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*From Skill Acquisition to Language Control**

Wilga M. Rivers

Some years ago, in an attempt to be helpful, I undertook to give some lessons in English to a young Italian immigrant to Australia who happened to have wandered into my church and who was making rather futile efforts to make himself understood with the few words he had acquired haphazardly. Very, soon, however, he stopped coming for lessons since it was obvious to him that I did not know how to teach a language. I was trying to make him say things like "I went to work yesterday; I'll go to work tomorrow." This, he was sure, was not the way to learn English. What he wanted to know, and as quickly as possible, was the names of all the things he could see around him.

My young immigrant's attitude reflects a very common misconception about language use: that it is essentially a naming process, that the first step in language acquisition must be the learning of labels for all the features of the environment so as to be able to talk about them to others. Many parents have this idea of language and spend time trying to teach their infants the names of all kinds of objects. Recent studies of child language acquisition, however, show that from their earliest efforts at speech children use words not as mere labels but with the operant force of more fully developed utterances.[1]

When a child says "milk," he can mean a number of things. He may be naming a certain familiar liquid; since this desired reaction is rewarded by the obvious pleasure of his parents, he tends to repeat this label to retain their attention. He may repeat the word over and over, engaging merely in word play, enjoying the repetition of sounds and the approving attention he receives as he continues. On the other hand, he may say "milk?" with a look of puzzlement, meaning "Where is my milk? Isn't it time I was fed?" and if he is further ignored he may utter a peremptory "milk!" as a command to his mother to attend to his needs. "Milk. . ." in a tone of anxiety may mean "Look! I've knocked over my milk. What will happen now?" or it may be a solemn inquiry: "What about my dolly? Isn't she to get a drink too?"

For the child, then, a single word may have all the force of a sentence and carry a number of different meanings, going far beyond its apparent lexical content. Very soon the child expands his utterances to two words, and we see the development of an elementary syntax as he begins to use what Braine has called "pivot" and "open class" words:[2] pivot words form-

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* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1968.

Miss Rivers, Professor in the Department of Modem Languages, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia, is the author of *The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher* (University of Chicago Press, 1964) and *Teaching Foreign-Language Skills* (University of Chicago Press, 1968).

1 D. McNeill, "Developmental Psycholinguistics," *Genesis of Language,* eds. F. Smith and G. A. Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966).

2 M. Braine, "The ontogeny of English phrase structure: the first phase," *Language,* 39 (1963), 1-13.

ing a small class with few members, frequently repeated, which operate on the larger number of open class words that gradually accumulate as the child's experience broadens. A simple operant like "all gone" ("allgone egg," "allgone milk," "allgone 'nanas") enables the child to extend a basic notion to a number of specific situations. From this stage on, the child's language evolves through a series of syntaxes, identifiable and analyzable at any particular stage of his development; the restricted syntaxes of his early efforts gradually approximate more and more closely to the speech system of those around him until he is finally able to control all its essential syntactic operations. At this stage there is no limit to the number and variety of messages he can convey to fellow speakers of his language. From his earliest attempts at communication, the child needs a grammar; mere labelling will not suffice.

In our second-language classrooms, in recent years we have gone beyond isolated words, mere "vocabulary teaching": we have realized that what the student must learn is to use syntactic patterns. He can acquire new labels later as he requires them, so we teach him a basic vocabulary which he can use over and over again as he practices syntactic operations. We have observed that in the linear sequence of language there are certain strictly formal relationships, within the clearly defined limits of closed sets (e.g., verb systems such as *I'm going, he's going, they're going).* These, we have found, can be learned by steady practice so that no student will be tempted to say* *I's going* or **they's going.* We have found, similarly, that by consistent practice we can teach the restricted word order our language normally requires to convey certain meanings: *I saw him,* not **I him saw* or **Him saw I.* So we have talked of second-language learning as the learning of a skill, the acquiring of a set of habits which must be learned to a point of automatic performance of the sequence. When we are speaking, we do not have time to stop to think about word order, morphological inflections, or invariant syntactical combinations. We need to be so familiar with these details that they fall into place as we speak without distracting our attention from the combinations of meanings we are seeking to express.

This skill-learning approach developed from the common observation that in many classrooms, despite earnest teaching and many exercises on the part of the students, such essential language habits were not being firmly established. Teachers turning to psychological learning theory to see what could be gleaned from it about the effective building in of habits found inspiration in habit formation by reinforcement, or operant conditioning, theory. This approach to learning is drawn from the extensive experimentation of B. F. Skinner and the many experimentalists who have accepted his basic concepts. It has been applied widely in the teaching of many school subjects and is basic to the programming movement.[3]

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3 See B. F. Skinner, *The Technology of Teaching* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968).

As applied to teaching techniques and the writing of materials for second-language teaching, Skinner's principles have been interpreted in the following ways.[4] According to Skinner, a response must occur before it can be rewarded, and thus be reinforced. He does not interest himself in what causes the response to occur in the first place. This approach has its obvious application in second-language teaching: naive students cannot invent second-languge responses, but these can be elicited by a process of imitation. Imitation is clearly an essential first step in establishing a repertoire of responses in the new language and so we have developed the familiar techniques of mimicking and memorization in elementary second-language classes, as in the memorization of dialogue material repeated after the teacher or tape model. At this stage skill in variation is not sought, but only accurate reproduction.

In conditioning theory, immediate reinforcement or reward increases the probability of a response recurring: the teacher in the second-language classroom supplies this reinforcement by his confirmation of correct responses, as in a pattern drill sequence where the student hears the correct response modeled for him at each step by the teacher or the tape model. With repeated reinforcement, according to the theory, responses become established as habits which are maintained in strength by further reinforcement at intervals as the student uses them to express his meaning in communication. By judicious giving and witholding of reinforcement, responses can be shaped to approximate more and more closely to a desired model. Second-language teachers are familiar with this process which they have long employed for developing finer and finer discriminations in recognition and production of sounds.

Reinforcement after a few occurrences of a response will not, however, ensure that the response will be retained by the student as a permanent feature of his behavior. Unless there is further reinforcement on subsequent appearances, the response-habit will suffer extinction, albeit with some periods of spontaneous recovery before it disappears. For this reason it is essential to reintroduce language material at regular intervals so that the student has the reinforcing, and therefore consolidating, experience of using it correctly on a number of occasions, particularly at the stage when many features of the language are being encountered as novelties in rapid succession. At advanced stages when a great number of features have been integrated into a response framework, the student is forced to draw continually on his previous learning; and his habitual responses, both acceptable and unacceptable, are thus maintained. It is important to remember that incorrect responses will also be reinforced as habitual responses, if the student is not aware of these errors and is satisfied with, and even proud of, his production.

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4 The appropriateness of Skinnerian conditioning in second-language teaching has been discussed fully in W. M. Rivers, *The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher* (University of Chicago Press, 1964).

As a repertoire of responses is acquired, Skinner maintains that further responses develop by a process of generalization in which features of novel situations are identified as similar to those already experienced, and established responses find new areas of application. This psychological process is paralleled in second-language learning by the process of analogy as students are encouraged to extend the range of their responses by applying in nearly similar situations the operations they have learned. Analogy is basic to the series of responses in a substitution drill and in other types of exercises which require variation within a limited framework.

A rather naive faith in generalization is perhaps the weakest feature of Skinnerian conditioning as applied to second-language learning. Effective generalization (or production of new utterances by analogy) requires the recognition at an abstract level of a relationship between a new situation and one already familiar, and the combining of new elements in a way which is consistent with this abstract categorization. In a second language where the student's competence (or internalized knowledge of the rules of the language) is partial, this recognition of similarity is guided in really novel situations by his knowledge of parallel structures in his native language. In English we say "I brought it from New York" and "I hid it from John": misled by surface similarities in the native language, the student of French will generalize from "je l'ai rapporté *de* New-York" to "je l'ai caché *de* Jean," instead of the grammatical "je l'ai caché *à* Jean." Valid analogy from one language to another (such as is being investigated in modern studies of language universals) applies at an abstract level of analysis before transformations have produced the distinctive surface features of a particular language.

Even analogizing from one situation in a second language to another in the same language can be misleading. With conditioning techniques the student will have been drilled in transforming utterances either lexically or syntactically to a point of automatic response. Here again he is guided by surface features. In many cases the analogy may be valid; in others the surface features will hide real divergences in usage and the student will fall into error because his knowledge of the language is insufficient for him to recognize the limits within which he may safely analogize.

Despite these limitations, experience has shown that this type of skill practice, systematically developed, does enable students to produce acceptable syntactic patterns on demand in the carefully circumscribed situation of the classroom or laboratory. Properly instructed, the student who is working with the pattern "he's coming" will, on hearing the cue "we," produce the response "we're coming," and continue to produce correct responses even in more complicated sequences. We seem now to have developed techniques for the skill acquisition part of language learning, at least at a formal level. This does not, however, mean that our students on leaving the classroom can participate freely in conversation in the language, producing these acceptable patterns at will. Teachers may well ask: "Where do we go from here? Why are so many of our students after thorough drilling and apparent

conditioning still unable to use the language for their own purposes, when spontaneous situations demand more than learned associations?"

Satisfaction with the learning of responses to cues, and even of rapid substitutions, presupposes that language use is the production of language elements in a linear sequence, one item generating the next in succession according to the habit strength of the association. (On hearing "Where are you . . . ?" most people will complete the utterance with "going." Recent studies of word associations[5] cast considerable doubt on the validity of this approach to the essential processes of language production. Given a cue like "cow," most subjects will produce the response "calf" or "milk," yet sheer strength of linear associations would surely require "cow is . . ." "Cow, calf" or "cow, milk" rarely appear in succession: word associations are frequently paradigmatic (producing words from the same grammatical class) rather than syntagmatic (or linear) and are drawn from fields of associative structures.[6] To the cue "good," most people will respond "bad" rather than "boy" which would be a common linear or syntagmatic association. (It may be noted that children tend to produce syntagmatic associations more readily than adults. With adults, adverbs produce syntagmatic associations more frequently than other word classes, but even here paradigmatic associations occur.[7])

Perhaps, then, we cite things found together or words frequently occuring in the same utterances. To the stimulus "sword," many will respond with "letter-opener": articles which are conceptually similar but rarely found together or mentioned in close association in speech. Subjects who respond to the cue "fields" with the word "green" are producing neither a paradigmatic nor a syntagmatic association, "green fields" being the association built in by language habits in English. There is clearly an organization among associations which has little to do with linear sequence. Frequency of linear association as the major emphasis in language learning inhibits rather than facilitates real communication. The child learning his native language hears many items in close association, but he does not reproduce these in an automatic fashion. He selects from among them and then uses these selected elements for his own purposes. The child who says "All gone milk" did not hear the expression in that form. His mother probably said "The milk is all gone" or even "Milk all gone." The child has, at this stage, formed a concept for which he finds the expression "all gone" useful; he then uses "all gone" for his own purposes in a variety of contexts despite his mother's continued repetition of "milk all gone."

In second-language learning, even in a simple structure drill, it is concept formation we should be seeking to bring about, not merely rote learning of items in a sequence. As Miller, Galanter, and Pribram have expressed it:

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5 See J. Deese, *The Structure of Associations in Language and Thought* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

6 "Cow's milk" does appear, but is a different sequence.

7 Deese, p. 106, gives a table of frequencies of occurrence. For observations of children's associations, see S. Ervin, "Changes with age in the verbal determinants of word association," *American Journal of Psychology,* 74 (1961), 361-72.

"To memorize the infinite number of grammatical sentences is to by-pass the problem of grammar completely."[8] "The fundamental puzzle . . . is our combinatorial productivity."[9] Even the attempt to memorize a useful selection of sentences for everyday use ignores the real problem that few sentences apart from certain fixed formulas and clichés can be used in an actual situation exactly as learned in the classroom. Just as in perception an association cannot be made with previous percepts before there is recognition of the pattern,[10] so in speech learned associations (sentences, patterns) cannot be useful until the speaker recognizes his requirements for communication as being of a type for which this learned association is appropriate.

Chomsky has attacked the view that language is a "habit structure." He says, "Ordinary linguistic behavior characteristically involves innovation, formation of new sentences and new patterns in accordance with rules of great abstractness and intricacy."[11] He speaks continually of "the creative aspect of normal language use"[12]—the fact that new utterances are similar to those previously heard or produced "only in that they are determined, in their form and interpretation, by the same system of abstract underlying rules."[13] This phrase "creative aspect of normal language use" has led some teachers to think that what is needed is not structural drill but opportunities for the student to "create" new utterances in a free and spontaneous situation, as was formerly the practice in Direct Method classes where students used only the second language from the beginning and tried to communicate in it at all costs. This, as we know, can result in a glib inaccuracy (Frenglish or Spenglish or whatever you will). This carefree indifference to the syntactic demands of the language is certainly not what Chomsky is referring to. According to Chomsky, the speaker-listener must internalize a system of rules that can generate an infinite number of grammatical sentences, and the innovation and creation of which he speaks refer to the production of novel combinations which result from the application of the rules. In this sense our students can only "create" novel utterances when they have internalized the rules, the system of rules then "generating" (in the mathematical sense of this word) new combinations as they require them.

The modern vogue for talking about "rules" frightens many teachers. From past experience they know that overt learning of abstract grammatical rules has not been conspicuously successful in producing students capable of using a second language creatively, that is, skilled in speaking (listening, reading, writing) without having to hesitate to consider what is structurally

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8 G. A. Miller, E. Galanter, and K. Pribram, *Plans and the Structure of Behavior* (New York: Holt, 1960), p. 147.

9 G. A. Miller, *Psychology and Communication* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 79.

10 The "Hoffding function." See U. Neisser, *Cognitive Psychology* (New York, 1967), p. 50.

11 "Linguistic Theory," *Language Teaching: Broader Contexts,* ed. R. G. Mead, Jr., Report of 1966 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, p. 44.

12 See also *Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 11.

13 Report of the 1966 Northeast Conference, p. 44.

permissible. Chomsky himself uses the term "internalize" for the assimilation of language rules because, as he states quite clearly, the speaker-listener is not generally aware of these rules, "nor in fact is there any reason to suppose that the rules can be brought to consciousness."[14] Here, he is referring to the native speaker, but a second-language learner must also reach the point where he is responding to a rule-system without being aware at each moment of the rules to which his utterances are conforming. It is as well to remind ourselves at this point that Chomsky is not referring to the common "grammar rules" of traditional textbooks, but to rules of "great abstractness and intricacy," the effect of which we observe while being unable to formulate them at the conscious level. The deep structure and the transformational rules of which we read in the literature of generative grammar provide a theoretical model which does not claim to represent the psychological processes of language production.

Miller, Galanter, and Pribram have proposed a model of language production by which we select a higher-level Plan (or strategy) which sets in operation lower-level plans (or tactics, i.e., completely detailed specifications of every operation).[15] In an act of communication, the speaker has a certain freedom of selection initially (for the meaning he wishes to express he selects a certain sentence-type, a time sequence, and certain relationships and modifications within the sentence), but once this initial selection has been made there are choices he is obliged to make at lower levels of structure because of the rule system of the particular language he is using (obligatory inflections, word order, function words, substitutes) all of which devolve directly from his original selection.[16] It is at the level of strategy, or meaning to be expressed, that the speaker exercises choice, that the novel or creative element enters in, this choice necessitating further choices of a more limited character (the tactics) which oblige the student to use certain elements in fixed relationships. Creative, innovative language use still takes place within a restricted framework: a finite set of formal arrangements to which the speaker's utterances must conform if he is to be comprehended and thus to communicate effectively.

We cannot, then, underestimate the importance of practice in the manipulation of language elements which occur in fixed relationships in clearly defined closed sets (systems in which there are a few variable elements but to which new members are not added: e.g., the set "this, that, these, those"). The student must be able to make the necessary adjustments to pass from "I'm going" to "he's staying home." At this level the second-language speaker has no freedom of choice. On the other hand, he may wish to say "I'd rather go, but he'll stay" in which case he is operating at the higher level of selection, but once having selected his time sequence and

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14 *Topics,* p. 10.

15 Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, pp. 16, 139-58.

16 This approach to language production is discussed at length in W. M. Rivers, *Teaching Foreign-Language Skills* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 71-80.

his personal references he has no further freedom at the low level of surface manifestations of tense and person. Unless the student is well trained at this surface level of operation he will not be able to communicate freely the many novel messages he has in mind.

It is at the manipulative level that pattern drills (substitutions and transformations) are valuable. Very early in this century, Thorndike had already shown that direct practice leads to transfer of learning where identical elements are involved: you practice A and B, and you are able to use A and B. Chomsky maintains that in normal language, use of "repetition of fixed phrases is a rarity."[17] This is a very misleading statement because the word "phrase" is undefined. At the level of the sentence, or even for substantial segments of sentences, this is undoubtedly a faithful observation of language performance. If the "phrase" is further subdivided, however, into coherent word groups such as *I'm going, before he comes, if I don't see him,* or *to school* as opposed to *to the station,* it becomes clear that members of segments reappear again and again in identical form, and it is segments like these—the building blocks of the utterance—that are practiced in drills.

On the other hand, Katona discovered that for problem solving an understanding of structural principles led to greater facility in solving new problems and also to longer retention. "We do not learn the examples," he said, "we learn *by* examples. The material of learning is not necessarily the object of learning: it may serve as a clue to a general principle or an integrated knowledge."[18] This is the Gestalt concept of transposition: ". . . the elements are changed, but the whole-qualities, the essence, the principle are preserved in recollection. . . . and we may apply them under changed circumstances."[19] It is at the level of selection, of conscious choice, that the second-language speaker must have a clear conception of the possibilities of variation within the structural system, of the principles which determine the sentence framework and the relationships of the parts within it, so that he is able to set in motion the various elements which will combine in the ways he has learned so thoroughly in order to convey the exact meaning he has in mind. It is this aspect of second-language learning which has been largely neglected in recent years.

The student will acquire this realization of the possibilities of application and combination of what he is learning, not by listening to lengthy abstract explanations (tempting as this activity may be for the teacher), but by using the patterns he is learning, in combination with what he has learned, for some purpose of his own. It is not sufficient for him to use a pattern to complete an exercise or to answer as the teacher requires; he must practice selection, from the earliest stages of instruction, in an attempt to combine what he knows and what he is learning in the expres-

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17 Report of the 1966 Northeast Conference, p. 46.

18 G. Katona, *Organizing and Memorizing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 125.

19 Katona, p. 136.

sion of a message he has personally chosen. (It is in this activity that, under the teacher's guidance, he learns the extent of permissible extrapolation or analogy.) No matter how simple the pattern, it is important in the communication system for its possibilities of occurrence and combination, and it takes its place in the second-language system the student is building up as soon as it becomes a medium of communication, rather than a simple manipulative operation.

All this may seem to be far away from the practical demands of the teaching situation. How, the teacher may ask, can I apply this in the classroom? The following suggestions will, I hope, lead my readers to work out their own applications in conformity with the theoretical position I have been discussing.

Dialogue learning is a common classroom activity for which useful techniques have long been outlined. Nevertheless in using dialogue material many teachers never pass beyond the stage of manipulation: the dialogue is thoroughly memorized; groups, rows, individuals make the appropriate exchanges. The teacher now passes to the next part of the unit. In this type of lesson the essential ingredient of role-identification is missing. As soon as the child acts out the dialogue, as soon as he is John or Peter, he is communicating, not merely repeating. Even the inhibited child will speak out if he is being someone else. This acting out of dialogues by various children is not a waste of time. Children will repeat the same material over and over purposefully, and listen attentively to others repeating it if different groups are reliving the roles. When children act out a recombination of the dialogue (one learned from the textbook or one they have themselves created using the well-known segments), they explore further possibilities of combination and application of each pattern to express a variety of meanings. In this way they are preparing for the act of selection when later they wish to express similar meanings. Acting out a dialogue makes even memorization a meaningful activity instead of an artificial classroom technique: even great actors must memorize their roles, and memorization is thus accepted as a normal activity of real life.

Pattern drilling, as teachers well know, may become a parrot-like activity. Even with variations, the student familiar with the technique soon learns to make the necessary adjustments without having to concentrate his attention to the point of personal involvement. When, however, the student asks a question or gives an answer related to someone or something which concerns him personally, even an item in a drill becomes a form of communication. Pattern drills need not, and should not, be divorced from real situations. The lexical content of the drills should be applicable to things the student experiences in and out of the classroom, so that the items are useful even apart from the drill; they should provide meanings with which the student can identify. An alert teacher can easily develop a drill sequence which could feasibly apply to the situation of some or all of the students, with an element of humor or surprise to keep the students'

interest. Visual cues for drills not only keep the student alert but force him to think for himself, instead of merely adapting what the teacher is voicing for him. In a carefully structured lesson, the students can be stimulated to provide the elements of the drills themselves: they can be provoked into making a series of statements or questions of the pattern desired through what are apparently only comments in the teacher's appearance or activities, or on their own or other students' intentions or interests. Many a pattern drill can be converted into a repetitive but exciting game which demands concentration. In all of these ways, participation in the drill can be innovative: providing for practice in the repetition and variation of language segments, but with simultaneous practice in selection, as the student expresses his own meaning and not that of the textbook writer. A tape-recording of such a lesson may not sound very different from one made during a stereotyped pattern drill session, the responses of the students following a familiar sequence. The difference, however, is not physical, but psychological: the active participation of the students is personal. Practice in selection should not be considered a separate activity for advanced classes: it can and should be included in class work from the very first lessons.

To sum up then, the student cannot perform effectively at the higher level of selection (putting into operation higher-level choices) unless facility has been developed in the effortless production of interdependent lower-level elements. So learning by practice, drill, and analogy variation, under the teacher's guidance, will be features of the early stages of learning a second language, but with immediate practice in selection (within the clearly-defined limits of the known). The student will be continually placing new elements in the context of the functioning system as he understands it at that stage, by interrelating the new with the old. For this he will need to understand what he has been trying to do in his drills. He will be kept continually aware of the relationship of what he is learning to what he knows, so that he can fully realize the systematic function of each new element he has practiced through his endeavors to use it in wider contexts for the expression of his own meaning.

To develop skill in communication in the foreign language the student must have continual practice in communicating, not merely in performing well in exercises, no matter how carefully these may have been designed. The teacher's reward comes on the day when he hears his students using the second language without prompting and without embarrassment for communicating their own concerns. This is language control. When the student has acquired confidence at this level, he will be able to progress on his own, experiencing freedom of expression beyond the confines of learned patterns.

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*The Relevance of Sociolinguitics for Language Teaching**

Roger W. Shuy

For many years now linguists have been interested in the phenomenon of language and society, particularly where whole systems of language are seen in relation to whole systems of culture. Linguistic geographers, of course, have long been observing a type of small group language dynamics based on geography and history. Then, in the thirties, Hans Kurath introduced the dimension of the social group to the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, although his criteria for social marking were never very popular with other sciences.

What Sociolinguistics Is and Does

Sociolinguists are generally concerned with the social implications of the use and reception of language. They carry out basic research on language variation, sensitivity, and acquisition among social groups of all types including those based on social status, age, race, sex, family, friendship units, and others. Some of the topics of sociolinguistics include dialect geography, bilingualism, linguistic interference, social dialectology (including studies of social stratification and minority group speech), language situations (language rivalries, standardization, language as a means of group identification and functional styles), and attitudes toward language.

In order to accommodate these topics, sociolinguists have borrowed research techniques from other disciplines and have developed some new analytical modes of their own. It has been necessary, for example, to reconceptualize linguistic data as part of a continuum rather than as isolated phenomena. The occurrence of a grammatical feature, for example, can no longer be interpreted on a purely qualitative basis, as it once was. Realizing that speakers of a language, standard or nonstandard, exist in a continuum, sociolinguists find it necessary to use quantitative as well as qualitative analyses in order to determine the frequency with which any given form occurs in the speech of an individual. This notion of the linguistic continuum enables us to conceive of groups of individuals with similar or identical continua as linguistically homogeneous.

The notion of the linguistic variable, first formulated by William Labov, enables sociolinguists to account for continuous ordered variation within linguistic features (Labov, 1966). Past practice was to consider exceptions to the regular patterns as free variation, a term somewhat analogous to what fifth grade children call the remainder in a long division problem. In formulating the concept of the linguistic variable, Labov sought to correlate matters hitherto dismissed as free variation with such social characteristics as social status, race, sex, age and style. When language is viewed as code

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* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1969.

Mr. Shuy, Director of the Sociolinguistics Program, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C., is the author of several publications on social dialect, among which is *Discovering American Dialects* (NCTE, 1967). He is also general editor of the Urban Language Series published by the Center for Applied Linguistics.

(as descriptive linguists generally treat it), free variation continues to be a valid analytical tool. But when language is seen as behavior (as sociolinguists view it), free variation can be accounted for more adequately.

The linguistic situation is another of the concepts developed by sociolinguists. John Gumperz, for example, utilized the concept of a communication network, particularly a friendship network, to investigate linguistic code-switching between local and prestige dialects in India. Labov (1966) and Wolfram (1969a) have made detailed analyses of the realization of certain grammatical and phonological features across speech contexts such as casual, formal or oral reading.

From other disciplines, linguists have been borrowing heavily, especially in matters of research design, cognition, statistical analyses, attitude measurement and demography.

Identifying the Issues

1. *Systematicity*

Of the several ways in which sociolinguistic research is relevant to language teaching the most obvious is that of identifying the social and pedagogical issues. Please note that I do not use the term *problem* here, for linguistic research is not, in itself, evaluative. An investigation may clearly reveal that speakers of one social class use a linguistic form far more frequently than it is used by speaker of another socio-economic status. To the linguists this fact is one of descriptive difference and neither group of speakers is thought of as aberrant. Certain educators and psychologists who have been publishing their recent research on the disadvantaged child conceive of a single scale for all speakers of a language, leading them to refer to the black child's speech as deviant from the standard norm (Bereiter, 1966; Deutch, 1964). The sociolinguist will observe, instead, that the linguistic system of speakers of one group may differ from the linguistic system of speakers of another group. To one extent, members of either group may be disadvantaged in their attempts at communicating with the other. This is not to deny that it may be desirable for speakers of the lower socio-economic group to learn the system which will enable them to survive and thrive in a larger context. But it does suggest that the teacher's and researcher's relationship to that linguistic system begin. with a recognition of its adequacy, perhaps even beauty. Furthermore, this recognition of the adequate systematicity of this linguistic system suggests that measurement of the nonstandard speaker's auditory discrimination, reading ability, intelligence, achievement, or any other aspect of his education be done in such a way that a true measurement of these things can be attained. One would hope, for example, that a child's inability to produce a contrast between /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ before nasal consonants, as in *pin* vs. *pen*, would not be considered failure if, within his linguistic system, such a contrast does not exist. One would also hope that his inability to produce or recognize such a contrast would not be considered inadequate auditory discrimination. One would further hope that this inability would not be attributed

to excessive noise in his lower socio-economic home, the blare of television, or the squalor of ghetto life. Just as it would seem ludicrously unfair to label all orientals as deficient in hearing because they have difficulty with English /r/ and /l/, it is unfortunate that speakers of nonstandard English are said to have difficulty discriminating a dialect which has a somewhat different system from their own. The subtle distinctions produced by some Southerners in the words, *a hired man, a hod man, a hard man, a Howard man* and *a hide man* might easily be used against testers who fail to account for systematic dialect differences in auditory discrimination tests (McDavid, 1969).

As for other standardized tests, one can only wonder how much better black children would do on measures of verbal skills, intelligence, and achievement if linguistic and cultural differences were accounted for in the production of these tests.

One issue in which sociolinguistic. research can be helpful in language teaching, then, is in identifying the systematicity of the language under investigation and how this systematicity may interfere with the educator's attempt to use a child's language in measuring intelligence, perception, or various skills. This recognition is long overdue in almost every aspect of standardized testing in the American schools.

2. *Linguistic Features*

Sociolinguists are also deeply involved in identifying and analyzing the linguistic features which set off one social group from another. Although there are currently available several "grocery" lists of features said to be characteristic of nonstandard English, they generally tend to oversimplify and frequently are misleading *(Non-Standard Dialects,* 1968, is a case in point).

An important question, of course, is "How much do we need to know about a linguistic feature in order to teach about it?" In this respect, the "grocery lists" may be useful, for earlier research by Ann E. Hughes has clearly revealed the general inability of teachers even to identify the features which they consider problems in their students' speech (Hughes, 1967). Only 10% of the teachers in Hughes' study of Detroid Head Start Teachers showed clear evidence of understanding that the so-called non-verbal child has a language which may be perfectly appropriate for certain, but not all, circumstances in life. One third of the teachers characterized the disadvantaged child's greatest problem as his failure to speak in sentences and/or complete thoughts. Other common observations about the language of the disadvantaged child included statements about their limited vocabulary, their slurring words together, and their dropping ends of words. Even though 40% of the teachers recognized that their students have some sort of unusual phonological activity at the ends of words, not one could describe these features in terms satisfactory enough to be diagnostically useful. What is even more distressing is that 13% of these teachers observe

that disadvantaged children *do not talk at all* and 10% observe that these students *do not talk at home.*

This inability of teachers to describe nonstandard language with any degree of diagnostic usefulness has suggested that we try to discover the vocabulary of socially meaningful terms with which people can evaluate speech. Labov observed this phenomenon in his study of the subjective reactions to language of New Yorkers (1966: 405). Recent research in Detroit used the semantic differential scale using polar adjectives as a device for laymen to express their evaluations of tape recorded speech segments (Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram, 1969). For each segment, listener-judges were asked to use the following scale:

awkward	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	graceful
relaxed	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	tense
formal	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	informal
thin	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	thick
correct	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	incorrect

These and ten other scales were also used in conjunction with the judges' assessment of various speech concepts (Detroit Speech, Negro Speech, White Southern Speech, British Speech, and Standard Speech) in an effort to discover meaningful terminology by which laymen can talk about social distinctions in language.

While this research into the vocabulary of meaningful terms for identifying social features of speech is conducted, linguists are slowly and painstakingly describing the linguistic features themselves. Labov's analysis of five phonological features in New York speech was published in 1966. Wolfram has recently completed an analysis of four phonological and four grammatical features of Detroit Negro speech (Wolfram, 1969a). Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley dealt with two grammatical features and one phonological feature (in addition to some preliminary analyses of syntax) in the Detroit Dialect Study (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley, 1967). Fasold has done preliminary research on the low vowel system of a cross-section of Detroiters (Fasold, 1968) and is currently studying various features in Washington, D.C. Now Labov has extended his New York research to include several more features in New York (Labov, 1968) and Crockett and Levine have added to our knowledge of *r* in the Piedmont (Levine and Crockett, 1966). With all of this research, however, comes several important questions. How generalizable are any of these descriptions from one city to another? Although all of the aforementioned linguists are dealing with a broad section of the population, the clear focus has been on the speech of minority groups, and further research must be done on the speech of the middle classes, Southern whites, and rural Negroes, to mention only a few groups, in order for us to get a clearer focus of our target group in a realistic linguistic context. Furthermore, not all of the analyses done thus far are in complete agreement with each other. Research on invariant *be* in Negro speech, for example, has thus far yielded almost as many analyses as there are analysts.

To the casual observer, it may seem that these features are really no different from those noted in the "grocery list" approach criticized earlier in this paper. And, to a certain extent, this is true. One example of the difference, however, may be noted. In the New York City Board of Education's *Non-Standard Dialect* it is reported that for nonstandard speakers the -st cluster reduces to -s in words like *test, toast* and *ghost* (p. 13). In fact, however, this reduction also characterizes standard English speakers in the environment before consonants. Since speakers of nonstandard also reduce these clusters before vowels the grocery list is partly right but it does not tell the whole story either.

It may be concluded then, that if materials developers had only the analysis found in *Non-Standard Dialects,* they would not know exactly what the child's beginning point really is and they would not know enough about the relationship between the environmental constraints and the social status of the speaker in order to focus and sequence the materials effectively. Much of the sociolinguistic analysis noted earlier addresses itself specifically to these and other relationships.

3. *Determining Strategies*

Besides contributing to our knowledge of the systematic nature of a language and identifying the linguistic features which contrast between language systems, sociolinguistic research has certain things to say about strategies for presenting these facts. For example, knowledge about how people react to language features gives us insight for classroom engineering on the basis of what is generally considered most crucial or most stigmatizing. This kind of information is of utmost importance if we are to avoid spending time teaching against features which the general public does not recognize as stigmatizing.

a. *Discovering Cruciality*

Insight of this sort, for example, has been revealed in what might be called a hierarchy of cruciality concerning the three generally recognized categories of language: lexicon, phonology, and grammar. Much of the currently available oral language materials for poor black children focuses on matters of pronunciation (Golden, 1965; Lin, 1965; Hurst, 1965). This is perhaps excusable, for the demand for materials always precedes the demand for research upon which materials are based. At the time in which this demand first began to be satisfied it appeared to many people that teaching standard English to nonstandard speakers involved primarily teaching them to pronounce English in a standard manner. Once sociolinguistic research into non-standard English began, however, it became clear that the mainstream of American society tolerates phonological variation considerably more than it tolerates grammatical variation. (It would appear, in addition, that lexical variations tend to be the most tolerated of all.)

This measure of the tolerance range of social acceptability for lin-

guistic features is extremely difficult to calculate and, at present, we can do little more than speculate about how it might be established. It involves seeing the linguistic feature in relationship to a number of complicated matrices such as social class, situation (small group context), style (narration, reading, etc.), frequency distribution of the feature, and delineation of the exact linguistic constraints which operate in relation to a feature.

(1) *Social Class.* The matrix of social class is described extensively by Labov (1966, 1968) by Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1967), by Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram (1969), and by Wolfram (1969).

It is not our intention to detail the techniques or results of these research projects here but rather only o generalize that in both their objective use of language and in their subjective reactions to language, people of different socio-economic groups tend to perform differently. Labov observes that although their language usage shows considerable class stratification, people of all social classes seem to share similar norms about language (Labov, 1966: 450). This would suggest that all classes have similar tolerance ranges for what they consider good English. On the other hand Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley suggest that clues to social sensitivity can be found also in the oral production of these forms as they are seen in relation to certain social characteristics (1967: III, 67). They observe that the contrast of the sharp social stratification observable, for example, in multiple negation with gradual or gradient stratification found for pronominal apposition reflects a generally sharper sensitivity for the feature which is most clearly stratified. This sensitivity may be a measure of group tolerance of a feature within a defined speech situation. That is, on the basis of the sharp stratification observed for multiple negation one would predict a general intolerance for this feature in the speech of those who do not use it. On the contrary, the general insensitivity to pronominal apposition would probably make this feature more tolerable. But whatever the methods for discerning it are, social class certainly must enter into any measure of the tolerance range of acceptability.

(2) *Situation.* The matrix of linguistic situation is tremendously important for any accurate assessment of the social stigmatization of a linguistic feature. Although very little more than exploratory and programmatic information exists in this area, it seems obvious that people talk somewhat differently in different social contexts. Early research which attempts to obtain information of this sort has been done by Gumperz (1964) in India and considerable current thinking on this subject has been done by Hymes (1964) and Ervin-Tripp (1968).

(3) *Style.* Style is another matrix in which the social tolerance range can be observed. An example of this kind of research can be seen in Wolfram (1969a) who computed the frequency distribution of various grammatical and phonological features across the styles of narrative and oral reading, observing, in each case, a greater tendency toward the mainstream norm in the reading style.

(4) *Frequency Distribution.* Frequency distribution itself provides a matrix for measuring this range of social tolerance. Noting that the mere occurrence of a linguistic feature is ambiguous unless it is seen in relationship to a constant, Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley utilize the concept of the potential occurrence (1967: III, 9). That' is, each occurrence of a stigmatized feature such as multiple negation before indefinite is seen in relation to all occasions in which multiple negatives might have occurred in that position. The resulting ratio provides a measurable and meaningful indication of frequency distribution.

(5) *Linguistic Constraints.* The need for observing the exact linguistic environment in which the stigmatized feature occurs is perhaps the most crucial matrix of all. If we are to say anything meaningful about the tolerance range of social stigmatization we must, by all means, set the feature in its proper linguistic environment. Otherwise our observation will be no more precise or useful than those of the Detroit teacher who stated that children in her class drop the endings of words. Research on simplification (or reduction) of syllable final consonant clusters is a case in point. It is useless to note the reduction of -st clusters to -s before alveolars or voiceless fricatives. As noted earlier, Standard English speakers, in most styles and situations, will delete the /t/ in these environments. Although it is linguistically accurate (in terms of language as code) to do so, it would be sociolinguistically (in term of language as behavior) meaningless to simply say that *t* is deleted in final *st* clusters. More useful would be to state a sociolinguistic rule for which there is some sort of contrast between different groups of speakers.

The matrices in which a tolerance range of social stigmatization or acceptability must be measured, than, include social class, situation, style, frequency distribution, and linguistic environment. Once a given feature has been set in these matrices, perhaps we can more precisely and realistically observe its tolerance range. Such an observation might tell us, for example, that the consonant cluster reduction rule operates primarily with the working classes, especially in peer speech and to a lesser extent in group-external. speech, more strongly in the casual style but, to a slightly lesser extent, in the careful or consultative style as well, to a specified frequency distribution and in the linguistic environment preceeding vowels or silence. A really useful statement, of course, would replace the phrases, *primarily, especially, lesser extent, more strongly, slightly lesser extent* and *specified* in the preceding sentence with more precise quantitative information which indicates a hierarchy of constraints on variability. The contrast between the items in each matrix would then specify the tolerance range between items.

Preparing Teachers and Materials

Once the basic sociolinguistic research has identified and fully described the linguistic features to be taught and set them in a realistic tolerance range based on factors of social class, situation, style, frequency distribution, and linguistic constraints, we are ready to think about methods of teaching

(this is not to say that any teaching must wait until such analyses are finished. Rather it suggests that if this research is done first, we will be better able to do this teaching).

As in the case of most basic research of this sort, not all knowledge is directly transferable to students and not all of it is necessary for teachers to know. Materials developers stand to benefit the most, for they can use this kind of information (1) to zero in precisely on the speakers who have these stigmatized features; (2) to put these features in their realistic language situations; (3) to anticipate variation according to the constraints of style; (4) to build materials around the realistic concept of contrastive frequency distributions rather than consistent presence or complete absence of a feature; and (5) to construct exercises which utilize the detailed description of the feature in its linguistic environment, avoiding overgeneralizations of the sort found in the "grocery list" approaches noted earlier.

Teachers, however, also require considerable attention in the use of such knowledge. Currently most teachers are trained in the single standard approach to language variation. Of considerable value would be pre-service training in language varieties based on both geography and socio-economic status. And while we are at it, why not let them in on what we know about language variety based on style (Joos, 1965), race (Wolfram, 1969a; Shuy, 1969a), sex (Shuy, 1969b) and age (Wolfram, 1969a; Fasold, 1968)? Some where in their training, teachers should be disencumbered from many of the current, fashionable ideas about the so-called non-verbal child (Deutch, 1964) and about the language-based cognitive deficits black children are supposed to have (Bereiter, 1936). It would be extremely useful, in fact, if these teachers would be given a chance to hear black children talk outside of a school context. Even the laboratory experience of sitting and listening to long tape-recorded narrations would be a step in the right direction. Of course, a step-by-step analysis of the linguistic features of nonstandard English would be helpful in demonstrating the systematicity of this kind of language as well as details of how it works. One important danger of such training, however, is the implication that, once trained, such teachers are immediately transformed in attitude and competence or that their training automatically enables them to construct adequate classroom materials. On the contrary, such training is only the requisite beginning step that educators must take. In an area in which attitudes have been ingrained for so many years we cannot expect immediate renewal even after the new knowledge has been acquired. And as for the construction of classroom materials, let us not delude ourselves into believing that even a well trained teacher with healthy attitudes is competent to produce good or usable classroom materials. Yet this assumption is widely held today and is manifested in countless summer workshops in which the aim is to get teachers together to produce the curriculum for the following year. Students in a Shakespeare course may be able to write a sonnet but their product is in no way expected

to compete with those of their model. Why it is that the teaching profession has assumed that teachers are, per se, materials developers is a mystery to many people.

Finding Clues to Sequencing the Instruction

Wolfram has recently observed that since some features of nonstandard are more socially obtrusive than others, they should be given precedence in the teaching materials (Wolfram, 1969b). He also deals with the problems of the relative social diagnosticity of items as they intersect with other social and linguistic principles such as the generality of rules and the potential frequency of items. Wolfram suggests that since grammatical features tend to stratify the population more sharply than phonological features, the standard English equivalent of non-standard grammatical categories should be introduced first.

Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to provide a brief overview of some of the ways in which recent sociolinguistic research is contributing to our knowledge of language teaching. The focus has been on the American urban situation, especially as it relates to poor black children. Although we as yet have no empirical evidence for support, these contributions seem to be generalizable to social dialect differences in other languages as well. One of the greatest deterrents to describing such situations in the past has been our lack of tools and frameworks in which such studies could be made. The concepts noted in this paper, the linguistic continuum, the linguistic variable, and the linguistic situation, coupled with the development of quantitative measurement in linguistic analysis and a wider approach to linguistic fieldwork (accounting for a broad spectrum of socioeconomic groups and styles) are leading to a realistic assessment of the social dimension of language.

Certain pedagogical strategies are growing naturally out of this research, for it is obvious that a more detailed analysis of the feature being taught will suggest aspects to follow and things to avoid. Furthermore, a careful analysis of the essential contrasts between the focus and target forms suggests that foreign language teaching techniques be seriously considered in bidialectal or biloquial education (Stewart, 1964). The exact ways in which these techniques can be applied to native language learning are still not formulated but, at this stage, it appears clear that some of these techniques, including repetition drills, may not be very useful and that we face a number of different problems in developing a second dialect learning pedagogy. Surprisingly, perhaps, we have learned that even the linguistic analysis in our research suggests strategies for pedagogy, especially in the sequencing of lessons dealing with these stigmatized features.

As is often the case at the beginning of research fields such as this, the investigating scholars are humbled at the enormity of the problem. But the excitement of discovery shows no signs of wearing off and, if the rest of the

academic community will have patience with us, we should be able to add a significant dimension to the extant knowledge of language teaching.

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*English Today: A World View**

Randolph Quirk

One of the few books I've read on teaching English to speakers of other languages is the first such book I read: Leonard Q. Ross's *The Education of Hyman Kaplan* which was published in 1937 (earlier seriatim in the *New Yorker).* Mr. Kaplan, you will recall, was one of the pupils in that wave of home-based TESOL aimed at naturalizing the refugees of the thirties. He was one of "the thirty-odd adults in the beginners' grade of the American Night Preparatory School for Adults ('English—Americanization—Civics—Preparation for Naturalization')" (p. 7). The book stated the TESOL priorities unambiguously. "For the students in the beginners' grade, vocabulary was a dire and pressing need. Spelling, after all, was not of such immediate importance to people who did little writing during their daily lives. Grammar? They needed the substance—words, phrases, idioms— to which grammar might be applied. Pronunciation? Mr. Parkhill had come to the reluctant conclusion that for some of them accurate pronunciation was a near impossibility. Take Mr. Kaplan, for example . . . Mr. Kaplan, when asked to use 'heaven' in a sentence, had replied promptly, 'In sommer, ve all heaven a fine time'" (p. 33). But if this was the first book I read on TESOL, it was by no means the first book I read that touched on the English of immigrants. In *The American Scene* of 1907, you will recall Henry James's reflections on the customers of central European origin in the East-side cafés of New York. "Why," he asks, "were the quiet easy couples, with their homely café habit . . . , such remote and indirect results of our local anecdotic past, our famous escape, at our psychological moment, from King George and his works . . . ? Yet why, on the other hand, could they affect one . . . as still more disconnected from the historic consciousness implied in their own type, and with . . . identity . . . too extinct in them for any possibility of renewal?" James goes on to speak of one man's "fluent East-side New Yorkese . . . and the colour and the quality of it, and the free familiarity and the 'damned foreign impudence,' with so much taken for granted"; James muses on the "inward assimilation of our heritage and point of view" and asks "What, oh, what again, were he and his going to make of us?" (pp.206–7) .

In recent years, in your country and in mine, teaching English to speakers of other languages has often meant especially teaching inhabitants of other countries—the Philippines, Indonesia, Africa, Thailand, India. But it is not inappropriate that the two references I have made to my early read-

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1969.

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ing in this field should have been to the English of inhabitants of the principal English-speaking country, and I notice with great interest that the program of this convention reflects a deep concern for the special groups within the United States. And here. it seems to me, is where a world view is relevant. In South Africa, in Australia, in New Zealand, in Britain, in Canada perhaps with peculiar sharpness at this moment, as well as in these United States, the English of orthodox law-enacting, culture-bearing, education-disseminating is in conflict with less orthodox English or with the needs of those whose historic language was not English at all: either because they entered our society long after English became established (like the Pakistanis of Britain or the Latin Americans of the United States); or because their language was current in these areas before ever the English tongue was heard there (like the Welsh of Britain or the Indians of the United States).

The social, political, and educational problems concerned are in their very infancy but this much we can reasonably predict: that all of them are going to require sophisticated linguistic inquiry to underpin the sociological and educational programs we tentatively frame in this generation and the next.

A session at this convention is going to be devoted to the notion of 'Standard English'—as well it might. How does any form of language have conferred upon it that status of 'standard'? Are the practical factors connected with a standard's role as lingua franca dissociable from the emotional factors connected with a standard's prestige? Do non-standard varieties of a language have an equal lack of prestige and if not, why not? Are the measures linguistic or sociological? What are the special problems in relation to English?

It seems to me that varieties of performance in a language have three dimensions (see Figure 1).

The horizontal left-right dimension deals with the *similarities* of the varieties of a language relative to each other, and the other dimensions can be held constant with respect to it. If we have highest adequacy and highest prestige (leaving aside for a moment what these dimensions imply), it is along this horizontal of similarity that the various 'standard' forms of English belong: notably American English and British English. These two major standards are sufficiently close on the similarity dimension to provide no serious problems in the TESOL situation, and we all know of instances throughout the world where American and British teachers collaborate on the ground, so to speak, with the same students. For the most part, however, students opt in effect for one standard or the other according to where they live and the teachers available. The strong preferences sometimes expressed for one or other variety are normally made on trivial grounds or through ignorance, but the extent to which they are made means that, in that student's opinion, the variety rejected is not a form of standard English: by definition since standards cannot differ in adequacy or prestige.

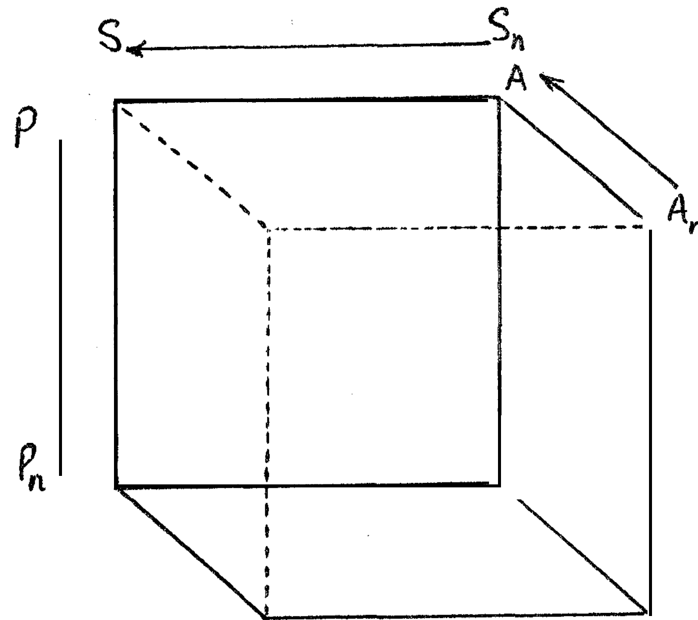

Figure 1

S = Similarity; A = Adequacy; P = Prestige.

What then is adequacy? This refers to the degree of a speaker's fluent control over the resources of a language—particularly the grammatical and lexical resources. And, although adequacy (represented as the front-back dimension of the cube) may exist in different kinds and may vary in ways that are not yet understood, we must insist that it is a dimension that is independent of the other two. That is, the three-year-old child of a standard language speaker has a command of the prestige dialect that is still seriously inadequate: he cannot string words together in the full grammatical complexity that is at his father's command, and there are thousands of words that he cannot yet use. He has not even fully mastered the phonological system. There is the inadequacy of the foreign learner, too, who may also be a speaker of the prestige dialect (insofar as he knows English at all) but who has like the native child much to learn before he can say all that the adult standard language speaker can say. And then there is the inadequate language command of the socially deprived for whom certain shades of meaning in expression are unattainable not merely in the standard language but even in the low-prestige dialect to which his birth and upbringing have committed him.

Which brings us to this third dimension, represented as vertical on the cube model. The two dimensions so far discussed—similarity and adequacy—can in principle be described linguistically (though in all conscience we must admit that such measurement is still grossly rudimentary when it attempts to be more than intuitive). The third dimension, prestige, cannot

be measured linguistically at all; and if my reading of the literature is sound, it would seem that the sociologists and socio-linguists have a long way to go before they can objectify their and our intuitions in the matter. But the dimension's existence can hardly be in question nor our intuitions. We tacitly and sometimes overtly acknowledge its relevance by not directing TESOL classes to the English of Birmingham, England—or indeed of Birmingham, Alabama. Our lexicographers acknowledge it by leaving most words unlabelled while labelling others 'dialect' or 'substandard'—and do not let us fool ourselves we can always tell the difference: dialects are often treated in effect as substandard—it is just that many sub-standard forms resist the geographical pigeon-holing that our usual concept of 'dialect' requires.

There may however be room for disagreement over the *independence* of the prestige dimension. Can speakers of a low prestige dialect ever attain full linguistic adequacy? Shocking as it may seem even to ask such a question, we must face the fact that in our teaching we often behave as though the answer was *a* resounding "no." The educational systems of all countries that I am familiar with strive rather singlemindedly to improve pupils' adequacy with items and patterns belonging to the standard language, and, regardless of the lip service paid to leaving the child's local language alone, measure improvement in adequacy in what amounts to solely in these terms. And our customers only too readily get the message. I have the impression that programs for improving the English of the socially disadvantaged in this country have run into the difficulty of pupils feeling that they are not being taught greater adequacy in their own language but are being saddled with the 'white folks' talk.' But if there are practical difficulties in dissociating the prestige and adequacy dimensions, I am enough of a traditional Bloomfieldian (thanks largely to the teaching I had in this country from Bloch, Fries, Pike and Marckwardt) to believe that in an important sense the two dimensions are genuinely independent. It is in fact impossible to read the Lallans poetry of contemporary Scotland without believing them independent, or the novels of Alan Sillitoe without sharing his belief that the working class substandard speech of contemporary Nottingham is capable of the fullest sensibilities and range of expression. And you may recall that although Mellors was perfectly fluent in standard British English, he felt that only his Derbyshire dialect was adequate to loving Lady Chatterley. This point should remind us that the mastery of language for specific occasions (after the manner of Martin Joos's *Five Clocks)* is a function of the adequacy dimension, however much—as with Mellors—it operates at a fixed point of the prestige dimension.

At any rate I feel we should be in no doubt that we know pitifully little about this third dimension, prestige, and of its relation with the others; that our work in teaching English as a 'second dialect' will be dangerously vitiated unless our understanding improves; and that it is along this dimension that we must expect very significant changes during the last decades of this millennium. Not merely are we likely to witness the full status of 'stan-

dard' being conferred upon the English of Australia and other major foci of power geographically separate from the other English-speaking areas; we must see the resolution of the standardisation problem in smaller areas of national identity—Hiberno-English, for example, not to mention the English of previously underprivileged groups within our national borders. Taking a world view of English is not a particularly cheering prospect nor one that can give us as linguists much ground for self-congratulation. And meantime, God help those who are at the remotest point on all three dimensions—similarity, adequacy and prestige—like the immigrant minorities in our midst.

To take only the formal description of a single variety of institutionalised standard English, the surviving problems are daunting enough, though here the linguist has more grounds to be pleased with himself—as well he might after three hundred years' continuous effort. During this three hundred years more attention has been paid to the problems associated with prescriptivism than to all the rest put together: those rather few features where we stubbornly go on using one form but teaching another, generation after generation. And even after three hundred years, we really do not know what to make of them. The traditional twentieth century attitude was summed up in Robert Hall's title *Leave Your Language Alone,* but we do not: cannot, it seems. On the plane to Chicago this week, a professor of linguistics passed across to me a periodical saying, "Look at this: I do not generally object to split infinitives but I draw the line well short of this one." The quotation he had heavily ringed read *They used to annually visit the center.* The same is true of the position of *only* ("He only earned a little money" where we do *not* mean that he got most of his money more easily): "John does not love you as much as me," says a lad to a lass, and he does not mean that John loves *him* more. Students in TESOL classes ask us about these points, but have we decided what to tell them?

Then there are the problems that are inherent in English as a living, changing and imperfect language. In speaking of a 'living' language, I am thinking of the many instances of divided usage where opinions differ as to whether one form is to be preferred to another or whether any significant difference is involved: *whether* versus *if* in dependent questions, *while* versus *whilst,* the first vowel of *either,* the spelling of *judgment* or *connection.* With my reference to 'changing' language, I have in mind transitional features like the steady growth of spelling pronunciations such as *forehead* which will no longer rhyme with little girls that are horrid; or the steady stream of words that are changing their meaning such as *anthropoid* which has added *apelike* to its earlier meaning of *manlike,* or even grammatical changes. The great *Oxford English Dictionary* provides an unwitting example of this with the unlikely compound *knight-errant* for which it gives as the plural only the form *knights-errant,* though the neighboring entry for *knight-errantry* (surely written by the same learned editorial hand) glosses this abstract noun as (inter alia) "The body of knight-errants."

And with my reference to 'imperfect' language, I have in mind not just

the gaps in our phonological system, still less the imperfections in our orthography (usually exaggerated anyhow), but rather the gaps and misfits in our lexicon and grammar. Thus while we can ask a parent how many children he has without descending to the specificities of sex, we cannot ask a child how many brothers and sisters he has without requiring just this male/female distinction. If *undergarments can* have a singular *undergarment,* why cannot the far commoner plural *underclothes* be also singularised? ("When she unpacked at the Pick she was one undy short"). How do you spell "Did they used to visit the center"—or would you prefer to tell pupils not to write it? *"These kind* of things" trouble our students and "anybody who *believes* otherwise *need their head* examined." Perhaps you or your friend *knows (know?)* the answer.

But troublesome or not, these things are peripheral. There are great and stable problems of English grammar at the core which are much more important and on which it is fair to say that our generation of linguists has made and is making considerable progress. And their solution seems to be throwing light (thanks above all to the lead given by Chomsky) far beyond the confines of English grammar to the nature of linguistic relations in general.

There are so many areas of English grammar where good work has been done in the past ten years that it is difficult to decide what to select for exemplification. But let me attempt a word on the interesting work that has recently been done, and is continuing (cf. R. Bladon, *English Studies* 49, 1968), on the non-finite verb clause: particularly the infinitival or participial form of the verb:

He expected her to listen
He found her listening

Here there is virtually no choice: we have to select infinitive with *expect* and participle with *find;* and this is the normal situation: most verbs require the one or the other and the temptation has been to write this off as 'idiom'—with all the mingled contempt and despair which lie behind the linguist's use of this term.

But a few verbs permit a choice: notably the polar pair *like* and *hate*

He liked (her) {to listen / listening}

He hated (her) {to listen / listening}

and many attempts have been made to specify the conditions under which the native speaker selects one or other form and the difference if any that is implied. Interesting demonstrations have been made of the aspectual relevance in terms of perfectivity or isolatedness on the one hand, and imperfectivity, duration, or iterativeness on the other. Thus given the two possibilities

He heard the door {slam / slamming}

and the requirement to associate with these one of the two adjuncts *all night* or *at midnight, we* would unhesitatingly associate *at midnight* with *I heard the door slam* and *all night* with *I heard the door slamming,* while admitting freely that the alternative selection would still result in acceptable sentences. But it is possible to define the selection principle still more tightly. consider the fact that although *like* and *hate* will generally allow both infinitive and participle, there is sharp restriction as soon as conditional modality is introduced:

I'd {like / hate} her {to listen / *listening}

This leads to the suggestion that it is not duration or iterativeness that is involved with the participle so much as *fulfillment.* (I am sorry to invoke the notions of D. H. Lawrence twice in one paper.) But it is not a simple matter of the infinitive indicating unfulfilment and the participle fulfilment: *I liked her to visit me* does not leave it in any doubt that she did in fact visit me. No: the selection involves also what the Prague School linguists called the marked and unmarked opposition. The use of the participle actually marks the action of the embedded clause as fulfilled, where the infinitive is uncommitted on the matter. This analysis satisfactorily accounts not only for our usage with verbs which present a choice—see, *hear, prefer, like, love, hate*—but also with the vast majority where no choice is available:

I expected to see her {and I did / but I didn't}

I enjoyed seeing her {and (of course!) I did / *but I didn't}

Here, as elsewhere in applied linguistics, our problem is first to expose the system whose rules we, as fully adequate natives, control unconsciously; and second to expound this system in a way that can be understood and assimilated by our students. Not everything we know is worth teaching, but much that should be taught, we still do not 'know.' The fact that our manifold deficiencies do not depend on the work of teachers alone or linguists alone, or Americans alone, but on the collaboration of psychologists, sociologists and those with experience of English in other societies in other continents: this fact is the reason for the World View that TESOL is appropriately taking.

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*Preparing English Teachers Abroad**

William F. Marquardt

As a participant in 1967 at the Tenth International Congress of Linguists at Bucharest and at the Sixth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences at Prague, I was impressed by the fact that there was little concern with the problems of language teaching. However, even though the contents of a large proportion of the papers presented at these congresses reflected little direct interest in the teaching of English as a second language, the communication behavior or medium used at the congresses conveyed a message that was not lost on linguists or on people in general and should not be lost on teachers of English as a second language. Most emphatically expressed by the congresses is the familiar message that English outstrips all other language behavior from the standpoint of the extent, the diversity, and the reinforcing power of the responses it elicits. Of the 598 papers summarized in the *Abstracts* published by the Planning Committee of the Congres of Linguists at Bucharest 235 were presented in English. The rest were presented in French (144), in Russian (123), in German (78), in Spanish (12), and in Italian (6). Of 373 papers similarly abstracted for the Phonetics Congress in Prague, 169 were presented in English, and the rest were divided among Russian (74), German (73), French (50) and Czech (2).

Furthermore, looking at the nationalities of the speakers you find that a large proportion of those using English were from non-English-speaking countries—some of them from countries like France, Germany, and Russia whose languages were in substantial use at the congresses. There was, then, indication in a few of an awareness of certain aspects of language behavior that have a bearing on language teaching and must then of course be reflected in the training of teachers of English as a second language for the era of the seventies.

The establishment within one year of two large organizations of international character for the purpose of helping teachers of English as a second language everywhere meet the demands made upon them and even go beyond them suggests that the teachers and trainers of teachers in this field have come to feel that the gap between our theoretical knowledge, technological know-how, and classroom needs must be bridged more quickly than ever before.

An interesting fact that probably has not occurred to many persons is that TESOL with its headquarters in Washington and the newly established Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language in London could, under the right circumstances, gain a membership almost overnight that

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* This paper was presented at the NCTE Convention, November 1967.

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would make the National Council of Teachers of English with its 100,000-plus membership look like a pygmy. With John A. Brownell in *Japan's Second Language*[1] pointing out that in Japan's public schools alone there are more than 66,000 officially designated non-native-speaking English teachers and with Soviet educators indicating that some 45,000,000 students are studying English in the Russian schools it is safe to say, even without the help of a computer, that there are probably as many persons in the world identifying themselves as teachers of English to non-native speakers as there are identifying themselves as English teachers for native speakers. Also, since the major problems they all face are easy to identify and fairly similar—at least for those dealing with beginning and intermediate level students—these teachers would be bound to have a group cohesiveness stronger than that which prevails among teachers of the language arts in English-speaking countries. A glance at the NCTE convention program and the reading of the two books resulting from the 1966 Anglo-American Seminar on the teaching of English held at Dartmouth College, *The Uses of English* by Herbert Muller and *Growth Through English* by John Dixon, will quickly establish how amorphous a species, despite their being rooted in a so-called common culture, teachers of English to native speakers actually are.

Having suggested how vast the potential market for the training of teachers of English for non-native speakers is, let us address ourselves to the problems of training them for work in multi-lingual communities. First we must note that one of the consequences of the social upheavals, the mass migrations, the speeding-up of transportation and communications of recent times is that there are few places where English is taught that cannot be classed as multi-lingual communities. Indeed, our increasing social problems, if not our increasing linguistic sophistication, are impelling us to consider even such urban centers of the American heartland as Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee multi-lingual communities.

But socio-linguistic research of recent years teaches us that the multilingualism of one locale can be a vastly different thing in terms of the behavior it exacts from that of another. Research in Hawaii, for example, like that reported at Bucharest by Gloria Glissmeyer in her paper "Progress on Analysis of English Idiolects Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii" and by L. S. Harms in his paper "Social Dialects and Speech communication Proficiency" suggests that the problems of using English for cross-culture and inter-group communication in Hawaii are somewhat different from what they are in New York or in the Philippines or in the Trust Territories.

If our increasing awareness of the complexity of the problem of bringing about communication in a multi-lingual community impels us to maintain that teachers of English to non-native speakers in one locale must be prepared to cope with problems different from those of another, are there no indispensable elements in the training of such teachers? I would like to suggest that a good way to identify such elements would be in terms of how

1 (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966), pp. 10-11.

they contribute to the shaping of the behavior that distinguishes an effective teacher of English for non-native speakers from an ineffective one: the attitudes, the understandings, the skills, and the habits they have acquired either in their training or outside of it.

I would like to suggest a few items for each of the above categories gleaned from the literature related to this area that has poured out in the past few years. They might be considered as basic educational objectives for the beginning teacher to attain to insure his maintaining strong morale and steady professional growth regardless of whether he is a native or non-native speaker of English.

Attitudes

Among the attitudes I would consider important for the beginning TESL to have in a multi-lingual community in the seventies are the following:

1. To believe that the phenomenal spread of English throughout the world can be made to bring about improved cross-culture and inter-group communication and ultimately a more stable and more civilized world.
2. To believe that a teacher of English to non-native speakers should develop interest in the languages or dialects and cultures of his students and that by doing so he will not only gain more understanding of their learning problems but also motivate them to follow his example with respect to English.
3. To believe that the language and culture of his students deserve high respect, that his students should be encouraged to cherish them, and that the new language behavior should be taught as a way of extending their range of communication and experience and achievement rather than as a way of eradicating previous behavior.
4. To believe that imaginative use of communications technology in extending and diversifying cross-culture interaction is an untapped area of great potential for the teacher to explore' and to use in his teaching.

Understandings

Among the theoretical concepts useful for the teacher in a multi-lingual community that are proving to have generative as well as explanatory power are the following:

1. To understand that an important distinction between the non-native and the native speaker studying English is that the former is preparing himself primarily for cross-culture communication whereas the latter is trying to increase his competence in communicating with members of his own culture important to him.
2. To understand that the linguistic code is only one of the possible message systems used in human communication; that a culture is a complex of message systems which predispose its bearers to share certain features of outlook and behavior; and that these common ways of perceiving and behaving will cause members of one culture to interact with a particular feature of another culture in a characteristic way.
3. To understand that a particular kind of grammar, or system of describing a language, focuses on a characteristic set of language phenomena or behavior and that, therefore, one kind of grammar will serve better than another as a basis for the teaching of competence in a certain kind of language behavior.

4. To understand that the communication theory model in which a *sender* selects a *message* from an *information source* for a *transmitter* to *encode* into a *signal* to be sent over a *channel* to a *receiver* which *decodes—to* the extent that *distortions or noise* permit—and passes the message to the *destination* from which feed-back to the sender affects the selection and encoding of subsequent messages is more appropriate for teaching competence in cross-culture communication in English for non-native speakers than traditional-Latinate grammar (which is most concerned with classifying individual words in written language), or structural grammar (which is concerned primarily with describing phrase structure of spoken utterances), or generative-transformation grammar (which is concerned with how sentences are generated by, to quote Noam Chomsky,[2] "an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance").
5. To understand that directing students into meaningful cross-culture-interaction-situations as early as 'possible is important for motivating them to learn and for making them ultimately good cross-culture communicators.

Skills

Among the skills that a teacher of English to non-native speakers in a multi-lingual community should be taught are the following:

1. To be able to find and use contrastive analyses (structural or generative-transformational) of the languages of his students and English for the preparation of teaching materials designed to help his students overcome their most common learning problems.
2. To be able to use socio-linguistic analyses of variations in language behavior in cross-culture-interaction situations in his community in order to identify the situations he must prepare his students for.
3. To be able to select text materials for his classes that will help his students gain proficiency in mastering the code of English as it fits the particular cross-culture-interaction situations for which his students are preparing themselves.
4. To be able to compare features of the languages and cultures of his students with parallel ones in English-speaking communities and to identify significant cross-culture-interaction situations if there are no published descriptions for his community.
5. To be able to select and to teach his students to interact with literary texts suited for the level of his students' linguistic competence which will also give them insights into the problems of interaction between bearers of their own culture and bearers of particular English-speaking cultures.
6. To be able to involve his students in cross-culture-interaction games, role-playing, or goal-seeking in the classroom and to make them aware of the structural aspects of the situations which they need to master in order to be competent in the behavior required.
7. To be able to select and organize real cross-culture-interaction activities appropriate for the background and needs of his students that will supplement their classroom work and involve them as soon as possible in real

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2 *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1965), p. 3.

cross-culture communication, such as letter-writing for meaningful ends, programmed telephone conversation with informants from the target culture, tape-exchanges with members of the target culture, programmed instruction, and language laboratory activities.

8. To be able to measure and evaluate proficiency, progress, or aptitude in his students' cross-culture communication skills and to be able to feed back the results of such evaluation into his teaching.

Habits

Among the habits that a prospective teacher of English to non-native speakers in a multi-lingual community should be encouraged to develop are the following:

1. To use every opportunity to interact unaffectedly as well as he can in the languages and cultures of his students so that they will see by his example that he respects their cultures and so that they will be motivated to interact in the target culture as much as possible.
2. To observe and file in his memory and his notebooks interesting features of cross-culture interaction behavior that he can bring to his students' attention in trying to give them competence in particular situations.
3. To be on the lookout for up-to-date cross-culture-interaction situations in his casual reading that will deepen his understanding of how his students might perform in various kinds of cross-culture-interaction.

The attitudes, understanding, skills, and habits I have listed as basic objectives to strive for in the training of TESLs for multi-lingual communities are only tentative suggestions. Some of you will want to give other objectives not specified here a higher priority. I hope most of you will accept the majority of them; and I hope, too, that if my basic design is not acceptable some of you will quickly propose another, for if we TESLs are ever to achieve real professional identity, we must be able to draw some sort of profile of the TESL we might all want to try to become.

Once we think we see the profile we like in the mosaic of attitudes, understandings, skills, and habits we consider minimal for the beginning TESL in a multi-lingual community, the building of curricula from the mass of bibliographies, manuals, guidelines, textbooks, programs, slides, records, films, and videotapes now available; the staffing of faculties; and the allocating and equipping of classrooms can proceed systematically.

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Some Factors Affecting Improvement in Proficiency in English as a Second Language

George I. Za'rour
Thomas Buckingham

I. Background

The American University of Beirut, AUB, at which this study was made, is a 102-year-old institution chartered by the State of New York and located in Beirut, Lebanon. Its four faculties—Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine—serve about 3500 students from more than sixty countries.

The language of instruction at the University is English. Although more than two-thirds of the students are native speakers of Arabic from Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, several dozen other language backgrounds are represented. Most students find that the secondary education programs from which they come give them adequate preparation for study at the university level in English. Some, however, need the intensive instruction provided by the University Orientation Program.

Each fall the UOP admits approximately 75 to 115 students whose secondary school records indicate their probable success in university study, but who are not prepared to study in English. Some of these students have had instruction in English for many years while others come to the University with a background of minimal and informal English language training. Once admitted to the UOP, these students are given about twenty-five hours of instruction in English language skills each week for one or two semesters. Courses in the program include oral drills in basic English sentence patterns, reading, writing, pronunciation, study skills, and cultural and academic orientation. A well-equipped "listen-respond-compare" language laboratory is in use in the program.

Admission to the UOP is determined by the score which the prospective student receives on the English Entrance Examination (referred to here as the EEE) which is required of every student entering the University. The EEE is the instrument used as the basis for evaluating the performance of subjects in this investigation, and it will be described in more detail later. Supplementary to the EEE scores and acting as a check on them is a series of other examinations required of all students once admitted to the UOP: the King-Campbell Test of Reading Comprehension; Form A, B, or C of the

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(Michigan) Listening Comprehension Test; the English Structure Test; and the Vocabulary Test. The last two are departmentally devised tests each having two equivalent forms, All four of the tests now in use are machine-scored and have norms based on the freshman class at AUB; the norms are 500 ZCB (College Board Standard Score Scale).

Although there are minor variations from year to year, the normal pattern of the UOP is to group students homogeneously as determined by scores on this battery of tests, including the EEE, and to use a supplementary interview where needed. Normally, there are from five to seven sections of students of fifteen each; classes are limited to fifteen for oral drills and writing, but are sometimes slightly larger for reading, pronunciation, and study skills. In addition to classroom instruction, students are required to attend weekly or bi-weekly lectures or other evening programs on various themes, to go on trips to places of interest in Lebanon, and to speak only English within the physical confines of the program. All of these regulations are designed to heighten the intensiveness of the program—to put on the pressure to learn English.

At the end of each semester (about fifteen weeks of instruction) each student is discussed by the staff, his performance evaluated, and one of three recommendations is then made:

(1) PASS. A *pass* indicates that the staff believes the student is ready to study at the university level in the English language. The student might be entering the freshman, sophomore, or graduate level to study anything from fine arts to medicine, engineering, or agriculture.

(2) CONTINUE. A recommendation to *continue in* the program usually means fifteen additional weeks of study in the Orientation Program. About half of the students who enter the UOP in the fall require both semesters of instruction.

(3) FAIL. A *fail* is recommended by the staff when it is clear that the student cannot benefit from further intensive study. In any case, no student is ever allowed to continue in the UOP for more than one academic year and one summer.

While 500 on the EEE is the cutting score for admission to the University, students who enter from the UOP enter solely on the basis of the recommendation of the staff. The staff is not bound by the cutting score used in normal University admission procedure.

A program such as the one described here, though similar to other intensive programs, is different in some important respects.

1. No single language background exists for UOP students. They typically represent ten to fifteen different languages from different language families. This precludes the possibility of a program organized on the basis of contrastive studies of English and another language.

2. No single purpose, other than the general one of "English as an academic tool," can be determined for all UOP students. Some intensive programs can concentrate on engineering, for example, or on business administration. One program in Damascus prepares students for technological

careers; another in Saudi Arabia is limited to petroleum engineering. Students at AUB, however, may be preparing for medicine, engineering, agriculture, or liberal arts. No approach to learning English can be made on the basis of a limited career objective.

3. Students in the UOP are learning English in a language environment which is not English and is often not the native language either. This fact sets the program apart from all those within the United States or Great Britain. No language learning "gain" can be expected from the sense of necessity to communicate in the target language. Although the language of instruction of the University is English, students tend to associate out of class by language and nationality groups.

4. No single level of study can be assumed for UOP students. In addition to the variety of levels at which a student might enter the University, the standards of the four faculties in regard to language proficiency vary greatly.

II. Purpose

It was felt by the director and the staff of the Orientation Program that it would be possible to cover more material, to eliminate irrelevant material, and/or to shorten the time necessary for students to complete the intensive program. In order to achieve any or all of these objectives, it would be necessary to answer the question: What factors are operating to the students' advantage in language learning, and what factors are operating against him?

The uncovering of significant factors could be of invaluable assistance to everyone involved. Recognizing such factors could affect the materials, methods, selection processes, testing, and the underlying philosophies of the UOP and similar intensive programs. The authors do not wish to suggest that the University or sponsors of students might make their selection of candidates based solely on sex, age, language background, nationality, or prior language acquisition; nevertheless, these factors may help make prudent decisions where overriding considerations are equal. Other factors than these are, of course, involved. Unfortunately, data are not available for some, and others are not conveniently measurable at the present time.

In addition to affecting the way in which changes might be carried out in existing intensive programs, knowledge of what factors may be operating in language improvement helps teachers and administrators understand both the results of their teaching and the testing of achievement.

A number of generalizations which are commonly made by language teachers formed hypotheses which the investigators felt might be worthwhile testing. Teachers of English as a second language will recognize these statements as ones which are frequently made:

1. Mastery of French (or other language closely related to English) speeds up the achievement of proficiency in English.

2. The EEE is constructed in such a way that it favors speakers of Arabic.

3. Students who start with low EEE scores will improve to a greater degree than those who begin with higher scores.

4. Older students will experience more difficulty in learning English than will younger students.

5. Females are better in language learning than males.

6. The selection procedures used by AID and governments in selecting candidates for training at AUB should be improved—that is, more careful screening of candidates would secure more frequent success among candidates from a particular country.

7. Certain national groups (for undefined reasons) will achieve English language proficiency more consistently than other national groups.

Throughout this investigation, tests of the significance of the differences between any two statistics were two-tailed and were carried at the .05 level of significance.

III. Procedure of the Investigation

This is an investigation using data provided by the records of students over a period of four years during which time certain changes in the teaching and administrative personnel have taken place. Although every effort was made to follow objective and sound procedures, it should be made clear that it is not a controlled experiment.

Since the beginning of the first semester of 1964 the University has assigned numbers to students, thus improving the record-keeping system and making possible the analysis of information by data processing. The University Computer Center was used extensively in the collection and analysis of data. A card for each UOP student was punched with his student number, name, sex, marital status, year of birth, native language, other languages spoken and read, month and year of entrance into the UOP, EEE score at entrance, and all subsequent scores, as well as other information. The data were obtained partially from the student and partially from the records kept by the UOP. For purposes of this study, a search was made for any information which was missing from the record of any student. To complete the records, letters were sometimes sent to students still in the University asking them to supply any missing information. Ten students for whom important data were missing were excluded from the study. One other student was eliminated because he had unusually high scores for both Test I and Test II; records showed that he had been admitted to the UOP for reasons other than language study. The small number of these excluded cases and the wide variance of their initial scores indicates that this exclusion introduces no bias to the investigation.

A. *Subjects*

Students may enter the UOP in October, February, or August. Only October entrants are included in this investigation because they comprise the largest group, and because they are most representative of the intensive program. February entrants are too few in number to consider and do not

generally follow a "typical" UOP program such as that described earlier. August entrants are generally not pursuing degree programs in the University and seldom remain with the intensive program longer than eight weeks.

Students were classified in eleven sub-groups including eight countries and three groups of countries: Afghanistan, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, the Arabian Gulf States, (including Bahrain /10/, Hadramut /1/, Kuwait /11/, Oman /2/, and Qatar /2/; other Arab States, including Iraq /2/, Libya /8/, Palestine /1/, and Sudan /4/); and other Non-Arab States, including Bolivia /3/, Britain* /2/, Bulgaria /2/, China /2/, Cyprus /3/, Greece /1/, Nepal /1/, Spain /1/, and Sierra Leone /1/).

Other analyses of the data were made based on several other variables: sex, age, score on the EEE at entrance to the program, language background, and means of financial support. Occasionally the number of cases in these groups does not total 284 (total of the entire group), because some subjects did not provide the required information. These cases total not more than two or three for any one group.

The subjects include 239 males and 45 females, roughly a ratio of 5:1, which is not significantly different from the all-university ratio of recent years. The age (year of entrance to UOP minus year of birth) of subjects at entrance to the Program ranged from a low of 14 to a high of 46 with a median of 20. The middle 90% of the ages ranged from 18 to 28.

Regarding language background, 128 subjects had native Arabic as the only language, while 57 knew French in addition to native Arabic. The background of 63 subjects was Persian and/or Pashtu. Most of the other background languages represented in small frequencies are Amharic, Armenian, Assyrian, Bengali, Berberi, Chinese, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Nepalese, Polish, Russian, and Turkish. Statistical data for certain student classifications are included in Table 2.

B. *Measuring Instrument*

The instrument used for measurement of improvement in this investigation is the EEE, which for about fifteen years has been an important determining factor for admission of non-English speakers at AUB. The cutting score for entrance to the University is 500. (Scores on the EEE and the TOEFL are considered by the University to be equivalent.) This examination has been analyzed and refined over the years until it has become a highly dependable instrument for admission to the American University of Beirut.

The EEE is prepared by the University's Office of Tests and Measurements in cooperation with a committee of faculty involved in language teaching and research, The EEE is widely administered in many countries of the Middle East, North Africa, and Southeast Asia. A representative of the Office of Tests and Measurements always supervises the testing to maintain

* Non-native English speakers holding British passports.

TABLE 1
Statistical Data for National Subgroups and Total

	Total	*Afghan*	*Arabian Gulf*	*Iranian*	*Jordan-ian*	*Leba-nese*	*Moroc-can*	*Saudi*	*Syrian*	*Turk-ish*	*Others Arab*	*Others Non-Arab*
r	.59*	.65*	.67*	.39	.44*	.32	.70*	.37	.62*	.37	.60*	.72*
Range of Differences	478	396	212	300	271	396	211	306	362	308	234	207
s of Differences	73.9	72.6	54.6	77.1	61.7	94.3	51.2	81.7	77.5	77.2	70.3	56.5
Mean Difference	124.7	111.0	118.3	129.8	149.2	118.6	159.0	119.6	122.2	103.2	87.8	140.1
s Test II	86.9	93.6	70.9	80.6	62.5	73.0	64.2	78.5	93.6	83.4	72.2	82.0
s Test I	75.4	76.5	62.5	53.3	53.7	88.4	68.4	66.5	82.8	34.7	84.5	52.8
Test II Mean	519.2	503.4	513.8	514.3	572.2	547.8	538.9	445.7	494.2	535.1	490.1	561.4
Test I Mean	394.5	392.4	395.5	384.5	423.0	429.2	379.9	326.1	372.0	431.9	402.3	421.3
Number of Cases	284	44	26	18	35	25	23	18	50	14	15	16

r* = significant at the .05 level

TABLE 2
Statistical Data for Five Student Classifications and Total

		Sex		*Age*		*Language Background*			*Entrance Score*		*Financial Support*			
	Total	*Males*	*Fe-males*	*Top ⅓*	*Bottom ⅓*	*Native Arabic Only*	*Native Arabic and French*	*Non (Arabic &/or French)*	*Test I Top ⅓*	*Test I Bottom ⅓*	*Private*	*Govern-ment*	*Aid*	*Other Scholar-ships*
r	.59*	.53*	.74*	.60*	.68*	.56*	.64*	.60*	.20	.40*	.55*	.79*	.59*	.22
Range of Differences	478	478	421	478	287	362	351	400	335	371	348	212	435	478
s of Differences	73.9	72.8	77.8	72.5	64.0	75.4	69.7	74.2	67.5	73.0	73.4	51.9	71.0	101.2
Mean Difference	124.7	127.3	110.6	100.8	149.3	121.4	143.1	116.9	98.6	146.1	113.9	117.0	137.3	104.7
s Test II	86.9	79.2	117.5	85.1	84.7	83.2	83.3	91.5	66.9	79.3	82.4	85.7	83.4	82.2
s Test I	75.4	71.7	91.8	77.4	74.7	78.2	81.8	70.0	30.0	41.7	71.8	70.7	73.9	80.1
Test II Mean	519.2	523.2	497.9	497.0	523.9	513.3	540.2	514.0	573.2	454.3	519.0	501.0	536.2	445.6
Test I Mean	394.5	395.9	387.2	396.2	374.6	391.9	397.1	397.1	474.6	308.2	405.1	384.0	398.9	340.9
Number	284	239	45	94	94	128	57	78	94	94	93	33	135	23

r* = significant at the .05 level.

security of the test, and to standardize the testing conditions as much as possible. Students generally complete all items on the test which they feel they know something about, but they are advised by the examiners not to answer questions by blind guessing. In its recent forms, the EEE is a two-hour examination composed of 200 multiple-choice items. The four parts of the test are: (a) vocabulary, 50 items; (b) structure, 50 items; (c) reading comprehension, 50 items; and (d) 50 items including vocabulary, use of dictionary, correction of composition, identification of the most effective sentence, and sometimes analogies. The tests are computer scored and, in recent years, provide scores for vocabulary, structure, and reading as well as a composite score.

The basis for the evaluation of improvement in proficiency of English as a second language in this study is the difference between the scores on the first two administrations of the EEE. The results of the first /administration (Test I) and the second (Test II), at the end of fifteen weeks of instruction, are reported along with the difference. For the total group and for each subgroup the improvement in English proficiency is measured by the average or mean EEE gain score during the fifteen weeks of study.

C. *Controls*

Once again the authors wish to emphasize that this was not a controlled experiment. There was no conscious manipulation of variables to test hypotheses. On the other hand, the conditions of the study were made as uniform as possible by selecting a period (1964–1968) which reflected relative stability of staff, materials, course content, time and conditions of instruction, and program administration. SecondIy, limiting the study to October entrants has the additional advantage of rendering equivalent such factors as familiarity with objective testing, adjustment to university life as related to length of stay, weather, and "shape" of the university calendar. This latter factor refers to the spacing of vacation periods, university events, and other activities which serve as either motivation or distraction to university students.

D. *Statistical Information*

For each national and categorical subgroup the following statistical data have been obtained and included in Tables 1 and 2: Test I and Test II means and standard deviations, the mean difference or improvement (differences of all categories are positive), the standard deviation and range of the differences, and the correlation coefficient between Test I and Test II scores.

Statistical tests of significance were made and the results are included in Table 3. Here the first three columns of numbers show the critical ratios for the difference between each of (a) mean on Test I; (b) mean on Test 11; and, (c) mean difference and the corresponding value of the total group. Such data are included for the different student classifications.

The fourth column of numbers of Table 3 gives the critical ratios for testing the significance of the obtained differences in standard deviations between Test I and Test II scores for each student classification.

IV. Results and Interpretation

1. *National subgroups*

The Jordanian students started at a significantly higher level than the total group and maintained this both on Test II and the mean difference (improvement). The Lebanese group started at a significantly higher level than the total group but was not significantly different from the total on either Test II or the mean difference. The Moroccan group registered the greatest score improvement, 159.0, which is significantly higher than the improvement of the total group, while their scores on both tests were not

TABLE 3
Statistical Tests of Significance of Difference

Student Classification	*Mean I & Total*	*Mean II & Total*	*Mean Diff. & Total*	*Test I s & Test II s*
Afghan	– .20	–1.31	–1.43	–1.73
Arabian Gulf	.07	– .33	– .46	– .86
Iranian	– .58	– .24	.30	–1.82
Jordanian	2.38*	3.85*	2.09*	– .99
Lebanese	2.40*	1.72	– .43	1.00
Moroccan	– .96	1.13	2.32*	.42
Saudi	–3.97*	–3.70*	– .30	– .75
Syrian	–2.32*	–2.24*	– .26	–1.09
Turkish	1.90	.70	–1.11	–3.00*
Others Arab	.41	–1.33	–1.98	.75
Others Non-Arab	1.46	1.99	.85	–2.33*
Males	.72	1.78	1.36	–1.80
Females	– .70	–1.79	–1.39	–2.38*
Native Arabic Only	– .52	–1.03	– .68	– .84
Native Arabic and French	.29	2.04*	2.10*	– .17
Persian &/or Pashtu	– .79	–1.51	– .76	– .33
Non-Arabic	.72	0.00	– .73	–3.44*
Non-(Arabic &/or French)	.35	– .62	–1.09	–2.88*
Test I Top ⅓	12.59*	7.36*	–4.18*	–7.00*
Test I Middle ⅓	.95	1.45	.73	–8.34*
Test I Bottom ⅓	–13.56*	–8.85*	3.43*	–6.17*
Age Top ⅓	.26	–3.02*	–3.83*	–1.14
Age Middle ⅓	3.06*	2.52*	– .16	–1.95
Age Bottom ⅓	–3.12*	.64	3.94*	–1.65
Private	1.65	– .02	–1.71	–1.58
Government	– .85	–1.27	– .63	–1.76
Aid	.93	3.13*	2.73*	–1.73
Other Scholarships	–3.55*	–4.23*	–1.35	– .12

* Significant at .05 level
For first 3 columns: negative means subgroup smaller than total
For the 4th column: negative means standard deviation on Test II greater than standard deviation on Test I

significantly different from those of the total group. The Saudi and Syrian groups scored significantly below the mean of the total group on both Test I and Test II but did not differ significantly from it in the mean difference. Other nationality subgroups or categories did not show any significant difference from the total on any of the three sets of scores under consideration. The bar diagram of Figure 1 shows, for the national subgroups and total, the mean score improvement bounded by Test I and Test II scores.

The analysis of the data presented here does not allow us to draw concrete conclusions about the relationship of nationality to score improvement in the kind of intensive program described above. We may legitimately speculate on the causes of some of the differences noted in the subgroups. It may be worthwhile to focus on the Jordanian subgroup since it showed significantly higher scores on Test I, Test II, and mean improvement. What factors are operating here? First, Jordan, like Lebanon, is more closely

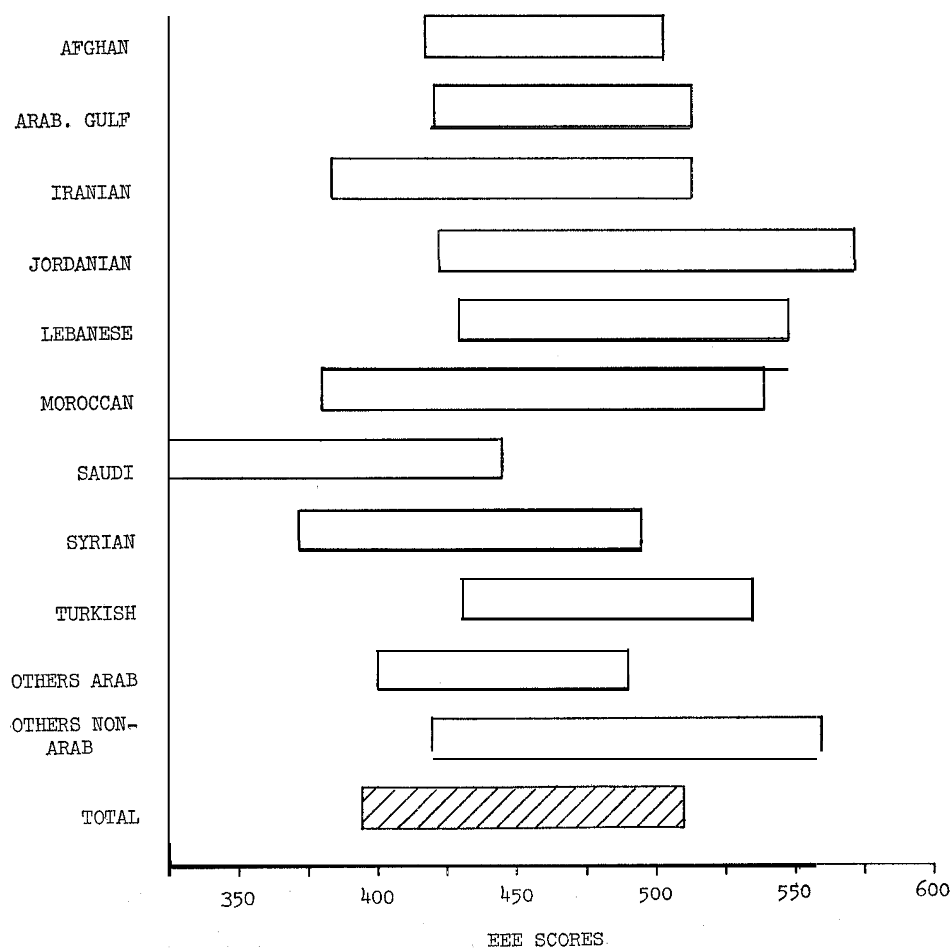

Figure 1. EEE Score Improvement for National Subgroups and Total Showing Initial and Final Test Means. Initial Mean—Left; Final Mean—Right.

oriented to the West than other Middle Eastern countries. This is partly because of the great number of British-educated Palestinian refugees in Jordanian schools since the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, and partly because of the fact that there are many foreign missions present on the West Bank, many of which operate schools in English and other European languages. A second factor may be the educational system. Jordan has made great efforts to improve her English language programs, including the commission of a series of texts for its secondary schools, written especially for native speakers of Arabic. The series has been in use for many years.

The performance of the Moroccan subgroup, which was not significantly higher on Test I or Test II, but was significantly higher in mean improvement, may be attributable to a different factor. There is a high degree of improvement by both the Moroccan subgroup and the subgroup which speaks French as well as Arabic. Since virtually all of the candidates from Morocco were educated in French, there is a strong indication of interaction. The influencing factor here is probably language, not nationality. In other words, though the educational system from which the typical Moroccan student comes does not teach him much English, he learns faster most probably because of his command of a language similar in some ways to English.

Differing emphases in the educational systems of other national groups, cultural differences, and policies of governments in selecting scholarship students for study are other possible factors in the performance of national subgroups.

2. *Sex*

There was no significant difference on Test I, Test II, nor the mean improvement scores of males and females and the total group. When compared directly to each other, there was also no significant difference in the mean score improvement of males and females.

3. *Language Background*

For purposes of this study, all subjects were categorized under one or more of four language background subgroups: native Arabic only; French, or Arabic and French; Persian or Pashtu or both; all non-Arabic speakers. All of these categories of subjects started with an EEE score not significantly different from that of the total group and showed no significant difference in improvement from that of the total group. This refutes the hypothesis that the EEE is designed to test native Arabic speakers as opposed to other cultural or nationality groups.

On the other hand, the group which spoke Arabic and French started with an EEE mean which was not significantly different from the total. However, its Test II and average improvement means were significantly above those of the total group at the .05 level. This suggests that a knowledge of French helps in achieving greater improvement in English proficiency for a native speaker of Arabic.

It seems that students who master a language relatively close to English in structure and vocabulary (French in this investigation) have an advantage over students with a mastery of only non-Indo-European languages. The linguistic interference between Arabic and a European language would have been overcome in the process of learning French, making one less bound by the patterns of his own language and, in consequence, making it easier to improve in English. However, a completely different factor could be responsible, such as training under a French educational system with its more disciplined and systematic study habits.

Further investigations involving a European language other than French would help clarify the above findings. With a culture influenced by Italy, it is worth investigating the effect of mastery of Italian on Libyan students of English.

4. *Relative Standing on Test I Scores*

The hypothesis that students who start low in English proficiency have more chance to improve than those who start with a high score is supported by this study. All subjects were ranked by their scores on Test I, and improvement means were calculated for the top one-third of the group (top group) and the lowest one-third of the group (bottom group). The mean score improvement of the top group on Test I was significantly lower, while that of the bottom group was significantly higher than that of the total group. (Significance at the .05 level.) The mean score improvement of the middle one-third on Test I was not significantly different from that of the total group.

It seems that, in general, for such a group of students and in a program such as the one described here, students who start lowest improve most, and those who start highest improve least as measured by the EEE. The mean score improvement of the middle group lay between the two extremes. The following are possible reasons for the above results:

(a) The further a student's Test I score lies from the upper limits of the test scoring, the less his improvement will be inhibited. In other words, it might be possible to make proportionately greater improvement, the more improvement there is to make.

(b) Regression toward the mean might have occurred because of random imperfections in the measuring instrument and random instability in the population.[1] However, the fact that the differences are beyond even the .01 level of significance tends to weaken this argument.

(c) Those in higher sections of the program may have felt more confident of recommendation than those in lower sections, and may have, consequently, been motivated less.

(d) All sections followed similar programs. To slower students, the material was mostly new, while to better students it was possibly largely

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1 D. B. Van Dalen and V?. J. Meyer, *Understanding Educational Research,* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 250.

repetitious. The teaching methods and materials which were essentially the same for everybody might have been geared to bottom sections.

(e) Teachers were assigned to bottom groups taking into consideration their patience, willingness, and enthusiasm to work with them.

5. *Age*

Score improvement may be indirectly related to age of students at the time of entrance to the Program. The oldest group showed a mean score improvement significantly lower than that of the total group while that of the youngest was significantly higher. The mean score improvement of the middle one-third in age was not significantly different from that of the total. In other words, the younger the group, the greater is their improvement for the range of age involved.

It may be true that younger students in this age group have more readiness for language learning. Their relative youth indicates that they have recently finished high school and, therefore, do not need to readjust to student life as in the case of the older students. The possibility of interaction between factors should be carefully looked into. The youngest group may have improved most because it had a lower Test I mean score, a notion supported by No. 4 above.

When compared to the total group in Test 1 scores, the bottom group in age had a significantly lower mean; the middle group had a significantly higher mean; the top group was not significantly different.

6. *Source of Financial Assistance*

The following four categories for source of financial support were studied: Private, Government, AID, and other scholarships. The Other Scholarships group had a mean score significantly lower than that of the total group on both Tests I and II. The AID group had significantly higher scores than that of the total group on both Test II and the mean score improvement. All the other scores for the four categories were not significantly different from that of the total group.

The above suggests that the AID scholarship selection procedures are, in general, sound; on the other hand, sponsors of students in the Other Scholarships group need to improve their selection policies.

Other Comparisons

Studying the difference between the standard deviations on Test I and those on Test II for the different student subgroups shows, for the great majority of the cases, greater variability in Test II scores. This tendency of students to spread out on Test II is statistically significant only for the following subgroups: Turkish, Others—Non-Arab, Females, Non-Arabic language, Non- (Arabic and/or French) language, and all those who took Test I when treated as a subgroup. One reason for the wider scattering is the artificial restriction of Test I scores by admitting to the Program, in the great majority of cases, candidates with scores between about 300 and 500.

The correlation coefficient between Test I and Test II scores for the total group is 0.59. This coefficient ranges from a low of 0.20 to a high of 0.79. Nineteen out of the 25 coefficients for the different categories of subjects are significantly different from zero. It seems that, in general, there is a mild positive correlation.

The correlation between Test I and score improvement of the 284 subjects is –.32, a value significantly different from zero at the .05 level. A very slight negative relationship is indicated here. It might appear that there is an inconsistency between this small negative correlation and the mild positive correlation between Test I and Test II scores. This is not necessarily the case. High scorers on Test I tend to be high scorers on Test II in spite of relatively small score improvement; conversely, low scorers on Test I tend to be low scorers on Test II in spite of relatively larger score improvement.

V. Concluding Statement

This investigation was based on the records of UOP students over a period of four years, 1964 to 1968. Nearly all October entrants were included in this study and, therefore, no sampling was involved. In a certain sense categories of students could be considered samples. For example, information obtained from the study of students of a certain nationality could be generalized with a degree of validity to include future students of that country provided that the system of teaching English in both the country and in the Program has not substantially changed. Similarly, conclusions based on the 57 subjects who knew French in addition to their native Arabic could be generalized to a population of students with the same language background.

In addition to the support (or lack of it) for the stated hypotheses, information was yielded about national groups and about source of financial assistance categories of students which should be useful to educational institutions and official agencies in the respective countries. For the Program, a close scrutiny of policies and techniques should take place. Especially important are questions relating to grouping procedures, teaching materials, techniques to motivate and interest especially the initial high scorers, adjustment of entering students, problems of older students, selection procedures for sponsoring agencies, and coordination of further language study with the first semester program.

On the basis of the results of this study, some concrete steps might be contemplated in the organization (or re-organization) of an intensive English language program. Such steps should be made cautiously and experimentally to further determine their effects on language learning. Sponsoring agencies and admissions officers, Program planners and administrators, materials writers, teachers, and perhaps students themselves ought to recognize the implications of this study in regard to the effects of language background, age, level of proficiency in English, and nationality on English language learning.

While studies of this kind can point out important areas for further investigation and can show directions which possible changes might take, the results cannot serve as the basis for large-scale alteration of programs. The nature of the populations in this study is too specialized to be generalized from with more than modest validity.

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Homolinguistic vs Heterolinguistic TESOL Classes

George Rathmell

The terms *homolinguistic* and *heterolinguistic* refer to the language background of any particular TESOL class. The former denotes a class of students who all have the same native language, and the latter a class of students who come from a variety of language backgrounds. While the goals are the same for both types of classes, there are differences in the means of achieving the goals that have not received adequate attention.

Much of what is currently available in materials and methodology is based on or heavily influenced by experience with homolinguistic classes. Fries' *English Sentence Patterns,* for example, is a revision of his *Intensive Course in English for Latin-American Students.*[1] Robert Lado's pedagogy is essentially one of concentrating on areas of difference between the learner's native language and the target language.[2] If one's class contains speakers of more than a dozen different languages, such a system is clearly not practical as a basic approach. Mary Finocchiaro[3] recommends that teachers of heterolinguistic classes locate people in the school or the community who can help work out contrastive analyses between English and the languages spoken by the students. The suggestion may be helpful for teachers whose students represent only a few languages, but a glance at the chart below will indicate how difficult it would have been to follow Dr. Finocchiaro's advice in my classes last year with a distribution like this:

	Number of Students		
Native Language	Beginning	Intermediate	Advanced
Arabic	1	1	
Cantonese	8	9	13
Dutch		1	
French		1	
Greek	1		1
Japanese	2	1	
Korean			1
Mandarin		1	1
Norwegian			1
Portuguese	7	2	
Serbo-Croatian		1	
Spanish	13	11	8
Tagalog		1	1
Tongan	1		

For such classes, I suspect that the type of methodology that could be developed from the principles expressed in Francis Cartier's article "Criterion-Referenced Testing of Language Skills" *(TESOL Quarterly,* II, I,

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1 Charles C. Fries, *English Sentence Patterns* (Ann Arbor, 1964)

2 Robert Lado, *Linguistics Across Cultures* (Ann Arbor, 1959) and *Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach* (New York, 1964)

3 Mary Finocchiaro, *English as a Second Language: from Theory to Practice* (New York, 1964)

March 1968, 27-32) would be much more applicable to teaching English in heterolingual classes than systems based on contrastive analysis and would be more likely to promote a synthesis of learned skills which is so frequently ignored where evaluation is done in terms of isolated component language skills.

So the teacher of heterolinguistic classes has the disadvantage of having to work with materials and techniques that are primarily designed with homolingual classes in mind. This is only one of many disadvantages, but, taking the advice of Chaucer's Knight, "Thanne it is wisdom, as it thinketh me, / To Maken vertu of necessitee," he can, with some effort and considerable optimism, turn most disadvantages to advantages.

Lack of adequate heterolinguistic-oriented materials and pedagogy

Because the teacher of heterolinguistic classes is less likely to be satisfied with currently available texts and techniques than other teachers, he is more inclined to be diligent in his investigation of and experimentation with new material. And while this may lead him to frustration, it is bound to keep him better informed and more professionally competent than teachers who find something they like and concentrate on it.

Cultural differences among students can cause difficulty

In a typical heterolinguistic class, especially with younger students, cultural abrasion is obvious. Students with different cultural backgrounds often have trouble relating to one another, not only because of language barriers but even more because of differences in what they consider to be acceptable behavior. Confrontation of students with different standards concerning familiarity, testing, property, modesty, and such matters can easily produce polarization—even fisticuffs when one student feels his dignity has been trampled. While all this is a nuisance to the teacher and the rest of the class, it can become a learning situation if properly directed. Being annoyed by someone is motivation for communication. Once a student has learned a little English, he will work out his hostilities toward his neighbor verbally rather than physically (to avoid a trip to the office). Since he can do so only in English, he is forced to *use* the language in a situation that is real and meaningful to him. In the case of a student whose intentions are amorous rather than bellicose, the same effect prevails with even better results— *amor omnia vincit.* Real, emotionally-motivated communication practice is obviously more valid than artificial communication in promoting automate responses in English. From these first abrasive contacts grow curiosity and *camaraderie* that develop facility in communication experiences among students of different cultures.

Assorted foreign students have no unifying identity

In our district we refer to immigrant students as "International Students," but a newly-arrived student from Hong Kong feels much more Chinese than international, no matter what we call him. Placed in a class with students from all over the world he tends to associate at first only with

other Cantonese-speaking students and does not really identify with the class or the school. In a homolingual class, the new student can easily identify and feel "at home" with his classmates. There are people who believe that the more comfortable a student is, the more readily he can learn, but my experience has led me to believe that too much comfort can be detrimental to learning. Homolingual classes almost always produce a sort of intramural ghetto that corresponds to the sub-community of a Chinatown or a Mexico quarter. Students who identify strongly wih their compatriots are less inclined to assimilate with American students than those who have had directed experience in assimilation in a heterolingual class. Moreover, students in a homolingual class tend to reinforce one another's errors whereas "mixed" students, hearing errors that they don't make themselves, learn to distinguish between correct and incorrect items more readily. For example, in a minimal pair exercise for a heterolingual class, some pairs will present no difficulty for some students, i.e., a Spanish-speaking student should have no problem distinguishing between *flying* and *frying*, but hearing such pairs will let him know exactly what kind of difference he must listen for in the pairs where he does have trouble.

Not every disadvantage, however, has a bright side. Establishing bilingual courses for heterolingual classes is one of the many problems for which solutions seem out of reach. The following techniques have proven successful in our district in heterolingual classes and may be of some use to the teacher who has read current language-learning texts with a feeling that something was missing:

1. Be attentive to each student's problems, record them when possible, and teach to those problems for that student.
2. Avoid the use of any one of the native languages of the students even if you know it, lest the others feel "left out."
3. Seat students so that they face one another. Plan activities so that students will talk more to one another than to you. For example, instead of saying, "Juan, why does Mr. Thomas have to leave early today?" try, "Tomiko, ask Juan why Mr. Thomas has to leave early today." [4]
4. When groups or teams are formed, be sure that each contains speakers of different languages.
5. Seat students so that they are not surrounded by others who speak the same language. There will be cultural abrasion, but this will lead to real communication in English among students.
6. Insofar as possible, let students work out their own intrapersonal relations so as to encourage them to interact in English. When "international incidents" occur in class, *let the class discuss them.*
7. Encourage students to discuss cultural differences in class. If you use inductive and open-ended methods, the *process* of assimilation can become part of the content of the course.

[4] Notice that such a method of obtaining content responses from students also provides drill in changing from third person forms to direct address.

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The Undergraduate Major in TESOL *

William D. Conway

Increasing recognition of the problems of language acquisition for non-native speakers of English and growing attention to "disadvantaged" children and their language problems have brought TESOL into prominence as a profession. As undergraduates contemplating careers in this area examine the catalogues of universities and colleges across the country they usually find that undergraduate programs in TESOL don't exist—most schools offer programs on the master's level.

These same catalogues feature undergraduate majors in such demanding subjects as physics, biology, English literature, mathematics, etc., but rarely a degree in TESOL. Must students possess a degree before they are qualified to approach the subject? Is the field so specialized and difficult that undergraduates can not understand it? Examination of the curriculum of many master's programs suggests that the answer to both questions is "no." According to the *TENES*[1] survey over 75% of the elementary teachers surveyed who are employed in TESOL have a baccalaureate degree, and somewhat more than half of the high school teachers.

Certainly a master's degree is desirable but do program aims fit the needs? Typically, a master's degree program offers greater specialization and greater depth of knowledge, yet is this possible if there is no supporting undergraduate program such as is found in English literature, for example? The master's program of one well-known university seems to have a threefold objective: preparation of teacher-supervisors and teachers, instruction in materials development, and possibly research. While valuable, this is not the type of preparation needed by the typical classroom teacher in the public schools.

Further evidence of the failure of the master's program to fulfill the need of students whose desire is simply to be a teacher is the failure to provide practice teaching. In *A Survey of Twelve University Programs for the Preparation of TESOL*[2] made in 1965, three, and possibly four of the fifteen program variations offered in the survey schools required practice teaching. In

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* This paper, originally presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1968, has been revised to include recent changes in the BATESL program at The Church College of Hawaii, reflecting a trimester rather than a semester plan.

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1 Harold B. Allen, *A Survey of the Teaching of English to Non-English Speakers in the United States* (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966) .

2 Sirarpi Ohannessian and Lois McArdle, *A Survey of Twelve University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages* (Washington, D. C.: Center For Applied Linguistics, 1966).

two programs the requirement was optional; thus, in as many as eleven or twelve of the programs, students do not receive a type of training which is considered the *sine qua non* of most teacher education programs in the United States. Some of the graduates enrolled in these programs undoubtedly had come directly from undergraduate programs and had never taught. Do most public schools in this country hire teachers without student-teaching experience? Of course, many of the graduates of these programs are foreign students and practice teaching might be difficult for them—yet, unquestionably, it would also make them better teachers.

It is interesting to speculate as to the type of in-class behavior a teacher is likely to have following graduation from such programs. With possibly as many as sixteen or more years in traditional teaching situations as a student, and perhaps as a teacher, will his year or two of theoretical study make a significant change in his behavior and allow him to function effectively in his new role?

It seems evident that TESOL needs both graduate and undergraduate programs similar to those found in most subject areas. Data from Harold B. Allen's *TENES* survey (1965) tend to support the need for this type of dichotomy. Of the groups studied (a major sample of over 1000 is involved) 85% of the elementary and secondary teachers had not had work in methods of teaching English to speakers of other languages, 91% had not had practice teaching in the field. 75% of all teachers (more than 85% of elementary teachers) reported no work in three areas immediately applicable to TENES teachings: phonetics, morphemic, and syntax. There are logical reasons why much of this is true, but certainly the fact remains that future classroom teachers can and should be provided the training needed on the undergraduate level, the source of most public school teachers.

The typical elementary and high school teacher does not hold a master's degree. It seems likely that this will continue to be the case for many years to come, yet these are the teachers that are involved in the classrooms of the nation each day, teaching as well as their preparation will permit. At least a partial answer to the need for qualified TESOL personnel in the public schools is to train them on the undergraduate level just as they are trained in other academic subjects. We must place a far greater emphasis on the training of undergraduates who will have knowledge of TESOL pedagogy and terminology; undergraduates who will have supervised practice-teaching experience before entering the classroom; undergraduates who can qualify for teaching credentials; in short, undergraduates who are prepared to be classroom teachers of English to speakers of other languages.

There seems to be little doubt that the state of the art in TESOL, while still rapidly developing and changing, has reached the point that curriculum development for a teacher-training program need not be entirely an exploratory effort into the unknown. The similarity of many of the offerings found in many programs presently operating suggests that there is some unanimity of opinion. By modifying existing programs to fit the specific objectives of an undergraduate program and by developing new programs, most colleges

and universities might attempt a teaching major equivalent to that for English literature or some other common undergraduate subject. Graduates of such programs would do much to raise the quality of TESOL as a profession. The master's programs, by no means obsolete, would have experienced students to draw upon in creating a true graduate program that would provide the in-depth study and specialization needed to further enhance the prestige, knowledge, and achievement of TESOL.

A practical example of an undergraduate TESOL program is the recently initiated BATESL (Bachelor of Arts in TESL) of The Church College of Hawaii, a small privately sponsored co-educational liberal arts school (1100 students), 80% of whose graduates become teachers. Recognizing the need for specialized language instruction for many of the students of Hawaii and the South Pacific the Language Arts Division developed the program described in the following pages. This program is discussed, not because it is ideal, rather because it offers a starting point that might easily be followed by other schools faced with similar problems.

In developing the BATESL program a number of basic problems had to be considered after the need for the program had been established: 1) proliferation of courses in a small college, 2) probable needs in terms of professional qualifications required of graduates, 3) curriculum development, and, 4) opportunities for student teaching.

As a small college it was not practical to add a host of new courses that might further reduce the teacher-student ratio to an uneconomical level. This problem was partially solved by utilizing as many of the existing courses as possible and then adding new courses as necessary. Recognizing that many graduates would be required to teach in heterogeneous situations where only part of the students would be non-native speakers and that full course loads in TESOL might not be available in many schools, it was necessary to develop a dual but highly complementary focus in literature and language. It seems likely that a similar problem will also exist for teachers in many areas on the Mainland.

Is a dual focus possible? Is it academically sound? Many typical undergraduate majors are top-heavy with literature courses and have placed little emphasis on language. Many teachers with literature preparation find that many public schools require as much as 50% or 60% of their time be spent in language-based teaching situations. The second-language teacher also finds that literature, reading, and many of the skills of the traditional classroom are taught to foreign students even though the methodology, and in many cases the material, is greatly different. Certainly a strong language-literature background should provide a means of avoiding over-specialization that might bean employment problem in many American schools. A foreign student studying TESOL in the United States would also benefit greatly from this composite emphasis: his vocabulary and his understanding of American and English culture would be magnified, as well as his overall understanding and competence in the language.

With this dual focus in mind, then, curriculum development became a

more workable problem. Because the BATESL program is for teacher training, no provision was made to grant degrees to students who do not also complete the requirements of the education department. This means, then, that an additional 28 semester hours of credit in professional education (including student teaching in TESL) are required—sufficient to obtain a teacher credential in Hawaii—in addition to the forty hour requirement of the major program.

BASIC COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Course Title	Hrs.
Phonetics and Phonemics	4
Morphology and Syntax	4
Advanced Linguistics	4
TESOL Methods	4
Criticism of Literature	2
Shakespeare and Contemporary Dramatists	4
American Literature to 1900: Major Authors	4
Literature in Polynesia	4
Twentieth Century Literature	4
Electives: English and American Literature	6
	40
*Polynesian Culture (Also required of all majors)	4

*Students may substitute an appropriate anthropology course if their intended teaching area is not the Pacific.

The content of two of the courses may warrant further explanation. The "Advanced Linguistics" class has greater depth and perspective than the "Morphology and Syntax" class. Following advanced work in phonology and morphology, the students are led into a problem-solving sequence in which they investigate and perform basic contrastive analysis of English and the language with which they expect to work.

The "TESOL Methods and Materials" course is designed to familiarize the student with current pedagogy and materials. Practical lesson plans and approaches to problems are stressed. In the area of materials a curriculum library has been developed, stocked largely through donations from book publishers. Within two years the collection has grown to over 750 books—classroom texts primarily, with a good selection of books on pedagogy. Students are required to become familiar with many of them and to evaluate their relative merits. Thus, the student has an opportunity to learn up-to-date methodology and, at the same time, to become acquainted with materials that are currently being used.

"TESOL Tutorial," although not listed in the course requirements, is a program innovation which will be implemented soon. Designed to keep the student constantly aware of and involved in the problems of TESOL, each student must spend a minimum of 60 contact hours instructing an individual or small group of foreign students drawn from the community and the college. Following a two-week lecture course to orient him, the TESOL major devises a plan to aid his students and then attempts to implement it.

Of further interest in the design of the curriculum are two courses included in the twenty-eight hour requirement of the education department: 1) "Observation and Participation" and 2) "Student Teaching." In "Observation and Participation" (O & P) the student is required to observe and participate in TESOL oriented classes on a full-time basis for two weeks as part of a block-course plan. After completing the bulk of his classwork he spends ten to twelve additional weeks in the public schools on a full-time basis performing supervised student teaching in TESOL where he is jointly advised by someone in his major program and by someone in the education department.

The BATESL program is presently offered only on the secondary level. Recognizing that a critical need is on the elementary level, the department is presently developing a composite Elementary Education-TESOL major which will utilize many of the courses in the present curriculum with an emphasis on elementary level pedagogy.

Believing that leadership in TESOL is needed, the BATESL program in conjunction with the English Language Institute also sponsors a quarterly journal called the *TESL Reporter*, which is circulated free to English teachers in Hawaii, many areas of the South Pacific, and the Eastern Asia Rim. Emphasis is on practical problems and approaches to TESOL useful to classroom teachers. Already the journal has done much to heighten interest. in the program and in TESOL itself. Articles are contributed by the BATESL staff, students, and anyone interested in TESOL in this geographic area.

A major problem facing the BATESL program is student teaching. Although Hawaii is known as a multilingual melting pot, it has proved difficult to obtain cooperating schools that have genuine TESOL programs in operation. Luckily, several schools have been found on all levels and, apparently, more will soon be available due to changes in program emphasis in the public schools. Preliminary research into a nearby public school district that has language problems suggests that future efforts should aim at setting up a program in these schools to train some of the personnel and provide additional staff through our student teachers. Many schools do not feel that they are presently successful in their program and welcome an attempt to solve the problem.

The facts of the TENES survey can not be discounted. Most elementary and secondary teachers are not prepared to handle TESOL. This is partly the result of our failure to provide teacher-training programs that reach the student who becomes the classroom teacher. If TESOL is to realize its potential as a profession, the preparation of teachers must be improved. The undergraduate major seems to offer a basic obtainable solution to the problem.

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Preparing for or Revitalizing ESL Programs: The Task Group Approach

Stanley l.evenson

At the present time there are approximately three million students in the United States that cannot speak, read, and write the English language. Of this number, approximately one million students are receiving instructional This rather startling statistic points up the tremendous need for additional programs at all levels—from pre-school through adult education.

For years, we have been nonchalantly expecting youngsters who don't speak English to arrive in English-speaking classrooms and keep up, through "osmosis," with their English-speaking contemporaries. This approach has resulted for the most part in complete failure and frustration for our non-English-speaking youngsters. For example, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican students who are exposed to the "osmosis approach" begin failing as soon as they arrive in school, falling farther and farther behind with each passing year. By the time they reach eighth grade, fifty per cent have dropped out.

What are some solutions to this vexing problem? What can school districts across the country do to prepare for or revitalize present ESL programs? Fortunately, there are a number of successful ESL programs that we can turn to for answers. A careful scrutiny of these programs reveals that the most successful ones are those which have a carefully conceived "plan of action" supported wholeheartedly by parents, teachers, administrators, and the children themselves. On the other hand, programs which have been casually begun or improvised with insufficient forethought and funds have usually resulted in failure and disillusionment on the part of everyone involved.

One very successful approach in preparing for an ESL program is the formation of an "ESL Task Group." This group should consist of representatives of the total school community, be small enough for efficient operation, and be chaired by the most competent person available. The Task Group, once organized, should proceed systematically and logically, doing its work in distinct phases. This step-by-step organizational structure saves time, eliminates duplication of tasks, and produces as an end result a pro-

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[1] *Hearings before the General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninetieth Congress, First Session on H.R. 9840 and H.R.* 10224 (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 28 & 29, 1967).

gram which is both well defined and comprehensive. Below are listed the various phases the task group must go through.

Phase 1

Requesting information and materials such as guides, handbooks, textbooks, films, records, tapes, and courses of study from school districts, libraries, and commercial publishers for review and evaluation by Task Group members.

Phase 2

Observing and evaluating ESL organizational structures in school districts throughout the United States such as team teaching, traveling teachers, teachers in the self-contained classroom, pull-out teachers, instructional TV, instructional films, and programmed instruction.

Phase 3

Attendance of selected group members at conferences, workshops, and meetings where ESL programs are discussed, observed, and demonstrated.

Phase 4

Surveying the community to determine the competencies and needs of the community for ESL and bilingual instruction.

Phase 5

Surveying the school district teaching staff to determine interest, enthusiasm, and educational background and training.

Phase 6

Studying the school district's ability to pay for the program as well as the many sources of funds available through State, Federal, and private agencies.

Phase 7

Inviting consultants from school districts, universities, colleges, the State Department of Education, and County Offices to meet with the Task Group for advice and interrogation.

Phase 8

Working closely with neighboring elementary schools in setting up desired terminal behaviors and levels of learning in ESL for the needed articulation and continuity of instruction.

Phase 9

Studying the possibility of teaching subject matter content in the native language of the student until such time as the student is able to understand, speak, read, and write in English.

After the Task Group has completed this initial phase of its study and feels ready to proceed, some basic guidelines for establishing ESL programs should be initiated. The following guidelines, presented in the form of questions, are offered as a starting point only and should not be considered as final. They are based upon outstanding ESL programs in the United States, and gathered from research, observations, and personal contacts made by the writer.

Some Guidelines for Establishing an ESL Program

1. Will the ESL program meet the needs of the children and community?
2. Will funds be made available for carrying out and sustaining the program?
3. Will the teacher(s) be trained in child growth and development, linguistics, and the audio-lingual approach to teaching a second language?
4. Will the ESL teacher (s) speak standard American English, have a clear-cut understanding of the linguistic problems of her students and have good command of the materials adopted for the program?
5. Will the ESL teacher(s) reflect an interest and understanding of the cultural differences and conflicts of her students?
6. Will the ESL skills be taught in this order: listening and speaking, then reading and writing?
7. Will the youngsters read and write only those materials that they already understand and can say?
8. Will the structure facts (grammar) be taught inductively through observation and practice?
9. Will many or all of the following materials and equipment be made available to the ESL teacher: teacher's guides, tapes, filmstrips, records, slides, charts, motion pictures, posters, flannel board and materials, enrichment books, American newspapers and magazines, record players, tape recorders, projectors, and listening centers with headsets?
10. Will professional publications be made available to the teaching staff in the areas of language, linguistics, methodology, and cultural awareness?
11. Will in-service training for teachers and administrators be planned by the school district, utilizing assistance from universities, colleges, County Offices, and the State Department of Education?
12. Will the ESL program be planned to become an integral part of the curriculum, and will children be graded as in other curriculum areas?
13. Will the ESL program begin at any level where the need exists and continue upward a grade level at a time?
14. Will plans be made to offer ESL at the pre-school level as well?
15. Will the ESL program be available to all children in need?
16. Will ESL instruction be offered daily in the grades involved?
17. Will the length of the ESL instructional period be consistent with the needs, interest levels, and attention spans of the students?

18. Will the high school which accepts the elementary school ESL students have a cooperative plan worked out whereby students coming into the high school are moved ahead at their own ESL level?
19. Will materials be made available in the native language of the student for leisure time reading and for study purposes?
20. Will provisions be made to teach subject matter content in the native language of the student while he is learning English?
21. Will plans be made to identify the community resource people in order to utilize them in the ESL program?
22. Will arrangements be made to provide interested parents with ESL instruction?
23. Will plans be made to keep the lines of communication open to the non-English-speaking community in their language through publications, announcements, report cards, P.T.A. meetings, home visitations, and parent conferences?
24. Will there be an ongoing evaluation of the ESL program which relates to the needs of the students and community, and is consistent with the objectives of the program?
25. Will the total program for non-English-speaking students receive "top priority" treatment by parents, teachers, principals, the superintendent and his staff, and the board of education?

Implementing the ESL Program

Once the ESL Task Group has thoroughly surveyed the field and established some basic guidelines for the district's program, including staffing needs and a cost analysis, it is then ready to present the program to the board of education for approval. The presentation to the board should be carefully prepared and transmitted through the proper administrative channels.

After approval is granted, dates for implementation should be scheduled well enough in advance for a smooth introduction of the program. Materials and equipment will have to be purchased. Teachers, administrators, and parents who were not involved in all aspects of the study will need help in rounding out their knowledge of the program. An in-service education program will need to be initiated. Qualified teachers will need to be employed. These are but a few things in need of careful planning and coordination.

The above description for planning or revitalizing ESL programs through the Task Group approach provides the means for a step-by-step organizational structure which is clearcut and logical. It takes into account all the principal factors that can affect the success or failure of a program. Two million non-English-speaking youngsters need our help now.

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*Bilingual Education for Navajo Students.**

Robert D. Wilson

Last year, on the recommendation of an English as a Second Language Committee and the endorsement of Dr. William J. Benham, the Navajo-Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracted with me to develop and produce instructional materials for the entire curriculum of the beginner level. These materials are being developed in the context of projected changes in the curriculum of the first four or five grade levels. The expected result is to raise "the academic achievement of Navajo students to that of national norms by the fourth or fifth grades."

The curriculum is *spiral* in nature, by which I mean adding relations to the systems of knowledge by repeatedly going back to the basic concepts of the systems. And the curriculum is *heuristic* in that emphasis is placed on learning *how to learn.* Specifically, emphasis is placed on the tools for learning: for example, the senses—the auditory, the visual, and the tactile in particular—the relevant *languages,* and *mathematics.* Emphasis is also placed on the *strategies* for learning: for example, observing through the senses in five different ways, asking questions, and using the empirical method.

There are three linguistic objectives covering areas which are essentially the same territory. The first objective is competence in both Navajo and English. This means that the Navajo student will get to know Navajo as an adult Navajo knows it, and that these students will get to know the standard, success-associated English of this country.

The second objective is detachment towards the Navajo and English languages. Among other things, this means that the student will not prefer English over Navajo, nor Navajo over English, but rather he will see both languages as useful tools. Insofar as language is associated with culture by the student, his detachment towards two linguistic forms should pave the way for seeing beyond culture, seeing himself primarily as *Man.* Parenthetically, I might add here that the social studies units of the curriculum, which will be taught in Navajo the first year, will emphasize the primacy of Man within the framework of the two cultures the student must become familiar with. As tools, the two languages should enable the student to function in either his native or Anglo culture, *whenever he so chooses.*

The third objective is to turn both languages into tools of thought. This

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* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1969.

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means learning systems of knowledge through the medium of the two languages: some in Navajo, others in English. Determining which areas will be taught in Navajo and which in English will depend on two factors: first, those areas in which the student must succeed in high school and college-for example, mathematics—will be taught in English; second, those areas which the student associates with his own background—for example, local geography—will be taught in Navajo (that is, if Navajo teachers are available).

Teaching the same subject matter twice, once in the native language and again in English is generally unnecessary duplication, violating the most important contribution of pedagogy, namely, efficiency. This is not to disagree with the objectives of those who advocate such duplication under the banner of bilingual education. On the contrary, the objectives are obviously desirable. Five years ago, at a conference on bilingualism at the University of Texas, in a very important paper, Theodore Andersson made several important recommendations, two of which are relevant here. First, he argued that the students should be encouraged—not simply allowed but encouraged—to speak their own language. I would go a step further, that is, I would encourage the student to use *three* mediums in the school: Navajo, the teacher's English, *and* the English being developed by the students themselves on the playground and in the dormitory. This school dialect of English may be substandard to you and me, but it is a means of survival for the entering, beginning student among his peer group.

Andersson's second recommendation is to introduce the beginning student very gradually into English, with great care not to destroy his security and confidence. The importance of this recommendation should not be underestimated. On the other hand, it does not follow that the gradual introduction of English is to be on a *time* basis, say a half hour or so a day on ESL and the rest of the day in the child's native language. This use of time as the unit of measure for the gradual introduction of English does not guarantee security and confidence. A poorly constructed lesson in ESL will not provide security and confidence. Indeed, a poorly constructed lesson in mathematics using the student's native language will not provide security and confidence. If anything does, it will be the ESL program itself, its sequence of lesson plans and its implementation by a capable and happy teacher. An ESL lesson plan provides success by building only on what the students know and pushing them to learn only what they can learn in a given amount of time. This is almost a tautology: the lesson plan that provides success, provides success, and in turn, security and confidence. But the point is that the unit of measure for the gradual introduction of English is the sequence and structure of the lesson plans and the teacher's competence, *not time.*

Still, this second recommendation of Andersson's presents a special challenge to anyone who would teach through the medium of the second language early in the game. My staff and I have a unique advantage in this regard, deciding as we do what goes into the entire curriculum in the

ESL strand and in the other strands as well. Thus, we are able to so design the non-ESL lessons in such a way that (1) they are presented in English that the students can understand, and (2) they reinforce and expand the structural content and vocabulary of the ESL materials covered so far.

There is another challenge implicit in Andersson's recommendation and that is to provide an adequate curriculum over and above the teaching of English. All I can say at present is that in the short time that the materials of this curriculum have been used by four teachers, who are actually co-authors, it is reasonable to expect that the students will have an impressive grasp of the basic tools and strategies for learning, besides such so-called content areas as number sets and measurement, categories of the physical world and some of their properties, plane geometry, a predisposition to solid geometry, visual art, the alphabet, simple musical instruments, and role playing in dramatizations.

Incidentally, I have *not* taken it upon myself to make all the curriculum decisions by myself. I have taken advantage of the availability of the many experts in various fields at UCLA as well as of educators in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the greater Los Angeles Area: curriculum supervisors, principals, teachers, indeed, anyone and everyone willing to help. On the advice of these people, I have extended my reading to the relevant curriculum areas and looked into the commercially available materials for possible adaptation. One of the results was the following. On the advice of Wayne Holm, principal of a BIA school on the Navajo reservation, and of Wilbur Dutton, Professor of Education at UCLA (whose special interest is mathematics), the basis of the mathematics strand of this projected Navajo curriculum is the Singer Mathematics Program authored principally by Patrick Suppes, Director of The Institute for Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences, Stanfard University. This program is balanced with the ideas developed by the Nuffield Project in England, recommended by Lois Braun, Curriculum Supervisor in the Santa Monica Unified School District. She was consulted in the areas of mathematics, science, and social studies. Of course, there were other good mathematics programs on the market, but Suppes' served our purposes best.

One of the essential criteria for such decisions is that the decision should be consistent with the ideas of learning and education developed by Jerome S. Bruner, Professor of Psychology at Harvard and Director of the Center for Cognitive Studies. Why Bruner? Because he is modern? True, he is modern to many educators, but many other educators before him have practiced his ideas with great success, for example, the Jesuits in all their institutions of lemming all over the world for the last four hundred years. Rather, Bruner because his ideas are based on Man, man as a species, a species exhibiting a willful and feeling intelligence, and because this basic consideration apparently provides for the success we are all looking for in education.

To be able to talk about the teaching of the nature of coordinate bilingualism, its context, namely, the entrie curriculum, has to be understood. No part of a truly integrated curriculum can be understood without the other parts being related to it.

Essentially, coordinate bilingualism is the use of two linguistic systems independently. Actually, the objective for the Navajo student is coordinate *tri*lingualism, as I indicated earlier: adult Navajo, his teacher's English, and what might be called dormitory English. Now, the one thing we do know about coordinate bilinguals is that they got that way because they learned their two languages in two different environments. Statements supporting this may be found in the writings of Wallace Lambert and John B. Carroll. This is not a strange notion since it is ultimately based on the notions of condition and response.

The basic approach, then, in teaching bilingualism is to teach one language under definite, overt, and consistently similar conditions and environment of one sort, and the other language under conditions and environment of another sort.

In the curriculum being developed, the following strategies implement this basic approach:

1. The students are told that they will learn a different language.
2. The new language, English, is associated with certain very distinctive differences: for example, the color spectrum, a semantic subsystem clearly different from that of the Navajo. Also, the teaching of pronunciation is done through whimsical words, which are nonsense syllables with meaning, along the lines of the Dr. Seuss storybooks, so that there is no possible translation into Navajo. And in the beginning, vocabulary with immediate Navajo associations is avoided.
3. The beginning student is taught to pronounce his name as if it were a Navajo word, with all the phonological transfers, when he is asked in Navajo by the Navajo aide. Then he is taught to pronounce his name as if it were English when asked in English by his teacher. He proceeds then to switch from one language to the other, using his name as the basis for the switch. If nothing else does, this convinces him not only that he is dealing with two languages but also with two different sets of rules.
4. The classroom has two play areas, a Navajo corner with Navajo artifacts and toys, and an Anglo corner with Anglo artifacts and toys. Generally, the Navajo aide plays with the children in the Navajo corner, and the teacher plays with the children in the Anglo corner. Navajo is encouraged in one, and English in the other, but neither language is mandatory.
5. These two corners, whenever feasible, serve as distinct places for viewing certain filmstrips. The screen for material taught in Navajo is just outside the Navajo corner; the screen for material taught in English is just outside the Anglo corner.

6. The lessons on English phonology are introduced with filmstrips showing two Navajo children determined to teach their friend, a Raggedy Ann doll named Mary Ann, to distinguish between certain minimal pairs. At the beginning of the filmstrip, they are outside the classroom, and one suggests to the other that they go teach Mary Ann—saying this *in Navajo.* The next scene shows them with Mary Ann in the classroom, and in *this* scene they speak *in English.*

Similar strategies are used for distinguishing between dormitory English and classroom English. This is introduced several weeks after the children have been in school, when they have had a chance to get acquainted and to be pressured by the school's dialect of English. One strategy is to present the students with a story on filmstrip with which they are already familiar. It is presented in classroom English, and then it is presented in dormitory English. The students participate in various ways, one of them being mimicry.

Innovation is the striking characteristic of this curriculum, but the innovations adopted were not chosen simply because they are innovations. They were not chosen because I was professionally curious about their results. I do not take lightly the responsibility of affecting the future of thousands of Navajo students who might learn through this curriculum. The innovations are there because they are expected to provide effectiveness and efficiency; however, when expected to provide effectiveness and efficiency, the traditional has been retained.

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*ESL Testing on the Navajo Reservation**

Eugène J. Brière

Since about 1964, the Navajo Area Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been using the Fries/Rojas *American English Series* (New York: D. C. Heath, 1952-57) for all of the elementary schools throughout the Navajo reservation. Unfortunately, many of the excellent classroom teachers in the Navajo Agency schools are untrained in ESL methodology. Many of the teachers throughout the five sub-agencies of the Navajo area expressed a strong desire for a series of testing instruments, specifically designed for the Fries/Rojas materials, to evaluate the children's progress as they proceed through the materials. In June, 1967, the Navajo Area Agency[2] contracted with us to develop a series of achievement tests[3] specifically designed to evaluate the Navajo children's progress in the Fries/Rojas materials. This paper is a final report of the activities which occurred throughout the year 1967-68.

Problem

1. To develop a series of oral/aural achievement tests for Book 1 of the *American English Series.*
2. To develop a series of written, multiple-choice achievement tests for Books 2 and 3 of the *American English Series.*
3. To begin the development of a written placement test.
4. To design correction matrices (error inventories) which would provide diagnostic information for the classroom teacher.
5. To provide testing manuals and answer keys for all of the tests developed.

Procedure

Objectives: The Fries/Rojas texts (Books 1-5) were analyzed linguistically to determine the phonological and grammatical structures which were actually presented in the texts. All objectives, whether explicit or implicit,[4] were described in linguistic terms in order to facilitate the writing of test

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1 The project reported here was financed by the Navajo Area Agency office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs under contract number 14-20-0600-539. A paper entitled "Testing ESL Among Navajo Children" was given as a preliminary report at the International Conference on Testing at the University of Michigan in September, 1967.

2 We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. William J. Benham, Jr., Assistant Area Director of Education, for making this contract possible.

3 "Achievement test" throughout this paper refers to instruments intended to measure the extent to which a student has mastered the material contained within specific units being taught in the classroom.

4 An "implicit" objective is a phonological or grammatical category repeatedly presented in a given unit, but not stated as an objective in the teacher's manual.

items designed to measure performance on the specific categories which were presented in the lessons. If, for example, the structure "Are you eating now" was presented in one of the units, this phrase was classified as a "Re-question"; the response "Yes, she is" to the question "Is the new girl fifteen years old" was classified as a "pronoun referent"; the response "She's working" to the question "What is she doing" was classified as a "verb tense: present continuous" category.

Oral/Aural Tests: Fourteen oral/aural tests were designed to test the achievement of linguistic categories (phonological, grammatical, or lexical) contained in the units in Book 1. There were three experimental forms of each test. The first form consisted of Navajo stimuli on tape such as "Ask your teacher 'What's your name?' in English." Seven seconds of silence followed each Navajo stimulus to allow the child time to translate into English and ask the examiner "what's your name?" The second experimental form consisted of giving directions to the students, in English, of the type: "Ask me my name." The third experimental form consisted of a mimicry-repetition form in which the subject was simply told to repeat the statement of the examiner; for example, the stimulus "What's your name?" was to be repeated by the subjects.

Preceding all forms of the oral tests were general directions about the test in Navajo. The general directions consisted of a Navajo translation equivalent of the following: "This is a test to see how well you speak English. Your teacher will ask you questions in English and you are to answer as quickly as you can in English. Listen carefully and follow your teacher's directions."[5]

Pictures were used as visual stimuli to elicit certain specific responses, e.g., the present continuous of the verb "walk" was elicited by showing a picture of a little girl walking and the examiner asking, "What's the girl doing?" The pictures were carefully checked to make sure that the visual contents were "culture fair" for the Navajo child.

The procedure for administration of the various experimental forms of the oral/aural tests was as follows: Two tape recorders were used—one as a playback for the general or specific directions in Navajo, the other as a recorder to record the entire session. Only one child was tested at a time in a room at some distance from the classroom. Each examiner worked from a prepared script, showed the pictures to the Navajo children, and recorded the spoken responses. Except for the experimental forms in Navajo, all forms of all the tests were administered to monolingual American English speakers in Los Angeles before the administration to Navajo children. Any item with which native speakers of English had difficulty was discarded from the pretest forms used with the Navajos. The recorded responses were subsequently analyzed linguistically and statistically.

Written Achievement Tests: A total of sixteen multiple-choice tests (with

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[5] These directions and the Navajo stimuli for Experimental Form I were recorded in a sound proof booth at the Phonetics Laboratory at U.C.L.A.

accompanying testing manuals) were developed-eight to measure the students' achievement of the material in Book 2, and eight for Book 3. Each test contained five sections labeled Question, Structure, Order, Vocabulary, and Reading.

The question section contained items of the type:

What's the girl doing?
O A cake.
O Baking.
O Yes, she is.

The structure section contained items such as:

I——brown shoes yesterday.
O wear
O wearing
O wore

The order section contained items such as:

O Where the book is?
O Where is the book?
O Is where the book?

The vocabulary items were as follows:

She——milk every day.
O drinks
O reads
O eats

The reading section consisted of a passage which was a composite of reading passages taken from a few consecutive units of the Fries/Rojas materials. Following the reading passage were four or five multiple-choice items which could only be answered by understanding the information contained in the reading passage itself.

On all of the written tests the students placed an X in the circle next to their choice for each item.

Correction Procedures: Correction matrices were developed for the oral tests along with a list of the most common grammatically correct responses for each item, If a response to a given item was correct, it was so marked on the correction charts. If the response to a given item was incorrect, a mark was made in one of the following categories: No Response, Pronoun, Article, Verb Tense, Agreement, Question Form, Phonological, and Other. In the accompanying manuals for administration, instructions to the teacher were given about marking the correction charts and interpreting the performances of the students.

Error inventories for the written tests were compiled for the teachers in order to provide diagnostic information about the kinds of errors her students were making. For example, for book 3, tests 2–5, section and item numbers were matched with the grammatical categories being tested: Q-1 = Request (short response); Q-2 = How question; Q-3 = Pronoun referent; etc.

By providing this inventory, it is hoped that the teachers can easily group errors into specific grammatical categories and determine precisely which patterns in the lessons should be reviewed.

Sample Testing Population: The sample testing population consisted of Navajo children attending the BIA boarding schools in grades 1-7. The oral tests for Book 1 were tested in grades 1-4. The written tests for Books 2 and 3 were tested in grades 3–7. The number of pupils tested was 561 on the oral tests and 969 on the written tests, representing a total of 1,530 children taking the achievement tests. A total of twelve schools throughout the Navajo Area Agency served as testing sites for the three administrations of the tests which occurred throughout the year. After each administration except the last, an item analysis was performed to determine difficulty and discrimination scores for each item. Revisions of the test were based on the item analyses.

Placement Test

Choice of Items: Items were chosen from the previously administered achievement tests on the basis of their difficulty scores *and* the grammatical categories the items were testing. Items were arranged in two sections (a question and a structural section) in the form of a power test ranging from the fairly easy to the rather difficult. In the final form of the placement test there are 88 items with difficulty scores ranging from 90% to 40% in difficulty. The number of items at each level of difficulty was determined on the basis of a truncated normal curve. For example, there were only 3 items each at the 90% and 40% levels of difficulty but 32 items each at the 70% and 60% levels.

Corpus: A total of 24 grammatical categories were tested by using three items for each category. In addition, certain grammatical categories which had been relatively difficult on the achievement tests previously administered to the Navajo children: e.g., "Be-or questions" were weighted by including 5 items to test each of the more difficult categories.

Population: The sample population chosen included 652 Navajo children in grades 3–7 at five different Navajo Area Agency boarding schools—Chuska, Crownpoint, Chinle, Shonto, and Shiprock. This first administration of the placement test brought the total number of Navajo children tested on this project to 2,182.

Results:

(1) On the oral tests, the Navajo translation equivalents of stimuli such as "Ask your teacher 'What's your name?' in English" were a dismal failure and were dropped.

(2) The Navajo general directions were a great success.

(3) Mimicry-repetition of the oral tests was dropped as a procedure.

(4) Reliability coefficients for the thirty achievement tests were not computed.

(5) Isolating phonological from morphological errors on the oral tests was extremely difficult at times.

(6) Summary statistics for the placement test follow in Table I and Figure 1.

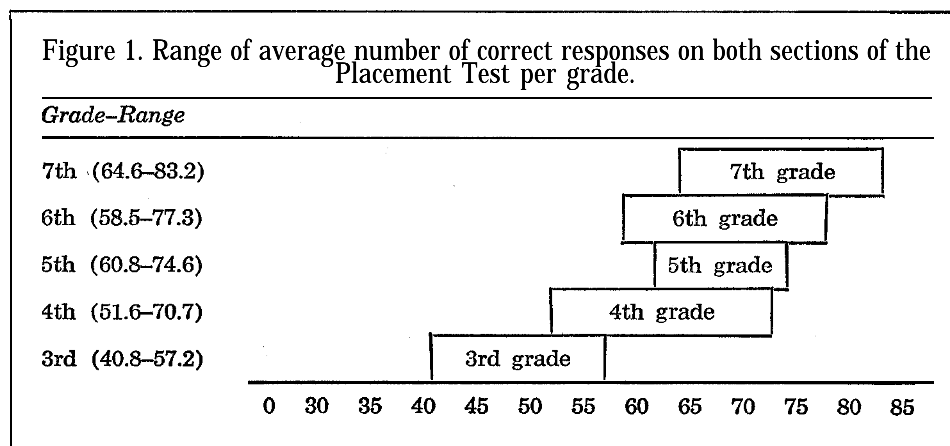
Discussion: The Navajo translation equivalents of stimuli were a dismal failure and have been abandoned as a procedure to elicit spoken responses. The most common response to the Navajo stimuli was absolute silence. The next most common response was to answer in English the question they should have been asking the examiner. For example a frequent response to the Navajo directions "Ask your teacher, in English, 'What's your name?'" was "My name is Tom Yazzie." In other words, the children responded to the Navajo directions in English with an *answer* rather than with the desired *question.* The third type of response was a very faltering, frequently inaccurate translation of the Navajo directions of the type "She said, 'Ask your teacher what's your name in English'."

Three adult bilingual speakers of English and Navajo were given some of the forms the children had been expected to respond to with the result that (a) the seven-second response time was far too short (even for adults) and (b) the English translations were amazingly varied and inaccurate. An example of the variation in translation was the Navajo morpheme used for "notebook." The adults translated this as "ballot," "writing paper,"

Table 1. Placement test summary. Number of subjects, standard deviations, and reliability coefficients per grade level.

Grade	*No. of Ss*	*Standard Deviation*	*Reliability*
3	133	14.36	.91
4	124	19.56	.96
5	132	14.34	.93
6	128	14.70	.94
7	135	12.67	.93
Total	652		

Figure 1. Range of average number of correct responses on both sections of the Placement Test per grade.



and "book for writing." No one said "notebook." The problem of reference was not a problem of dialect variation, but rather the problem that one Navajo morpheme has many English translation equivalents.

The general directions given in Navajo were successful because they put the child at ease and the child completely understood the "rules of the game." It was the examiners' observation that each child, upon hearing the general directions in Navajo, would act surprised and then frequently smile and relax as the Navajo continued. Except for three of the children, all others said that they understood the Navajo directions, and their subsequent performances indicated that they did indeed understand the directions. More frequently than not, the examiners found that the children would respond so quickly to an item that the initial examples were unnecessary. For example on test 3, Book I, the examiner says, "Is the girl jumping?" Then the examiner is supposed to answer his own question by saying, "Yes, she is." The child is then encouraged to repeat the correct response which was just modeled by the examiner. In actual practice, the children understood the task so well that they usually gave the correct response to the question before the examiner could give them an example of the kind of response desired.

The mimicry-repetition procedure to elicit spoken responses was a failure and, therefore, abandoned. All of the children received such high scores that it was impossible to determine if they did or did not know a particular grammatical category. For example, when the children are asked to repeat "What's your name?" they receive near perfect scores. If however, they are told "Ask me my name?" they frequently are unable to produce the proper question transformation "What's your name?" This latter procedure of forcing the child to perform the necessary transformations himself rather than simply repeating a model was found to have far more face validity than any other procedure.

Reliability coefficients for the achievement tests were not compiled primarily due to the limited number of items in each little test: e.g., oral tests 9-11 for Book I only had nine items in the entire test. Since the number of items is an important factor in the formulae for reliability coefficients (the greater the number of items the greater the reliability score), it was felt that any scores derived from such short tests would be decidedly unrealistic.

On the oral tests, it was sometimes difficult to determine if an incorrect response was due to a simple phonological substitution or due to a lack of knowledge of the correct morpheme involved in a particular response. For example, the Navajo child's propensity for substituting a glottal stop for most of the word final American English stops, voiced and voiceless, makes it extremely difficult to determine, from the taped interviews, if the error is primarily a phonological one or a lack of understanding of the past tense. It was decided to treat each phonological substitution as a simple phonological problem if the substitution did not interfere with communication, e.g., "mudder" for "mother" in "the girl's mother is baking a cake," and to treat each phonological substitution as a grammatical problem if the substitution

might possibly reflect a lack of understanding of an underlying morphophonemic rule: e.g., /wašˀ/ for /wašt/.

Conclusions

For elementary school children using the Fries/Rojas materials, the oral and written achievement tests may be of some value. However, it is patently obvious that a great deal more work must be done with the tests before the scores can be taken too seriously. A great many more administrations of the tests are needed to determine norms for various grade levels and for groups from different language backgrounds. Hopefully, the Navajo Area Agency will continue the work that is necessary to make the tests reasonable instruments to be used in the classrooms with the Navajo child learning English as a second language through the use of the Fries/Rojas materials.

The placement test also needs continued administrations in order to determine norms for specific grade levels from specific language backgrounds. Since June of 1968 the placement test has been administered to Spanish-speaking children in Los Angeles and New York City, and to Choctaw, Hopi, Pima, and Sioux children in Mississippi, Arizona, and South Dakota.

Our current contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs[6] involves an attempt to expand the written placement test developed with the Navajo and to add an oral-aural component to the test. A second equivalent form of the placement test has already been written and is in the process of administration. In addition, three procedures for eliciting spoken responses-transformations, repetition of a series of sentences that are grammatically increasingly difficult, and a series of pictures designed to elicit specific grammatical categories—are at the experimental stage of "pre-pre-administration."

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6 Our current project to develop oral/aural and written ESL placement tests for the elementary school children attending Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools throughout the United States is funded through Contract No. K51C14200092. We would like to acknowledge our indebtedness to our consultants for their expert advice during the Navajo project and, especially, during our current project: Evelyn Bauer and Tom Hopkins from the Curriculum Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Professors Robert Jones, USC; Harry Osser, San Francisco State; Leslie Palmer, Georgetown University; John Upshur, ELI, University of Michigan; and Robert Wilson, U.C.L.A.

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Recent Research in TESOL

Bernard Spolsky

Robert Wilson, Evelyn Bauer, Eddie Hanson, Jr., Donald Meyer, and Lois Michael. Guides for teaching English as a second language to elementary school pupils. ERIC Accession Number ED 018 803.

This document is the report of the project that developed guides for teaching English as a second language in the first two years of elementary instruction for the California State Department of Education. The guides, called *Teaching English Early,* have been published separately. (ERIC Accession Numbers ED 018 801 and ED 018 802.)

The report falls into two main parts. After a general background, there is an account of the activities of the project and its rationale. The rationale sets out clearly the three sets of assumptions behind Wilson's work: linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical. The linguistic assumptions are a clear statement of present-day linguistics; the psychological and the pedagogical depend in large measure on the theories of Jerome Bruner. This is not the place to discuss the rationale and the materials based on them, but I must express admiration for the exciting way in which Wilson and his colleagues have set out to interpret current theory in curricular practice. Their work is the finest example of making use of the *implications* of linguistic and psychological theories rather than blindly applying a set of notions that are part of the theories.

In this review, however, I want to concentrate on the second main part of the report: the description of field tests and evaluation. What one must focus on is the problem of assessing the effectiveness of new teaching materials. How can we decide whether a given set of materials is useful, or whether it is better than a second set? Let us first see how the present report handles the question.

In the first stage (summer, 1966), the materials were used by a number of experienced teachers and observed by members of the project staff. The teachers and some other consultants who observed the lessons and who studied the guides reported to the project staff orally and in writing; on the basis of these reports and of their own observations, the staff made revisions. During the school year 1966-67, there was additional field testing, this time including inexperienced teachers. Apart from details of needed revision of the material, the major finding of this field testing was the need for preparation and in-service training of the teachers who were to use it.

The second part of the evaluation was two independent evaluation projects. The first study was conducted by Lucille Robinson. Two randomly selected groups (eighteen pupils in each) were compared for gain in language over an unspecified time. The experimental group "had the

services of a special teacher in English as a second language for half-an-hour a day, a language development specialist for one hour a week, and a nonprofessional aide for one hour a day." Also, it used the materials under review. The control group had no specialists, special teachers, or aides, nor did it use the materials. The 'experimental' group showed greater gain in amount of language. However, it is clearly impossible to learn anything about the effectiveness of the materials from an experience like this; the only generalization to be made is that if you pay more attention to teaching language (special teachers and special materials), it is likely that children will learn more.

The second study was more elaborate. Conducted by a member of the project staff, its concern was to evaluate the effectiveness of the materials by seeing to what extent the behavior objectives of the first 81 lessons were being achieved. A second purpose was to determine to what extent these same behavioral objectives were met without the materials, in the random exposure to English of a school environment. The question raised by this study is an important one: do students learn a language better in a non-structured environment than in a structured class? Unfortunately, as we shall see, the experimental design was such as to give no evidence on this central issue.

The experiment went like this. Two groups of pupils were selected. All the pupils were having "random English instruction, as it happens to occur in the typical classroom situation." The control group had only this. The experimental group were pulled out of class, for 30-40 minutes a day, in groups of 10 or fewer, for instruction using the Wilson materials. In the course of the experiment, the groups were reduced by "normal attrition." There were some problems created by the fact that one set of the experimental group had only 20 minutes instruction a day in a group of 15, and another group had the Wilson materials some days and other materials another day.

The next problem was how to test the students. As the report points out, "there are no standardized test materials to measure the oral English proficiency of primary-age children." The decision was therefore made to develop a test, and the test was developed on the basis of the specifically stated instructional objectives of the material. It was this decision that spoiled the generalizability of the experiment: the test was based on the materials; thus, while it tells how well these materials were learned, it does not tell us about language proficiency. To exaggerate only slightly, the whole experiment becomes one where we compare the performance of a group coached for a test and a group not coached. Supporting this analysis are the results: the coached (experimental) group did better than the control, Moreover, the two 'contaminated' groups, who had less coaching—one because they had 20-minute sessions rather than 40, the other because the teacher used other materials instead—did better than the control group but not as well as the experimental.

Now, it may well be that this particular hypothesis is wrong: that

in fact the experimental group were not just better coached for a test, but did in fact learn more English. Unfortunately, the use of a test so closely based on the materials does not permit us to tell this. But even if it did, would we know anything about the wider question, the relative merits of structured versus non-structured teaching of English? Clearly the answer is no, for the experimental design did not cover this. The control group had "random instruction," while the experimental group had "random instruction" *plus* "structured instruction," and the latter in small groups. Thus we could not be sure that the greater achievement of the experimental group was a result of the structured teaching rather than of the experimental setting (a special teacher working in small groups with novel materials).

To carry out the experiment desired, it would be necessary to make sure that the control group too had its special teacher, small classes, and special approach. Probably, the best thing for the control group to do would be to carry on normal 'unstructured' language use: conversation, story telling, play-acting, and so on. Then, if, and only if, we had a materials-independent test, we might have an answer to the problem raised in this study.

The report under review recognizes part of the difficulty I have been raising here. The conclusion to the report states:

> A plan to test the effectiveness of the H-200 materials against published English-as-a-second-language guides was included in the Project. An attempt to carry out this responsibility was made in four centers . . . The instrument used for pre- and post-testing proved to be unsatisfactory, *since it was not geared either to what was taught in the H-200 material or to the content of the other material presented.* (my italics).

The report then helps us understand the difficulties of evaluation. Generally, we may say that there are four approaches to the evaluation of materials:

a. Analyse them.
b. Use them.
c. Watch them used.
d. Test their effectiveness.

Each of these has its uses and handicaps. *Analysis of the material* will make clear on what assumptions it is based, what material is included, and how it is organized. Glaring strengths and weaknesses will become apparent to an experienced teacher, but no clear evidence of effectiveness can be obtained. *Using the materials* will enable a teacher to develop a subjective evaluation; a collection of such opinions will tell us how teachers of different types like or dislike the materials. A recent article by Alfred Hayes, Wallace Lambert and G. Richard Tucker ("Evaluation of foreign language teaching," *Foreign Language Annals I* (1967), 22-44) suggests that *direct observation of the materials in use* could be a faster and more useful technique than *tests of pre- and post-training performance.*

They report on the first stage of the development of such a technique, in which they obtain teacher ratings of a number of features believed to be important in second-language teaching. They point out that the next stage will be to validate the importance of these features, a rather awesome procedure, and one that will depend on the development of valid tests of proficiency.

None of this is meant to discourage the continued development of such excellent materials as those described in the *Guides,* nor to discourage every possible attempt to evaluate and improve the materials that are available. It is important however that the difficulties of evaluation be generally recognized, and that we all be better qualified to read critically any claims to have proved the effectiveness of new materials and methods.

ERIC - TESOL Documents

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

Where indicated, hard copies (HC) and microfiche (MF) of the full text are available through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, The National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014. Copies of documents must be ordered by the individual ED numbers. Prices are given for microfiche (Ml?) and hard copy (HC). Payment must accompany orders totaling less than $5.00. For orders totaling less than $3.00, add $.50 for handling. In the U.S. add sales tax as applicable. Foreign orders must be accompanied by a 25 per cent service charge, calculated to the nearest cent.

ED 023 074 *Contrastive Linguistics in Textbook and Classroom.* Wilga M. Rivers. 8p.; Article in Report of the l9th Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies, Contrastive Linguistics and Its Pedagogical Implications. 1968. (Document not available from EDRS.)

The need for a contrastive approach in foreign language teaching has long been recognized, but in the construction of textbook materials and in classroom practice it has rarely been realized. For pedagogical purposes a useful distinction can be drawn between difference and contrast. Differences can be taught as new items of knowledge, whereas native language interference must be combatted in areas of contrast. Contrasts should be taught emically not etically; that is, the structural element or the cultural manifestation should be studied as it functions in the foreign language system, not merely at the points where it contrasts with native language usage. Degree of difficulty may be estimated by the number of elements in contrast, but this criterion does not necessarily apply in the classroom where learning is facilitated if structures can be practiced in an active situation by students who have been prepared for the cent.rastive nature of language study. Translation may appear to be an excellent exercise in language contrast; it is, however, valuable only at an advanced level of study when students have a wide enough knowledge of the functioning system of both languages to find close meaning equivalents for stretches of discourse rather than small segments, and to explore the full range of contrast. Available from Publications Department, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007 (Monograph Series No. 21, $2.95).

ED 024 928 *Bonnie and Clyde Tactics in English Teaching.* Roger W. Shuy. l7p.; Speech delivered for the National Council of Teachers of English, November 1968. MF-$0.25 HC-$0.76.

The author describes three current approaches to the problems of nonstandard English and examines the motivations behind their recommendations. The traditional negative correction to standard he calls "eradication" based on ethnocentric prescription. "Biloquialism" offers the student the option of adjusting phonology, grammar, and lexicon between home dialect and standard. There are dangers in this, too, if students and teachers look down on the nonstandard dialect, or consider the standard cynically as merely a means of obtaining jobs or manipulating for power, rather than as a broadened repertoire for social and intellectual communication and a means of understanding the

system and dynamics of language use. The third approach is to give standard speakers a better understanding of nonstandard speech, both its forms and its validity. This is sketched rather as training to tolerate diverse language forms than as gaining a useful level of proficiency. The author proposes that English teachers should ask themselves: (1) Is what I am teaching the most important thing for my students? (2) Is my teaching unbigoted? (3) Am I giving my students the most useful alternatives for their self-fulfillment? (4) Am I using the most dynamic, timely principles and data for understanding the system of language? (5) Is my language teaching developing healthy attitudes toward human rights?

ED 024 935 *Situational Reinforcement.* Eugene J. Hall and Others, 1968. (Document not available from EDRS.)

The Situational Reinforcement series, a beginning-intermediate course in English for non-English speaking adults, is comprised of an introductory volume, *Nucleus Course in English,* intended for 80-100 hours of instruction, and *Orientation in American English,* Volumes I–III. Each of the four texts is accompanied by a corresponding workbook providing written exercises on materials practiced orally in class. Basically audiolingual in approach, the series presents structures and vocabulary in "clusters" of patterns in connected discourse, rather than in individual sentence patterns introduced linearly. The *Nucleus Course,* the first "spiral," presents situations to which the students can respond on a direct stimulus-response basis. The *Orientation* volumes, the second "spiral," lead the students to react to secondary rather than primary stimuli. The material, designed to orient students to American culture, is based on two concepts about language and language learning— (1) language is a total experience, and (2) language is a system of creating and understanding completely new utterances. Language learning is a process of internalizing phonology, structures, and vocabulary by analogy until original utterances can be generated. This "modularized language training" has been prepared under the aegis of the Institute of Modern Languages, Inc., 1666 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (Texts $1.45 each; Workbooks $0.90 each).

ED 024 939 *Intonational Interference in the Speech of Puerto Rican Bilinguals, An Instrumental Study Based on Oral Readings of a Juan Bobo Story.* Rose Nash. 57p. 1968. MF-$0.25 HC-$2.36.

This paper examines three aspects of phonological interference observable in the speech of Puerto Rican bilingual: (1) segmentation patterns, (2) accentual patterns, and (3) pitch patterns. Ten representative speakers, including nine students and one faculty member, were selected to read a story in the original Spanish and in English translation. One reader had native fluency in English but heavy interference in Spanish. The other nine readers all had native fluency in Spanish with varying degrees of fluency in English: three had native fluency, three had a slight foreign accent, and three had heavy interference. The taped corpus was first subjected to intensive auditory analysis and description. Stresses, melodic curves, and junctures were marked for each speaker in both versions. Instrumental processing of the tape recording yielded graphic stripchart displays of pitch and intensity, from which detailed measurements were made for peak pitches and all pause lengths over .3 second. Instrumental data were correlated with the descriptions obtained from auditory analysis, and the various versions of the speakers were then compared. Part I of this document presents the theoretical background for intonation analysis and discusses the relationship between interference and intelligibility. Part 11 gives the text and procedures used and explains the interferences found.

ED 025 738 *A Study of the "New Primary Approach" in the Schools of Kenya.* Marnixius Hutasoit and Clifford H. Prator. 60p.; Kenya Ministry of Education, Nairobi (Kenya). March 1965. MF-$0.50 HC-$2.48.

This two-part study is an outgrowth of the explosive expansion in English-medium instruction which has taken place in the primary schools of Kenya since 1957. "Part I: The Prator Statement;' which concentrates on the linguistic, methodological, and teacher-training aspects of the overall problem, presents first a description of the linguistic background of Kenya, the rationale underlying the use of English as a medium of instruction, and the role of Swahili and the vernaculars. Also described are the present language policy, its implementation and future, and the development of the NPA ("New Primary Approach"—referred to formerly as the "English-Medium Scheme"). The author evaluates the "New Peak Course" and the teacher training colleges. "Part II: The Hutasoit Statement" focuses attention on the administrative and financial aspects of education in Kenya and implementation of the NPA. A few of the joint recommendations appended to the report suggest: (1) English should become the universal medium of instruction in Kenya schools; (2) Swahili should be introduced in Standard (Grade) IV and be continued as a compulsory subject; (3) primary school pupils should become literate in their vernacular; and (4) for adequate instruction in Swahili, it is necessary to prepare teaching materials and to develop teacher training facilities.

ED 027 15 *Bilingual Education in Three Cultures, Annual Conference of the Southwest Council for Bilingual Education* (El Paso, November 8-9, 1968). Reports. Charles Olstad, ed. 32p. 1968. (Document not available from EDRS.)

These reports deal with the American English, Texan Spanish, and Navajo languages and cultures. "English in Bilingual Education" by Elizabeth Ott describes the history of education in the Southwest and examines the concept and many forms of bilingualism. An example of a possible bilingual instructional program is given. "The Spanish Vernacular of Texas, a Valuable Medium in Bilingual and Bicultural Education" by Sergio D. Elizondo finds that the much denigrated "Tex-Mex" is well established and widely used as far as California, Michigan, and Ohio. The vigor of this "Texas-type" Spanish evinces the vigor of its culture; both factors must influence the formation of educational programs for the U.S. "Mexicano." "Tense, Mode and Aspect in Navajo" by Irvy W. Goossen is an overview of some of the problems met in comparing the tenses of English with the modes of Navajo. "Interpretations of Anglo-American Culture" by Chester Christian stresses the practical American efficiency responsible for a high standard of living and a bureaucracy, and lack of respect for human values. It suggests that the Anglos' impatience with different cultures may be cause for their unpopularity with other cultures. "Hispanic Culture in the Southwest" by John H. Haddox outlines those cultural values weak or lacking in Anglo-American society, and notes a special Mexican-American desire for cultural synthesis. Available from publications Manager, Department of Modern Languages, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001.

ED 027 529 *English Proficiency and Bicultural Attitudes of Japanese Students.* Susie Cowan. 7p. 1968. MF-$0.25 HC-$0.45.

This report is a continuation of a research project, begun by B. Spolsky and E. Migliazza in the English as a Foreign Language Program at Indiana University, designed to show that foreign students whose overall integrative motivation is high (+ IM) have achieved *a* higher standard of English proficiency than those whose integrative motivation is low (–IM). The purpose of this report is to relate the English proficiency and bicultural attitudes of

Japanese students who have all studied English for about the same length of time in Japan. The equipment used for testing consisted of a taped interview from which was derived an English proficiency score and two questionnaires designed to measure degrees of integrative motivation. The first questionnaire listed 30 adjectives which are traits in a person's value system. The second questionnaire listed reasons for coming to America; students indicated the importance of each reason. Figures based on the results show— (1) students with a high total English score tend to have a + IM sign; (2) length of stay in America is not a significant factor in determining whether a student has a + or –IM sign; (3) there is no positive relationship between reasons for coming to America and English ability; and (4) most of the students considered learning English "rather important." This had no relationship to their English score, however. The final conclusion is that Japanese students with a high IM—who tend to become somewhat "Americanized"—tend to become better speakers of English. The report appeared in *Eigo Kyoiku* (The English Teachers' Magazine) ; v17 n9 1968 which is available from The Taishukan Publishing Co., Ltd., 26, 3-Chome, Nishikicho, Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

ED 027 533 *Testing English as a Second Language.* David P. Harris. 151p. 1969. (Document not available from EDRS.)

The twofold objective of this book is to enable the teacher of English to speakers of other languages both to improve his own classroom measures and to make sound assessments of standardized tests which he may from time to time be asked to select, administer, and interpret. Chapters 1 and 2 introduce the general purposes and methods of language testing and consider the chief characteristics of good educational measures. Chapters 3–8 describe specific techniques for testing grammatical structure, auditory discrimination and comprehension, vocabulary, reading comprehension, writing, and oral production. Constructing and administering the test, and interpreting and using test results are described in Chapters 9-11. Chapter 12 offers procedures for calculating a few basic test statistics which will aid the teacher/test-writer in evaluating the soundness of his tests and the performance of his students. Neither the final chapter nor the preceding chapters assume previous training in tests and measurement or knowledge of advanced mathematics. A list of selected references and a subject and author index conclude the volume. Available from McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42nd St., New York, New York 10036 ($3.40) .

ED 027 542 *The Teaching of English as a Second Language in Primary Schools in the Cape Province.* P. McMagh. 13p. 1967. MF-$0.25 HC-$0.75.

This paper reports on results of a questionnaire survey of 84 schools representing 25,928 Afrikaans-speaking pupils in the Cape Province of South Africa. The survey revealed that only 13 of the teachers were English-speaking; the rest were Afrikaans-speaking. Most of the children never hear English out of school, or hear it under conditions requiring only a fairly limited understanding. The majority of the principals maintained that the most important skill the primary school child had to master was to speak English. In addition to being the medium of instruction, it was needed in offices, at work and in commerce (because "most businesses are in English"), in the professions, as qualification for employment in the S.A.R. and civil service, and for a variety of other reasons. Of the most troublesome language problems, verbs and tense seem far more difficult even than prepositions, word order, and vocabulary, both to learn and to teach. Other conclusions reached were (1) many young teachers in these schools are not competent to teach English; (2) the methods

of teacher training need revision; (3) the teaching materials used lack systematic planning, do not have enough drills and exercises, and have too much emphasis on formal grammar. Also commented on in this report are results of a questionnaire sent to 240 post-graduate and post-diploma students entering the faculty of education for one year's training.

ED 027 543 *The Teaching of English as a Second Language in Afrikaans High Schools.* A. G. De Beer. 19p. 1967. MF-$0.25 HC-$L05.

This paper reviews the teaching of English as a second language in the secondary schools in the Transvaal, the syllabuses which have been in use since 1956-57, and the importance of an audiolingual approach. In attempting to discover the reasons for students' failure to attain a satisfactory standard of bilingualism, the author examines (1) the syllabuses and the teacher (the teachers are not linguistically trained); (2) the syllabuses and the pupil (the emphasis should be shifted to achievement of "articulacy" in language); and (3) the syllabuses and examinations (it is the examination even more than the syllabus that determines the kind of teaching which is carried out in all but the best schools, and an improved syllabus can therefore only be effective if the examination permits it to be so). Questions concerning which current linguistic theory to follow and whether to use traditional or audiovisual language teaching methods must be decided before revising the syllabuses. These two decisions will involve the whole hierarchy of the educational system in the Transvaal and South Africa—the administrators, the provincial authorities who will install the language laboratories, the examining boards who will have to devise new language proficiency examinations, university departments of English who will have to train linguists to write contrastive analyses of English and Afrikaans, and teacher trainers.

ED 027 544 *The Teaching of English in Bantu Schools in South Africa; Some Comments on the Present Situation.* K. B. Hartshorne. 17p. 1967. MF-$0.25 HC-$0.95.

Pupils in South African Bantu schools spend one third of their time in Standards (Grades) 1 and 2 learning the official languages, English and Afrikaans. Nearly as much time is given to the learning of their own Bantu mother tongue, the language of instruction from Sub-Standard A (Preprimary) to Standard 6. In the Lower Primary schools, through Standard 2, the pupil is busy with language learning for over 45% of his time; in the Higher Primary school for 40% of his time. Surveys indicate that English teaching (as a language, and as a medium of instruction) is almost completely by non-mother tongue speakers of English. A 1963 survey showed that 45% of all Bantu teachers have had a primary school education only, followed by a three-year course of professional training. Other figures indicate that the qualifications of teachers in the city tend to be higher than the average for the whole country. The author feels that if a realistic view is taken of the other school subjects, including Afrikaans and the pupil's home language, the standards of English will not be improved by devoting more time to its teaching. A solution can be sought only in the improvement of the quality of the teacher and in the language materials and aids at her disposal. Comments on the improvement in the Johannesburg Bantu schools, as well as statistics on teacher qualifications, test results, and other relevant information appear in appendixes to this paper.

ED 027 545 *Planning Conference for a Bilingual Kindergarten Program for Navajo Children, Conclusions and Recommendations, October 11–12, 1968.* Sirarpi Ohannessian. 20p. April 1969. MF-$0.25 HC-$1.10.

This report summarizes a meeting sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs

and carried out by the Center for Applied Linguistics to outline a bilingual kindergarten program in which Navajo would be the main medium for kindergarten activities, with oral English introduced as a subject. The meeting was the direct outcome of the recommendations of "The Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians" conducted by the CAL and sponsored by the BIA in 1967. (See ED 014 727, abstract in *TESOL Quarterly,* II, 3, September, 1968.) Agreed on were (1) the endorsement of the concept of bilingual kindergartens for Navajo children; (2) the vital importance of involving Navajo parents and community; (3) the need for general information on bilingual education; (4) the teaching of Navajo culture in the kindergarten; and (5) the necessity for listing English structures and vocabulary items to be covered during the kindergarten year, indicating phonological, morphological, and syntactic problems of interference from Navajo. Least agreement was on how to teach English at kindergarten level (a "play" approach using songs, games, and other activities, vs. more formal instruction using linguistically structured materials). It was suggested that several models be worked out, offering alternative approaches. Recommendations concerning general policy, the bilingual curriculum, and the preparation of teachers are presented.

ED 027 547 *Building English Sentences.* Eugene J. Hall. 294p.; 4vols. 1969. (Document not available from EDRS.)

This series, *Building English Sentences with Be, Building English Sentences with One Verb, Building English Sentences with Two Verbs,* and *Building English Sentences with Verbals,* is designed as supplementary material to provide oral and written practice on the basic sentence patterns of English. The basic types of drills used in the series are (1) substitution, (2) transformation, (3) combination, (4) additive. (5) arranging, and (6) question and answer. Within these basic types are variations providing for a wide range of changes and combinations. The drills are intended to be given orally, with the students repeating the cue sentences and responses after the teacher. The exercises may also be assigned as written work after the oral practice has been completed, using the blanks and spaces provided in the right-hand column on each page. Suggestions to the teacher for using the drills appear in the Foreword in each volume. Further volumes in the series are forthcoming. Available from Regents Publishing Company Division, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 200 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10003 (Single volume $1.00).

Announcements

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR 1970 TESOL CONVENTION

Again in 1970 the Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages will include a special Plenary Session devoted to the reading of papers voluntarily submitted by members. The TESOL Research Committee will select the papers to be presented.

Members who wish to present papers at this session at the TESOL Convention in San Francisco, March 18–21, 1970, should submit a descriptive title, time desired (20 minutes maximum), and a one-page typewritten, double-spaced abstract no later than October 1, 1969. Nine copies of the abstract should be sent to:

Professor Bernard Spolsky
Chairman, TESOL Research Committee
College of Education
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106

Abstracts should be *informative* rather than *indicative.* The informative abstract is an abbreviated version of the conceptual content of the paper, including a statement of the thesis, the development of the argument and main hypotheses, the nature of proofs or evidence, and the conclusions. The abstract of each paper selected for presentation, along with a selected bibliography (to be supplied by the speaker), will appear in the Convention Program.

MANUSCRIPT FORMAT FOR *TESOL QUARTERLY*

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

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

VOLUME TO HONOR PROFESSOR CLAUDE M. WISE

A project to honor the memory of Claude M. Wise, Professor of Speech at the Louisiana State University and visiting professor at many other distinguished institutions, is now nearing completion. The project is a volume of essays written and edited by former colleagues and students of Professor Wise. The volume will contain scholarly contributions from Gordon Peterson, Ilse Lehiste, John Black, Hilda Fisher, John Newman, Raven McDavid, Jr., Karl Wallace, Kenneth Pike, Archibald Hill, S. Takebayashi, Bower Aly, Wesley Hervey, Harry Wise, Hubert Heffner, and others. They cover the spectrum of the field of speech reflecting the wide

range of interests of C. M. Wise. C. M. Wise trained many of today's professors of speech; he was a prolific writer of articles and books, a former editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, and a past president of the Speech Association of America. His influence prevades the field.

This project, two years in the making, will be published in a hardback cover with dustjacket by the Artcraft Press. It will be available by late Fall 1969 in a limited edition. Prepublication reservations should be made as soon as possible. It will be priced reasonably. Prepublication reservations may be made by writing to the Editors of

Essays in Honor of Claude M. Wise
Herbert H. Lehman College
Box 334
Bedford Park Boulevard West
Bronx, New York 10468

Please include your Zipcode.

The volume is being edited by Professors Arthur J. Bronstein, Cj Stevens, and Claude Shaver.

Publications Received

CEA Chap Book: Directory of Creative Writing Programs in the United States and Canada. Donald A. Sears, ed. College English Association, 1968.

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English for American Indians: A Newsletter of the Office of the Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Fall 1968 and Winter 1969. Sirarpi Ohannessian, ed. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

English for Speakers of Hebrew, Intermediate Level: A Series of Texts for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language in Israel, Preliminary Edition. Ruth Aronson, Naomi Handelman, Alan Harris, Elite Olshtain, eds. Tel Aviv University, 1968.

ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics Bulletin No. 8 (January, 1969) and Bulletin No. 9 (March, 1969). Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

ESL Bilingual Newsletter, I, 1 (January, 1969). San Diego, California.

Language Learning, XVIII, 3 and 4 (December, 1968).

The Mexican American: Quest for Equality. A Report by the National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education. Albuquerque: The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1968.

Reference List of Materials for English as a Second Language. Supplement: 1964–1968. Dorothy A. Pedtke, Bernarda Erwin, and Anna Maria Malkoc, eds. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

Styles of Learning among American Indians: An Outline for Research. Report and Recommendations of a Conference held at Stanford University, August 8–10, 1968. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa, II, 2 (February, 1969). Nairobi, Kenya.

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