

TESOL QUARTERLY

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TESOL QUARTERLY

A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

TESOL

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Message from the President

At the Executive Committee meeting during the 1971 TESOL Convention in New Orleans, Betty Wallace Robinett, Editor of *TESOL Quarterly*, requested that a search be made for her replacement. While regretting such a decision on her part, the Executive Committee understands her reasons for wishing to resign; she has other professional projects which have lain untouched because of the time-consuming work of the editorship. Accordingly, the Executive Committee has appointed the following persons to act as a Search Committee with the expressed purpose of seeking a new Editor:

David P. Harris, Georgetown University
Clifford H. Prator, University of California, Los Angeles
Betty Wallace Robinett, (ch.), University of Minnesota
Ronald Wardhaugh, University of Michigan

In our search for a new editor we are earnestly trying to solicit the help of the TESOL membership in finding someone who, in addition to being willing to undertake this important task, fulfills the following qualifications which the Search Committee has decided upon:

1. The editor should be a person who has had experience writing or editing, preferably someone with a background in English or rhetoric.
2. He should be well grounded in linguistic theory but with practical experience in teaching English as a second language and/or teacher training in ESL.
3. He should have available secretarial help and duplicating facilities which could be utilized specifically for the *Quarterly*.
4. He should not be affiliated with an institution at which a rival publication is based.
5. He should be affiliated with an institution or an organization which will recognize that this position requires a reduction in load.
6. He must be a person who works well with others in the TESOL organization.

Please send to Dr. James Alatis, Executive Secretary, TESOL, Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007 the names and professional qualifications of anyone who might be considered for this position.

RUSSELL N. CAMPBELL
President, TESOL

Current Issues in Psycholinguistics and Second Language Teaching*

John B. Carroll

It is urged that there is no real conflict between the "audiolingual habit" and "cognitive-code learning" theories as applied to language teaching. It is false to make an opposition between rule-governed behavior and language habits. The notion of habit is, however, more general than that of rule, and is not as conceptually inadequate as sometimes claimed. The learning of second languages requires both the acquisition of knowledge about rules and the formation of the habits described by these rules. Language teaching procedures can be improved by application of psychological knowledge concerning the learning of language habits. It is stressed that situational meaning must be incorporated into language rules where it is applicable, and that the corresponding language habits must be made contingent upon these situational meanings.

Introduction

The draft statement of Qualifications and Guidelines for Preparation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages now being prepared by a committee of TESOL makes reference at several points, quite properly, to the desirability of having the TESOL teacher adequately equipped with a basic knowledge of relevant disciplines. It is stated, for example, that the teacher ". . . should have insight into the processes of language acquisition as it concerns first and subsequent language learning and as it varies at different age levels." Later it is stated that the teacher "should acquire insight into the principles of educational psychology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociology, and anthropology which he will use in facilitating the students' acquisition of the English language and of American culture."

As programmatic statements, these are acceptable and indeed laudable. The problem comes when one tries to implement them. In a review of the "state of the art" done for the Center for Applied Linguistics, Ronald Wardhaugh (1969) states that the theory of foreign language teaching is characterized by "uncertainty." He alludes to the "current ferment in those disciplines which underlie second language teaching, namely, linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy." This statement echoes that of Chomsky (1966), who characterized linguistics and psychology as being in a state of "flux and agitation"—a state to which he himself had contributed not a little. The journals in language teaching—particularly *IRAL* and *Language Learning*—are peppered with articles debating one point of view or another. First,

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1971.

Mr. Carroll, Senior Research Psychologist, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, is the author of numerous articles on psycholinguistics and language teaching. His best known book is probably *The Study of Language* (Harvard University Press, 1953).

it is suggested that transformational grammar has important insights for applied linguistics (James, 1969); then we are told that it is a complete failure in language teaching (Johnson, 1969; Lamendella, 1969). First we are told that pattern practice is without any scientific foundation; then we are told that pattern practice is indispensable and that there is no opposition between it and transformational grammar (or any other kind of grammar) after all (Brown, 1969). Some writers assume that teaching method is everything; others tell us that method makes no difference. In this bewildering interplay of diverse opinions and controversy, how is the language teacher going to be able to draw any firm conclusions about how to teach? What are the trainers of TESOL teachers going to tell them about linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy?

It has been some time since I have taken the opportunity to express myself on some of these questions, but in the interval I have also had the opportunity to rethink my position, sift the arguments of the various competing theories, and come up with what I hope may be a more balanced view of the issues.

Our field has been afflicted, I think, with many false dichotomies, irrelevant oppositions, weak conceptualizations, and neglect of the really critical issues and variables. When I summarized (Carroll, 1965) two extreme points of view in language teaching as being, first, the "audiolingual habit theory" and second, the "cognitive-code learning theory," I had no real intention of pitting one against the other. I was only interested in pursuing what each theory would imply if pushed to the limit. Indeed, even at that time I meant to suggest that each theory had a modicum of truth and that some synthesis needed to be worked out. Instead, the trend has been for points of view to become crystallized and polarized.

In this paper I want to suggest how the apparently conflicting points of view may be reconciled; I want also to suggest that the debates that have raged in language teaching theory may have entirely missed some of the truly essential points. We have been hung up on issues that turn on semantics or misunderstandings. Some of the traditional wisdom in language teaching continues to be valid. We ought not to "throw out the old man with the bilgewater." At the same time we must guard against a "new orthodoxy" that may lead us down a garden path to failure.

I will orient my talk around a number of key issues: the nature of linguistic rules and their relation to "habits" of language use; the role of grammatical theory in language teaching; the nature of language learning; the balance between an audiolingual habit theory and a cognitive-code theory; and some of the critical variables in language pedagogy.

The False Opposition between "Rule-Governed Behavior" and "Habits"

In various writings, Chomsky has led an attack on what he claims to be "behavioristic" doctrines underlying older, "structuralist" views of language. In particular, he claims that language behavior cannot be conceived

in terms of the notion of "habit"; rather, it must be thought of as "rule-governed behavior." In this attack, he seems to assume that "habits" are automatic sequences of responses to particular stimuli. A memorized sentence would be a "habit" for him. I remember that on one occasion, at a forum held at the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in 1966, he offered, as a kind of intuitive proof that language behavior is not a matter of habit, the fact that the first sentence of that day's *New York Times* had never been written before—that it was entirely creative. As a psychologist, I cannot see that this is any proof at all. If we were to take that sentence from the *New York Times* and decompose it into its various constituents, even using a transformational grammar to find its phrase-markers and transformations, these constituents could be interpreted as manifestations of "habits" resulting from particular constellations of stimulus situations in the mind of the writer or in the material about which he was writing. What I am saying is that I do not find any basic opposition between conceiving of language behavior as resulting from the operation of "habits" and conceiving of it as "rule-governed." Perhaps it is simply that my conception of habit is different from Chomsky's. I would define a habit as any learned disposition to perceive, behave, or perform in a certain manner under specified circumstances. To the extent that an individual's language behavior conforms to the habits of the speech community of which he is a member, we can say that his behavior is "rule-governed." For, notice, what the descriptive linguist tries to do is to specify the manner and the circumstances under which certain classes of linguistic phenomena occur. Ordinarily, we think of these statements as *rules*, but they can equally well be thought of as statements of the conditions under which certain language habits manifest themselves in a given speech community. As a matter of fact, linguistic rules are extremely limited; they specify only *some* of the conditions under which language phenomena occur; in general they take the form "if situation X is present (e.g., the necessity to place a certain concept in the subject position in a sentence), the language form must be thus-and-so (e.g., the verb must be passive) ." They do not attempt to formulate the conditions under which the contingencies of the rule occur. At any rate, I believe that the opposition between "rule-governed behavior" and "habits" is false and specious.

I know that in saying this I subject myself to attack. I will be accused of not having read, or at any rate, not having understood, for example, Chomsky's (1959) famous review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*. To anyone who might thus accuse me, I would recommend the reading of a reply to this review by MacCorquodale (1970) in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior*. The complete defense of my point of view would require much more time than I can take here. There are a number of qualifications and details that would have to be discussed at length. Let me briefly mention some of these details.

In the first place I would emphasize that the notion of "habit" is much

more fundamental, psychologically, than the notion of "rule." A "rule" is simply a formal, usually *verbal*, statement of the conditions under which something is expected to occur or not to occur, usually under certain sanctions. As such it is an abstraction or a construct in some sense independent of actual behavior. We are familiar with the fact that people can speak a language without any conscious knowledge or application of the "rules" that are said to underlie their language. A "habit," however, is a real thing that somehow resides in a person. It is *what he has learned*. As language teachers we are trying to produce and change certain kinds of habits. If psychology has anything to say to language teachers, it will say it about "habits," not about "rules," except possibly as second-order phenomena. You may look to linguistics for information about "rules."

Second, I would point out that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between linguistic habits and linguistic rules. There is only a partial overlap, consisting solely of those linguistic habits that are more or less uniform throughout a speech community and that consequently are legitimate objects of linguistic description. In the individual, there may be, and usually are, many idiosyncratic habits of speech that either have no functional significance in the speech community, or that are clearly at odds with those of the speech community. The individual may have a habit of using a word in a unique way. At the same time, many linguistic rules can be formulated that may not correspond to any functioning habit in the speech community. For example, rules have been formulated concerning the relations between the members of such pairs as *sane—sanity*, and *vital—vitality*, but if asked to pronounce a derivative in *-ity* from a nonsense form such as *fane*, many Ss will still say /feynitiy/, even though they will pronounce *profanity* in the usual way; they have no habit that reflects this rule, having learned *sane* and *sanity*, *profane* and *profanity*, etc. as separate items. In fact, the kinds of rules or habits they are really reflecting, in their behavior, are certain spelling pronunciation rules, not rules relating words.

Third, I would point out that I do not exclude the notion of "knowledge" in discussing linguistic habits. The language user can become aware of his linguistic habits in various ways and in various degrees, and often he can report this knowledge. He "knows" the meanings of many words, and he can recognize when a word is used in an "incorrect" or unusual grammatical function. Modern psychology views the individual partly as an "information processor," and on occasion the information he processes has to do with his linguistic habits. But there are undoubtedly a large number of linguistic habits that never rise to the level of conscious awareness for the ordinary individual. It seems to me to be an odd use of the verb *to know* when it is said that the linguistic system is what the individual "knows" in order to understand and produce grammatical sentences.

In this whole matter of the relation of psychology to linguistic theory, much of what has been said by the proponents of the new orthodoxy can be regarded as a kind of "verbal overlay" (to use a phrase coined by Lammen-

della, 1969) that has little real relevance to the facts of language behavior or even to the goals of linguistics.

One aspect of psychology that has been used as a whipping boy is the so-called S-R (stimulus-response) theory. To be sure, there have been varieties of S-R theory whose application may be too limited, like Watson's or Skinner's, but from some linguistic writings one gets the impression that there is no such thing as a stimulus, and no such thing as a response. Actually, psychology cannot possibly dispense with these concepts, and they have been refined in various ways. The S-R formulation is usually expanded to include an "O" (for "organisms") between the S and the R. The connection between an S and a response is seldom regarded as simple and automatic; it is modulated by the organism's past history, by other stimulus conditions, and so forth. The stimulus need not be external, either. We usually distinguish between the *nominal* stimulus and the *functional* stimulus; a nominal stimulus, for example, might be a grammatically ambiguous sentence in its purely physical manifestation (either written or spoken), while the functional stimulus would be what the hearer or reader perceives it to mean. Moreover, the psychologist does not think of a response *only* in terms of a consequence of some specific stimulus. Nor does the response have to be defined in terms of a particular physical movement—saying a word, for example, for many purposes can be thought of as equivalent to writing the word. Finally, the concepts of stimulus and response are not inextricably bound to the concept of reinforcement. Rather, psychologists are more generally concerned with the outcomes of a particular S-O-R sequence and its effects on subsequent sequences. One kind of outcome has to do with an individual's *knowledge* of the outcome. Current opinion is that knowledge of outcomes is a much more effective factor in learning than "reinforcement" of some particular response. This is in line with the view of the learner as an "information processor" which is implied by nearly all the current work on human learning, and sometimes even in animal learning. Still, there appear to be certain classes of behaviors in which reinforcement theory is useful.

What seems to have happened is that because of Chomsky's attack on a particular variety of behavioristic psychology, and because of the unquestioning acceptance of this attack, linguists and language teachers have overgeneralized his conclusions to all of psychology and its concepts. Even some psychologists have been hoodwinked.

One consequence of the mistaken rejection of the concept of the stimulus has been to underplay the role of the objective situation and the environment in the formulation of linguistic rules. For example, linguists have formulated rules purporting to govern the relations among different types of sentences such as active, passive, negative, and interrogative, but they have neglected to state rules concerning the conditions under which these types of sentences are used and have meaning. To the claim that linguists often make that their goal is simply to determine the rules by which sen-

tences are “grammatical” or “ungrammatical,” I would suggest that one aspect of the grammaticality of a sentence may be whether its use is appropriate in a given situation. If I asked someone to open the door and he replied “Paris is the capital of France,” I would ordinarily take his reply to be ungrammatical. It is in fact widely recognized that linguists have neglected the “semantic” component of language. The formulation of semantic rules will at some point entail a consideration of the stimulus configurations involved in them, because meanings have connections with stimuli and situations.

For example, it is impossible to write, in the usual linguistic manner, rules about the proper use of the definite and indefinite articles in English. One must make an appeal to the communicative situation—to the perceptions and intentions of speaker and hearer. To explain the fact that a speaker can use the indefinite article *a* (as in “I saw *a* movie last night”) even when he has a perfectly definite thing in mind, we have to note that the speaker realizes that *for the listener*, this thing is still nonspecific when first mentioned. However, this introductory use of the indefinite article permits either the speaker or hearer to assume that the thing mentioned is now specified and thenceforth to use the definite article (e.g., if the speaker continues “*The* movie was about Russia” or if the listener asks “Did you like *the* movie?”). We can say in this case that the speaker’s perception of the listener’s state of knowledge is the functional stimulus to his choice of article. However, I suspect that extremely few speakers of English are aware of this “rule” or the habit that corresponds to it. I wonder how many TESOL teachers are aware of it when they try to teach the use of indefinite and definite articles.

In a recent essay in *Language Learning*, T. G. Brown (1969) found himself in the embarrassing position of having to say that the concepts of pattern, habit, and interference were “conceptually inadequate” even though they related to what he felt were very real problems in teaching languages. Obviously Brown was under the influence of the “new orthodoxy” in linguistics. Brown had no need, in my opinion, to apologize for his concepts of pattern, habit, and interference. With appropriate definition, they are valid concepts. A pattern is a manifestation of a linguistic rule, usually, a particular surface structure, or it can be thought of as a manifestation of a linguistic habit. One strong, well-learned linguistic habit can interfere with the acquisition of another habit when there are certain similarities on either the stimulus or the response side of the habit.

What Grammatical Theory Is Most Useful to Language Teachers?

It would be pretentious to try to express an opinion here on which of the various grammatical theories is most valid. Different grammatical theories have somewhat different goals. The several varieties of transformational grammar are indeed quite successful in achieving their goals, although I have reservations about certain features of them, in particular, their fre-

quent confusion of grammaticality with meaning. But lack of time forbids a discussion of this problem. In general I believe that language teachers should evaluate grammatical theories in terms of the degree to which they conform to the linguistic habits that actually enable a language user to speak and understand the language. In the terms proposed by Chomsky, this would have to include both a theory of competence and a theory of performance. In fact, the theory of performance would be of importance at least equal to that of a theory of competence. I am not even sure that it will ultimately be possible to differentiate these two types of theory, although one can in general accept the usual distinction between *langue* and *parole*. The transformational theory of competence as it has developed thus far presents itself as mainly a set of abstractions that may or may not relate to actual linguistic behavior— *even though* it may be fairly successful in being “descriptively adequate.” I fail to see how a pure theory of competence can have what Chomsky calls “explanatory adequacy” unless it includes at least part of a theory of performance. The evidence that transformational rules correspond to any habits that are actually involved in the behavior of speakers and hearers is thus far meager and highly controversial. For example, the fact that subjects seem to have slower comprehension of passive sentences does not need to be accounted for by appeal to transformational rules; it can be accounted for, possibly, by pointing out that passive sentences are less frequent in language use and hence less familiar to subjects in psychological experiments. The fact that they are ordinarily learned somewhat later than active sentences is possibly a factor, also the fact that subjects seem to possess an “expectancy” for active sentences.

Whether it would be in a theory of competence or in a theory of performance, or some combination thereof, an adequate theory would include the statement of rules (corresponding to habits, along the lines I have mentioned earlier), having to do with how speakers encode meanings into communicatively acceptable utterances, and how hearers decode those meanings. One might suppose that transformational grammar is attempting to do this by specifying relations between “deep” and “surface” structure, if one assumes that “deep structure” is tantamount to “meaning to be encoded, or meaning to be decoded into.” It is not clear, however, whether meaning is in fact encoded in the deep structure forms specified by transformational grammar. My prize example would be the famous sentence, “John is easy to please.” Intuitively I would guess that the meaning being represented here is an attribute of John, “easy-to-please-ness” rather than some deep structure which we might verbalize as “For someone to please John is easy.” Another example: if I know only that someone’s windshield has been smashed, it seems to me that the meaning doesn’t necessarily entail any reference to who or what smashed the windshield, or what it was smashed with. That it got smashed, under some indefinite circumstances, is all that is meant.

One aspect of grammatical theory that I believe has been somewhat

neglected by linguistic theoreticians and that, if developed, would be of considerable use in language teaching, is the full description of the lexical and grammatical information associated with each of the words in the language—or at least the more common words. I have recently been studying the relevance of this information to the interpretation and comprehension of English sentences by native speakers at grades 3, 6, and 9 in school. I directed my attention in particular to words in English that, at least in their dictionary entry forms, can have multiple grammatical functions. Some of these words, like LEAN or SKIRT, have somewhat different meanings in their several grammatical functions; others, like FILL, SIGHT, CHANNEL, DRUG, have essentially the same meaning in different grammatical functions.

I collected a large number of such words with multiple grammatical functions and asked my subjects to use them in sentences. A striking result of this part of the study was that in most cases, subjects had strong tendencies to use each word in a particular part of speech, even though if asked to use the word “in another way” they would sometimes use it in another part of speech. For example, the word MILL was used 100% of the time as a noun by those 3rd graders who could use it correctly at all, and 89% of the time by 6th graders. Only 12% of the 3rd graders, and 25% of the 6th graders, changed part of speech in giving a second sentence. Furthermore, 76% of the 3rd graders, and 70% of the 6th graders, marked “wrong” the usage of the word in the sentence “Before class, children often *mill* in the halls,” although of course most of the children (71% of the 3rd graders, 92% of 6th graders) marked it “right” in the sentence “The children walked to the mill near the river.”

From such findings, I conclude that a component of a child’s competence in the English language is his “knowledge” of the lexicogrammatical information associated with each word—knowledge that could also be regarded as corresponding to a series of “habits” of various strengths to perceive the word in one or another part of speech and apprehend an associated meaning. I also conclude that for a large number of words, this lexicogrammatical knowledge is seriously defective in children as compared to that of the educated native speaker, and that this deficiency is possibly a serious and little recognized source of children’s difficulty in comprehending language. Incidentally, this may be an interesting case of habit interference. A child’s habit of understanding the word MILL as a noun appears to interfere with his comprehension when it is used as a verb.

I should think that information of this sort would be of interest and use to TESOL teachers. (It is contained in a report that I have submitted to the US. Office of Education and that will presumably show up in the ERIC system shortly.)

On Language Learning

The “new orthodoxy” in linguistics and psycholinguistics has made certain statements that may have made second language teachers almost

despair of their profession. I refer to the claim that the acquisition of a first language depends to a great extent on some "innate" language ability whereby language is "acquired," not learned, by some mysterious process of "hypothesis testing." Certain writers go so far as to suggest that some ground form of natural language is, so to speak, "wired in" to the human brain. It is also suggested that there is a critical period for language acquisition that lasts only until about the age of puberty, with in fact a decline of language-learning ability from about the age of 5 or 6 up to puberty. It is true that these writers carefully leave open the possibility that people can learn a *second* language after puberty, but they suggest that second language learning is different in kind from first language learning.

What may make second language teachers despair is that the process of language acquisition, whether the first language or another, is depicted as so mysterious, and so different from ordinary learning, that they could never hope to compete with these processes.

In some measure, we may agree with this new orthodoxy. We can grant that there is indeed a large biological component in first language acquisition—that even though chimpanzees have been taught impressive language-like performances, those performances are nothing like those of the average human child. We can grant that the human child has a very complex and well-differentiated brain and that language is acquired in step with the maturing of that brain. The evidence for a "critical period" and a decline in language acquisition ability during the middle school years is not strong, however, and even if there is some decline, I am not persuaded that one must appeal to biology to explain it. An alternative hypothesis about this decline is that it is due to the consolidation of the habits established in primary language acquisition and their interference with the acquisition of new habits. Further, it may be that the large individual differences in foreign language aptitude that can be observed reflect individual differences in the rate of this decline.

My chief concern about the claims of the new orthodoxy, however, is that it underplays the role of learning, learning of the kind we know something about. It must be the case that in some sense children "learn" their language by observation, modeling, imitation, and similar processes. In fact, there is accumulating evidence that children learn language, at least in part, by processes that resemble those that can be studied in the laboratory, and that in some respects they are "taught" their language. It has been observed, for example, that mothers tend to simplify their language when speaking to their young children.

Common observation would suggest that people can and do "learn" second languages by normal learning processes—not necessarily by "reinforcement" procedures, but more likely by the conscious acquisition of knowledge about the language—knowledge that with time and appropriate experience is converted into what I have tried to call habits. I mentioned earlier that psychologists have come to understand better the respective

roles of “reinforcement” and “knowledge of outcomes.” Reinforcement techniques are mainly valuable in maintaining attention and interest; they are the basis of successful programs of “behavior management” as practiced in some kinds of institutions, such as those for delinquents and the mentally retarded, and even in some regular school programs. But the current interest of psychologists studying human learning is in the investigation of basic processes of memory and concept formation. These studies assume that the individual has the capacity to perceive language stimuli, to “register” them in memory in some way—initially in what is called short-term memory and later in a long-term memory storage—and to “process” the information thus registered in order to make inferences about its nature and structure or in order to make new, seemingly “creative” responses in conformity with those inferences. They have been studying the factors that convert short-term memories into long-term memories, and the factors that enable the individual to derive inferences about his perceptions. For example, “rehearsal” (e.g., repeating words to oneself) is one of the processes that appears to convert short-term memories into longer-term memories. It is out of a psychology of this sort that I believe a psychology of language learning and use can be fashioned. In fact, some of the elements of such a psychology have been lying around for a long time.

Audiolingual vs. Cognitive-Code Learning?

From all of the above, one can see that I do not believe that either a pure “audiolingual habit theory” or a pure “cognitive-code learning theory” is a correct and comprehensive one. Each of these theories is to some extent wrong or incomplete. Yet each theory has elements of truth and value. In saying this I am not simply being “eclectic.” Instead, I am trying to suggest a meaningful synthesis. Just what name we should use for a synthesized theory, I am not sure. If it does not seem too flip to do so, let us call it a “cognitive habit-formation theory.” To some, such a title may seem a contradiction in terms, but as we have already seen, the concepts of cognition and of habit formation can be accommodated to each other.

Let us look at the merits and demerits of the theories that we want to synthesize.

In thinking about the audiolingual habit theory, we should first note that an incidental aspect of this theory was that it directed attention to a particular objective of language teaching, namely the aural-oral objective. This was a salutary emphasis, but it had little to do with language learning theory *per se*. If we are concerned with habits, it wouldn't matter whether they were formed in a spoken or written mode. Studies such as that of Scherer and Wertheimer (1964) have adequately laid to rest the idea that there is any marked advantage in starting with aural-oral teaching when a reading objective is to be attained. As I have commented elsewhere (Carroll, 1966) the Scherer-Wertheimer study shows mainly that students learn (if

anything) precisely what they are taught, or at least that transfer of learning is a two-way street between aural-oral and reading-writing skills.

From the standpoint of methodology as such, the emphasis of the audiolingual habit theory was upon the formation of habits through practice and repetition. It re-introduced the pattern-practice drill that has been the bane of so many students and teachers. Now, language behavior *is* partly a matter of habits—habits of perceiving, knowing, and performance. What was wrong with the audiolingual habit theory was its incorrect assumptions about what kinds of habits to form and how to form them. It assumed that the habits that had to be formed related, for example, to the substitution of words in slots in sentence patterns or to the transformation of one kind of sentence into another—habits that have only a remote relation to those that function in actual language behavior. If it had paid more attention to the formation of truly functional habits, it might have been more successful. As a simple example of a functional habit for a learner of English, one might cite a “habit” of starting the main clause with an auxiliary when the stimulus is the intention to ask a yes-no question based on any verb except the copula (and in some cases *have*). There is a subtle but important difference between this and the ability to transform a declarative sentence into an interrogative: the difference resides in the stimulus—situational and intentional in the former case, merely a sentence in the latter case. Even the memorization of dialogues, with their *implied* situational content, does not *insure* that the situation or the intention of the speaker will become a functional stimulus in the habits that are formed. The dialogue may be learned simply as a series of chained responses, one sentence being a stimulus for the next. It is only when the student has a strategy of injecting meaningful situational content into the dialogue that he may indeed profit from dialogue memorization. At least, this would be my analysis of such procedures; unfortunately I know of no hard evidence about this point.

On the *formation* of habits, the audiolingual theory assumed that practice and repetition were the crucial factors. But it was found long ago in psychology that practice and repetition are not crucial in learning, although they have certain roles to play. *Successive* repetition of the same response is, in fact, generally the wrong way to “stamp in” a habit; there are few kinds of learning where this is effective. Evocation of the response on a number of aperiodic, widely-spaced occasions, with interpolation of different material in the intervals, is a much more effective method of strengthening a habit, but such a method has been insufficiently employed in pattern drills.

Another important principle of learning that was often ignored in methods based on the audiolingual theory was the role of feedback and correction, or “trial and error,” in its nonpejorative sense. In the language laboratory, students were too often permitted to repeat errors and thus to “learn” them, or if they were corrected, there was insufficient attention to evoking the correct response *on another occasion* or to explaining the nature of the error and how to correct it.

Now consider the cognitive-code learning theory. It does have the merit of trying to give the student a knowledge and comprehension of the facts and formal rules of the language—a knowledge that can indeed be of help in guiding the formation of appropriate language habits, but only when appropriate opportunities are given to form those habits along the lines I have just mentioned. Not only was there the danger that a cognitive-code learning procedure failed to provide enough of these opportunities, but there was also the possibility that the facts of the language were presented in inappropriate or hard-to-understand ways. For example, the presentation of a complete verb paradigm is a dubious way of helping the student to form morphological habits because the task of reproducing a paradigm has little resemblance to anything in actual language use. (I don't mean to rule out all use of verb paradigms; I am simply suggesting that presenting a verb paradigm is not sufficient to produce the learning desired.)

The presentation of the "facts of the language" must take account of the student's readiness to absorb them; also, it must be done with an awareness that a variety of concrete examples must be given to illustrate and reinforce abstract rules. Research on inductive vs. deductive teaching methods indicates that neither method alone is adequate; for effective teaching, there must be considerable alternation between rules and examples. It hardly matters whether one starts with the rule or the example, as long as this alternation exists.

Contrastive linguistics and error analyses based on it can play a definite role both in the organization and preparation of language-teaching materials and in the day-to-day presentation of "language facts" to the student. But presentation of contrastive facts is best done, according to the kind of synthetic theory I am elaborating here, in the context of statements like "When you want to express meaning X, you do it in manner A, but when you want to express meaning Y, you do it in manner B," emphasizing the stimulus conditions that control the different usages rather than merely pointing out a contrast between language forms.

In the teaching of phonology, a cognitive habit-formation theory would recommend: "Do as much explanation and coaching as you can as to how the foreign sounds are to be recognized, discriminated, and articulated, but at the same time keep shaping the responses by feedback, correction, and practice procedures." Relevant research studies supporting this recommendation are now available from work of Henning (1966) and Catford and Pisoni (1970).

Pedagogy and the Teacher

Much of what I have said about teaching procedures is in no way new. The kinds of things that I believe a cognitive habit-formation theory recommends be practiced have long been the property of good language teachers, from the days of Gouin, de Sauzé, Palmer, Sweet and other pioneers. Teachers need to be constantly reminded of these practices, however, because they

tend to develop, under the pressure of new fads and theories, a kind of professional panic and anxiety about their work. Also, it is easy to neglect certain practices, such as giving proper feedback and correction to every student, when there are too many students or when there are too many distractions of an administrative character.

In language teaching, as in other kinds of instruction, probably the critical factor in success is in managing the learning procedures of the student in such a way that at any given stage of learning the student is learning just what he needs to learn, being given the appropriate strategy for that learning to take place, and being properly reinforced in that learning. Any extreme, one-sided theory of language teaching tends to distract the teacher from his task and make him neglectful of certain essential operations in teaching. This is perhaps one of the reasons why comparisons between different teaching methods and procedures are seldom productive of any large average differences favoring one method or another. In the "Pennsylvania study" conducted and reported by Smith (1970), a large component of the variance was associated with the teacher, quite apart from method or material. I have reason to believe that this teacher variance reflected the extent to which the teacher was able to manage and maintain appropriate student learning behavior along the lines I have indicated—even though this was a variable that was never directly studied or observed in the Pennsylvania investigation. In fact, even though there has been considerable research on "teacher behavior," that research has focussed on such things as "classroom climate" and student-teacher interaction patterns, largely neglecting the teacher's ability to manage learning behavior. Thus, the teacher's ability to manage learning behavior remains one of the most unexplored, unstudied variables in educational research.

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On the Syntax of Written Black English *

Stephen B. Ross

The writing of black, elementary school children in the Watts District of Los Angeles was analyzed in an effort to relate it to current studies in oral language and to current pedagogical materials. The themes were first segmented by Kellogg Hunt's T-unit concept, with the T-units then analyzed according to the PS grammar used in the school, though some modifications were made in the model to include previously identified Black English features and recent advances in linguistic theory. This information was placed in a computer and frequency counts for over 15,000 sentence constructions were run. Black students were shown to write in patterned and rule-governed ways. Their syntactic forms were lengthy and complicated generally, with almost half of the sentence constructions embedded or conjoined within T-units. Embedding within T-units is almost four times as common as conjoining within T-units. The basic sentence categories were those of the pedagogical model, though some types, like the indirect object patterns, occurred infrequently. Auxiliary patterns did not include all White English forms, but did include all generally identified Black English auxiliaries as well as one pattern mentioned only in the writings of the "Creolists." Noun phrase constituency rules also were noticeably different from the pedagogical model.

Studies in Black English have properly emphasized oral language, but have tended to focus on constructions in isolation. Sometimes these isolates are phonological, as in studies which seek to generalize phonological rules from individual lexical items; sometimes these isolates are morphological, as, for example, in studies which identify distinct auxiliary or genitive constructions; and sometimes they are historical, as illustrated by recent investigations of decreolization. However, as important as these different types of investigation are, their incompleteness occurs exactly at the point where pedagogical needs are often the greatest. Educators need a syntactic model which will synthesize these isolates and relate spoken language and written language. It was this objective that prompted a cooperative project between the Los Angeles City Schools and the University of Southern California, the results of which are being reported in part here.

Ten classes were randomly selected from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades of the elementary schools in the Jordan Complex.¹The 327 students

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¹ These five schools are the elementary schools of the Watts District: Ritter, Grape Street, Compton Avenue, 102nd Street, and 111th Street. Their student population is almost 100% black.

in these classes were assigned a written theme during a half hour period on each of five successive Wednesdays.² The five topics,³ selected in consultation with the teachers involved, were designed first to give the students a subject about which they had knowledge or felt strongly, and second to elicit different types of linguistic information, such as tense distinctions, complex constructions, and so forth. Out of the original randomly selected group, 138 students wrote all five themes. These students' themes (690 in all) became the corpus of this study, and were first broken into T-units following the methodology of Kellogg Hunt.⁴

Hunt's T-unit concept is necessary in handling written material where punctuation (or the lack of it) is unreliable in reconstructing the clause terminals and intonation patterns of speech. The T-unit, or terminable unit, is a grammatically independent construction, isolated from other grammatically independent constructions but containing all embedded or conjoined constituents dependent upon it. A T-unit can be composed of a single S of the type

$$(1) S \rightarrow NP + VP,$$

or it can be composed of several. However, if it is composed of several, one must be the head and all others must be modifiers of it, whether they be subordinated adverbial, relativized noun phrases, conjoined verb phrases, or what have you.⁵ In this study, these modifying constructions which are also of the type $S \rightarrow NP + VP$ are called S-units.

After the corpus was broken into T-units, each T-unit was analyzed according to the early transformational model allegedly being used in the district. However, this model was modified to incorporate both features of Black English (such as sentence types, auxiliary patterns, genitive constructions, etc.) and some recent advances in transformational theory (such as post-articles, embedding principles, transitive adjectives, etc.). The syntactic, morphological, and dialectal information was coded and the coded data keypunched into approximately 15,000 IBM cards, one card for each T- and S- unit. From these cards, frequency distributions of selected variables from approximately 600 of the themes were run for this paper. Ultimately the entire corpus will be correlated with already identified sociological variables as well.

Certain uncontrollable variables are recognized in a study of this type.

² The dates were February 4, 18, 25; March 4, 11, 1970. The second Wednesday (February 11) was omitted because of its juxtaposition to Lincoln's Birthday.

³ The topics were "An Accident I Saw," "A Trip to the Moon," "When I Grow up," "My Favorite Story," and "What Makes Me Madder Than Anything." In each instance, identical instructions were utilized in each classroom to assure, as much as possible, similar priming of the students.

⁴ *Differences in Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels, the Structures to Be Analyzed by Transformational Methods* (Tallahassee, 1984).

⁵ See also Kellogg W. Hunt, "Do Sentences in the Second Language Grow Like Those in the First?" *TESOL Quarterly*, 4, 3 (September 1970), 195-202, for further application of the T-unit concept.

The surface structures that have been gathered must be considered as part of a performance model, and any attempt to identify deep structures or competence models is at best tenuous. Identical studies with speakers of White English who have similar socio-economic status are lacking. As a result, it is often possible to identify features in Black English which might also be found in White English, but until corroborative studies are made, the exact variation in frequency distribution is unknown. Orthographic problems inherent in a written corpus cannot be definitely correlated with phonological ones in all instances, but this is the problem historical linguists have faced for decades. Maturational variables in language acquisition do not always stand out, although some were quite clear. And most importantly, the differences between the school register in which these themes were most likely written and the basilect forms of the child's peer group language cannot be measured, although there is limited evidence in the corpus of conscious shifting between the two registers, including, of course, hypercorrection. Nevertheless, the assumption must be made that the Black English features and patterns identified here represent only a part of what the student would use naturally in oral language and in other social settings. At each grade level, preliminary evidence indicates that the student uses some forms which he has identified as belonging in the classroom and suppresses some that the teacher has ostracized. For example, only one instance of the negator *ain't* was found, and that just ain't natural.

Among the general conclusions, some were expected; many were not. As expected, there is little indication to justify the traditional stereotype that Black English, as opposed to other dialects, is not patterned or rule-governed. The rules and patterns are sometimes different, sometimes not easily discovered, but they are there. The occasional exceptions to discoverable rules are probably more apparent than real, seemingly caused by an incomplete control of two dialects or registers. For example, the purported random variation between past tense and past participle forms of the verb has often been noted in relation to Black English. The corpus would tend to cast some doubt upon this, at least in this register. Thirty per cent of the verbs in the study (i.e., 4,375) used "regular" past tense forms, while only one fourth of one per cent (i.e., 35) substituted the past participle in its place. It would seem that this variation can better be explained by noting regular lexical differences for specific verbs and for specific speakers (differences often found in White English, by the way), rather than concluding there is unpatterned alternation between two auxiliary forms across an entire population.

On the other hand, the length and complexity of the syntactic forms was quite unexpected. All told, 7,931 T-units were identified, or roughly 13.9 per theme. Individual themes varied from one line to seven pages in length (all written in the allocated 30 minutes), or more precisely, from one T-unit to ninety-eight. The mean length of these T-units was 12.86 morphemes, with the range from one to eighty-eight. But in addition to these nearly

8,000 main constructions, there were 6,676 embedded or conjoined S-units within the T-units, and this total does not include a significant number of complement constructions, and identical noun phrase and verb phrase conjunctions which were incorporated into the codes of the basic sentences themselves. In other words, the corpus consists of over 15,000 syntactic patterns, almost half of which were embedded or conjoined constructions. Furthermore, conjunction within T-units was comparatively small, comprising less than 18% of the embedded or conjoined S-units. The distribution of these embedded and conjoined constructions is as follows: nominals embedded in the VP, 50.7%; pre- and post-sentence adverbials, 27.7%; conjoined VP's, 15.4%; nominals embedded in the NP, 4.6%; and coordinated S's with conjunction reduction, 1.7%. A large majority of the T-units did not contain any embedded or conjoined constructions, however, since in many instances T-units with five, six, or even seven or more S-units were found. This degree of linguistic complexity was surprising. It must be concluded that the students in this population were much more verbal than their teachers indicated, both in the amount of material they could generate and in the level of complexity of that material itself.

Also surprising was the fact that there were few unanalyzable constructions. The corpus includes only fifty-four mazes or garbles. Of course there were sentence fragments and run-on constructions in addition, but even here the number was much lower than had been expected.

The basic sentence patterns were categorized primarily according to the early transformational or "Roberts" concept of verb typology, since this is the model adopted in the district.⁶ Most of the sentences were either of the transitive (43.4%), intransitive (25.5%), or *be* copula types (16.8% for the *be* forms). However, the frequency distribution of some of the sub-categories of these main patterns was interesting. Approximately 13% of the sentences in the corpus were identified as having an embedded S or complement in the basic sentence pattern, while less than 2% contained an indirect object, and this latter figure included all the *to* and *for* periphrastic indirect objects as well. Of the less numerous sentence categories, those with copula deletion were quite noticeable. They occurred in 1% of the total corpus, were evenly distributed throughout the population, and were found in every environment in which *be* appeared. There was some evidence to indicate that *be* may be optionally deletable in certain instances, but obligatorily retained in others. For example, one student wrote:

(2) "And they even madder than I was."

in which the copula was deleted in the main clause but recovered in the comparative, apparently by obligatory rule. If the copula is optionally de-

⁶The "Roberts English Series," following Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, classifies basic sentence patterns according to the verb and its co-occurring verb phrase structure. *Be* and its various predicates are separated from the "verbals," namely the intransitive and transitive with their various sub-categories, verbs of the "mid" or *have* class, and verbs of the *become* and *seem* classes.

letable, it is probable that a much higher percentage of constructions containing copula deletion would occur when the child is not in school register. Many of the apparent instances of fluctuation between dialects or registers that have been identified in the corpus occurred in this situation, as the *be* form was sometimes inserted, sometimes erased as an afterthought. As will be mentioned later, a considerable number of pseudo-cleft sentences were found in which the copula was deleted as well.

Because of its common usage, the verb *get* was isolated in this study, and was found to occur in 5.1% of the sentences, most of which could probably be found in any American English dialect. About a fifth of these might be labelled either "become" class verbs or transitive verbs with indirect object in a Roberts model. But in addition, *get* was used intransitively with a particle, as in

(3) "He just got by."

before adverbials, as in

(4) "She got there OK."

aspectually, as for example

(5) "Let's get going."

and in several lesser but still interesting categories. As will be noted later, it was also common to find *get* as the marker of the passive. It would appear that present instructional models do not indicate the varied patterns of this verb or its common occurrence.

On the other hand, "mid" or *have* class verbs occurred in 4% of the corpus, although the large majority of these were semi-modals of the *have to* type followed by embedded constructions. *Become* class verbs, including some instances of *get*, were found only 1% of the time, and *seem* class verbs only one half of 1%.

Except for cases of copula deletion, most of the basic surface structure sentence patterns varied little from early transformational models. The percentage of occurrence in some minor categories and sub-categories, and the amount of embedding involved, could indicate, however, the need to change some sequences and emphases in instructional material.

The possible interpretations of the auxiliary are much more complex. In addition to most of the auxiliaries of White English, all of the generally identified Black English auxiliary constructions were found, although in many instances the frequency distribution was quite low, perhaps occasioned by the temporal context of the theme assignments themselves, i.e., the topics demanded use of past, present, and future time concepts, but not necessarily a-temporal or generic. The a-temporal

(6) "He be working."

type of construction occurred only nineteen times, while the durative

(7) "He working."

form was found thirty-four times, the two together comprising less than .4 of 1% of the total auxiliaries.

A larger group of the generic type of auxiliary was used, however. These forms, identifiable by the absence of a marker in the "third person present singular" as, for example, in

(8) "He make me mad."

have been variously interpreted as the result of a final consonant cluster deletion rule, the absence of a concord marker, or the indicator of a separate auxiliary category altogether. Auxiliaries of this type occurred in 4.5% of all instances, but were suspected in many more, including first and second person and plural subject agreements. If these forms are to be interpreted as resulting from a final consonant cluster deletion rule or a concord deletion rule, then teachers must be trained to identify the conditioning environment and evidence must be gathered to show that there is no temporal distinction made by the user of Black English that is not found in White English. The latter, of course, runs contrary to the findings of many sociolinguists today. On the other hand, if a separate auxiliary category is involved, more adequate deep structure-competence models must be developed than can justifiably be extrapolated from this data. Adverbial frames can undoubtedly be used to show the temporal distinctions. J. L. Dillard has suggested⁷ that one difference between the durative and the a-temporal is that the durative ("He working") is negated by *ain't*, while the a-temporal ("He be working") is negated by *don't*. When *ain't* has been ruthlessly banished from the school register, as it was in this material, it becomes difficult to incorporate it into necessary dialect models, but such might have to be done.

Two examples of auxiliary differences which were found in the corpus deserve special attention. First, there was not a single instance of what in White English is called the perfect progressive aspect, either in past or present tense. This might be explained in several ways: (a) its occurrence is comparatively infrequent in all English dialects and there simply was not occasion for it in this corpus, especially since the theme topics might have biased the material to exclude it; (b) it is acquired late in all English dialects, and children of this age have not yet gained active command of it; (c) it is not a part of the auxiliary of Black English, a conclusion generally to be preferred according to the studies of the auxiliary of this dialects. If it is either of the latter two, it is easy to understand the reading problems of students who are confronted with it.

A second auxiliary problem occurred which has not been adequately treated in the literature on the subject. In the corpus there are sixty instances in which some form of the "progressive" occurs without the *-ing*

⁷ Personal correspondence, February 18, 1970.

⁸ Cf. Marvin D. Loflin, "On the Passive in Nonstandard Negro English," *Journal of English as a Second Language*, IV, 1 (Spring 1969), pp. 19-23.

ending of the verb. The absence of *-ing* is evenly distributed throughout the population. It is difficult to explain this as the result of a final consonant deletion rule, and if it is merely a performance problem, its general distribution is seemingly unmotivated. The only references to this phenomenon occur in the writings of the "creolists," where it is identified as the "relexified creole" level intermediate between "deep creole" and "decreolized Black English."⁹ While this interpretation might be incapable of proof or disproof, it does provide a hypothesis which again indicates the rule-governed behavior of those students who use these forms.

Since there are approximately 1,000 auxiliaries in this corpus which are not incorporable into present instructional models and apparently are not simply performance problems, serious reconsideration of the auxiliary as taught and used in the schools is in order.

A few comments on the noun phase are in order, even though these tabulations are in some areas incomplete. First, each instance of the inflected versus the non-inflected genitive was noted. In the corpus, there were 105 noun phrases in which possessive nouns with inflectional morphemes were used in the determiner. However, there were 131 noun phrases with uninflected genitive nouns. Periphrastic genitive (i.e., prepositional phrases with *of*) have not yet been tabulated, but they were also present. One student used one periphrastic genitive, one inflected genitive, and one uninflected genitive in four consecutive T-units, perhaps indicating some register switching. The absence of the genitive morpheme was also noted with personal pronouns.

Second, plural noun phrases with *determine* were noted to see if the redundant marker was present when the determiner itself indicated plurality. 276 instances were found in which the plural marker was deleted. The determiner was often a numeral, a plural demonstrative, or quantifier, but in more than a third of these noun phrases there was no determiner, or else the determiner was non-numerical like the post-article *other*. In both the uninflected genitives and the unmarked plurals, it might be possible to argue that a final consonant cluster deletion rule is again operative, but of course it is dialect specific. More likely, however, the noun phrases in Black English have different constituency rules. Under either interpretation, pedagogical materials now being utilized do not take these features into account.

Third, cases of the noun classifier or "double subject" were noted, but again frequency distributions on this feature have not been made. Sentences of the type

(9) "The man who had the accident he . . ."

appeared regularly. On the basis of preliminary evidence, it would appear that this dialect marker is not obligatory when a relative construction is

⁹ Dillard, *op. cit.* Such forms are common in Gullah, though they appear with the auxiliary [də] instead of the "re-lexified" *be*. See Lorenzo Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago, 1949).

embedded after the noun. Its occurrence is probably optional. However, the frequency of this feature might be lower in school register than in peer group language, and different rules might govern its usage here.

An interesting transformational problem occurred in the set of themes with the topic "What Makes Me Madder Than Anything." Not only were auxiliary differences between *make* and *makes* quite common, but this topic also elicited several complex constructions, the comparative and the pseudo-cleft sentence,¹⁰ primarily. Some students were incapable of handling either transformation, and our final sociological correlations will possibly show this to be a maturational problem. In the pseudo-cleft sentence, however, the common response was divided between those with *be* and those without it. In other words, the student might respond

(10) "What makes me madder than anything is when my mother spans me."

or

(11) "What makes me madder than anything when my mother spans me."

Without a transformational model, this would simply be a case of copula deletion. Transformationally, however, these sentences are both derived from

(12) "When my mother spans me makes me madder than anything."

with apparently an ordering of rules which places copula-deletion after clefting.

Three conclusions seemed warranted. First, a rule-governed dialect exists among the children of the Jordan Complex which is sufficiently distributed throughout the population and significantly different from White English so as to justify its use in instructional materials. Second, some of the features of this dialect are not adequately handled in the literature, and further investigation and analysis is needed, including corroborating studies in White English of students of similar socio-economic background. In addition to the above mentioned areas, the matter of embedded questions and embedded discourse needs further investigation. Third, materials need to be developed which will utilize in a positive way present knowledge of Black English. Present models of English grammar adopted for usage in the Los Angeles School District do not begin to reflect the dialect situation that has been outlined here. It is doubtful, even then, that these models are being used to any great extent. Teachers, many of whom have consciously rejected the language of their students, must be trained to analyze and appreciate Black English. This is no small order.

¹⁰ The "pseudo-cleft" sentence transformation involves three steps: 1) *what* is placed at the beginning of a sentence string; 2) the appropriate form of *be* is placed at the end; and 3) a non-human noun phrase is taken from the sentence and transposed to follow *be*. Thus, "Willie Mays hit a home run" would be transformed to "What Willie Mays hit was a home run."

The Intonation of English 'Yes-No' Questions: Two Studies Compared and Synthesized*

David P. Harris

This paper summarizes two studies of the intonation patterns of English yes-no questions. These studies were based on the analysis of informal, spontaneous speech occurring on radio and/or television programs and followed similar analytical procedures, yet they produced different results. The tentative conclusion proposed to explain these differences is based on dissimilarities in the corpuses upon which the analyses were made: when native speakers are asked a *succession* of yes-no questions to draw out specific information, falling intonation predominates; whereas when these questions occur only intermittently in extended discourse, rising intonation is definitely favored.

Introduction

Frequency counts of English intonation patterns have to date been quite rare because they require rather large samples of spontaneous conversation—preferably in recorded form to permit leisurely analysis—and such samples have in the past been difficult to obtain. Particularly welcome, then, was C. C. Fries's account of his study of 'yes-no' questions,¹ providing, as it did, a very practical solution to the problem of obtaining samples of "actual live conversation of language actively fulfilling its communicative function."² For his study, Professor Fries recorded and analyzed approximately twenty hours of television and radio programs, a technique which, in this age of the inexpensive tape recorder and the ubiquitous television set, opens a vast range of possibilities for quantitative studies of intonation and other features of the spoken language.

It will of course be asked whether television subjects, fully conscious that they are 'performing' before millions of viewers, are really providing the researcher with natural, spontaneous colloquial English. To this the answer must be that there is, indeed, likely to be an element of artificiality

* This paper was presented at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Conference of the English Language Institute, University of Michigan, May 1966. [Editor's note: The lapse of time since the presentation of this paper and its appearance in print is explained by the fact that the planned publication in a single volume of the Anniversary Conference papers did not materialize. This paper was just recently released to the author, and we felt it to be useful for *TESOL Quarterly* readers.]

Mr. Harris, Director of the American Language Institute, Georgetown University, is the author of several ESL textbooks as well as *Testing English as a Second Language* (McGraw-Hill, 1969). He was President of TESOL in 1969-70.

¹ Charles C. Fries, "On the Intonation of 'Yes-No' Questions in English," *In Honour of Daniel Jones*, ed. by David Abercrombie *et al.* (London: Longmans, Green and CO. Ltd., 1964), pp. 242-254.

* Fries, p. 247.

in all television performances but that, through the judicious selection of the programs we include in our corpus, we may hope to minimize this factor. Discussion and interview programs, in which several speakers are engaged in unrehearsed conversational give-and-take, would appear particularly well suited to the purposes of linguistic analysis.

As an experiment in the use of these resources, the writer decided to replicate Professor Fries's study of yes-no questions. The justification for the choice was that there would be substantial differences in the nature of the two samples—differences that might conceivably produce different results.

Fries used as his corpus

thirty-nine television-radio programmed in which a panel of four persons, using, in turn, only yes-no questions, attempted to discover the precise vocation, occupation, or special activity of each of several 'contestants' who provided no information other than the *yes* or *no* answers, which the questions elicited.³

In all, over 2500 questions of the yes-no type were recorded. They were then analyzed by two investigators, working independently, attention being centered "solely on a single feature of the primary contours of the yes-no questions . . . i.e. the direction of the second and final movement of the tone in the peg-post-peg intonation pattern."⁴ Results of the analysis showed that

of these more than two thousand five hundred instances of yes-no questions uttered by native speakers of Standard English in the United States, 61.7% had a falling intonation pattern and only 38.3% had a rising intonation pattern.⁵

Each of the three regular panelists on the program used substantially more falling intonation patterns with his yes-no questions than rising intonations: incidence of falling intonation among the three ranged from 57% to 73%. The twenty-five guest panelists together had 58% of falling intonation.⁶

As stated above, it appeared conceivable that a different kind of sample, such as one taken from discussion and interview programs, might show different results. The study summarized above used as its corpus of materials a radio game in which questioners were confined to one type of question, where questions were asked in rapid series, and where there was normally no conversation other than the questions and their one-word responses. It seemed possible that in such a situation a special kind of

³ Fries, p. 247.

⁴ Fries, p. 246.

⁵ Fries, p. 248.

⁶ In these and subsequent figures, fractions will be eliminated in the interests of readability.

intonation patterning might develop, of what might be called an 'inventory-taking' or 'process of elimination' type.⁷

In contrast, the discussion and interview programs contain the full inventory of question types (yes-no, tag, *wh*-questions, and questions with statement word order and rising intonation⁸) separated by discussion, frequently quite extended, in which the questioners themselves often take part.

On the strength of these differences, but with no notion of whether they would ultimately prove significant, the investigator proceeded to collect his sample.

Description of the Sample

A wide variety of television interview and discussion programs provided the corpus from which the yes-no questions were taken for analysis. After each segment had been taped, a typed transcript of the yes-no questions was prepared, the taped utterances were analyzed, and the intonation patterns were recorded on the typescript. When a total of 500 questions had thus been accumulated and marked for intonation, an examination of the data suggested that the sample was now adequate for the purposes of the study—that the accumulation of additional questions would not likely change the results to any significant degree. For example, an analysis of the two halves of the sample of 500 questions yielded almost identical results; that is, 'rising' and 'falling' questions occurred in almost identical proportions in the two halves.⁹ Very practical considerations dictated the imposing of such limitations on the sample size: the yes-no questions constituted such a small part of the speech occurring in the programs that the collection of tapes soon threatened to reach unwieldy proportions.

The final sample, then, included 36 programs shown on Washington, D.C. television between August 1965 and March 1966. Recordings ranged in length from ten-minute interview segments to complete one-hour programs.¹⁰ Over 60 speakers were represented, one-fourth of them being women. So far as could be determined, all questioners were native speakers of English.

⁷ As an experiment, the writer conducted ten guessing games with a colleague who was not told the purpose of the exercise. In each of these games the subject was given five minutes in which to determine, by means of yes-no questions, what object or person the investigator had in mind. A total of 244 questions were asked and recorded on tape, of which 70% were found to have falling intonation. Interestingly, however, the first two games began with a series of questions having rising intonation, after which the falling intonation patterns predominated. Two subsequent games also began with questions having rising intonation.

⁸ E.g., 'He's a *friend of yours'/?'. In this article such questions—without inversion of subject and verb—are not treated as 'yes-no' questions.

⁹ The figures are given later in the report.

¹⁰ Examples of programs taped: Open Mind, Meet the Press, Open End, Face the Nation, Issues and Answers, Georgetown Forum, Opinion in the Capital, Johns Hopkins Review, Today.

Method of Checking the Data

Inasmuch as the data had been examined by only one investigator, it was essential to check the accuracy of the original analysis. For this purpose the investigator asked four of his colleagues—all experienced teachers of English as a second language with considerable training in linguistics—to listen to, and analyze separately, a selection of 125 questions (one-fourth of the total) taken from various parts of the sample. It was found that, in the basic classification of questions as 'rising' or 'falling,' three or all four of the teachers agreed with the original analysis in 93% of the cases.¹¹ In view of this extremely high measure of agreement, there seemed to be little risk in accepting the original analysis as being reasonably accurate.

Findings of the Study

1. *Rising vs. Falling Intonation.* Table 1 summarizes the investigator's analysis of the 500 yes-no questions.¹² It will be observed that the

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGES OF RISING AND FALLING INTONATION
IN THE SAMPLE OF 500 YES-NO QUESTIONS

| | <i>Questions by Men (N = 367)</i> | <i>Questions by Women (N = 133)</i> | <i>Total (N = 500)</i> |
|--------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| Rising Intonation | 83% | 91% | 85% |
| Falling Intonation | 17% | 9% | 15% |

questioners on the TV discussion and interview programs used rising intonation several times more often than they used falling intonation when they asked yes-no questions. Rising intonation was used slightly more frequently by women speakers (by 8%) than by men. As shown in Table 2, the proportions of falling to rising intonation were almost identical in the first and second halves of the sample. Moreover, the analyses of the four teachers produced results extremely similar to the

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGES OF RISING AND FALLING INTONATION
IN THE TWO HALVES OF THE SAMPLE

| | <i>Men Speakers</i> | | <i>Women Speakers</i> | | <i>Total</i> | |
|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>% of Rising</i> | <i>% of Falling</i> | <i>% of Rising</i> | <i>% of Falling</i> | <i>% of Rising</i> | <i>% of Falling</i> |
| First 250 Cases | 82 | 18 | 90 | 10 | 84 | 16 |
| Second 250 Cases | 84 | 16 | 91 | 9 | 86 | 14 |

¹¹ As will be noted later, there was considerable disagreement on the precise contours of some of the 'rising' questions.

¹² Because fractions have been eliminated, the few instances in which questions appeared to end on sustained pitch are not shown.

above: of the 118 questions (out of 125) on which there was at least 75% agreement, 82% were analyzed as rising, 17% as falling, and 1% as ending on sustained pitch.

2. *Effect of the Length of Utterance.* The questions in the sample had an average (mean) length of 11 words. Questions consisting of 8 words or less showed 86% occurrence of rising intonation as compared with 82% for sentences with 15 words or more.¹³ Thus it would appear that intonation type was not significantly related to sentence length: both short and long questions showed approximately the same high incidence of rising intonation.
3. *Types of Intonation Contours.* Falling intonation was relatively easy for all the analysts to identify and describe: with virtually no exceptions, falling questions were recorded as 2-3-1↘. On the other hand, there was much uncertainty and disagreement about the precise contour of many of the rising questions. One generalization can, however, be ventured: a pooling of the judgments of all five analysts would indicate that the 2-3-3↗ contour comprised *at least* two-thirds of the questions classified as rising.

Summary and Conclusions

Two studies of English yes-no questions were summarized in this report. These studies were based on the analysis of informal, spontaneous speech occurring on radio and/or television programs and followed similar analytical procedures. Yet the studies produced very different results. The most plausible explanation would appear to lie in the dissimilar nature of the corpora upon which the analyses were based—dissimilarities, that is to say, in the kinds of programs from which the data were derived. The first study was based on a series of games of the 'Twenty Questions' variety, in which speech was largely limited to yes-no questions and one-word responses. The second study drew its material from conversation and interview programs in which yes-no questions constituted a very small part of the speech flow. Assuming that these radio and television 'performances' provided reasonably close approximations of live, natural conversation, our tentative conclusion would be that when native speakers of English are asking a *succession* of yes-no questions to draw out specific information, falling intonation predominates, whereas when these questions occur only intermittently in extended discourse, rising intonation is definitely favored.

¹³ Based on a sample of 90 short and 90 long questions.

A Comparison of Scores Earned on the Test of English as a Foreign Language by Native American College Students and Foreign Applicants to U.S. Colleges

William H. Angoff and Amiel T. Sharon

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was administered to a group of 71 native speakers of English enrolled as freshmen at a western state university. Although as a group they scored low on ACT English, their scores on TOEFL were considerably above the mean of 34,774 foreign applicants to U.S. colleges. Moreover, their distributions were extremely narrow and highly skewed negatively, indicating that the test was much too easy for them and, consistent with its design, inadequate for differentiating among native Americans. Further support to this conclusion was found in the relatively low correlation (.64) between TOEFL and ACT English. Finally, plots of item difficulties for the American and foreign groups revealed a clear item x group interaction, which was interpreted to signify that the items had different "meaning" for the two groups. The plots also showed that most of the items in TOEFL were considerably easier for the American group than for the foreign group. These data all appear to support the hypothesis that TOEFL avoids the kinds of discriminations that are not intended for it, and are taken as clear evidence of the construct validity of the test.

Introduction

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) is intended to measure the English proficiency of foreign students applying for college admission in the United States. As such, it consists of items and item types addressed to the linguistic problems of nonnative speakers of English, and it is designed to assess the degree of facility with those nuances of English that seem to cause foreign students difficulties in pursuing college studies. Evidence of its validity as a test of English proficiency is given by its correlations with overall teachers' ratings and with other tests of English proficiency (American Language Institute at Georgetown, 1966; Educational Testing Service, 1965, 1966a; Maxwell, 1965; Upshur, 1966), its correlations with theme ratings (Pitcher & Ra, 1967), and its correlations with college grade-point average (Chalmers, 1964; Domino, 1966; Maxwell, 1965; University of Washington, 1966). Also implicit in the design of the test is the hypothesis that, while TOEFL may differentiate adequately among foreign students and may identify their English language difficulties accurately, it will not accomplish these purposes for students who are native speakers of

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English, For the latter an entirely different type of measuring instrument is required, focusing on the dimensions of English language proficiency that account for the variations among these students.

Description of Sample

To test the foregoing hypothesis—that TOEFL differentiates much less adequately among native speakers of English than among foreign students—TOEFL was administered to 94 entering freshmen at a western state university in February 1969. Of these students 23 were later found to be non-native English speakers and were therefore excluded from the study. The analysis of scores that follows was based on the remaining 71 cases.

In order to assess the level of ability of these students, their scores on the tests of the American College Testing Program (ACT), used as part of the university's admission procedures, were obtained from the files of the university. A brief summary of the students' ACT English and Composite scores is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR STUDY SAMPLE ON ACT
ENGLISH AND COMPOSITE SCORES

| <i>ACT Score</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> | <i>Percentile Equivalent of the Mean^a</i> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|--|
| English | 16.69 | 5.00 | 29 |
| Composite | 19.13 | 5.07 | 41 |

^a Taken from *Interpreting Your ACT Scores, '67-'68* (The American College Testing Program, Iowa City, Iowa), Table 1, Percentile ranks—college-bound high school seniors, page 9.

Clearly this group of students stands below the average of college-bound high school seniors who take the ACT tests. On the English test, for example, their average falls at the 29th percentile for the college-bound high school senior students taking the ACT tests. If their mean on the English test were to be compared with the distribution of other *means* for samples of 71 students (as would be appropriate—and would be done, if such data were available), rather than with the distribution of the scores of students, it would fall far below the 29th percentile, very likely below the 20th percentile.

Results

Presumably, if TOEFL represented the same type of task for these students and was similarly discriminating for them, they would earn relatively low scores on this test, just as they did on ACT English. An examination of their scores on TOEFL, however, does not support that expectation. Table 2 gives the percentile distributions of TOEFL scores for the 71-case group of American students on the total test and all five parts in comparison with

TABLE 2
PERCENTILE DISTRIBUTIONS AND SUMMARY STATISTICS
FOR FOREIGN^a CANDIDATES (N = 34,774) AND AMERICAN STUDENTS (N = 71) ON TOEFL

| Part Score ^b | Listening Comprehension | | English Structure | | Vocabulary | | Reading Comprehension | | Writing Ability | | Total Score ^b | Percentile Rank | |
|---|----------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | For. | Amer. | For. | Amer. | For. | Amer. | For. | Amer. | For. | Amer. | | For. | Amer. |
| 72 | 99 | 87 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 70 | 97 | 51 | | | 99 | | | | | | | | |
| 68 | 95 | 23 | | | 98 | 72 | | | | | | | |
| 66 | 92 | 8 | 99 | 87 | 95 | 40 | 99 | 98 | 99 | | 660 | 99 | 91 |
| 64 | 89 | 4 | 98 | 36 | 92 | 27 | 97 | 90 | 98 | 99 | 640 | 97 | 60 |
| 62 | 85 | 1 | 95 | 11 | 89 | 17 | 94 | 79 | 95 | 86 | 620 | 95 | 45 |
| 60 | 81 | | 92 | 3 | 85 | 10 | 90 | 71 | 92 | 73 | 600 | 91 | 24 |
| 58 | 77 | | 86 | 1 | 81 | 7 | 86 | 57 | 87 | 57 | 580 | 87 | 8 |
| 56 | 73 | | 80 | | 76 | 6 | 80 | 47 | 80 | 46 | 560 | 82 | 4 |
| 54 | 68 | | 72 | | 72 | 3 | 74 | 25 | 73 | 32 | 540 | 76 | 3 |
| 52 | 62 | | 63 | | 66 | 1 | 67 | 22 | 65 | 24 | 520 | 68 | 1 |
| 50 | 57 | | 53 | | 60 | | 60 | 14 | 57 | 22 | 500 | 59 | |
| 48 | 51 | | 44 | | 53 | | 52 | 8 | 48 | 19 | 480 | 50 | |
| 46 | 44 | | 35 | | 46 | | 44 | 6 | 39 | 8 | 460 | 40 | |
| 44 | 36 | | 27 | | 39 | | 35 | 4 | 31 | 5 | 440 | 30 | |
| 42 | 28 | | 21 | | 32 | | 27 | 2 | 24 | 3 | 420 | 22 | |
| 40 | 21 | | 15 | | 25 | | 19 | | 17 | 2 | 400 | 14 | |
| 38 | 14 | | 11 | | 19 | | 13 | | 12 | 1 | 380 | 9 | |
| 36 | 8 | | 7 | | 14 | | 8 | | 8 | | 360 | 5 | |
| 34 | 4 | | 5 | | 10 | | 4 | | 5 | | 340 | 3 | |
| 32 | 1 | | 3 | | 6 | | 2 | | 3 | | 320 | 1 | |
| 30 | | | 2 | | 4 | | 1 | | 2 | | | | |
| 28 | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Mean | 49.4 | 69.5 | 48.8 | 64.2 | 47.7 | 65.4 | 47.9 | 56.5 | 48.2 | 55.4 | | 484.1 | 622.0 |
| Std. Dev. | 10.4 | 2.5 | 8.3 | 1.9 | 10.6 | 4.0 | 8.5 | 5.9 | 8.4 | 6.4 | | 78.5 | 34.1 |
| Percentile Rank of Mean ^c | | 97 | | 98 | | 94 | | 81 | | 78 | | | 95 |

Note.—The next higher percentile rank for the American student that could have been listed in this table was 100, and therefore was not recorded.

^a Taken from *Test of English as a Foreign Language: Interpretive Information* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, January 1968), Table 1, p. 6.

^b Scaled score.

^c Based on the distributions of foreign students given in this table.

the corresponding distributions for all candidates tested in the regular TOEFL Program from February 1964 through April 1967 ($N = 34,774$).

It is clear from Table 2 that the average performance of these students on TOEFL, in spite of their generally low ACT scores relative to the norms for other American students, was far higher than the average of the foreign students. On the first three parts of TOEFL—Listening Comprehension, English Structure, and Vocabulary—their means were about two standard deviations above the foreign students' means. On the last two parts—Reading Comprehension and Writing Ability—their means were about one standard deviation above the foreign students' means. The percentile equivalents of their means, in the middle-to-high 90s for the first three parts of the test and about 80 for the last two parts, would be considerably higher if their means were to be compared (more appropriately) with distributions of means, rather than distributions of individual scores, of samples of similar size drawn from the foreign student population.

It may also be observed in Table 2 that all six distributions, especially the first three and the distribution for TOEFL total score, are highly skewed in the negative direction, indicating that the test was inappropriately easy for the American students. Finally, the point should be made that the scores just below the maximum, and the maximum score itself in all tests except Writing Ability, were achieved by one or another of the American students—which accounts for the fact that the highest percentile ranks listed in all distributions except for Writing Ability are below 99. Four of these are below 95, three below 90, and one below 75.

Consistent with the fact that the test was extremely easy for the American students, Table 2 shows that their score distributions were narrower, much less dispersed than the corresponding score distributions for the foreign students. Again, this was true for the first three parts and the total score, to a substantially greater extent than for the last two parts of the test. Clearly, these students were not only able but also homogeneous with respect to the kinds of English language skills tapped by TOEFL.

The correlation between ACT English and TOEFL total score calculated for the American students was found to be .64. With a reliability of .88 for ACT English (Science Research Associates, 1960, p. 16) and a reliability of .974 for TOEFL Total Score (Educational Testing Service, 1966b, p. D), it is clear that the correlation between true scores on these tests is so much lower than unity that the tests can hardly be taken to be parallel measures of the same linguistic skills. A cursory examination of the scatterplot (not furnished in this paper) relating these tests reveals a hint of curvilinearity. Although the curvilinearity probably could not be established as statistically significant—because of the small number of cases—its existence would not be inconsistent with the fact that scores on TOEFL are so skewed for this group.

As already indicated, the American students performed much higher on the first three parts of TOEFL, relative to the foreign candidates, than on

the last two parts. In an effort to study these data more closely, an item analysis was performed on the American student data and compared with a similar item analysis for a sample of 495 foreign candidates who took the same form of the test. In this comparison, a scatterplot was made of the item difficulties for the American students versus the item difficulties for the foreign students for each of the five parts of TOEFL. Such plots, for pairs of groups whose cultural or curricular backgrounds are similar, typically fall in an elongated narrow ellipse, represented by a high correlation coefficient, frequently in the upper .90s. The interpretation of scatterplots of this shape is that the items comprised by the plots have similar meaning and represent the same kinds of skills for both groups, and differ only because of the general level and dispersion of item difficulties. These item plots were first described by Thurstone (1947) and have been used successfully in the calibration of item difficulty indices. They have also been used in the identification of items with aberrant patterns of item difficulties when calculated for two or more groups (Angoff & Berrien, 1958; Cardall & Coffman, 1964; Cleary & Hilton, 1968), and have proved useful in forming hypotheses regarding the differential behavior of test content for different types of examinee groups.

As would be expected from the score data already described, the individual items in TOEFL were found to be extremely easy for the American students. Of the 270 items in all five parts of TOEFL, there were 140 (52 per cent) for which the p -values (proportions of the group answering the items correctly) exceeded .95. Because of the unreliability of statistics based on items of this degree of difficulty, the 140 items were dropped from the item study.

The 130 items retained for study were distributed over the parts of the test as follows: 20 of the 50 items in Listening Comprehension (40 percent); 13 of the 70 items in English Structure (19 percent); 16 of the 60 items in Vocabulary (27 percent); 28 of the 30 items in Reading Comprehension (93 percent); and 53 of the 60 items in Writing Ability (88 percent).

Of these 130 items only 17 proved more difficult for the American sample than for the foreign sample, and in 9 of the 17 items the differences in difficulty were very slight. Two of the 17 were in the Vocabulary section, 2 in the Reading Comprehension section, and 13 in the Writing Ability section.

The universally greater ease of the Listening Comprehension items may be attributed to the obvious fact that American students are exposed to English as their native spoken language, and that the proportion of time that English is transmitted in spoken versus written form is much greater for them than for foreign students. It is, therefore, to be expected that they would perform much better in the listening mode, relative to foreign students, than in the reading-writing modes.

An explanation for similar findings in English Structure is that this section is written specifically to identify the types of language errors characteristic of foreign speakers of English, errors not characteristic of native English speakers. By way of illustrating the nature of the skill tapped by the English Structure section of TOEFL, the following two examples of such items are taken from *TOEFL: Handbook for Candidates (1969)*:

- (1) Person X: "John needs a pencil."
 Person Y: "He can use one_____."
 (A) of me (B) my (C) mine (D) of mine
- (2) Person X: "Where is the subway station?"
 Person Y: "It is two blocks—here."
 (A) by (B) to (C) from (D) away

In the case of the two unusual Reading Comprehension items, it can be noted that they are based on the same passage, which was relatively difficult for both groups, almost as much so for the Americans as for the foreign students. The apparent reason is that, unlike the other three passages in the section—and unlike Reading Comprehension passages in most forms of TOEFL, typically written in factual, functional style—this passage is more abstract and literary in tone and has a quality that can probably best be described as "dated." Stylistically it is perhaps as foreign to American students as it is to the TOEFL population.

An explanation for the relative difficulty of the Writing Ability items for American students probably lies in the nature of that section of the test. The Writing Ability section measures the ability to recognize language appropriate for formal written English. Americans are constantly exposed to incorrect grammatical forms in colloquial English and are not always as conscious of and sensitive to grammatical precision as are many foreign students, whose training in English tends to emphasize grammatical and syntactical laws. Therefore, it would be expected that the American group would perform less well on this part of TOEFL and more like the foreign group than on Listening Comprehension or English Structure, for example. To illustrate this point, the following two Writing Ability items, taken from *TOEFL: Handbook for Candidates (1969)*, are presented:

You are to identify the *ONE* underlined word or phrase that would *NOT* be accepted in standard written English.

1. At first the old woman seemed unwilling to accept anything that was
A offered her by my friends and I. B C
D
2. After they had chose the books they wished to read, the instructor
A B
told them the principal points he wanted them to note.
c D

The items that appeared to cause the native speakers relatively more difficulty were those dealing primarily with grammatical usage: participles; subject-verb agreement; irregular verb forms (lie; lay); subjective versus objective pronouns; confusion of "which" with "whom"; dangling participles; and parallelism of internal structure (not only . . . but also . . .).

Although the correlations represented by the five scatterplots are based on relatively small numbers of items and therefore cannot be trusted to represent their "true," or population, values very closely, none of them (ranging from .16 to .74) approaches a value close to .90 or .95, which would ordinarily be expected of a plot for two groups of individuals for whom the questions are operating similarly and have similar meaning.

Summary and Conclusions

The comparative data presented here for American students and for foreign candidates for admission to American universities make it clear from a number of points of view that TOEFL does not operate as an appropriate test of English for American students, as it does for foreign students. Even for this sample of Americans who, as a group, were below the 30th percentile on the ACT English Test relative to college-going high school American seniors, the mean scores on TOEFL were much higher than those of foreign students who have taken the test. Evidence that the test was inappropriately easy for the American students is found in the observations that their means were not only high but *homogeneously* high relative to those of the foreign students, that their score distributions were highly negatively skewed, and that a high proportion of the American students earned maximum or near-maximum scores on the tests.

Further evidence that TOEFL measures different language skills than does ACT English is that the correlation between the two was only .64, much lower than one would expect of two reliable tests measuring the same type of language skill. Finally, scatterplots of item difficulty indices for the two groups showed that only 17 out of 270 items (6.3 percent) were easier for the foreign group than for the American group. These findings can be explained in large part by the fact that 13 of them came from the Writing Ability section, which comes closer than any other TOEFL section to being the type that would be expected to be discriminating for American students.

The fact, as other studies have shown, that the items in TOEFL accurately and validly differentiate among foreign students in their ability to handle the English language, and, as shown in this report, that as a group they also fail to make differentiations adequately in the English language skills of native speakers, appears to be evidence of the construct validity of TOEFL.

Final Note

Although it is conceded that 71 cases are inadequate for the conduct

of most educational and psychological studies, the results here have been so clear that additional cases, however interesting, would not be expected to alter the picture materially. Even so, continued efforts are being made to obtain additional data for American students and add to the reliability of these results.

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Cultural Orientation and the Study of Foreign Literature *

Elizabeth C. Gatbonton and G. Richard Tucker

In the Philippines, high school students study via English, a second language. The results of the present research suggested that Filipino high school students misunderstand American short stories because they read into them inappropriate values, attitudes, and judgments. The technique of cultural contrastive analysis was used to isolate potential areas of difficulty. A group of students taught using information provided by this technique, and then tested, performed more like an American control group than Filipino students who had not received this training. The implications of these findings for other pupils studying via second languages are discussed.

In the Philippines until 1957, English was the medium of instruction at all grade levels. At that time, the decision was made to use the local vernacular language as the medium of instruction in grades 1 and 2 with the result that classes in Manila are now taught using Tagalog; those in Cebu City using Cebuano, and so forth. From grade 3 onward, however, classes continue to be taught via English which in many instances appears to remain very much a weak language, even at the high school level (Tucker, 1968).

Filipino high school students typically study American and British literature. In fact, they use many of our North American anthologies to read stories with which we are all familiar, such as "To Build a Fire" by Jack London, "My Financial Career" by Stephen Leacock, and "The Hero" by Margaret Weymouth Jackson. At first glance, their literature classes seem to be very similar to those in any North American secondary school; but observers soon sense that the Filipino students don't seem to enjoy the stories or to appreciate them in the same way that our pupils do—perhaps because they do not fully understand them.

These casual observations suggest that "cultural filtering" may affect the literature appreciation of many students whose native language is not English, particularly those from non-Western backgrounds, who may bring inappropriate attitudinal and judgmental expectations with them to the classroom. These observations, if correct, suggest the desirability of teach-

* This study was conducted while Miss Gatbonton was a graduate student at Ateneo de Manila University and G. R. Tucker was a project consultant with the Ford Foundation at the Philippine Normal College. The preparation of the report was financed, in part, by grants from the Canada Council and the Defense Research Board to W. E. Lambert and G. R. Tucker.

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ing language and literature in its socio-cultural setting (see, for example, Allen, 1964; Murdock, 1961; Nostrand, 1966).

In the present study, we have attempted to investigate empirically the following three questions: Do Filipino students apply culturally-conditioned value judgments and attitudes to the American stories which they read? Can a short effective program be developed to provide a more appropriate cultural orientation for the students? Will the performance of students taught using such a program differ significantly from that of others taught using a more traditional approach?

METHOD

The method, to be described in detail below, may be summarized as follows. Groups of American and Filipino high school students read two short stories, and then answered a series of ambiguous questions designed to determine whether the Filipino students had interpreted the story in the same way as the Americans. They had not. After this pretest, therefore, the Filipino group was subdivided. One group was instructed using a traditional literature approach, the other using a "cultural contrastive analysis" approach. All groups were then tested again.

Selection of Stories

We screened many short stories using Allen's (1964) checklist of American culture. The four which we selected dealt with various experiences in the lives of ordinary Americans involving their personal relationships or humor, but not fantastic or unusual events. They were "The Car" by Dorothy Thomas, "The Hero" by Margaret Weymouth Jackson, "My Financial Career" by Stephen Leacock, and "Ah Love, Ah Me!" by Max Steele.

The following analytical procedure was used to screen the stories. The signals in each of the stories were isolated, their meanings in American culture were noted, and the forms by which they manifested themselves were elaborated. Then, the meanings of these signals, if they existed in Filipino culture, were discussed. If they did not exist in the Philippines, this was noted and the equivalent forms were discussed. Finally, the manner in which a Filipino reader was likely to view these items in each story was explained. For example, in the story "The Car," the father does not want to give to his son the sports section of the newspaper, that he is reading. A friendly discussion follows which puzzles many Filipino students because they are not accustomed to such equality between parents and their children. Some of the differences between American and Filipino family relationships must be explained to them if they are to understand the story.

Development of Test Instruments

After the stories had been analyzed, tests were constructed to assess the students' familiarity with the American cultural items in each and to draw

out their attitudes toward the characters and events. Three types of measures were used. All were pretested for content and clarity. First, students were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with each of a series of eight questions formulated so that students reading a story from an American viewpoint would answer one way while those with a Filipino frame of reference would answer the other (e.g., from the story "Ah Love, Ah Me!" Is Sara wrong in accepting the boy's invitation to the movie so quickly?). In this story, the sixteen-year-old narrator liked his classmate Sara and decided to ask her for a date to a movie. He telephoned her and, although he was very clumsy, did manage to invite her. Sara, without hesitation, accepted his invitation. Most American students would probably answer "No" to the question since the behavior represents normal leisure time activity for high school students, while most Filipinos would answer "Yes." In the Philippines, dating implies that something more than ordinary friendship exists between the daters. Because of this, girls usually are not allowed to date alone.

The second type of test contained a series of 12 statements, each followed by two choices to complete or expand an underlined portion of the statement (e.g., "They were *both sleeping so soundly* that they did not hear her." It is certain that Dick and Dave were: a) sleeping together in one bed, b) not sleeping together in one bed). A student reading the story from a Filipino point of view would likely choose alternative *a* since it is very common for Filipino children to share the same bed. The second alternative expresses an American bias where privacy is valued.

As the third type of test, the students were presented with two summaries of the story which they had just read—one written from a Filipino point of view, the other from an American. They were asked to choose the abstract which best summarized the story.

Subjects

Three groups of high school students living in the Philippines served as subjects (S's). Group 1, the Filipino Control group (FC), comprised 34 girls with an average age of 13 years 9 months and a mean cumulative grade point average in English of 80.1%. Group 2, the Filipino Experimental group (FE), comprised 35 girls with an average age of 13 years 9 months and a mean cumulative grade point average of 79.9%. These groups consisted of two classes of first-year girls studying in the high school department of a technical university in Manila. They had completed an average of six years' study via English in local Catholic elementary schools.

Group 3, the American Control group (AC), comprised 26 students with an average age of 13 years 2 months who were attending Wagner High School at Clark Air Force Base in Angeles City. All Ss in this group were native speakers of English. They had lived in the Philippines for an average of 1 year 8 months.

Procedures

The study was conducted as part of the regular class activity over a period of three weeks following this general design: During the first week, students from all three groups read and answered questions concerning "The Car" and "Ah Love, Ah Me!" For each story, the teacher attempted to motivate the students, provide an overview, and unlock certain vocabulary difficulties. After a brief introduction, the students read the story silently, and then discussed it with their teacher. The discussion was limited to finding out who the characters were and what they did and said. Care was taken to insure that the motives and the nature of the relationship of one character with another was not mentioned. The Ss were then tested with the instruments described previously.

During the second week, the FE group's teacher reintroduced the stories from the first week now focusing the interest of the students on the contrasting aspects of American culture revealed by the cultural analyses.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF PROCEDURE

| | <i>FC Group</i> | <i>FE Group</i> | <i>AC Group</i> |
|--------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Week 1 | Read Stories Take Tests | Read Stories Take Tests | Read Stories Take Tests |
| Week 2 | Reread Stories Take Tests | Cultural Orientation Take Tests | — — |
| Week 3 | Read Stories Take Tests | Read Stories Take Tests | Read Stories Take Tests |

In short, an attempt was made to provide cultural orientation for these FE pupils. In the FC group, the teacher reintroduced the stories, but they were again discussed without any particular cultural orientation. After this treatment period, the FE and FC groups were again tested.

During week three, all Ss read two new stories, "The Hero" and "My Financial Career." They were again tested to see whether the general cultural orientation for the FE group during the second week would significantly affect their appreciation of other stories which had not yet been presented in this manner. The procedure is summarized in Table 1.

Method of Data Analysis

In general, for each of the three measures, the data were analyzed to determine whether the two Filipino groups responded differently from the American group on the pretest; and whether the FE group responded differently from the FC group and more like the AC group after their brief cultural orientation. The data from measures 1 and 2 were analyzed using separate one-way analyses of variance procedures, those from measure 3 using chi-square (see, for example, Ferguson, 1966; Winer, 1962).

RESULTS

The pretest results indicate that the two Filipino groups responded similarly before they had received any training, and that both groups performed significantly differently from the American group. For the story "The Car" the performance by Ss on measure 1 differed significantly ($F = 12.10, 2/91 \text{ df}, p < .01$). A multiple comparison test showed that the FC ($\bar{x} = 3.61$) and FE ($\bar{x} = 3.91$) groups both differed significantly from the AC group ($\bar{x} = 2.15$), but *not* from each other. Likewise on measure 2, the Ss' performance overall differed significantly ($F = 16.14, 2/91 \text{ df}, p < .01$) with the FC ($\bar{x} = 5.94$) and FE ($\bar{x} = 6.37$) students both differing significantly from the AC group ($\bar{x} = 4.33$), but *not* from each other.

A similar pattern of results was obtained with the story "Ah Love, Ah Me!" For both stories, the Ss' responses on measure 3 were compared using chi-square to test for the significance of the differences between independent proportions. All comparisons were non-significant. That is, on this test, an equal number of Filipino and American students chose the American abstract as the one which best summarized the story. In view of the consistent significant differences obtained with measures 1 and 2, it would seem that instrument 3 may not have been sensitive enough to elicit responses indicating cultural bias.

The results of the tests administered after the cultural orientation for the FE group and the traditional presentation for the FC group suggest that this brief treatment did cause a significant shift in behavior by the FE group members. Specifically, for the story "The Car" the responses of the FE group members on the post-test differed significantly from their responses on the pretest for measure 1 ($t = 3.17, 34 \text{ df}, p < .01$) and for measure 2 ($t = 3.42, 34 \text{ df}, p < .01$). The responses by the FC group did *not* differ significantly for either measure from the pretest to the post-test. A similar pattern of results was obtained for the story "Ah Love, Ah Me!"

As in the pretest, none of the comparisons for measure 3 was significant. Based on these data, the following interesting summary statements can be made. This group of 69 Filipino high school students did interpret or appreciate two short stories differently from a similarly educated group of American students. Those Filipinos who then received cultural orientation as part of their literature course performed more like the American students and significantly differently from those Filipinos who did not receive this orientation.

Finally, we hoped that this training for the FE group, although relatively brief and incomplete, would generalize to their reading of two new stories. That is, we hoped that this cultural orientation approach would alert these students not only to the meanings of certain signals in specific stories but also to a manner for approaching new material. The data only partially supported this expectation. For the story, "The Hero" an analysis of variance for measure 1 indicated a significant difference among the groups ($F = 15.10, 2/83 \text{ df}, p < .01$) with a multiple comparison test showing that the

FC ($\bar{x} = 3.53$) and FE ($\bar{x} = 4.06$) groups differed significantly from the AC group ($\bar{x} = 2.38$); but not from each other. For the story, "My Financial Career," however, a slightly different pattern emerged. The overall analysis of variance for measure 1 again revealed a significant difference among the groups ($F = 34.20, 2/79 \text{ df}, p < .01$). But in this instance, the multiple comparisons showed that the FC group responses ($\bar{x} = 7.89$) were significantly different from those of *both* the FE group ($\bar{x} = 7.16$) and the AC group ($\bar{x} = 6.41$), and that the FE group did *not* differ significantly from the AC group. These results suggest that limited generalization, in the predicted direction, did occur, even after the brief training period.

DISCUSSION

The data provided by this study should certainly interest those concerned with teaching English language skills and literature appreciation to native speakers of other languages. These data provide empirical support for the hypothesis that cultural filtering occurs which can affect the understanding or appreciation of American literature by non-native speakers.

This misunderstanding may lead to boredom on the part of many students, and a general loss of interest in the study of English or even via English. The present results have also provided very encouraging indications that an effective program can be developed to reduce the effects of such cultural bias.

Although the preliminary investigation has provided partial support for the view that cultural orientation affects literature appreciation, further research must be conducted. The following experimental plan might be considered. At least five groups of Filipino (or Chinese, Puerto Rican, Indian, etc.) students and one group of American students equated with respect to age, socio-economic status, sex, non-verbal IQ, and previous achievement in English, would be selected. One Filipino class and the American class would serve as control groups. The remaining four Filipino classes would be instructed by four different teachers using the same materials specifically designed to provide cultural orientation for the students. Again pretests and post-tests would be administered to all groups. This proposal also calls for the preparation of a book of readings containing marginal glosses to highlight relevant cultural contrasts for the teacher (and perhaps the pupil). This research would permit us to test the efficacy and generalizability of such an approach to literature teaching. We believe that the results of research programs of this type will be of interest to teachers working in foreign settings, as well as to the many teachers here in North America who are now becoming involved in bilingual education programs.

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Language Games and the Mexican-American Child Learning English

Hubert Molina

This paper describes a set of criteria and their use in the development of games that are part of a tutorial component of the Language and Concept Skills for Spanish Speakers Program developed at Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Included are the 1969-1970 results of field tryouts of the program.

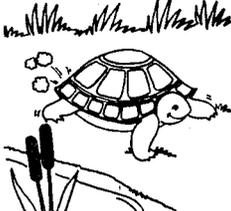
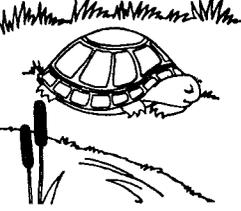
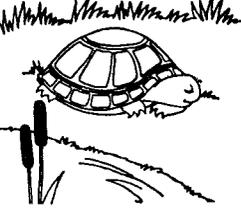
The Language and Concept Skills Program for Spanish Speakers consists of a lesson plan component and a tutorial component. Fifth-grade children serve as tutors to kindergarten and first-grade Spanish-speaking children learning English oral language skills. Each tutorial session is designed to take twenty-five minutes, with the final eight minutes devoted to a game. As can be seen in the accompanying sample game, the game materials consist of a score sheet with ten boxed areas, each containing a picture with a caption to be read aloud by a tutor and a path for the tutor and for the learner. A spinner is used to select one of the ten boxed areas. Seven of the ten boxed areas contain questions to be answered using the linguistic skills acquired in the most recent lesson. In each case the tutor reads the question and takes turns with the child in answering. To illustrate, a picture of a car with the caption **What's this** calls for the answer **It's a car**. A picture of a chair with the caption **Is this a car or a chair** calls for **It's a chair**. When a player answers correctly, he moves toward the goal. In each game there are three boxes which introduce the element of chance. To win, the players must move from left to right from a position marked START to a goal box marked WINNER with a star over it. The turtle race illustrated here is an example of one of the games which meets the several design criteria discussed below.

Each game requires relevant skills. Each game consists of two different kinds of language experiences, one consisting of answers to questions and the other consisting of vocabulary introduced by chance situations. Correct answers to questions bring the player closer to the goal box. The chance situations introduce vocabulary that has not been taught. For example, in the gain situation in the turtle race game there is a picture of a turtle running, with an accompanying caption which the tutor reads to the child that states GO AHEAD 1 SPACE. YOUR TURTLE IS FAST. Though the word **turtle** has not been introduced, the picture makes the meaning of the word clear. For the same game in the loss situation the expression YOUR TURTLE IS ASLEEP introduces the expression **asleep**.

Except for the chance situation, the questions asked of the players re-

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START
GAME 10
TURTLE RACE
WINNER

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| LEARNER | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>1. WHAT'S THIS?</p>  | <p>2. <u>GO AHEAD 1.</u> Your turtle is fast.</p>  | <p>3. WHAT DO YOU SEE?</p>  | <p>4. IS THIS A CAR OR A CHAIR?</p>  | <p>5. <u>GO BACK 1.</u> Your turtle stopped to swim.</p>  | <p>6. THIS IS SUSIE. WHAT DOES SUSIE HAVE?</p>  | <p>7. DO YOU SEE A TABLE</p>  | <p>8. <u>GO BACK 2.</u> Your turtle is asleep.</p>  | <p>9. THIS IS MIKE. WHAT DOES MIKE HAVE?</p>  | <p>10. IS THIS A HORSE?</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">WINNER</p> |
| TUTOR | | | | | | | | | ★ |

view the oral language skills previously taught by the teacher. There are other games whose chance situations, though following the same format, have as an objective the acquisition of attitudes that promote learning. To illustrate this point, in the game that deals with getting along in school, one of the gain captions says YOU RAISED YOUR HAND TO ASK A QUESTION. GO AHEAD ONE SPACE. The loss caption says YOU DIDN'T PUT YOUR BOOKS AWAY. GO BACK TWO SPACES.

Each game contains an unexpected gain or loss based on an element of chance. Since fifth- and sixth-grade English speakers play against kindergarten and first-grade children, the older children have a natural advantage. For that reason, chance is regulated in several ways. First, it is possible for either player to move forward or away from the goal by chance. If the marker rests on one of the numbers, the player moves ahead one space. On another two numbers the player drops back one and two spaces. In all of the games the winner must reach an objective, as in the case of the turtle race where the first one who reaches the last box wins.

Each game has an element of competition. Since fifth-grade tutors are competing with kindergarten children to reach the goal, an additional adjustment had to be made. In order for the tutor to win he must cover nine spaces, while the younger player must cover only seven spaces. In this way, kindergarten pupils and fifth-grade tutors compete toward the goal in a manner which gives them both a chance to win.

The games must contain coherent structure, rules, and instructions meaningful to young children. Though each game has a different theme, the format remains the same. Thus, once the children understand the rules, it is easy for them to play all the games that accompany the lesson.

Each game has an objective measure determining a score and a winner. With each correct response the player moves forward one space, and the first player to reach the last box marked with the star wins.

The games encourage verbal interaction between players with a minimum of adult supervision. Clark C. Abt has pointed out that games formalize what people have been doing very effectively, but intuitively and informally, for ages.¹The games described here permit the younger children to learn from the fifth-grade tutors in a highly motivated, self-directed situation. As described above, in those situations when a player moves forward or back on chance, the child is exposed to considerable high frequency child vocabulary. The pictures in the game clearly illustrate the context. Through verbal interaction between players, a child learns to hear unfamiliar words; and, since the pictures in the game clearly illustrate the context, he can guess what they mean. This is the type of situation most people learning a second language must meet. Thus, in the games described above, the child learning a second language is oriented to learning without the classroom teacher's direct supervision, as he must in real life.

¹ Abt, Clark C. "Education Is Child's Play." A Paper Presented at the Lake Arrowhead Conference on Innovation in Education, December, 1965.

Eighteen lessons and the accompanying tutorial materials which incorporate the games were field tested during the 1969-1970 tryouts of the Language and Concept Skills for Spanish Speakers Program. Mean raw scores and percentage scores of the 17 subjects on the criterion test for the 18 lessons are listed in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1
PRE-INSTRUCTIONAL AND POST-INSTRUCTIONAL MEAN SCORES

| <i>Skill Area</i> | <i>No. of Items</i> | <i>Pretest</i> | | <i>Post-test</i> | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | | <i>Raw Score</i> | <i>% Score</i> | <i>Raw Score</i> | <i>% Score</i> |
| Vocabulary | 6 | 2.6 | 43% | 5.2 | 86% |
| Following Directions | 6 | 3.9 | 65% | 5.9 | 98% |
| Syntax | 6 | 3.2 | 53% | 5.5 | 92% |
| Totals | 18 | 9.7 | 54% | 16.6 | 92% |

It can be seen that the mean raw score of the children increased from 9.7 (54%) to 16.6 (92%) during the tryout. On the post-test, all of the children scored 67% or above. Only 4 of the 17 children attained a score of 67% or higher on the pretest. In future trials it would be desirable to present the program without the game component in some classes to determine the contribution of the game component.

Don't Teach — Let Them Learn

Larry E. Smith

People have different learning styles, ability levels, thresholds of boredom, interests, and motivation. These are some of the variables the language teacher must keep in mind as he faces his class. The idea of trying to meet each person's learning style has been considered an impossible goal, and homogeneous grouping has become the substitute. Individualization is not a new learning concept, yet it is rarely found in the language classroom. This paper describes an attempt to set up an environment for learning so flexible that any person at any level of proficiency with an interest in any of the language skills may be successful in learning. It has been tried at the East-West Center on the University of Hawaii campus and in Bangkok, Thailand with encouraging results.

Recently I talked with a friend who said that as an ESL teacher her problem was a class of 30 students who each needed much help but who had varied interests, ability, and motivation. I suggested individualization. She said, "Sure, that's great, but it isn't possible with 30 students!" She didn't give me a chance to explain what I meant by individualization, but I believe the technique I was talking about would work as well with 30 students as with 13.

People are different. Just as it is impossible for any of us to produce one sentence exactly the same way twice, it is also impossible to find two students—no matter how good our homogeneous grouping is—who are at the same level in their competence and performance of English. Therefore to "lock-step" the two students—and certainly any *class*—into a procedure of drills or exercises is a deadening mistake. What is meaningful and relevant to one is often of little concern to another, and we sometimes settle for that which is mediocre for everyone. I believe there is another way, and the best explanation I can give is to describe the classes I have had at the East-West Center on the University of Hawaii campus and in Bangkok, Thailand.

The East-West Center class had sixteen students who came from eight different language backgrounds. They ranged in ability from the almost non-verbal to the fluent speaker, from the "beginner" to the "advanced," in listening, reading, and writing. Although the class met one hour each day, few could come every day because of other commitments. Miss Kim couldn't come on Monday, Mr. Chalid couldn't be there on Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, and the four working in the drama department came when they could.

In Thailand the ten students had the same language background; however, the class was similar to the one in Hawaii in that the students were of differing abilities, interested in different language skills, and able to come

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at different hours for different amounts of time. The classroom was open from 8:00-11:00 a.m. Of the ten students, three studied the entire three hours each day. Mr. Tong came one hour on Monday and Thursday, Miss Sommai came one hour on Monday and Wednesday, Miss Saowaluck came for one hour and fifteen minutes two days a week, and Miss Pornsri and the others came one hour on some days, two hours on others, and three hours on others.

The situation in both classes was on the surface chaotic, and the teaching task would have been impossible in a "regular" language classroom. However, with the responsibility placed on the students to learn what they were interested in, and with individualized materials provided, each person made progress. My job then was not to teach, but to provide materials and the environment which would enable them to learn.

The materials for both classes were the same. Each student was given a Record Form at registration and asked to record each activity he did in class. This form served two functions: it showed what the student was doing and how much progress he was making. Since students couldn't come every day, this helped them to begin where they left off when they returned to class after an absence. Because this technique was new to all of them, I helped them make decisions during the first week. A typical suggestion was something like this: "Are you going to listen to the lectures today, or type? Or maybe you'd like to read from the SRA folders." Once the students became familiar with the system, I simply asked, "What are you going to do today?" Only twice did I have a student say, "I don't know." Each time I suggested he talk with me a few minutes. During our conversation I checked his Record Form and offered suggestions such as: "Well, I see you have done the first eight dialogues; maybe you'd like to write a variation of number eight. Or perhaps you'd like to read another article from the newspaper."

For equipment we had a cassette tape recorder with six headphones, and a supply of short taped selections ranging from simple dialogues and radio advertisements to complex lectures and directions. Each of these lasted about fifteen minutes and included questions and answers. A typewriter and a typing book were provided for the students to 1) learn to type, 2) type a selection they wished to keep, 3) type their monthly reports, 4) type letters, stories, or reviews. SRA Rate Builders¹ were used to increase speed in reading. David P. Harris' *Reading Improvement Exercises For Students of English As a Second Language*² plus more advanced programmed material for reading was available as well as selections from the daily newspaper. Writing and typing seemed to go hand in hand, but there were those who preferred to study about writing. For them *Writing Through Understanding* by Nancy Arapoff was available.

¹ *Lab 111b Rate Builder* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1963).

² Englewood Cliff: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

³ New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970.

In the East-West Center class a discussion group was formed by the students because some wanted to talk about what they were doing. They formulated rules for themselves: e.g., "No two speakers of the same language can be a member of the same group."

A student could move from one activity to another freely, but usually he did only one or two things in an hour. The better students were willing to help the others, and the less able ones were not hesitant in asking for such assistance. I never did any teaching in the traditional sense, but I, like the better students, was often asked to look over a paper, or check to see if it was possible to say such and such a sentence, or listen to the tape and explain what the speaker meant, or read a paragraph and then listen to a student tell me what he thought it meant and offer help. To add to the seeming confusion, we even had tapes of songs that the students could listen to and sing along with if they wanted to.

The cost of all this was less than providing each student with each of the texts to be used, as in a traditional class. The job of setting up the classroom to allow individualized learning was more than worthwhile. I watched in amazement as the almost non-verbal student tried desperately to communicate because he had something he wanted to say, as one of the most backward answered a visitor's questions readily and with little hesitation, as one of the faster students improved her ability to read and analyze what she had read, and as another developed skill in writing summaries.

What made these classes so different? I have had other students with more ability who were just as eager to learn at the beginning of the year, so it was not just a combination of motivation and aptitude. I believe a part of the answer is that the responsibility for learning was taken from the teacher and given to the students and that the materials adapted themselves to such a situation. It was no less work for the teacher or the students than in a "regular" language classroom. In fact, each of us may have worked harder, but no one seemed to mind, for we each had personal goals to reach. We all found that an environment prepared for individual differences was not a place for traditional teaching, but was a place where learning thrived.

Reviews

BILINGUAL SCHOOLING IN THE UNITED STATES. Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 2 vols., 292 pp. and 328 pp.).

It is within the context of a growing interest in bilingual education, whether ideologically motivated, educationally motivated, or financially motivated, that the appearance of this two-volume miscellany by Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer will be heralded as an important first. It has been assembled to meet the needs of educators and other school professionals whose schools may be eligible for funds from Title VII of E. S. E. A., the Bilingual Education Act of 1968.

This work will generate particular interest among foreign language specialists (including ESL professionals) and educators who view the major educational problem as "a language problem" in schools comprised partly or largely of youngsters whose native languages are other than English. The authors' credentials as foreign language experts are assuredly impeccable. Yet it becomes apparent that their strong foreign language orientation imposes a restrictive definition upon bilingual education, suggesting that language, rather than education, is the heart of the matter. The FL (and ESL) bias which flavors the work throughout robs it, to some extent, of a richness which would have been inevitable, given a treatment of the sociological, economic, and political, as well as educational, issues which form a part of the complex history and contemporary reality out of which this experiment called bilingual education grows.

The work consists of two volumes: the first lays out background, rationale, and program concerns for the educator planning bilingual education; the second presents elaborate appendices in support of and supplementary to the first. Volume I begins with a brief introductory statement sketching the educational misfortunes which have befallen our non-English-speaking minority children and chiding American educators for their ethnocentric insistence upon an English-only policy in the public schools. Chapter 2 consists of some definitions, e.g., language, dialect, correctness, bilingualism, intended to call attention to common confusions and misconceptions about what "bilingual" means. The authors can hardly be held responsible for not clarifying the elaborate interrelationships among such terms and the attitudes which make them confusing, nor for not defining "bilingualism" very well. The confusion is indigenous to the field. The authors should be lauded, however, for presenting a clear statement of what bilingual education is. They have carefully reiterated the definition incorporated into Title VII, i.e., bilingual education is distinguished from other kinds of schooling by the fact that instruction takes place in *two* languages for some or all areas of the curriculum other than the study of foreign languages themselves. Thus, the authors contend, bilingual education is to be seen as something different from and more comprehensive than, for example, ESL and FLES

programs, while recognizing that these may play some role in bilingual programs.

Chapter 3 attempts to summarize the history of bilingual schooling, first in the U. S., and then in various areas of the world where the facts of multilingualism have been acknowledged earlier and where educational programs based on these facts have a longer history. As the authors have noted in their summary of this chapter, this sampling of educational practices in other nations is intended to provoke questions. The specific questions raised about relative values in a multilingual, multi-ethnic society are indeed questions which must be considered. Education does not exist in a vacuum, and, clearly, educational professionals must come to grips with how decisions are to be made and who is to make them, even before they consider how they might be implemented.

Chapter 4, which presents a rationale for bilingual education, attempts to answer some of the questions, discussing national language policies, implicit and explicit, and educational language policies, implicit and explicit. The authors strongly favor broadening, rather than narrowing, the limits of language use in society and in the schools. Their most convincing case is made in terms of the individual child. They reiterate a theme so often heard of the failure of American schools, by and large, to meet the educational needs of children from foreign language backgrounds. They offer the bilingual alternative based upon the ease with which the young child learns language and the extent to which his identity is tied up with his mother tongue and the culture of which it is an intrinsic part. The chapter closes with an extended quotation from A. Bruce Gaarder of the U.S. Office of Education, which constitutes "another viewpoint" and "a rationale in itself." How Gaarder's statement represents a "different" point of view is not commented upon, but its inclusion is a fortunate one, for this brief statement is probably the most succinct, cogent case made to date supporting the wisdom of bilingual education for the child of a non-English mother tongue, the promise of bilingual education for all American children, and the potential of bilingual education for all of us as a nation. If one had time to read only the briefest of statements to inform himself about the issues involved in bilingual education in the U.S. today, the extent of the educational and the social damage, not to mention personal damage, done by our nation's linguistic myopia, he could hardly do better than read Gaarder's testimony.

Having stated their case favoring bilingual education, the authors move in Chapter 5 to what should be the nitty-gritty of planning a bilingual program. It is in this chapter that the reader becomes sharply aware that the fundamental assumption of the authors is that bilingual education is the responsibility of the educational establishment. The school is seen as the initiator of the idea, and they point out that care should be taken to lay the proper groundwork so that the idea will be accepted with minimal objection from the public. I am personally uncomfortable with the narrowness

of this orientation, but I must admit that if doing a public relations job on an ethnic community to get them to accept and support something that will be good for them is how the task is conceived, then the suggestions for forming a study committee to avoid the build-up of public pressure, selecting an advisory committee, having a program coordinator whose responsibility it is to see that relations are smooth with the community, and managing public information artfully are very well drawn indeed. I am fully aware that there will be many programs initiated throughout the nation which will benefit from this design for co-opting community prerogatives in bilingual education.

Parent participation, a key indicator of community concern and involvement, is given short shrift, as are most of the urgent concerns which go into developing a program—teacher/aide preparation (will be needed); objectives (should be clear); curriculum (it helps to have a specialist); materials (they should be interesting); early childhood (send things home for mothers—it works in Ypsilanti); experimentation and evaluation (free teachers to do more of it; collaborate with universities); testing (should be improved).

Chapter 6 deals with “The Program.” In this section, they pose a good set of questions dealing with how a program might be structured (in an organizational sense), and answer them well. Borrowing from Mackey’s “Typology” (which is included in full in the Appendices), they develop schematics for content (or subject) vs. language of instruction. The discussions of each subject area are good, if a bit general. From Mackey, they select out those patterns of school time which are applicable to settings in the U.S. and which are fundable under Title VII, expand them, and give examples of each. This is particularly fruitful, for it helps make clear the complexity of the program possibilities generated by Title VII. After discussing many possibilities, the authors strongly urge the use of two teachers, each using a different language (presumably his native language) to guarantee authenticity of accent, insure adequate variety for the children in use of the two languages, and an intercultural approach by definition (pp. 115-116).

Given the brevity of the discussion on what must be planned for, and the essentially organizational nature of the discussion of program, it would probably be fair to say that this text will be more of a help to those writing proposals than to those operating or thinking about operating bilingual educational programs. The theoretical issues are well covered, but the specifics of what to do and how to do it, in an educational sense, are barely mentioned.

One suggestion I find troubling is that the MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests be used to determine the linguistic proficiency of teachers employed in such programs. This suggestion seems to ignore the fact that these tests were developed to test the foreign language proficiency of native English-speaking teachers, generally foreign language majors who want to be teachers of foreign language. Some, though hardly the majority, of the teachers who wish to teach bilingual programs may come from the ranks

of foreign language teachers changing their teaching area, but more generally, they will be individuals who speak the "other" language as natives. One must raise the question of the appropriateness of using a foreign language proficiency test on native speakers, particularly when they are presumably not going to be called upon to teach the language, but rather, to teach *in* the language. The ability to communicate with children would seem to be the most important criterion in this instance. Of course, language and language arts teachers might be expected to demonstrate the kinds of language skills tested by the battery.

Another rather troubling suggestion is that normed tests be used in evaluating programs and in determining children's language proficiency. To begin with, though a number of tests are under development, appropriately normed tests simply do not exist. As the authors themselves later point out, "standardized tests generally do not give an accurate measure of the achievement of bilingual children" (p. 122). Secondly, the trend in evaluation is away from standardized tests, and toward criterion-referenced measurement of carefully defined objectives. While, admittedly, testing is crucial, and we badly need development in this area, to urge the use of standardized tests, based on normative data which are inappropriate for most of the populations touched by Title VII programs, seems foolhardy.

"Needed Action and Research" (Chapter 7) briefly outlines some urgent needs at national and local levels. The most urgent of these is a broad base of support. In the authors' view, one of the most important tasks will be to provide evidence to the tax-paying public that the additional costs of bilingual education are worth the investment. Inherent in this plea for support is the assumption that bilingual education is, of necessity, a program added to the system to patch up one of the more glaring failures of our present educational structure. As long as one views bilingual education as basically "additive," then one can hardly argue with their point. The fact is, however, that the legislation has been enacted, and the political demand is real. Expansion of Title VII will probably depend less on the public seeing how good it is than it will on the power amassed in the meanwhile by the minorities demanding it and the extent to which schools become committed to it. We have known for many years almost all that we know now about bilingual instruction; yet, we have had almost no bilingual education to speak of. Bilingual education has come to be as a political act, not an educational one. Hence, research aimed at proving a point which is irrelevant to contemporary politics is wasteful of our time and energy. How we utilize the resources made available by Title VII in an attempt to achieve some of the high-minded ideals put forth by Andersson and Boyer and their collaborators is the real challenge. Will we succeed, through bilingual education, in contributing to an America which values and nurtures its diversity, or will we, as Kjolseth (1970) has suggested, hasten the process of assimilation and destroy even more effectively one of our most important human resources?

Some of their research suggestions are extremely good. It is clear that we need much more work at the level of language development; we need cross cultural studies which investigate the ways in which and the rates at which children from different cultures learn different concepts; we need more adequate ways of assessing the effectiveness of what we do. But these are problems of education generally; they are just more complicated for bilingual education. Any experimentation which permits us to improve the effectiveness of instruction is worthwhile.

The authors make the important point in this chapter that we must not fall prey to "national efficiency" in formulating policy for bilingual education. In no situation is the need for adaptation to local needs, mores, and customs more critical. To be able to do an intelligent job of such local adaptation, we will need local surveys to find out who and where the potential pupils are; we will need contrastive studies of local varieties of the children's languages and their relation to the standard, if there is one; we will need careful studies of the points of contact and conflict when the cultures of the children interact with the dominant culture.

In Chapter 8, which explores the implications of bilingual education for education and for society, the authors' bias, their fears, and their hopes are made explicit. The underlying fear seems to be whether after five years of trial and government support, communities will continue to support bilingual education. It is understandable that this should be an important concern for these writers, since it is clear that they view Title VII as an opening wedge for the development of a rich educational program that might play a role in solving a number of our nation's complex national and international problems. It is also clear that they are aware of the limitations of this potential imposed by the way that Title VII is written.

While it is not explicitly stated, the implied criticism of Title VII is that, by restricting funds for bilingual education to those areas where there are high concentrations of families with incomes under \$3000 a year, the effect may be: 1) to encourage the growth and establishment of non-standard varieties of the languages in question (e.g., French or Spanish), while starving out the standard varieties and making it increasingly difficult to use existing material and trained personnel; and 2) to limit effectively the particular languages which may be "preserved." Language resources are not at all restricted to the poor (even if the educational needs may be greater there); on the contrary, one might argue that the richest language resources, from a practical point of view, exist among the many middle class ethnic minorities who are untouched by Title VII and public bilingual education. The authors are convinced that bilingual education is good for poor, non-English-speaking children, but it is clearly their preference that, without taking anything from the poor, the legislation should be extended to include all language groups other than English speakers.

There is a second danger stemming from the same limitation, and that is making false promises to poor ethnic minorities. Without carefully con-

strutted educational programs, children may end up with two languages, both non-standard, which will not permit them to compete effectively in the larger communities in which the standard varieties are central. Given our relative lack of skill in teaching the standard variety to speakers of non-standard English, it is sobering to contemplate the double disaster made possible by attempting the same thing bilingually.

In this same section, the authors list twelve educational benefits of a bilingual program which should be demonstrated within six years. In my view, these are the starting point, not the finishing point. These should be listed as program goals, and all programs encouraged to make every effort to assess the extent to which we have reached them.

The brief comments in the "Conclusion" are followed by an 870 item bibliography. It is, in the authors' words, "far from exhaustive," but "includes some of the more relevant items . . . that our staff has consulted during its research." It is a bibliography which will disappoint scholars, for it is not thorough, and will be too cumbersome for the interested layman, as it is too long. But if its weakness is that it tries to serve too many masters, it is at the same time indicative of the attempted scope and breadth of vision with which the task was begun, including topics such as foreign language teaching and testing, child development, ESL, minority group education, the sociology of language, linguistic theory, and ethnic group history. The appended Index to the Bibliography is helpful, in at least pointing the reader to the various items which fall under each rubric.

Volume II, a series of Appendices, is in some ways the most delightful aspect of the work. For one thing, it includes most of the hard-to-get-hold-of documents that anyone in bilingual education would want to have in his collection, e.g., the text of Title VII, the Draft Guidelines for preparing a proposal, demographic data on minority groups, the full version of Mackey's "Typology," a socio-historical overview of bilingualism in the U.S. (adapted from Fishman), and the list of Teacher Qualifications for Modern Foreign Languages.

Then there are a number of brief, scholarly papers on individual ethnic groups, mostly not poor, which are interesting and very well done. Of particular note are a piece on Basque-Americans by William A. Douglass and one by Carol Phillips on Spanish-speaking Americans. The latter is particularly important because it delineates important distinctions among Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans, thus cautioning against the all too common tendency to stereotype members of these ethnic groups because they share a common language. Miss Phillips deserves an additional kudo for Appendix D on immigration legislation, a very well done selection in which she predicts the shifting patterns of language concentration for which the educational establishment must prepare.

Also included are brief descriptions of existing (as of May, 1969) bilingual programs in the U. S., and a directory of resources, better in its intention than its execution. For example, there is a listing of almost 200 "resource

persons”; but preliminary note indicates that not all have been contacted to determine availability. Their “competencies” range from “an interest in broad areas” to “problems of individual classrooms”; yet no indication is given to enable the reader to determine into which category a resource person falls, nor even, in some cases, where his interest and/or competency may lie. Similarly, the listings of organizations and materials sources are not very useful. It is not entirely clear to whom you should go for what kind of help, or whether it will be available if you do.

Volume II concludes with listings of the Advisory Committee Members of USOE'S Bilingual Design Project and the Conferees for the October, 1968, Conference on Bilingual Schooling, out of which the present work was born.

The appendices point up what is probably the major weakness of *Bilingual Schooling in the United States*—comprised of a lot of good ideas, not carefully enough thought through. The text lacks, to borrow a phrase, a commanding sequential design, a major shortcoming attributable, no doubt, to an over-ambitious conceptualization and the haste with which it was assembled, an unfortunate circumstance which the authors have frequently noted. The result is two volumes of uneven quality and uneven utility.

The expressed aim of the work is to assist educational planners who may want to develop Title VII projects and apply for government support. The attempted scope of the work forces it to fall short of this goal. The very scatter of the topics, the international character of large sections of the two books, the number of ethnic groups dealt with, and even the size (620 pp.) limit the convenience for this group of readers. If they can sort through it all, it may be helpful. It may also be confusing. On the other hand, the same broad treatment opens up the possibility that other language minorities, not necessarily poor (Japanese, Swedish, German, Chinese) may begin to pressure for broader legislation to extend the same advantages to their children. The preservation and fostering of language resources in America would be greatly enhanced by such a move.

For all its weaknesses, *Bilingual Schooling in the United States* should be seen as it was intended, as the first step toward a new vision of what education may become for all American children, if the seeds of bilingual education take root. In spite of the fact that it relegates to the appendices the role played by our increasingly vocal poor ethnic minorities in the rebirth of bilingual education in this country, it is nonetheless a humane and modestly scholarly establishment treatment, which takes as a given that educators try to do what is right. The work addresses itself largely to expanding their ideas of what is right. In a much less direct way, but perhaps ultimately of more importance, the authors are also making a case for expanding the horizons of Title VII, not towards more and more programs as they are presently constituted, but towards a more broadly conceived bilingual education, which might truly represent a language resource reclamation policy.

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MODERN ENGLISH: A TEXTBOOK FOR FOREIGNERS. William E. Rutherford (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. 1968. 482 pp.).

MODERN ENGLISH is one of the few textbooks which has attempted to exploit the possibilities suggested by the continuing discussion of the applications of current linguistic theories to foreign language teaching. Rutherford's book, based on generative transformational theory, does try to bridge the gap between linguistics and pedagogy.

Once the limitations of the book are understood, it must be classified as a significant contribution to the body of ESL/EFL materials. The chief positive features of the book are its thorough analysis of the patterns presented on the basis of deep structure and its use of an elaborate array of innovative drills designed to develop mastery of these patterns. Thus, certain prenominal modification structures such as "a fast-growing business" are presented by showing their source sentences "a business which is growing fast" and "the business is growing fast." (pp. 271-2) In the same section a second prenominal structure having similar surface form, "a sightseeing bus," is shown to have a different deep source, "the bus is for sightseeing." Both structures are further differentiated on the basis of the stress pattern which each exhibits. Such an approach ensures that the learner of English understands the meaning of these related structures and helps to develop greater flexibility in his manipulation of them.

Over twenty different drill types are used throughout the text. The majority of these drills fall into the categories termed "fixed," "guided" or "free." There seems to be little difference, however, among those drills classified as "response," "reply" and "comment." Others such as the "deduction" and "evasive reply" drills are well done, although at times they tend to be too constrained for classroom use. The most questionable drill of all is the "garbled speech." There seems to be little justification for such widespread use of a drill designed to develop oral proficiency which contains an unpronounceable and meaningless word such as "shrdlu" in every item.

Other features of note are the dialogs, pronunciation exercises, and supplementary vocabulary lists. The twenty dialogs do not always overcome the problems of undue length or artificiality found in many texts. On the other hand, they do manage to include all of the new grammar points to be introduced in each unit and thus serve as a handy reference to how those structures can be used in connected discourse.

The pronunciation drills are limited to "perception of contrasting phonological signals which are at the same time surface reflections of vastly different underlying syntax." Even if the student fails to produce consistently distinctions such as "Who do you want to [want tə] teach?" vs. "Who do you want to [wanə] teach?" (p. 129), any step toward this goal by helping him to understand these differences is a significant advancement. Nothing is lost by failing to include the tedious exercises designed to teach individual sounds in isolated words.

The supplementary lists found at the end of most units are a time-saver for both student and teacher. The difficult task of searching for additional examples of verb particle combinations is solved by the list of over 300 items divided according to transitive and intransitive type found at the end of unit 3 (pp. 100-2). Other lists are just as complete.

Despite these favorable features of content and organization *Modern English* remains a textbook for a limited audience. Besides the fact that it is not meant for beginners, there can be little argument that the author "assumes intelligence and high motivation." A student lacking in either one will find the book difficult, uninteresting, or both. Likewise, the teacher who attempts to use this text must have a thorough grounding in the linguistic theory behind it; otherwise, he will miss the point of much of what is presented.

Rutherford has done an admirable job of providing a textbook based on current knowledge in linguistics. The challenge now remains to apply this approach to materials for students with less background in the language and who, for one reason or another, are not receptive to a textbook of this sophistication.

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TEACHING READING TO NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS. Eleanor Wall Thonis (Collier-Macmillan Company, 1970, 270 pp.).

The Thonis book is addressed to the general teacher, particularly at the elementary school level, who is faced with the task of teaching reading to pupils who are non-native speakers of the English language. The author is concerned both with pupils who have established literacy in their own language and with those just entering school who not only do not know how to read but who also have very little command of English.

The text is divided into three parts. Chapters I through IV deal with reading in the vernacular and cover the topics of pre-reading, introduction to print, the reading skills of vocabulary and rate of comprehension, and reading in the content areas. Chapters V through VIII parallel the areas

covered in the first four as applied to reading English when it is a foreign language, with the addition of a chapter on selection of materials. The last section, entitled "Appraisal of Pupil Progress in Reading," consists of two chapters, one on means of evaluating reading growth through the use of standardized and teacher-made tests, and a summary chapter dealing with the values of developing literacy in the native language and literacy in English.

The book, then, is quite comprehensive. It encompasses the entire field of reading pedagogy, both for native and non-native users of a language. The chapters contain checklists of suggestions and techniques for dealing with the particular problems discussed in the chapter, and the chapter content is summarized at the end. A bibliography follows each summary. This would seem to be the all-inclusive guide to reading instruction that would have wide appeal. Many teachers may find its extensive coverage a valuable review. The author is arguing for no one approach. She is not, for example, expounding the merits of a phonic method as opposed to a "whole" or "look-see" procedure, or the opposite; nor the use of an Initial Teaching Alphabet or a "linguistic" approach. She discusses various approaches and their advantages and defects. Yet the book is based on the sound principle that written communication is a reflection of oral language, and that oral proficiency is a basis for proficiency in reading. Many teachers may also appreciate the lists of suggested classroom devices.

The extensiveness of the coverage may, however, be a limitation, as may the relative proportions of the text devoted to general discussion as compared with concrete illustrations of procedure. So much is covered that no one method of teaching or no one aspect of the reading process is dealt with in great detail. Rather, a summary is provided, a summary useful perhaps to one with some background in the reading field, but one less useful, one feels, to a person who is encountering the ideas for the first time. The reference lists at the ends of the chapters guide the teacher to further sources of information about topics such as the Initial Teaching Alphabet or a sound-matrix approach, but the text itself gives only a very general treatment. Valid problems are pointed out concerning the teaching of reading—the problems of lack of experience or habits of inattention on the part of the pupil, or of interference from his native language habits. And valid needs are emphasized—the need to teach sight-sound relationships, or to teach how to find the central idea of a paragraph. But the suggestions for overcoming the problems or meeting the needs do not follow directly so that the relationship is made clear, or such suggestions are sometimes given only in the most general terms. For example, in discussing the "negative transfer" that comes from interference of native language habits, the author warns the teacher to "be alert to situations in which negative transfer takes place and provide practice to deal with such learning difficulty." Some readers may desire a more specific discussion at this point as to what the evidence of such transfer might be and what to do about it.

The extensive discussion, or perhaps the organizational pattern, lends itself to a certain repetitiousness. Reading in the content areas is dealt with in both Parts I and II. In both sections the point is made that in reading mathematics, for example, pupils need to know how to understand the sequences in a mathematical problem, and must understand special vocabulary items such as *logarithm*, *exponent*, *equation*. Except for the obvious problem of greater vocabulary deficiency, one might inquire what specific needs the non-native reader of English might have and how teaching procedures for the native and non-native user of English might differ.

Many useful suggestions for teaching reading are given in the suggestion lists, many that have come from long, successful teaching. The suggestion of the ingenious use of color to indicate the variant spellings of the same sound, the use of dramatization and role playing, the labeling of charts and diagrams—all these, and a wealth of others, may prove useful. A linguist, however, may feel a limitation in that while suggestions are heavy on ways of handling vocabulary, more notice might have been given of difficulties arising from sentence structure. For example, it is pointed out that to understand the sentence “Even faster than fire ran the rumor . . .” the pupil must know the meaning of the word *rumor* and understand the analogy between a *raging fire* and *spreading a rumor*. The inverted verb-subject pattern may also be a source of difficulty, particularly for a person of non-English background.

Apart from the limitations indicated above, the text has the merit of extensive coverage, lists of devices, and bibliography for further reference. It may fill a useful place on the shelves of many teachers who have non-native speakers of English in their classes as well as those who want a summary of reading pedagogy for reference.

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READING: A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE. Ronald Wardhaugh (Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969, 170 pp.).

The purpose of this text, as the title suggests and as the author himself indicates throughout, is not to offer a method for teaching reading, as method must be based on psychological, sociological, neurological, and pedagogical as well as linguistic insights, but rather to bring together a body of knowledge from linguistic science, and specifically from the work of the generative-transformational grammarians, that may be relevant to the teaching of reading. Wardhaugh indicates the tentative and speculative nature of his approach, given the current state of linguistic theory and uncertainties in psychology and pedagogy, yet emphasizes that linguistics “may offer important insights into many problems that confront the reading teacher and reading researcher,” and provide a perspective from which they may view their task. Although not directed to the ESL teacher but to the

teacher of reading in one's native language, the text also offers a perspective for the teacher of English as a foreign language as he deals with reading.

To develop this perspective, Chapter One, "The Teaching of Reading," analyzes the disagreements among reading teachers over the phonics and "look-say" methods, and shows how the basic theories of language underlying these methods have never been clearly defined, or have been "drawn equally freely from fact and myth." Chapter Two, "Recent Proposals on Linguistics and Reading," outlines the work of such people as Leonard Bloomfield, Charles C. Fries, and Carl LeFevre in developing materials and approaches based on phoneme-grapheme correspondence, which differ from the phonics of the past, and describes the Initial Teaching Alphabet, which makes use of a phonetically based writing system. These approaches offer insights for the ESL teacher as well as the general teacher of reading. However, they were based on theories put forth by structural linguists of the early 1930's to the late 1950's, who were concerned with describing the surface structure of language. The author points out that linguists of today are asking new questions about the language process that may offer new insights for the reading teacher. The result, the author indicates, is that much of what is discussed under the name of linguistics in texts, methods, and courses on reading is often in reality very far from the best linguistic knowledge that is available today, a fact of which reading teachers should be aware. Chapter Three, "The Nature of Linguistic Inquiry," sets forth some of these newer questions of linguistic investigation—questions about the way in which language is acquired, the nature of the finite system which speakers of language possess that enables them to generate an infinite number of well-formed sentences, and about language universals—which stem from the work of Chomsky and his associates. Chapter Four, "Some Linguistic Insights into Reading Instruction," examines reading from the perspective of these new investigations by reviewing the kinds of information that must be processed by a person who is learning to read and by indicating the linguistic factors such as the nature of linguistic competence, the difference between written and spoken communication, the types of meaning that are present in a sentence, the systematic ways in which symbols represent linguistic structures, the semantic structures which exist in English, and the relationship of a spoken dialect to standard written English that must be taken into account by researchers in reading. This new perspective also concerns the ESL teacher in establishing pedagogy for reading.

"Grammar and Reading" is the subject of Chapter Five, and "Meaning" the subject of Chapter Six. These chapters explain how the structural linguist's analysis of grammar from the standpoint of surface structure differs from the deep structure analysis of the transformational-generative grammarian and discuss the relationship between syntax and semantics. Methods of developing understanding of the complexity of sentence structure and of the semantic component of comprehension are perhaps even larger problems for the ESL teacher than for the teacher of reading to native speakers.

Chapter Seven, "The Spelling System of English," discusses the difficulties in developing an orthographic system for a language and outlines the morphophonemic basis of English spelling which today many linguists believe is important. While Chomsky and Halle describe a model for the reading process for native speakers that "know" the language, reading instructors for non-native speakers as well need a knowledge of the phonological structure of language that is based on more than phonetic details that appear on the surface. Dialect differences in spoken English are pertinent to the problem of establishing the relationship between the spoken word and its standard written form. Chapter Eight, "Dialects," indicates some historical, regional, and social dialect differences, both phonological and grammatical, mentions the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that speakers of different languages, perhaps even of different dialects, view the world differently, and discusses the validity of the suggestion by Chomsky and others who espouse his views that dialects differ from each other only in minor ways. Wardhaugh does not argue for one point of view on these questions but indicates that while dialect problems are sociological and psychological, as well as linguistic, concerns, they may influence the reading process.

In Chapter Nine, "Reading, A New Perspective," the author formulates a definition of reading that has implications for the teacher of English to speakers of other languages: "When a person reads a text, he is attempting to discover the meaning of what he is reading by using the visual clues of spelling, his knowledge of probabilities of occurrence, his contextual-pragmatic knowledge, and his syntactic and semantic competence to give a meaningful interpretation of the text." If this is true, a speaker of another language would need some competence in the new language, some internalized knowledge of its rules, in order for his reading to be more than a process of deciphering and transliteration. Although Wardhaugh does not make the point specifically, one would assume that the reading process in a foreign language would be easier to the degree that the two languages share the same rules.

The final chapter, Chapter Ten, discusses some implications for education of what has been said about the linguistic aspect of the reading process. It points out that most investigators of reading problems have not been aware of basic facts about such things as sound-symbol relationships, English grammar, or the linguistic development in children; nor have the important findings of linguists that have bearing on reading been given more than a superficial place at reading conferences. Reading experts and linguists have had difficulty in coming to an understanding because of their differing emphases and because linguists themselves have different views and differing interpretations of the relevance of their findings for reading instruction, says the author. He makes a plea that this understanding be developed in order to make for better instruction in reading.

The book concludes with a glossary of linguistic terms that should prove

useful for the reading teacher in examining the findings of the linguists, and a bibliography for further reading. The linguistic explanations in the text are clear and non-technical. The author emphasizes again and again that the linguist does not have the only approach to reading, nor does he offer a "linguistic" method. However, by explaining the linguistic perspective on the reading process Ronald Wardhaugh's book should serve an important function in bringing reading experts and linguists closer together. It can also provide a guide for the area of reading for the teacher of English as a second language.

JANET Ross
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ERIC-TESOL Documents

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

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

ED 040 378 *English Literacy: Legal Sanction for Discrimination*. Arnold H. Leibowitz. *Notre Dame Lawyer*; v45, n1, p7-67, Fall 1969. MF \$0.50 HC \$3.15.

The thesis of this article is that, in general, English literacy tests and other statutory sanctions applied in favor of English were originally formulated as an indirect but effective means of achieving discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or color. Many such provisions in the law are anachronistic, having only historical interest today, while others retain their vigor and continue to operate in a discriminatory manner. A few contribute to the "official" character that English enjoys in our society or to the health and safety of the operation of certain institutions. These have continuing legal and political validity. (Discussed in detail are English literacy requirements in the light of state regulation, number of people affected, federal regulation, and early federal practice; English literacy as a condition of voting; English literacy as a condition of business activity; English literacy in legal proceedings; English as the exclusive language of the American school system; and the special case of Puerto Rico. Appended are notes on U.S. statutory and constitutional requirements concerning English in each state.)

ED 040 384 *Language Research in Progress: Report No. 10, June 1970; A Cross-Referenced List of Documented Language Research Projects Current January-June 1970*. Alfred S. Hayes and Joan Vis. 71 p. MF \$0.50 HC \$3.60.

This is the tenth report in the Language Research In Progress (LRIP) series, superseding reports 1-9. LRIP 10 lists 469 language-related research projects in progress between November 1969 and June 1970 for which documentation is available. The report is indexed by topic, principal investigator, and location of the project in the United States or abroad. Copies of LRIP 10 and résumés of all the projects listed here are available on request from Catherine Hollan, LINCOS, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

ED 040 389 *The Preparation of Language Arts Teachers for Ghetto Schools*. Maurice Imhoof. 10 p.; paper given at the fourth annual TESOL Convention, San Francisco, California, March 18-21, 1970. MF \$0.25 HC \$0.60.

Language arts teachers cannot handle the problems of the disadvantaged children of the ghetto because they cannot understand the language of the children well enough to evaluate the abilities of the children or create activities which would improve the quality of language experience for the child. It is possible to provide language arts teachers for ghetto schools with an academic experience which has immediate applications in the classroom. Thorough linguistic knowledge is the primary requisite for a sound language arts teacher-training program. Two courses would give minimum preparation in this area: one dealing with the nature of language and one on urban dialects. Standard English should be taught; the student must be given the language skills which will enable him to alternate between the dialect of his peers, his home, his teachers, and his books. The language arts teacher in the ghetto school should (1) be familiar with ghetto culture; (2) study black English, but not necessarily as a means of communication with his students or the community; (3) learn about the family and community structures; (4) study the effects of poverty; and (5) study the peer group relations and different learning styles of ghetto children. A successful ghetto teacher must be resourceful, have magnetism, possess self-knowledge, and reflect love.

ED 040 393 *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages; United States Activities: 1969*. Carol J. Kreidler and Dorothy A. Pedtke, eds. 16 p. June 1970. MF \$0.25 HC \$0.90.

The report summarizes a number of United States activities in or related to the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. The report, while not exhaustive, attempts to be representative. (Mention has been omitted of projects which dealt only or chiefly with the teaching of standard English to speakers of other dialects.) Sources of information include reports from federal, state, and city government agencies; universities, foundations, and other private organizations; articles and notices in newsletters and professional journals; brochures; and personal contact. Sections cover (1) English language teaching and teacher training in the United States; (2) English language teaching and teacher training overseas; and (3) materials, testing and research. An index of organizations and addresses is appended. This report is usually prepared by the English for Speakers of Other Languages Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics as part of the American presentation at the International Conference on Second Language Problems (which did not meet in 1970).

ED 040 396 *English for American Indians: A Newsletter of the Office of Education Programs, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior*. William R. Slager and Betty M. Madsen, eds. Spring 1970. 64 p. MF \$0.50 HC \$3.30.

This Bureau of Indian Affairs publication focuses on the problems of beginning reading in English. Ralph Robinett's "The Teaching of English Reading to American Indian Children" discusses basic premises and approaches to reading for speakers of English as a second language or as a standard dialect. The "Information Exchange" describes projects and reports primarily concerned with the Navajo—a reading study, a reading survey, a kindergarten program, and an orthography conference. Reviewed also are articles by Roger Shuy, William Labov, and Ronald Wardhaugh, and an anthology edited by

A. C. Aarons, B. Y. Gordon, and W. A. Stewart. The subjects reviewed cover reading materials, problems, and instruction, and linguistic-cultural differences in American education. The "Materials" section describes the Sullivan Programmed Readers, the Miami Linguistic Readers, the Alaskan Readers, and readers for Cherokee, Hopi, and Apache. See ED 026 629 and ED 027 546 (*TESOL Quarterly*, III, 3, September 1969) and ED 029 298 (*TESOL Quarterly*, III, 4, December 1969) for abstracts of the first three *English for American Indians* publications.

ED 040 397 *English Now*. A. Ioannou and A. S. Papadopoulos. 597 p.; 4 vols. 1968.

This audio-visuo-oral course in English as a second or foreign language is aimed to provide a full year's work for classes of beginners in elementary or high schools. It may also be used for learners outside these age-groups or for remedial or review work. The material is systematically graded and limited to approximately 500 lexical items. The course consists of four volumes: a picture book designed to provide extensive group-work; a drill book for the teacher; a reading book presenting the written forms of the structural and lexical content of the course after it has been introduced orally; and a workbook providing the material for writing practice, to further consolidate the patterns established through the drill book. The course is accompanied by tapes. Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 119 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

ED 045 960 *Non-Standard English*. Bruce Fraser. 22 p.; prepared as part of Information Analysis Planning Effort for the Contract Year 1969/70, Final Report. MF \$0.25 HC \$1.20.

The present paper reviews recent research in the area of nonstandard English: the major results to date, the significance of this research for education, and suggestions for further research. The notion of "standard" English resists precise definition; there is not a simple set of linguistic features which can be said to define it. The term "nonstandard" English also lacks a precise definition. There is, however, some intuitive notion about the range of speech habits which identify a speaker of standard English. (George Wallace, Richard Nixon, and H. L. Hunt may be considered speakers of standard English, while Cesar Chavez, Eldridge Cleaver, and Nguyen Cao Ky speak nonstandard dialects, and in some cases, perhaps the standard English dialect as well.) A dialect may be classified from at least four points of view, according to (1) whether the speaker learned English as his first language, or second or third; (2) the region of the U.S. where the language was learned; (3) the cultural composition of the speech community; and (4) the socio-economic status (SES) of the speech community. A dialect may reflect all of these classifying labels. The effect of SES on a speaker's dialect is not absolute presence or absence of certain linguistic features but rather the relative frequency of these features. Speech style is distinguished from social dialect.

ED 045 961 *A Comparative Study of Selected Syntactical Structures of the Oral Language Status in Spanish and English of Disadvantaged First-Grade Spanish-Speaking Children*. Albar Antonio Peña. 152 p.; Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, August 1967. MF \$0.75 HC \$7.70.

This study presents an intensive comparative analysis of selected basic sentence patterns and transformations in Spanish and English manifested in the responses of Spanish-speaking disadvantaged children selected to receive

instruction in the following groups: (1) Oral-Aural Spanish with special science materials in Spanish; (2) Oral-Aural English with science in English; (3) Non-Oral-Aural in Spanish or English, but the same science materials as OAS and OAE; and (4) Non-oral-Aural No-Science, which followed regular public school curriculum. To obtain these responses, at the beginning and end of the first grade, the first section of the Language-Cognition Test was given twice, in both Spanish and English. (An ancillary task of the investigation was to field-test the first section of this test.) The hypotheses of this study, designed to test for similarities and differences in the oral languages of the four groups, were that (1) there were no significant initial differences between groups, including sex, in pre-test scores; and (2) there were no significant differences between group means and function of treatment. In general, these hypotheses were "supported by the results."

ED 045 967 *DINE BI'OLTA SAAD NAAKI YEEYALTI'II BINAALTSOOS T'AALA'IGII. Navajo-English Curriculum Guide, Kindergarten Level.* Muriel R. Saville, and others. 382 p.; prepublication copy, 1970. MF \$1.50 HC \$19.20.

A successful bilingual kindergarten program has to utilize fully the results of three areas of modern research and development: linguistics, psychology, and education. The preparation and implementation of curricular materials for teaching in Navajo and English to five-year-old Navajo children requires an understanding of at least the following areas: (1) the nature and consequences of bilingualism; (2) the individual, social, cultural, and academic characteristics and needs of the Navajo children; (3) the Navajo and English languages; (4) methods for both first and second language instruction which are appropriate for use with young children; and (5) evaluation techniques for teaching methods, materials, and the children's progress. The present Guide is intended to provide additional information in these areas to participating teachers and aides, and to provide them with specific suggestions for teaching in the four curriculum content areas listed above. Sample instructional materials for each area are also included. University of Texas, Austin, Department of Curriculum and Instruction.

ED 045 969 *Teaching Grammar. An Experiment in Applied Psycholinguistics. Assessing Three Different Methods of Teaching Grammatical Structures in English as a Foreign Language.* Torsten Lindbald and Lennart Levin. 186 p.; appeared as "Research Bulletin No. 6, December 1970" of the Gothenburg School of Education. MF \$0.75.

Earlier reports from the BUME project (Goteborg, Undervisnings Metod i Engelska—Gothenburg/Teaching-Methods/English) have shown that different methods of teaching English produce no significant differences in learning effects. In the present study, a direct continuation of earlier ones, modifications in design, teaching strategies, etc., were made in order to increase the probability of detecting true differences between methods, if such existed. Three methods were compared: the Implicit method, the Explicit-English method (Ee), and the Explicit-Swedish method (Es). All three have systematized drills, but Ee and Es feature analysis and explanations as well; in Ee such explanations are given in English, in Es in Swedish. The present study differed from earlier ones in several ways: a new type of explanation was used, the duration of the experiment was prolonged, and the grammatical content was more varied. Main effects were investigated by analysis of covariance and interaction effects by analysis of variance. Individual scores were used as units of analysis, and various measures of progress during the

experiment were used in the comparisons. Results agreed with earlier findings that the three different methods do not generate any differences in learning effects. [Not available in hard copy because of marginal legibility of the original document.] Department of Educational Research, Gothenburg School of Education, Ovre Husargatan 34, S-413 Gothenburg, Sweden.

ED 045 971 *The Role of Dialect Interference in Composition*. Walt Wolfram and Marcia Whiteman. 27 p. Jan. 1971. MF \$1.45 HC \$0.25.

Despite the recent focus on the role of dialect differences in creating learning difficulties for speakers of nonstandard dialects of English, research has tended to concentrate on difficulties related to speaking and reading, while ignoring those involved in teaching writing to these students. This paper attempts to meet the need for such studies by dealing with the role of "dialect interference" in the writing of speakers of one nonstandard dialect, Black English, here defined as the dialect "typically spoken by lower socioeconomic class Blacks and distinguished from other nonstandard dialects by a number of pronunciation and grammar features." The paper first discusses the notion of dialect interference and how it can be applied to writing and then reports a study conducted by the authors using as their data compositions written by tenth-grade speakers of Black English. These compositions are examined in the light of certain established facts about Black English (both phonological and grammatical) to ascertain the extent to which dialect interference can be used to explain certain phenomena found in the students' writing. The authors conclude that dialect interference does indeed play a role in the writing of Black English speakers and discuss the implications of this conclusion for the composition teacher.

ED 045 977 *Twelve Nigerian Languages. A Handbook on Their Sound Systems for Teachers of English*. Elizabeth Dunstan, ed. 185 p. 1969.

This book sets out the sound systems of twelve Nigerian languages and English (both British and American) in order to give teachers a better understanding of why students who are speakers of these languages have difficulty in certain areas of English pronunciation. The Nigerian languages are: Efik, Etsako, Fula, Hausa, Igbo, Ijo, Isoko, Itsekiri, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo, and Yoruba. Each language description is arranged in the same way in order to enable the teacher to compare whichever language or languages he is interested in with English as regards the features covered. Four aspects of each language are described: consonants, vowels, syllable structure, and tonal or intonation structure. Following this, an account is given of the major difficulties a student speaking that particular Nigerian language is likely to have in learning the English sound system. Finally, a list of publications about the language is given. Technical terminology is kept to a minimum, and a glossary is provided for those technical terms which are used. Longmans, Green & Co., 48 Grosvenor Street, London W.1, England.

ED 045 980 *English for American Indians. A Newsletter of the Office of Education Programs, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior*. William R. Slager and Betty M. Madsen, eds. Fall 1970. 96p. MF \$0.50 HC \$4.90.

The present issue of *English for American Indians* follows the format and approach of the Spring 1970 issue. (See ED 040 396.) In the lead article, Evelyn Hatch surveys some of the research in first language acquisition and points out its implications for second language teaching. Her main thesis is that with the best of intentions, teachers often insist that children in English-

as-a-second-language classes achieve a mastery of certain structures that is beyond the mastery achieved by "advantaged" middle class children who speak English natively. Following her article, she reviews three new books on child language. Bilingualism is the subject of most of the items included in "Information Exchange," which describes important surveys of the field, discusses the need for bilingual programs and presents a definition of their structure, and reports on individual programs for American Indian children. A special section of "Information Exchange" deals with the American Indian languages themselves, with maps, lists of the most widely spoken Indian languages and Summer Institute of Linguistics linguists working on them, and a brief report of a study of social factors involved in Shoshoni dialect variation. Two sets of materials are reported on: the CITE materials for Navajo children, and the Michigan Migrant Workers Council materials for Spanish-speaking children.

ED 045 991 *Linguistics in the 1970's*. Joseph H. Greenberg and others. 78 p.; prepublication edition of papers delivered at a briefing at the Smithsonian Institution, November 12, 1970. MF01 50.65.

This volume is a pre-publication edition of four papers presented at a briefing held for representatives of government agencies, foundations, and other organizations, November 12, 1970 at the National Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution. "Linguistics as a Pilot Science" by Joseph H. Greenberg examines the impact which developments in linguistics have and are still having on developments in other fields of science such as psychology and anthropology. "Applied Linguistics in a Broad Context" by Norman A. McQuown considers problems of language in conjunction with those of culture and social relations as they relate to communicative activity in a world-wide context. In "Frontiers of Linguistic Theory" Morris Halle uses a discussion of the placement of stress in English words as the basis for certain speculations about the role of innate capacities in the child's acquisition of language. Finally, William Labov's paper "The Place of Linguistic Research in American Society" emphasizes the theme "that the most important applications of linguistic method in education do not lie in the area of grammatical research but rather in the formal study of verbal interaction and the value systems inherent in this behavior" and therefore urges that linguistics deal more with everyday speech. Publications Department, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036 (\$3.00).

Announcements

1972 TESOL CONVENTION WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C. MARCH 1-5, 1972

Call for Papers

Again in 1972, the Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages will include special Plenary Sessions devoted to the reading of papers submitted by members. The TESOL Research Committee will select the papers to be presented.

Members who wish to present papers at one of the Plenary Sessions of the TESOL Convention at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 1-5, 1972, should submit a descriptive title, time desired (20 minutes maximum), and a one-page typewritten, double-spaced abstract no later than October 1, 1971. To insure impartiality in the selection of papers, the name and address of the author should not appear on the abstract itself. Authors should identify themselves in a separate letter submitted with the abstract. *Nine* copies of the abstract should be sent to:

Bradford Arthur, Chairman
TESOL Research Committee
Department of English
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

The abstract should provide 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.

Research Seminar-Workshop in Second Language Learning

A four-hour research seminar-workshop at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 2, 1972, will form part of the early convention program at the 1972 Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. TESOL members with ongoing research projects will have the opportunity to share information and exchange opinions with colleagues concerning research design, data analysis, sampling procedures, and other technical problems associated with research in the teaching and learning of English as a second language. This seminar will be limited to twelve participants, each of whom will be expected to provide 13 copies of a brief (5-15 page) description of his own research for circulation to other par-

participants one month in advance of the meeting. Any member wishing to enroll in this seminar or seeking further information should contact:

John A. Upshur, Jr.
English Language Institute
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Attention Researchers in Search of Data

At the 1972 Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (Washington, D. C., March 1-5), a clearinghouse will be established to coordinate research efforts in the field of second language learning. A limited number of researchers will have the opportunity at that time to describe their ongoing research to classroom teachers willing to assist by collecting data from their students. Any TESOL members wishing to enlist such aid from classroom teachers should submit a brief description of their research project and the sort of teacher cooperation they require. Send descriptions before November 1, 1971 to:

Bradford Arthur, Chairman
TESOL Research Committee
Department of English
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

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 no more than two hundred words should accompany all manuscripts submitted.

CONFERENCE ON CHILD LANGUAGE
CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO
NOVEMBER 22-24, 1971

Sponsored by the International Association for Applied Linguistics (Stockholm), the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington), and the American Council on Teaching of Foreign Languages (New York).

List of Promised Papers, With Tentative Titles

- Dr. Wallace E. Lambert, Professor of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q., Canada:
"The Home/School Language Switch Program in the St. Lambert Elementary School, Grades K through 5."
- Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder, Assistant Director, Division of College Programs, Bureau of Education professions Department, U.S. Office of Education:

- "Language Maintenance or Language Switch: The Prospect for Spanish in the United States."
- Mrs. Shari Nedler, Director, Early Childhood Learning System, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas:
"Bilingual Learning by Disadvantaged Children of Three, Four, and Five Years of Age."
- Dr. Chester C. Christian, Jr., Director, Inter-American Institute, The University of Texas, El Paso:
"Learning Differential Response to Language Stimuli Before Age Three: A Case Study."
- Dr. Joshua A. Fishman, Visiting Professor, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and Director, International Research Project on Language Planning Processes—Israeli Section; on leave from Yeshiva University, 1970–1972:
"Varieties of Bilingual Education in Israel: The Jewish Picture." "Socio-Political Patterns of Bilingual and Bidialectal Education: A General Theoretical Model."
- Mrs. Rosario Ahumada de Díaz, Director, Centro de Investigaciones Pedagógicas, Mexico City; and Dr. Rogelio-Díaz-Guerrero:
"The Acquisition of Verbs in Three, Four, and Five-Year-Old Mexican Kindergarten Children."
- Mr. Ralph Robinett, Project Director, Spanish Curricula Development Center, Miami Beach, Florida:
"Curriculum Development for Bilingual Education."
- Mrs. Rosa G. de Inclán, Consultant on English as a Second Language, Spanish S, and Bilingual Education, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida:
"An Updated Report on Bilingual Schooling in Dade County, Including Results of a Recent Evaluation."
- Mr. W. H. Giles, Founder-Director, The Toronto French School, Inc.:
"Cultural Contrasts in English-French Bilingual Instruction in the Early Grades."
- Dr. Glenn J. Doman, Director, Institutes for the Achievement of Human Potential, Philadelphia:
"How Brain-Damaged Children Learn to Read."
- Dr. Roy W. Alford, Educational Development Specialist, Early Childhood Education, Appalachia Educational Laboratory, Inc., Charleston, West Virginia:
"Appalachia Preschool Education Program: A Home-Oriented Approach."
- Docent Ragnihild Söderbergh, Institute of Northern Languages, University of Stockholm:
"Reading in Early Childhood: A Linguistic Study of a Swedish Preschool Child: Gradual Acquisition of Reading Ability." "Swedish Children's Learning of Syntax: A Preliminary Report."
- Dr. Sarah Gudschinsky, Literacy Coordinator, The Summer Institute of Linguistics; Professor of Linguistics, University of Texas at Arlington:
"Literacy in the Mother Tongue and Second Language Learning."

For more information write:

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