

TESOL QUARTERLY

Volume 5

December, 1971

Number 4

Table of Contents

To print, select PDF page nos. in parentheses

Cultural Linguistic Pluralism and the Problem of Motivation	<i>Rodolfo Jacobson</i> 265	(4 - 23)
Affective Influences on English Language Learning Among Indian Students	<i>Annabelle R. Scoon</i> 285	(24 - 30)
The Use of Case Grammar in Teaching English as a Foreign Language,	<i>Don L. F. Nilsen</i> 293	(31 - 37)
Getting Tense in English: A Linguistics for Our Time.	<i>Thomas Scovel</i> 301	(38 - 44)
Para-Professionals: Their Role in ESOL and Bilingual Education	<i>Hernan LaFontaine</i> 309	(45 - 50)
A Cloze Test of English Prepositions	<i>John W. Oller, Jr.</i> <i>and Nevin Inal</i> 315	(51 - 62)
Norming Tests of ESL Among Amerindian Children . . .	<i>Eugène J. Brière</i> <i>and Richard H. Brown</i> 327	(63 - 69)
Word Association Data and the Assessment of Bilingual Education Programs . . .	<i>Clemencia S. Capco and G. Richard Tucker</i> 335	(70 - 77)
R e v i e w		
Lado: The Lado English Series (Allen)		343

TESOL QUARTERLY

A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

TESOL OFFICERS 1971-1972

President

Russell N. Campbell
University of California, Los Angeles

First Vice President

Alfonso Ramirez
Region One Education Service Center
Edinburg, Texas

Second Vice President

Christina Bratt Paulston
University of Pittsburgh

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The officers and

Beryl L. Bailey
Hunter College

Beatrice Estrada
Gallup McKinley Public Schools
Gallup, New Mexico

Mary Finocchiaro (ex officio)
Hunter College

Mary Galvan
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas

David P. Harris (ex officio)
American Language Institute
Georgetown University

Henry Pascual
State Department of Education
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Clifford Prator
University of California, Los Angeles

Ronald Wardhaugh
English Language Institute
University of Michigan

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

James E. Alatis
Georgetown University

JOURNAL EDITOR

Betty Wallace Robinett
University of Minnesota

REVIEW EDITOR

Richard L. Light
State University of New York
Albany, New York

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Virginia French Allen
Temple University

Marie Esman Barker
University of Texas, El Paso

Evelyn Bauer
Bureau of Indian Affairs

Eugène J. Brière
University of Southern California

Mary Finocchiaro
Hunter College

Maurice Imhoof
Indiana University

Andrew MacLeish
University of Minnesota

A. Iris Mulvaney
Tucson, Arizona
Public Schools

Bernard Spolsky
University of New Mexico

Hadley Thomas
Tuba City, Arizona
Public Schools

Membership in TESOL (\$10.00) includes a subscription to the journal.
TESOL QUARTERLY is published in March, June, September, and December.
Business correspondence should be addressed to James E. Alatis, School of Languages and Linguistics,
Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 1971

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

**Give your Spanish-speaking pupils
the best start...**



 **MIS
PRIMERAS
LECTURAS**

**the new Spanish reading program
that teaches the child who speaks Spanish to read Spanish
before he learns to read English**

**Also request information about INTRODUCING ENGLISH:
An Oral Pre-Reading Program for Spanish-Speaking Primary Pupils.**

**Houghton
Mifflin** *Publisher of the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*

New York 10036 Atlanta 30324 Geneva, Ill. 60134 Dallas 75235 Palo Alto 94304 Boston 02107

Cultural Linguistic Pluralism and the Problem of Motivation *

Rodolfo Jacobson

The knowledge of Standard English is necessary to function successfully in our society; and if Standard English is freed from its unjustified association with 'Anglo speech' and 'white man's talk' and is merely considered a standardized tool of communication, no harm can possibly be inflicted to the learner's self-image nor can its enforcement be considered a construct of white racism. The acquisition of Standard English by all Americans is ultimately a problem of motivation. A person can, however, not be motivated properly to learn Standard English unless he conceives of America as a pluralistic society whose members, though culturally and linguistically different, all share a common form of English in addition to whatever language or dialect they may have been born into. When American society is redefined in this way, it is no longer difficult to motivate a student, regardless of his cultural, social, or linguistic background, to learn the dialect that is shared by all.

Earlier studies in American dialectology had focused their attention on the spatial distribution of the varieties of American English, mainly in an attempt to correct the erroneous notion of a General American dialect and to propose instead the dialect areas *Northern*, *Midland* and *Southern* as a more appropriate way of dealing with dialect differences in America. Social variations were gathered only sporadically, and the distinction between these and the ones that were geographically conditioned was not always clear. Recent studies may have reversed the situation to some extent by directing our attention, almost exclusively, to the study of social dialect features. It was apparently the number of social problems plaguing our larger cities that made us focus on social variations, so that we might understand better the complexities of our modern society.

One might be tempted to think of geographical variations as a distribution on a horizontal plane and of social variations on a vertical plane. A closer look makes us wonder, however, whether such a view does not involve unintentionally, the judgment that one dialect—the one at the top of the plane—is better than the other. To avoid any evaluation

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1971.

Mr. Jacobson, Professor of English and Director of English Sociolinguistics Program, State University of New York College at Cortland, has published in *Language Learning*, *Linguistics*, the *Journal of English as a Second Language* and previously in *TESOL Quarterly*. He is also the editor of the special anthology issue *Studies in English to Speakers of Other Languages and Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect* (New York State English Council, 1971).

of this sort, we might wish to arrange both, geographical and social variations, on horizontal planes going in different directions in order to emphasize, culturally as well as linguistically speaking, that one dialect is as good a system as the other.

As a matter of fact, linguists have demonstrated that any preference of one dialect over another is a sociological matter and not one of linguistic excellence. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that various social dialects can exist side by side, without generating any major friction, as long as the non-standard varieties do not interfere significantly with the standard dialect on a socio-political or socio-economic level. Non-English-speaking or non-Standard English-speaking enclaves scattered throughout the United States because of their very isolation from the main stream

have encountered opposition only when their action or ambitions conflicted with those of the larger community in which they are embedded. But when a minority urgently aspires to share in the wealth and power of the larger community, then friction develops. The present situation in the United States has created a unique instance of this friction because the large minority which seeks equality is one about which the majority suffers guilt feelings.¹

Thus, social problems are often reflected in the controversy between two dialects, each dialect being found acceptable or unacceptable according to whether the individuals speaking the dialect are found to be acceptable or unacceptable.

This explains why Standard American English is often felt to be the dialect of a prestige class, the white middle-class population of this country, and not the general tool of communication that it should be. Since it is this variety of English which is being taught in American schools, some have raised the question whether the teaching of Standard English in our schools really provides each child with a usable dialect or whether it is not rather a means of forcing the middle-class culture upon all children regardless of their cultural-linguistic background. As Kaplan puts it,

after all the "good" reasons for teaching grammar have been examined, the real reason would appear to be highly chauvinistic. Grammar is taught in the schools in order to preserve the system. Those who control grammar in the "standard" sense are eligible to compete for social and economic gain and to participate politically in the power structure.²

It follows from here, that Standard English as a communicational tool for every American can only be justified if there were a way of freeing the standard dialect of its-sociological implications and transforming it into a socially neutral code of linguistic behavior. It is my contention that

¹ Robert B. Kaplan, "On a Note of Protest (in a Minor Key): Bidialectalism vs. Bidialectalism," in Alfred C. Aarons, et al., eds. *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*.

² Kaplan, p. 165.

this is possible and desirable, although it may require a reinterpretation of our society in terms of a multi-cultural community made up of individuals who speak natively a variety of different languages or dialects but share a common standardized tool of communication.

(In the following discussions concerning speakers of other languages, I am mostly referring to situations as they apply to the Puerto Rican minority in New York City; in my discussions concerning speakers of another dialect, I am referring to speakers of Black English, the non-standard variety of American English spoken by Negroes belonging mostly to the low socio-economic bracket.)

A. Basic Issues in Societal Constitution

It has been customary to describe the cultural-linguistic situation in America by means of the metaphor the *melting pot* to express the idea that the various races and ethnic groups in this country have assimilated to such a degree that a new homogeneous and culturally uniform body has emerged. The notion of total assimilation may have originated in the fact that visitors from other countries, when meeting with their American cousins and their children, found these to have acquired new habits such that they no longer resembled the people of their original homeland. An inside analysis, however, leads to a different assessment. The various races and ethnic groups, rather than melting into a homogeneous body, have retained, in spite of their newly acquired habits, their own cultural and often even their linguistic distinctiveness. Such retention of vernacular culture has not prevented the individual from becoming integrated in the American culture. As a matter of fact,

. . . cultural assimilation does not demand uniformity in all areas of culture nor does it preclude the existence of subcultural groups within the society.³

In view of this, the conception of America as a *melting pot* is a misrepresentation of the society in which we live. The existing variations at the subcultural level suggest, without any doubt, that America be redefined as a culturally and linguistically pluralistic society.

The concept *cultural pluralism*, as well as its application to the American society, is not new. Clarence Senior, in his essay "Puerto Ricans on the Mainland," argues that

we have, in recent years, worked out a goal for the entire nation, that is referred to as "cultural democracy" or "cultural pluralism." Those of Spanish, or Italian, or Swedish, or Polish or other backgrounds are not forced to divest themselves of their former cultures. Their songs, poems, plays, customs and costumes, ideas and ideals are no longer thrown into what was once called "the melting pot."⁴

³ Ethan O'Flannery, "Social and Cultural Assimilation," in Francesco Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni, eds., *Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools*, p. 21.

⁴ Clarence Senior, "Puerto Ricans on the Mainland," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 199.

In addition, recently published anthologies like *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*⁵ and *Studies in English to Speakers of Other Languages and Standard English to Speakers of a Non-standard Dialect*,⁶ share both the objective of trying to reinterpret the role and nature of American society. Unless it is so redefined, it seems to me, we will be unable to cope in America with many of the social problems that have sprung from the differences in the language and culture of our minority and majority populations.

The well-known Puerto Rican educator Joseph Montserrat said in defense of cultural pluralism, as early as in 1963, in his address at Columbia University Teachers College, that

in a multi-cultured democratic society as ours, integration must not and cannot mean submerging or forgetting the specific content and values of one's own past, either as an individual or as a member of a group.⁷

Obviously, it must mean that we recognize and respect the differences among us, that the right to be different be not detrimental to the whole nor parts of the whole and that the whole do not discriminate against an individual because of his affiliation with what he considers a special value.⁸

Unfortunately, eight years later we have not advanced significantly in the assessment of our society and we continue demanding from the "culturally disadvantaged," the "culturally deprived" or whatever label we wish to bestow on the one who is different, that, in order to "move upward," he must adopt the cultural pattern of our white middle class.

In a multi-cultured democratic society, we can hardly deny anyone the right to use the language or dialect spoken at his home. Spanish, Navajo, French, Black English have an important place in the value system of a Puerto Rican, a Mexican-American, an American Indian, a French-Canadian American or an inner-city Black. Bilingualism or bi-dialectalism appears therefore most logical for a person who wishes to retain his vernacular and still speak the common language or dialect of the rest of the Americans. In most multi-lingual societies, it is a matter of prestige to speak more than one language with native or quasi-native fluency. The Swiss are a case in point. It is actually rare to find one among them who does not speak fluently at least two of Switzerland's four languages. Not so in the United States. It is again Mr. Montserrat who observes, quite to the point, that

the United States is one of the few countries in the world where a man can consider himself educated and yet speak only one language, English. And yet, the United States is perhaps the only country in the world that has

⁵ Alfred C. Aarons, et al., eds.

⁶ Rodolfo Jacobson, ed.

⁷ Joseph Montserrat, "School Integration: A Puerto Rican View," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 262.

⁸ Montserrat, *ibid.*

received large groups who originally spoke all of the world's modern languages.⁹

Ironically, it was the first generation American who is mainly responsible for America's monolingualism. He bore a guilt feeling for his foreign extraction and wished to make up for it by being a 125% pure American.¹⁰ He gave up the old language, pretended not to understand the old customs and avoided associating with persons from the old country. On the other hand, such attitude of rejection could hardly have prospered in an atmosphere of linguistic pluralism. Obviously, the newcomer and the receiving society are both to blame. A re-interpretation of the American society, its goals and objectives, appears therefore to be of great urgency.

To redefine *American society* is an extremely difficult goal to achieve. It would mean, in fact, the "total reorganization of the education system."¹¹ School subjects would have to be redesigned, texts to be revised, teachers' attitudes and practices to be altered, administrators' policies to be changed and boards of education to be reorganized or even to be reelected. A change of attitudes in teachers and administrators would furthermore require a reorganization of university curricula. I shudder at the mere thought of what is actually involved but, on the other hand, the challenge of reinterpreting our educational philosophy, not "against the realities of American society"¹² but in accordance with them seems worth our efforts. All this may be precisely what is needed to cure some of the ills of our present-day society.

History has taught us that extralinguistic factors are responsible for the establishment of a prestige dialect. Standard English is a case in point. The growth of political power, the increasing power of commerce, the introduction into England of the printing press, the location of the Court of England in London, the creative genius of writers like Chaucer and Wycliffe, all these circumstances contributed to the fact that London English was to become the prestige dialect of England and the remote ancestor of our present-day Standard American English. The excellence of linguistic features—if such excellence exists at all—is quite a negligible factor in the establishment of one dialect as the standard dialect in a given country. Once it has been established, however, the process is apparently reversed and the use of this standard dialect—a linguistic factor—serves to identify the culturally, socially, economically privileged. The corollary is of course that a speaker's inability to use this dialect stigmatizes him. In ancient Israel people were slain for saying *sibboleth* and not *shibboleth*.¹³ Today we are less violent but we still pass judgment on a person, not for what he is but for the way he talks. On

⁹ Montserrat, p. 222.

¹⁰ Montserrat, p. 223.

¹¹ Patricia Sexton, "Schools: Broken Ladder to Success," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 413.

¹² Senior, p. 199.

¹³ Book of Judges, 12:6.

rejecting an individual because of his dialect, we believe that we have separated the bad ones from the good ones.

To hide our guilt feelings for what we have done, we tend to coin patronizing labels like "culturally deprived" "socially disadvantaged," "underprivileged" and what not. Patricia Sexton has quoted from Dr. Kenneth Clark's talk on "Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited" (12-12-1963) where he pointed out that

the concept of the culturally deprived child is a new stereotype, a new excuse, a new rationalization for inadequate education of minority group children. Instead of those responsible for their education being made to teach them, all sorts of alibi are provided.¹⁴

Montserrat objects to these labels also, as educator as well as Puerto Rican and expressed serious concern over certain all-encompassing slogans like "culturally deprived," "socially disadvantaged" or "the culture of poverty."¹⁵ Labels are, on the other hand, merely mental suggestions with: slightly different connotations for whoever uses them. A number of persons use them for convenience only and do not bother examining the exact shade of meaning which these labels are said to convey. For lack of better terms, I will also use them occasionally in my discussions.

American sociolinguists have shown that the so-called "disadvantaged" population speaks a dialect that differs consistently from standard speech. The term *standard speech* or *standard dialect* is obviously an oversimplification, since a standard varies from location to location and even from person to person. The term *non-standard speech*, meaning the dialect spoken by the "disadvantaged population," is an even greater oversimplification because there is not only one kind of non-standard American English and also because there seems to be no way of distinguishing precisely the degree of non-standardness among various speakers. In view of the difficulty to distinguish between various subtypes of Non-Standard English, it seems reasonable to envision at least Black English as a speech continuum in which the speakers using the largest number of non-standard features appear at the extreme left of the spectrum and the standard speakers at the extreme right. David DeCamp has used a similar model in "The Field of Creole Language Studies"¹⁶ and so have J. Wight and R. A. Norris of the University of Birmingham, England, in *Teaching English to West Indian Children*.¹⁷ In its adaptation to the situation in the United States, the leftmost position of the continuum represents, as stated above, the speaker using the maximum of non-standard features rather than the speaker of Creole as in the Jamaican and British models. The range of non-standard varieties

¹⁴ Sexton, p. 413.

¹⁵ Montserrat, p. 269.

¹⁶ David DeCamp, "The Field of Creole Language Studies," 1967 (unpublished).

¹⁷ J. Wight, and R.A. Norris, *Teaching English to West Indian Children: The Research Stage of the Project*.

on such a continuum would represent the degree of non-standardness of a given "disadvantaged" speaker. For speakers of other languages a similar model might be conceived in order to specify on the continuum the amount of interferences from the speaker's native tongue and the relative proximity or distance of his variety of English with regard to Standard English or his vernacular language.

Both, the speaker of another language and the speaker of another dialect, are expected to seek some degree of proficiency in Standard American English. It has been questioned, especially in the case of the speaker of a non-standard dialect of English, whether he should actually learn Standard English and why, since the acquisition of the standard dialect may not solve the economic problems that the learner hopes that it will. Although this question will be considered again in the following section, so much may be said here: The acquisition of Standard English by a speaker of a non-standard dialect is only justifiable, if the standard dialect is free of all sociological implication. Standard English, in this sense, is not White Man's talk but a standard tool of communication by means of which all the members of our multi-cultured society communicate with one another, irrespective of any membership in a social class, race or ethnic group.

Bidialectalism, that is, the speaker's ability to use one of two dialects at will depending upon its appropriateness in a given situation, has become a highly debated issue during the last few years. James Sledd¹⁸ and Thomas Kochman¹⁹ have attacked bidialectalism; Melvin Hoffman,²⁰ John C. Maxwell²¹ and the group of sociolinguistic researchers in Washington, D.C. have defended it. On less theoretical grounds, Dale P. Crowley²² and Rodolfo Jacobson²³ have shown the desirability of bidialectalism as an instructional approach in our schools. It is not within the scope of this paper to describe or discuss the controversy in detail but a few random remarks may be in order. (It is of course obvious at this point that I share with the defenders of bidialectalism the opinion that it holds a great promise for an improvement of English instruction as long as it also encompasses the change in teachers' attitudes and the reassessment of the nature and the role of a standard dialect.)

One of Sledd's main reasons for attacking "functional bidialectalism" seems to concern the notion of upward mobility. He argues that many

¹⁸ James Sledd, "Bi-dialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," *English Journal*.

¹⁹ Thomas Kochman, "Social Factors in the Consideration of Teaching Standard English," in Aarons.

²⁰ Melvin Hoffman, "Bidialectalism is not the Linguistics of White Supremacy: Sense versus Sensibilities," in Jacobson.

²¹ John C. Maxwell, "To the Editor," Riposte, *English Journal*.

²² Dale P. Crowley, "The Keaukaha Model for Mainstream Dialect Instruction," *Language Learning*.

²³ Rodolfo Jacobson, "Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages and/or Dialects,—an Oversimplification," *TESOL Quarterly*, 4: 3 (1970), 241-253.

Negroes are unable to find jobs in the North, not because they speak Black English but because "Northern employers and labor leaders dislike black faces but use Black English as an excuse."²⁴ For Sledd, a Negro's acquisition of Standard English is a futile attempt and bidialectalism does therefore not solve the problem it is designed to solve. For different reasons, some Black leaders are likely to agree with Sledd on the undesirability of bidialectalism because they feel that the notion of *upward mobility* is offensive to the Black man's racial pride. If *upward mobility* is understood to mean economic advancement, I can see no offense. On the other hand, if *upward mobility* is understood to include the Black man's moving into a predominantly white social class, I can see their point, since by this interpretation the member of the white social class stands socially higher and the Black man seeks to move up to him. If I were to use this term at all, I would restrict it to the idea of economic improvement alone.

Sledd also objects to bidialectalism for another reason. He argues that bidialectalism "begins to look schizophrenic." He may be right to some extent; however in language matters there is nothing wrong with a schizophrenic attitude. The psychologist Leon A. Jakobovits calls such a person a *coordinate bilingual* and this person represents a state of functional independence of two language/culture systems in all their aspects.²⁵ I think it is very fortunate for a speaker of two languages, or two dialects for that matter, to be a coordinate bilingual/bidialectal, in spite of Sledd's concern in this respect.

Maxwell's and Hoffman's responses are to the point and reaffirm convincingly that bidialectalism does indeed hold a promise, whereas "Sledd's latest arguments for do-nothingness"²⁶ are disturbing, to say the least, as such do-nothingness would be unfair "to the thousands of students who must face the harsh realities of here and now."²⁷

Some of our thoughts regarding bidialectalism, I admit, must be refined or at least be clarified to a greater extent, more data on non-standard speech must be gathered; but, on the whole, the idea of dialect switching presents itself as a challenging objective to achieve both, a new skill for our students and better attitudes for our teachers.

The successful implementation of bidialectalism in our society would make bidialectals out of our natively English-speaking minorities while our Standard English-speaking majority would be proficient in only one dialect. It might be interesting to speculate at this point whether the mastery of two dialects would eventually acquire the kind of prestige that the knowledge of two languages holds in at least some parts of the world. The individual who performs equally well in two settings is likely

²⁴ Sledd, p. 1311.

²⁵ Leon A. Jakobovits, "Dimensionality of Compound-Coordinate Bilingualism," *Language Learning*, Special Issue No. 3 (August 1968), 29-55.

²⁶ Maxwell, p. 1159.

²⁷ Hoffman, p. 95.

to be more successful than the one performing in only one as long as no stigma is attached to such versatility and as long as this versatility produces no anomie. If bidialectalism should acquire prestige, I can see two possible developments: one, that all monodialectals would wish to become bidialectals or, two, that the image of bidialectals would undergo a considerable change for the better. Either development would be an improvement over the present situation. The desire of white middle-class students to learn to speak like their black peers and to participate in the same dialect-switching activities would rule out any racial prejudice on their part. On the other hand, the greater esteem for their Black peers because of their linguistic versatility would equally contribute to a better mutual understanding. Hence, either way bidialectalism would have proven itself worthy of its implementation.

Immigrants, who have come to this country, settle, as a general rule, in geographically delimited communities to have the opportunity of acquainting themselves gradually with American customs and of practicing American behavior in a setting where they are accepted before venturing into the more impersonal larger society.²⁸ The settlements of Palatinate Germans in Pennsylvania, of Norwegians and Finns in Minnesota, of Poles in Detroit and other major cities have all provided the immigrants with "the security of a well-organized social life during the difficult period of transition to a new culture."²⁹

The Puerto Ricans in New York City seem to be the only known exception to the rule. Their lack of opportunity to form a community based upon geographical proximity has resulted from the fact that there were no undeveloped areas in the City where migrants might have settled without moving into an area that was already occupied by other ethnic groups with which they were forced to share it.³⁰ Such shared communities made the acculturation process particularly difficult for the newcomer. It is important to distinguish between two elements of this acculturation process that are not always kept apart. There is social integration and also cultural integration and one cannot succeed without the other. Of the two, social integration may in effect be the more crucial one, since the immigrant must begin at once to build a network of social interrelations that is to substitute for the one that he left behind. The new social contacts, in particular those involving non-immigrants, will become instrumental to his cultural integration. "Migration," says Joseph Montserrat, "is a two way street. Both the migrant and the community must be prepared to adjust to each other."³¹

The shared community of the Puerto Ricans often results for them

²⁸ O'Flannery, p. 214.

²⁹ Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., "The Integration of the Puerto Ricans," *Thought*, XXX (Autumn 1955), pp. 402-03.

³⁰ O'Flannery, p. 214.

³¹ Joseph Montserrat, "Community Planning for Puerto Rican Integration," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 221.

in a lack of security unless it is compensated otherwise. Renato Poblete describes the practice of Protestant Puerto Ricans of joining religious brotherhoods or of participating in activities sponsored by storefront churches to share a kind of *we-feeling* with other members of the sect and to impersonate the roles that make them feel wanted and appreciated in the church group.

Despite the various acculturation problems, the speakers of other languages eventually learn to communicate in English, more through their own efforts than through what schools are doing to teach them the new language. The almost complete ignorance of most white middle-class teachers of English about the difference between their students' home culture and the school culture which they are enforcing creates more hostility than understanding, and the actual learning process is therefore quite insignificant.

English as a second language is only seldom put to effective use in a learning situation at school. This is why it is so unlikely that English will ever become for the non-native speaker much more than a language that is not only second in time of acquisition but also in importance. English, as it is taught in America to speakers of other languages, is often culturally biased and the lack of correlation between the learner's value system and the language *per se* is responsible for the fact that anything that goes beyond every day routine matters on the street or at work is better said in the vernacular language. John F. Povey refers to this dichotomy between language performance and vernacular culture in connection with the English instruction in American Indian schools. Says Povey:

Just as the language is used solely in the outside "foreign" area, so it concerns only the Anglo, never the Indian culture. The most essential individual attitudes and beliefs remain locked in the Indian tradition and are expressed in the Indian language,—that is the mother tongue?

The foreign language-speaking child in an American inner-city school usually has for a teacher a person who is not trained to teach English as a second language, who has been exposed to no culture other than that of her own' white middle-class society and whose only connection with the community where her school is located is the time she spends at her school. As a result, she takes it for granted that there is just one way of teaching English: the way she has been trained to teach her white middle-class students. It escapes her of course that the Puerto Rican children in her class do not share her own cultural norms and values nor those of the Anglo children in her class. She ignores what it means for these children to have gone through a rapid acculturation process in a shared community and being taught in a language they barely understand. The students' relapse into the vernacular language, their comprehension pro-

³² John F. Povey, "Cultural Self-Expression Through English in American Indian Schools," in Aarons, p. 132.

blems in the school subjects, their failure to understand her typically middle-class illustrations, all this impresses the average teacher as sheer nastiness of a child that refuses to behave as any American child should. We know that American schools,

in addition to teaching the traditional "Three R's" and providing instruction in the other subjects, also attempt to stimulate individuality in pupils, encourage self-assertiveness, initiative, self-expression and creativity. These additional tasks of the school do not always coincide with the conceptions that Puerto Rican parents have concerning the role of the school. Puerto Rican parents expect their children to be quiet and submissive and respectful. Boys should develop into men of character and get an education that will enable them to get good jobs. . . . All this is part of the home atmosphere, and all this conflicts with what is taught in the schools and with what parents think should be taught.³³

Hence, Puerto Rican children fail to see "the relationship between the curriculum and the complex social and cultural patterns characterizing their lives."³⁴ The conflict may even be more serious if the child must make the transition from a rural peasant cultural pattern of living in his home country to an urban industrial pattern in the United States. Tradition-oriented patterns of rural communities seem to resemble one another, even across national boundaries, so that the cultural adjustment to another rural community is easier than the adjustment to an industrial community. As a matter of fact, the transition from a tradition-oriented pattern in the home country to the other-oriented pattern of an urban community may destroy what little security is left in the child. Cultural conflicts of a similar nature have been observed in American Indian children. They become particularly acute for the more advanced learner who comes to realize that all his readings

are invariably Anglo in content, implicitly establishing the Anglo attitudes as the natural and right ones; setting up behavior standards that are extremely different from those in which the Indian has been trained. How then can the teachers add a non-Anglo element to their English classes at this stage of increasing technical familiarity and thus avoid the unspoken resentment that the aim of language classes is the imposition of the Anglo cultural norms?³⁵

The teacher of English to speakers of other languages should not ignore the different cultural norms and values of her students nor should she force upon them her own middle-class culture. An objective comparison of the norms of both, on the other hand, is likely to enrich teachers and students. The teaching of the subject matter itself seems, in light of the complexities of present-day social patterns, to be still the easiest part of her job, whereas the right assessment of cultural and social norms requires all of her imaginative and creative talents.

³³ Eugene Bucchioni, "Home Atmosphere and Success in School," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 274.

³⁴ Bucchioni, p. 274.

³⁵ Povey, p. 132.

Cultural conflicts are not restricted to speakers of other languages. The Black child in an inner city school, especially if he partakes in the street culture of his borough, experiences the same lack of meaningful relationship between the cultural norms of the white middle-class teacher and his own. Kochman urges therefore that

a curriculum designed to fit the need of the Black or Puerto Rican child in a pluralistic framework [would] take into account the cultural aesthetic that orients a child toward the development of one skill as opposed to another, such as the orientation with Black culture toward the achievement via the oral channel. . .³⁶

and advises that the teacher take into proper consideration her students' set of cultural and linguistic patterns, their "cultural aesthetic," if any meaningful relationship is to develop in an inner-city classroom. On the other hand, the teacher may have no way of knowing or of analyzing her students' life styles. William Labov³⁷ suggests that a para-professional or "cultural intermediary" be assigned to a class in order to acquaint the teacher with the specific interests of the members of the class and, stated more generally, to serve as intermediary between the two cultures, making hereby a learning experience possible.

B. The Problem of Motivation

The students' "cultural aesthetic" is an important element of their racial consciousness. The Black child is proud of it and is willing to defend it. If this identification with other members of his own race breaks down, so would his self-image. In a very similar way, the Puerto Rican child is proud of the set of cultural norms and values that identify him as an individual and relate him to his family, his friends, his customs, and his homeland, in other words, to everything that is meaningful to him. The average teacher, who is usually ignorant of and even uninterested in her students' cultural aesthetic, not only fails to develop pride in their cultural heritage but embarrasses them and takes away the pride they already possess. Virginia Anderson³⁸ refers to two important cultural traits of the Puerto Rican, and of the Latin American for that matter, *la dignidad de la persona* [belief in the worthiness of respect of each individual] and *el machismo* [the masculine virility complex]. The disregard for the student's pride in front of his peers or for the boy's pride in front of girls may affect a Puerto Rican's self-respect profoundly. Doris V. Gunderson argues in this regard that

because the child's motivation and attitude are so important, it is essential that the teacher know something about the social structures and culture patterns of the various ethnic groups. The child's self-concept which may

³⁶ Thomas Kochman, "Culture and Communication," in Aarons, pp. 56-57.

³⁷ William Labov and Clarence Robins, "A Note on the Relation of Reading Failure to Peer-Group Status in Urban Ghettoes," in Aarons, pp. 56-57.

³⁸ Virginia Anderson, "Teaching English to Puerto Rican Pupils," in Cordasco and Bucchioni. pp. 403-04.

be a determining factor in his academic achievement must be looked at in terms of his environment.³⁹

Thus, racial and ethnic pride can serve as a motivational factor, when used properly. In effect, "the motivation within each group to achieve according to standards of the group plus the pressures of the group to reinforce their own aesthetic are what makes culture such a good teacher and makes learning so efficient."⁴⁰ In order to generate this motivation, the teacher must therefore be aware of the cultural and social norms of the non-Anglo child and adjust her teaching accordingly. Such practice would not only produce better results in the acquisition of skills but promote cross-cultural respect among Black, White and Puerto Rican children.

"Relevancy" has been a most embattled term for a number of years now. Students demanded "relevancy" and teachers, by rejecting the term, have shown their disagreement with what the term stands for. Students, on the other hand, have continued insisting on "relevancy" because they wanted to become more directly involved in the class experience. I wish to consider the debated term once more and defend the appropriateness of the concept that the word tries to symbolize. In describing the Keaukaha Model, a challenging bidialectal program that is being implemented in Hawaii, Dale Crowley points out that

the need for student motivation is closely related to our concern for relevancy and function in complex skill pedagogy. No one knowingly decides to learn a skill which is useless to him, or which could prove to be detrimental. Again, much educational research has convinced us that students learn necessary and desirable skills quickly and efficiently. Motivation can transform tedious, out-of-context practice on complex skills into an interesting enjoyable experience.⁴¹

Here, "relevancy" is an approach to teaching that focuses on usefulness, not only in the eyes of the teacher but also in the eyes of the students. It avoids what could prove detrimental to the learning process. In education, we have tried too often to determine for the student what *we* think is best for him but without really taking into account how *he* feels about it. Such lack of appropriate focus may have worked in the past when our life styles were less complex but it no longer does. Feigenbaum recommends to this effect that

more attention should be paid to the student, especially to his reactions to what happens in the class, and more time should be spent in discussing effective, interesting ways of teaching the material to be mastered.⁴²

Motivation, according to this, depends upon the extent to which the teacher has taken into consideration the characteristic traits of her classroom

³⁹ Doris V. Gunderson, "An Interdisciplinary Approach to Teaching Reading," in Aarons, p. 112.

⁴⁰ Thomas Kochman, "Culture and Communication" in Aarons, p. 91.

⁴¹ Crowley, pp. 133-34.

⁴² Irwin Feigenbaum, "Using Foreign Language Methodology to Teach Standard English: Evaluation and Adaptation" in Aarons, p. 117.

population and upon the degree to which she has succeeded in building her lesson around the particular needs of each member of the class. When, on the other hand, the teacher's approach becomes detrimental to the student's set of values, the activation is no longer there and the student withdraws by becoming sullen and apathetic or even unpleasant and hostile. In other words, the students' reaction to our teaching depends largely on how well our approach fits into their value system. Evidently, a teacher can no longer succeed by merely instructing, that is, teaching with just a vague notion of who her students are, but must be willing, in addition to her traditional tasks, to explore and to analyze their cultural, social and linguistic background. As an English teacher, she must try to answer questions like the following: What is the desirable attitude with respect to who behaves or speaks differently? Which are the uses of Standard and Non-standard English? Should every student learn Standard English? Should he also know a non-standard variety of English? When would it be appropriate to switch dialects or languages? The teaching of English *per se*, then, has become secondary to diagnosis and motivation. No teacher need worry, however, how she is going to find the time for such diagnosis and motivation. Since the motivated child learns faster, she will make up for the time spent in motivational and diagnostic practices in no time at all.

Low performance is often a result of the conflict between the class and its white middle-class teacher. Mr. Bucchioni tells of an elementary teacher who, in describing suburban living conditions in America, illustrates the topic by describing her own home. When the Puerto Rican students begin, in turn, to speak about their own living conditions, the teacher responds by preaching life adjustment and resignation to the prevailing conditions. The philosophy of life adjustment and the concomitant attitude of acceptance and gratitude for what one has necessarily leads to an education for failure, or alternatively expressed, to an education in attitudes of acceptance of failure.⁴³

Underachievement may also result from teachers' and/or administrators' expectancy of substandard performance. Dr. Clark points out in this regard that

on the evidence available to date one is forced to conclude that the major reason why an increasing number of Harlem pupils fall below their grade levels is that substandard performance is expected of them. For this, the schools, principally its administrators, must shoulder the major responsibility although the community must also share some of the blame.⁴⁴

Performance capabilities and learning success are hence strongly impaired by teachers' attitudes which, intentionally or unintentionally, contribute to underachievement.

⁴³ Eugene Bucchioni, "The Daily Round of Life in the School," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, pp. 299-310.

⁴⁴ Kenneth Clark, "Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited" quoted in Sexton, p. 414.

A number of other factors seem to be closely related to the aspect of motivation. A strong group consciousness often develops among Puerto Rican students as a result of the clashes in the classroom between them and their white middle-class teacher who makes unfavorable remarks about their language, their foods, their housing accommodations and about the Puerto Rican in general. From all this, the Puerto Rican child learns who his antagonist is and because he must remain in school until the completion of compulsory school age, he develops an adjustment to the school situation which permits him to survive, i.e., passive submission, acquiescence and strengthening of group solidarity.⁴⁵

Related to it is his "psychological insulation," a response he has developed as a result of his language disability. Anastasi and DeJesus⁴⁶ blame the linguistic bifurcation for such insulation, since many Puerto Rican children seem to have deficiencies in both languages. Passive and unresponsive habits gradually become the child's characteristic reaction to school.

In addition to age differentials and intelligence levels, it seems to be mainly their emotional adjustment and the resolution of cultural identification and conflicts that is responsible for the language disability of the Puerto Ricans. Left at times only to nonverbal communication—but even gestures are no reliable cross-cultural or cross-linguistic symbols—the Puerto Rican is in danger of losing whatever little emotional stability he has. The "culture shock" is often inevitable.⁴⁷

Wallace E. Lambert has found that sympathetic orientation toward the speakers of a foreign language [French in Lambert's study] and family-shared attitudes toward these speakers are important motivational factors with respect to the successful acquisition of a language. Applying Lambert's findings to our situation here, we may expect the negative attitudes toward the speakers of (Standard) English held by the learner and his family to be mainly responsible for the low achievement in language or dialect acquisition.

Successful socialization is obviously closely related to the standards of status rating which the receiving society applies to the immigrant group. If a prejudiced society holds the immigrant group in low esteem, it is virtually impossible for the newcomer to "re-establish social relations." Acculturation is, as we have said earlier, a two-way process and we cannot expect cultural integration to be successful when the individual is rejected by the receiving society.

It is not only as an immigrant that the individual experiences social pressures. Even before his emigration he is already exposed to various pressures in his home country. Factors, such as, urbanization, indus-

⁴⁵ Bucchioni, "The Daily Round of Life in the School," pp. 299-310.

⁴⁶ A. Anastasi and C. de Jesus, "Language Development and Non-Verbal I.Q. of Puerto Rican Pre-School Children in New York City," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, pp. 313-26.

⁴⁷ O'Flannery, p. 210.

trialization, secularization, welfare economy, diffusion of literacy, growing life span, increasing population and others⁴⁸ require adjustment in much the same way. As a newcomer to the socio-economic world of the United States, the Puerto Rican is experiencing additional pressures with which he must learn to cope in order to survive. These social factors may impede a person's progress in language acquisition and in order to motivate the learner, we must give them our attention.

The educational philosophy, as implemented in an American school, requires of the teacher that she be only concerned with her teaching responsibilities but not with the individual problems of her students. As a matter of fact, a prospective teacher is warned not to get involved in her students' personal life, not to be over-friendly to her pupils in order to avoid any emotional attachment to her as a person. The concept of Not-getting-involved seems to be much a part of American life and American education but can we really motivate our students with this attitude of detachment? If we do not wish our teachers to merely be teaching machines, we must allow them to relate to the students personally in order to motivate them, to help them.

The relationship between the economic status of the individual and his motivation to learning (Standard) English may appear somewhat less obvious. It is common knowledge that a child who is poorly fed and poorly dressed cannot be motivated properly. However, in addition to these basic problems that are well-known to everybody, there are others of much greater complexity and less familiar to the average person. I am here referring to what some sociologists have called the "culture of poverty." Those who defend this concept assert that

the culture of poverty is not just a matter of deprivation or disorganization, a term signifying the absence of something. It is a culture in the traditional anthropological sense in that it provides human beings with a design for living, with a ready-made set of solutions for human problems . . . The setting is cash economy, with wage labor and productions for profit and with a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment, at low wages, for unskilled labor . . .⁴⁹

This "subculture of the Western social order"⁵⁰ has its own cultural norms and values. All the persons officially certified as poor do not however partake in this "culture of poverty." It includes only those who have adopted a special set of norms and values as "an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society."⁵¹ Thomas Kochman speaks much the same when he refers to the "cultural aesthetic" of the Black or Puerto Rican child and so does William Labov when he suggests a

⁴⁸ Joseph Bram, "The Lower Status Puerto Rican Family," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 125.

⁴⁹ Oscar Lewis, "Culture of Poverty," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 125.

⁵⁰ Lewis, p. 125.

⁵¹ Lewis, pp. 67-68.

“cultural intermediary” between the representatives of the street culture and the school except for the fact that the term “culture of poverty” bears stronger economic implications. Eugene Bucchioni relates the concept more directly to the situation in our schools, when he says that the attitudes, values and norms of the slum dweller

are designed to strengthen, reinforce, and affirm his way of life. When these patterns are sharply different from the norms and values of middle-class culture, they may be interpreted as malicious, evil, deliberately non-conforming and downright threatening by the middle-class teacher. In school, the Puerto Rican child is expected to accept the conflicting norms of the larger society and he is penalized if he does not. What is tolerated in a home in a slum is not always tolerated in other segments of the society, especially in school.⁵²

It follows from here that the student discussed by Bucchioni, Kochman and Labov can only be motivated properly if the teacher is made aware of the different value system that governs the behavior of some of her students and if she is made to understand the nature of that system. How can that be achieved? In other words how can the teacher be acquainted with a subculture with which it is for her very difficult to relate? Maybe it is the type of paraprofessional suggested in Labov's study that could acquaint the teacher with the set of norms with which she is unfamiliar. Maybe it is the complete re-orientation of the teacher education curriculum in our colleges that will help the prospective teacher learn about sub-cultures of this kind. At any rate, some innovative approach must be implemented for the English teacher to understand better how she can motivate culturally different students. The concept “culture of poverty” ties in also with the notion, discussed earlier, of *upward movement* or *mobility*. The state of hopelessness and despair of most individuals belonging to this “culture of poverty” rules out the possibility of their actually believing in the fact that an individual can move up as a result of his own efforts. The experience of his own family has convinced him that this is just not so. Therefore, the concept of *upward mobility* is likely to be the least effective one to convince anyone belonging to the “culture of poverty” to learn Standard English. A much wider appeal should be expected from what we have suggested earlier, i.e., that Standard English should be learned because it is intended to serve as a general tool of communication, standardized in such a way that all Americans can function through it adequately.

In an interesting essay on the application of foreign language teaching techniques to the teaching of Standard English to speakers of Non-Standard English, Irwin Feigenbaum argues that

teacher trainers should be aware that the teachers want specifics in methodology more than general attitudes and concepts; the fact that teachers request materials and techniques more often than they request attitudes and concepts bears this out. It is easy to talk in generalities about “basic attitudes and concepts”—teacher trainers have been doing this in EFL for a long time. It is time to shift the focus to the teacher and the student in the classroom.⁵³

⁵² Eugene Bucchioni, “Home Atmosphere and Success in School,” p. 273.

⁵³ Feigenbaum, p. 117.

His argument raises a number of interesting points. To what extent, for example, should teacher trainers comply with the teachers' demands for specifics in methodology? On whom do teacher trainers focus when they "talk in generalities about 'basic attitudes and concepts'?" Is it actually easy to talk about attitudes and concepts when the purpose of the discussion is to change existing attitudes and concepts?

Mr. Feigenbaum is of course right when he says that teachers search for specifics in methodology. Teachers do it because they believe that teacher trainers can give them a neatly wrapped bundle of techniques that work in every instance. Unfortunately, there is no such panacea and the suggestions of teacher trainers are merely hints of persons with a great deal of professional experience, hints that must however be accommodated to the specific teaching situation. Specifics, on the other hand, are valuable but do not take the place of concept formation or attitude acquisition. Also, the attitudes and concepts which teacher trainers discuss are in effect focusing very directly on the teacher in the classroom because a wrong attitude or a faulty concept destroys students' motivation and prevents learning despite otherwise excellent techniques. Finally, it may be easy to talk about attitudes and concepts and leave it at that but it is not easy to talk about these matters and bring about a change of attitude. The white middle-class teacher must be made aware, not only of the latest approaches in linguistic theory and methodology but also of the set of variables that come into play in the teaching of English, variables that the English teacher should begin to take into consideration for a more effective teaching experience.

In an earlier article⁵⁴ I discussed the interdisciplinary foundations of a graduate program at the State University College at Cortland, New York. At that time, I merely reported on the planning stage of the Cortland Project, a teacher training program in English Socio-Linguistics. The thoughts which I have just shared with you, however, have mainly grown out of the Project's first year of implementation. This first year's experience has confirmed our belief in the fact that an interdisciplinary approach to teacher training, in particular as far as the teaching of English to speakers of other languages or dialects is concerned, is the most appropriate way of preparing the prospective teacher for her work. Today, we are more convinced than ever that teacher training must be placed on a much broader basis than this has usually been the case. The linguistic and methodological aspects alone do no longer provide the English teacher, who may have speakers of other languages and dialects in her class, with the necessary tools for a successful performance in class. The cultural, psychological, sociological and economic aspects and their implication for the teaching of English in an urban school must also be incorporated in the teacher

⁵⁴ Rodolfo Jacobson, "Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages and/or Dialects—An Oversimplification."

training program. The greater complexity of our current school population requires also a more complex, that is, a broader teacher training. This broader interdisciplinary basis for teacher education has been suggested also by others. Sophie Alam, for example, makes a number of very pertinent remarks to this effect. She says that

neither the school nor the teacher has been trained to see behavior in the light of these causes [emotional stability, emotional maladjustment, resolution of cultural identification and conflicts] . . . Our training practices in education have dealt chiefly with the child who is native to our land and has no outstanding language problem. The child of the lower economic and social strata is also rarely dealt with in our academic courses. Most of our textbooks are written by middle-class professors for middle-class teachers of middle-class children.⁵⁵

Doris V. Gunderson also expresses a similar view although her comments are specifically tailored to the teaching of reading. Programs with an interdisciplinary orientation are however still very few although it can hardly escape our attention that such programs are necessary to prepare today's teachers more adequately. I therefore urge that more such programs, at the undergraduate and graduate levels, be established, so that we may cope more effectively with the demands of a more complex society.

To conclude, I wish to summarize some of the ideas expressed in this paper:

- a. American society need be redefined in terms of a pluralistic society whose members are culturally and linguistically different without any one member or group of members being superior to the other.
- b. Standard American English should be accepted by all as a socially neutral standardized tool of communication to be used among members of the American society.
- c. American education should be oriented toward functional bilingualism or bidialectalism to encourage speakers to switch languages or dialects whenever such switching is appropriate to the situation.
- d. Teachers of Standard English should be trained in interdisciplinary teacher education programs to learn how to better motivate students of all cultures and all socioeconomic levels toward the acquisition of Standard English.

The attainment of these goals, I am certain, will help us solve at least some of the problems in our schools.

⁵⁵Sophie E. Alam, "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children," in Cordasco and Bucchioni, p. 347.

REFERENCES

- Aarons, Alfred C., et al., eds. *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*. *Florida FL Reporter*, 7:1 (1969).
- Baratz, Joan C. "Linguistic and Cultural Factors in Teaching Reading to Ghetto Children." *Elementary English*, 46:2 (February 1969), 199-203.
- and Roger W. Shuy, eds. *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.
- Cordasco, Francesco, and Eugene Bucchioni, eds. *Puerto Rican Children in Mainland Schools*. Scarecrow Press, 1968.

- Crowley, Dale P. "The Keaukaha Model for Mainstream Dialect Instruction." *Language Learning*, 18:1 & 2 (June 1968), 125-138.
- Erickson, Frederick. "F'get You Honky: A New Look at Black Dialect and the School." *Elementary English*, 46:2 (April 1969), 495-499.
- Gardner, R.C. "Attitudes and Motivation: Their Role in Second-Language Acquisition." *TESOL Quarterly*, 2:3 (September 1968), 141-150.
- Jacobson, Rodolfo, ed. *Studies in English to Speakers of Other Languages and in Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect*. The English Record & NYSEC Monograph Series No. 14 (June 1971).
- Loflin, Marvin D. "A Teaching Problem in Nonstandard Negro English." *The English Journal*, 56:9 (December 1967), 1312-14.
- Maxwell, John C. "To the Editor." Riposte. *The English Journal*, 59:8 (November 1970), 1158-59.
- Raspberry, William. "Should Ghettoese be Accepted?" *Today's Education*, 59:4 (April 1970), 30-31, 61-62.
- Sledd, James. "Bi-Dialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy." *The English Journal*, 58:9 (December 1969), 1307-15, 1329.
- Wight, J., and R.A. Norris. *Teaching English to West Indian Children: The Research Stage of the Project*. Evans/Methuen Educational, 1970.
- Williams, Frederick, ed. *Language and Poverty*. Markham Publications Company, 1970.

Affective Influences on English Language Learning Among Indian Students *

Annabelle R. Scoon

Motivation has been called the most important variable in foreign language learning. Of the possible motivators, that of desire for integration with the culture of speakers of the language correlates most highly with learning success. American Indian students are faced with the need to integrate to a certain extent with speakers of English. Their hopes for jobs and social advancement largely depend on their success in coping with the language and culture of the larger society. Yet many things in their life situation militate against an integrative motivation. The history of white wrongs against Indians, the prejudice that they encounter, and the increasingly militant anti-white attitude of some members of their race make integrative attitudes difficult or impossible. Tests show a positive correlation between low achievement scores, low English scores, and feelings of normlessness, meaninglessness, negative attitude toward school, and low expectations for the future. Problems that are probably more related to the culture of poverty than to ethnicity become polarized in the direction of ethnic identity. The resulting negative attitudes are directed specifically against the white culture, and the effectiveness of English language learning may be impaired.

Studies carried out over many years have shown that American Indian students consistently perform below national norms on tests of verbal IQ and on standardized achievement tests (Havighurst, 1970). Many drop out of school at eighth grade, and many have simply been sitting in class serving their time until that level.

While the need to study in English has long been recognized as a problem for non-English-speaking Indian children, few earlier reports have seemed to be aware of the long-term nature of this handicap. It was generally assumed that the total immersion provided by the school would bring the child up to the level of his native-speaking peers within a year or two.

That this is not the case has been amply demonstrated by the cross-over that occurs between Indian and Anglo children's school achievement at about grade four or five, when language requirements in the usual textbook become demanding. While middle class Anglo children continue to develop at a normal rate, Indian children's growth slows and the gap widens between the two. In Albuquerque Indian School a recent study showed a mean retardation in reading growing from one year at grade three to three years at grade seven.

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

Mrs. Scoon, Education Specialist, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque Indian School, is currently working on research on concept development of Navajo elementary students.

The Test of English as a Foreign Language administered at grades eleven and twelve to several groups of Southwestern Indians demonstrated clearly that these students had not caught up in English skills. The composite score of students at AIS stood at the 34th percentile of this test, while Anglo seventh and eighth grade students reached the 90th percentile (1970 testing).

An obvious need is to stress the teaching of English as a second language, rather than to depend on total immersion. However, the results of TESL efforts have not been especially successful. Drills and pattern practice improve certain surface aspects of the students' language, but higher level abilities still do not develop.

The studies of Lambert and Gardner (1959) indicate that a positive feeling toward speakers of a language is one of the variables most highly correlated with successful learning. Lambert calls this integrative motivation—wanting to learn a language because you like and want to be able to interact successfully with its speakers.

Another important motivator is the need to use the language for instrumental purposes. Indian students in an English-speaking school should certainly have this need.

Searching for ways to help students improve their English, we decided to look more closely at the motivation situation. Integrative motivation, we felt, would be demonstrated by evidence of positive feelings toward English-speaking people and environments. Instrumental motivation would be shown by attitudes of goal-directed activity, feeling of ability to succeed, and a generally hopeful attitude toward the future in an English-speaking majority culture.

In general, we theorized that students who are poorly prepared in English would not concentrate on English improvement unless they wanted to and thought it would do them good.

A study of the attitudes of 11th and 12th grade students of AIS toward the people in their lives was carried out in 1970, reported at the AERA convention in February 1971 (Scoon, 1971). A semantic differential test showed that the students negatively evaluated Anglo teachers, school, and dormitory attendants—probably the main English-speaking people in their environment. We concluded that there was little evidence for an integrative motivation among these students.

The present study examines attitudes related to instrumental motivation. It includes elements of possible alienation toward the life situation, achievement motivation, and specific attitude toward school. Only the part of the study concerned with alienation will be described here.

We hypothesize that the student who shows feelings of alienation from his world will not be strongly motivated to do what he must do to improve his achievement. Low achieving students such as those at Albuquerque Indian School will show alienated attitudes.

Design of the Study

An *Attitude Toward Life* questionnaire was developed out of the most discriminating items on a much longer test used by Bernard Spilka in a study of Oglala Sioux (Spilka, 1970). The test items used, and the frequency of each response appears on pages 11-14. On the test itself, of course, the questions were randomly ordered and mixed with achievement and school attitude statements.

The components of alienation included in the test were:

Powerlessness. A feeling that the world is full of insoluble problems, that one is not in control, that it is useless to make an effort to get ahead. This feeling was cited by Coleman (1966) as having the highest correlation with low achievement of Indian students.

A Conformist Protestant Ethic. The idea that a man will succeed if he works hard, that the environment is responsive to individual effort, that school is of instrumental value for real life, and that the future is going to be good for those who make the effort.

Meaninglessness. Luck determines a person's life, not effort. The world is not an orderly place and you cannot depend on its rules.

Social Isolation. The individual is all alone in the world, he cannot depend on other people.

Normlessness. There are no dependable values; the person has to construct his own code and figure out how to get along. This is similar to the concept of "anomie," a condition that Durkheim and others have suggested develops in situations of acculturation. The bearer of the culture under attack, or the less dominant culture, loses faith in his traditional values but does not internalize values of the dominant or attacking culture. This condition might be particularly likely to exist in young persons who have been physically removed from the environment of their own culture for long periods during most of their lives.

The test was administered to all students of Albuquerque Indian School in grades 9 through 12 who were in school at the time. There were 138 papers, though the number of responses on different statements varies, since some were blank or otherwise unusable.

There were 69 boys and 69 girls tested. By grades, they were: 9th grade: 41; 10th grade, 37; 11th grade, 33; 12th grade, 27. Tribal division is: Navaho, 47; Mescalero Apache, 32; Rio Grande Pueblo, 36; Zuñi, 15; Ute, 8.

The test was given in the students' classrooms. A random sample of papers was carefully examined for consistency of response, and we feel confident that most students actually answered thoughtfully.

No attempt was made to deal with individual scores, since we felt

that in tests of this kind, individual papers represent too many purely personal variations. We were interested at this time in finding central trends to compare with the central trend of poor language achievement that we have identified as one of our students' major problems.

The only difficulty we experienced in giving this test was explaining why there were no right answers, and therefore no grades. Students found this hard to believe, as they did on the Tennessee Self Concept test given last year (Blanchard and Reedy, 1970). They have been thoroughly conditioned to expect grades whenever they take a test, and some remained suspicious to the end, feeling that somehow we were going to grade them despite our assurances. This attitude may account for the direction of some answers, if students felt that they knew which we would consider "right." This in turn may account for some inconsistencies in the total response pattern.

Method of Analysis

The papers were subjected to a frequency count of responses. The frequencies were summed over the items of each subscale, and a mean frequency obtained for the agree, undecided, and disagree ends of the response scale. These mean frequencies were converted to percentages, for easier comparison.

Results

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Statement number</i>	<i>N of responses</i>	<i>% agree</i>	<i>% undecided</i>	<i>% disagree</i>
Powerlessness	1-8	125	48	14	38
	9-17	138	49	25	26
Conformist, Protestant Ethic	18-25	125	67	18	15
	26-33	138	54	24	22
(Responses on this scale were reversed on statements 24, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 so that a high score on the "agree" end would represent conformist ethic.)					
Meaninglessness	34-40	125	44	15	41
	41	138	35	29	36
Social Isolation	42-47	125	32	28	40
	48	138	34	22	40
Normlessness	49-54	125	35	31	34

Discussion of Results

The students were in strongest agreement with the conformist Protestant ethic statements, which would ostensibly show good adjustment to the demands of the majority culture, and no evidence of alienation. The highest agreement (over 70%) was found with the statements "Most of the time I feel that the work I am doing is important and useful,"

"You can always find friends if you show you are friendly," "If a man will work hard and get the right training he can be pretty sure of getting a good job later on," "If one works hard enough he is likely to make a good life for himself," and "What you learn in school is useful all through life."

One can hear in these statements an echo of the kind of things teachers and counselors say. If the students have incorporated these ideas into their system of real beliefs, then they expect hard work to lead to success, and they find school to be of instrumental value.

The statement that found most students undecided was "As I see it now, the future looks pretty empty for me." Most other statements were balanced evenly between agreement and disagreement.

One wonders whether the positive statements were taken as generalizations which are the "proper" way to believe. If the student really accepted all of the Protestant ethic statements as applying to him, then he would not see an empty future for himself.

The relatively high percentage of students who agree with statements expressing powerlessness and meaninglessness support the findings of Coleman with regard to the Indian group. Students especially agreed with the statement "Things are changing so fast these days that you don't know what to expect from day to day" (57%) and "In order to get along in the world it's best to do what you are told." (62%). This may reflect a school environment in which students seldom have much control over changes, and have learned survival techniques in relation to teachers.

Agreement with the statement "A grown-up person doesn't have to depend on his family, church, or friends" (56%) seems to indicate a longing for independence that is probably characteristic of many young people in the middle teens, looking forward to a greater degree of autonomy than they presently feel.

Forty-four percent of student responses indicate that success is to them a matter of luck or "the breaks," compared with the 67% who say that hard work will bring success. Responses on this part of the test lead one to question the degree to which the conformist Protestant ethic has really been internalized in these students.

Social isolation is apparently not an important problem to segregated boarding school students. They have large numbers of tribal peers available for friends, and do not have to attempt to interact with outsiders. It will be interesting to compare the results of this scale between boarding school students and public school students who will be tested later this year.

On the Normlessness or "Anomie" statement, students were almost evenly divided between agreement, undecided, and disagreement. The largest agreement was with the statement "Sometimes it is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it." (54%). Highest disagreement was with "You have to be a little bit bad to make money these

days.” (56%) These seem contradictory, and one wonders if the students were reacting negatively to the word “bad,” since the implications of the two statements are quite similar.

Summary

There is support in this study for the hypothesis that some Indian students at AIS are experiencing feelings that contribute to alienation. They feel a lack of control over their environment and a sense of dependency. They seem to believe that success is a matter of luck, though a majority say that it will come from hard work. They seem to be confused between the tenets of the conformist Protestant ethic and feelings about their own possibilities.

In earlier times, some Indians certainly accepted the Protestant ethic fully, and attained success in its terms. The Indian teachers in BIA schools are generally strong advocates of this attitude. Many students apparently no longer trust these beliefs enough to allow them to guide their actions. While believing that hard work is the key to success, they do not believe it enough to want to do the work. Perhaps they have seen too many examples in their own families of failure that came in spite of an individual's best efforts. They do not seem to have adopted seriously alienated or militantly anti-social attitudes, but they are confused about the extent to which an individual can control his fate. This confusion, coupled with poor English and the resulting poor school achievement, compounds the problem of developing motivation, which must be built from an interaction between aspiration and success.

What We Can Do

Teachers of English (as well as all other subjects) can attend specifically to the education of their students in the affective domain. Students who evidence confusion about their aims, values and possibilities need a great deal of help in realistically sorting out this confusion. Those of us who have come to believe strongly that language-learning success will come to those who have something they want to say, and someone to whom they want to say it in that language, feel that affective education will involve these students with English far more effectively than pattern practice and programmed drill.

If the students find that they can learn about the really important things in their lives just by making the effort to express themselves in English, we will find them talking. This has been demonstrated in classrooms that I have visited repeatedly. The quiet, monosyllabic Indian students will soon be interrupting each other to get a chance to talk, if the discussion concerns things they really want to know. Whenever they feel that they can learn something they want to learn, the language will grow to meet the demand. A student will work hard to find a means of expression for an idea he wants to express. Perhaps the area of

affect is one of the first places we should seek for the content of lessons that will motivate the student to improve his English. When English improves and attitudes toward the English-speaking world become clarified, Indian students' achievement scores will go up.

REFERENCES

- Blanchard, Joseph D., and R.L. Reedy. The relation of a test of English as a Foreign Language to measures of achievement and self concept of a sample of American Indian students. Paper prepared for the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, August 1970.
- Coleman, James S. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D. C., 1966, pp. 319-21.
- Havighurst, Robert J. *The Education of Indian Children and Youth*. Summary report and recommendations. National study of American Indian education, Project No. 8-0147 USOE OEC-0-8-080147-2805, 1970. Available from Training Center for Community Programs, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, p. 7.
- Lambert, Wallace E., and R.C. Gardner. Motivational variables in second-language acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 13 (1959), 266-72.
- Scoon, Annabelle. American Indian ethnic attitudes *in* relation to school achievement. Paper prepared for the 55th annual meeting of the AERA, New York, N. Y., 1971.
- , and Joseph Blanchard. The relation of a test of English as a second language to measures of intelligence, achievement, and adjustment in a sample of American Indian students. Paper prepared for the fourth annual convention of TESOL, San Francisco, California, 1970.
- Spilka, Bernard. Alienation and achievement among Oglala Sioux secondary school students. National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Final Report, Project MH 11232, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 1970.

The Use of Case Grammar in Teaching English as a Foreign Language *

Don L.F. Nilsen

The use of case frames of verbs as a control for the teaching of vocabulary items has a number of distinct advantages over other concepts. The case frames associated with a particular vocabulary item or with a particular semantic class would be the same in the native and the target language (English). This would have the advantage of allowing the student to see how his language is the same as the target language. It would also enable the materials to be situationally as well as structurally controlled, and allow the students to use conceptual (as well as syntactic) clues in learning new vocabulary items.

In 1968, Charles Fillmore published an important article entitled "The Case for Case" (Bach and Harms' *Universals in Linguistic Theory*). Fillmore proposed that the universal base component in linguistics consists of semantic *cases*, rather than semantic *features*, or phonological units, or syntactic structures, all of which had been previously proposed.

According to Fillmore, the verbs of any particular language select the particular semantic cases that they are compatible with. This situation has often been compared to a dramatic play, in which there is the plot, the setting, and the characters. Thus, if a sentence is considered to be a miniature one-act play, the plot is represented by the predication (i.e. the verb or adjective). The setting would be represented by various adverbs indicating such things as the Time, the Place, the Manner, or the Extent of the action. And just as a play might have a hero and a villain, and a person who is oppressed by the villain or saved by the hero, our sentence might have an Agent (i.e. the hero or villain) and an Experiencer (i.e. the victim or beneficiary). Thus, in the sentence "Jack Armstrong used his all-American muscles to prevent Boris Badinoff from tying Mary Trueheart to the railroad tracks," Jack Armstrong is an Agent; *his all-American muscles* is an Instrument; and *Boris Badinoff* is at the same time an Experience of the verb *prevent* and an Agent of the verb *tying*. *Mary Trueheart* is just an Experience, because she never acts but is always acted upon. And of course the *railroad tracks* in our miniature drama is the Place of the setting.

To follow our analogy further, just as the roles in a play are determined by the plot, the deep cases in a sentence are determined by the predication. Because of this, there is an extremely high correlation between the case frames of verbs and the semantic cat-

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

Mr. Nilsen, Associate Professor of English, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, has published in various journals and is coauthor of *Pronunciation Contrasts in English* (Simon and Schuster, 1971).

egories to which they belong. Typically, verbs of motion, such as *creep*, *dart*, *fly*, *go*, and *slide*, are compatible with an Agent, Source, Path, and Goal; and if these verbs are transitive, like *move*, *ship*, *bus*, *truck*, and *cart*, there is an Object as well. Thus, the sentence “John flew from New York to Chicago via Philadelphia” has the same case frame as “John bussed the football players from Ann Arbor to Detroit via YpsiLanti,” except that the first sentence is intransitive and the second is transitive. All verbs of motion therefore have basically the same case frame.

The notions of Source and Goal are very broad notions. As we have seen, such notions are relevant with verbs of motion to indicate the geographical place where the movement started and the geographical place where the item ended up, respectively. But the notions of Source and Goal have broader application than merely with verbs of movement. For example, with verbs of transfer, such as *borrow*, *inherit*, *intercept*, *receive*, *seize*, and *steal*, as in the sentence, “John seized the cake from his sister,” it is again possible to talk about the Source—that is, the place that the Object started out-and the Goal—that is, the place that the Object ended up. There are two basic differences, however, between the case frame of verbs of motion and that of verbs of transfer. With verbs of motion, the notion of Path (e.g., *via Ypsilanti*) is relevant, whereas with verbs of transfer this notion is probably not relevant. And secondly, verbs of transfer are always transitive, while verbs of motion can be either transitive or intransitive.¹ Therefore,

while it is possible to have the intransitive motion sentence “John jumped from one side of the ditch to the other,” and the transitive motion sentence “John moved the piano from one side of the room to the other,” sentences which something is transferred must (at least implicitly) have an Object, for it is not possible to say “John stole” without meaning “John stole something.”

Verbs of exchange, such as *buy*, *pay*, *rent*, *sell*, *spend*, and *trade* are similar to verbs of transfer, except that with verbs of exchange there are two transfers going on rather than one. For example, in the sen-

¹ It may be best to think of verbs of motion as always requiring an Object in the deep structure, with this Object being optional, obligatory, or non-deletable, depending on the particular verb. If this is true, then such a sentence as “I went from Chicago to New York” would be derived from the more basic sentence “I took myself from Chicago to New York.” At the present time I am not suggesting which of these positions should be adopted.

tence ^{A-S-G} “Mary will sublet, ^O the apartment from ^{G-S} Matilda,” there are actually two Objects, two Sources, and two Goals. One of the Objects is *the apartment*, which has *Matilda* as the Source and *Mary* as the Goal. The other Object is *the money* implicit within the sentence, which has *Mary* as the Source and *Matilda* as the Goal. Thus, verbs of exchange can be analyzed as verbs of double transfer, and it is therefore obvious that verbs of transfer and verbs of exchange can be considered to have the same case frames. It might also be possible to use the notions of Source and Goal in talking about verbs of creation or destruction, whereby the Source in reference to a verb of creation would be the miscellaneous pieces of material and the Goal would be the completed item, and the Source in reference to a verb of destruction would be the complete item and the Goal would be the miscellaneous pieces of material that resulted from the destruction. Although such a view would be revealing, I prefer to consider verbs of creation and verbs of destruction as extensions of verbs of contact, which I will describe later in the paper. In other words, I am assuming that verbs of creation and destruction, like verbs of contact, have Agents, Instruments, and Objects in their case frames rather than Sources and Goals.

There are also certain verbs that select the Locative Case. Verbs of Attachment, like *bolt*, *clamp*, *rivet*, *screw*, *staple*, *tape*, and *wire*, as

^A ^I ^{L₁} ^{L₂}
in “John stapled a calendar to his desk,” in fact require two Locatives, since one item is attached to another by means of the Instrument, which is incorporated into the verb, i.e. *a staple*, *a clamp*, *a rivet*, etc. Sometimes, the Locative Case itself is incorporated into the verb so that when

^A
we use such verbs as *bottle*, *box*, *crate*, *package*, etc., as in “John

^L ^O
crated the tomatoes,” we actually mean that he put something (the tomatoes), into a place (the crate). A set of verbs very closely related to the one I have just been discussing represents incorporation of the Material Case. Such verbs as *asphalt*, *butter*, *gravel*, and *salt*, as in

^A ^M ^L
“John asphalted his driveway,” are the result of incorporation of the Material Case into the verb. If we *asphalt* a particular place, we are, in fact, putting the material, asphalt, in that place.

There are certain verbs which considerably limit the number of cases in their case frames. Thus, such verbs as *crumble*, *decompose*, *disin-*

^A
tegrate, and *flutter*, as in “The statue crumbled,” and such adjectives

^A
as *careful*, *foolish*, *impolite*, *obnoxious*, and *tactful*, as in “John is obnoxious,” have only the Agent in their case frames; and such weather adjectives as *cloudy*, *hot*, *miserable*, *snowing*, and *windy*, as in “It’s windy,” have only the Objective Case (i.e. the weather) usually implied

usually represents some kind of contact. Such verbs as *hit*, *tag*, *touch*, *smack*, and *strike*, as in “The ^Aprisoner struck ^Othe guard with ^Ia shovel,” are verbs of contact. If the purpose of the contact is to create something, we have a special subset of contact verbs which represent creation, such as *build*, *design*, *make*, and *repair*, as in “^AJohn repaired ^Othe radio with ^Ibailing wire.” Verbs of creation can be further divided into subsets, as for example verbs relating to cooking, such as *bake*, *boil*, *fry*, and *toast*, as in “^AJohn toasted ^Omarshmallows over ^Ithe campfire.” Verbs of destruction represent a more violent type of contact. The destruction may be partial, as with *crack*, *lacerate*, *peel*, or *puncture*, as in “^AJohn punctured ^Othe innertube with a ^Inail”; or the destruction may be total, as with *annihilate*, *demolish*,... *eradicate*, *obliterate*, or *raze*, as in “^AThe army demolished ^Othe city with ^Imortar fire.” And if the thing destroyed is animate rather than inanimate, then the case frame is Agent, Instrument, and Experience, rather than Agent, Instrument, and Object. Consider, for example, such verbs as *conquer*, *defeat*, *vanquish*, and *wound*, as in “^AJohn wounded ^Othe enemy soldier with ^Ta bayonet,” for partial animate destruction, and *assassinate*, *exterminate*, *kill*, and *murder*, as in “^AJohn murdered ^Ehis wife with ^Ta screwdriver,” for total animate destruction. There are virtually unlimited additional semantic categories representing the Agent-Instrument-Object case frame. Verbs displaying the causative *en* affix, such as *blacken*, *enslave*, *frighten*, and *strengthen*, as in “^AJohn blackened ^Ohis face with ^Isoot,” represent one such category. One important fact about verbs of this A-I-O structure class is that the Instrument is very often incorporated into the verb. Sometimes the incorporation is transparent, as in the verbs *knife* or *fiddle*, as in “^AJohn ^Iknifed ^Ehis best friend,” but at other times, the incorporation is opaque as in the verbs *see* or *smell*, as in “^AJohn ^Ismelled ^Othe spareribs,” where the Instruments incorporated into *see* and *smell* are the eye and the nose, respectively. Although the process of verbal incorporation is very important, and although knowledge of this process is important in teaching English as a foreign language, I shall not dwell further on the subject in this paper.

Sometimes, the Object for verbs having an Agent-Instrument-Object

case frame is not concrete. Semantic categories representing this possibility would include verbs of allowance, such as *authorize*, *commission*, and *entitle*, as in “John ^A authorized Bill ^I to preside at the ^O meeting”; verbs of help, such as *assist*, *teach*, and *train*, as in “John ^T taught his dog to play dead”; verbs of encouragement, such as *admonish*, *entreat*, and *persuade*, as in “John ^A persuaded Mary to stay ^I with him”; verbs of expectation, such as *count on*, *desire*, and *expect*, as in “John ^A expected the army to retreat”; and verbs of force, such as *command*, *compel*, and *require*, as in “John ^A commanded his troops ^I to withdraw.” Actually, the only difference between verbs of allowance, *help*, *encouragement*, *expectation*, and *force* is one of degree. One additional class of verb that has the A-I-O case frame, with an abstract Object would be verbs of communication, such as *claim*, *describe*, *tell*, and *shout*, as in “John ^A shouted ^I to Bill ^E that they had been spotted.” Such verbs are four-place predicates, however, since there is the necessity of an Experience being in the case frame (at least implicitly).

At this point, the reader might very well be asking himself “What has all of this got to do with the teaching of English as a foreign language?” I personally believe that the kinds of things I have been considering can have a great deal to do with EFL teaching. Case Grammar seems to me to be a very sound pedagogical tool for teaching English as a foreign language. In the first place, it has a universal base. The cases and the case frames that we have been talking about in English are also present in the native languages of all EFL students. It would therefore be possible to begin instruction on this common ground, and proceed to the study of how these common cases happen to be signalled in English surface structure. Second, Case Grammar has a semantic, rather than a syntactic base. This enables the materials to be at the same time structured and situationally oriented. For example, a situation might be suggested which involves various types of transactions. In talking about a department store, for example, one might use such verbs as *buy*, *sell*, *exchange*, *take*, *give*, *receive*, *trade*, *steal*, etc., realizing that verbs appropriate to this situation all have basically the same case frame: Agent, Source, Goal, and Object, both in the native and in the target language. In exactly the same way, verbs of creation, destruction, perception, and communication, etc., have exactly the same deep cases in all languages. Case Grammar would make it possible to have a semantically oriented EFL program (or class), which at the

same time could be highly structured grammatically. It would allow the students to go from the known (the deep structure, which is the same in all languages) to the unknown (the surface structure of English). It would enable the students to handle concepts and entire semantic areas in place of individual words. And considerable psychological reinforcement would come from the fact that the students could have real-life "hooks" upon which to hang thousands of vocabulary items.

Getting Tense in English: A Linguistics for Our Time*

Thomas Scovel

Teaching English tense to speakers of tenseless languages proves as difficult as teaching speakers of English a tenseless language. Although it is generally realized that tense and time are not coterminous, the relationship between the syntactic phenomenon of tense and the semantic concept of time is not clearly understood. By relating syntactic time markers such as tense to semantic concepts such as time and aspect, an attempt will be made to explain many of the apparent discrepancies between time and tense in English. Furthermore, it will be shown that there are apparently four time/aspect categories which seem to underlie the marking of time in all languages. In conclusion, some suggestions will be made as to how time can be taught in a more timely manner.

Although languages differ as to how time is formally marked in grammar, it is important to assert that all languages can deal with the past, the present, and the future. From time to time, however, claims have been made that run counter to this assertion. For example, Robert Hall cites an example of a Whorfian interpretation of how linguistic forms such as tense can warp a culture's concept of time.

Extending these considerations to other aspects of our grammatical system, it has been suggested that our Western European concern with time—which is a specific characteristic of our culture, not at all innate to the human race as a whole—may be due to the presence, in our grammatical systems, of a contrast between past and non-past tenses (with also a specifically future tense in Greek and Latin, in which our philosophical systems were elaborated). Other languages have no tense contrasts at all, but (like Hopi or the Slavic languages) lay much more emphasis on aspect . . .¹

I would argue, however, that whether or not a language has tense, contains the word for "tomorrow," or refers to a twenty-four-hour day, all men report about past events, talk about the here and now, and speculate about the future. What is of particular interest to language teachers is that, despite the fact that all languages deal with time, the grammar of time differs among languages. To those of us who teach English, the mastering of English tense, especially by speakers of tenseless languages, is of special concern. As R. A. Close has noted, English tense has left foreign students of English bewitched, bothered, and bewildered.

One statement can safely be made: the distinctions that determine whether we use one tense or another in English puzzle students of English as a foreign language in many different parts of the world. Difficulties over tenses

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

Mr. Scovel, Assistant Professor of the Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University, Chiangmai, Thailand, has published in *Language Learning* and is currently engaged in research on the Thai language.

¹ Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Introductory Linguistics*, p. 402.

may vary from country to country, and require treatment adapted to the learner's own language: but they are not confined to one particular language area.²

As a way of introducing an explanation of the nature of tense in English, I would like to cite briefly, three general problems that pervade the literature concerning time and tense.

First, for cultural and historical reasons, grammars of tenseless languages written after Western models have often been illustrated with tense paradigms. For example, the completive aspect marker /le/ in the Chinese sentence /tā lái/ "he has come" has often been described as the present perfect tense marker; whereas it is much more accurate to state that the notion of completion is marked by the present perfect tense in English and by /le/ in Chinese, at least in this particular example. Consequently, transtensual teachers, if I may coin a word (that is, those who teach a tense language to speakers of a tenseless language), should neither interpret the tenseless language in terms of tense paradigms nor assume that it has nothing in common concerning the marking of time in the grammar.

A second problem that prevails is that time and tense are not coterminous. Although this has been well-documented, it is useful to illustrate this point in English. In sentence (1) **He is running the mile**, the speaker is talking about a present event—one that is taking place at the moment of utterance. However, in sentence (2) **He runs the mile**, even though the sentence is "in the present tense," it is quite obvious that the speaker is talking about an event that has probably occurred in the past, is possibly occurring in the present, and is likely to occur in the future. Other examples of the discrepancy in English between grammatical tense and actual time referred to come readily to mind. Two such examples are the historical present, in which present tense forms are used in a past time context, and the use of present tense forms for future time (often called "will deletion"). H. Sopher cites other examples in a recent article entitled "Stylistic Choice in Verb Tenses."³ For the purposes of our discussion I would like to handle this discrepancy by distinguishing the tense form in a sentence as a syntactic phenomenon, a surface structure in current parlance, and the actual time referred to in the sentence as a semantic concept, a deep structure if you will.

The third and final problem that confronts us in teaching tense forms is that English tense, that is, the syntax of time as it is marked in verb forms, is inextricably linked to aspectual considerations as well. The traditional terminology for tense forms in English belies just this interrelationship. For example, sentence (1) **He is running the mile**, would be tradi-

² R.A. Close, "Concerning the Present Tense: *English Language Teaching*, 13:2 (1959), 57.

³ H. Sopher, "Stylistic Choice in Verb Tenses," *English Language Teaching*, 25:1 (1970), 50-59.

tionally classified as in the “present progressive tense.” More accurately, however, it is in the “present tense, and the progressive aspect.” But the intermingling of tense and aspect in English is exhibited in far more subtle ways than simply in terminological classifications. Consider sentences (3) and (4), for example: (3) **He is dead**; (4) **He died**. Although sentence (3) is “in the present tense” and (4) is “in the past tense,” native speakers of English will immediately recognize that both sentences refer to the same physical fact—that someone’s death occurred at a time prior to the moment of speaking. Our foreign students, however, are likely to confide that they are confused and confounded by the discrepancy between syntactic tense and semantic time in sentence (3). What is confusing, of course, is not that there is a difference in time between the two sentences, but a difference in aspect, the kind of verbal action taking place. Sentence (3) describes a continuous *state*—someone is presently in the state of death—hence the use of present tense; sentence (4), on the other hand, describes a momentary *event*—someone expired—hence the use of the past. It is this third problem, that of the interrelationship of temporal and aspectual features upon which I would like to focus our attention, trying to show in the remainder of this paper how an understanding of four underlying time/aspect categories can help us to explain tense forms and related phenomena in English more clearly. These four underlying time/aspect categories are best defined in terms of two pairs of oppositions—points versus *periods*, and *actives* versus *statives*.

Just as all languages are capable of dealing with past, present, or future time, it is equally true that they are all able to delineate between points of time and periods of time, a proposition that is disputed by J. Charles Thompson in the following quotation from an article on aspect in Chinese.

The easiest way to contrast the Chinese concept with the concept of tense in a verb is with similes. As English speakers, we are familiar with the tense concept. Time, in the words of the hymn is “like an ever-rolling stream.” Another simile equates time with a burning fuse—the spark of the present is uniquely alive, traveling along into the unrealized future and leaving behind it the ashes of the dead past. To appreciate the use of temporal particles in Chinese, one must learn to think of time as a series of discontinuous units occurring in succession, like the turning of cards in a game of solitaire, or like separate beads coming one after the other on a string.⁴

Although I acknowledge the fact that there are different cultural and individual attitudes towards how time plays a part in society, I assume that every society has linguistic resources to talk about time as either points or periods, depending on the situation. In a paper called “Punctual versus Durative As Covert Categories,” Harold King lists many examples of the points versus periods dichotomy as it is exhibited in English. In the

⁴ J. Charles Thompson, “Aspects of the Chinese Verb,” *Linguistics*, 38 (1968), 70.

examples provided here, we can show this contrast quite distinctly; compare sentence (5) **He ran the mile**, which tends to view the action at a point in time, with sentence (2) **He runs the mile**, in which the action is viewed over a period of time. Although the distinction between points and periods is not always clear-cut (as David Michelson, for example, has pointed out in a review of a paper by Lakoff and Ross), there is general agreement that either through the use of manner adverbs (e.g., “for an instant” vs. “again and again”) or by the semantic connotation of the verb phrase itself (e.g., “He spoke a French word” vs. “He spoke French”) all languages can and do distinguish between points and periods of time.

The other pair of oppositions that I would like to introduce is the distinction between *actives* and *statives*. It is important to reiterate that even though languages differ in their syntax, it is assumed that all languages share these semantic concepts of actives and statives and are equally capable of expressing these concepts. Returning to our previous example, sentence (2) **He runs the mile** is an example of an active; whereas sentence (6) **He likes the mile** is clearly an example of a stative. Just as the distinction between points and periods was dependent not on the syntactic environment of the verb but on the semantic one, so too the distinction between actives and statives is dependent not on the syntax of the sentence but on the semantics. George Lakoff points out this very fact:

But the property STATIVE or NON-STATIVE may not be distributed among verbs and adjectives by a transformational rule. Rather, the value for the property STATIVE must be indicated in the lexicon for each verb and adjective. It is not a surface property, but rather an inherent property of both verbs and adjectives.⁵

An inherent feature of the active/stative dichotomy is that active forms imply a conscious involvement on the part of the subject or agent of the sentence; stative forms imply no such involvement. Jeffrey Gruber, among others, has brought attention to this fact, and has classified active verbs as “agentive” in an interesting paper on look and see.

LOOK and SEE are further differentiated by the fact that the former is obligatorily Agentive, whereas the latter is not (Gruber 1965). An Agentive verb is one whose subject refers to an animate object which is thought of as the willful source or agent of the activity described in the sentence.⁶

One of the many concomitant restrictions which results from this “agentive” nature of active forms is that active forms take imperatives; in other words, we can demand or command someone to do something over which they exercise some degree of participatory involvement; sentence (7) **Run the mile!** Stative forms, however, do not take the imper-

⁵ George Lakoff, “Stative Adjectives and Verbs in English,” to appear in Bever and Weksel, *The Structure and Psychology of Language*, p. 12.

⁶ Jeffrey S. Gruber, “Look and See,” *Language*, 43 (1967), 43.

ative since they lack this participatory involvement: sentence 8 ***Like the mile!**

We have talked about time and aspect in terms of two pairs of opposing parameters, points/periods and actives/statives, and have seen these pairs briefly illustrated in English sentences (although the claim has been made that these are semantic features that can be expressed in all languages). It is now appropriate to show how these two pairs of features can be utilized to categorize verb phrases into four time/aspect classes, and, in addition, show how such a categorization relates to the covert marking of time in English as well as other languages. If we represent these four time/aspect categories through the use of a tree, there are four possible terminal categories: (A) +point +active, (B) +point –active (i.e., stative), (C) –point (i.e., periods) +active, and (D) –point –active. Interestingly enough, these four time/aspect categories coincide precisely with the four temporal categories Zeno Vendler discusses in “Verbs and Times,” a chapter from his larger work entitled *Linguistics in Philosophy*. These categories are: (A) *accomplishments* (a term which is not meant to connote its usual meaning of success or completion), (B) *events* (a term which I have chosen as more suitable than Vendler’s original term “achievements”), (C) *activities*, and (D) *states*. For reference and illustration, for each of these four divisions we can cite examples of each category: sentence (5) for accomplishments, sentence (4) for events, sentences (1) and (2) for activities, and sentences (3) and (6) for states. With these categories in mind, we can now turn to the timely task of getting tense in English, for it is essential to understand the covert time implications which underlie this categorization before a complete awareness can occur of how time and tense operate in a language.

The first covert time markings to which I would address our attention underlie the distinction between points and periods of time. I would like to claim that points in time, that is, accomplishments (an activity viewed at a point in time) and events (a change of state viewed at a point in time) are covertly marked past time. The examples illustrating accomplishments and events bear this out. This is not to say, of course, that points in time are always in the past; points in time can be *overtly* marked in present or future time by tense forms or by adverbial. But, without these overt syntactic markers, points of time refer to the past in the semantics of time of all languages. Periods of time, that is, activities and states, are not covertly marked past. Activities, possibly because they appear to be the largest group of verbal forms, are unmarked for time. States, on the other hand, are covertly marked for present time. Again, the English examples cited seem to illustrate this. Nevertheless, further examples bring more convincing evidence to bear. Activities, because they are not covertly marked for time, do not require the obligatory future marker “will”; it is permissible to say, for example, “He runs the mile tomorrow.” Because

states are covertly marked present, they do not undergo “will deletion” since an overt marker of futurity is needed to compensate for the intrinsic notion of present time: sentence (9), ***He likes the mile tomorrow**. Similarly, events, which are covertly marked past, also cannot undergo “will deletion” as evidenced in sentence (10) ***He dies tomorrow** (where one is simply referring to the future, not issuing a decree or edict). This interpretation of the restrictions upon “will deletion” differs from traditional approaches and even from that taken by Robin Lakoff in a provocative paper on tense and its relationship to context.

Another way in which this time/aspect schema can help to explain the syntax of English verbs is in the treatment of progressive forms. Because states are intrinsically marked stative, it is redundant to overtly mark them with the progressive form of the verb: sentence (11) ***He is liking the mile**. Actives, on the other hand, are not covertly marked for progression (period of time) and consequently can be overtly marked with the progressive: sentence (1) **He is running the mile**. As I have already mentioned, active forms connote some type of volitional participation. Therefore, the two time/aspect categories which are marked active can occur in the imperative. Stative forms, events and states, are restricted from occurring in the imperative, however. Compare sentence (7) **Run the mile!** with sentences (8) ***Like the mile!** and (12) ***Die!**

One specific way in which this time-aspect categorization can be applied to the language classroom is to set up a paradigm based on these four categories. One that comes quickly to mind is a paradigm based on verbs involving the five senses. It can be shown that there are pairs of words in many languages which are covertly restricted by the temporal/aspectual connotations introduced above. Examples of these pairs of verbs are:

see	—the <i>state</i> of using the eyes
look at	—the <i>activity</i> of using the eyes
hear	—the <i>state</i> of using the ears
listen to	—the <i>activity</i> of using the ears
smell	—the <i>state</i> of using the nose
sniff at	—the <i>activity</i> of using the nose
	etc.

It may be argued that this presentation has been long on speculations and short on recommendations, and, to a large extent, this is true. But considering the fact that the teaching of tense in the foreign language classroom has been fraught with difficulties, many of them not even alluded to here, it may be worthwhile to speculate about a linguistics for our times, and for our tenses as well. The scheme that has been presented here seems to lead to some interesting observations about English, a tense language. It has also been applied to a tenseless language, Thai, with equally interesting results. I would leave it up to the imagina-

tions and creativity of experienced language teachers how this scheme might be adopted to curricula and classroom. One facet of this approach that I find intuitively satisfying is that it seems psychologically more reassuring to both the student and the teacher to assume bridges of shared semantic concepts between two languages rather than chasms of disparate syntactic forms. As for getting tense in English, how long will it be before we are fully aware of how time functions in language? Perhaps only time will tell.

REFERENCES

- Close, R.A. "Concerning the Present Tense," *English Language Teaching*, XIII: 2 (1959).
- Hall, Robert A., Jr. *Introductory Linguistics*. Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1964.
- Huddleston, Rodney. "Some Observations on Tense and Deixis in English," *Language*, 45:4 (1969), 777-806.
- King, Harold V. "Action and Aspect in English Verb Expressions." *English Language Institute Research Papers*, Number 2, 1968.
- "Punctual versus Durative as Covert Categories." *Language Learning*, 19:3 and 4 (1969), 183-190.
- Lakoff, George. "Stative Adjectives and Verbs in English; to appear in *The Structure and Psychology of Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Lakoff, Robin, "Tense and Its Relationship to Participants," *Language*, 46:4 (1970), 838-849.
- McCawley James D. "Tense and Time Reference in English," pre-publication copy, 1969.
- Michelson, David. "An Examination of Lakoff and Ross's Criterion for Verb Phrase Constituency." *Glossa*, 3:2 (1969).
- Ota, Akira. *Tense and Aspect of Present-Day American English*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1963.
- Sopher, H. "Stylistic Choice in Verb Tenses." *English Language Teaching*, 25:1 (1970), 50-59.
- Thompson, J. Charles. "Aspects of the Chinese Verb." *Linguistics*, Volume 38 (1968).
- Vendler, Zeno. "Verbs and Times." *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

Para-Professionals: Their Role in ESOL and Bilingual Education *

Hernan LaFontaine

In recent years, the introduction of non-professional personnel into the schools and the classrooms has created considerable controversy. Advocates claim that the additional assistance derived from para-professionals can be the greatest blessing to the overworked teacher. Opponents fear that employment of auxiliary personnel may be allowing for the implementation of substandard instruction in the classroom. Our experience leads us, unequivocally, to the advocacy of utilizing para-professionals in as many instructional situations as our imagination can conceive. Especially in ESOL and bilingual education programs it is clearly evident that the teacher must seek to vary and to individualize her instruction and her teaching as extensively as possible. The concept of the team approach can certainly be applied in these cases most appropriately. The use of another adult, properly trained and adequately supervised, can only serve to improve the instructional process towards the achievement of that elusive "quality education."

In recent years, the introduction of non-professional personnel into the schools and the classrooms has created considerable controversy. Advocates claim that the additional assistance derived from para-professionals can be the greatest blessing to the overworked teacher. Opponents fear that employment of auxiliary personnel may be opening the door for the implementation of substandard instruction in the classroom. In other words, some people are still trying to decide whether para-professionals are a help or a hindrance. I've made my decision already and I would like to state unequivocally that the use of educational assistants may be one of the most significant approaches in our attempts to provide individualized instruction. Especially in English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education programs we see a very clear need to have another adult assisting the teacher in the many personalized activities demanded by these programs.

I would like to focus on some of the reasons underlying the need for utilizing para-professionals, how these assistants can function effectively in a classroom, their role as part of the overall teaching team and some of the factors involved in the recruitment and training of assistants. Since most of this presentation is based on my experiences with the para-professionals employed at the Bilingual School, I will, of course, be referring to them quite often.

Before I begin, however, I would like to make a simple clarification

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

Mr. LaFontaine, Principal of the Bilingual School, P.S. 25, New York City, is founder of the Puerto Rican Educators' Association of New York City and is a member of the Board of Advisors for the television show "Sesame Street."

regarding the distinction that has been made in the title of this presentation between English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education. I added "bilingual education" to the original title not only because I am deeply interested and involved in bilingual education, but also as a reminder that the concept of second language instruction (as opposed to foreign language instruction) has been extended through bilingual education to many languages other than English. In New York City, of course, most of the bilingual programs include Spanish as the vernacular language, but they also offer Spanish as a second language for the English-speaking children. I mention this point because it has bearing on one reason why we must look towards utilizing para-professionals in the instructional process.

With the establishment of many new bilingual programs in the city, we have seen a recurrent problem facing administrators and school boards when considering personnel needs. Many principals and superintendents claim that a major obstacle to the initiation of a bilingual program is the critical shortage of qualified bilingual teachers. This problem, of course, is not one which can be overcome overnight, and efforts to recruit large numbers of Spanish-speaking teachers must continue and be expanded tremendously. However, while this is being done, we should be engaging in a far greater effort to employ community persons who already are proficient in both English and Spanish and who, with proper training, can be of great assistance to the few teachers that are available. Incidentally, when I say "few teachers", referring to the situation in New York City, please understand that this is a gross understatement. It becomes a lot clearer when we note that there are approximately 500 Puerto Rican teachers in the New York City school system out of a total of about 60,000 teachers. This amounts to less than 1% of the total staff, while the number of Puerto Rican students in the schools reaches close to 250,000, or about 22% of the total pupil population.

So we see that there is an urgent need to provide a massive influx of Spanish-speaking personnel into positions offering direct contact with our Puerto Rican children. The recruitment of para-professionals may be the most immediate way to accomplish this purpose. Their role in providing ethnic models with which children can identify should not be overlooked either. At the same time, these assistants can be utilized very effectively to provide instruction in Spanish as a second language to English-speaking students.

Secondly, there is the ever-present concept of individualized instruction which automatically means a greater demand on the teacher's time and energy to provide for the needs of all her students. In spite of all the programmed instruction materials and other so-called self-learning programs, we cannot deny that having another adult in the classroom is the most logical and reasonable approach to providing greater individualization of instruction.

Finally, if we are seriously concerned with increasing the number of minority group teachers and encouraging community participation in education, then we must certainly view the concept of the para-professionals as a most viable and productive alternative.

The actual role of the para-professional in the classroom can be as diversified and challenging as that of the teacher. The range of activities possible for an educational assistant may vary from those which essentially are noninstructional and serve mainly to provide the teacher with more actual teaching time to those which virtually convert the assistant into a second teacher with real instructional responsibilities. Thus, you would find at P.S. 25 assistants helping children with outer clothing, keeping attendance records, preparing materials, duplicating materials, supervising the lunch period, and undertaking a host of other necessary tasks. The same assistants will, at another time during the day, be reading to a small group of students, helping an individual pupil with arithmetic problems, playing games with a few children, showing slides and listening to students discuss the slides and, in general, carrying out a number of educational activities while the teacher is engaged with the rest of the class.

Because of the heavy emphasis on language instruction in our bilingual program, many of our assistants spend a great deal of time working with pupils in English as a first or second language and Spanish as a first or second language. The program in second language instruction creates many situations in which assistants can work with small groups of students or individual pupils in helping to develop their listening and speaking skills. The assistant may be reinforcing a specific oral pattern which the teacher has just taught, or, perhaps, playing a game involving numbers they have just learned. More advanced pupils or classes may get assistance from the para-professional in reading and writing skills, sometimes through the use of programmed materials. The fact that all of the assistants are bilingual is especially significant because both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students can be given the benefit of the assistant's extra attention. In addition, in many instances, the para-professional brings to the classroom a wealth of language experiences in Spanish which the teacher may not possess. Children's songs, games, stories, and poems, which the assistant may recall from her own childhood, now become an integral and exciting part of the curriculum. In general, the net effect is that there is now another person in the room with whom children can communicate and thus practice and further develop their language skills.

Needless to say, a good educational assistant doesn't just walk in from her kitchen at home and, with the proper blessing from the principal, start to diagnose pupils' reading deficiencies. It is a long and arduous task to develop a group of para-professionals who can make a positive contribution to a school program and function as part of an overall instructional team.

First, we must consider how we're going to select these individuals and where we're going to get them. Since one of the underlying justifications for employing para-professionals is to encourage participation of community residents in education, it is natural that our major source should be the immediate school neighborhood. Highest preference should be given to parents of children in the school since there is really no other group which could have a greater stake in developing the best instructional program possible. If necessary, additional persons could be recruited from local civic groups, community agencies, adult education programs and community colleges. Occasionally, individuals with teaching experience but without all the necessary requirements for certification as teachers here, may move into the community from other countries and can certainly be employed very effectively as assistants in a special category.

Whatever the source may be, the prospective assistant should have a sincere desire to work with children and should have an understanding of the problems they face at home and in the neighborhood. They should, of course, possess the basic skills in the fundamental subject areas, but not necessarily be required to have a complete formal educational background. A high school diploma would be helpful, but again not essential if the person demonstrated satisfactory ability. If the program is a bilingual program, it would be extremely desirable that assistants be bilingual. And if these assistants are going to work with non-English-speaking children, it would be virtually mandatory that they speak the vernacular of the children. Another significant factor is that assistants, just as teachers, spend a good part of their time working with adults, as well as with children, and, therefore, should be able to relate well to other adults and understand the importance of cooperating in a well-coordinated team effort.

Assuming that we have found this "super-assistant" with all of these fine qualities, we still have only begun. Now, the task is one of giving this person the training necessary to develop all of the skills which will make her an asset to the teacher. Ideally, there should be an opportunity to provide the para-professional with some pre-service orientation and training. During this period, the assistant should become acquainted with the key personnel in the school, with the physical plant, with the important resources in the community, and with the children. Some time should be devoted to an explanation of the duties of an assistant and the general role she will play in the program. Once the assistant is assigned to a specific teacher and class, she should understand that she will be getting specific help through an organized program of in-service training. This aspect of the para-professional's career is extremely important and definitely deserves the greatest attention. In too many cases, the assistant is given a book and told to work with a group of children, very often the slowest children, and that is virtually the last contact the assistant and the children have with the teacher for the rest

of the semester. I cannot over-emphasize the frustration and even fear that the assistant will experience upon discovering that suddenly she has assumed the awesome responsibility of teaching children without knowing what to do. Unfortunately, a more dangerous problem is that the children themselves will be neglected and will suffer all the evils of poor teaching.

In-service training may take many forms but, basically, the kind of training that the school can provide is generally the most relevant and, therefore, should be undertaken immediately. A typical week at P.S. 25 might include a workshop on Monday afternoon for all educational assistants. This session is conducted by a master teacher who coordinates and supervises the work of all the assistants. The topics may range from classroom organization, to discipline, to mathematics. One of the early workshops this particular year was on the use of a commercially developed reading program which we had purchased. In cooperation with the assistant principal, the coordinator had arranged for teachers to utilize this program in their classes. Once the assistants had received several sessions on how to use the materials, they began to work with small groups of children in their classes. During this time, the coordinator met with each one of the assistants individually and then, together, with the classroom teacher. In addition, the classroom teacher was making specific plans regarding which children to assign to the assistant and in helping the assistant plan for her instructional duties. Of course, the teacher and the assistant meet daily to assess the progress of the children and to assess the assistant's progress as well. It may seem as if a great deal of extra time and energy has to be expended just to serve a few children, but the fact is that for some of the children, time spent with the assistant may be the only time in the whole day that they receive any kind of special attention.

The general direction of the training program is one in which para-professionals are given basic background information, factual information related to specific subject areas, skills needed for their own development and other skills needed to teach their children. As the assistant comes more in contact with the coordinator, the assistant principal, the teachers, other assistants and other staff members, she gradually develops better skills and, of course, becomes more confident. It is certainly a wonderful feeling for a supervisor to observe an assistant undertaking interesting and productive work with children and to know that everyone is benefiting from it: the children, the assistant, and the teacher.

The training can continue on a more long term basis outside of the school. Several of our assistants participate in courses provided through special programs designed to offer career opportunities for assistants. The Career Ladder Program, the Career Opportunities Program, and the Career Training Program, although funded from different sources,

all have the goal of providing time and money for assistants to continue their education. In addition to the released time and the tuition-free courses, para-professionals have the incentive of being advanced through various stages of job categories based on additional training. It will soon be possible for an individual to start in a school as a school aide not working in a classroom and gradually occupy the following titles: teacher aide, educational assistant (H.S. diploma), educational assistant (2 years college), educational associate, teacher intern, bilingual professional associate. Hopefully, the ultimate goal would be to see some of our assistants become full fledged teachers. However, another possible expectation might be that, as community persons become school staff members and as they become more aware of the real problems and needs of children, they might be more instrumental in urging and actually getting greater community and parent participation in educational matters of real significance. Already we are beginning to see in New York City that a number of Community School Boards include persons who at one time were working as para-professionals in schools over which they now exercise considerable influence.

In other words, community people can become vital members of the total educational team at all levels. However, if we refer to a team, teachers and principals must understand that this means undertaking a task through a cooperative and dynamic effort. Unfortunately, there are still some who resist having another adult in the room, especially a "community person." There are fears of being spied upon or being exposed to unwarranted criticism. In reality, the para-professional coming to work in a classroom is probably just as afraid and nervous as to what the teacher's perception of her may be. And every para-professional I've seen was very eager to learn her job. Both the assistant and the teacher are in a perfect position to help each other cross the bridge into the other's world. If we can welcome the para-professional on board as an important member of a team doing a significant job, we might be on our way towards strengthening the relationship between schools and communities into real partnerships.

A Cloze Test of English Prepositions

John W. Oller, Jr. and Nevin Inal

The cloze technique is explored as a basis for measuring the skill of non-native speakers in handling English prepositions. Three groups of subjects are tested on an English cloze passage in which only prepositions have been deleted: the three groups consist of 19 native speakers of English (G-I), 53 native speakers of Turkish (G-II), and 110 foreign students entering UCLA from a wide variety of language backgrounds (G-III). An item analysis and a response frequency analysis are computed along with various test statistics for each group. The data suggest that a cloze test of prepositions works best with students from a variety of backgrounds (G-III) but is also useful for a group from a homogeneous language background (G-II). The response frequency analysis reveals that certain intralingual confusion occurs regardless of language background; other errors for G-II seem best explained by a contrastive analysis based on translation equivalents.

A cloze test is constructed by systematically or randomly deleting words from a passage of prose. Examinees are requested to restore the missing items by filling in the blanks. From the time the technique was first employed by W. L. Taylor (1953), it has been used in many ways in monolingual testing situations (Potter, 1968). Recently, it has been applied in various forms as a measure of second-language proficiency (for a review of the literature, see Oller and Conrad, 1971).

Although cloze tests which only delete certain grammatical categories have been constructed for use with native speakers, to our knowledge there has been no careful investigation of such tests with non-native speakers. In a study with native speakers, Taylor (1956) reported higher mean scores on tests which deleted only "function words," e.g., articles, conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositions, than on tests which deleted "content words," e.g., nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and other modifiers. Louthan (1965) found that, for native speakers of English, the deletion of function words detracts less from comprehensibility than the deletion of content words. Potter (1968) argued that the difference could be explained by positing different underlying skills for the use of function and content words. Other explanations are possible, but it has been shown that function words are more predictable than content words (Coleman and Blumenfeld, 1963, also Aborn, Rubenstein, and Sterling,

Mr. John W. Oller, Assistant Professor of English, University of California, Los Angeles, has published widely in such periodicals as *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, *Language Learning*, *English Language Teaching*, and *Modern Language Journal*. He is on leave 1971-72 as Director of the Communicative Arts Program for the South Western Cooperative Educational Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Mrs. Inal, Assistant Chairman, Humanities Department, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, completed her M.A. in TESL at UCLA. Her research was based on the material reported in this joint paper.

1959). For example, it is easier to supply the word *of* for the context "the faces_____the men were" than it is to supply men for the context "the faces of the_____were."

This paper reports an experimental investigation of the cloze methodology as a test of proficiency in English preposition usage for non-native speakers. The questions asked are: (1) Can a cloze test be constructed which is feasible, reliable, and valid by deleting only prepositions from a passage of prose? (2) Are the responses of students with the same native language different in distribution from the responses of students from a variety of language backgrounds? (3) Are responses for a group of students with the same native-language background predictable on the basis of contrastive analysis? (4) Will a cloze test of English prepositions yield useful diagnostic information concerning trouble spots for non-native speakers?

Experiment

Design and Materials. A cloze test was constructed by deleting every other preposition (including prepositions used as verb particles or adverbs) from a passage of prose taken from Croft (1960, 24-28). Altogether, 50 prepositions were deleted.

The *UCLA ESL Placement Examination Form 2B* was also used. This examination is in four sections. The first section is a 40-item multiple-choice Vocabulary Test in which subjects are to select the best of four possible synonyms for a given word. The second section is a Grammar Test in two parts: Part A (20 items) requires the student to select the best of four words, phrases, or clauses to fill in a blank where three of the possibilities are ungrammatical. Part B (20 items) has the student place words, phrases, or clauses in an acceptable order. The third section is a Reading Comprehension Test. It also is in two parts: in Part A (25 items) the student must select the best of four possible paraphrases for a given sentence; in Part B (15 items) he chooses from four alternatives the sentence which best states the central idea of a given paragraph. The fourth section is a Dictation (80 points).

Subjects. Three groups were tested on the cloze passage. Group I contained 19 native speakers of English enrolled in Freshman English at UCLA. There were 11 males and 9 females. Group II consisted of 53 native speakers of Turkish at the Middle East Technical University (where English is the medium of instruction). There were 39 males and 14 females; 22 were engineering majors, 10 in chemistry, 9 in physics, and 12 in mathematics. Group III was composed of 110 foreign students entering UCLA in the Winter Quarter of 1970-71. They represented 30 different language backgrounds and 36 different major fields of study. There were 70 males and 40 females; 39 were graduate students, 46 undergraduates, and 25 adult-school students. There were 13 speakers of Spanish; 12 of Japanese; 13 of Chinese, and the remaining 27 languages

were represented by less than 10 subjects each. (Only Group III took the *UCLA ESL Placement Examination, Form 2B*.)

Results

An earlier study by Oller (1971) investigated several methods for scoring cloze passages with non-native speakers. The data showed that a method which counts any contextually acceptable response as correct works best with non-native speakers, and is significantly superior to the exact-word scoring method. Hence, the scoring of the cloze passage for the present study was done on the acceptable word basis.¹

Table 1 gives, for all three groups, means, standard deviations, Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 measures of item and subject reliability, and average item discrimination scores expressed as mean *t* ratios.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, K-R (20) Reliability Coefficients, and Mean Item Discrimination Values Expressed as Average *t* Ratios Between the Top 50% and Bottom 50% for Groups I-III on a Cloze Test of English Prepositions

Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	Subject Reliability	Item Reliability	Mean Item Discrimination as a <i>t</i> ratio
Group I	48.7	2.34	.48	.80	0.40
Group II	32.8	6.83	.92	.82	1.61
Group III	36.7	8.24	.95	.89	3.38*

* $p < .001$

Native speakers (Group I) with little deviation answered approximately 48 of the 50 items correctly on the average. Most of the items which they missed were simply left blank rather than answered incorrectly. The Turkish speakers (Group II) did slightly less well than the foreign students entering UCLA (Group III). The test was reliable for both groups of non-native speakers at above .90 for subjects and above .80 for items.

Separate test item analyses were run for each group.² The test items hardly discriminated at all among native speakers as can be seen by the insignificant mean *t* ratio between the top and bottom 50% given in the last column of Table 1. In the instances, however, where items did discriminate, they did so in agreement with the scores on the total test. There were only two items where the discrimination between natives reached significance at the $p < .05$ level according to a one-tailed *t* test.

The cloze passage was considerably more difficult for Group II, the native speakers of Turkish. On the average they answered items cor-

¹ Previous research with *native* speakers has shown that it made little difference whether the scoring was done on an acceptable word or exact word basis (Potter, 1968).

² The computer program (Test Analysis Program, UCLA) for the item analysis was written by Michael Huberman to whom we are grateful for assistance.

rectly about 66% of the time. Of the 50 items on the test, however, only 24 significantly discriminated ($p < .05$) among the students in the top ranking 50%, and the bottom 50%.

Group III (see Table 1), which consisted of foreign students from 30 different language backgrounds, answered about 73% of the items correctly on the average. Since this is only a little better than the mean item score of 66% for Group II, we might conclude that their test performance was about the same.³ We would be correct as far as total scores are concerned, but grossly in error with respect to the distribution of responses to individual items on the test relative to the total scores. For Group III 48 items discriminated significantly ($p < .05$), while only 24 discriminated Group II. It is interesting that both of the items which failed to discriminate Group III did however discriminate Group II, whereas none of the items which failed in the case of Group II also failed to discriminate Group III.

As a further check on the relative distribution of responses for Groups I, II and III, Spearman's non-parametric correlations were computed for the rank order of items by difficulty for each group. The coefficient of correlation between the rank orders for Groups II and III was .61 significant at $p < .001$. This indicates that the same items tended to be easy for both groups or difficult for both groups in a significant number of cases. It is not surprising that neither the ranking of items by Group II or III correlated significantly with that for the native speakers of Group I. The ranking of items for all three groups along with the Spearman correlation coefficients are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Spearman's Non-Parametric Correlation Coefficients for the Rank Orderings
of Cloze Items by Difficulty for Groups I-III

Group	Group		
	I Natives	II Turkish Speakers	III Mixed Languages
I Natives	1.00	.23	.23
II Turkish Speakers		1.00	.61 *
III Mixed Languages			1.00

* $p < .001$

To check the validity of the cloze test against an external criterion, Pearson product-moment correlations (Dixon, 1970) were computed for the cloze scores and the various parts and total scores on the UCLA *ESLPE Form 2B* for Group III. The results of this analysis are given in Table 3. The last column to the right in that table gives the coefficients

³ Donald Bowen, personal communication, suggests that the superior performance of Group III might be accounted for in part by the fact that they had already had a short stay in an English-speaking country.

TABLE 3

Matrix of Product-Moment Correlations Between the Cloze Test of Prepositions and the Various Parts and Total Score on the *UCLA ESL Placement Examination Form 2B*, Group III (Mixed Languages).

ESL Placement Examination	UCLA ESL Placement Examination						Test Total	Cloze Test
	Vocab	Gram	R e a d	Dict (A)	Dict (B)			
Vocabulary		.54	.69	.63	.58	.81	.63	
Grammar			.52	.61	.63	.73	.68	
Reading				.63	.56	.80	.64	
Dictation (A)					.89	.89	.69	
Dictation (B)						.86	.64	
Test Total							.75	

for the cloze test correlated with the parts and total score on the *ESLPE*. The correlation of .75 with the total score on the *ESLPE* indicates that the cloze test contains about .56 of the variance in the entire *ESLPE*.

In order to determine the amount of independent association of cloze scores with the various parts of the *ESLPE*, third-order partial correlation coefficients were computed. The results are given in Table 4. It is apparent that the closest relation between the cloze score and any

TABLE 4

Partial Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the *UCLA ESLPE Form 2B* and a Cloze Test of Prepositions

Section on UCLA ESLPE (2B)	Partial Correlation Coefficients	Computed t values
I Vocabulary	-.03	-0.29
II Grammar	.20	2.02 *
III Reading	.02	0.22
IVA Dictation A	.16	1.63
IVB Dictation B	.10	1.03
Test Total	.13	1.31

* $p < .05$

section of the *ESLPE* is with Grammar (.20, $t = 2.02$, $p < .05$). There is a nearly significant partial correlation with each of the Dictations (.16 and .10, respectively), but there is no apparent connection at all with Vocabulary when covariance effects of Grammar, Reading and Dictation are controlled, nor with Reading when covariance effects of Vocabulary, Grammar, and Dictation are controlled.

A contrastive analysis was carried out for the Turkish speakers only. This analysis was done by the second author, who is a native speaker of Turkish, on the following basis. For each item, the Turkish form for expressing the relationship or meaning at issue was determined. Then the most direct and most common translation (s) of that form (those forms) into English was (were) used to attempt to predict the responses

of the Turkish speakers. On the average there was no significant difference between the accuracy of the CA predictions for Group II and for Group III. Since these predictions were intended only for Group II, this indicates that either they are spurious, or there are other factors entering in. (There were a few exceptions to this, however. See the Discussion section below.)

A response frequency analysis was carried out for each of the three groups on each item. All responses were key punched and counted by a computer program. On 20 of the 50 items, the frequencies of the various words used by the natives, Turkish speakers, and UCLA foreign students revealed no striking contrasts (with the exception that the native speakers always did better than non-natives). In at least 18 other cases, the non-natives differed from the native norm quite markedly, but not from each other. And in the 12 remaining cases, the response frequencies for the non-native groups differed substantially from each other. The response distributions and CA predictions for the latter items are given in Table 5.

Discussion

It is interesting that scores on the present cloze test correlated best with the Grammar section on the *UCLA ESLPE*, whereas in previous research the highest correlations have been observed between cloze scores and measures of listening and reading comprehension (respectively). The explanation for this is fairly straightforward. Previous cloze tests of ESL proficiency (cf. Darnell, 1968, Oller and Conrad, 1971, and Oller, 1971) have deleted every *n*th word regardless of grammatical category. In attempting to replace the deleted items, the subject had to utilize contextual constraints ranging from syntax to inferred extra-linguistic situations. On a cloze test where only prepositions are deleted a less demanding task is required of the subject. In the latter case sometimes only the constraints of familiar word orders seem relevant (as in "He sat_____on the couch."). Hence, in a cloze test which deletes only prepositions, we would naturally anticipate a higher correlation with a test of grammar than with other types of tests.

Concerning the feasibility, reliability, and validity of using the cloze methodology to test the competence of English-language learners in using prepositions, practically all of the evidence is affirmative. The test constructed for use in this experimental study discriminated among individuals in both groups of the non-native speakers tested but worked best in terms of discrimination with non-native speakers of English from a wide variety of language backgrounds.

The results with the native speakers tested are also encouraging. Assuming that all normal-literate-adult-native speakers have roughly comparable skill in the use of prepositions, the fact that the test did not discriminate among native speakers is as we should expect. This,

TABLE 5

Contrasting Response Distributions: Responses above 10% in Frequency for Groups I, II, III (Natives, Turks, and Mixed, Respectively) with the Contrastive Analysis Predictions for Group II

Item #	Abbreviated Context	I Native Responses and % of occurrence		II Turkish Responses and % of occurrence		III Mixed Responses and % of occurrence		Turkish Forms (suffix)	CA Predictions for the Turks Group II
2	THE SUN CAME UP SLOWLY____THE SKY	IN	95	IN TO FROM	41 32 11	IN ON TO	46 17 13	-e, -a	TO *,TOWARD
13	THEY SAT____ ON THE SEA	DOWN UP THERE	42 21 16	____ DOWN	76 21	DOWN ____	56 12	____	____ *
14	THEY SAT____ BUNCHES OF BROWN SEAWEED	ON WITH LIKE IN	32 21 10 10	____ WITH	30 17	ON ____ WITH IN	26 12 11 10	-de,-da -le,-la -e,-a	ON WITH * *
20	TO SIT____ON THE CAPTAIN'S HEAD	DOWN UP ____ THERE	37 26 21 10	DOWN ____	57 38	DOWN DOWN	60	____	*
23	SWORE____THE CREATURE	AT	100	TO AT	55 15	AT TO	41 26	-e, -a	TO *
25	WAVED THE GULL	AWAY OFF ON	68 15 10	____ AWAY	49 28	AWAY OFF	56 14	____	*
26	SAT____ON THE SEAT	DOWN ____ TOGETHER	26 16 16	DOWN ____ TOGETHER	57 24 15	DOWN TOGETHER	52 14	____	*
35	REMAINED____THE SAME PLACE	IN	95	AT IN	30 28	IN AT	44 37	-de,-da	AT *, IN *, ON *
38	TO LOOK____THE LIGHTHOUSE	AT	90	AT TO	66 30	AT TO	69 12	-e,-a	TO *,TOWARD AT *
39	KEEP HIS EYES ____THE WAVES	ON	95	ON TO	59 17	ON	73	-e,-a	TO *, AT, TOWARD
42	CAUGHT SIGHT____ A SMALL THING	OF	100	____ OF	36 30	OF	66	____	*
48	LIGHTHOUSE WAS ____AN UPRIGHT SHADOW IN THE SKY	LIKE ____ IN	74 10 10	____ LIKE	51 17	LIKE IN	34 18 11	gibi free morph.	LIKE *

* Predicted greater than 10% of the responses of the Turkish speakers

coupled with the fact that the mean item score for native speakers was .97 (in fact, over half of Group I got perfect scores), clearly suggests that this cloze test of prepositions is actually a test of English *language* proficiency rather than of some other language related skill on which native speakers might be expected to differ significantly.

The second question which we asked at the beginning was whether the responses of subjects from a homogeneous native language background would differ in distribution from the responses of a group with a heterogeneous native language background. In terms of the tendency for the students with high scores to answer a given item correctly and for the students with low scores to answer it incorrectly there was an amazingly wide divergence between the Turkish speakers (Group II), and the mixed language students (Group III). None of the items failed to discriminate both groups. However, 26 items failed to significantly discriminate Group III. This would seem to indicate that the influence of the homogeneous language background of Group II resulted in response tendencies which learning did not entirely overcome. This is to say, we assume that the students who scored in the top 50% for Group II in general know more English than the students in the bottom 50% of that group. This assumption is supported indirectly by the high correlation between cloze test scores and the *UCLA ESLPE* scores for Group III (see Table 3). In spite of this the students of Group II tended to answer 26 of the test items correctly or incorrectly somewhat independently of their total test scores, and we may assume they answered somewhat independently of their skill in English.

This leads us naturally to question 3 raised earlier concerning contrastive analysis. Perhaps the clear contrast between Groups II and III might be accounted for on the basis of a CA of Turkish and English. At least we might hope to be able to explain the 26 items which failed to discriminate Group II. By examining our response frequency analysis, we determined that in 48 out of 50 items the CA predications were correct for the Turkish group on 10% or more of their responses. However for 45 items these same predictions did as well or better for the mixed language group. In the case of the 26 items which failed to discriminate Turkish speakers, CA predictions were correct on the average about 41% of the time for the Turkish speakers, but the same predictions were correct for the mixed language group about 37% of the time. In fact, when we attempted only to predict on a binary basis by CA whether an error would occur or not, our predictions worked slightly better for Group III than they did for II. Clearly, either the type of CA used or its implementation here failed to explain the greatest part of the variance in the data.

At this juncture some might be willing to reject CA as a basis for predicting errors for the present study. In fact, some have long maintained that CA was not intended to predict errors at all—but only to

identify point of difficulty. Hence, they claim that its main application is to enable the language teacher to place proper emphasis on difficult aspects of the target language (Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin, 1965, and Clifford H. Prator, personal communication). We believe that this viewpoint is mistaken. Unless CA leads to statements about the relative frequency of errors that learners will make in using certain aspects of the target language, we can see no way in which it can provide a teacher with information about points of difficulty. If CA does not predict at least a significant percentage of the errors of learners from a known native language background, we are prepared to reject it altogether. A theory that does not explain at least some of the facts is in our judgement not a good theory. In fact, we believe that proponents of CA who argue that it has little predictive validity are for all practical purposes saying that it has little validity at all. The problem in this case is not one of CA, rather of the empirical timidity of the theoreticians who are applying it. To imply that CA is correct even if it does not predict errors is something like saying, "I have a good theory but I am not claiming that it is true." To have empirical validity, a theory must be empirically vulnerable. We contend that CA *is* in fact vulnerable to test and that it *does* have predictive validity.

While it is clear from the response frequency data of the present study that CA does not predict errors well on the whole, in spite of this, in certain instances, CA seems essential in order to explain discrepancies in the distributions of responses between Group II and III. In item 2, for example (see Table 5), CA predicts the word *to* for Group II since this is the best English equivalent for the Turkish suffix {-e, -a}. In fact .32 of the subjects in Group II conformed to this prediction while only .13 did in Group III. In item 13, because the Turkish form for *sit down* contains no formal marker, equivalent to the English particle *down*, it was predicted that Turkish subjects would leave it blank: .76 of them did so as compared with .12 for Group, III. The same prediction for item 14 held up .30 for II and .12 for III, and for item 20, it was correct .38 for II and less than .10 for III. In item 23 it was predicted that Turkish subjects would tend to use *to* instead of *at* for the verb particle of *swore*. This predication was correct .55 for II and .26 for III. For item 25, blank was predicted for II (on the same basis as in 13, 14, and 20) and held up .49 for Turkish speakers and less than .10 for the mixed group. The same result was predicted in item 26 for the same reason and was correct for II in .24 cases and in less than .10 for III. In item 35 the fact that on occurred in .21 cases for II and in less than .10 for III is partially accounted for by the prediction that Turkish subjects would have difficulty in distinguishing *in*, *on*, and *at* due to the fact that they are all acceptable translations in certain contexts of the Turkish dative suffix {-de, -da}. In item 38 CA predicted *to* correctly .30 for Group II where only .12 used it in Group III. In item 39 this same prediction held for .17 cases

for II and less than .10 for III. For item 42, CA predicted a blank due to the lack of a corresponding form in Turkish. This prediction was correct in .36 cases for II and less than .10 for III.

In order to more fully establish the validity of these predictions, the experiment should be replicated with a different group of Turkish speakers and with other homogeneous language groups as well. If the results recur for the Turkish speakers and are substantially similar in implication for other homogeneous groups, we would then be able to conclude with considerable confidence that CA predicts errors correctly in a significant percentage of cases. On the basis of the data of the present study alone, however, we can advance this conclusion with moderate confidence.

In addition to the response frequencies where Groups II and III differed substantially, there were several types of errors which both Groups II and III committed (and sometimes Group I, also). These included (a) the completion of high frequency sequences based on false expectancies, (b) apparent closure without filling the blank, (c) misinterpretation of some element in the verbal context, (d) intralingual confusions, (e) lack of familiarity with idiomatic usages.

There were several cases of errors that fit category (a) where high frequency idiomatic sequences were completed and inserted when they were inappropriate. Even two of the native speakers did this when they wrote "fill it *up* water" instead of "fill it *with* water." Presumably in going through the test rapidly, when they saw "fill it _____water," they expected "fill it _____with water" and, hence, the mistake. This kind of creative reading error is not at all uncommon (Goodman, 1969). The same type of error also occurred in .15 to .55 responses for both groups of non-natives on at least four items.

Several other cases conformed to category (b). In five items, the phrases made good sense even if nothing were placed in the blanks. On these items, subjects from all three groups sometimes apparently made closure without inserting anything in the blank, e.g., "the lighthouse was _____an upright shadow," .10 natives left a blank, .51 Turkish speakers, and .11 UCLA foreign students.

For error category (c), in at least two items an element in the immediate context was apparently misunderstood by a significant percentage of the subjects, e.g., "the captain— —the bow laughed," yielded blanks for .10 natives, and was filled in as "the captain with the bow" (and arrow?) by .19 of Group II and .11 of III.

There are many cases of intralingual errors, category (d) (under-differentiation of many subtle contrasts in English), e.g., confusion of *to* and *toward*.

In category (e) both groups of non-natives indicated a lack of familiarity with basic idioms of English on two items. For example, "*in* (or *at*) the same place" was replaced with "*on* the same place."

In view of all the foregoing, it is safe to conclude in response to ques-

tion 4 raised earlier that a cloze test of preposition usage does provide useful diagnostic information regarding difficulties for students from mixed language backgrounds as well as for speakers from the same native language background.

Summary

The cloze methodology used in the experiment reported here seems to be a highly useful technique for testing skills in the use of English prepositions. The significant correlations with the *UCLA ESLPE Form 2B* for Group III support substantial confidence in the validity of the cloze procedure as a measure of ESL proficiency, especially grammatical competence. A significant contrast is revealed between a group of native speakers of Turkish and a group of UCLA foreign students (from a variety of native language backgrounds) by a traditional test item analysis computing item discrimination indices. A significant percentage but by no means all or even most of the responses of the native speakers of Turkish are predicted by a CA. A still larger percentage of responses for both groups of non-natives conformed to the native speaker norms. Of the responses which did not conform, several error types occurred in fairly high frequency for both groups of non-natives. Although the cloze technique employed here does not provide us with the solution to specific learning problems, it does indicate clearly what some of the common difficulties are.⁴

REFERENCES

- Aborn, M., H. Rubenstein, and T. D. Sterling. "Sources of Contextual Constraint Upon Words in Sentences," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 57 (1959), 171-80.
- Coleman, E. B., and T. P. Blumenfeld. "Cloze Scores of Nominalizations and Their Grammatical Transformations Using Active Verbs," *Psychological Reports*, 13 (1963), 651-4.
- Croft, K. *Reading and Word Study for Students of English as a Second Language*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1960.
- Darnell, D. K. *The Development of an English Language Proficiency Test of Foreign Students Using a Clozentropy Procedure*. 1968. ERIC ED 024-039.
- Dixon, W. J. *Biomedical Computer Programs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Goodman, K. "Psycholinguistic Universals in the Reading Process." Paper presented at the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Cambridge, England; September, 1969.
- Louthan, V. "Some Systematic Grammatical Deletions and Their Effects on Reading Comprehension," *English Journal*, 54 (1965), 295.
- Oller, J. W., Jr. "Level of Difficulty and Scoring Methods for Cloze Tests of ESL Proficiency," *Modern Language Journal*, in press (1971).
- , and Christine A. Conrad. "Cloze Technique and ESL Proficiency," to appear in *Language Learning*, 21:1 (December, 1971).
- Potter, T. C. *A Taxonomy of Cloze Research, Part I: Readability and Reading Comprehension*. Professional paper, Southwestern Regional Laboratory for Educational

⁴ We wish to thank Clifford Prator and J. Donald Bowen for their constructive critical comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. Needless to say, the opinions expressed here and any errors are ours alone.

- Research and Development, Inglewood, California, 1968.
- Stockwell, R., J. D. Bowen, and J. Martin. *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Taylor, W. "Cloze Procedure: A New Tool for Measuring Readability," *Journalism Quarterly*, 30 (1953), 414-38.
- "Present Developments in the Use of the Cloze Procedure," *Journalism Quarterly*, 33 (1956), 4248.
-

Norming Tests of ESL Among Amerindian Children*

Eugène J. Brière and Richard H. Brown

This paper describes the considerations involved and results obtained in establishing norms for English proficiency tests developed for the intermediate grades in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. A brief description of item types in the three sections of the test and the objectives of the test battery are given. The steps taken to account for situational, test, and individual factors; the workshops held for test administrators; the production of a detailed administrative manual; and the establishment of statistical confidence intervals are discussed. Reliability, error of measurement, and intercorrelation data for the three sections of the battery are given. The population on which norms were based is described as to number of subjects involved, native language, grades, school accessibility, and school size.

Beginning in the summer of 1968, the English Language Testing Project¹ started as a research and development program to provide a test of proficiency in English for the Amerindian children attending grades three through six in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools throughout the United States.² The initial phases of the project have been reported previously in Brière (1969 a and b) and in ERIC, May 1970, ED 034 971.

The academic year of 1970-1971 represents the final year for this project. The purpose of this paper is to describe the activities which have taken place to develop norms on which interpretation of test results can be based. To begin with, however, we would like to describe the test battery very briefly. Three basic types of testing instruments were developed: (1) a written test; (2) a listening comprehension test; and (3) an oral production test.

There are two parallel forms of the written test, each of which contains sixty-two multiple choice items. One type consists of a question stem which can be answered with one of the choices: e.g., "What does Tommy read in class?" "(a) Yes, he does; (b) Likes books; (c) *School books*."

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the TESOL Convention, March 1971.

Mr. Brière, Associate Professor of Linguistics, University of Southern California, has published articles in *Language*, *IJAL*, *Language Learning*, *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, and previously in *TESOL Quarterly*.

Mr. Richard H. Brown, Associate Director of the English Language Testing Project, is completing work on his doctorate at UCLA, specializing in psycholinguistics, language acquisition, and Amerindian languages.

¹ We are grateful for many helpful suggestions made by John Upshur, Chief Testing Officer for the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan and chief consultant to this project. However, we alone are responsible for any errors or omissions.

² This project was funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under contract numbers K51C1420092, K51C14200312 and K51C14200382.

The second type consists of an incomplete stem which can be completed with one of the choices: e.g., "The _____ in this room is awful." "(a) heat; (b) hot; (c) hotly."

The listening comprehension test consists of aural stimuli, recorded on tape, and three types of multiple choice responses: (a) choosing from three pictures the one which has been described on the tape; (b) identifying factual information which was actually given in a recorded conversation; and (c) using information contained in a recorded conversation in order to infer the correct choice.

The third part of the test battery consists of an oral production test. In this test the student is shown several sets of pictures—each set containing four pictures. Each picture in each of the sets varies slightly from the others along some criterial attribute. The student is then shown a test picture which is identical to one of the four in the set. Two responses are required of the student. First he must point to the picture in the set which matches the test picture. Then he must tell the examiner how that particular picture differs from the others in the set.

In order to aid the classroom teacher in evaluating the children's oral responses and to standardize evaluation throughout all of the schools, a correction matrix was designed. On the far left hand side of the matrix is a series of grammatical categories. Each category represents a structure elicited by one of the sets of pictures. Seven require simple sentences and seven require complex sentences in order to describe the picture correctly: e.g., a simple response to one item is "The boys are washing their faces." A response using a complex sentence as in the second half of the oral production test is "The girl is watching the children read their books." Along the rows opposite each category is a number from one to four which the teacher crosses out if the response is wrong or leaves alone if the answer is right. For each subject tested, the teacher simply adds the column of numbers which have not been crossed out beneath the child's name.

The reason that the different grammatical categories are assigned numbers ranging from one to four is that, through previous administrations and statistical analyses of the pre-tests, it was found that certain categories are more predictive of success or failure on the total tests. The most predictive items are scored four points and so on down to the least predictive items which are scored one point only. All the teacher has to do is listen for one specific grammatical aspect, e.g., plural pronoun agreement in item four, and allow or disallow the number of points for *that category only*. In other words, even if part of the child's response is grammaticality incorrect, he still receives total credit if the part of the response being evaluated for that particular item is correct. For example, for item number five, where the category being evaluated is pronoun gender agreement, the response "The girl are pointing to her mouth" would receive full credit even though there is an error in num-

ber agreement. (So far, one of the most difficult problems we've had is to get teachers to allow full credit for what seems to be a partially incorrect response.)

The objectives of the test battery are threefold. The first is to identify the Amerindian child who needs special training in English versus the child who does not and to determine the *placement* of the former *in the proper level* of intensity of training in English. The second purpose is to provide the classroom teacher with specific linguistic information for each child in each language group which could be used as a *diagnostic guide* for teaching methods or materials. Potentially, a third objective is to provide a means of *assessing the relative merit* of various English programs. "These objectives require that certain decisions be made which can be classified as *placement*, *diagnostic*, and *evaluative* decisions.

The proper use of any test is to aid in decision making. The decisions made are based on comparisons; e.g., one can compare an individual to another individual, an individual to a group, or a group to another group in terms of their test scores. But in order for these comparisons to be useful in decision making, you have to know certain things about the nature of the comparisons, *viz.*, *their stability* and the *characteristics of the groups* they are based on. The determination of group characteristics and statistical indices of stability constitute "*norming procedures*."

Before any statistical indices of the stability of comparison can be determined, the various factors which can affect comparison stability must be considered. These can be categorized as *situational factors*, *test factors* and *individual factors*.

Situational factors can involve such things as the manner in which a teacher reads the instructions to the class: e.g., relaxed or threatening approach, the characteristics of the room in which the test is administered—lighting, acoustics, etc.—or the introduction of outside interference such as the presence of operating jack-hammers just outside the room. *Test factors* involve, for example, such things as type of item, content of each item, and length of the total test.

The *individual factors* may be separated again into two classes, *transient* and *stable*. Transient factors are those which can change from administration to administration such as the physical and psychological state of a child at the time a test is taken. We assume that stable factors are relatively constant through time in that the rate of change, if any occurs, is extremely slow, and include such things as mechanical skill, I. Q., or, in our particular case, ability to use English. What we really want to measure with any test are these stable individual factors; and if we could measure these factors directly, comparisons based on such measurements wouldn't vary much. In fact, any given test score cannot be assumed to be a direct measure of a stable trait because situational factors, test factors, and transient individual factors affect the test scores; therefore, these factors must be taken into account. Those factors over

which we have control must be held constant, and allowances must be made for those we can't control.

Two major steps were taken in the attempt to hold some of the controllable factors constant. A detailed administrative manual was written, and workshops in test administration and scoring were held before the norming phase of the project took place. The directions in the administrative manual consist of three types. The first type provides detailed recommendations covering the procedures which the examiners are to follow in giving the tests. The second type provides simple, step-by-step directions for the written and oral production tests which the examiner is to read to the students. The third, and possibly the most important type, provides detailed directions to the examiner to insure that he will demonstrate and check the responses to each step of the directions read to the student. In other words, the examiner not only reads the directions and sample items to the student but also performs the specific tasks along with the students and then checks the responses made by each person in the class before the actual test items are presented. The emphasis on the demonstration of each task expected of the student not only insures the examiner that the student understands and practices the various tasks required on each part of the test battery but also avoids the possibility that the content and grammatical structure of the directions to the student may, in fact, be far more complex than many of the items on the tests. The last part of the administrative manual contains a number of correct and incorrect responses to the items on the oral production test. The sample responses in the administrative manual were taken from tapes of the responses most frequently made by children in our sample population during the two year pre-testing period of the project. The samples of right and wrong responses given in the manual represent an additional attempt to insure consistent evaluation of the students' oral responses no matter who the examiner is or what group is being tested. The instructions for the listening comprehension tests are tape recorded. Time is allowed between each instruction requiring a response from the student to permit the examiner to demonstrate the desired response. The tape recorded instructions increase the probability of achieving equivalence from situation to situation.

Workshops in test administration and scoring were held in Fairbanks, Alaska and in Flagstaff, Arizona. Through the cooperation of Bureau of Indian Affairs officials at the agency level and in Washington, D. C., the participants sent to the workshops consisted of administrators, curriculum specialists, and classroom teachers. The two workshops lasted three days each and covered the agencies responsible for the teaching of Eskimos, Hopis, and Navajos. A third workshop was held at Choctaw Central and Connehatta. During the workshops, the participants were given administrative manuals, two forms of the written test, a tape of the listening comprehension test, the oral production test, answer sheets for the written and listening comprehension tests, and oral production correc-

tion matrices. After detailed instructions by the staff from the project, the workshop participants were paired so that one person played the role of an examiner and the other played the role of a student. The roles were exchanged, thereby enabling each participant the opportunity to administer and score the entire battery in order to become completely familiar with all phases of the testing procedure.

The administrative manual and the workshops were designed to hold constant the controllable variables which affect test scores. The attempt to make all test situations exactly the same can only be partially successful. Further, some aspects can't be controlled. Therefore, some measure must be obtained which will allow quantification of the extent to which the uncontrolled variables affect test scores causing them to depart from direct measurement of the pertinent stable individual factor.

The importance of stability of comparison is the degree to which it affects the relative standings of individuals. This in turn is determined by two other considerations, consistency of score achievement by individuals and the variability or spread of achieved scores. Knowledge of the combined operation of consistency in score achievement and variability of scores allows an estimate of the difference that inconsistency in score achievement makes in an individual's standing with respect to any particular reference group. Since much is known about the probability of various departures from the average in terms of standard deviation, that is the statistic used to describe variability of assigned scores. A useful statistic for describing consistency of score assignment is the correlation coefficient. It may be based on internal or external consistency. Internal consistency is the degree to which any sub-parts of the test, down to individual items, correlate with each other. Internal consistency measures provide an estimate of what the corresponding external consistency would be. Since these estimates are strongly affected by any series of unanswered items, the estimates must be used with caution. Generally, the actual external consistency is below the internal consistency estimate. (Gulliksen, 1967)

External consistency can be measured in two ways, either by giving the same test again, (test-retest) or by giving parallel forms of the test. The "practice effect" causes trouble with the test-retest method, so that the best method is to give parallel forms. For our written tests we have both internal consistency estimates of reliability and parallel forms reliability.

The standard deviations of the various tests are based on 5,143 children of the entire sample of 7,547 tested in the fall of 1970. (All children in the third grade were omitted in the computation of the test statistics.) The reliability estimates are based on sub-samples of this total. The internal consistency data for Form A of the written test is based on 291 children, and for Form B on 281. The parallel forms reliability of A and B are based on 502 individuals, 251 of whom had Form A first and 251 of whom had Form B first. Because of the large size of the sample, all the

data were coded onto IBM steets and the calculations were done by computer at the University of Southern California. The mean and standard deviation for the written test for grades four, five, and six were 35.6 and 14.2, respectively. The reliability estimates for Form A were KR-20 .95 and Form B KR-20 .96. The parallel forms reliability is .89 from Form A to Form B and .90 from Form B to Form A. As might be expected, there was a noticeable practice effect from A to B and from B to A. Thus the mean score for Form A is 34.4 when given first, and 36.3 when given after Form B. Similarly the mean score for Form B is 33.5 when given first, and 36.1 when given after Form A.

The statistic combining the measure of variability of scores and the measure of consistency in score achievement is the standard error of measurement. It reflects the relative error introduced by using obtained scores to make comparisons instead of using direct measures of the trait, or "true" scores. For our written tests, using the parallel forms reliability, the SE_m is 4.6 raw score units. This means that 68 percent of the time, or two times out of three, a student's "true" score will fall in a range that is 4.6 points above or below his obtained score.

In addition to knowing the stability of comparison, as reflected by the standard error of measurement, for comparisons based on any particular test in the battery, it is useful to know the degree to which scores on the various different kinds of tests in the battery covary. A measure of the extent to which any individual's score on one part of the test can be used to predict his score on another part is an indication of the degree to which the different parts of the test battery actually assess different aspects of ability to use English. Using the correlation coefficient, the degree of correspondence of scores between different parts of the test are written and listening .51, written and oral production .50, listening and oral production .43. The magnitudes of these inter-correlations indicate that only about 10 to 15 percent of the variation of the scores on one part can be accounted for by knowing scores on any other part. Thus it can be concluded that the different parts of the test are in fact assessing different aspects of ability to use English.

As noted above, for comparisons to be useful, not only must there be information about the stability of comparison, there must also be information about the characteristics of the groups the comparisons are based on. Properly speaking, the statistics noted above are valid only for groups similar to the groups they were developed from.

The norming group consisted of 7,547 children. This group is comprised of every Amerindian child in grades three, four, five, and six in the schools selected for the norming procedures. In addition, in order to control the time variable, the children were tested on, or immediately following, the twentieth day of instruction. (In determining precisely what the twentieth day of instruction was in each of the schools, holidays were not counted.) There were 1,070 Eskimos from 23 schools in Alaska, 5,898 Navajos from 26 schools in the Southwest, 314 Hopis from

3 schools in Arizona and 265 Choctaws from 2 schools in Mississippi. Excluding the sample of 502 who provided data on the correlation of Forms A and B, there were 1,802 third graders, 1,894 fourth graders, 1,648 fifth graders and 1,633 sixth graders. The correlation of grade with age is about .80, indication that the primary criterion in grading is age.

Of the 54 schools, 15 had enrollments of over 600, 12 from 300 to 599, 8 from 150 to 299, 7 from 75 to 149, and 12 of less than 75. Nine schools were rated as having easy access, 18 were rated as having difficult access, and 27 as extremely difficult access or quite remote. We included the factors of accessibility as one of the variables affecting language behavior of the children on the basis of Spolsky's 1970 study.

Sometime later in 1971 we expect to have testing instruments, an administrative manual, an interpretive manual and norms established for all children in the intermediate grades in BIA schools. The question of the practicality of using these tests for native speakers of other languages, say Spanish, and establishing norms for these other groups is an inviting path to follow in future research.

REFERENCES

- Brière, Eugène. (a) "ESL Testing on the Navajo Reservation." *TESOL Quarterly*, III, 4 (March 1969), 333-340.
- (b) "Testing ESL Skills Among American Indian Children." Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Number 22 (1969), 133-142.
- Gulliksen, Harold. *Theory of Mental Tests*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.
- Spolsky, Bernard. "Navajo Language Maintenance: Six-Year-Olds in 1969." Progress Report No. 5, March, 1970.

Word Association Data and the Assessment of Bilingual Education Programs*

Clemencia S. Capco and G. Richard Tucker

A variation of the standard word association technique was used to investigate the relative language skills of a group of first grade children schooled bilingually and compared with their monolingually instructed counterparts. The results suggested that both language of instruction and language of testing affected the percentage of different responses, blanks, and "other-language" responses. The Ss generally performed better in their native language than in their second language. This technique may be a useful short-cut evaluative tool for researchers or teachers affiliated with bilingual education programs.

Educators in diverse countries, including Canada and the United States, are often faced with the task of teaching their pupils via a weaker or second language. In such situations it seems natural to consider the adoption of some form of bilingual instruction; and, in fact, both Canada and the United States have recently allocated Federal funds in an attempt to stimulate the development of model bilingual education and second language teaching programs. A very interesting and comprehensive review of bilingual schooling in North America has recently been completed by Andersson and Boyer (1970).

The adherents of bilingual education believe that there may be certain cognitive and attitudinal advantages to the early introduction and maintenance of bilingual education programs. The programs have as their goal the development of bilingual-bicultural individuals who are able to interact successfully at various levels of North American society. Given this goal, an evaluation of the successes, failures, or limitations of these early programs assumes paramount importance. We realize how difficult it is to reliably assess the relative language skills

* This project was conducted while Tucker was a Project Consultant with the Ford Foundation at the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College in Manila. The preparation of this manuscript was supported, in part, by grants to W. E. Lambert and G. R. Tucker from the Canada Council and the Defense Research Board of Canada. We are grateful to R. C. Gardner for advice during all phases of this research.

A more complete version of this report, including appendices, was prepared by Capco as "A study of the verbal behavior of bilingual children using a word association technique," M.A. Thesis, Child Study Center, Philippine Normal College, Manila, Philippines, 1969.

Miss Capco is affiliated with the Child Study Center, Philippine Normal College in Manila.

Mr. Tucker is Assistant Professor of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal. His published research includes studies in language acquisition and usage, and studies of judges' attitudes toward speakers of various languages or dialects.

of the many young children enrolled in bilingual programs. Nevertheless, some first-level approximation of the child's linguistic dominance, balance, or growth during the year is desirable.

We suggest that a variation of the standard word association technique may be used for this purpose. We do not suggest that this technique replace attempts to assess the bilingual child's language skills using standardized tests of oral production or listening comprehension. We certainly hope that the use of this technique will not discourage researchers from continuing to develop these very necessary tools. However, we do believe that the use of a bilingual form of the word association test may represent an easily administered first level screening device for the classroom teacher or program evaluator who might otherwise have no information whatsoever concerning her pupils' relative language proficiency.

The research to be described below was conducted within the framework of an "alternate days" bilingual education project conducted at the Laboratory School of the Philippine Normal College in Manila. This program was designed to compare the effects of bilingual English and Filipino instruction with monolingual English or Filipino instruction on the linguistic and intellectual development, content-subject mastery, and attitudinal development of primary school children. The results of the first year's pilot program have been described by Tucker, Otones, and Sibayan (1970).

METHOD

The method involved an adaptation of the bilingual word association technique described by Lambert and Moore (1966) which was used, in slightly different fashion, by Lambert and Macnamara (1969) as one index to evaluate the effects of a French immersion-type program for English-speaking children.

Subjects

The subjects (Ss) were 131 grade 1 pupils with an average age of 7 years, 4 months, attending the Philippine Normal College Laboratory School. Ninety percent of the Ss regularly used Tagalog at home. These 131 pupils comprised the four grade 1 classes participating in the bilingual experiment described previously. Group I, consisting of 34 pupils, followed a bilingual program of instruction (i.e., two languages, Pilipino and English were used alternately as media of instruction.

Group II, composed of 32 pupils, was instructed following a standard first grade program in Pilipino, that is, all subjects were taught in Pilipino with English as a separate subject.

Group III, composed of 35 pupils, was instructed using a standard first grade program in English (all subjects were taught in English with Pilipino as a separate subject). Thirty pupils comprised Group IV. They

followed a bilingual program of instruction similar to that of Group I. These pupils had not attended kindergarten. All pupils in Groups I, II, and III had attended kindergarten.

Materials and Procedures

The materials consisted of the first fifty words from the Kent-Rosanoff stimulus list in English, and the corresponding Tagalog translations. An individual oral interview method was used to collect the data.

Standard Tagalog instructions, similar to those used by Palermo and Jenkins (1964) and Entwisle, Forsyth, and Muus (1964), were given to all Ss. The order of testing was counterbalanced within groups with respect to language. A two-week interval separated test sessions for each S.

Tabulation of Responses

For each group of Ss, the response words were classified according to several criteria. First, for each stimulus word in English and in Tagalog, the number of different responses were tabulated. Various forms of the same word were counted separately (e.g., sit, sitting, sat). The number of different responses per stimulus item is one measure of response diversity or stereotype. Next, the number of blank responses (i. e., the number of Ss who gave no associate to a particular stimulus) was counted. Third, the number of "other-language" responses was tabulated. This measure represents the number of Ss who respond to a particular stimulus in language A with a response from language B (e.g., the Tagalog response *mababaw* to the English stimulus *deep*). In addition, each of the 50 English and Tagalog primary responses were classified as paradigmatic or syntagmatic. The primary is the response given by the greatest number of Ss. We followed Entwisle's (1966) guidelines and classified a response as syntagmatic when it usually follows the stimulus word in a sentence (e.g., *table - spoon*) or when it came from a different grammatical class than the stimulus (e.g., *foot - walk*). We classified responses which occur in the same form class as the stimulus (e.g., *whistle - policeman*) or those which do not typically follow the stimulus in a sequence as paradigmatic.

Finally, an "overlap" score was tabulated to represent the number of equivalent primary responses given by the Ss in each group to the stimuli in the two languages. Overlap occurred, for example, if the primary response to the English stimulus *table* was the word *chair*, and to the Tagalog word *mesa* was the word *silya*. An English primary such as *chair* and a Tagalog primary such as *pagkain* (food) would not represent overlap.

Method of Data Analysis

Three separate two-way analyses of variance, with repeated measures on both factors, were used to determine whether the type of in-

struction (bilingual with kindergarten, English, Pilipino, or bilingual without kindergarten) or the language of testing (English or Tagalog) affected the average percentage of different responses, blank responses, or other-language responses per stimulus. Ferguson (1966) and Winer (1962) provide models for this type of analysis. The data concerning the classification of responses as syntagmatic or paradigmatic were not evaluated statistically.

RESULTS

Different Responses

The main effect for type of instruction was statistically significant ($F = 7.94$, $df = 3/196$, $p < .01$). The bilingual class, without kindergarten training, gave the highest percentage of different responses with an average of 63.96. The bilingual class with kindergarten was second with an average of 58.32. The Pilipino class was third with an average of 58.13 and the English class gave the lowest percentage with an average of 56.52.

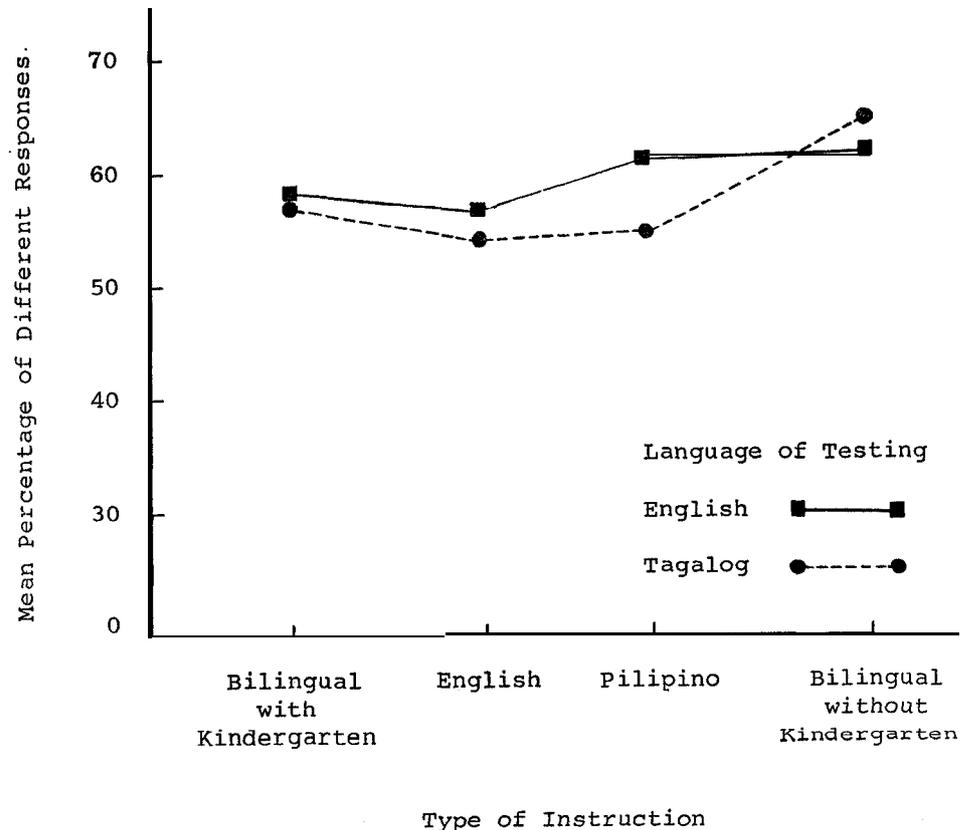


FIGURE 1. Relationship between Type of Instruction and Language of Testing for the Percentage of Different Responses.

Language of testing did not significantly affect the percentage of different responses; however, type of instruction did interact significantly with language of testing ($F = 4.49$, $df = 3/196$, $p < .01$). The interaction is summarized in Figure 1. The bilingual-without-kindergarten group gave the highest percentage of different responses in both English (62.00), and Tagalog (65.94). The bilingual-with-kindergarten group gave an average of 58.67 percent different responses in English and 58.01 percent in Tagalog. The Pilipino group gave a higher percentage in English 61.07, than in Pilipino 55.18, while the mean percentage of different responses in either language was lowest for the English class, 58.12 in English and 54.92 in Tagalog.

Blank Responses

The analysis of the blank responses revealed no significant main effect for type of instruction. Language of testing, on the other hand,

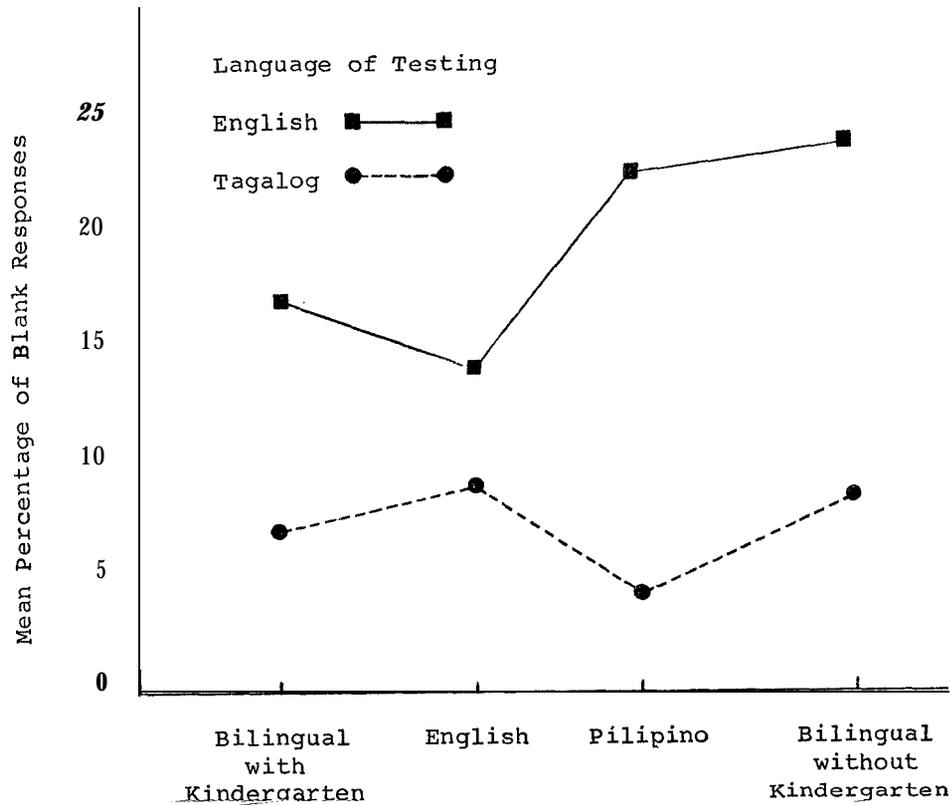


FIGURE 2. Relationship between Type of Instruction and Language of Testing for the Percentage of Blank Responses.

yielded a significant main effect ($F = 143.04$, $df = 1/196$, $p < .01$). The mean percentage of blank responses was 19.36 in English and 7.34 in Tagalog.

Furthermore, the interaction between type of instruction and language of testing (Figure 2) was significant ($F = 9.39$, $df = 3/196$, $p < .01$), which indicated that language of instruction did differentially affect the average percentage of blanks given on the two tests. The English class had the highest percentage of blanks in Tagalog (9.28) but the lowest in English (14.12). Conversely, the Filipino class had the lowest percentage of blanks in Tagalog (4.55) and next to the highest on the English test (23.38). The bilingual-with-kindergarten group gave 16.93 percent blanks in English and 7.41 percent in Tagalog, while the bilingual-without-kindergarten group gave the highest percentage of blanks in English (24.%) and next to the highest in Tagalog (8.13%).

Other Language Responses

The analysis of variance for other-language responses demonstrated a significant main effect for type of instruction ($F = 26.59$, $df = 3/196$, $p < .01$). The bilingual-without-kindergarten class had the highest overall average of other-language responses (4.97). The bilingual with-kindergarten class ranked next with an average percentage of 3.02. The Filipino group was third with an average percentage of 2.11 and the mean percentage was lowest for the English class with 1.42.

Language of testing also had a significant effect ($F = 224.49$, $df = 1/196$, $p < 0.1$) with Ss giving an average percentage of 4.87 other-language responses in English, and only 0.87 in Tagalog.

The significant interaction ($F = 16.23$, $df = 3/196$, $p < .01$) shown in Figure 3 indicates that the bilingual-without-kindergarten class gave the highest average percentage of other-language responses in both languages (8.21 in English, and 1.73 in Tagalog). The bilingual-with-kindergarten class gave a mean percentage of 5.28 in English, and 0.76 in Tagalog. The Filipino group was third in English with a mean of 3.92 and the lowest in Tagalog, 0.31, while the English class again gave the lowest proportion of other-language responses in English with an average of 2.08, and next to the lowest in Tagalog, 0.75.

DISCUSSION

What are the implications of these results for evaluators of bilingual education programs? The various analyses revealed that the profile of responses for the bilingual-with-kindergarten class was essentially similar to that of the English control class when responding in English and to the Filipino control class when responding in Tagalog. However, the bilingually instructed pupils gave more other-language responses and more blank responses to the English stimuli than to the Tagalog stimuli. Furthermore, the pupils generally responded more

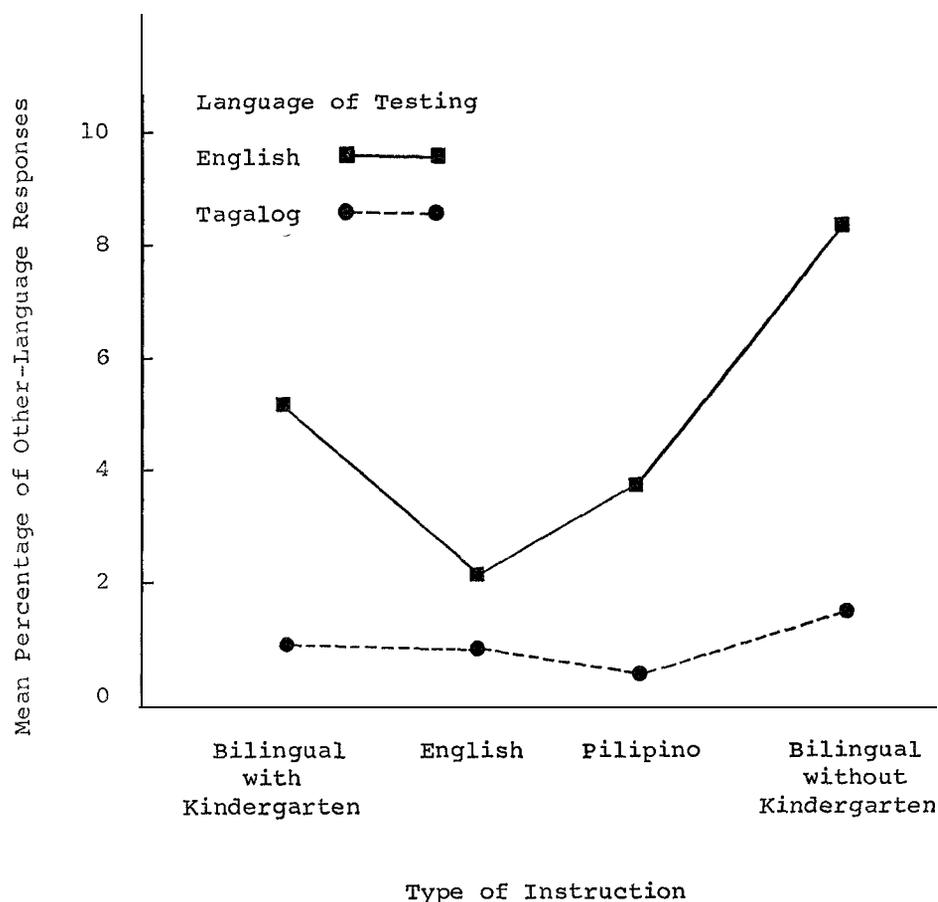


FIGURE 3. Relationship between Type of Instruction and Language of Testing for the Percentage of Other-Language Responses.

paradigmatically to the Tagalog stimuli (57%) than to the English stimuli (44%). Entwisle (1966) has linked an increase in paradigmatic responding to a general increase in linguistic maturity and we believe that her observations may also be valid in a bilingual situation. Notice that when we interpret these data, we are not interested in the number of blank responses, etc., to English stimuli *per se* but rather in the difference between the number of blank responses to native language stimuli and to target language stimuli. As the pupils begin to develop balance in their respective language skills, these discrepancies should be minimized.

Finally, we were interested by the finding that the between-language overlap was higher for the bilingual-with-kindergarten group (33%) and the English control group (32%) than for the other two groups (bilingual-without-kindergarten = 22%; Pilipino = 10%). This finding seems to indicate that these children are developing into linguistic mediators (see Tucker

and Gedalof, 1970) who should someday be able to pass information rapidly and reliably between the members of their two ethnolinguistic contact group.

Although we have conducted this research in the Philippines, we believe that this technique may be relevant in North American settings for researchers affiliated with bilingual education programs. We urge researchers not to consider indirect measures such as these as panaceas for our language testing ills; but we feel that they may prove to be useful short-term screening devices.

REFERENCES

- Andersson, T., and Mildred Boyer. *Bilingual Schooling in the United States*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.
- Entwisle, Doris R. Form class and children's word associations. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 5 (1966), 558-565.
- Entwisle, Doris R., D. F. Forsythe, and R. Muus. The syntactic-paradigmatic shift in children's word associations. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 3 (1964), 19-29.
- Ferguson, G. A. *Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education* (2nd Ed). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.
- Lambert, W. E., and J. Macnamara. Some intellectual consequences of following the first grade curriculum in a foreign language. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 60 (1969), 86-96.
- Lambert, W. E., and Nancy Moore. Word-association responses: Comparisons of American and French monolingual with Canadian monolinguals and bilinguals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3 (1966), 313-320.
- Palermo, D. S., and J.J. Jenkins. *Word association norms: grade school through college*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1964.
- Tucker, G. R., and Helen Gedalof. Bilinguals as linguistic mediators. *Psychonomic Science*, in press, 1970.
- Tucker, G. R., Fe T. Otones, and B. P. Sibayan. An alternate day's approach to bilingual education. *Georgetown Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics*. In press, 1970.
- Winer, B. J. *Statistical Principles in Experimental Design*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Review

THE LADO ENGLISH SERIES. Robert Lado (Simon and Schuster, 1970, 6 texts, workbooks, tapes, posters).

"Learning English Can Be a Rich, Exciting Experience," announces the introductory pamphlet accompanying the new *Lado English Series* by Robert Lado. Published by Simon and Schuster, Educational Division, the completed program will include "six carefully graded text books with lively, functional drawings," covering "the full range of English language skills from beginning to advanced levels." In addition, workbooks, recorded tapes, and eighteen-by-twenty-four-inch color posters supplement the texts, paralleling the unit format of the lessons. Suggestions for classroom presentation and explanation of the primary grammatical points of each lesson are outlined in two Teacher's Manuals, one covering Books 1-3, the other Books 4-6. All in all, claim the producers, "the most comprehensive series of language learning materials" is now available.

To date, only Books 1-3 and their supplementary materials have been published. Still, there is sufficient uniformity to enable the reviewer to anticipate the general format of the remaining materials. Contrary to the publisher's statement that "each book provides . . . a wide variety of stimulating exercises," each unit of each book utilizes the same exercises in the same order, the only differences being those relating to the particular grammatical features of that unit. Further, while the workbooks indeed "review and reinforce what the student learns in the texts," their exercises are scarcely more than restatements, largely mechanical, of the text material. Since Books 1, 2 and 3 do not differ from one another, there is little reason to believe that Books 4, 5 and 6 will be more varied.

Basic Goal

The basic goal of the series is to provide activities in which the students can use English in each of the four language skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Because the four skills are not necessarily parallel in acquisition, attention is given to each separately.

Listening for comprehension is limited to workbook exercises, which are not directly mentioned in the unit-by-unit guides of the Teacher's Manual. Since the answer keys and material for presentation are relegated to an appendix—albeit a large one—the task of coordinating the parts of the program is left to the teacher. Assuming that the Workbook models are recorded on tape, however, as the Teacher's Manual indicates, the teacher could move in the direction of individualizing the lessons by sending students to the tapes as they become ready, thus freeing his own time for individual problems.

The listening comprehension exercises in the Workbooks are of two types: first, filling in missing words in sentences while the teacher or the voice on tape reads the sentence (a sort of "shortcut" dictation, according to the Teacher's Manual, since the words to be written are given by the voice; but the students hear material they need not write down, thus enabling the voice to read at a normal conversational speed); and second, selecting from among multiple-choice items the appropriate response to a statement or question. While these exercises provide practice in comprehension as it relates to written responses, there are no examples asking for either oral or motor responses, such as answering questions orally or performing according to instructions. That is, only one of the many possible modes of response to spoken information is utilized, whereas in actual language situations, listening comprehension is more likely to be indicated by means other than writing.

Writing as a separate skill is primarily supportive until Book 4, at which point it becomes a major objective in its own right. Prior to this, it is used to reinforce the concepts of grammar presented in the lessons. Through Book 3, the students are asked to copy the words introduced in the Unit and to fill in blanks in sentences in their texts from a number of choices provided. What happens when writing becomes a major objective is, of course, not known, since Book 4 is not yet available. In the material at hand, however, the most sophisticated writing exercises involve sentence embedding. In addition to the copying exercises accompanying each lesson in the Texts, the Workbooks contain WRITE sections for each Unit, which repeat the grammatical structures of the corresponding Unit in the Text.

Reading practice is also divided between Textbook and Workbook lessons, and it, too, functions as reinforcement of grammatical concepts in the early books. Until Book 3, the readings consist of short, repetitive sentences based on the grammar of the lesson; for example, from Book 2, Unit 4, on progressives:

I am at home now. I am studying English. I am learning new sentences. I am repeating them. I am memorizing them. I am practicing the exercises and the conversation.

Book 3, which introduces reading as a source of information, includes passages on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from biographies of Babe Ruth and Alexander Graham Bell to lessons on styles in clothing, entertainment, and vocations. Additional readings occur in Workbook 3. All Textbook readings, except for the first three in Book 1 (prior to the introduction of questions), are followed by five to ten questions, mostly information, but a few yes/no, and all Workbook readings are followed by two to seven multiple choice questions. The Teacher's Manual states the principles of intensive questioning, however, so that the teacher can supplement the questions provided with others based on the readings.

Though the corresponding Textbook and Workbook readings contain comparable sentence structures, their subject matters are entirely separate from one another. For example, the reading in Book 3, Unit 10, concerns spectator sports and participant sports in a general way, while the Unit 10 reading of Workbook 3 discusses the architecture of Antoni Gaudi. A more unified approach would be to accompany the general discussion of sports with the biography of Babe Ruth or a more detailed description of a particular sport, and to coordinate the reading on Gaudi with the Unit 5 Textbook reading on big cities and their buildings. In other words, the readings could be used not only to convey information, but also to establish or reinforce a context for an entire lesson.

Speaking, the remaining skill, is the basic skill in the full productive use of a language; consequently, the primary focus of Books 1 through 3, in the Textbooks themselves, is oral drill.

Format of the textbooks

Each unit is divided into nine sections which occur in the following order:

1. MEMORIZE, a dialogue to be memorized and dramatized;
2. SUBSTITUTE, a series of substitution drills;
3. STUDY, a frame containing a technical explanation of the grammatical principle of the lesson;
4. PRACTICE, more drills;
5. SPEAK, a restatement of the introductory dialogue;
6. READ, a short paragraph or, in Book 3, two or three paragraphs;
7. THINK, a picture (poster) about which the students are to make original statements;
8. PRONOUNCE, an articulatory diagram, accompanied by an articulatory description and followed by a list of words to drill;
9. COPY, a list of words to be copied, in Books 2 and 3 sometimes into blanks in a sentence.

The only variation in this format is that Book 1 lacks the THINK sections and Book 3 adds UNDERSTAND, a series of vocabulary exercises.

MEMORIZE: Every lesson begins with a brief dialogue to be memorized and dramatized in order to approximate conversational English. In the Teacher's Manual a distinction is made between Full Linguistic Performance and Partial Linguistic Performance. The function of the dialogues is to provide access to samples of Full Linguistic Performance before the student has learned the entire system of English. In this way, Lado says, the student's frustration at being expected to engage in Full Linguistic Performance before he is able is avoided, as is the boredom which results from being restricted to Partial Linguistic Performance

after he has mastered a given rule. "By memorizing and dramatizing these short dialogues," the author states, "the student can enter into nearly full use of English from the first day of class." (TM, p. 2) Elsewhere, however, he notes that "putting across the meaning of the unknown parts of the dialogue should be held to a minimum in order to devote most of the time to practicing the dialogue." (TM, p. 7) How this approximates Full Linguistic Performance, which seems to imply both syntactic and semantic abilities, is not explained.

Further, the dialogues are, for the most part, contrived and unconversational. For example:

John: Did you read the paper yesterday?

Paul: No, I slept. Was it important?

John: Yes. A scientist invented a new motor.

Paul: Did he see it somewhere?

John: No. He invented it. Did you understand?

Paul: Yes. You said, "Edison invented the electric light."

(Book 1, Unit 19, p. 181)

SUBSTITUTE: Sentences from the dialogue are presented as models for substitution drill. Usually, about five sentences appear in each lesson, with five or six substitution items for a particular slot in each. A certain amount of pattern practice is probably very useful in a second-language classroom, and using as models sentences the students have already memorized undoubtedly simplifies the task considerably. With the sentences and their substitutions presented in the Text, however, the items listed in appropriate sentence position, the value of such drills as *oral* pattern practice is somewhat diminished—unless the teacher conducts them as closed-book exercises. Further, only simple vocabulary substitution is utilized, which not only limits the variety of classroom activity, but also fails to take advantage of drills requiring the *student* to determine the sentence position of the substitute. For example, the sentences could be adapted to "progressive drills" (changing different parts of the sentence sequentially with a single-word cue). A third variation, especially useful in practicing pronoun forms and irregular past tenses of verbs, is the "substitution-concord drill" (changing a word in one clause that requires a corresponding change in another). In the early lessons of the series, before coordination and subordination have been introduced, the students will not be prepared for this type of drill. By the middle of Book 3, however, enough embedding techniques have been learned to warrant additional variety and challenge in the substitutions.

STUDY: The STUDY section of each unit contains grammatical explanations. According to the Teachers' Manual, the teacher is to announce for example, that "the STUDY section will be on Information Questions with WHERE, WHAT, WHO, HOW, and DO." After writing examples

(which are in the Text) on the board and having the class repeat them, he is to “draw their attention to the problem itself by means of an attention pointer, such as, ‘Notice the position of the question words WHERE, WHAT, etc.’” This is followed by diagrams and the question, “What is the rule?”—which the students are expected to formulate to the teacher’s satisfaction. (TM, p. 10) The same procedure is suggested for each lesson, with “attention pointers” such as, “To teach the passive . . . say, ‘Notice the three changes from active to passive.’” (TM, p. 71) Nowhere is the function of the passive explained; but as long as the students can “state the rule,” its mastery is somehow assured.

Assuming that the only English the students know is what they have learned from this program, stating such rules directly in English seems rather challenging. Yet from Unit 1, Book 1, the teacher is enjoined to “tell the students” about such things as *alveolar*, *syllables*, *diphthongs* and *glides*, and to ask them to formulate the grammatical rules of the lesson, as for example, in Unit 10, where the students are expected to complete the statement “We use the -s ending, as in speaks, with . . .” by saying, “third person singular.”

A variation on the pattern occurs with the introduction of object pronouns as indirect objects—which seems a good place to introduce them. A paradigm is supplied to the students, however, with instructions to the teacher to “drill with them by saying, ‘The object form of *I* is . . .’ etc., letting the students give the object form.” (TM, p. 32) surely, a more lively means of practicing the forms is possible: pattern practice, perhaps, while manipulating classroom objects in a more reasonable linguistic situation; for example, “Bring me the yellow pencil”; “Give him the chalk”; or “Throw her the ball.” Incorporating physical activity into language-learning situations at least adds interest to the classroom, even if its superiority to recitation as a learning method is not universally accepted. Furthermore, associating words with the objects and activities they symbolize more nearly approximates a functional use of language than mechanically reciting paradigms or grammatical roles. We use language to make requests, give information, request information, express our feelings, and so forth. Helping the students to “use English sentences,” it seems to me, means providing the functional and social contexts in which language can be *used*, not merely drilled and described.

PRACTICE: The PRACTICE sections consist of additional drills, ranging from vocabulary substitution to question-answer to transformation drills. Students are asked to change statements to yes/no questions, yes/no to information questions, affirmatives to negatives, and singular nouns to plural in Book 1; to change statements from one tense or aspect to another, statements to information questions, and affirmatives to negatives in Book 2; and to construct sentences from cue words (used only with comparisons), to change adjectives and adverbs

to superlatives, actives to passives, and adjectives to adverbs, and to combine pairs of sentences in specified ways in Book 3. In all three books, question-answer drills include selecting an alternative presented in an either- question or using a specified short answer; and in Books 2 and 3, specified answers to information questions are cued in the texts:

How do you speak French? bad

—>I speak it badly.

Does John act seriously? always

—>He always acts seriously.

In addition, Book 3 requires because answers to reason questions, infinitive short answers to purpose questions (Why does he study? To learn.), and manner or means short answers to How + Aux questions (How can I go to New York? By plane.). Ordinarily, even where the instructions call for individual answers, the questions offer alternatives or are so tightly cued that the students are not required to consult their own experience for meaningful answers. In Unit 3 of Book 2, they are asked to “use your own or one of the suggested answers” and “to give true answers” to information questions concerning names, addresses, and fathers’ names; but, for the most part, questions and answers are practiced as syntactic patterns only, not as means of exchanging information.

Information questions, for instance, are never used to seek information in these three books—only to demonstrate that the student can convert a statement or recite a given answer: How can you write so clearly? With my new pen. (The “question” seems more like a congratulatory exclamation than a genuine information question.) Suppose instead one were to organize the unit on How + Auxiliary Questions (the unit in Book 3 in which the above example appears) around the general questions, “How can we find out?” and “How can you do something?” (e.g., make a square from four sticks or reach the top shelf of a bookcase in the room). The questions then would ask for information, and the answers would grow out of problem-solving activity in the classroom.

Similar reservations can be raised regarding the utility of converting sentence-types to the exclusion of providing realistic contexts in which expressions of the two types in question would be appropriate. For example, a request could be followed by a physical response which is simultaneously described.

Teacher: John, give Susan the book.
(He does.)

Class: John is giving Susan the book.

Or for negatives, rather than routinely transforming an affirmative statement, one can, by dealing with differing objects or concepts of

opposition, provide both negative and affirmative statements in contrast, *all of which have truth value*. It is true that in two lessons of Book 2 the motivations of “indicating disagreement” and “showing disbelief” accompany instructions to change affirmative statements to negatives and yes/no questions, respectively; but the typical procedure is simply to convert.

Beyond the initial purpose of introducing a sentence pattern and, perhaps, relating it to known patterns, artificial manipulations bear little resemblance to spoken language. People do not ordinarily ask questions whose answers they already know (converting statements to questions), nor do they alternate past and present tense sentences with identical content, or affirmatives and negatives. Instead, they select the expression appropriate to the context. A language text can move in the direction of a controlling context by providing situations, sequential pictures, or games as a framework and by establishing continuity among practice items. In Unit 12 of Book 3, the game of “Twenty Questions” is introduced, but it is clearly labeled PLAY. It could just as well be called PRACTICE and used to reinforce the yes/no question process as early as Book 1. Other such activities requiring language as native speakers use it would make the PRACTICE sections less exclusively textbook exercises.

SPEAK: The SPEAK section of each lesson repeats the structures of the MEMORIZE dialogue, but with new speakers and new vocabulary in a slightly different situation. The intent of the additional dialogue is to suggest another conversational possibility with the material covered. Potential uses, according to the Prefaces of each Textbook, are as role-playing material to be read aloud or as stimuli to “further independent possibilities by students, depending on the degree of their creativity and the extent of their progress.” The Teacher’s Manual (p. 13) states that the students “should attempt to vary the conversation using their own names and referring to situations that are of interest to them”; but techniques for achieving such variation are not provided.

The major limitation of these sections, however, is akin to that of the memorize dialogues: the conversations are not always conversational.

For example:

Helen: Where will you go after school?

Betty: I must go to the store.

Helen: What will you do there?

Betty: I must buy bread for dinner.

(Book 2, Unit 12, p. 158)

In my language experience, the conversation should go:

Helen: Where are you going after school?

Betty: (I have to go) to the store.

Helen: What for?

Betty: I have to buy some bread for dinner.

Granted that textbook material should be controlled for patterns within the lessons of the program, sections labeled as conversational should nevertheless reflect the everyday language habits of native speakers.

THINK: An innovative feature of the series is the inclusion of a THINK section, a series of large, colorful posters, containing several frames depicting a variety of activities, which the students are expected to describe in their own words. Their function is "to stimulate thinking as the basis of Full Linguistic Performance in speaking"—to provide regular opportunities for the student to practice his acquired English in new combinations, determined by himself but inspired by the posters. In general, the pictures provide many possibilities for interpretation, and students could probably have some fun with them.

A potential problem occurs in the degree of the teacher's insistence on sentences containing the patterns suggested in the accompanying instructions. For example, on page 144 of Book 2, a family of six is seated around the dinner table, each with a double thought-balloon attached to him. The instructions read: "The family is eating dinner. Each one is thinking about his plans. Tell us about them. Use WILL, MUST, MAY, SHALL, MIGHT, and CAN." Since plans are necessarily potential-future, will, may and might are reasonable sentence elements in this context; can is also possible. But must represents a concept very difficult to picture, and shall in the third person is not likely to occur when discussing plans. Similarly, on page 175, a boy and a girl are standing on either side of a picture-screen containing eight frames: a phonograph; a boy swimming; a telephone; a girl seated at a desk with a book; a boy approaching a school, with a large clock in the upper righthand corner of the frame; a boy playing tennis; a boy seated at a desk writing; and a girl putting on a jacket. Instructions: "What can (could, should, must) they (he, she, you) do?" Can, of course, is obvious but should and must are questionable.

The most difficult of the THINK pictures is the first one. In the top frame, from left to right, are: a vase on a tall stand; a table holding a glass and a pitcher, both containing water; a trunk in front of the table, a chair to the right of the table; a box to the right of the trunk; and a clown holding a flower. From left to right in the bottom frame: the clown, on his chin, surrounded by concussion stars; the chair, upended; the box, upended in front of the chair; the trunk leaning against the table, which is on its side, with the glass and pitcher and spilled water near its now-vertical top; and the vase on the stand, now containing the flower. The question addressed to the students is: "How did he put the flower in the vase? Use First, then, put . . . on . . . , got up, put . . . in fell down."

One difficulty, considering that this is the introductory THINK picture, is that there are so many objects to contend with. Another is that the picture's perspective is reversed in the second frame. Further,

first, put and fall are not introduced until subsequent lessons. The point is that the Think pictures, asking, as they do, for independent formulation of sentences by the students, are potentially very useful and enlivening in the classroom provided that the teacher bases his expectations on the concepts actually and clearly pictured and on the vocabulary and sentence patterns previously learned by his students.

PRONOUNCE: The final oral portion of each lesson is PRONOUNCE. The articulatory diagrams are of limited value simply because one is not necessarily distinguishable from another. For example, the only difference between /z/ and /d/, since the diagrams are identical, is the articulatory description: “voiced alveolar” for /z/, and “exploded between tongue tip and gum, voiced” for /d/. The Teacher’s Manual also recommends articulatory descriptions to aid students in recognizing sounds: noting that students often have difficulty with the /s-z/ contrast, the Manual suggests that “they can be helped by a reminder that /z/ is voiced and lax, and /s/ is voiceless and tense.” (TM, p. 26)

Drills following the descriptions require both pronunciation and auditory discrimination (writing “1” when one sound is heard, “2” when a contrasting sound is heard). Sounds are introduced for practice one at a time; but every few lessons, two of the previously practiced sounds are presented in contrast. Also, PRONOUNCE is occasionally used to practice and reinforce contrasts in inflectional endings, as with past tense and plural suffixes.

Except for the emphasis on articulatory description, the PRONOUNCE sections look complete and well-designed. Before the end of Book 3, all phonemes have been practiced at least once and contrasted with those others most likely to be confused with them. For example, /θ/ is introduced separately, then contrasted with /t/, /s/ and /ð/ in succeeding lessons; /e/ is contrasted separately with /ə/, /ey/, /æ/, and /i/.

One might question the necessity of pronunciation drill with every lesson, especially since oral practice is so extensive in other parts of the lessons. It is, however, far easier to minimize those portions of a program which seem to be in the control of the students than to work with insufficient materials.

Sequencing

Sequencing of grammatical features is generally sound where the major goals of each lesson are concerned—that is, according to the outline of the table of contents. But new grammatical structures are occasionally introduced in the PRACTICE or READ sections of the lesson, or an insufficient distinction is made between two types of structures.

For example, Book 1 begins with affirmative statements with is plus a predicate noun phrase or adjective. Noun phrases are either names or occupations, and adjectives are nationalities. The context is that of

making introductions. Lesson 2 introduces yes/no questions with is, with the students transforming statements to questions at the same time that they substitute for the predicate. In the sample sentences, however, place adverbs occur, to be replaced by nouns, even though locative sentences have not been used before. Lado cites as his major aim with the practice sentences that the students should be able to extend a structure by analogy to new situations, but expecting them to extend their facility to an unfamiliar sentence pattern is asking more than the process of analogy can provide.

Similarly, after yes/no question in Lesson 2, Lesson 4 includes either-questions in the PRACTICE section. In Lesson 7, following some examples of information questions with what, whose answers are always occupations (e.g., What is Helen? She is a nurse.), the SUBSTITUTION section consists of questions which bear a different semantic relationship to their answers: What is it? What are Washington and Paris? In no way can the answers to these be construed as occupations, even though it is in that context that the question-type has been learned. Further, the only information to the teacher is that the question-word for "classification as a doctor, a lawyer, a student, a tourist, a teacher, etc." is what (which is itself open to question). The fact that what asks for classification or identification in general is left to the teacher's knowledge and imagination.

Continuity from lesson to lesson sometimes occurs, but, ironically, an instance of continuity illustrates the overall disconnectedness of the program. Who and what are given as question-words in Unit 15, with the following comment in the corresponding section of the Teacher's Manual: "Subject questions are easier to learn than other information questions, because they are formed with Who or What in subject position plus the rest of the statement without change. Other information questions, such as those taught in the next Unit, require a change to yes/no question form." (TM, p. 39) This appears to be the most reasonable order in which to teach them. However, eight units back, in Unit 7, information questions with who, what, where, and how were taught all at once, limited to questions with *be* in the earlier lesson, but illustrated by a three-step transformation: 1) affirmative statement; 2) yes/no question; 3) information question.

On page 54 of the Teacher's Manual, Lado states: "The rule for information questions on page 40 is oversimplified and may require a separate rule for verb questions with DO," although that, too, was included in Unit 7—now even farther back in the program.

It seems that the subdividing and grading of difficulty should have occurred in the earlier lesson, with review and expansion to other verbs following. Ideally, of course, the information question would have been utilized in one way or another in the eight intervening lessons as well. Further, one would hope that the grammatical explanation for the teacher would appear completely, without exception, and in one place.

On occasion, the author explains in the Teacher's Manual that teaching the STUDY frame as it is presented in the text would be confusing: "Even though both negative statements and negative short answers are presented in the same frame on page 47, you can teach them better separately, with negative statements first and negative short answers next." (TM, pp. 25-26) The question is, why haven't they been presented separately if they are taught more effectively that way? A few pages later, while introducing present-tense inflected verbs with third-person singular subjects, Lado notes that "the frame and the exercises in this unit do not demonstrate IT with the third person singular subject, but this is a good place to introduce its use as a pronoun for nonhuman nouns." (TM, p. 32) Again, if this is such a good place to introduce it, why isn't it introduced in the text?

For teaching "modifiers before nouns," on the other hand, both adjectives and noun compounds are introduced together "because they are parallel in word order." (TM, p. 30) Lado mentions that the stress patterns differ, but neglects the details. Examples include the ambiguous: The student is good. He's a good student; the limited: The class is in art. It's an art class.; and the temporal: The class is at night. It's a night class.—quite a variety for the students' first exposure to modified nouns! In the READ section of the same lesson, the noun modifiers are based on moral interpretations rather than on grammatical patterns; for example, the predicate adjective late is, by implication, equivalent to noun-modifier adjective bad, while early equals good. The paragraph reads, in part:

The teacher is Miss Smith. She is an excellent teacher. She is tall and beautiful. Peter and Alice are in the music class. They are late. They are bad students. Paul and Ann are early. They are good students.

As Books 2 and 3 progress, each unit is very close to self-contained—in the sense that the materials introduced are only rarely associated with anything that precedes or follows. For example, the entire notion of passives, both with and without expressed agents, occupies one lesson. In one instance in which continuity is observed, the present progressive precedes introduction of be going to as a future indicator by two Units. Five units later, however, when modals are presented, will and shall, though identified as future markers, are never related to be going to.

Modals occupy two lessons of Book 2: Unit 11 in which can, will, shall, may, must and might appear, and Unit 13 in which should, would and could are identified as past forms of shall, will and can— "but their meanings are different from the present forms and they have to be learned individually." (TM, p. 62) Exercises are based on converting a paraphrase to the modal form, as for example:

Susan has the obligation to study → Susan should study.
 Possibly John will see a movie tonight → John might . . .
Bill has the ability to remember things easily → Bill can . . .

Aside from Unit 12 of the same Book, which utilizes models in information questions, the only other occurrences of modals in Books 1-3 are: one practice sentence in the Unit on passives in Book 3, which has should + passive, even though modal passive constructions were not part of the lesson; Unit 12 of Book 3, which presents the polite use of could, would and should in questions; and the mention of must as an underlying feature of sentences beginning: It is necessary (deep structure: Susan must get ahead in school. It is necessary. This is transformed to: It is necessary that Susan get ahead in school). Otherwise, the modals are never repeated or reinforced beyond the immediate lesson. The same is true for comparisons, adverbs in -ly (which are “introduced” after the students have already learned to compare them), conjunction with and . . . to, some and any, and so on.

Naturalness of Language

One could compensate for the routineness of the format by creating a cheerful classroom and using supplementary activities. But unless one were to supply his own practice sentences—with an ear tuned to the language of English-speakers—he would be hard pressed to avoid the “paradigmatic approach” to sentence building which produces drill material unlikely to be used in any other context. For example, in drilling the “possessive adjectives” my, your, his, her, its, etc. (which are included in the same lesson with possessive forms of nouns), the following sentences appear:

I give you this book → It's my book.
 He has big eyes → His eyes are big.
 She has a beautiful mouth → Her mouth is beautiful.
 John has two brothers → They're his brothers.
 And: We give the cat a name → *It's its name.* (emphasis mine)

In learning prepositional phrases, one drill sentence is: The hospital FAR FROM the church is busy. In learning modals, the items are paradigmatically converted to negatives and yes/no questions, including:

Mary must always work hard → Must Mary always work hard?
 She might go to church on Sunday → Might she go to church . . . ?
 I shall memorize the dialogue → Shall I memorize the dialogue?
 (the meaning changes with the transformation)

Paradigms do not necessarily reflect usage. No provision is made in either the lesson itself or in the Teacher's Manual for the shifting mean-

ings of modals in different contexts or for matters of usage (young speakers rarely use needn't as the negative of must). When a question of usage is mentioned in the Teacher's Manual, the exercises fail to reflect it—i.e., they present only the most prescriptive choice. For example, despite the statement in the Teacher's Manual that whom is used in formal writing and who in everyday conversation, all examples dealing with this question use whom: e.g., I am the one whom you called.

Vocabulary is sometimes used inaccurately: Learning kinship terms, Edward and Charles are identified as brothers, each with a wife and offspring. The practice conversation goes:

Teacher: Are Edward and Charles brothers or cousins?

Students: They are brothers.

Teacher: Are they parents?

Students: No. Elizabeth and Edward are parents.

The Teacher's Manual explains: "Edward and Charles are brothers in their own family relationship to each other, and not parents. Separately, . . . *they are parents* (emphasis mine) of their own respective children. Parents means mother and father—but no other relatives. Therefore, Edward and Elizabeth are parents of their children—that is, father and mother. So are Charles and Sylvia for their own children." (TM, p. 24) Such contrived definitions, though not as frequent as technical grammatical explanations, indicate something of the awareness displayed in this program of how words and grammatical structures are actually used by English speakers. The distinction explained above was possibly inspired by the Spanish distinction between parientes and padres; but in *English*, Edward and Charles *are* parents, as Lado inadvertently states, even if of different children.

Summary

The difficulties of designing a comprehensive language course, combining all skills and coordinating a multiplicity of instructional devices, are enormous. In the first place, so little is positively known about how language skills are acquired that defining a balance between the actual language of actual people and the regular rules that but imperfectly reflect that language is a matter of judgment, not a scientific formula. Language teaching is still more art than science. Second, since the instructional attention required for mastery of the separate skills depends upon such things as literacy in the native language, a total program appropriate to all target-groups is quite an ambitious undertaking.

The *Lado English Series* resembles, in many ways, the materials of the Michigan English Language Institute, which the author refers to in his Preface. Emphasizing system and structure rather than communication and context, grammatical explanations rather than realistic situations for language practice, it neglects the functional and communica-

tive aspects of Language. With recent reactions against excessive drill, one would hope that new programs would be less rigid and less bound to patterns and paradigms. Where patterns and drills are pedagogically necessary, they should never take precedence over natural sentences.

DIANA M. ALLEN
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

