in providing background information for the news items, the instructor is helping the student to become more aware of his new environment.

One of the greatest advantages of using news broadcasts in the classroom concerns the issue of vocabulary. Blatchford (1973) has noted the degree to which vocabulary is recycled in the consistent use of the newspaper in the ESL classroom; we note the same phenomenon occurring in the use of news broadcasts. One payoff, for the work of transcribing news broadcasts and also for the numerous explanations of vocabulary and news items at the beginning of the term comes in the repeated use of contextualized vocabulary. This recycling of vocabulary takes the pressure off both the student and the instructor in that not everything has to be mastered or taught the first time. If students are held responsible for a minimum number of words per broadcast and vocabulary is quizzed regularly, the natural recycling process can be further complemented.

While we strongly encourage others to use news broadcasts and other live language presentations in the classroom, we caution the reader on several points. One such point concerns the necessity for consistency and perseverance in the instructional procedure. As we both have noted, many students initially view the comprehension of live broadcasts as an impossibility. In our experiences we found that it was only by providing the students with a set procedure, followed over an extended period of time, that we were able to convince them that they could understand live language. Thus, we reemphasize the importance of prelistening questions, cloze transcriptions, and various types of comprehension questions in using live materials for listening comprehension.

Second, we stress the importance of patience on the part of the teacher. Initial contact with the live language tapes may constitute a shock for some students, particularly in the EFL context. The first time the tape is played, students frequently claim to have understood nothing at all. The language decoding process may be further confounded by unfamiliar cultural contexts, and the instructor may find that frequent cultural asides are necessary to clarify the content of a particular news item. In addition, the vocabulary load is overwhelming at first and it may seem that too much time is being spent at the word level. It is often distressing at the early stages of using broadcasts with a particular class that students ask the same questions again and again. The instructor is reminded that each news item can be perceived on a variety of levels and that students who are paying attention to one point may miss another. Thus, the instructor should strive to maintain a supportive atmosphere and to treat all questions as valid.

Our experience suggests that it is better not to grade students on listening performance when using live broadcasts. For some, the task is at first so over-
whelming that adding grades to the issue might prove to be totally demoralizing. We have encouraged students to do the best they can and to view the listening comprehension exercises as practice. We made every effort to positively reinforce correct responses and guesses about the meaning or content of a news item.

Regarding the preparation of supplementary materials, we admit that the large amount of preparation time may discourage instructors from using radio tapes in the classroom. However, we suggest that the work load might be shared by several instructors. Also, we have found that with only minor adjustments in procedure, the tapes can be used at several different levels of proficiency.

There is something to be said for the use of other types of live broadcasts such as interviews, commercials, songs and other radio and television programs which can be taped, transcribed and supplemented with the types of exercises detailed above. Unlike news broadcasts, some of these materials are suitable for repeated playing and can become part of a permanent listening comprehension library. However, we feel that, of the types of live language broadcasts which can be adapted for in-classroom use, news broadcasts best fulfill student needs for the following reasons:

1) They are timely and relevant.
2) The recycling of vocabulary is more consistent, particularly in news items which reappear over a period of several weeks.
3) News items provide the student with a more useful core vocabulary, which enables the student to more readily participate in the type of conversations he is likely to encounter in a social situation.
4) The cultural asides which are a by-product of using news broadcasts provide the student with a broader knowledge of the target culture.

In addition to urging EFL/ESL instructors to experiment with news broadcasts in the classroom, we would like to make a special plea for empirical studies to document student progress resulting from the use of news broadcasts.

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A Special Reading System for Second Language Learners*

Doris Feldman

A Special reading system was developed for elementary school children who were learning to read for the first time in their second language, English. This paper describes the reading system and traces its success over a four year period as measured through standardized testing instruments.

This paper addresses itself to the problem of reading instruction for the elementary school child who is learning to read for the first time in his second language, English. It assumes that learning to read in the second language is different from learning to read in the first language, and that reading instruction in the second language must reflect this difference.

A special reading system which was devised for youngsters learning to read in their second language, The Reading System for Second Language Learners (Feldman 1974), was initiated in 1973 as part of the English as a Second Language Program (ESL) in a Stamford, Connecticut elementary school (grades K through 6). The purpose of this paper is to describe the reading system and to demonstrate the effectiveness of its application.

Prior to the use of the reading system in the ESL classroom, second language students demonstrated a considerable lack of reading abilities. Test scores indicated that many of the children who had been in the same school system for several years were reading at the lowest levels for their grades; some could not read at all. In contrast to this, every child who has had the benefit of the reading system for at least one year has learned to read. Those who have been participating in the reading system for three years are generally found in the top quarter of their class.

It was through necessity that a special reading system was developed. The literature on beginning reading for second language learners revealed research findings based mainly on the use of particular reading texts, and little else (Digneo 1968 and New York City Public Schools 1969, 1970). Little was said in these studies on the difference between teaching second language learners and native learners of English as applied to beginning reading instruction; texts for teachers of ESL offered little help. And even though Thonis’ book on reading for non-English is generally helpful for the teacher with little or no pre-

* This paper was based on the Practicum Study, Reading in The Second Language, English: A System of Instruction, completed for Fairfield University Graduate School, under the direction of Dr. William Garrity. Ms. Feldman is an English as a Second Language teacher to children and adults with the Stamford, Connecticut Public Schools Title I ESL Program.
vious background in the teaching of reading, it does not provide the specific approaches or methods the ESL teacher is looking for (Thonis 1970). Most writings suggest that reading instruction be delayed until the spoken language has been developed (Finocchiaro 1969).

Various methods and approaches were tried in early attempts at finding a reading system for the youngsters in this ESL classroom. At first, "language experience" techniques seemed to be the answer, but they soon proved inefficient in providing the needed instruction within the short period of time allotted to the ESL Program. A system was needed that would teach the children to read within the limits of a thirty minute period of each school day.

The reading system that was finally arrived at was based on certain assumptions: 1) that reading, like listening, implies communication; 2) that communication is dependent upon certain shared knowledge between transmitter and receiver, speaker and listener, writer (or text) and reader; and 3) that, where the medium of instruction is either oral or written language, a shared knowledge of that language is necessary for that communication. And any deviation from the shared language could be considered proportional to the deviation from the communication.

The child with no reading experience in any language cannot translate written symbols into spoken symbols which he does not know, although he is often expected to do so. He cannot develop the ability to read by manipulating one set of unknown symbols against another set of unknown symbols (See Fries 1963:20). The reading programs for English speaking children do not take such things into account, nor are they expected to do so. It was the task of the devised reading system to fit the instruction to the specific needs of the second language learner.

1. A Reading System for Second Language Learners

Throughout the Reading System for Second Language Learners, simplicity is maintained. The sentences are short and direct. The language resembles the language of speech, particularly that of children.

The reading system is divided into four phases. The first of these, the "Readiness" Phase, is concerned with the child’s ability to recognize that reading is a message written down.

The essence of reading and writing readiness is the child’s understanding that the language he hears and speaks can be represented graphically in writing and in print; and that the writing and print he sees can say something to him. (Lefèvre 1964:39)

1.1. Readiness Phase. Phonetic Focus: The children are made to focus on what they can hear (at the beginning they may be asked to close their eyes). Universality common sounds, such as those made by the clapping of hands or the slam of a door are elicited and identified. Bits of sound that are new to the children are gradually introduced and then reintroduced until recognized. At the beginning, toy musical instruments aid in the sound making process,
helping the children to pinpoint their attention on individual and combined elements of sound. Later, by directing their attention to "minimal pairs" carefully articulated by the teacher, the children learn to differentiate between phonetic contrasts. And ultimately they learn to hear the phonetic elements that make up the English language as it is spoken in the school.

Objective: Aural recognition of phonetic contrasts.

Sound To Print: The children are guided to imitate those phonetic elements they have learned to hear. The next step is to relate the sound elements to written symbols.

Emphasis on the process rather than on the material to be learned is a rule applied throughout the reading system. In this case, the use of a single example of a one-to-one sound/symbol relationship leads the children to "decode" the printed page.

The letter /æ/ is written on the chalkboard. Immediately, the teacher points to the letter, saying /æ/ as in cat. She motions for the children to join her as she points to the letter again and again. The teacher covers the board with a's and each time the children respond /æ/. This is done several days in a row, for only a few minutes each time. The next several sound/symbol relationships are introduced in the same way, as are the sound/symbol combinations. No explanations, no other sounds or words are made, merely a simple response to a simple sign.

Four consonants and five vowels are selected for frequency of usage and facility in teaching. (The four consonants are chosen arbitrarily from several choices which can be equally effective.). The vowels: /æ/, /I/, /a/, /e/, and /a/ are written only as a (cat), i (bit), o (hot), e (get), and u (but), respectively. These are the only vowels used during the first phase of the reading system, aside from those appearing in the occasional sight words which are introduced with each new lesson.

It is highly important, at this point, that the names of the letters of the alphabet be completely disregarded. The letter names only add to the confusion of trying to learn new sounds. They do not contribute in any way toward the process of reading, and only further complicate teaching. Reading instruction in the second language needs to be stripped of all encumbrances, the alphabet first of all (See Hart in Fries 1963:123).

The first consonant is introduced, learned, and then teamed with the vowel they already know (/æ/). The same first consonant is then teamed with each of the remaining four vowels listed above, one at a time. This moves along as quickly as the children allow. Letter combinations always begin with the consonant. The same procedure follows for three more consonants. Along with board drills (in the form of games or songs), cards are used so that the children can become thoroughly familiar with the letters learned. Large one-letter cards (11" x 4") are used by the teacher. Smaller cards (4" x 3") are handed to the children who can "read" them. The children are shown how to put their cards together to form the syllables they have learned to recognize on the board. They finally are able to reproduce the sounds they hear by manipulating their own sets of cards, and by writing the letters down on lined paper. To complete the cycle, they read back what they have written down. In the same ways three-letter words are learned. They put the
word together piece by piece, sound by sound, but once learned as a word, it is usually retained. The children are now ready for the sentence.

Objective: Visual recognition and oral response to the selected four consonant and five vowels, singly and in combinations of consonant/vowel/consonant.

Reading For Meaning: Sentences are structured from the learned vocabulary and a few sight words. Even before new consonants are learned, meaning is incorporated into the reading lesson, so that from the beginning the children will come to view reading as that which will say something in print. There are no illustrations accompanying the sentences or the simple stories that will follow. The teacher may draw pictures on the chalkboard, or explain the sentences through gestures or picture cards, but the sentences must stand by themselves for meaning. Picture clues interfere with mental visualization and with the internalization of meaningful language through reading. Pictures are used in single-word exercises for identification of vocabulary only. New words are introduced in phonemic contrast with words already learned, showing only one new element at a time. Simple stories are first modeled by the teacher, then read by the group (of five or six) with the teacher illustrating the story on the board as they read. Stories are then copied down by the students and taken home. While the children are writing the stories down, individual reading takes place. This allows for fact and inference questioning as well as language reinforcement. Lessons usually end with written and oral exercises in sentence structure and word forms as well as questions relating to the story contained within the lesson.

Objectives: Ability to read a number of small stories, using two and three letter words based on 24 selected phonetic elements in combinations of vowel/consonant or consonant/vowel/consonant, and only nine sight words. Ability to read these stories with understanding, as evidenced by the answers to selected questions. The understanding that the printed page has something to say.

1.2. Application Phase. Blends and Digraphs: Blends are introduced with no record of any problems. The consonant digraphs, th and sh, take a bit longer. Some of the children will never learn to pronounce the /θ/ or the /ʃ/ exactly like the native English speaker. The important thing here is not the way they pronounce the words, but the significance they give to contrasting phonemic elements.

Objective: Word identification without sounding out (which usually disappears in the early stages of Phase I).

Reading For Fun: Increased reading vocabulary leads to the use of more colorful stories with each lesson. At this point the children are able to read along with recordings of selected trade books. This is done as a group venture. After following the record, they are often able to read the complete story by themselves. One or another of the children in the group is always ready to supply the right word when needed. The children are always delightfully surprised to find that they really can read.
Objective: That children want to read because it is fun to read.

1.3. Reading the Written Language. Generating Rules: Up to this point, even in the case of blends and digraphs, there has been a one-to-one relationship between written symbols and sounds. Now the children are introduced to words like ride and then same and hope, and will have to learn the difference between words like maid and made, and when to use ee as in tree and ea as in treat. The rules are not taught. Enough examples are given so that the children eventually generate their own rules.

The first divergence from the one-to-one correspondences is demonstrated by means of a simple nonsense story, delivered with a dash of "show biz."

With a flourish, to direct the children’s attention to the chalk board, the teacher writes the word bit. The b and the t are greatly oversized and the i is made to appear puny in comparison. (The children will generally call out the word without prompting.) The story begins . . . “Once there was a /b/, and it was a BIG BIG /b/ (teacher exaggerates the sound of her voice as she points to the letter on the board). And there was a /t/. It was a TALL TALL /t/. And in between the BIG BIG /b/ and the TALL TALL /t/ was a little little /i/. “ ( Gestures and intonation of voice ensure the understanding on the part of even the most limited English language used. ) The teacher asks the children to tell her what the word is that is written on the board. “That’s right! But one day that BIG BIG /b/-little little /i/-TALL TALL /t/ were sitting on a line” (teacher draws a line under the word and extended slightly so that there is room for the letter e), “just like this.” The teacher holds out a paper cut-out of the letter e, and waves it around the word on the board, finally settling it on the end of the line so that the word becomes bite. “Well, all of a sudden a little /e/ flew around and around and around here at the end of the line. That little /e/ was so quiet that you couldn’t hear it. But the line just shook and shook and shook (gestures are important here), and the BIG BIG /b/ shouted /b/b/b/ as loudly as it could, and the TALL TALL /t/ shouted /t/t/t/ as loudly as it could, but the little little /i/ was so surprised that all it could say was /ayyyyyyyyyyyyy. And the little /e/ just sat on the end of the line, looking very far away and not making one sound. . . . But what do you think happened to that word bit? It didn’t look like bit. It wasn’t bit anymore. It was a new word, Let’s see if we can figure out what that new word was.” The teacher has the children sound out the word, using the story to elicit the sound /ay/. The story is repeated, with the children supplying the sounds of the word. After the children have had a chance to tell the story themselves, comparisons are shown between pairs of words to reinforce the concept.

The lessons that follow employ a controlled vocabulary to the extent that new orthographic patterns are repeated continuously. Stories built around Mike and Jim move on to where the boys wade in the lake. Children remember the concept established with the story of “BiT”, and experience no difficulty in going from fat to fate or hop to hope.

From the beginning, the children copy each story they are given to read. The story is first read by the group, then written down, then reread individually. They are encouraged to say the word, then write it, and later to say a group of words and then write. Letter by letter copying is avoided this way and the message begins to come through. Word cards are used to speed recognition and to provide additional practice where needed. Special exercise sheets that demand a maximum of concentration are given to the children periodically. These exercises teach the children
to separate words and their sounds from similar spelling groups (boot/book or crow/now) or to group words of similar sounds from a variety of spellings (ate, wait, play, vs. hat, can, bag). Each exercise sheet focuses on one particular task at a time. Each exercise is extensive, requiring lists of twenty to thirty words per sheet.

Aside from those contained within the reading system itself, no special skill or drill exercises are used to supplement tile instruction. Once a rule has been established with the child it no more requires practice than something swallowed requires further chewing. Rather than dull the appetite for reading by forcing skills, the children are given books. By reading books they increase their spoken as well as their reading vocabulary and develop their English language abilities in general.

Objective: Ability to recognize and reproduce orally, with intonation that signifies understanding, the printed sentence in context and the printed page.

Reading And Language: Vocabulary words, chosen from primary word lists, and basic language patterns are inculcated into the reading system. Only a few new items are introduced with each reading lesson, but initial repetitiveness and continuing usage in succeeding lessons reinforce learning. In this way, the reading system resembles a beginning foreign language program more than a reading program for English speakers. Language exercises accompany each lesson. Reading provides a means of looking at the things the children will learn to say; it clarifies what they have already heard.

Goal: That reading will serve as a tool of oral as well as written language development.

Making The Transition: Basic instruction, in this reading system, depends upon teacher-made materials suited to particular student needs. However, from the beginning, the children follow along with reading groups in the regular classroom, though they may not be able to understand a word or to read at all. They are thus exposed to the reading that will be expected of them in the school setting. Reading in the ESL classroom also moves toward this end. Trade books of increasing difficulty become an integral part of the reading system. Primary grade story and question sheets are taken home for additional exposure and practice. The last two books of a primary reading series, and the workbooks that go with them, provide supplemental material that helps to expand what has been learned so far (Merrill 1966). The children can now find a practical use for learning the letters of the alphabet as they add to their vocabularies and perform tasks related to the dictionary (Scott Foresman 1970).

Objective: Ability to derive intended meanings from primary grade printed materials.

1.4. Reading for Learning. Through films and trade books the children learn about the culture that surrounds them. Through such resources as the media center, libraries, field trips, and assisting parents, the cultures of the world are read about and shared. At this final phase of the reading system, the children are able to enjoy reading at an achievement level comparable to many of their English speaking classmates.
It is evident that where this reading system has only been employed in a single ESL classroom, within a four year period, only a small number of students could have completed the final stage. Though approximately eighty children have participated in the Reading System for Second Language Learners, only forty-four of these students have been exposed to the system beyond six months, some being new to the system and others having moved out of the school district.

One could consider fifty-four students, in a single location, too narrow a sample upon which to base claims about the efficiency of a particular reading system. Admittedly, the sample is small, though the children are of a variety of language backgrounds and do reflect many different cultural life styles. However, the reading system developed for these children has been successful in every single case: all of these children are reading. There is the possibility that it might also work for hundreds of ESL students elsewhere and that possibility gives this study an urgency as well as a purpose.

The statement that all the children are reading does not mean that all proceed at the same rate. As with all groups of children, some need less and some need more time. By working with small groups of six to ten, the teacher and teacher aide become attuned to individual progress and needs. The ESL classroom is not immune to special learning problems. By quick identification, applying patience with tenacity, such problems can be alleviated. (One third-grader who had only been able to recite the word the, found it difficult to believe that she could read. She would read every sentence like a question.) In some cases where the child has experienced many reading failures, it takes a concentration of effort cm the part of students, teachers and family to bring about the needed motivation. Learning to read may take two or three times as long for some children as for others; time synchronized to the children’s own clocks works best.

The success of any reading program cannot be adequately measured by test results. However, these do serve to indicate that progress has been made. Data have been compiled from preselected school and program evaluation instruments to provide some means of measuring the results of the reading system.

2. Second Language Reading Achievements and Measurements

Table 1 follows the progress of each of the 54 students who were serviced by the Reading System for Second Language Learners for more than six months. Raw scores taken from the Inter-American Test of Reading (Inter-American 1967), and Grade Equivalent scores derived with the aid of the manual (Inter-American 1967:25,26), as well as the level of reading completed according to the Merrill Linguistic Reading Series, Book 5 or 6, are traced horizontally across the table, according to averages for the number of students in each time period. Each of these students has received a minimum of thirty minutes per day of instruction in the Reading System for Second
Language Learners (barring absences). In reading Table 1, one sees, for example, that out of 16 students who were in the program for six months to one year, 14 took Level II test in vocabulary and 12 took Level II in reading comprehension; For the 14 a mean grade equivalent score of 2.2 was reached, and for the 12 who also took the comprehension section of Level II test, the grade equivalent score was 2.9. The same procedure follows for each of the given time periods.

**TABLE 1**

Progress Record of ESL Students, with Inter-American Reading Test Raw Scores and Grade Equivalent Scores and Merrill Books* Read

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Rd System</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Grade Level (X)</th>
<th>Inter-American Reading Test</th>
<th>Merrill Book Read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>Comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Raw Sc</td>
<td>GE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(out of 40)</td>
<td>(out of 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ to 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$ avg</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 1½</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$ avg</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ - 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$ avg</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 2½</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$ avg</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½ - 3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$ avg</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Merrill Books refer to the Merrill Linguistic Reading Series (Merrill 1966). Raw Scores are included for comparison by those familiar with the Inter-American Tests of Reading (Inter-American 1967).

Another measurement was reached by tallying the 18 third grade ESL students who took the Level II test. After being exposed to the reading system for an average of 1.5 years, a mean average of 3.0 in vocabulary and 3.6 in comprehension was found, with nine students completing the equivalent of Book 6 of the Merrill Series and seven completing Book 5. Measuring second grade achievement showed that the 15 second graders who took Level II test in an average of .9 year's time, scored with a mean grade equivalent score of 2.3 in vocabulary and 2.9 in comprehension. In both of these instances, as in Table 1, the comprehension scores are higher than the reading vocabulary. This may be due to the emphasis placed on reading for the message rather than the word.
In the Spring of each school year all third to sixth grade students were tested via the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills. Table 2 shows the scores made by those ESL students who had learned to read for the first time through the reading system. In order to be fair to the reading system those students who had had prior reading experience were not included. ESL students took the tests along with their classmates in the regular classroom.

### TABLE 2
Iowa Test of Basic Skills Scores Made by ESL Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Grade Level At Time of Testing</th>
<th>Time In Rd System</th>
<th>IowaTest Gr</th>
<th>Voc</th>
<th>Comp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.0 years</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.5 years</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 11  Avg Gr 4.9  Avg Tm 1.7 years  \( \bar{x} = 4.5 \)  \( \bar{x} = 4.9 \)

Though the scores seem to indicate that these ESL students have acquired sufficient written language skill to compete with their peers, this is hardly the case. What they have learned is to make use of everything they know, regardless of the language, and to apply their own abilities toward their improvement of English as a spoken and as a written language.

### 3. Conclusions

The Reading System For Second Language Learners has proven to be an adequate means of instruction for children who are learning to read for the first time in their second language, English. Evidence of its adequacy has been reflected in the data provided in this study.

At the outset of the English as a Second Language Program, in the particular school involved with this reading instruction, students deficient in reading achievement were coming to the ESL classroom. Academic and general behavior problems accompanied this deficiency. At the time of this writing, where the children in the ESL classroom have participated in the special reading system for a year or more, none of these problems exists. It would be difficult to argue that the reading system was not in any way responsible for this turnabout.

### REFERENCES


Merrill linguistic readers. 1966. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.


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English Acquisition as a Diminishing Function of Experience rather than Age*

Herbert J. Walberg, Keiko Hase, and Sue Pinzur Rasher

Self-ratings of English fluency of 352 Japanese students who lived from 0 to 12 years in Japan and 0-12 years in the United States and ratings of English competence made by American teachers of an over-lapping sample of 360 students were regressed on linear and logarithmic forms of numbers of months lived in the U. S. and in Japan, and their product. A simple regression of the ratings on the log of months in the U.S. yields Rs of from .52 to .62 which are generally not increased significantly by additional terms. The hypothesis of special competence of young children for language acquisition is unsupported. The rate of acquisition, however, diminishes with time in this country in children of all ages in the sample.

The Bilingual Education Act led to the founding of an increasing number of bilingual education programs throughout the United States; the Illinois legislature for example, allocated $8,000,000 for bilingual education and teacher training for one recent year. Yet few such programs have been evaluated; and even the prior question of the psycho-linguistic basis for such programs has rarely been addressed (see Carroll’s 1960 review that raises important questions in this area that remain unanswered).

Indeed, many programs appear to be based on questionable premises. McLaughlin’s (1977) comprehensive review of 162 anthropological, psychological, and educational studies of second-language learning concluded: “It remains to be proven a) that there is a biologically-based critical period for language acquisition, such that young children learn a language more quickly and easily than adults, b) that second-language learning involves different processes than does first-language learning, c) that interference is an inevitable consequence of bilingualism, or d) that bilingualism has negative (or positive) consequences on intelligence, educational attainment, or cognitive functioning” (p. 438). As McLaughlin points out, the argument for the early-age sensitivity

* This research was supported by the Office of Evaluation Research and the Urban Educational Research Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. The authors thank John Carroll and Julia Falk for help in searching the prior studies on the topic, John Carroll for pointing out the distinction between the structural and behavioral theories in the context of research on second-language acquisition, and Andrew Ahlgren for discussing the formulation of the regression models.

Mr. Walberg, Research Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, is the author of numerous articles and books, including Educational Environments and Effects and Introductory Multivariate Analysis.

Ms. Keiko, Senior Research Assistant with the Chicago Board of Education, has been a teacher in Japan as well as at a Japanese school in Chicago.

Ms. Rasher, Assistant Education Specialist at the University of Illinois, has authored research articles in evaluation research and multivariate analysis.

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hypothesis is usually based on impressionistic evidence, such as Chomsky’s (1959) often cited example of the immigrant child who apparently acquires English easily while his parents struggle ineffectively.

On the other hand, adults do not typically expose themselves either to new languages in the amount and with the intensity that children do nor to “immersion methods” than can bring about striking rates of acquisition. The Army Language School, for example, sets 1,300 hours of instruction as a standard for an adult to achieve near native competence in Vietnamese (Burke, 1974). A child who spends about ten hours a day in school, in play, and with media of a second language might gain comparable, though seemingly natural and effortless, experience in 130 days.

The research evidence for the early-age sensitivity hypothesis is skimpy and mixed (McLaughlin 1977). Ramsey and Wright (1974) found younger immigrant children learned English faster than older children; Asher and Garcia (1969) found more pronounced accents among a sample of Cuban immigrant children who had been in the United States for about five years. However, Buhler (1972), Politzer and Weiss (1969), and Grinder, Otomo, and Toyota (1961) provide contrary data as does Erwin-Tripp (1974) who found that older children learned faster.

A problem of the past research on second-language learning is that neither the data collection nor the analysis and interpretation are explicitly based upon theoretical frameworks. To provide more telling probes on the structural theory—that emphasizes age or developmental sensitivity—as well as behavioral theory—that emphasizes time, exposure, opportunity, or experience (see Walberg 1976, on the distinction), requires reasonably large samples of children of both widely-varying ages and widely-varying amounts of experience. Moreover, although it is understandable that the research has exploited “natural experiments” in second-language learning such as the cases of immigration, mandatory language requirements in Canada, and ordinary school programs offering language study for several hours a week, such natural experiments are often poorly designed for elucidating the process or rate of second-language acquisition. The first and second languages are usually Indo-European with many cognate words. The child is exposed simultaneously to an oral and written mixture of both languages in varying unspecified proportions across time, as in Montreal and in Spanish-speaking districts in certain large cities of the United States, and the onset of the second language may not be clearly identifiable.

1. The Sample

The sample for the present study, the sons and daughters of Japanese businessmen, university faculty and graduate students who come to the Chicago metropolitan area directly from Japan, provides a fairly well-designed natural experiment. This is so because Japanese and English differ in their linguistic structure in many important ways. In addition, the onset of English
for the children is sharply defined and massive (although they continue Japanese school on Saturdays). The children are dispersed throughout the city and suburbs; they play with American children in their neighborhoods and go to American schools during the week. The children range in age from 6 to 18, and, although most families stay in the United States for about 3 to 4 years, some children stay for up to 12 years. Some of the children return once or twice to Japan for a Christmas or summer vacation but none go back for a more extended period and then come back to the United States. It is fair to say that the amount of English experience for the school-age children is roughly measurable in months from their arrival.

2. Theoretical Models

Several propositions could be tested in the sample. Let JPN be defined as the number of months the child lived in Japan before coming to the United States, and USA be the number of months, at the time of measurement, that the child lived in this country. Then, the general question is, what function (f) relates the acquisition of English (ENG) as the second language to the time measures?

The simplest theory suggests that acquisition is a linear function of English exposure or time in this country as in the linear equation:

$$ENG = a + b \text{ (USA)}$$

where $ENG$ is an estimate of an index of performance, $a$ is a constant, and $b$ is a metric regression coefficient that estimates the steady, equal changes in the performance index associated with one-month increases in USA (see Figure 1).

It seems unreasonable that children can continue making equal language strides if adults can learn a foreign language reasonably well in 1,300 intensive hours. Whether or not one subscribes to the early-age sensitivity hypothesis, there would seem to be diminishing returns for children of all ages to exposure or experience in natural language environments and possibly the contrived environment of the school. It is well known that a very small number of different words comprise most of the oral and written discourse of all languages that have been studied. The word the comprises about 7 percent of the 5 million words in a large sample of school textbook passages and shows this nearly constant percentage across grades 3 through 9; 10 percent of the different words in this sample comprise 93 percent of the total number of words (Carroll, Davies, Richman 1971). Repeated exposure in such texts and even greater repetition in oral discourse would eventually lead to learning plateaus with respect to vocabulary and probably syntax (Figure 1). Rarer words by definition are repeated less often; and it is difficult to imagine how steady, constant rates of vocabulary acquisition would be maintained in natural environments of learning.
provides a suitable way of testing the proposition of diminishing acquisition returns of language experience. Contrasting the variances accounted for by the linear and logarithmic exposure equations is a reasonable test of the rival propositions.
The early-age-sensitivity hypothesis requires a more complicated equation relating acquisition to the number of months in Japan and the United States and their interaction:

\[ ENG = a + b \,(USA) + c \,(JPN) + d \,(USA) \,(JPN) \]

Coefficients \( a \) and \( b \) are defined as above. The third coefficient \( c \) tests the proposition that the longer the child has lived in Japan, other things being equal, the greater (or less if negative), is his or her competence in English. The fourth coefficient \( d \) tests the early-age-sensitivity theory that, other things being equal, younger children learn English at a different rate than older children (Figure 1).

It is important to note the distinction between the logarithmic and early-age-sensitivity models. The logarithmic model asserts that each additional unit of time brings about smaller and smaller changes no matter what the age at the start. The early-sensitivity model, on the other hand, asserts that younger children learn more than older children from the same amount of time, exposure, or experience. The present study focuses on the quantity or amount of experience, and subsequent research should include the quality or intensity of the experience.

3. Method

3.1 Sample and Procedure. Some of the important characteristics of the children in the sample have already been discussed above. In addition, it should be mentioned that all the children attend the Futabakai Japanese School for five hours of instruction on Saturdays throughout the academic year to increase or maintain written and oral Japanese language facility and to study Japanese subjects not included in the typical American school curriculum. Although, as previously mentioned, the children participate fully in American school and neighborhood life, they nearly always continue to speak Japanese to their parents to maintain their Japanese fluency and because some of their fathers and many of their mothers lack full English fluency.

The very few children (less than 1 percent) who had formal instruction in English before coming to the United States are those who went to Japanese higher schools, which extend from grades 7 through 12 and include ages 12 through 18 (Table 1). These students had studied written English for approximately 45 minutes, 3 to 5 times a week, for an academic year or two. Although this group was small and although unlikely to bias the results, JPN months in the regressions statistically controlled this possibility.

During the first year of the study, 352 children in the Futabakai School from kindergarten through twelfth grade responded to a questionnaire which was fully explained so they understood how to make ratings. They were asked to rate, on a three-point Likert scale: which language is easier, more comfortable, and fluent for them in the separate tasks of reading, writing, speaking, and listening (Japanese = 1; equal = 2; English = 3). For comparative pur-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in the United States</th>
<th>Number of Years in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7(1)</td>
</tr>
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<td>11(7)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>9(15)</td>
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<td>6(5)</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>2(3)</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cell entries are the number of children for each combination of years of residence in Japan and the United States for the first and (in parentheses) second-year samples.
poses, the children were also asked to rate on a three-point scale: the language they use in speaking to brothers and sisters, and father and mother; and in which country they would like to reside and go to school. Children without siblings were not asked to complete that particular rating and kindergarten children were not asked about their language facility in reading and writing, since they were not expected to read and write.

During the second year of the study, the American teachers of 360 students, grades 1 through 9, were asked to rate on a four point scale (1 = far behind the average American student in the class; 2 = a little behind average; 3 = average; 4 = better than average) the students’ English language competence with respect to reading, writing, vocabulary, and the expression of facts, concepts, and feelings. High school students were left out because it was felt that their teachers may not have known them as well as teachers knew their students in the lower grades. Teachers in the Futabakai School were also asked to rate each student’s general competency in the Japanese language compared to other students in the class. A total of 277 of the teacher questionnaires (77 percent) were returned in pre-stamped envelopes (see Table 1 for the distribution of both samples with respect to years in Japan and the United States).

The second sample, although analyzed separately, is not an independent replication of the first since there is substantial overlap in membership in the two years. An estimated 23 percent moved out of the Chicago metropolitan area, usually back to Japan, and were replaced by a greater percentage of in-coming students since the school enrollment had been rising. The student and teacher ratings, however, were made independently on both comparable and incom-parable scales; it was felt that more confidence could be placed in the results if the two sets of data showed parallel trends with respect to the theoretical propositions.

To gain reasonable precision in the measurement, the childrens’ dates of birth and entry into the United States and the date of the questionnaire administrations were recorded to the nearest month. School records were consulted in the cases of younger children and those who could not clearly remember.

In view of the possibility that girls and boys may show different facility in learning a second language, the sex role of each student was coded (1 = boy; 2=girl). Also, for the second sample, the location of each student’s American school was coded (1=City of Chicago; 2=suburb). Sex and location were included in the analysis as control variables to increase the precision of the estimates of the dependence of English acquisition on the time variables, which are of primary interest in the study.

4. Results and Discussion

The self- and teacher-ratings were correlated with, and regressed on, sex, and the number of months the child had lived in Japan (JPN) and the United States (USA), and, in the case of the second sample, location. The first ques-
TABLE 2
Correlations, Regressions, Means and Standard Deviations of Rating

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Rater</th>
<th>Correlation with USA Months</th>
<th>Regression Variance Added By:</th>
<th>Logarithmic Regression Equation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linear</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Location USA JPN Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.02</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>Speaking</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
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<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Facts</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Concepts</td>
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<td>.52</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Feelings</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.50</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Father</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mother</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A correlation of .12 and a T-value of 1.97 is significant at the .05 level with 250 degrees of freedom. The multiple regression model, aside from a constant and binary (1, 2) variables for sex and location is the estimated rating as a linear function of the logarithms of USA (US) plus 1, (JPN + 1), and their product; one is added to avoid the mathematically undefined operation of taking logarithms of zero, for those few children who were in the United States less than a month or who were born in this country. The simple regression model is the rating as a function of the logarithm of USA months; its corresponding R is the correlation in the first column of numbers. Ratings 11 through 13 and 16 could be better fit to a linear form of USA months but are regressed on the logarithm for comparison with ratings 1 through 10, the variables of primary interest.
tion of interest is whether students gain, in English language self-rated fluency and teacher-rated competence, in equal or diminishing increments with each additional USA month. The comparisons of interest, the correlations of the first ten American school-related ratings with the untransformed USA months and their natural logarithms, are shown in columns 1 and 2 of Table 2. The correlations of logarithms of USA months and these ratings are higher than corresponding correlations with the raw values in all ten cases but teacher-rated listening, and only slightly lower in this case (.52 versus .53). The comparability of the correlations across ratings and raters, and across samples, the second of which effectively eliminates children who had studied written English in Japan, suggests robustness of the functions relation. Thus it seems that gains in English school-related fluency and competency are made rapidly at first and more slowly as time goes on; more precise statements on the relation are made in the discussion of the regressions.

The correlates of the remaining ratings, which were included for comparative purposes, are lower than those for the first ten ratings. Language used with siblings follows the pattern of school-related competency and fluency, but the language used with the mother and father and Japanese facility are more closely related to linear than to logarithmic USA. Thus, on average, small but equal increments in the child's use of English with parents and small equal decrements in Japanese facility are associated with equal increments of USA months. Mean student preference of Japan for residence and going to school is about equal to that of the United States and is unrelated to the lengths of residence in United States or Japan (column 11).

The variance added by the independent variables in the multiple-regression model are shown in columns 3 through 7 in Table 2. Boys prefer American to Japanese schools slightly more than do girls; and suburban children have a slightly less general Japanese facility than do urban children, who are less dispersed and may get slightly more Japanese practice. Aside from these minor tendencies, the number of USA months dominates most of the regressions; and the interaction term, which probes the early-age-sensitivity hypothesis, contributes very little to the accountable variance. The only exception is that greater JPN months is associated slightly with a tendency to speak to the father in Japanese rather than English; but this result does not involve the interaction term. Other models using the logarithms of USA and JPN and their interaction showed nearly the same small amounts of variance accounted for by JPN and the interaction term.

Thus the simple diminishing-returns regression accounts for nearly all the accountable variance. Its coefficients, shown in columns 8 through 10, are interpretable as follows: Children with zero months in the USA average a logarithmic units of competence. With each additional unit of Ln USA months, however, they average \( b \ln (\text{USA}) \) higher on the rating. Taking anti-log of this quantity yields estimates of the end points of the time periods in which equal gains are made for \( \ln \) values 1 through 5 which span the sample: 1.7, 6.4, 19.1,
53.6, and 147.4 USA months. Rounding and successively subtracting these starting at zero, it may be estimated that equal (b) units are gained in the first 2 months, the next 5 months, the following 1 year, the next 2 years, and the next 8 years. Gains the same size as the initial ones take increasingly longer to attain. The regression model can also be used to estimate average levels of proficiency in the sample. For example, equal ease in reading Japanese and English according to the student self-ratings are reached in 34 months. According to the American teacher-rating, Japanese students who have been in this country for 42 months are about equal to their average American classmates’ reading proficiency. If the coefficients are replicated in similar samples, forecasts might be made of the typical child’s progress.

5. Conclusion

There is no evidence for early-age sensitivity to language in the present data. The children in the sample acquire English as a function of time in the United States; the function does not appear to depend on the age of their arrival. In children of all ages in the sample, acquisition proceeds at a fast rate initially, but the amounts of gain diminish with time. Language used by the child with parents is less closely associated with time. The results cannot be generalized to other variables and samples; results of specific pronunciation tests or on other nationalities, for example, may show different patterns of results.

The simple regression model with logarithmic time, however, offers an explicit basis of comparison for additional research on second-language acquisition. It may also explain some of the inconsistency of past research. The process of acquisition is most clearly elucidated by a relatively sudden, massive transition from one homogeneous language environment to another. American children from usual non-English-speaking homes and neighborhoods are exposed to English on television and other media and would be expected to show gradual, irregular acquisition as the mix of their language environments shift, for example, when starting school; such changes would be hard to detect as a function of months especially if the different children in the sample were exposed to considerably different numbers of hours and intensities of English discourse. The language environment of children under four years of age is more limited to that of the mother. When brought into a different language environment along with older children and adults, the more rapid gains that occasionally have been observed among younger children may be more attributable to a behavioral cause—a more sudden change in the language environment—than to an inherent early stage of sensitivity.

Subsequent research can build upon the present study in several important ways. Although time alone accounts for a considerable amount of the varia-

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If there is any age sensitivity at all in the sample, it might be argued that older children learn faster since they acquire competence comparable to their American age peers in the same amount of time as younger children reach the lower competency norms of their respective age peers.
tion in second-language acquisition in the present study, the intensity or quality of experience in the home, peer group, school, and other settings should be added to the model. Oral and written performance tests, in addition to ratings, would be valuable criteria. The effects of the quality and quantity of experience on various aspects of second language competence will be most precisely estimated when the factors are reasonably well measured and they vary over a considerable range.

REFERENCES
An ESL Index of Development*

Diane Larsen-Freeman

This paper is a report on the progress we are making in an attempt to establish a second language acquisition index of development. Such an index would be a developmental yardstick by which researchers could expeditiously and reliably gauge a learner’s proficiency in a second language.

Encouraged by the findings of an earlier pilot study, a more ambitious project involving the analysis of 212 compositions was undertaken. These compositions, written by university ESL students, were analyzed using several measures based on Kellogg Hunt’s T-unit performance variable. Two measures applied in the analysis, the percentage of error-free T-units and the average length of error-free T-units, proved to be the best discriminators among the five levels of ESL proficiency represented in this population.

In addition to a discussion of these results, included in this paper is a survey of L₂ acquisition studies which have also employed T-unit length as a proficiency measure. Finally, an outline is offered of the studies currently being conducted in an attempt to further refine these measures.

This paper is the second in what will be a series of reports on the progress we are making in our attempt to establish a second language acquisition index of development. Since I have argued elsewhere for the need for an index of development (Larsen-Freeman 1976), and subsequently have reported on the results of an initial pilot investigation (Larsen-Freeman and Strom 1977), I will limit my remarks concerning these aspects. Instead, I will focus on a survey of the literature which has been conducted since our last published report and provide the results of a second, more extensive study designed to be a follow-up to our pilot. Finally, I would like to outline the steps we are currently undertaking in our continuing search for a second language acquisition index of development.

An index of development, a term taken from Hakuta (1975), is an independent yardstick by which we can expeditiously and reliably gauge proficiency in a second language. To continue the analogy with a yardstick a bit longer, I can cite a situation in which I am describing a friend to you and tell you that my friend is rather short. If for some reason you are desirous of more exacting information, you could inquire as to precisely how tall she is. I would reply "Five feet tall," and you would at this point know exactly what I had in mind when I said she was rather short.

*I would like to thank Virginia Strom, Earl Rand, Meredith Pike and Hossein Farhady for their help in the preparation of this paper.

Ms. Larsen-Freeman is Director of The Experiment in International Living’s School for International Training. She has authored several articles on language acquisition and is editor of TESOL Quarterly’s Research Notes Section.
I could continue my description and tell you that my friend has just arrived in this country and is at a beginning level of proficiency in ESL. When you ask me for a clarification this time, I could say, "Well she’s a beginner, or "a low beginner," or "she has only just begun." Perhaps my response narrows the focus for you a bit, but since our perception of "beginner" might not be mutually shared (might indeed be related to very different prior experiences with ESL learners), you are really left with an unsatisfactory evaluation of my friend’s English proficiency.

If this were a real situation and we were simply discussing a friend of mine, the ambiguity surrounding her second language proficiency would not matter very much. However, if you were a second language acquisition researcher and were interested in comparing notes on your observations of a particular learner with mine, a precise definition of the proficiency of the two learners would be highly desirable.

There is ample evidence to support the contention that the behavior of second language learners and the influences on their learning process change as their proficiency in the target language increases. If you accept Newmark’s (1966) notion of "padding" or Taylor’s (1975) finding that as learners L2 proficiency increases, the proportion of their errors attributable to interference declines while the proportion of errors attributable to overgeneralization increases, you understand that a lot of seemingly conflicting findings regarding the amount of interference in the L2 acquisition process may simply be due to the variation in the language proficiency of the subjects studied.

What we need then is something akin to a yardstick which will allow us to give a numerical value to different points along a second language developmental continuum—numerical values which would be correlates of the developmental process and would increase uniformly and linearly as learners proceed towards full acquisition of a target language. Notice that I used the term "target language", not "the English language" since it would be ideal if we could find a measure applicable to the acquisition of all second languages and one which would not be affected by a learner’s native language background.

Our search began with a pilot study in which we examined 48 compositions written by UCLA ESL students with heterogeneous language backgrounds and English proficiency. Two researchers independently divided the 48 compositions into five categories—poor, fair, average, good and excellent. Because the agreement between researchers on which compositions belonged in which group was so high, we felt justified in taking the next step—to try and identify the features that made each group of compositions unique, i.e., distinct from the others. We analyzed the compositions for organizational features, control of grammatical structures, vocabulary and many other characteristics, but in order to satisfy our criteria of objectivity, reliability, ease of application, and universality, we found that the best discrimination measures were the average number of words written per T-unit and the total number of error-free T-units written per composition. Kellogg Hunt (1965), a first language
acquisition researcher, first devised the notion of a T-unit, "Very simply, T-units slice a passage up into the shortest possible units which are grammatically allowable to be punctuated as sentences. The T-unit can be described as one main clause plus whatever subordinate clauses, phrases and words happen to be attached to or embedded within it" (Street 1971:13). So, for example (from Loban 1976:9): "I know a boy and he has red hair" would be segmented into two T-units because we have a compound sentence with two independent clauses (and is counted with the second main clause); whereas, "I know a boy with red hair" would constitute a single T-unit. Hunt (1965) found T-unit length to be a better measure of writing maturity than sentence length because what might be a sign of writing immaturity, the so-called run-on sentence, can be divided into two or more T-units.

Hunt and other first language acquisition researchers (O'Donnell, Griffin and Norris 1967; Loban 1976) found T-unit length to be a highly satisfactory index of oral as well as written language complexity. Other researchers (Mel-lon 1969; O'Hare 1971) have also attested to the appropriateness of the T-unit in measuring language development.

In Figure 1, two charts are reproduced from the Loban (1976) study which best reflect the reason for first language acquisition researchers' enthusiasm in using T-unit length as an index of development in first language acquisition.

The Loban study concerned the stages and growth of children's language in all the school grades from kindergarten through grade 12. The same children were studied as they progressed through school during these thirteen years. It was a longitudinal study initiated in 1953 with kindergarten pupils carefully selected as a representative cross section of children then entering the public school system of Oakland, California. In the ensuing years, each of the initial 338 subjects remaining within a geographic limit of 100 miles was studied on an annual basis. During the last half of each year, every subject was recorded on tape, and data were gathered on reading, writing, listening and other facets of language behavior. The accumulation of data continued until the 211 subjects remaining in the study had either graduated from high school or were eighteen years of age (Loban 1976: 1).

Upon examining Figure 1, you will note there are three lines on each chart tracing the development of three groups selected from the total sample—a group high in language ability, a group low in language ability, and a random group of subjects used to represent the total group (each with a N of 35).

You will also note that despite some occurrences of minor backsliding, T-unit length (Loban calls them communication units) did increase linearly for all three groups during the thirteen years studied.

There should be no mystery as to why subjects' T-units get longer as their language development increases; such elaboration calls for a learner's increasing ability to control the processes of language production—addition, deletion, substitution and permutation. A child must learn to delete redundant NP's in compound sentences, to embed less relevant information, to relate two or more sentences using logical connectors, to cite just a few examples.
FIGURE 1

Average number of words per communication unit in oral and written discourse for grade school children

Fig. A (1 in Loban). Average number of words per communication unit—oral language (mean).*

Fig. B (4 in Loban). Average number of words per communication unit—written language (mean).*


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Since, admittedly it would be more difficult for subjects to perform some syntactic elaborations than others, some researchers have recommended assigning different weights to each elaborated structure. So, for example, according to the Elaboration Index Weights used by Loban, if a subject were to simply add an adjective to precede a subject, he would receive ½ point, whereas for the addition of an appositive he would receive 2 points.

There have been other syntactic density scores developed empirically (Golub and Kidder 1974), but all of these methods of examining sentence maturity have been reviewed by O’Donnell (1976) who concludes that the T-unit length is "still the most useful and usable index of syntactic development over a large age-range" (quoted in Loban 1976:16).

We had not wanted to prejudice our original analysis of the 48 compositions by doing a lot of reading on what other L2 researchers had found. However, when we turned from our pilot study analysis to the literature, we discovered that other L2 researchers [Thornhill (1969), Crymes (1971), Pike (1973) and Gaies (1976), (1977) for ESL, Cooper (1976) and Akin (1976) for German and Monroe (1975) for French] had done work with T-units. Two of these studies (Crymes and Akin) used T-unit length as one measure of the efficiency of sentence-combining or rewriting exercises and as such do not relate directly to the focus of this study.

Lewis Pike in his 1973 TOEFL validity study did not find very high correlations between the number of words per T-unit written by subjects who were administered the Hunt (1970) "aluminum re-write" passage and two of his own subjective indicators of their writing ability in essays. However, Hossein Farhady (1978), in a recently completed study at UCLA, found a significant positive correlation between the length of T-units in compositions written by 28 Persian students and five independent measures of their writing ability (organization, logical development, grammar, writing mechanics, style) based on a subjective evaluation of these same compositions by three judges.

Cooper for German, Monroe for French and Gaies for ESL did find that length of T-units discriminates among learners of second languages at different levels of proficiency. The latter two studies obtained this result with a sample of learner writing stimulated by a "re-write" instrument. Also, Gaies in another study (1977) reports an interesting finding—that the length of T-units in teacher talk increases as the L2 proficiency of the students to whom the teacher talk is addressed increases. Finally, Thornhill (1969) studying the development over a 9-week period of syntactical fluency of four adult Spanish-speakers learning ESL found "the mean length of T-units a usable measure of development toward maturity in second language production" (1969:37).

Encouraged by these reports and the results of our pilot study, a large-

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The Hunt passage consists of 32 very short sentences of connected discourse. Subjects are instructed to rewrite the passage in a better way while retaining the original information. For instance, the first three lines of the passage are as follows: "Aluminum is a metal. It is abundant, It has many uses." A subject might rewrite these creating one long T-unit such as: "Aluminum is an abundant metal with many uses."
scale analysis of compositions written by ESL students was undertaken. 212 non-native speakers were present last spring at the administration of the UCLA ESL Placement Examination. As part of the examination, each person was asked to write a composition of 200 words in length on the topic of whether they would prefer to live in a large city or in a small town. They were given thirty minutes to complete the composition. We then performed an extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of each. The subjects were each placed into one of five groups according to their performance on the entire placement examination: Group 1 being those who had scored the lowest and requiring a great deal of ESL instruction before being permitted to freely join the academic mainstream; Group 5 being those students who scored high enough on the placement exam to have all ESL requirements waived. Tables 1—5 reveal the findings of our analysis when those 5 groups were compared.

TABLE 1
Average number of words per composition of EFL students according to placement test ranking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean length</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>146.10</td>
<td>60.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>185.66</td>
<td>51.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>186.51</td>
<td>50.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>232.76</td>
<td>62.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>213.20</td>
<td>42.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First we looked at the sheer length of the composition each subject had written. We had learned from our pilot study that subjects with a higher proficiency tended to write longer compositions—perhaps because of their fluency, their expressiveness or their increased self-confidence in their ability. In any case, once again the general pattern seems to hold true. Given identical topics to write on and identical instructions, the students of higher proficiency by and large wrote longer compositions. The exception is Group 5, the group with the highest proficiency. They still write longer compositions than those of the first three groups—but drop off somewhat in their production from that of Group 4. This is not particularly troublesome and could be explained in a number of ways. Perhaps Group 5 was simply better at gauging length than Group 4. Since the assignment was to write 200 words, you wouldn’t expect the trend of increasing length to continue indefinitely. As Tom Scovel (personal communication) has pointed out, some of these measures dependent upon length are bound to be less discriminatory at the upper levels of proficiency than the lower.

Despite the slackening off in the number of words produced by Group 5, the analysis of variance test resulted in an $F$ ratio of 14.792 which was significant at the .001 level of probability.

The second table displays the results after the application of another of our quantitative measures—the average number of words written per T-unit,
This is calculated by simply dividing the total number of T-units per composition into the total number of words written in that composition. Average T-unit length is the measure which is so impressive in the L₁ acquisition literature. Indeed, here again we find that it does show statistically significant differences among the five groups yielding an F ratio of 6.10. However, you will also note that it does not discriminate very well among the top three groups. In fact, they are clustered very closely together, particularly in the case of the third and fourth groups.

Scott and Tucker (1974) in their error analysis of Arabic students’ writings, found that over the course of a term, their subjects’ percentage of error-free T-units increased from 49.4% at Time I to 53.9% at Time II. Prompted by their findings, we too looked at the percentage of error-free T-units our subjects wrote. Since our criteria for determining a T-unit to be error-free were more stringent than Scott and Tucker’s, our percentages are lower than theirs. Nevertheless, Table 3 shows there is an unmistakable linear trend towards a higher percentage of error-free T-units as subjects exhibit a higher proficiency. This too was found to be statistically significant, following an ANOVA. The F ratio was determined to be 31.29.

It had occurred to us that while increasing length might be a very satisfactory measure of increasing proficiency in the acquisition of an L₁, length alone might not suffice for L₂ acquisition. Indeed, we would tend to concur with Gaies (1976) who observes that "some account must be taken of structural errors which occur" in L₂ learners’ writing, for they, too, are "an indication of incomplete syntactic control," just as much perhaps "as is oversimplified sentence structure" (1976:7).

TABLE 2
Average number of words per T-Unit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.02</td>
<td>4.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13.72</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.23</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15.07</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3
Percentage of Error-Free T-units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
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</table>
proven T-unit length measure, we counted the total number of words written per error-free T-unit. This may seem to be a complicated thing to measure but as Crymes, Street, Pike and others have observed, "The words per T-unit measure requires some initial judgment, but once T-unit boundaries have been agreed upon, it amounts basically to a word count" (Pike 1973:23). It is, thus, a highly reliable measure, easy and quick to score which requires no testing instrument.

**TABLE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>4.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>6.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10.77</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The outcome of the application of this final measure was gratifying, for the results of the ANOVA indicated that the differences among the 5 groups along this dimension were highly significant ($F$ ratio = 18.432). Furthermore, it can be noted in Table 4 that there are clearly differentiated means among the five groups. A conservative measure (Cheffe’s method of post-hoc comparisons) was used for determining if the difference between each of the group means was significant. Table 5 reveals the results.

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>4.58*</td>
<td>5.63*</td>
<td>6.92*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.45*</td>
<td>5.70*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.84*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t$ critical = 3.09

*p < .05

Thus, while adjacent groups were not significantly different from one another, non-adjacent groups were.

I would like now to discuss the studies we are currently conducting. You may have observed that I have been careful to note that at least some of these measures work quite well for discriminating proficiency differences among groups. Clearly, as is evident from the size of the standard deviations, each group is not entirely homogeneous with regards to proficiency. There are instances of overlap in which any one individual may fit into more than one...
group based on any one of these measures alone. We feel we have made progress in our search for an index of development, but would like to now further refine our procedures so that we are left with an index that works for individuals as well as for groups.

Several studies which we are currently conducting to see if we can make these measures applicable for individuals are as follows:

1. We are collecting large amounts of writing from individuals at a particular point of time. We will then analyze this writing to see if we can obtain a more precise measure of the average length of their error-free T-units than we could from one 200-word composition written under examination conditions.

2. We have administered the Hunt "aluminum re-write" passage to the same subjects from which we have free compositions. We are currently analyzing these two samples of data from the same subjects to see if using a re-write passage in which more control of vocabulary, topic and overall length is built in, will result in a more discrete measure of these subjects' relative proficiency.

3. We are collecting writing samples from a group of subjects at regular intervals to see if the developmental trends are uniformly adhered to; i.e., do we find examples of error-free T-units increasing in length over time?

4. In an attempt to make an index of development truly reflective of overall proficiency we have collected samples of speech from 25 subjects, 5 from each of the 5 levels we investigated in the writing study. The speech samples consist of these subjects' responses to four tasks —two involving rather free conversation and two requiring responses to structured tasks. The speech samples have been transcribed and we are applying a number of the same measures that worked to discriminate among groups in writing to analyze the data in the transcripts. Since we have speech samples from the same subjects who wrote compositions for the placement examination, it will be interesting to compare findings.

Ultimately, of course, we would want to broaden our scope beyond ESL students at a university and include learners in other environments, at other age levels and with other L2 acquisition goals. While this expansion is far ahead of us, we feel that we have begun to make some inroads in our task of constructing a second language acquisition index of development.

REFERENCES


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Variable Rules in the Acquisition of English Contractions*

Terence M. Odlin

Variable rules, a quantitative method of language analysis, offer psycholinguists a means to view language acquisition as a process with order and continuity underlying apparent randomness. Few studies outside of sociolinguistics, however, have made use of such a method. The study outlined in this article illustrates possible uses of such rules in the characterization of interlanguage grammars.

The specific case studied is the variability in contraction patterns of ESL students. Using a methodology similar to Labov (1972a) and Cedergren and Sankoff (1974), the study finds: 1) correlation between the frequency and variety of six ESL students’ contractions and their general proficiency in ESL; 2) evidence for the influence of a rule “feeding” contraction; 3) evidence for the formation of idiosyncratic word classes and rules in interlanguage grammars.

Two issues in interlanguage theory are discussed in relation to the acquisition of contractions: rule permeability and rule simplicity. The final section deals with the significance of variable rules for psycholinguistics and the importance of contractions and other weak forms in the teaching of ESL.

Although the theory of variable rules has come to occupy an important place in sociolinguistics during the last ten years, few psycholinguists have explored the possible applications of that theory to problems of language acquisition. Since the 1969 publication of William Labov’s analysis of contraction and deletion in *Language*, only a few articles on second language acquisition (L. J. Dickerson 1975, W. B. Dickerson 1976, Hyltenstam 1977) and not many more theses and dissertations have treated the learner’s interlanguage (Selinker 1972) as a system of variable rules. Considering how often the second language performance of students may seem random and idiosyncratic, descriptive formalisms which can show an underlying order in such variability seem highly desirable. The following article summarizes a recent study (Odlin 1978) using variable rules analyses to describe the contraction patterns of six ESL students. Aften an outline of the methods and interpretation of the rules, two issues in language acquisition are discussed—rule permeability and rule simplicity—as well as implications for psycholinguistics and language teaching.

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*I would like to thank Dr. Diana Natalicio for her advice and constrictive criticism of this article.

Mr. Odlin is currently an Instructor at Ferdowsi University, Mashhad, Iran, and has recently completed the M.A. program in Linguistics at the University of Texas at El Paso.
1. Data Collection

1.1. Subjects. Nine students from the University of Texas at El Paso took part in the experiment. Two females, DB and LK, and one male, SB, were monolingual native speakers of English. The six non-native speakers spoke Spanish as their native language; all were from various parts of Mexico. The three females, AR, DH, and CZ, and two of the males, CA and HA, were enrolled in ESL courses at the time of the experiment (Spring, 1977) while the third male, SR, had fulfilled his ESL requirements some two years before.

1.2. Data. All nine subjects described a set of seven pictures. Each description afforded from one to three minutes of recorded speech from which sixty-three transcriptions (seven per subject) were prepared in both phonetic and normal orthographic script. Although subjects varied considerably in the total number of utterances, enough examples of contractible forms appeared in each subject’s speech to allow significant comparisons.

2. Interpretation

Variable rules are formulated to characterize the statistical co-occurrence of two or more linguistic variables. In the analysis of Cedergren and Sankoff (1974) and Labov (1972a), each variable represents a linguistic unit (e.g., pronoun, consonant, etc.) which can be assigned a probability value. While the frequency of rule application is in the domain of performance, each probability value is in the domain of competence. Thus the competence rule predicts but does not categorically determine the occurrence of a single event in speech.

Cedergren and Sankoff maintain that each variable in a rule is independent of all others. To formulate a variable rule at least two conditions must be met: 1) identification of the hypothetically independent variables; 2) determination that the co-occurrence of such variables results in regular (or predictable) statistical patterns of frequency of rule application. Labov’s study of contraction, for example, includes the following figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V i n g</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>32(33)</th>
<th>.969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>12(14)</td>
<td>.857</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>9(14)</td>
<td>.642</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1 we see that contraction occurs more frequently after pronouns (P—) than after vowels (V—) or consonants (C—). (In this table
the environment following contraction is always a progressive verb such as in *She’s working, Tommy’s going, and Bill’s leaving.*) According to the Cedergren and Sankoff interpretation, $P—$ must represent a higher probability value than $V—$ which in turn represents a higher value than $C—$, in terms of the likelihood of contraction in these environments. No matter what the following environments are (such as progressive verbs, noun phrases, consonants, etc.) contractions should occur more frequently after pronouns than after vowels or consonants. (Since the problem of independent variables in the environments following contractions involves rather complex statistical questions, it will not be discussed in this article.) Table 1 shows great statistical regularity in that it shows a decreasing frequency of contraction as a function of decrementally lower probability variables; thus each variable seems to be truly independent. When such regularity is not evident, the researcher may follow different options such as gathering more data, identifying new variables, or testing different variable paradigms for relative statistical regularity. Such problems are discussed in greater detail in Wolfram and Fasold (1974) and Odlin (1978).

3. Variable contraction rules

In accordance with these criteria and others still to be discussed, variable rules were formulated for each of the six ESL students along with one for the native speakers (Table 2). Since the patterns of native speakers showed a much narrower range of variability, one formulation (the NS rule) is applicable to the aggregate pattern of their contractions.

While some aspects of the NS rule involve both notational and substantive differences from Labov’s contraction rule (1972a: 112), the basic conventions are kept. Each construct in double parentheses is a variable which favors the application of the vowel deletion (contraction) rule. The vertical ordering of variables summarizes the hierarchy of probabilities of rule application in a given environment. For example, in the rule for native speakers (NS), the pronoun variable favors contraction more than the vowel variable, as we saw in Table 1. Variables such as preceding nouns and consonants are not written in the rule since they do not seem to favor the use of contractions.

One aspect of contraction which the rules show implicitly but not directly is the varying frequency of contraction among ESL students (see Table 3). We see that contraction frequency tends to correlate with general proficiency in English as measured by the Comprehensive English Language Test (CELT). In other words, more proficient students tend to use contractions more often than less proficient students. If we were to include explicit numerical probability values in the variable rules of each student, only SR would have a rule whose quantitative strength matched that of the native speaker (NS) rule. We will see shortly, however, that the qualitative structure of each rule accounts sufficiently for such quantitative facts.
TABLE 2
Variable contraction rides for 6 ESL students and native speaker group. (Class T includes *it* and *that*; Class PTH includes PRN and *that* and *there*; Class NPL includes NP and LOC; Class -NP includes Ving, PA, and LOC; Class VPA includes Ving and PA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((IT))### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((Ving)) ((NP))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((THAT))### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((NP)) ((PA))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((PRN) {{(IT) (HERE)}### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((-Cons)) ((NPL))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HA [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((PTH))### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((NP) ) ((-Cons))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((Ving))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZ [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((T) {{(-Cons) (FRN)}### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((-Cons)) ((-NP))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((NP) ) ((VPA))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SR [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((P) {{(-Cons)}### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((NPL)) ((-Cons))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS [s]</td>
<td>((&lt;empty&gt;)/((I P) {{(-Cons)}### C #SON stri cont</td>
<td>((NPL)) ((-Cons))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3

Contractions of is and are: contraction frequency compared with mean CELT score for 6 ESL students. (Scores represent mean performance on CELT tests given before and after the Spring, 1977, Semester, except in the case of SR whose final CELT score was obtained two years before the contraction study.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Contraction Frequency</th>
<th>Mean CELT Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>2(16)</td>
<td>.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>5(18)</td>
<td>.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DH</td>
<td>17(36)</td>
<td>.515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HA</td>
<td>25(30)</td>
<td>.777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZ</td>
<td>37(82)</td>
<td>.451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>73(80)</td>
<td>.912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>140(154)</td>
<td>.909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several factors seem to be responsible for the different frequencies of contraction. One of the most interesting of these factors is the correlation in frequencies of vowel reduction which we find in the form are (Table 4).

Table 4

Frequency of reduced vowel in the form are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>DH</th>
<th>HA</th>
<th>CZ</th>
<th>SR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0(34)</td>
<td>0(29)</td>
<td>2(29)</td>
<td>4(33)</td>
<td>12(42)</td>
<td>0(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.285</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The more advanced students (except in the trivial number of cases found in the speech of SR) tend to reduce the low back vowel in are more often than less advanced students. This is what we would expect since vowel reduction is one of the rules that "feeds" contraction (Labov 1972a: 111).

Another factor that seems to be at work is the variety of words which precede a contracted form in the speech of ESL students. Again the more advanced students contract with a greater variety of words as we see in Table 5.

Table 5

Number of words used in contraction constructions. (Figures in parentheses indicate number of different words which were possible to use in such constructions.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>DH</th>
<th>HA</th>
<th>CZ</th>
<th>SR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2(9)</td>
<td>3(10)</td>
<td>5(10)</td>
<td>7(10)</td>
<td>9(18)</td>
<td>10(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.222</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>.700</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>.769</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CA, for example, only contracted is and he only contracted this form after it. SR, on the other hand, contracted is after it, that, there, he, she, theater, etc.

Some students such as CZ contracted after many different words but after some much more frequently than after others (see Table 6).
Furthermore, she contracted is far more frequently than are, while there was no significant difference in frequency of these two contracted forms in the speech of SR or the native speakers.

The variable rules of Table 2 have qualitative terms which allow for interpretation of these quantitative facts. For example, CZ contracts is more frequently than are: this fact indicates that two separate rules are needed to describe her contraction patterns, the rule with the strident consonant diacritic being applicable to is, and the other rule to all other contractible forms. Likewise, the fact that CZ contracts after it and that very frequently but not so often after other pronouns is expressed in the two separate variables ((T)) and ((PRN)) with the former hierarchically placed above the latter. By the same convention, ((IT)) constitutes the only variable in the preceding environment in CA’s rule since we find no contractions after other words; furthermore, his rule will only contract is.

4. Stages in acquisition

Since the study outlined here is cross-sectional, we cannot plot the precise course of the acquisition of the target language contraction rule of any of the six students. Nevertheless, the interlanguage rules proposed here have enough in common to suggest how students may acquire the target language (NS) rule. While the rules are idiosyncratic (Corder 1974), certain variables in each suggest evolutionary stages characteristic of a certain level of proficiency. First, we see in Table 2 that the preceding environment consists of a single word (or two separate word variables, in the case of AR) in the rules of the less proficient students. This suggests that students at first associate contractions with single words; i.e., is becomes contracted after it or that. We also see that the more advanced students associate contraction with more abstract preceding environments, such as the variable ((PTH)) in the case of HA, ((T)) in the case of CZ. Thus such students seem to generalize the preceding environments as idiosyncratic word classes (Labov 1972b: 163). We also see that students such as HA and CZ appear to develop separate rules, one for is contractions and another for contractions of are and perhaps am, will, would, and other auxiliaries. Finally, we see that these idiosyncratic words and rules may be later merged into a rule such as that for SR. At this point the interlanguage contraction rule is virtually identical with the target language rule.

We noted above that the qualitative description given in each rule suffices to describe the quantitative data for each subject’s contraction patterns.
If the Cedergren and Sankoff hypothesis that each variable is independent is correct, we should expect this. Each variable according to their paradigm (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974:339) is one which favors the application of the rule. Thus, while a student like AR may occasionally use contractions after other words such as *there* or *she*, *it* and *that* are the only ones after which contraction occurs frequently. Likewise, we may conclude that variables such as ((T)) and ((PRN)) in the case of CZ are separate since the statistical output of contractions after *it* and *that* is high but not so high after other pronouns. Only separate probability values could predict such statistical tendencies.

5. Rule permeability and rule simplicity

Variable rules such as those presented here offer a useful focus for two important issues in second language acquisition: rule permeability and rule simplicity. Adjemian (1976) contends that interlanguage rules are highly unstable or permeable. We have seen how quantitative changes in rule output may correlate with qualitative changes in rule structure. Such changes would result from a continuing reformation of word classes (or variables) which begin as classes with a single member such as ((IT)) but which finally may evolve to highly abstract classes such as ((P)). Between these two extremes are the idiosyncratic classes such as ((T)) and ((PTH)) which reflect a generalization process that may undergo further revision. Such a gradual passage from the particular to the general lends strong credence to the notion of permeable rules. Each rule appears to be a working hypothesis in the learner’s interlanguage. If fossilization (Selinker 1972) is to be avoided, such rules must undergo revision in order to match specific quantitative and qualitative facts (or rules) about the target language.

Variable rules may also provide explicit examples of the role of simplicity in language acquisition. Hyman, among others, considers rule simplicity to involve both economy and generality; furthermore, language learners will, in theory, construct the simplest rules (or grammar) compatible with the target language data (Hyman 1975:99-102). In Table 2 we find evidence to support these ideas. In the case of CA, we see a very economical but not a very general rule. On the other hand, we find that HA uses more general but also less economical rules. The rule of SR, however, is not only as general as the target language (NS) rule but also more economical than HA’s rule. The course of acquisition suggested in the previous section implies that rule simplicity is an equilibrium achieved only through revised generalizations and new economies made in a learner’s interlanguage grammar.

6. Implications

As W. B. Dickerson (1976) observes, variable rules help illuminate what would often seem to be random variation in the interlanguage of ESL students. Furthermore, variable rules offer a method to study language acquisition as
a process with underlying continuity, something which certain descriptive methods have lacked (Clark and Clark 1977:297). Although studies of quantitative and qualitative changes as interdependent processes in language acquisition seem intuitively desirable, scarcely half a dozen psycholinguistic studies have made use of formalisms such as those outlined in this study. Except among sociolinguists, variable rules seem to be an underutilized resource. Important questions about interlanguage such as permeability, idiosyncrasy, fossilization, and backsliding (Selinker 1972) might not be resolved unless research produces more studies that can show an order underlying "haphazard speech."

The study outlined above also suggests that the acquisition of contractions and other "weak forms" (Kingdon 1950) deserves closer attention from ESL teachers. Too often the use and perception of such forms is ignored as unimportant or even at times perilous (Troike 1971). Yet evidence exists that the ability to perceive and use such forms is linked in crucial ways to aural comprehension skills and general ESL proficiency (Odlin 1978). Since the perception of structural forms such as contractions, prepositions, and pronouns is evidently a factor affecting the development of high level interlanguage rules, classroom activities should not bypass such skills as stress placement, vowel reduction, contraction, and the like. To do so may result in ignoring major problems that students encounter with the realities of spoken English.

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Kingdon, R. 1950. Teaching the weak forms. English Language Teaching 4, 8.
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Reviews

ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES: A CASE STUDY APPROACH.

Is there any case, then, for not applying the criteria we rightly apply to ESP materials, as suggested in this collection, to ELT materials at large? (C. N. Candlin, Preface to ESP: A Case Study Approach, p. ix.)

This book can be read as the story of the search for the best way to put together an English language course for people who speak other languages. The editors have written and commissioned a set of essays on the main problem English Language Teaching course planners face: how to do it right. It is a measure of their success that the book reads like good fiction.

Following a clear introduction to the tasks of planning, writing and teaching courses in ESP, the editors present a series of both theoretical and practical papers. The first, "Writing 'Writing Scientific English' " by John Swales, serves as a narrative hook for the entire collection. It recounts the difficulties faced by a materials writer who lacked an adequate conceptual framework. Swales had taken on the job of preparing ELT materials for students studying engineering at the University of Libya during the 1960's.

In contrast with Swales' paper the next one in the collection, "Teaching the Communicative Use of English" by J. P. B. Allen and H. G. Widdowson, is an account of the ideas underlying some of the best current teaching materials. In particular, the principle that language must be revealed as communication is shown in practice.

A third paper, "Writing 'Nucleus' " by M. Bates, describes the considerations that were taken into account at the University of Tabriz in writing an ESP core course ("Nucleus") that would serve the more specific interests of students in technical disciplines.


The case studies all show a concern for language in use. They are presented by the authors as exhibiting ways of dealing with the design factors of good ESP courses—sociological, linguistic, psychological, and pedagogic. The sociological factors are the peculiar characteristics of the learner and his needs.
The linguistic factors relate to the kind of description of the language that is both adequate and appropriate for the learner. Not only the code features but also the communicative features of the language in use are carefully drawn. The psychological factors dictate a distinction between teaching and testing, and lead to effective communication as an ultimate goal. The pedagogic factors differentiate among the various language skills in such a way as to suggest a very delicate prescription of just what the student needs to learn in order to do what s/he wants with the language.

This is not a ragbag of a book; it pays much more than lip-service to language use. The book is appropriately named *English for Specific Purposes: a Case Study Approach*, for even though the three papers by Swales, Allen and Widdowson, and Bates describe the thinking behind three recently-published textbooks, *English for Specific Purposes* is an attempt to provide principles for rationalizing any English language teaching operation. On the other hand, the book lacks an arrangement of concrete steps for course planners to follow. It does not spell out a definite methodology or techniques of syllabus design nor is it sufficient to point out that, in the eight selections, all four factors of good courses are taken into account. The reader has to ask himself whether and in what combination the sociological, linguistic, psychological and pedagogic reasons for choices are being made. An exception is Chapter Two, a paper by Ronald Mackay on "Identifying the Nature of the Learner’s Needs." This chapter contains a sample questionnaire and a structured interview with suggestions for using such instruments to determine the uses to which the language will be put. Nevertheless, none of the other papers or case studies shows a needs survey in operation informing the writing of special course materials.

This was not an omission. It is just that the notion of a program consisting of steps being applied is a new one. We are ready now for a program that spells out the correct and effective order of events in making a good English language course. These steps will be, with perhaps some additions as the requirements become clearer and more delicate, the following:

1. Needs Surveys
2. Textual Analysis
3. Discourse Analysis
4. Methodology and Syllabus
5. Formative and Summative Evaluation
6. Modification of Methodology and Syllabus

1. *Needs surveys* are concerned with the initial step of information gathering. Objective information about the learner, his age, previous learning or acquisition of the language, his career goals, his special interests and the uses he will have for the language must be determined. This information will suggest the special tasks that require particular functional skills, not just the traditional four skills of language. Summarizing scholarly articles, working as an air-traffic controller, or interpreting for a business firm, for example,
require all four skills in different proportions and in different relationships. Identifying the learners and their purposes enables us to determine the functional registers and styles of the language that the learners need.

2. **Textual analysis** identifies the vocabulary and structures of particular registers and styles. It gives us information about the range and frequency of lexis and grammar in the kinds of language that students want. It is not limited to sentences alone but considers the analysis of macro-linguistic units larger than the sentence as essential to comprehension. Meaning does not reside in words and sentences alone but in entire discourses which are connected through context to situation. The cohesion of large stretches of language can be shown through the analysis of the devices which give texture to a text. Cohesion devices include those of lexis, syntax, sentence connection, and thematicization.

3. **Discourse analysis** considers the rhetorical features that are characteristic of the registers and styles under consideration. A discourse is a connected and self-contained body of language that has some identifiable instrumental or integrative purposes. Certain pieces of language have noticeable boundaries; dialogues, for example, seem to be largely predetermined by learned expectations about their use in the social control of others. Written discourses have perceptible logical forms that we may characterize as definition, illustration, exemplification, classification, and so forth. Discourse analysis is thus concerned with acts of communication and the characteristic features of the discourses found in certain registers.

4. **Methodology and syllabus** are two sides of the problem of materials writing and classroom teaching. Since we lack an adequate theory of language acquisition, experimentation in this area is sorely needed. Common practice today confuses learning with teaching to a very large extent. We lack reported controlled observation of the process and praxis of language acquisition and learning. A concern with linguistic and communicative competence wherein we test students to find out not what they don’t know but what they do know and can do is needed. As always, classroom techniques follow from the syllabus and methodology that are chosen.

5. **Evaluation of the materials and methods used** depends upon sets of techniques for gathering accurate and pertinent information about the effectiveness of the teaching. On the basis of such information, changes may be made in order to meet the students’ needs more thoroughly. Problems arising from inadequately treated psychological, linguistic, and sociological considerations can be identified by measuring the effectiveness of the course. The formative evaluation of every part of the materials and methods includes a rigorous scrutiny of each lesson and task in relation to each other and in relation to the students’ needs. An overall summative evaluation compares the special course to others that have gone before or have been conducted as experimental controls.

6. **Modification of materials and methods** follows periodically from the information gathered about the effectiveness of the course. Materials which do
not meet the learners’ needs because of a lack of consideration of their cultural, sociological, linguistic, or pedagogical requirements have low motivational value. Materials that are too difficult or too easy are relatively inefficient and ineffective. Such materials are modified, or discarded, with new materials being substituted. This evolutionary process continues as long as practicable.

The program described above has not yet been carried out consciously. The parts and steps of it follow from the experiences reported in *English for Specific Purposes: a Case Study Approach*. The book is indispensable to anyone who cares about doing the job right, and the excellent subject and author indexes accord the reader swift and easy access to those matters of immediate importance to him.

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Sometimes the goings-on in academia are reminiscent of plots in the seemingly unrelated world of grand opera. Every now and then in that musical genre a type like Gaetano Donizetti’s medicine man, Dr. Dulcamara, catches the spotlight and attempts to hawk his wares to a gullible public. If you are acquainted with Donizetti’s opera, *L’elisir d’amore,* you will remember Dulcamara’s magical elixir which does everything from curing toothache to killing rats. With no less aplomb, the author of the present book offers us a new science of language which will answer all the needs of first and second language teachers. Dr. Spolsky’s elixir is labeled ”educational linguistics.” Its composition is highly touted and its supposed benefits rival those of Dulcamara’s potion.

Our introduction to the medicine comes in the form of a sketchy first chapter (6 pages in length) which Dr. Spolsky calls an “expanded” version of an introduction written for another publication (chapters 2, 6, and 9 also appear to be rehashing of earlier papers). This first chapter is actually a quibble over terminology. ”Educational linguistics” is to be preferred over ”applied linguistics” because the former term patterns nicely with ”educational psychology” and ”educational sociology.” Linguists are chided either for not having relevant ideas about practical matters or for being over-zealous in seeking a linguistic cure for all educational problems (probably few would argue today that linguistics, by itself, is the right elixir in any event).

Readers should be forewarned about Spolsky’s imprecision in terminology. For example, the two key concepts, *theory* and *model,* are never defined and are used indiscriminantly throughout the book. As a result, readers will not be able to know when Spolsky is talking about substantive interpretations of how learning takes place or how language works and when he is proposing models
to program the flow of information. At one point, he even confuses criterion with theory as when he attempts to define pedagogical grammar: "a pedagogical grammar is classified as a practical grammar and should be judged by the criterion of usefulness rather than the theories of adequacy or simplicity postulated for pure grammars" (p. 6). Adequacy and simplicity are not theories in themselves, as most beginning students of linguistics are taught these days, but are criteria used to judge theories.

The most unsettling attack on relating linguistics of any kind to language teaching came from Noam Chomsky, himself, when he told an audience of foreign-language teachers that there was no connection between the two (see Chomsky 1966). Yet, the reader will look in vain for Spolsky's answer to that attack. This unwillingness to address the major issues is characteristic of Educational Linguistics. Its pages are full of platitudes about a wide range of stylish topics which will lull the complacent reader and upset the critical one.

The second chapter is entitled "The Language Barrier to Education," but is more of an introduction to what will follow in the third chapter on multilingualism and the fourth and fifth on language situations and policies. The fourth and fifth chapters are the two longest ones in the book (19 and 20 pages, respectively) and form the basic ingredient to Spolsky's cure-all for language education. Returning to Chapter 2, we find a passing reference to Navajo Indian education and a brief mention of some psycholinguistic formulations about child grammar. What Slobin, McNeill and other psychologists present as working hypotheses Spolsky takes as basic truths, e.g., his remark on p. 9 that all children by age 3 have a vocabulary of around 1,000 words and his sweeping statement (p. 10) that "all normal children acquire language in approximately the same way and order, whatever the language to which they are exposed, and no matter the extent or lack of their parents' education."

Chapter 3 is more directly addressed to the question of language as a barrier to education than was Chapter 2. To illustrate the different types of language contact situations, Spolsky includes a discussion on immigrants and their problems. One is left to wonder about the case of those immigrants who already spoke a variety of the new country's chief language before arriving. The sharing of a base language has been a factor contributing to the patterns of migration of peoples among countries in the former British colonial empire, such as South Africa, Australia, Rhodesia and Spolsky's native New Zealand. While some trauma of adjustment may be suffered in such cases, it is slight when compared to the problems of the millions of Italians, Slavs, Germans, and Hispanics who came to this country.

Several errors of fact are evident in Chapter 4 which deals with the language situations encountered around the world. Spolsky incorrectly glosses the Hebrew word *ulpanim* as "countries" (p. 37) and on p. 41, he reports Malay as the "national" language of Singapore. Actually, the Republic of Singapore has four officially recognized languages: English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil. When he gets to South America, Spolsky depicts Guarani as the language of
"poor, inconspicuous cigar-smoking women" (p. 44). A careful reading of Rubin (1968) will reveal that Guaraní is used in many types of interactions not only among women but also between the sexes.

Chapter 5 is concerned with sociological factors in language education. As such, it was probably intended to embody Spolsky’s main contribution to language education. Unfortunately, it is a disappointment. The material presented is based on sources which are outdated. Except for a reference to Fishman’s Bilingualism in the Barrio which carries a publication date of 1971 and another citation from a brief article by R. M. Thompson which appeared in a special collection edited by Spolsky and Bills in 1974, no work more recent than 1969 was consulted. The result is a repetition of old material without the fresh insights into language policies and education of the last decade. At the very least, Spolsky could have consulted William and J. F. O’Barr’s Language and Politics (1976) or some of the excellent writings of Shirley Brice Heath (see, for example, Heath 1977). Readers unfamiliar with writings on educational policy related to language will come away from this chapter with only the dimmest of understanding and, even worse, some mistaken ideas. For example, Spolsky repeats the old saw that the closer the relation is between two languages, the easier it will be for speakers of one to learn to understand the other. The situation in the Iberian peninsula, where comprehension flows more rapidly from Portuguese to Spanish than the other way around, gives the lie to this simplistic claim. The Iberian imbalance is due to both linguistic and sociological factors. Portuguese has a greater variability in its morphology than does Spanish, making it easier for Portuguese speakers to understand Spanish nouns like color “color” (which is similar to the stem of the Portuguese verb colorir "to color") than it is for Spanish speakers to understand Portuguese nouns like côr, the counterpart to Spanish color. Add to this linguistic imbalance the fact that Spain holds an economic and social edge over Portugal. As a result, Spanish-speakers traveling in Portugal often continue to use their own language while Portuguese visitors to Spain usually try to speak Spanish. The situation in South America is not the same as it is in the Iberian peninsula probably because of the greater size and prestige of Brazil in relation to its Spanish-speaking neighbors.

Spolsky sees ethnic identity as a have/have-not situation among various people in the United States, tying loss of ethnic identity to loss of ethnic language. While language is a major marker of ethnicity, it is not the only one. Religion, for example, can also be a strong marker, as among Irish Americans who have lost their ancestral tongue but still feel ethnic cohesion. With respect to language as a marker, ethnicity can be shown to come in stages, depending on changes in grammatical features and patterns of code-switching (see, for example, Di Pietro 1976, in which a case is made for five stages of ethnicity reflected in both form and use of language).

According to Spolsky, "the data suggest that the greatest factor leading to language maintenance [in the U. S.] is large and periodic replenishment of the stock of speakers” (p. 65). However, among the seven languages cited as ex-
experiencing gains, he includes Pennsylvania Dutch which, to my knowledge, has not had any large replenishment of speakers from the outside for 100 years. In the concluding paragraph to this rambling chapter, Spolsky declares that the many factors of language shift or maintenance are "normally beyond a school’s control" (p. 67). To what purpose, we might ask, does one talk about an "educational linguistics" which supposedly takes such factors into consideration? Perhaps a better job of editing might have resulted in removing this remark which so waters down Spolsky’s elixir.

Chapter 6 on "speech communities and schools" starts with the unquestionably good advice that the best school policy on language use must be based on information about the speech communities served by the school. However, expectations that Spolsky will supply procedures to gather the information and implement it in a school are not met. Instead, a few tables from an earlier project about Navajo schools and the English-language abilities of Navajo children are supplied. Spolsky’s effort to determine which language—Navajo or English—is the children’s dominant one seems to overlook the important distinction pointed up by Philips (1972) that the verbal interactions of Indian children can be very different from those of Anglo children even when linguistic competence of the two groups are comparable. Assessing language dominance through tests of language forms does not automatically measure the use of language in participant structures. A very serious problem is the lack of understanding among English-speaking teachers about how Indian children communicate with one another and with authority figures. As Mary R. Miller (1977) has shown, American Indian parents are often caught in a double bind. Many of them recognize the economic advantage their children will enjoy if they learn English. These same parents also realize that the schools to which they send their children contribute significantly to the destruction of their own language culture while not really doing a good job of educating them in English. The reader will look in vain for any in-depth treatment of these vital matters in this book.

Chapter 7 is supposed to present a model that would serve as a guide to the educational linguist in investigating human language. What it actually does is skip around from one linguist’s proposal to another. First comes a brief mention of William Mackey’s breakdown of language into content and expression. Mackey is abandoned after less than a full page in order to move on to a discussion of communication among bees, finches, vervet monkeys, humpback whales and chimpanzees. After about four pages of this excursion into animal language, Spolsky apparently thought he should get serious and discuss the various models of human language proposed by linguists. Ignoring the communicational function of language, he dips into the various grammars proposed by Chomsky and Chafe, among others. Readers who in a moment of fantasy might decide to become educational linguists à la Spolsky will have a difficult time relating anything in this chapter to the task of assessing and modifying an individual’s ability to use language. Perhaps such converts can
find some solace in the closing remark of the chapter: "Educational linguists must be able to handle all aspects of communicative competence, the full linguistic repertoire of an individual speaker and of a speech community" (p. 92).

Spolsky converts his educational homunculus, at the beginning of the eighth chapter, into more of a spectator than the active participant he was supposed to be up to now. "The educational linguist’s basic interest,” we are told, ”is a concern with the problem of how language is acquired (p. 95). The support for this "basic interest" takes the form of a quick introduction to some major names in the field of psychology (Miller, Skinner, Osgood and Luria) and a splash of appropriate terminology. For example, Osgood’s semantic differential is mentioned but not defined. Spolsky manages to describe Osgood’s work as "highly significant” while at the same time calling it "very limited in its application to language as a whole” (p. 96). Two tables are reproduced from Eric Lenneberg’s 1967 book, Biological Foundations of Language, tracing motor and language development and the effect of brain damage. Since the table on language development goes only to the pre-school age of 4, its value for an educational linguist is questionable. It would have been of greater use to include some reference to Carol Chomsky (1969) on the acquisition of syntax in children from 5 to 10 years of age.

After using the term competence throughout his book, Spolsky finally decides to define it in Chapter 9. To do so, he quotes the definition given by Chomsky and Halle in their 1968 book, *The Sound Pattern of English*, tacking on extensions of the term into sociolinguistic or communicative competence made by Del Hymes and others. Since Chapter 9 supposedly covers the theoretical background of language testing (as claimed on p. 113), the reader might have expected to find some later chapter where the matter is picked up again and treated in detail. As strange as it may seem, the practical matters of how to write a test and evaluate its effectiveness are completely ignored.

In Chapter 10, entitled "Language, the Individual, and Education," Spolsky sets for himself the task of weighting the various factors that affect the learning of a language. It is never clear when our author is talking only about child language acquisition, foreign language learning, the learning of the “other” language in a bilingual setting, or the adult learning of English as a second language in an English-speaking country. All four situations are blended into one discussion. A list is given of four learner-internal factors that influence language acquisition: ability, motivation, learning strategy, and personality. After indicating that each will be looked at in turn, Spolsky never gets any further than motivation which he labels a "complex of factors, internal to the learner but showing close ties with his environment" (p. 143). It may well be that learning strategy and personality are involved in this "complex of factors." If so, the reader might ask, why were they listed separately? Personality by itself should have merited an entire chapter since its influence on language study is assumed to be great but is understood in only the most general terms.

Even the most devoted acolytes of Dr. Spolsky’s educational linguistics
will begin to wonder about its value after reading the remarks that open Chapter 11. The internal factors discussed in the preceding chapter are innate and, as such, make intervention by the educational linguist impossible. Other factors, to be discussed in this chapter, are “external” but still not “usually under the control of the school” (p. 145). However, if we can hold out just a little longer, we are promised a look at those instructional variables which the school can control. Actually, Chapter 11 turns out to be the most interesting one in the book. It opens the polemic between deficit and difference as explanations for the poor language performance of children who enter school from lower socioeconomic classes.

The Whorfian hypothesis about the influence of language on thought cannot be correct, Spolsky argues, because Hebrew speakers who say "this finds favor in my eyes" instead of "I like it" are not incapable of understanding that the liking comes from the experience rather than the object. Whorf’s views are not easily dismissed, however. The use of several first-person pronouns by speakers of Japanese reflects the social and sexual differences perceived in Japanese society between speaker and addressee (e.g., equal or unequal social level and same or different sex). The need to choose the proper pronoun to refer to oneself in dyadic conversations inevitably focusses the Japanese speaker’s attention on interpersonal relationships which are not foregrounded in languages like English. This linguistic situation generates special problems for the teaching of Japanese to speakers of other languages. Teachers must lead their students to employ forms which the teachers would not use in talking to them.

The twelfth and final chapter of the book deals with policies affecting language education. Almost incredibly, Spolsky finds no fundamental differences between “the processes of second-language learning and second-dialect learning” (p. 174). This opinion leads him to recommend the same pronunciation drills for both types of teaching situations.

Education Linguistics, like the magical elixir of Dr. Dulcamara, has a basic ingredient. Dulcamara used an inexpensive Bordeaux which he spiked with various herbs while Spolsky starts with linguistics to which he adds flavoring from the other social sciences. If you believe in such concoctions, then you should rush out to buy a copy of the book. Otherwise, my suggestion is to save your money and get a ticket for the next performance of a good Donizetti opera.

REFERENCES

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In The Music Man, Meredith Willson’s leading character, Professor Harold Hill, knows full well the persuasive powers of the musical message, the bulletin with a beat:

Trouble! With a capital
T and that rhymes with
P and that stands for
Pool!

and with this rhythmic recitative he manages to influence the entire populace of River City, Iowa, to keep their young away from the pool-hall and the trouble inherent therein.

For some time now, Carolyn Graham, an experienced ESL teacher who is also a skilled professional performer, has successfully implemented, recommended, and demonstrated the use of the orderly measures of music and the prosody of poetry to accentuate, for the ESL learner, the suprasegmental patterns of English. Some of her most effective materials, together with suggestions for their use, have now been made available in Jazz Chants.

For the non-native speaker who has not yet come to terms with the ubiquitous and prolific unstressed syllable in such statements as "I've ticketed 'im for the return trip," the stress-timed character of spoken English can create problems. But in the poetry of English, as of any language, we find recognized "the regularity of the inherent rhythm patterns" (Bowen 1975:176), and the Jazz Chants concept accords with this fact. It offers the premise that practice with the regular recurrence of accented and unaccented syllables, which is the meter of English poetry (Perrine 1963: 163), can efficiently lead the ESL student of any age towards comfortable, near-native control of the less-orderly accents which contribute to the rhythm of naturally stressed English speech. Carolyn Graham has posited (p. xi) that "by setting the dialogue to a beat, we are not distorting the line but simply heightening the student’s awareness of the natural rhythmic patterns present in spoken American English. A student practicing a specific rhythm and intonation pattern within the Chant
form should be able to use that same pattern in normal conversation and be readily understood by a native speaker." And, to aid the student towards that end, Ms. Graham has developed a clever collection of oral exercises—most in dialogue form and all related to real-life situations which ESL students are likely to encounter.

In reviewing *Jazz Chants*, there are three components to be considered: the author, the text, and the tape.

In her demonstrations and workshops, Carolyn Graham’s natural charm and talent, enhanced by her training and experience as an entertainer, make of jazz-chanting a relaxed and seemingly spontaneous mode of pattern presentation. In person, Ms. Graham has the ability to arouse the enthusiasm of her audience, be they her students or her TESOL colleagues. At the TESOL Convention in Mexico, for example, cries of "Bravo!" were heard after her session—a certain indication that something out of the ordinary had been offered! Under her guidance and with her directed use of hand-clapping and the sounds of simple percussion instruments, the appropriate beat for each exercise becomes obvious and comfortable.

Forty-six of Ms. Graham’s exercises have been published in the *Jazz Chants* text. The book’s 8 1/2" by 11" format (with covers in “jazzy” colors of orange, purple, and fuchsia) and its clear print surrounded by considerable white space make it convenient and pleasing to hold and to read. The consistent arrangement of the exercises, too, is eminently readable and effective: the selections are on the right-hand pages, related notes on phonological focus and structure emphasis are on the left hand pages.

The introductory material, which includes a useful Structure Key, offers explanatory notes on "How a Jazz Chant Works," "Presenting a Jazz Chant Step by Step," and "Presenting the Poems." All are helpfully detailed and feature suggestions to the teacher for varying and expanding upon the selections in the text. Throughout these pages, justified importance is given to the view that, by means of such larger-than-life rhythmic exercises as Jazz Chants, the second-language learner can find the welcome freedom to laugh, to complain, to shout, or to whisper in the target language. There are some rather sweeping statements here ("The Chants are a reflection of basic human emotions," p. x) but they serve to underscore the author’s belief that enjoyment is an essential component in language learning.

This is not true of the response to the question, "What is a Jazz Chant?" (p. ix), which prefaces the several pages of explanation and direction and reads somewhat like a publisher’s blurb. It purports to describe and define jazz-chanting in such phrases as "an exciting new approach to language learning." These are words for bandwagon jumpers and should be read with salt-shaker at hand. For the concept of jazz-chanting, while certainly exciting, cannot claim to be new, but is a concept that has always had appeal, not only for those of us in TESOL who have been theatre professionals, but also for the multitude of imaginative English-language teachers who have long enjoyed
using poems (Knight 1978), songs (Osman and Wellman 1976, 1978), "Orchestrated Exercises" (Engler 1972), and other beat-based techniques to bring variety to their classrooms. The newness of *Jazz Chants* lies primarily in the title and in the original exercises that Ms. Graham has composed.

Another phrase in this same descriptive statement holds *Jazz Chants* to be "an exciting and valid teaching tool." This is much more apt, and the use of the term *tool for approach* is surely wiser, in view of the definition of approach as "axiomatic . . . an intricate set of assumptions, explicit or implicit, about language and language acquisition" by Anthony and Norris (in Croft 1972:39, 40).

Within the forty-six selections themselves, some referred to as chants and some as poems, there is abundant creative excellence. The difference between a chant and a poem is not explained by Ms. Graham, but her criterion for a poem would seem to lie in the more obvious use of rhyme. Several of her chants, however, have every right to be classed as poems: "Rain," page 7, and "Trees," page 12, for example.

Ms. Graham has a very real poetic sense. In "Beaches of Mexico," page 59, she has captured the essence of the sad balladeer, the torch singer, the crooner of blues, and a major part of this effect is due to the poem's fidelity to the suggested meter. Such metrical fidelity results in a user-proof product, wherein the required beat is compelling enough to be discerned and modelled by the jazz-chanting novice who does not have the skill of professional syncopation to make the words fit.

Since the primary purpose of the Jazz Chants is to give students an opportunity to practice the "rhythms, stresses, and intonation patterns of the spoken language" (p. ix), with reinforcement of morphosyntactic structures as the Chants' secondary function, it is extremely important for all offered exercises to be consistent in their syllable-to-beat fit. Unfortunately, several of the selections published here are not entirely consistent and would have benefited from just a little more detailed attention to metrical fidelity.

For example, the meter established for "A Bad Day," page 21, is iambic tetrameter:

\[
\text{overslept and missed my train}
\]

with the occasional substitution of an anapaest for one iambic foot:

\[
\text{(I) crawled into bed / Couldn't take any more}
\]

There are instances in this selection, however, where awkwardness of fit is evident:

\[
\text{(I) slipped on the sidewalk / in the pouring rain}
\]

Here the problem lies in the "walk of "sidewalk" which does not take kindly to being forced into a schwa situation.\footnote{Moulton (1970:63) elaborates helpfully on the greater durational needs of the second syllable in a compound word which assumes a primary-secondary stress pattern (drugstore, blackbird, hairbrush) when compared to the duration of the second syllable in a word showing a primary-weak stress pattern (little, oyster).}
The substitution of a one-syllable word for "sidewalk" might satisfactorily clarify the beat for the reader:

(I) slipped on the curb in the pouring rain
in the mud

There is a similar crowding of unwilling, unsuitable syllables in the following line from the same poem:

Got stuck in the elevator / It wouldn't go

Here the crowding is made particularly apparent because, within the stress pattern of elevator, the -va- requires secondary—not weak—stress. We can cheat the second syllable of elevator into virtual non-existence, but we are still left with -vator and it to squeeze into the unaccented space before the next accented. This line might successfully be rewritten by changing only one word, thus eliminating it:

Got stuck when the el(e)vator wouldn't go

Such careful consideration of word choice might also have a helpful effect in "More Bad Luck," page 21:

The bread was stale
It was four days old

The milk was sour
The coffee was cold

The butter was rancid
The steak was tough

The service was dreadful
The waiter was rough

My bill was huge
His tip was small

I'm sorry I went
to that place at all

Again, a one-syllable substitution for rancid and for dreadful could serve to strengthen the two metrical feet of each short line for the user of the text who is unsophisticated in manipulating poetic measures. For example, an al-
literative salad might be included in the meal, eliminating the butter and giving rise to another complaint:

The lettuce was limp

The steak was tough

Further, the service might be described as poor, or bad, or slow (alliteration again) rather than dreadful:

The service was slow

The waiter was rough

With these substitutions of slow and limp for dreadful and rancid, the accented beat at the end of each line remains strongly apparent to the teacher or student who is trying to maintain a consistent rhythm with foot-tapping or hand-clapping.

It must be emphasized that there are a great many prosodically pure compositions in Jazz Chants, but it is precisely their excellence which serves to point up the flaws in the less successful selections. Perhaps Oxford University Press and Ms. Graham will soon follow up this first generally fine collection with a second volume wherein the exercises are more meticulously measured.

It might have been expected that the full worth of the jazz-chant concept, introduced in Ms. Graham’s demonstrations and formalized in print by her imaginative text selections and well-wrought notes, would be wholly realized in the audio tape accompanying the text. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Designed to be used by the teacher as a modelling aid, or by the student as a model in and of itself, the tape could have been the sine qua non of Jazz Chants. Instead, it offers a lackluster substitute for the ebullience of Ms. Graham’s live presentation and a sometimes metrically inaccurate representation of the chants and poems in the text.

The “Baby Bobby” selection, page 63, has major problems in this regard. Not only does the author herself, as model, fail to establish a beat for the chorus to follow, but the choral group has great difficulty in sustaining any degree of comfortable, beatable rhythm.

If a tape is to be optimally useful for such beat-dependent exercises, it is imperative that the rhythmic model, be firm and consistent throughout every line of every selection, which necessary fact (“The teacher establishes a clear, strong beat . . . a clear, steady beat . . . a solid, unifying beat”) is pointed out no less than five times in the six steps of the instructions at the start of the book.

There are, however, a few entirely satisfactory presentations on the tape. "I'm Sorry, But . . ." on page 61 is done with precision and some degree of dynamism, and the use of percussion for "My Feet Hurt," page 67, makes a major difference in the amount of excitement engendered. Similarly, the energy level of "Wake Up, Wake Up," page 75, is contagiously high, and the beat is extremely well established and sustained.
But, on the whole, the impression remains that little professional production skill was exerted in making the *Jazz Chants* tape. It is less than totally effective and, for the teacher-led class, may easily be dispensed with.

In sum, while a much more illustrative tape, with plentiful use of percussion and, perhaps, student voices, needs to be developed. Carolyn Graham’s *Jazz Chants* is indeed an exciting and up-to-date publication. The exercises she has composed and the notes which accompany them are, in the aggregate, excellent in their creativity and appropriate in their purpose. It is wholly to be expected that this first edition of *Jazz Chants* will elicit cries of "Encore!"

"Encore!"

**REFERENCES**


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A FIRST COURSE IN TECHNICAL ENGLISH, BOOK I. Lynette Beardwood, Hugh Templeton, Martin Webber (London. Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd. 1978) 140 pp. (students’ text); 103 pp. (teachers’ guide)

This book has as its target group near-beginning foreign students needing English for their technical studies. Its objectives are to provide practice and review at an elementary language level with the emphasis on teaching "English in a technical context, not technology through English."

All language skills are developed throughout the text. The students listen to the teachers' identification of figures which illustrate the objects and concepts introduced in each lesson. Next, they listen while a text is read. Thereafter, they read the text silently. Finally, the group does oral and written exercises incorporating the material just read, both lexical and grammatical. As the lessons progress, the level of language skill required increases rapidly.

There are eight units in the book, each dealing with different technical topics. The units are divided into three sections, each containing a text and five exercises. The procedure for each section is as follows: New vocabulary and structural items are introduced orally, after which the students listen to the written text, referring to the illustrations if they wish. Then the new language materials are practiced, or students’ comprehension of them is tested. Reading of the text precedes the final activity, namely, exercises which provide practice in aural/oral skills as well as reading and writing.

A criticism frequently heard about textbooks dealing with English for Science and Technology is that they lack careful sequencing of grammatical structures from simple to complex. Such is not the case with A First Course in Technical English. Beardwood et al. have carefully prepared a sequence of structures which goes from less to more difficult; simultaneously they have matched technical topics with appropriate grammatical items, e.g. tools with cardinal and ordinal numbers, and the simple present of to be and to have; materials and containers with mass nouns, certain determiners, the phrase made of, and noun adjuncts; engine parts with prepositional phrases of place.

The methodological approach of the text is predominantly audiolingual. Following each reading are exercises which provide practice in the use of structures and vocabulary previously presented. Question-and-answer exercises (student-to-student and student-to-instructor) appear frequently. All activities are teacher-directed.

Only in this matter of instructor control over classroom procedure does the reviewer question the content of A First Course. The dominant role of the teacher may very well hinder students' spontaneous comments and conversation. Thus, the manipulative practice may never develop into de-controlled communication, a limited amount of which, even at the elementary level, would aid the student in employing vocabulary and structures in conversation.

Both oral and written exercises are closely connected with the figures, tables, charts, and graphs, in which the text abounds. Thus the student is trained in another visual skill, that of decoding graphics. These illustrations are of as-
sistance, not only to the learner, but to the instructor whose background in technology is limited.

Of further aid to the instructor is a clear, detailed teachers’ guide, which presents the content of each lesson as well as suggestions for teaching it. Keys to all exercises are printed in gray areas, in contrast to the white page, permitting the teacher to locate answers easily and rapidly.

To make the textbook even more usable, the authors have prepared a set of tapes of the texts.

The students’ book ends with a list of abbreviations; a list of metals, alloys, non-metallic elements and chemical compounds; the units of measurement in Great Britain and the United States; and a vocabulary list of lexical items presented in the book.

A First Course in Technical English appears to be a well thought-out, carefully prepared, eminently usable book for both students and instructors.

Marjorie K. Morray
INELEC/IAP
Boumerdes (Alger),
Algeria


The human interest angle of American history rather than wars and politics is the focus of the forty-eight reading selections in Yesterday and Today in the U.S.A. Anna Harris Live has chosen to present interesting people and social movements that have contributed to our history and culture. She does not ignore the injustices and hardships suffered by Native Americans and other minorities but through an objective introduction opens the ways to further discussion of important issues. In such chapters, among others, as "The Quakers, Then and Now," "The Gifted Dr. Franklin," "The Buffalo and the Plains Indians," and "Thoreau, a Hundred Years Later" the author has selected pertinent facts from our earlier history to provide students with a perspective from which to view current social problems.

Each chapter is introduced by an illustrative picture which helps create the historic setting and serves as a point of departure for class discussion. For students unfamiliar with certain aspects of our culture or with American-style textbooks, such illustrations do much to fill in experiential gaps.

The reading selections are brief and compact, arranged in historic sequence as well as in order of language difficulty. The book starts out at an intermediate level and progresses to a considerably higher one. Each passage is preceded by a list of potentially difficult vocabulary items encountered in the reading. The passages are written in a serious tone using academic language,
thereby exposing students to formal writing and making them less apprehensive about approaching regular college textbooks.

Among the varied exercises that accompany each selection is a section on paraphrasing, which contrasts formal language with equivalent colloquial expressions. This is particularly useful for students familiar with casual speech styles who need to get a feel for academic textbook language patterns. Conversely, foreign students who have previously learned book English, yet have not had much experience with our idiomatic informal language, will enjoy learning the colorful alternatives. For example:

They could not bear the hardships. = They couldn’t stand it.
Many championed their cause. = Many stood up for them.
She displayed extraordinary courage. = She had guts.

Another exercise points out fine semantic distinctions among words closely related in meaning (e.g., restrict/restrain/limit; object/oppose/criticize/blame; peddler/vendor/merchant/salesman; neighborhood/community). Such exercises repeatedly draw attention to the differences in meaning not only by giving explanations but also by emphasizing the contexts in which the words are used. This helps simplify the vast vocabulary of our language by systematically attacking it in manageable segments.

Other exercises stress pronunciation, word formation, spelling, idioms and structure. Explanations are kept to a minimum. The exercises are short and can be expanded or omitted, depending on students’ needs. The comprehension questions and questions for discussion encourage students to use the new vocabulary items in expressing their own ideas. These questions are placed near the end of the chapter and can be assigned as a written follow-up to class discussion.

Through such a thorough approach, language becomes less overwhelming to students, who should be delighted to find they can read and enjoy a book on a subject as formidable as American history. Many will be fascinated and confident enough to pursue individual topics on their own, looking up the suggested books, both easy reading and regular levels, listed at the end of each chapter.

A useful feature of the book is its glossary of peculiarly American terms, each with a brief explanation (e.g., wetback, Uncle Tom, blue-collar worker, V.I.P., bootlegger). This serves as an aid in understanding references and allusions encountered daily in the media and in conversation.

Yesterday and Today in the U.S.A. is a carefully thought-out text appropriate for mature foreign students and Americans who speak English as a second language. For students who have a basic knowledge of English, this book will develop their command of the language while increasing their understanding of some phases of American life, thus helping them to overcome their cultural isolation.

Maria Stiebel
Housatonic Community College
Bridgeport, Connecticut
Research Notes

Researchers are invited to submit abstracts of completed research or work in progress, notes of interest from conferences, announcements, or short research articles to:

Dr. Diane Larsen-Freeman
The Experiment in International Living’s
School for International Training
Brattleboro, Vermont 05301

Abstracts, notes and announcements should be 500 words maximum (research articles may be longer), double-spaced, and should include the following: author’s name, affiliation, address, telephone number and the title of the research project or conference. All bibliographic references should be kept to a bare minimum and conform to TESOL Quarterly style.

Research Article

AN ENTRANCE EXAMINATION FOR PROSPECTIVE UNIVERSITY ENGLISH MAJORS

Valerie Whiteson, English Department, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel

The need for an integrative test of the proficiency of non-native speakers wishing to study in an English department has long been felt. We have been experimenting with such a test for students planning to study English literature and linguistics at Bar Ilan University.

We believe that we have developed a test which is practical to administer, can be marked objectively, is short (about an hour), and which is proving to be reliable. This report will show how students’ performance on an objective test correlates with the evaluation of literature teachers of their performance on a subjective test. Both tests are an attempt to determine whether students will succeed in the English department.

Description of the Tests

A. The objective test consists of three parts:
   i. a fifty-item cloze test adapted from a reading comprehension passage set for the Cambridge Proficiency examination;
   ii. a dictation passage (we use the UCLA ESLPE passage as described by John Oller 1975);
   iii. a noise test containing 25 multiple-choice items (Whiteson & Seliger 1975).
B. The subjective test consists of three sections:
   i. an essay on a traditional type of topic, i.e. Army Service for Women, The Advantages of a Democracy, etc.;
   ii. an analysis of a poem with guiding questions;
   iii. a short reading comprehension passage on a literary subject with five open-ended comprehension questions.

Administration of the Tests

The tests were administered to 101 applicants for our English department in April 1977. The literature examination and the cloze test were administered in a classroom. Two and a half hours were allowed for the first part and thirty minutes for the second.

The dictation and noise tests were given in the language laboratory after the first part of the examination had been completed. The students heard the dictation passage three times. The first reading was at normal speed, the second at dictation pace divided into phrases, the third was again at normal speed to allow candidates to check their work.

An explanation of the rationale for the noise test was given in which students were told that they would hear a conversation, but that there would be background noise and that if they really understood English the noise would not interfere too much. They were played a recording of a dialogue which was supposed to have been recorded on a plane to account for the white noise they heard. The white noise was added to the signal at the ratio of 3 db, i.e., the signal to noise ratio was 3 db. This noise level was chosen as being most effective, and not too distracting, as ascertained by previous research (see Whiteson 1972).

The taped discussion took place between an American man and a woman with a near-RP accent. This was done in order not to penalize students who were accustomed to only one type of accent. The dialogue is divided into 25 sections. At the end of each section which forms a natural pause in the conversation, the white noise stops and students are asked to choose from four choices the last sentence they thought they had heard. The answer is marked on a separate sheet. The dictation and noise test take about 30 minutes.

Description of the Students

Most of the students were native speakers of Hebrew, but there were also seven native-speakers of English and a number of Arabic speakers. All students had completed a high school education in various countries and most of them had passed the Israeli matriculation examination in EFL.

Scoring Procedures and Results

A. The Objective Test (language)
   i. The cloze test was marked according to the original word method. 50 marks were allocated for this part of the test.
   ii. 25 marks were allocated for dictation. One mark was deducted for every misspelled or missing word. If there was more than one spelling mistake in a word only one mark was deducted. No negative grades were given.
   iii. 25 marks were allocated for the noise test.

B. The Subjective Test (literature)

The five examiners, who each marked about 20 examinations, were not given any instructions about what they were to look for. Three of them are experienced teachers who have been marking similar examinations for a number of years. The two new
teachers tended to be stricter and in some cases the coordinator reread the examinations and upgraded them. The examiners were asked to give an overall estimation of each student’s performance. A student could receive a maximum of 100. Statistics for both tests are given in Table 1, and the correlations among the parts of the objective test and between the objective and subjective tests are shown in Table 2.

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(language)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>$r_{ij}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>19.45</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictation</td>
<td>13.65</td>
<td>7.43</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloze</td>
<td>28.71</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61.76</td>
<td>18.20</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(literature)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62.52</td>
<td>15.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dictation</th>
<th>cloze</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>literature</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noise</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dictation</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloze</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All correlations were significant at .001

### Summary and Conclusions

This research shows that an objective proficiency examination which can be reliably scored will yield a fairly high correlation with a subjective traditional examination (.75). The advantage of the objective test is that it takes less time to administer and mark and should prove more reliable than the more traditional test as it does not depend on the expertise of the examiner.

The intercorrelations between the part scores and the total language are positive and high and appear to be consistent with the results of similar types of tests. All three kinds of integrative tests, i.e. cloze, dictation, and noise, seem to function well and independently provide a picture of overall proficiency in English. The relatively low correlations between subscores seem to indicate that each of them is measuring a slightly different aspect of proficiency.

The heavier weighting of the cloze test in the total score may account for the fact that it correlates as well as dictation (.90) with the total score. There is no need to adjust the weighting of the cloze test. It is easier to score than dictation and has good reliability for a subtest as well as fairly high face validity in the Israeli setting.

The noise test will have to be changed. The scores tend to bunch on the high side resulting in low variability and some of the items appear defective. The reliability was disappointingly low. The weakness appears to be in the distracters and those that fail an item analysis check will have to be changed.

Future plans for this test include correlating final course grades at the end of first, second and final BA years with the result of both tests to see which might prove to be more valid in predicting success in a university English department.

Abstracts

THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH GRAMMATICAL FUNCTORS BY CHILD SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

M. T. Fabris, The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

A case study of seven children learning English as a Second Language was conducted to explore the hypothesis that second language learning is a creative process, governed by an innate language mechanism which proceeds automatically regardless of the environment in which the second language is being learned. An attempt was made, a) to determine and compare the orders in which the children acquired twelve grammatical functors, b) to infer their language processing strategies, and c) to investigate the effect of teaching upon the order of appearance and acquisition of the functors.

The subjects for the study were seven children between the ages of eight and ten from three different language backgrounds (Tagalog, Cantonese, Korean) learning English in a formal environment. An oral test, in the form of a conversation about a picture story, was administered at one month intervals over a six month period. On each test, Individual and Group Scores were computed for each functor.

The subjects’ acquisition orders were very limited but did show similarities. Similarity in performance was further investigated by comparing the subjects’ accuracy orders based on Individual Scores on each test. Pearson Product Moment Correlations were extremely high. The group accuracy order on each test, based on Group Scores for nine functors, was compared to rank orders reported in the literature. Spearman Rank Order Correlations between groups were also significant.

The observed orders were explained in part by external features of English and in part by the learning strategies of the subjects. Error analysis revealed the operation of many strategies including holophrase learning, overgeneralization, simplification, avoidance, transfer of training and native language interference. Subjects showed a definite preference for forms which follow a regular pattern, are easily perceived and which can be memorized as holophrases.

Teaching had minimal influence on the order in which functors appeared in the subjects’ interlanguage and were acquired, but did affect performance. A recency effect upon Group and Individual Scores was observed and subject performance tended to become more similar as testing progressed. Teaching also hastened the acquisition of certain functors.
The similarity in subject performance in this study supports the hypothesis that an innate mechanism directs second language acquisition while the use of a variety of learning strategies suggests that second language learning is a creative process. Although learners appear to proceed according to a predetermined sequence, teaching can assist this natural process by helping the learner to perceive and practice difficult features of language.

An overview of the second language acquisition process is proposed and implications for teaching and future research are given. An investigation of some of the methodological controversies surrounding functor acquisition studies found that for this study, a) grouped data was a reliable measure of group performance, b) elicited speech may be as accurate a reflection of subject competence as spontaneous speech, and c) a relationship between cross-sectional accuracy orders and longitudinal acquisition orders exists.

(From a Master of Education Thesis, The University of Manitoba, 1978)

THE APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES OF GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY TO THE TEACHING OF READING TO STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE
Diana Mae Sims, 4017 Kerr Circle, Dallas, Texas 75234

This dissertation reported research into the problem of how to teach mastery of the English writing system (MEWS) to students of English as a second language (ESL). The problem involved the relatedness of English orthography and phonology. Because of favorable applications of generative linguistics to first language acquisition, the principles of abstract underlying levels of representation, derivational rules for surface realizations, and phonological alternation of related forms seemed worth investigating for their value in a methodology for teaching second language acquisition.

The research had two purposes: first, development of classroom instructional materials for improving reading proficiency in ESL students by application of generative phonological principles; second, use of the instructional materials in a pilot study with fifty-three ESL college freshmen. Subjects were randomly divided by classes into treatment and control groups. They received pretests of English nonsense words, developed in the research as MEWS Tests, consisting of a section on vowels and a section on consonants. The tests concerned alternations of English sounds as reflexes of abstract underlying roots. The subjects also received two reading tests, one standardized for native speakers (the Nelson-Denny Reading Test) and the second for ESL students (the English Reading Test for Students of English as a Second Language). Use of the new materials in the experimental group was followed by a post-test, which was a readministration of the combined pretests. Mean gain scores on the post-test instrument were used with analysis of covariance to measure effectiveness of the pilot program. Scores on the Nelson-Denny and MEWS pretests served as co-variates.

The validity and reliability of tests and validity of materials developed
in the research were established. Tests and materials were revised until they met objectives and content areas established in tables of specifications. The reliability of testing instruments was demonstrated by administration of pretests and the combined post-test to a try-out class similar to classes in the pilot study. Pearson r's of 0.87 and 0.70 for tests on the two units indicated acceptable coefficients of stability. The administration of the English Reading Test cross-validated scores on the Nelson-Denny. Total mean gain scores for all subjects who received both tests were the same, i.e., equivalent to sixth-grade level.

After the treatment, materials were evaluated on the basis of the pilot study. A major finding was that subjects' reading proficiency was far below that of college-level native speakers; another was that the subjects had more difficulty with English vowels than with consonants. The subjects' scores on the MEWS nonsense-word tests correlated significantly with five other criteria, including measures of ability to use ESL. A uniform disparity between ESL-student and native-speaker scores on tests of nonsense words was identified. Native-speakers generally had perfect scores, and ESL students had low scores. A chief implication is the importance of understanding orthography in reading English. Recommendations are that ESL proficiency be determined by nonsense-word tests, and that these be normed after more extensive testing of native and ESL speakers.

REFERENCES

(From a Ph.D. dissertation in College Teaching of Linguistics, North Texas State University )
The Forum

The TESOL Quarterly welcomes questions from readers regarding specific aspects or practices of our profession. Questions will be answered in this section of the Quarterly from time to time by members of the profession who have experience related to the question. Comments on published articles and reviews are also welcome. Comments, rebuttals, and answers should normally be limited to five double-spaced typed pages.


Adult Basic Education ESOL programs should indeed have "a valid and reliable instrument for testing oral English proficiency" (Mattran 1977:407). However, we believe that adequate tests already exist, and disagree with Mr. Mattran that they "often require too much time to administer and require a good deal of linguistic sophistication" (p. 407).

In Rochester, New York, the City School District’s ABE/ESOL program uses the Ilyin Oral Interview (Newbury House Publishers, Inc.) and the John Test (Language Innovations, Inc.) for placement of its adult ESOL students. We have administered these tests to students, and have trained others to score the Ilyin and the John.

Our experience argues against Mattran’s statement that the Ilyin "requires a good deal of sophistication to administer" (p. 413). Both the Ilyin and John can be easily administered by an ESOL teacher who has no formal linguistic or testing background. In the following pages, we would like to share the results of a workshop we conducted at NYS ESOL BEA’s Seventh Annual Conference. After a thirty-minute orientation to each test, participants with varying backgrounds in ESOL produced scores comparable to those of experienced evaluators.

Participants at the workshop included ESOL/ABE teachers, administrators, elementary and secondary school teachers, college ESOL teachers, bilingual educators, teacher trainers and trainees, community aides and volunteers. None expressed any prior familiarity with the tests, and roughly half characterized themselves on a questionnaire as inexperienced in testing. Our sample appears to be similar to that of Matran, i.e. "ABE teachers with no experience or training in ESL, ABE/ESL teachers-in-service, and collegiate-based teachers of ESOL (EFL)" (p. 407). We feel that our sample comprises a reasonable cross-section of professionals involved in ESOL today, a varied mixture of inexperienced and experienced, linguistically trained and untrained, similar only in their involvement with students who are non-native speakers of English.
Following a thirty-minute orientation to each test, workshop participants observed videotapes of students taking the *Ilyin* and *John* tests. Participants scored the students’ performance, and compared their scores with those of their colleagues and with scores of two of the workshop leaders experienced in testing. Following the workshop, we compared the scores of participants who said they were inexperienced in testing with those of participants who were experience in testing. The results, using independent samples’ t-tests, indicated that the differences between experienced and inexperienced testers were not statistically significant (p > .20). Tables 1 and 2 summarize the results.

**TABLE 1**
A comparison of scores of inexperienced and experienced testers using the *Ilyin Oral Interview.* (Note: Workshop presenters, whose scores were considered the model, both scored 48.0.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inexperienced</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N.S. (p &gt; .20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experienced</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td>two-tailed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2**
A comparison of scores of inexperienced and experienced testers using the *John Test.* (Note: two workshop presenters, whose scores were used as a model, scored 8 and 84.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inexperienced</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>N.S. (p &gt; .20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experienced</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>two-tailed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of significant differences in scores of the experienced and inexperienced testers should not be surprising, since the scorers’ tasks is simple. All the scorer must do is determine whether the student has understood the question and given a grammatically correct response. In each test, correctness of response is determined by comparing it with the language production of an educated native speaker of English under similar circumstances. These guidelines parallel the "linguistic intuition" upon which Mattran relies for his test. On both the *Ilyin* and the *John*, the student receives a score of: 2—for an answer which is grammatically correct, natural, and with content appropriate to the question; 1—answer with correct content, but one or more mistakes in grammar; or 0—no answer, unintelligible, or correct grammar but wrong content. (The John Test penalizes the student who asks for a repetition of a question, and provides an opportunity to evaluate the student’s facility in connected discourse.)

Mattran states that the length of time required to administer tests such...
as the *Ilyin* is a disadvantage. Though the *Ilyin* can take up to thirty minutes, in practice it is often much less: The administering of the long form of the *Ilyin*, given to students who appear to have limited ability to speak English, is terminated when they reach the frustration level. A shorter form of the *Ilyin*, for more advanced students, takes approximately fifteen minutes.

The *John Test* is generally administered in less than ten minutes. There is a short form which reduces the time by two or three minutes, but this small savings in time does not appear to be worth the amount of information lost to the evaluator.

It is not clear from Mattran’s article how much time his test requires; however all oral tests, including his, must take time. We know of no other way to identify differences between an individual’s written and spoken command of the language. An oral test is particularly necessary for students who 1) are illiterate, 2) have learned English through books, with little opportunity for oral expression, 3) have severe pronunciation and intonation problems. It seems to us that the information gained by use of the *Ilyin* or *John* is worth the time required.

In his conclusion, Mattran suggests that the ideal test would be "highly informal and it would appear to the examinee not to be a test at all . . . developed in such a way that it becomes part of the registration process" (p. 414). Such a test exists in written form. Given orally, it could be useful to the rare ESOL teacher who is able to register, counsel and evaluate language skills simultaneously. However, such an unstructured evaluation provides little basis for formal evaluation of progress, or for controlling individual variation between evaluators.

Contrary to Mattran’s views, a test can be a positive, unthreatening experience when administered with sensitivity. Our students have appreciated the opportunity to be tested individually in a formal situation. They are interested in discovering their own strengths and weaknesses, and are often eager to be re-tested at a later date. To deny students this opportunity for self-knowledge does them a disservice. To test without their knowledge does not contribute to a trusting student-teacher relationship.

There are further differences between the *Ilyin* and the *John* but it is not our purpose to discuss them here. Both our experience and that of our colleagues suggests that the *Ilyin Oral Interview* and the *John Test* fulfill the need stated by Mr. Mattran. They can be administered effectively by anyone who has the responsibility of instructing ESOL students.

**REFERENCES**


Cook’s view of the semantic structure of the English modals seriously misrepresents some of the studies which he cites and does the reader the disservice of presenting a false picture of the semantic structuring of the modals by not reporting on generally accepted facts. In particular, he represents the meanings of the modals must, (root) and must, (epistemic) as having the meanings of necessity and obligation respectively whereas researchers such as Hofmann (1966) and Newmeyer (1970) see the meanings as being necessity (must, — root) and logical entailment (must, epistemic). Thus Cook sees the following sentence as having an instance of must expressing necessity whereas it would appear that Hofmann and Newmeyer would see it as a sentence expressing logical entailment.

1.3 There must be some mistake.

It would appear to this observer that the Newmeyer and Hofmann views more accurately conform to the facts even though Newmeyer has more recently used the term "truth by necessity" (1975) to describe the meaning of must in (1.3).

This results in an incorrect interpretation of sentences such as (1.3). Actually, in such sentences the speaker is forming an hypothesis and there is no reason for the hypothesis to be necessarily true. Thus sentences such as the following are correct:

2. It appears that there must be some mistake, but I could be wrong.

For this reason, the term logical entailment is to be preferred as a description of the meaning in sentences such as (1.3).

Because Cook misrepresents the Hofmann and earlier Newmeyer system, he neglects a distinction which his system is not capable of making. It would appear that there is a clear meaning distinction between sentences such as (3) and (4).

3. There must be a mistake. (logical entailment)

4. You must go to the doctor immediately. (necessity)

(The above sentence could occur in a situation such as the following: Your
wound is infected. If you don’t go to the doctor, you will die. You must go to the doctor immediately.) Cook could have picked up and discussed this distinction when he developed a discussion of the modals with verb types on pages 12 and 13 or adjectives and Verbs on pages 14 and 15 since it is the verb type that affects the meaning of the modal in sentences (3) and (4)—stative verbs require the epistemic meaning of the modal as in (3) and action verbs require the root meaning as in (4) in the present tense.

A close reading of the article will show why Cook has made this mistake. Of the four sentences used as examples on page 6, 1.1 contains a verb in the progressive, 1.2 contains a verb in the passive, 1.3 contains a stative and 1.4 contains a verb in the simple present. If Cook had been more careful in presenting his argument, making sure that all the modals are in environments for the epistemic reading such as the progressive (page 13), he might not have made the mistake that he did. As it is, he recognizes that each of the environments listed above in conjunction with sentences (1.1) to (1.4) affect the reading of the modals but he cannot keep them straight in the first four examples. Consequently, he makes the mistake noted in examples (3) and (4).

In discussing the scope of the negatives with the modals, Cook makes a serious error by virtue of the fact that he does not consider the influence of the yes-no question transformation and the effect of the interaction of the negative contraction with the yes-no question transformation on the meanings of the modals. Thus, he describes the linearity principle and states that:

This principle predicts that if the negative precedes the modal in surface structure
the negation is external, but if the modal precedes the negative in surface structure,
the negation is internal. (page 9)

He then states that there are exceptions for can and may but there are no exceptions for must. He is thus unable to account for the differences in the readings of must in (5) and (6).

(5) Must he not smoke here?
   (Is he obliged to not smoke here?)
(6) Mustn’t he smoke here?
   (Isn’t it necessary that he smoke here?)

Actually in (5) and (6), there is not only a change in meaning between the epistemic and the root meanings but there is also a change in the implicational structure of the sentences. The first (5) is a negative and the second (6) is an implied affirmative. This is most clearly seen in similar request sentences with please and will as in (7) and (8). (See, Ney (1976)).

(7) Will you please not get into the swimming pool?
   (= Please do not get into the swimming pool.)
(8) Won’t you please get into the swimming pool?
   (= Please do get into the swimming pool.)
These examples, and the exceptions noted by Cook, destroy the usefulness of Cook’s linearity principles since the negative in all cases is to the right of the modal. This is not to suggest that a restatement of the linearity principle and statements on the scope of negation cannot handle such phenomena.

Furthermore, Cook also fails to report on the Hofmann and Newmeyer treatment of will in his system and he substitutes a discussion of the quasi modal have to in an article on the semantics of the English modals. All of these reportorial decisions render his scheme less than satisfactory for describing the facts about the English modals.

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Announcements

First Annual TESOL Summer Institute: 1979

The Executive Committee of TESOL has announced the first annual TESOL Summer Institute to be held at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) from June 25 to August 3, 1979. Subsequent TESOL Institutes are planned for 1980 and 1981 at the University of New Mexico and Georgetown University respectfully.

The TESOL Summer Institute will provide opportunities for graduate and post-graduate students to participate in seminars on Discourse Analysis/Language in Context, Second Language Acquisition, Language Testing, Language Planning/Language Policy, Classroom Analysis/Interaction Analysis, Computer Assisted Instruction, Neurolinguistics and Second Language Learning, Research Design and Analysis, TESL-Bilingual Education, English for Specific Purposes, Program Administration, and Materials Development. The Institute will also offer the following basic courses: Introduction to General Linguistics, English Syntax, Contrastive/Error Analysis, and Language Teaching Methodology. (Faculty appointments for these seminars and courses will be announced in December, 1978.)

It is anticipated that the Institute will be able to admit approximately 200 students in its twelve seminars and five basic courses. There will be a flat-rate tuition charge of $325 for all participants.

In addition to the seminars and courses mentioned above that may be taken for academic credit, the Institute will offer weekly or hi-weekly plenary session for all Institute participants. These one-hour presentations will provide a forum for papers presented by distinguished scholars in disciplines related to TESOL. Some 10 to 12 such papers will be scheduled.

Also planned for the 1979 Summer Institute will be the first Summer TESOL Convention. Presently the dates set aside for the Convention are July 13-15 or July 20-22. The Convention will be coordinated with the Summer Institute but will also have many of the features of the traditional TESOL Winter Conventions. Additional information on both the Summer Institute and the Convention will be distributed soon.

The Director for the First Annual TESOL Summer Institute, Professor Russell N. Campbell (Department of English (ESL), University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024) will be happy to receive inquiries regarding the Summer Institute. Those who may be interested in enrolling in the Summer Institute are asked to provide the information requested on the following form:
I will probably enroll in the TESOL Summer Institute. Of the courses now planned, I would most likely enroll in: (Please check TWO choices)

- Discourse Analysis/Language in Context
- Second Language Acquisition
- TESL in Bilingual Education
- Language Testing
- Language Policy/Language Planning
- Classroom Analysis/Student-Teacher Interaction
- Research Design and Statistics in TESOL
- Computer Assisted Instruction
- Program Administration
- Materials Development
- Neurolinguistics & 2nd Language Learning
- ESP
- Introduction to General Linguistics
- English Syntax
- Methods of Language Teaching
- Contrastive/Error Analysis
- Composition/Reading in TESOL

Are there other courses or seminars you would like to see offered in the TESOL Summer Institute? If so, list:

Please return to: Professor Russell N. Campbell  
Department of English (ESL)  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Those who complete and return the information form will receive first consideration for admission to the Institute.
Meetings of Interest to TESOL Members

Sheraton-Boston Hotel. For information, write to Professor Carlos A. Yorio,
Dept. of Linguistics, University of Toronto, Canada M5S 1A1, or TESOL,
Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., 20057.

April 19-22, 1979, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
Washington, D.C. Washington Hilton Hotel. For registration and program
information contact: Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Lan-
guages, Dept. N, Box 623, Middleburg, VT 05753.

USA/USSR Teachers’ Exchange Program

This program offers two month opportunity to teach English to Soviet
students, elementary through college level, in Soviet schools, October-Novem-
ber, 1979. Russian language ability required. For more information, write: AFS
Educators’ Programs, 313 East 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

New Programs for Teachers

The Division of International Education in the Office of Education ad-
nimisters some Fulbright awards for teachers and several related programs in
international studies. Scheduled for issue in September is Opportunities Abroad
for Teachers, 1979-80. It will list teaching positions abroad (including direct
exchange at elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels) and summer
seminars in Belgium/Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Egypt, India and Pakistan.
Single copies of opportunities may be obtained from the Teacher Exchange
Section, Division of International Education, U.S. Office of Education, Wash-
ington, D.C. 20202.

ERRATUM

In the June, 1978 issue of TESOL Quarterly, in the article by M.
van Naerssen entitled, "ESL in Medicine: A Matter of Life and Death,"
the address for the EST Clearinghouse was incorrect. The correct ad-
dress is:

EST Clearinghouse
ELI AdS A100
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331 USA
Publications Received


1. Social Science
2. Linguistics
3. Law
4. Education
5. (forthcoming) Synthesis.

Arlington, Va.; Center for Applied Linguistics.


Conversational English program, 1; Manual do professor. Instituto do Idiomas Yazigi.


Griffin, Suzanne and Michael Harpending, eds. 1978. ESL Video Newsletter. San Francisco: World English Center, University of San Francisco.


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*Language in Education Series*. 1978,
1. Sophia Behrens: Directory of Foreign Language Service Organizations
5. David M. Davidson: Current Approaches to the Teaching of Grammar in ESL.


Sheeler, Willard D. 1976-77. Welcome to English, books 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. New York: Oxford University Press; and Portland, Oregon: English Language Services, Inc.


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