

# TESOL QUARTERLY

Volume 6

June, 1972

Number 2

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# TESOL QUARTERLY

A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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*TESOL QUARTERLY* is published in March, June, September, and December.  
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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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## ***The Influence of Linguistics: Plus and Minus\****

**Dwight Bolinger**

Though linguistics has always influenced FL teaching (a reciprocal influence, since teaching in part gave rise to it), the organized intervention of linguistics is a contemporary phenomenon. The influence has been realized in many ways, but two stand out: the descriptive and the pedagogical. Only the first is directly the linguist's business; his influence there has been about as good as the advances in his field have permitted. In the second he has himself been swayed by psychological assumptions and by his attempts to draw psychological inferences from his descriptive framework. Here it is better for FL teachers to appeal directly to psychologists. Except as a slogan there is no "linguistic method." Language teaching is an autonomous art.

To get past the question-begging look of my title as quickly as possible, I must assert that I believe linguistics *has* influenced language teaching, and that in many ways, but not all, the influence has been good. I hope that when we add the two columns we will find that the good outweighs the bad, but that conclusion may not be as clear to some as to others.

But the problem is not so much in escaping the *petitio principii* as in pinning down what one means by "influence." Once we look at the various meanings of the term *language-teaching*, it becomes clear that for each sense of *that* term there is a different sense in which linguistics can be an influence, whether for good or ill. By language-teaching do we refer to teaching Tibetan, or French? It is not foolish to ask this question because most of our discussion of language teaching has been in the context of related languages. It is one thing to depreciate the contribution of linguistics to French-teaching, where the sharing of vocabulary and syntax enables the student half the time to do without aids of any kind, and something different to appreciate the need for a highly detailed description done by a competent linguist in learning a language that differs in fundamental ways from our own. By language-teaching do we mean teaching to read or to converse, to understand only or both to understand and to communicate? If only to understand, with many languages it will be possible to dispense with at least some of the rules of syntax; given a knowledge of word forms and a situation of use, the student can usually guess the rest; he has less need of linguistic guidance. If by language teaching we do mean communication, then to what degree of intensity do we carry it? Is the student to

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\* This paper was presented at the 1972 TESOL Convention in Washington, D.C. Mr. Bolinger, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures and Coordinator of Language Instruction, Harvard University, is the author of *Aspects of Language* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968).

communicate as much like a native speaker as possible—is he, that is, to be what Lambert calls an integrative learner? If so, we must give him not only language but paralinguistics: the linguist will need to go much farther than he has up to now in describing the body language that accompanies speech. His influence will necessarily be much richer than if the student is to communicate only as an instrumental learner, to get a message across and trust to the interest more than to the sympathy of his hearer to respond as he hopes. Does language-teaching mean teaching children more about their native language? In this context the linguist's job is specialized to that of a sociolinguist: he must speak of usage and of dialect.

In each of these senses it is clear that the answer must refer to some *product* of linguistic inquiry—good if the product is good, bad if it is bad. There are, I suppose, good grammars and sketchy grammars of Tibetan, well-balanced and overbalanced selections of rules for learning to read, prejudiced and unprejudiced descriptions of the native language, and if teachable descriptions of paralinguistics are ever to appear some of them will help and others may hinder. As long as we assume that anything about language from any approach whatever can be taught, we must deal at some point with a linguistic product, which can be good or bad. If that were the only issue we could turn immediately to some examples of good and bad grammars or dictionaries, and not worry particularly about questions of pedagogy. The linguist's role would be limited to description and he would be involved in questions of teaching only to the extent that he might be consulted on what or how much of a description would be best to include for a given purpose. Unfortunately we also have other things in mind when we ask what the influence of linguistics has been on language teaching. We believe that it has played a part in determining effective and ineffective ways of teaching, helpful and unhelpful *attitudes* toward language, and positive and negative *motivations*. These are not so much products as byproducts of linguistics, which stem from the ways linguists theorize and behave toward the object of their study. Their feeling about what can be known in their field—its epistemology, about what can be done with it—its praxis, above the nature and order of importance of its parts—its structure, and about its place in the mind or in culture—its ontology, all of which can be summed up as how they feel about the nature of language, has a direct relation to the linguist's influence on language teaching. Since it also affects the *kinds* of descriptions that are made, it deals a double blow: indirectly by way of the descriptions, directly by the transmittal of the philosophy itself.

The best initial approach to the indirect side of this two-part influence is probably by way of history. And it is also well to consider the historical relation between linguistics and language teaching to keep a proper balance; for if linguistics can be said to influence language teaching today, language teaching could be said to have given birth to linguistics two thousand years ago. At least, it was one of the two parents, the other of which was philosophy. The Greeks had their ideas about the kinship between

language and reality, and carried on lively debates as to whether language was a natural phenomenon or a conventional one; and they looked for ties between language and logic which they thought they had found in the noun and the verb, the concept and the thing said about it; but they were also language teachers to the Romans, and it was in this function that they had to make practical decisions about translation rules between Greek and Latin. It remains true today that many linguists—probably the majority of those over forty years of age—first found themselves attracted to the study of linguistics through the curiosity they began to feel when they had to study a language other than their own. Things have changed only in that nowadays a budding linguist is about as likely to go hunting for a foreign language in order to indulge his interest in linguistics, as to find himself inspired to become a linguist through the study of a foreign language. In one way or another the two fields are still mutually enriching.

The Greek and Roman linguists were influential far beyond their time and in ways that they themselves might well have repudiated. By bequeathing a description of their languages to posterity, they also bequeathed the notion that in order to be properly described a language had to fit the norms that they had set up for Greek and Latin. The grammars were taken not as reflections of the languages but as categorizations of reality, and this both reinforced and was reinforced by the notion of the classical languages as an embodiment of the ideal. One is reminded of the philosopher who concluded that the horse was meant to be subdued because its mouth was so perfectly adapted to the bit. A language that did not conform to the grammar of Greek and Latin could only be imperfect to the extent that it failed to conform. Add to this the consciousness that speakers who were also scholars—at least those who spoke a Romance tongue—had of the relationship between their supposedly corrupted manner of speech and Latin (the writers at the court of Alfonso X still spoke of “nuestro latín,” *our* Latin, as the language of the classics), and you see the mutually reinforcing arguments: Latin documents contained all true learning, the Latin language conformed to the rules of grammar; ergo, Latin was the only language worthy to be taught. The influence of those early linguists not only determined the manner of teaching, but also helped to determine the very object to be taught. It was reinforced still further as the medieval philosophers made Latin the proving ground for their philosophy. The trivium of language, rhetoric, and logic, which made up half of the liberal arts curriculum, was thus entirely composed of language-related topics. Latin grammar is still with us, for which we can thank those grammarians; and in part we can thank them for the continuing popularity of Latin.

The Renaissance, of course, brought new attitudes toward language, chief of which was the consecration of vernaculars. But not much was changed. In place of a vanished linguistic Eden there came about what might be termed a cataclysmic theory of language. How did this come about? Well, the speaker of a Renaissance vernacular had the pride of his

culture and was less willing to view his language as a corrupt form of Latin. He wanted to accord it a place beside Latin, and to do this he conceived of language as something that reflected culture not only in its concepts but also in its evolution. There was the Roman empire and there was the Latin language. Both fell into decay. Out of decay there grew a new culture and a new language. What the modern linguist knows had not yet been discovered: that every human language at every point in history is a system in relatively stable equilibrium, as capable of serving the communicative needs of its users as the most refined idiom of classical times. The Renaissance scholar was aware of deviations from the forms of speech that he took to be the norms of the new language; but these he discounted as seeds of decay, and he polemicized against them. Now that a new language had been achieved, it was the task of the grammarian to defend it. To defend it one had to understand it and write its rules. Out of this identification of language and culture there arose, of course, the academies of language and the whole tradition of normative rules that has persisted to this day. With Latin, one hardly needed normative rules—one needed only rules, for the old disputes were forgotten. But with the new language the assaults on it were daily audible in the mouths of unlettered people, and had to be contended against. The grammarian overplayed his role, and the effects—in the shape of normative grammar—are still with us.

I could carry this apocalyptic survey through its full course if there were time for it, but I halt it now hoping to have proved my point: that the linguistics of the past had a profound effect on language teaching, and that when linguists quarrel with language teachers they are really making teachers the butt of their quarrels with other linguists. Until not many years ago one could say that it was with linguists of an earlier generation; but with the acceleration of change it may well happen now that one's adversary is still alive and promoting his views. The result may be more smoke than fire and language teachers who would like illumination find themselves lost in the murk. Let me try at this point to bring things up to date and inquire what's new since we learned that Latin grammar was inadequate and normative grammar was bad.

It is generally claimed that linguistics became scientific in the nineteenth century, and I suppose that that is true. A science needs intellectual tools and the historical ones that were forged then proved applicable to the study of linguistic change. But this very fact decreed that the whole period would be one of benign neglect as far as language *teaching* was concerned. Of all the aspects of linguistics as a discipline, historical linguistics is the one of least practical interest. So it was not until Ferdinand de Saussure proclaimed the independence of synchronic linguistics—the study of language systems at a given stage—from historical, that linguistics as a science could begin working again on problems that concern language teachers as well as linguists. When we speak of the *modern* influence of linguistics, we virtually mean *contemporary*. Linguists had a scent three or four decades to

devote themselves to descriptive study before they were called upon, in the forties, to answer an unexpected summons.

I'll give you one brief chapter of this story in dialog form as I have it from Milton Cowan of Cornell University. The conversation is between Mortimer Graves, who at that time was Deputy Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, and a colonel who was a friend of his:

- Colonel: Mortimer, we've got to send 105 ordnance officers to China. How can we teach 'em Chinese?
- Mortimer: How much time have you got?
- Colonel: Two weeks.
- Mortimer: (after a short pause) Well, you've got to have faith but it can be done. There's a corporal named Charles Hockett raking leaves down at Vint Hill Farms. He doesn't know Chinese but he knows how to learn it faster than anybody else and he can teach it to others as fast as they can learn it. He's a linguist. (another pause) You say these are officers?
- Colonel: Yes.
- Mortimer: How are they going out?
- Colonel: By boat to Bombay.
- Mortimer: That's fine. They'll learn Chinese on a slow boat to China. But they'll have to knock off the military bit and forget that Hockett's a corporal. This will be a civilian-type activity.
- Colonel: OK, we'll buy it. We can't do anything else.

Some linguists I suppose are born language teachers, others achieve the status, but this was the first time that language teaching was thrust upon them. However that may be, we should ask what it was that distinguished linguistic thinking at the time, how it influenced the way language courses were set up, and in hindsight what was good and bad about it.

The linguists of the forties were structuralists. On the American scene this meant a number of pretty definite things, of which we can quickly check off the ones that most clearly determined the kind of language curriculum they would set up.

First, they were behavioristically oriented. Their teaching methods accordingly adopted the notion of conditioning. Language was viewed as a form of behavior which was modified by practice more than by insight. The rules were descriptions of elements of behavior which could be stated and understood but mainly had to be drilled until they became habits. What has since been condemned as anti-intellectual bias was at the time partly a result of war-time necessity: the languages being taught were mostly either languages for which no adequate grammars existed, or were being taught for a strictly utilitarian—which is to say limited conversational—purpose. In either case most of the time had to be spent working with native speakers, and the learning of grammar played a facilitative but secondary role. The GI learners were not being taught a linguistic system in all its beautiful ramifications, but a way of behaving in emergencies.

Second, partly for historical reasons, the linguists had done their best work in phonology. This was the heyday of the phoneme and the allophone, and the structural sketch of Korean or Eastern Ojibwa which rarely extended beyond an elementary morphology. So what was analyzed and taught best was sounds and word forms, and the rest had to be entrusted pretty much to working with actual samples—memorized dialogs, for example. If one learned enough samples of speech, by induction and analogy one should be able to arrive at rules of syntax and rules of meaning. These aspects of language were not so much learned as soaked up.

Third, the prevailing philosophy was empiricism. It was supposed that to be scientific one must work with tangible data. The most tangible data are of course sounds, and this gave one more reason for concentrating on phonology. But it also imposed a hierarchy on the whole field of study. One should start with the most concrete data, namely sounds, and this would give a solid foundation for the next level of abstraction, morphs and morphemes, which in turn would make the final step possible, syntax. The empirical bias thus postponed indefinitely looking at a language as a complete system in which sounds, morphemes, syntax, and meaning are mutually dependent. As a later generation of linguists was to point out with some acerbity, linguistic science was simply out of date. It did not understand the principle of scientific theory and model-building, which can leap ahead of the limited data that we have at our disposal here anti now. In any case the effect again was a concentration on segments and a neglect of much of syntax and most meaning. Whatever could be expressed in the form of a static paradigm, whether sounds or inflections or phrase structures, got the bulk of attention.

The wartime teaching of language was a success, though how much credit goes to the methods and how much to the motivation of students, who had their choice between Russian verbs and front-line action, is a question for debate. The fact is that it succeeded well enough to be taken a decade later as a model for the reform of language teaching in the schools. Now that the crest of that reform is passed we can look back on it and decide, perhaps with less heat than would have been generated just four or five years ago, what it gave us and how much was to the good.

Surely one great benefit has been the emphasis on language as speech and the realization that every language makes its own unique selection from the range of possible human sounds. There is plenty of mispronunciation still, but the complacency toward it is gone. Both from the standpoint of practical skill and from that of deeper understanding students are better on this score than they were twenty years ago. Here and there a critic can be heard saying that students should not worry about pronunciation, that if they make themselves understood they have done enough. But the criticism is muted, as if the critics knew that even the best efforts toward gaining skill in pronunciation were not going to attain a level much above mere comprehensibility anyway. The rest is just psychological counseling: nat-

urally a student should not worry himself into a state about *any* problem in his studies, for that inhibits learning.

Pronunciation is also the area in which the scientific imprint is clearest. For the first time, textbooks used carefully drawn articulatory diagrams and were not afraid to talk about fricatives and back rounded vowels. Students were given explicit instructions on how to form sounds, and the instructions were moved from the two-page introduction into the body of the text. Along with more careful attention to the pronunciation of individual sounds came discussions of rhythm and intonation. Since here the theory on which the teaching was done was weaker, the results left more to be desired. Often things were taught that did not need to be, such as telling students to raise the pitch at the end of a question when they would do it anyway without being told. But on the whole the effect was good if only for the *recognition* of this important part of the communicative act. Taken altogether, structural linguistics merits a high score for what it did to the teaching of pronunciation.

A second high score goes for something that came about indirectly rather than as a result of deliberate planning. If language is speech, then it must be manifested in the interchange of messages, whether real or contrived, between teacher and student and among students. And since an hour contains only sixty minutes and there may be twenty or thirty students in a class, for there to be any sort of fair interchange something has to be happening all the time. For the conscientious teacher this meant the end of those dreadful silences as students were puzzling out translations from their books, or dozing while two or three of their numbers wrote sentences on the blackboard. No doubt in some classes the higher pitch of activity carried with it a lot of randomness; but in the majority the increase in participation and alertness was on the plus side.

For the rest, whether we count it as plus or minus depends as much on the practitioner as on the principle. For now we come to those parts of the New Key, or the audiolingual habit theory, or the linguistic method—however one cares to name it—that have stirred the most disagreement. Are pattern drills good? Do students benefit from memorization? Is it fair to refuse an answer when someone asks *why*? Does one really learn best by never making a mistake? All these practices stem from the structuralists' conviction that a language is a set of habits. Where they were bad was when they fell in the hands of literal-minded teachers and textbook-writers who adopted the faith that language was a set of habits *and nothing else*. "Yours not to reason why, yours but to drill or die." If it is true that the majority of teachers who adopted the New Key were of this kind, then probably the net result was a loss, by comparison with what students might have learned just by working through some well-constructed self-teaching program. But one always has to compare what goes on in the classroom with what goes on in the classroom. Would there have been much more learning if those same teachers had used a different method? Possibly for

a few, but I doubt that it would have been true for very many. Suppose we repeat each of the questions that we asked of the audiolingual approach to see whether the answers have to be negative.

First question, are pattern drills good? Two faults are generally found with them. First, natural learning of languages is not performed in this way; second, drilling is by nature mechanical and therefore by definition uninteresting. On the first objection, there are so many things about second language learning that differ from first language learning that even if it were true no conclusion could be drawn. But it appears not to be true. In the study she made of the sleepy-time monologs of her two-and-a-half-year-old son, Ruth Hirsch Weir (1962, 82-84) recorded a consistent use of what she termed build-ups, break-downs, and completions. The child produced such sequences as

Block  
Yellow block  
Look at all the yellow block  
  
Mommy  
Mommy went bye-bye  
Mommy went  
  
Bobo's goes  
To the bathroom  
Clean off

Weir's explanation was that "Construction of longer sentences often exceeds the child's linguistic capacity, and he resorts to a step-by-step procedure in working them out." But the significant fact is that the monologs were a form of self-directed practice. Build-ups and completions are common forms of pattern drills. Other investigators have found the same thing going on in the early stages of language learning, not only on the part of the children but conspired in by adults as well. A parent's conversation with a child typically contains build-ups and repetitions: "Look at the doggie. Nice doggie. You like the doggie? Pet the doggie." These facts really enclose the answer to the second objection to pattern drills. If by making them a game the child can convert an uninteresting activity into an interesting one, language teachers have their work cut out for them. Given that drills are essential, we have to make them interesting. As Christina Paulston points out in her classification of pattern drills, the term "mechanical" cannot be used as a blanket characterization of all drills. There are degrees of mechanicalness, from pure parroting through responses that are partially controlled to interchanges where students are virtually on their own. Happily, the initial reaction against drilling has been to ebb. It is reassuring to read that Wilga Rivers, Christina Paulston, and John Carroll are agreed that language teaching as habit formation and language teaching as the establishment of rule-governed behavior are not mutually exclusive. (Paulston 1971, 7.)

Second question, is memorization beneficial? The habit theory held that when students memorized natural discourse they acquired patterns which could then be extended by analogy. This idea sounds fishy today. But it often happens that we take our decisions first and find reasons for them afterward. By making memorization—which decades of educational doctrine had made altogether unrespectable—seem to be necessary on theoretical grounds, it was brought back into favor. Used in moderation its benefits are undeniable. It gives the student a context of sounds in which to practice his phonetic skill whether he understands the meaning or not. Given a gross understanding of a passage, segments of it can be switched around to make new messages. A properly memorized passage is one that is not produced haltingly. If we are willing to tap short-term memory in having students repeat a five-word sentence, there is no good pedagogical reason for not tapping long-term memory by having them repeat a fifty-word passage, if tangible benefits result. The difficulty with memorizations was much the same as that with drills: it had to be entrusted to a generation of teachers who had been brought up with a distaste for it.

Third question, is it fair to refuse an answer when students ask *why*? This is a point on which today's linguist waxes indignant. He is scandalized that anyone in his profession should even have advised teachers that there is a child in all of us that eternally asks *why*, and that it is our duty to repress that child. But there are two kinds of *why*-asking, and I think—at least I hope—that the structuralist meant just one of them. The first is the *why* of arbitrary choices on the part of a language. Why does French express the future by means of a suffix when English expresses it with the word *will*? The student who asks that question is not seeking the only sensible answer that can be given, which is in terms of the history of the two languages. Rather he is asking what right French has to do something different from the God-given way of doing it in English. Obviously there is no answer to such a question; or rather there is one answer which we must learn to give to all such questions at the outset of any language course: each language has its own way of structuring (or, if you will, *surface*-structuring) reality. The other kind of *why*-asking is the sort that one encounters when a student fails to see a connection. "Why is *estar* rather than *ser* used in this sentence?" A question of this kind *has* to be answered. It may mean that the student has failed to grasp a distinction; it may mean that the teacher or the textbook has not explained the distinction properly. In either case, if one of the effects of structuralism has been to stifle questions like this, it has been harmful. Of course we need not all agree on whether every such question should be answered every time any student asks it. There's a time and place for everything.

The last question is whether one learns best by never making a mistake. This has been a deeply embedded part of audiolingual doctrine, which related to the empirical bias of structuralism. All structural studies were based on a corpus. The corpus was produced by one or more native

speakers. Native speakers by definition do not make mistakes. (This of course is disputed today, but at least it is safe to say that the mistakes made by native speakers are not usually the same as those made by non-natives.) The models used in audiolingual teaching were therefore always correct, for they never came from anywhere but a native corpus. To confront a class with a wrong example was a violation of the commandments. One adherent to this doctrine even went so far as to extend it to the *truth* of model sentences: it was wrong to say things like *The crocodile sat in the living room*. (Poor Ionesco!) We justified our abhorrence of incorrect models—that is, models of what *not* to do—on the psychological grounds that a bad sentence is as easy to remember and imitate as a good one. But in part the reason was the structuralist preoccupation with the positive corpus. Today's generative linguistics has made us realize that rules not properly restricted will produce bad sentences as well as good ones, and if we want the student to avoid the bad ones we have to let him see the results of failing to restrict the rules as he should. This does not mean that we are going to dwell much on mistakes in any part of our teaching program except the one that has to do with grammatical explanation, or that we are going to tolerate compositions that are full of errors. But the morbid fear of error was a side effect of structuralism that did no good.

I've given mixed answers to my list of questions. Pattern drills are an indispensable legacy of structuralism; so probably is memorization, but not necessarily for the reasons that were originally given. The refusal to answer the notorious *why* question was bad, though the structural linguists may simply have been misunderstood on this point. Negative evidence—in other words: mistakes—has to be considered along with positive—to correct an error you first must identify it. If structuralism had its faults it was because, by pretending to give all the answers, it led teachers to believe that other answers were unnecessary or wrong. There are doubtless more points on which the linguists of this school could be scored, but they would still come out I think not looking too bad.

Structuralism has had its day, and now the air is thick with controversy again. Before assessing the direct effects of the new linguistics, we should look at the effects that are simply the result of change, any change. When a government falls, its old enemies as well as its new ones emerge—one sees monarchists and revolutionaries fighting in the same ranks. So one noteworthy result of the decline of structuralism and the rise of formalism has been the resurgence of traditional grammar. In the field of Spanish textbooks the two biggest money-makers in the last five years have been one book originally published twenty years ago and lightly refurbished, and another done five years ago that is entirely traditional in its outlook, though in every respect an attractive book. It was to be expected that traditional texts would make a comeback, at least temporarily, because generative-transformational grammarians have made a point of their kinship with tradi-

tional grammar. Of course what they mean is their kinship with Otto Jespersen, not with Goold Brown, but for teachers unaware of this any traditionalism gains in respectability.

The direct effects of post-structural linguistics have necessarily been relatively light for economic reasons. Structuralism had the force of policy behind it, with a good deal of public and private money. The pursestrings have tightened and there is no avenue from the model-builder to the classroom except through personal contact, a few articles, and an occasional textbook. The result has been less mutual understanding and a tendency to adopt the apparatus more than the principles of the new formalism. The first serious attempts to present English grammar in a textbook conceived along generative lines were about 1964, and they were conspicuous in their formalisms and pretty undistinguished otherwise. When we realize that it was not till about 1964 that Chomsky was persuaded to accept the notion of deep structure, which is felt today to be the most important conceptual innovation of the whole transformationalist movement, it is not surprising that the earlier texts look crude today. Unfortunately, the impression that generative grammar still makes is chiefly through its externals. One example is an attractive recently-published book with an avowed transformational aim which preserved the audiolingual format almost intact with just a few changes in terminology and a little more explicit description by transformations. The improvements are so slight as hardly to outweigh the disconcerting effect of introducing them.

It is too early to tell what the long-term effects of current linguistic theory will be, but I am very much afraid that conflict itself is having the unfortunate result of turning the profession away from ties with linguistics and toward other ways of getting students to learn. It is sobering to remember that human beings are capable of learning a second language with no formal guidance whatever, and linguistics is as capable of being dispensed with as anything else if it cannot make a reasonable bid for attention.

Let me try to make clear why I believe that linguistics has failed to influence language teaching as it might have, and how I think it may yet fulfil the promise that seemed for a moment almost on the point of coming true. The failure rests in the kind of intellectual game that linguists play. With structuralism the rules were those of a super Erector set. There were pieces and arrangements. With generativists the game resembles an automatic chessplayer. The pieces and arrangements are there, but the focus is on rearrangements and their connections. In either case the explanations that result when the game is extended to teaching a language are of a kind that a bright student can ordinarily figure out on his own. How essential, really, is it for him to be given in careful detail each step of the passive transformation? If he is confronted by two sentences, *The police arrested Clovis* and *Clovis was arrested by the police*, and knows that they report the same event, does he need to be told that the object becomes the sub-

ject, the subject becomes the object of the preposition *by*, the auxiliary *be* is introduced, and the verb is converted to a past participle? Unless he is a moron, the changes are self-evident and can be deduced by simple observation. We should remember that the basis for the frightening explicitness of transformational rules was to make them independent of any kind of editing by human explainers. But students and teachers are human and are intervening in the process and editing it. They make inductive leaps over reams of intermediate detail, and do it intuitively. If we force all the attention on the formalism and on top of that tell the student that the two constructions—active and passive—mean the same, we cheat him of the one thing that we can tell him which he can't deduce without examining dozens of contexts: namely, what the meaning of the passive is, where it is used and why. Nothing could be more calculated to destroy interest than to be told that languages make distinctions without differences, that they transform capriciously and to no purpose. The text that I mentioned a moment ago furnishes a simple example of how the apparatus gets in the way of understanding. Generative grammar recognizes a set of transformations called movement transformations, of which the so-called adverb-preposing rule is one. If you take a sentence like *Wait until I call you*, you can prepose the adverb clause and get *Until I call you, wait*. Since generative doctrine claims that such transformations do not change meaning, the book in question says flatly that the two sentences mean the same. If they did, then either would make an appropriate answer to the question *How soon can I leave?* Try it —*Wait until I call you, Until I call you, wait*.

Recent linguistic theory has been concerned above all else with fitting all the pieces together in a coherent framework. Many linguists have hoped that out of this would come a new understanding of the relationship of structures, such that we would be able to sequence our materials in a logical way. But a recent experiment suggests that extreme care in sequencing is not worth the trouble, and that students learn better by being given simply a set of materials that is interesting because of its situation and content. (Hauptman). There is a point of diminishing returns in trying to build all the intricacy of a linguistic model into the materials that are used for teaching. We do not know how the brain manages to hold the things that are tucked away there may be tied together in a fashion that in no way resembles the remorselessly logical system of formal grammar, and attempting to impose such an organization on students may do more harm than good. We must know where to stop in teaching a linguistic structure—how much we can helpfully do, and how much can be left to the learner's brain to organize through mechanisms that are more efficient than anything we can devise. It is probably useful to give a learner the paradigms of verbs. That surely saves time. But being told that questions contain a Q element that transforms them from base structures resembling declarative is about as useful as being told that heat differs from cold by virtue of its caloric principle. Whatever truth beyond mere tautology there may

be in it is intuitively clear to anyone who has made a statement and asked a question, and the point does not need to be taught.

What does need to be taught—let me say it again—is what is not self-evident, and that is meaning. No student can infer the meaning of the subjunctive from a single pair of examples. Here is a paradox. Current linguistics has been identified with the cognitive grasp of language, and yet the ultimate in cognition is neglected. A fairly simple case will show the difficulty and how linguists can help solve it if they will. Take the English possessive with and without the word *own*. We give the student a pair of sentences on the order of *John read his book* and *John read his own book*. For someone immersed in generative syntax, the use of *own* is clear: it is a way of resolving a syntactic ambiguity, showing that the possessor of the book is the subject of the sentence. But to give that to a student, or to let him infer it, is to mislead him. The use of *own* is one of an uncounted number of supposedly syntactic questions that are really semantic. Imagine some situations where *own* might be used. If we are prospective buyers who approach two sidewalk vendors at an art display, and are interested in a painting about midway between their two positions, we might ask *Is this one yours?* and intend it to mean “Is it yours to sell?” But if we ask *Is this one your own?* we probably intend to ask whether the vendor is also the painter. If a census-taker asks the man standing in front of a house *Is this house yours?* he could be taken to mean “Is it the one you occupy?”; but if he asks *Is this house your own?* he probably means “Do you have title to it?” If a den mother at a Boy Scout jamboree points to a boy and asks another den mother *Is this one yours?* she probably means “Does this one belong to your pack?” but if she asks *Is this one your own?* she most likely means “Are you the child’s natural mother?” On the other hand if the first den mother is put in charge of her pack and another pack as well as a general assembly of all the packs, and the second den mother again points to one of the boys and asks *Is this one yours?* the meaning is probably “Does this boy belong to the larger group that you are in charge of?; and if she asks *Is this one your own?* she is probably asking whether the boy belongs to the original pack. The word *own* is merely an intensifier of possession. The fact that it is able to clear up a syntactic ambiguity is only one of the effects of applying a highly abstract meaning in a concrete situation. The moral of this example is that a linguistics which cannot see beyond syntax or the formalisms of a predicate calculus will not offer much to help solve the cognitive problems of teaching a foreign language. The structuralists were derided for their thumbnail grammatical rules, their “summaries of behavior” as they were called; but the current pinball-machine solutions are no better. John Lamendella dismisses all the cognitive claims of generative transformational grammar and with them any relevance to second language teaching. This is perhaps too severe; but it is true that both structuralism and transformationalism concentrate on the form of sentences and their parts, and neglect meaning,

which is the part of language that most eludes the student's grasp. There is much here that linguists can do if they will.

A backward glance at what I have said and left unsaid suggests that the influence has been positively applied, and that the sins have been mostly sins of omission. The structuralists contributed immensely to the performing side of language, to phonology and habit-formation. But they neglected the cognitive phase. Their successors talked a lot about cognition but they have done next to nothing to supply the lack. If I were to idealize a linguistically-based foreign language course, I would prescribe an audio-lingual text for classroom use and a book of explanations to be used out of class, done with a view to giving the student a native speaker's feel for the distinctions that are made. It would probably be a long book, but its length would be weighed against the time that students now waste worrying about distinctions they can't understand. Meanwhile the changes that we might make in our pedagogy as the winds of theory blow this way or that are not going to strike very deep, and as people with a job to do and the professional right to pick and choose we can be as eclectic as we please. If most of the significant changes are to come from other directions than linguistics, so be it. But it need not happen, and as a linguist I would be ashamed if it did.

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## ***What Characteristics Can 'Experts' Reliably Evaluate in the Speech of Black and Mexican-American Children?***

**Diana S. Natalicio and Frederick Williams**

This paper reports the attempt to assess which characteristics of the speech of Black and Mexican-American children (grades K-2) could be reliably evaluated by experts specializing in dialect study. Tapes of ten Black and ten Mexican-American children who had responded to a set of commercially available test materials were evaluated by the experts. Evaluations for both groups were in terms of judgments (scale ratings) of language dominance, comprehension, production, phonology, intonation, inflectional endings, syntax, language pathologies, and predictions of reading achievement. For each scaled evaluation, evaluators provided a description of their bases for judgment. Results indicated high reliability of scale judgments except for ratings of intonation and language pathologies, and for predictions of reading achievement. The comments which served as bases for making scale judgments were highly consistent with language differences typically identified in the two linguistic communities represented, and were congruent with the scale ratings themselves. The results are interpreted in terms of their application to training teachers to recognize and deal effectively with language differences in minority group children.

In the 1960s linguists, psychologists, and educators acknowledged the importance of focusing on the language competencies of children entering the educational system for the first time. Indeed, oral language seems to be the single most important aspect of such diverse efforts as Head Start and Sesame Street, designed for the preschool child. The target of such special programs has been the "atypical" child whose socioeconomic status or ethnic background differs from that of the "average" child for whom most educational curricula have been designed.

Two distinct schools of thought arose out of a common concern for "atypical" children. The first, as perhaps best exemplified in the work of Deutsch (1967) and Bereiter and Englemann (1966), views the "atypical" child as having a language *deficit* which must be made up if the child is to have an equal opportunity in the average classroom; the obvious solution for a proponent of this position is the design and implementation of com-

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pensatory programs such as Head Start which will provide children with the means to make up the deficit before entering the regular educational process. Proponents of the *difference* position are, of course, opposed to any notion of deficiency, holding that "atypical" children are different in many respects, including language, and that it is up to the educational system to deal with these differences rather than to attempt to force the child to compensate for his background. This position is exemplified in the writings of Baratz (1970) and Labov (1970).

What is interesting and even disturbing about such debates is that they so seldom result in a change in classroom teacher behavior. Thus, although there appears to be a growing acceptance of the *difference* position among linguists and psychologists, and although classroom teachers may be aware of this trend, they are often ill-equipped to bring about the innovations in their teaching strategies which would reflect this general orientation.

This paper reports the attempt to see which characteristics of the speech of Black and Mexican-American children would be reliably evaluated by experts specializing in dialect study. Also there was the attempt to have the experts report the bases of their evaluations. Presumably, if selected characteristics were evaluated with consistency, and bases for these evaluations were given, such results could serve in training teachers to recognize and deal with language differences in minority group children.

### Procedures

Oral language performances on a set of commercially available sentence repetition test materials recorded on tape by children in grades K-2 in San Antonio, Texas, were reviewed, and the performances of ten Black and ten Mexican-American children were selected to represent the entire corpus of 750 recordings. Experts, defined as persons whose professional activities showed evidence of interest and expertise in the areas of child language and social dialects, were contacted as potential evaluators of the recorded performances. Fifteen persons evaluated the 10 Black language samples, and fourteen evaluated the 10 Mexican-American language samples. Evaluations for both language groups were in terms of judgments concerning language dominance, SAE (Standard American English) comprehension, SAE production, SAE phonology, SAE intonation, SAE inflections, SAE syntax, possible language pathologies, and predictions of reading achievement. In addition, the Mexican-American children were evaluated on Spanish comprehension, Spanish production, Spanish phonology, Spanish intonation, and Spanish syntax. A seven-point scale was provided the evaluators for their judgments on each of the above areas in each child's perfor-

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<sup>1</sup> From *Gloria & David Beginning English Series* No. 20, 1958; *Gloria & David Beginning Spanish Series* No. 40, 1959. Copyright © Language Arts, Inc. These materials and the instrumentation (a sound and picture synchronized cartridge and a receiver unit) used to administer them were selected on the basis of the facility with which sentence imitation data may be elicited.

mance. For each scaled evaluation the experts provided a description of the aspects of each performance which served as bases for judgment on each of the scales and the utterances in the sentence-repetition task which exemplified a given aspect of performance. For example, a questionnaire item submitted to the experts took the following form:

- A. How would you rate this child's overall mastery of (e.g. comprehension of SAE )

Good \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_\_ Bad

- B. Upon which aspects of this child's performance did you base your rating? Please be specific.

Aspect As in: Aspect As in:

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### Results: Evaluations of Reliability

By assigning numbers to the scaled ratings, it was then possible to calculate a mathematical index of reliability (Ebel, 1951; Veldman, 1970) which would vary between 0.0 (no reliability) and 1.0 (perfect reliability). For practical interpretation here, an index of from .90 to 1.0 was interpreted as of *high* reliability; .80 to .89 of *moderate* reliability, and anything lower of *questionable* or *low* reliability.

TABLE 1

Reliability estimates based on ratings of fifteen evaluators of Black language sample

Aspect of performance	Average reliability estimate (15 raters)
1. Black dialect dominance (strong-weak)	.94
2. SAE dominance (strong-weak)	.95
3. SAE comprehension (good-bad)	.86
4. SAE production (good-bad)	.92
5. Pathologies (Yes-No)	.69
6. SAE phonology (good-bad)	.88
7. SAE intonation (good-bad)	.55
8. SAE inflections (good-bad)	.92
9. SAE syntax (good-bad)	.87
10. Predict reading achievement (Yes-No)	.47

Table 1 summarizes the reliability results for the 10 items referring to the evaluations of the Black children's samples. The scales showing the highest reliability are those relative to dominance of SAE and Black dialect (.95 and .94, respectively). These are closely followed by the SAE inflection and production scales (.92). The reliabilities of ratings on phonology, syntax, and overall comprehension of SAE were moderate, all exceeding .85.

The three ratings showing questionable reliability are those relative to pathologies, intonation, and prediction of reading achievement.

The estimated reliability of ratings provided by the fourteen evaluators for the ten language samples from Mexican-American children appear in Table 2. The highest reliability estimates for the ratings of the ten Mexican-

TABLE 2  
Reliability estimates based on ratings of fourteen evaluators of  
Mexican-American language sample

Aspect of performance	Average reliability estimate (14 raters)
1. Spanish dominance (strong-weak)	.96
2. SAE dominance (strong-weak)	.93
3. SAE comprehension (good-bad)	.95
4. Spanish comprehension (good-bad)	.95
5. SAE production (good-bad)	.94
6. Spanish production (good-bad)	.95
7. Pathologies (Yes-No)	.19
8. SAE phonology (good-bad)	.91
9. Spanish phonology (good-bad)	.93
10. SAE intonation (good-bad)	.78
11. Spanish intonation (good-bad)	.90
12. SAE inflections (good-bad)	.95
13. SAE syntax (good-bad)	.94
14. Spanish syntax (good-bad)	.95
15. Predict reading achievement (Yes-No)	0.00

American language samples obtain in the areas of Spanish dominance, Spanish syntax, SAE comprehension, SAE inflections, Spanish comprehension, Spanish production, SAE syntax, and SAE production; all of these estimates of reliability fall within the high range. As in the case of the Black language samples, the three areas for which estimated reliability of ratings was low were for SAE intonation, pathologies, and reading predictions.

In examining these reliability estimates, it should be emphasized that they represent the consistencies obtaining in the ratings provided for each child with respect to each of the linguistic aspects (questionnaire items) included in this study. The high reliability estimates obtained here indicate great consistency in the ratings of the same child's performance by fourteen or fifteen different evaluators. The recorded performances elicited by this sentence repetition task thus do seem to permit independent evaluations with a high degree of reliability. These aspects of performance are good topics for teacher training in evaluation of the sentence imitations.

### Results: Bases for Evaluations

Considerable consistency was also observed in those aspects of each child's performance cited by the experts as bases for assigning ratings to performances. Specific aspects of performance cited by the evaluator panels will be divided into two categories, phonology and grammar, and will be

presented separately for each of the two samples, Black and Mexican-American.

Those aspects cited as relevant to the evaluation of Black children's performances which demonstrated a high level of consistency among the fifteen evaluators included:

**Grammar:**

1. Deletion of inflectional ending indicating the third person present tense of verbs (*goes* produced as *go*, *helps* as *help*).
2. Substitution of subject pronoun for possessive pronoun (*she head* for *her head*). In addition, it was frequently observed that the substitution of possessive pronouns involved gender undifferentiation where the subject pronoun used in place of the possessive violated the concord with the gender of the subject pronoun of the sentence (*She has soap on he head*).
3. Replacement of third person singular form /hæz/ by [hæv] or [hæf].
4. Deletion of the noun possessive maker in pre-noun position (*David's neck* replaced by *David neck*).
5. Deletion of *is* and *are* as part of auxiliary (*is going* replaced by *going*). *Is* used with plural subject. *Ain't* replaced *is not*.
6. Deletion of the noun plural marker (*shoes* replaced by *shoe*). Use of hyper-plurals (*feets*, *teeths*).
7. Substitution for subject pronouns (*Her has the soap*).

**Phonology:**

1. /ð/ replaced by /d/, especially in initial position ([dey] for *they*).
2. /ə/ replaced by /ɛ/ or /s/ or /t/ ([tiys] for *teeth*).
3. /ɛ/ as in *bed* lengthened and diphthongized ([beyd] for *bed*).
4. /l/ and /r/ interchanged, particularly when occurring as the second member of a consonant cluster ([krowz] for *clothes*).
5. Consonant clusters, both initial and final, reduced to a single consonant ([kuwl] for *school* and [liyn] for *clean*).
6. Final voiced stops devoiced ([bet] for *bed*).
7. Final voiceless stops deleted ([lay] for *light*).
8. Mid-central vowel /ə/ fronted to /ɛ/ ([brɛʃ] for *brush*).

Aspects of Mexican-American children's performances cited with consistency as relevant to overall performances by the experts included the following:

**Grammar:**

1. Deletion of inflectional ending indicating the third person, present tense of verbs (*goes* produced as *go*; *helps* as *help*).
2. Deletion of the noun plural maker (*shoes* replaced by *shoe*). Use of hyper-plurals (*feets*, *teeths*).

3. Deletion of the noun possessive marker in pre-noun position (*David's neck* replaced by *David neck*).
4. Substitution of either subject pronoun or article for possessive pronoun (*she head* or *the head* for *her head*).
5. Replacement of third person singular form /hæz/ by [hæv] or [hæf].

### Phonology:

1. Substitution of /č/ for /š/ (*washes* replaced by *watches*).
2. Initial /ð/ replaced by /d/ ([dey] for *they*). Intervocalic /ð/ (as in *mother*) weakened so as to resemble a vowel glide.
3. Replacement of voiced /z/ by /s/ ([šuws] for *shoes*).
4. Reduction of initial and final consonant clusters ([kuwl] for *school*).
5. Substitution of [f] and [s] for /e/ ([tiyf] for *teeth*).
6. No differentiation among low and central vowels, /æ/, /ə/, /a/, and /ɔ/ ([brač] for *brush*).
7. Unaspirated voiceless stops in initial position.
8. No differentiation between /i/ and /iy/ (as in *fit* and *feet*, respectively).
9. Vowels and vowel glides reduced in length.
10. Final voiced stops devoiced.

An examination of the specific performance aspects cited by a majority of the evaluators rating each of the two language groups shows nonstandard features shared by the two language groups, especially in the area of grammar, as well as features which differ between them. For example, both Black and Mexican-American children's performances were reported to reflect the deletion of various inflectional endings (the third person present tense of verbs, noun plurals, and noun possessives) and some confusion over possessive and subject pronouns. Certain common features were also shared by both groups on the phonological level, e.g. replacing /ð/ and /ə/, and the reduction of consonant clusters. However, there were some significant differences between the two language samples on this level. Among these differences were that Black children were reported to lengthen normally short vowels and even to diphthongize them, and Mexican-American children were reported to shorten normally long vowels and reduce diphthongs to a single short vowel sound. Black children were also reported to front the mid-central vowel /ə/ to /ɛ/, and Mexican-American children lowered this same vowel, /ə/, to /a/, resulting in the Black child's rendition of *brush* sounding like [brɛš] and the Mexican-American child's like [braš] or [brač].

### Discussion

The high consistency in the ratings assigned to given aspects of each child's performance by the two evaluator panels provides a basis for determining which aspects of language teachers might be trained to evaluate.

Those aspects for which low reliability estimates were obtained from the evaluator panels should probably be avoided in teacher preparation programs because even the expert panels were unable to arrive at a consensus on them. The fact that evaluator panels agreed on not only the specific ratings which they assigned to most aspects of given performances, but also on the performance features upon which those ratings were assigned, indicates that a training program focusing on the experts' criteria should achieve a high level of reliability among teacher trainees.

It should be borne in mind that these evaluations were based upon a fixed set of sentences drawn from a commercially available test package. Thus, it may be that if further sentences or test items were incorporated, some types of evaluation might be added or some of the evaluations reported here might improve in reliability. On the other hand, the present results do provide a basis for direct application in teacher training. Using sentence imitation examples from the present research, teacher trainees can observe the children's responses along with the experts' evaluations. By being informed of the bases of experts' evaluations, teachers should be able to gain some practical degree of familiarity with the special characteristics of the speech of linguistically different children and be able to evaluate such characteristics. Teacher ability in this task can itself be evaluated by comparing a teacher's evaluations with those supplied by the experts.

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## ***Measuring Register Characteristics: A Prerequisite for Preparing Advanced Level TESOL Programs\****

Rosaline K. Chiu

This paper aims at relating the linguistic concept of register to the production of TESOL programs. While linguists concern themselves with how to identify and describe registers that exist within the framework of English, TESOL specialists should work out how to *select, grade, and present* language varieties appropriate to the learners' needs. With the assumption that the linguistic concept of register is particularly relevant to advanced level TESOL programs, the paper reports on a research project which aims at measuring the register characteristics of a corpus of 1,000 pieces of synchronically sampled administrative correspondence and a sizable corpus of boardroom discussions.

In the field of linguistics, there has been much discussion of intra-lingual varieties in the last ten years on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

There have been different frameworks of categorization of intra-lingual varieties presented by different linguists. Most of them, however, would agree that in one dimension, the variety of language a person uses is determined by who he is. Each speaker has learned, as his L<sub>1</sub>, a particular variety of the language of his community, and this variety may differ at any or all levels from other varieties of the same language learned by

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

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, (Oxford University Press 1965), p. 83; J. J. Gumperz, "Types of Linguistic Communities," *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, J. A. Fishman ed. (Mouton, 1968), p. 461; P. D. Strevens, "Varieties of English," *Papers in Language and Language Teaching*, P. D. Strevens, ed. (Oxford University Press 1965), p. 74; Basil Bernstein, "Language and Social Class" *British Journal of Sociology*, 11: 3 (1960), 271-276; Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development," A. Halsey, J. Floud and C. A. Anderson, eds. *Education Economy and Society* (New York, Free Press, 1961), pp. 286-314; Basil Bernstein, "Social Structure, Language and Learning," *Education Research*, 3 (1961), 163-176; Basil Bernstein, "Social Class, Linguistic Codes and Grammatical Elements," *Language and Speech* 5 (1962), 221-240; Basil Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: The Social Origins and Some Consequences," paper presented to the 1963 Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco; Roger W. Shuy, ed. "Social Dialects and Language Learning," Proceedings of the Bloomington, Indiana Conference, National Council of Teachers of English, 1964; Roger W. Shuy, *Discovering American Dialects* (National Council of Teachers of English, 1967); Roger Shuy, "Detroit Speech: Careless or Systematic," *Elementary English* (May 1968); William A. Stewart, "Non-standard Speech and the Teaching of English" (Washington D. C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964).

other speakers as their L<sub>1</sub>. So, he learns to say *jello* or *jelly*, *dessert* or *sweet*, *baby-carriage* or *pram*, to do the dishes or to wash up, to write an exam or to sit for an exam, to have a conflict in his schedule or to have a clash in his time-table, to spell *colo(u)r* and *glamo(u)r* without or with a *u*,

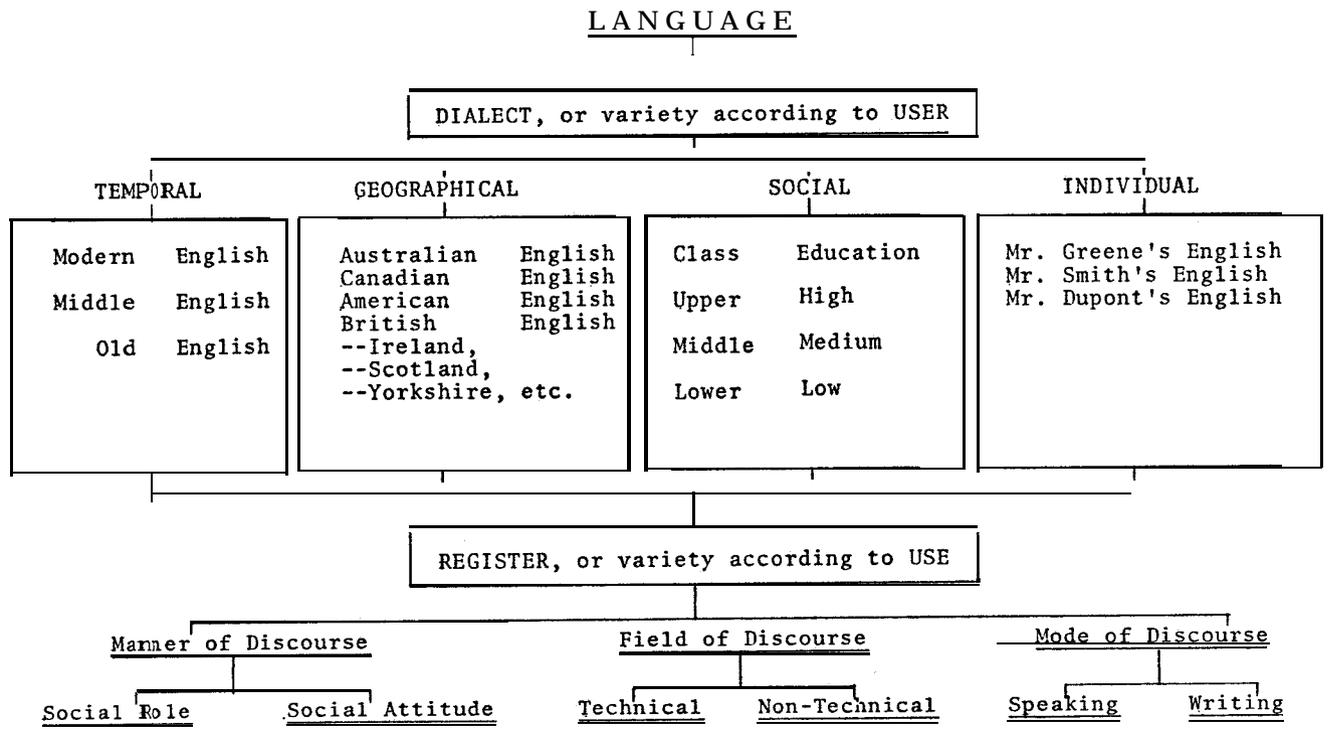


Figure 1

to say *tomato* with /ei/ or /a:/, *lieutenant* /lu:tenənt/ or *lieutenant* /leftənənt/, depending on which side of the Atlantic he is from. Such a variety, identified along this dimension, is called a dialect. It is usually the region of origin which determines which dialect or dialectal variety of the language a speaker uses. He speaks New York dialect if he comes from New York, Yorkshire dialect if he comes from Yorkshire.

But, for some language communities, England and the United States included, a person's speech is determined not only by the region he comes from but also by the social class he comes from, or the social class he is trying to move into. Apart from the geographical or regional dimension and social class dimension, dialects could also be delimited on the temporal dimension and individual dimension. (See Figure 1.)

Our major concern in this paper is with the concept of REGISTER, varieties of a language according to USE. Language varies as its function varies; it differs in different situations. The label given to a variety of a language according to use is register. It is no good trying to write exactly as we would speak. Very likely, we cannot give a lecture with the kind of language we use with our boyfriend or girlfriend. Gossips over the backyard fence sound very different from VIP's in a boardroom discussion, or so they would have us believe. A page from the *Readers' Digest* looks very different from a legal document. Each situation, each use, calls for its own appropriate variety. Here, I would like to quote Strevens<sup>2</sup> illustrations on how the same message could be conveyed in five different ways on the following five-point scale of formality proposed by Joos:<sup>3</sup>

- Frozen style: Visitors should make their way at once to the upper floor by way of the staircase.
- Formal: Visitors should go upstairs at once.
- Consultative: Would you mind going upstairs, right away, please.
- Casual: Time you all went upstairs, now.
- Intimate: up you go, chaps!

If you say "Up you go, chaps!" in a formal situation, your choice of the variety is a wrong one; not that your grammar is inaccurate, but your use of the language is inappropriate. If you use the formal style among your friends in a casual social gathering, then undoubtedly you would give the impression of being "stuffy" or "behaving strangely," or "being funny."

Before we relate the concept of register to TESOL pedagogy, let's look at the framework of language uses to enable us to understand better the functioning of a language in particular situations: who says or writes what, to or for whom, when, in what circumstances.

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<sup>2</sup> Strevens, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Joos, *The Five Clocks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962).

In this paper, the model adopted is an eclectic one with free adaptations from the models presented by Joos, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, Spencer and Gregory, Crystal and Davy, Catford, Ure, and Hill.<sup>4</sup> Registers may vary on three dimensions: field of discourse, mode of discourse and manner of discourse. (See Figure 1.)

Field of discourse refers to the "why" of a speaker's use of language—the purpose the speaker employs language for—persuasion, discussion, insult. (See Figure 2.) Mode of discourse is simply the medium, and is primarily a distinction made between spoken and written language. (See Figure 3.) Manner of discourse, finally, refers to the relations among the participants in a language activity, which can be further sub-categorized into social rôle and social attitude. It is best treated as a cline, with categories such as casual, intimate or polite. (See Figure 4.)

It is as the product of these three dimensions of categorization that we

<sup>4</sup>Martin Joos, *The Five Cloths* and "The Isolation of Styles," *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics Georgetown University*, 12 (1959), 107-113; M. A. K. Halliday, A. McIntosh and P. Strevens, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (London: Longmans, 1964); J. Spencer and M. Gregory, "An Approach to the Study of Style," *Linguistics and Style* (London: Longmans, 1964); Michael Gregory, "Aspects of Varieties Differentiation," *Journal of Linguistics*, 3: 2 (Oct., 1967), 177-274; David Crystal and Derek Davy, *Investigating English Style* (London: Longmans, 1969); David Crystal, "New Perspectives for Language Study. 1: Stylistics," *English Language Teaching* 24: 2 (1970), 99-106; J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (O.U.P. 1965); Jean Ure, "Practical Registers (a)" *English Language Teaching*, 23: 2 (1969), 107-114 and "Practical Registers (b)," *English Language Teaching*, 23: 3 (1969), 206-215; C. P. Hill, presented in his series of lectures given to Postgraduate Diploma students in the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language at University of London Institute of Education, 1965-1966.

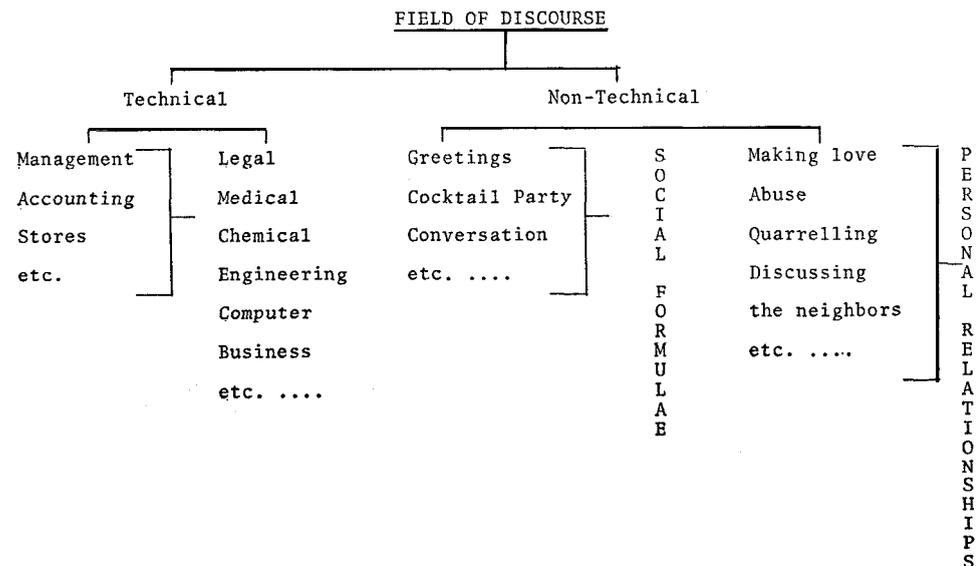


Figure 2

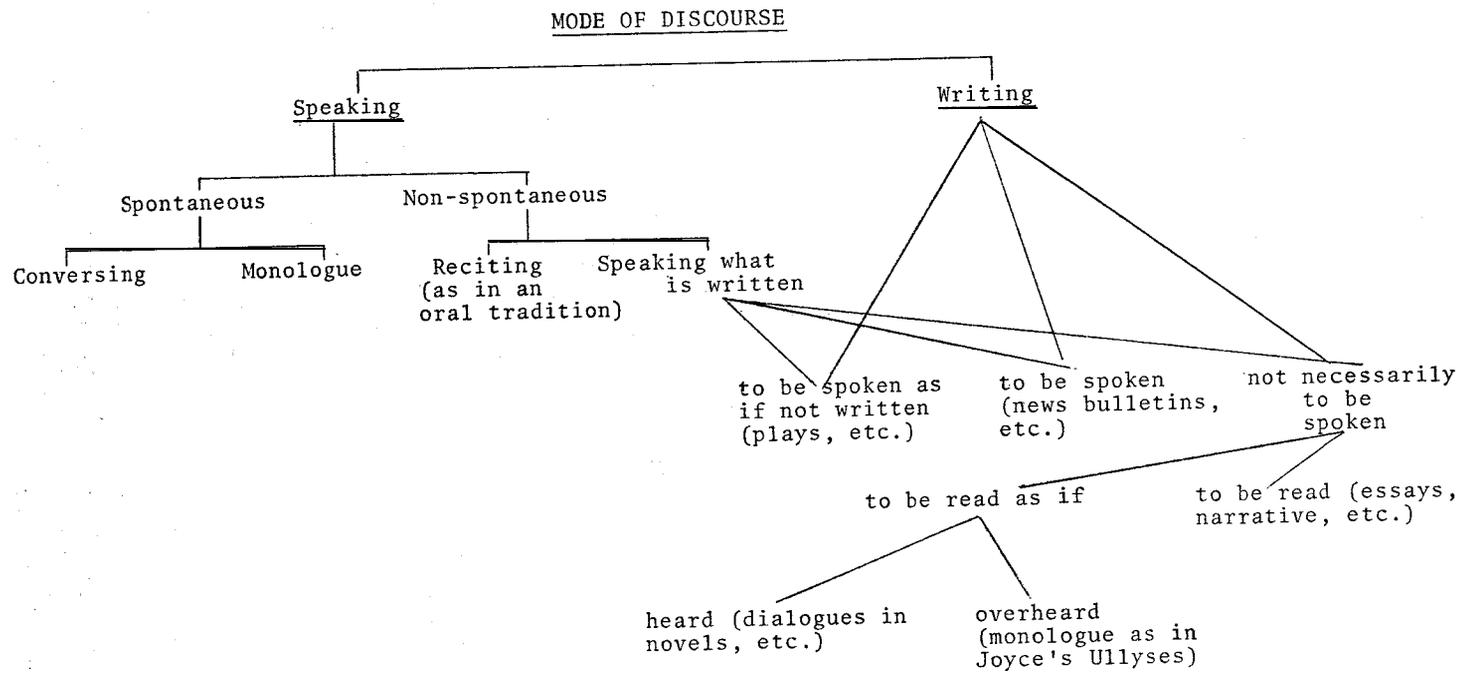


Figure 3. Adopted from Michael Gregory, "Aspects of Varieties Differentiation," *Journal of Linguistics*, 3: 2 (Oct., 1967), 177-274.

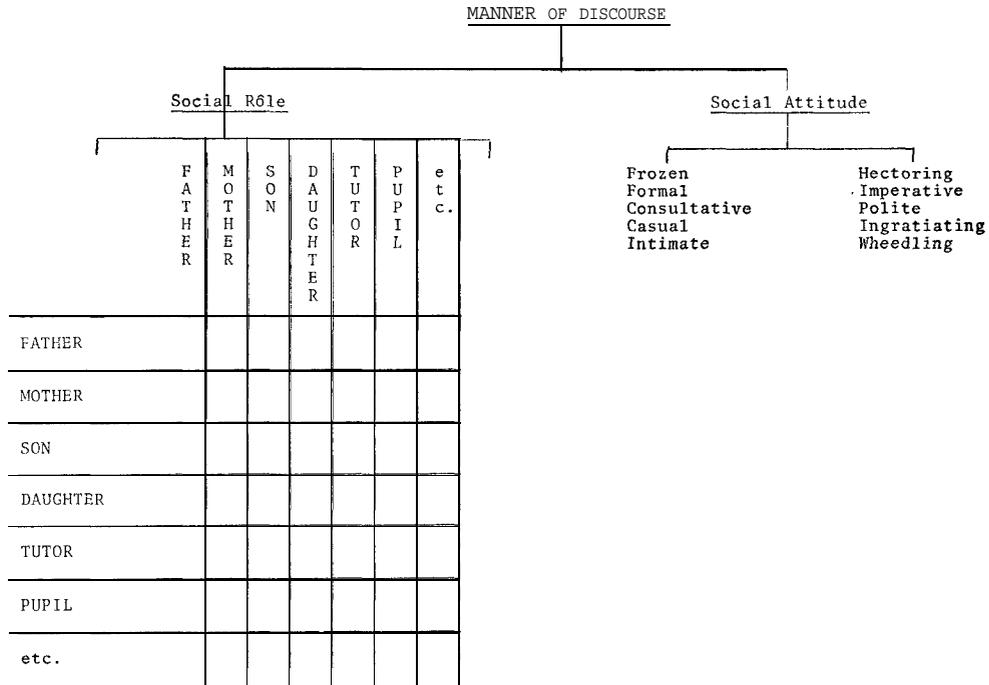


Figure 4

can best define and identify register. For example, a talk on linguistics in a university will be in the technical field of discourse, in the mode of speaking, or speaking what is written, and in a polite manner. The same professor in the common room a little later, may switch to the field of hockey, conversing mode, and casual manner.

Register study thus aims at defining and identifying the linguistic features which are regularly used in recurrent situations, and categorizing the kinds of English that are demarcated in this way. Register characteristics are sets of linguistic forms found to have a regular connection with a particular use of the language in a particular situation, or sets of situations. It does not mean that the connection is necessarily obligatory, but there is enough of a connection to give a native speaker an intuitive feeling of the existence of a link between the language and the situation.

It is the purpose of this paper to propose that a measurement of register characteristics should be considered as a prerequisite for preparing advanced level TESOL programs, that TESOL specialists should work out how to select, grade, and present registers within the framework of English according to the needs of the learners. For example, the learner might need to interact with professional colleagues in technical discussion, in committee work, and in formal social situations. We might not be able to cater to the sociolinguistic requirements of any one individual, just as we cannot cater

to the psycholinguistic variation in the individual as a language learner; but if a learner typology could be more explicitly formulated, this is likely to bring more effective teaching.

In the English Curriculum Division of the Language Bureau, Public Service Commission of Canada, two of the research projects underway are related to register study. Both projects aim at relating the linguistic concept of situationally differentiated language variety to the preparation of TESOL programs. One project has the specific aim of determining the register characteristics of government administrative writing, for this is a variety of writing which our advanced students, all involved in the public service, are most likely to come across and to have to use. The other is a study of spoken English. One of its aims is to study the register characteristics of topic oriented discussions among high-ranking public servants. We would like to know more about this particular use of English, again believing that this is a variety of English which our students are likely to be confronted with and to use.

In our linguistic study of administrative writing, we have analyzed over 1,000 pieces of correspondence supplied to us by various government departments. All documents in the more or less random sample are dated no earlier than 1968. Each departmental sample is subdivided into four basic semantic categories as shown in Figure 5. I will not present a detailed description of our reasons for doing so here, but a study of the diagram should give some idea of how the breakdown of samples is organized.

In the first phase of our analysis, we have centered our study on the VERB PHRASE; the term is used to cover segments of language within

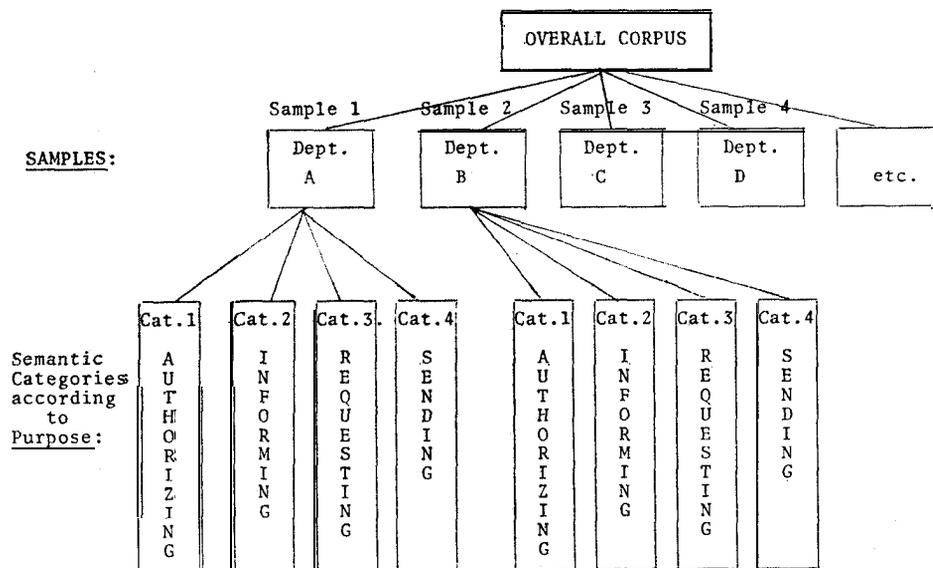


Figure 5. Organization of the Corpus

which statements may be made on the possibilities of co-occurrence of particular verb forms and their relation. So, for phase 1, linguistic analysis is done at two levels: lexical and syntactic, both within the verb phrase. The objective of the analysis at this phase is to yield: (1) a list of verbs used in administrative writing, or, to put it more precisely, a frequency list of the lexical verbs; and (2) a list of "specialized verbs" of the administrative register. This list will be worked out by comparing our frequency list with general word lists previously published by other researchers, West's *A General Service List of English Words*,<sup>5</sup> Thorndike and Lorge's *The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words*,<sup>6</sup> and Kučera and Francis' *Computational Analysis of Present-day American English*,<sup>7</sup> and (3) information on frequency and distribution of different verb structures of the register.

Verb phrases only are marked off in our raw sample, analyzed, structurally coded, and quantified, both by the structural code and lexically. Here are some typical verb phrases:

is amended  
would appreciate  
has been requested  
would appreciate having  
find enclosed

All the underlined verb forms are full verbs, or lexical verbs. Like all other lexical verbs, they are separately recorded and filed. From these data the frequency and range of the lexical verbs of the corpus can be worked out. Frequency is the number of times a word occurs—say ten, for a verb like *consider*. It occurs a total of ten times in only seven documents, so its range is seven, but its frequency remains ten.

At the lexical level some of our findings are very interesting. Our corpus consists of slightly less than 140,000 running words. The total number of verbs is 11,323, but the number of different verbs is only 866. Of these 866, the first 15 highest ranking lexical verbs, according to frequency, and excluding BE and HAVE, are the following:

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Lexical Verb</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1	make	252
2	attach	187
3	enclose	164
	receive	
5	require	159
6	appreciate	148
7	provide	139

<sup>5</sup> (Longmans, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

<sup>7</sup> (Brown University Press, 1967).

8	refer	129
9	forward	123
10	find	120
11	request	118
12	advise	113
	send	
14	take	106
15	give	104

Even at a glance, our list looks very different from other general word lists. If we screen the lexical verbs from Lorge's magazine count, which included nearly four and a half million words from the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *True Story*, and *Readers' Digest*, the highest frequency verbs will look something like this in descending order of frequency.

1. go	6. know	11. think
2. ask	7. get	12. look
3. say	8. see	13. want
4. come	9. take	14. give
5. make	10. like	15. find

When we compare our list with Kučera and Francis' list, which is a compilation of more than 1,000,000 running words spread over fifteen genres of written English, we find that most of our high frequency items come very low in the Kučera and Francis' list:

	<i>Administrative Correspondence</i> (from a corpus of 140,000 run- ning words)	<i>Kucera &amp; Francis</i> (from a corpus of about 1,000,000 running words)
attach	187	44
enclose	164	13
appreciate	148	39
refer	129	108
forward	123	119
request	118	83
advise	113	48
thank	83	82
submit	77	47
acknowledge	40	27
ensure	35	10
amend	27	17

By a process of comparison, we will be able to work out an inventory of "specialized verbs" of this register of administrative writing.

Let's turn now to the structural level of our analysis. You remember our list of typical verb phrases: "is *amended*" is a simple phrase, and so are "would *appreciate*" and "has been *requested*." Simple phrases are those

that contain only one (form of) full verb, though they may contain a number of (forms of) auxiliaries. “Would *appreciate having*” and “*find enclosed*” are complex phrases since they contain more than one (form of a) full verb.

To code our verb phrases for analysis we used a binary distinction grid in which all verb phrases can be quickly coded and cataloged. The grid refers to form and not meaning. Figure 6 is a schematic representation of the coding system.

Say we have a verb phrase like *takes*, as in “the trip *takes* three days.” *Takes* is unmarked: no tense, no mood, no phase, no aspect, no voice.

But take another example: “would *appreciate*,” as in “We would *appreciate* the report by Sunday.” *Would* marks the phrase in mood and tense (as opposed to “will *appreciate*”), and the form can be uniquely identified as TM in our code.

You can take any verb phrase and identify it on the grid; and our coding system thus makes it possible to code, catalog, and retrieve all of the variety of forms very quickly. It also allows us to computerize the data for more rapid processing, which is now being done in this project.

Here is the distribution of verb phrases.

In our samples 1-10, we have a total of 9,884 verb phrases, of which 16.1% are complex phrases, such as “*became acquainted*,” “*let me know*,” “*keep us posted*.” Our model does not deal with these complex types, but

Category	Tense	Mood	Phase	Aspect	Voice
Unmarked	non-past	non-modal	non-perfect	non-progressive	non-passive
Marked	past	modal	perfect	progressive	passive
Markers	-D	CAN MAY WILL SHALL etc.	HAVE + -n	BE + -ing	BE + -n
Code for Marked Category	T	M	P	A	V

Figure 6. Coding System

studies the remaining 83.9% of the total—the marked and unmarked simple phrases. These total 8,289 verb phrases such as “will *issue*,” “is being *pre-  
pared*,” “are *provided*,” “*proceed*.”

This gross breakdown shows that of the 8,289 simple phrases, (see Figure 7) 32.1% are unmarked. And 10.0% are marked for tense only—traditionally simple past.

I should perhaps point out that the figures for the modals, passives, and perfects are composite figures. The figures incorporate items from other categories, so don't try to add them. For example:

I “would suggest” (Marked in *Tense* and *Mood*)

I “would have suggested” (Marked in *Tense*, *Mood*, and *Phase*)

In these two examples the first item and the second would be calculated for the *past* and the *modal*, and the second would be calculated also in the figures for the *perfect* forms. We are presently beginning to feed all this information into the computer to give us complete breakdowns of each type (something we have had to do manually so far).

The figures are very revealing. And they can help us to define various registers—will define various registers as our analysis is carried further.

For the sake of comparison I have included here some data from the

	<u>Administrative Writing</u>
Unmarked (Simple Present)	32.1%
Marked in <u>Tense only</u> (Simple Past)	10.0%
Marked in <u>Mood</u> (Modal)	44.2%
Marked in <u>Voice</u> (Passive)	47.3%
Marked in <u>Phase</u> (Perfect)	14.9%
Marked in <u>Aspect</u> (Progressive)	7.5%

Figure 7

second project mentioned earlier on verb phrases from a corpus of formal and informal spoken English which was analyzed by the same process as I have described above (see Figure 8). And now I think you can see the importance of these figures more readily. Note the reduced frequency of the unmarked forms and of the simple past forms when we move to writing from spoken English. But, more important, note the increase in the importance of the modals, passives, and perfects. These changes are benchmarks in charting register; they cannot be ignored.

At this stage you may be tempted to say “So what! Just a lot of figures; they don’t affect me at all as a teacher.” We feel that they do. Indirectly perhaps, through the text materials you may be using. As he progresses in a course, the foreign learner may be expected to be able to speak and write accurately according to the intonation and grammar of English, and he may be expected to have mastered the so-called “common core” of English, but he may still be lacking in fluency. To reach proficiency in English, he needs to be fluent, and fluency may be measured by his ability to conform and adapt in an appropriate manner to many different sociolinguistic situations. Perhaps, to enable him to achieve this proficiency, TESOL specialists should systematically introduce him to and guide him through these situations, each with its own set of distinctive linguistic features, so that he may develop a sense of linguistic appropriateness, the fluency which corresponds as closely as possible to that of native speakers.

	<u>Informal Spoken</u>	<u>Formal Spoken</u>	<u>Administrative Writing</u>
Unmarked (Simple Present)	57.8%	54 %	32.1%
Marked in <u>Tense</u> only (Simple Past)	29.1%	27 %	10.0%
Marked in <u>Mood</u> (Modal)	40.4%	34.4%	44.2%
Marked in <u>Voice</u> (Passive)	9.9%	12.0%	47.3%
Marked in <u>Phase</u> (Perfect)	11.0%	18.7%	14.9%
Marked in <u>Aspect</u> (Progressive)	13.9%	13.7%	7.5%

Figure 8

As our research findings become more refined, our courses will reflect these tidings; and if our statistical information stands, when extended over the wider range we plan, our courses will—indeed must—look very different from those currently available.

## ***Communication Techniques\****

**John Schumann**

It is recognized that to teach students to speak a foreign language, pattern practice is insufficient; communication practice must also be provided. This paper describes communication techniques used in four methods (situational reinforcement, audio-visual-structural-global, microwave, Lipson) which have the teaching of communication skills as their major goal. Discussion is presented on how various techniques differ from pattern practice and on whether they allow communication or teach it. Teachers are encouraged to examine these techniques and to incorporate those they believe will be effective into their own lessons.

Much current literature in foreign language education has highlighted the need to teach students to communicate in the target language. It is generally recognized that pattern practice trains students to manipulate structures but does not enable them to communicate. In response to the needs for materials that are communication oriented, several language programs have been devised with that specific goal. The purpose of this paper is to describe four recently developed courses that claim to teach students to communicate. Each of them is successful to a certain degree and may provide techniques that will be useful for language teachers who want to focus directly on this problem. I will not attempt to describe the methods in their entirety, but will merely illustrate the use of certain techniques.

### **Institute of Modern Languages**

The situational reinforcement method devised by the Institute of Modern Languages in Washington, D. C., proposes to lead students to genuine communication by using a combination of drills. At the basic level, the Nucleus Course, the student is usually reacting to a stimulus which is physically present. A sequence consisting of a question and answer, or a command, question, and answer is presented to the student in four steps: listen, repeat, teacher-student response, and student-student response.

- T. Write your name on the blackboard.
- T. What are you doing?
- S. I'm writing my name on the blackboard.

The teacher recites the above sequence two or three times, going through

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\* This paper was supported in part by Peace Corps contract No. PC-25-1517 to the Language Research Foundation, Cambridge, Massachusetts. I would like to acknowledge the aid of Alexander Lipson and Nancy Stenson who made valuable comments on the manuscript during its preparation.

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the appropriate actions while the students just listen. Next, the students repeat the sequence three times sentence-by-sentence after the teacher. The teacher then gives the command and the student performs the action; the teacher then asks the question and the student answers. In the final step the students give the commands and ask the questions of other students.

Once the above sequence has been mastered, teaching a form of the past tense follows naturally:

- T. Write your name on the blackboard.
- T. What are you doing?
- S. I'm writing my name on the blackboard.
- T. What did you do?
- S. I wrote my name on the blackboard.

Timing is important. The teacher and students must perform the proper actions along with the response. In other words, the question "What are you doing?" and the answer "I'm writing my name on the blackboard." must be done while the name is being written on the blackboard. The question "What did you do?" and its response can only come after the action has been completed. This enables the student to use the tenses in their appropriate contexts and to understand the differences between them.

After the past tense has been taught, other personal pronouns can be introduced:

- T. Write your name on the blackboard.
- T. What is he doing?
- s. He's writing his name on the blackboard.
- T. What did he do?
- s. He wrote his name on the blackboard.

The advantage this type of drill has over pattern practice is that what the student says is appropriate to a specific situation. The question and answer format more nearly approximates real communication. The drill presents and contrasts simple past and present progressive, and enables students to use both these tenses right from the beginning.

The intermediate course, *Orientation in American English*, involves exchange of information on such subjects as vending machines, supermarkets, drugstores, sports, and money. Here the emphasis changes to more abstract use of language—reacting to a secondary rather than a primary linguistic stimulus. A series of Response Drills, usually consisting of a question and an answer are learned individually and then strung together in a connective discourse.

- A. Pointing to a picture, or using real aspirin tablets: What are these?  
They're aspirin tablets.

## B. When do you take aspirin?

You take aspirin when you have a headache.  
You take aspirin when you have a fever.  
You take aspirin when you have a cold.  
You take aspirin when you have a toothache.  
You take aspirin when you have some kind of pain.

## c. How do you ask for aspirin?

You ask for a bottle of aspirin.<sup>1</sup>

Each response drill is taught with the four steps described above; listen, repeat, teacher-student response, student-student response. Then all response drills are put together in a connected discourse and practiced with the same four teaching steps.

The Response Drills taken individually are very similar to question and answer pattern drills. When strung together, they resemble the practiced discourse of traditional audiolingual dialogues. However, they do differ in some respects. First of all, the content of the response drills is much more useful than that of typical dialogues. The relevance of the content facilitates the transfer of the structures learned to communication in real-life situations. Secondly, the sequences are not memorized as are dialogues in audiolingual materials. Alternatives are taught (see drill B above) in order to equip students with additional relevant information. If a student gives a variant response which is possible within the situation, it is not considered wrong and is not corrected. In the response sequences information and interest take precedence over grammar; new and sometimes complicated structures are used if they enhance interest. Thus, there is no rigid ordering of grammatical points in the materials.

The Response Sequences build toward Conversation Practice in which they are used as the basis for a discussion. The students can form their own questions or answers, or the teacher can prompt them with such questions as:

Do you ever take aspirin?  
When do you take aspirin?  
Where do you buy aspirin?  
Do you keep aspirin in your house?  
Do you have any aspirin in your pocket pocketbook? <sup>2</sup>

The conversation practice is obviously the culmination and the most important element in the method. It is here that a student speaks in an

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<sup>1</sup> Eugene J. Hall and Elizabeth M. Farnham, *Situational Reinforcement, Orientation in American English II* (Washington, D. C.: Institute of Modern Languages), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Hall and Farnham, p. 2.

effort to communicate certain information. However, this communication practice does not *teach* the student to communicate. It is not a *drill* in the sense that it sets up conditions under which the student can and will generate his own sentences. It merely asks questions to which the students can respond using sentences they have previously practiced in the response drills.

### Center for Curriculum Development

The audio-visual-structural-global method was designed and implemented in France in a course called *Voix et Images de France*. The method now has programs in English, Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, and Serbo-Croatian, which have been developed by the Center for Curriculum Development in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The method consists of four basic steps: Presentation, Explanation, Repetition, and Transposition. The second and fourth steps are the most strongly communication-oriented and provide techniques that can be extrapolated from the method as a whole and used in conjunction with other materials. The following examples have been translated from French. The French program was chosen for illustration rather than the English because it is older and more highly developed. Also, the manual for implementation of the method is designed specifically for the French course.

As in many current foreign language materials, the lessons are built around dialogues. In *Voix et Images* the dialogues are illustrated with carefully constructed film strips.

The explanation phase is concerned with making explicit the lexical content and structural value of a sentence. For example, the sentence *Paul is working in his room* is illustrated by a picture of Paul sitting at a desk reading. Next to the desk is his bed; in the background the bedroom door can be seen. The semantic value or meaning of the verb *work* is established by directing the students' attention to the significant details of the picture by means of a series of ordered questions that require the student to talk about the content of the picture and thus understand what it represents in the dialogue.

T. Where is Paul?

S. He's in his room.

T. Yes, but where in his room?

S. He's at his desk.

T. Are there any toys in his room now?

S. No, there aren't.

T. Are there any toys on his desk?

S. No, there aren't.

T. What is Paul looking at?

S. He's looking at the books.

T. What is he doing? Paul is working in his room.

S. (repeats) Paul is working in his room.

- T. Where is Paul working? Paul is working in his room.  
 S. (repeats) Paul is working in his room.<sup>3</sup>

The above questions establish the meaning of a particular sentence in a dialogue. The students come to understand the sentence by participating in a question and answer sequence with the teacher. Traditional audiolingual materials would probably teach the same sentence by having the teacher point to the picture while the students repeat the sentence after him. The notion of work would be established by gestures and facial expressions. The questioning in this method certainly brings the student much closer to communication than does mere repetition.

The structural value, i.e. the explicit knowledge of the grammatical elements of the sentence, is also elicited through a series of explanation questions. These questions require the student to dissociate the elements of the sound group according to grammatical function.

1. Subject:       T. Who is that?  
                  S. That's Paul.
2. Complement: T. What's this?  
                  S. It's a room.
  - a. Obj. of Preposition  
          T. Where is Paul?  
          S. He's in his room.
  - b. Possessive Pronoun  
          T. Is it Paul's room?  
          s. Yes, it's *his* room. (Paul's)
3. Verb:         T. What's he doing?  
                  s. He's working.
4. Whole sentence:  
                  T. Where is Paul working?  
                  s. He's working in his room.<sup>4</sup>

The questioning forces the student to learn the grammar of the sentence by communicating, i.e. by answering a question posed in the target language. Typical audio-lingual materials would probably teach the grammar through a pattern drill of the substitution variety:

- Subject:       T. Paul is working in his room. (Tom)  
                  S. Tom is working in his room.  
                  T. father  
                  S. Father is working in his room.

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<sup>3</sup> Renard and Heinle, *Implementing Voix et Images de France in American Schools and Colleges* (Philadelphia; Chilton Books, 1969), p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 45-46.

- Complement: T. Paul is working in his room. (in the library)  
 S. Paul is working in the library.  
 T. in the den  
 S. Paul is working in the den.
- Verb: T. Paul is working in his room. (studying)  
 S. Paul is studying in his room.  
 T. reading  
 S. Paul is reading in his room.

The pattern drilling makes no reference to a specific situation and therefore is much less meaningful. It only requires the student to manipulate elements of the sentence orally but does not require him to communicate. The authors of the audio-visual-structural-global method feel that the communicative function of language must be maintained if language teaching is not to degenerate into mere mechanical drill.<sup>5</sup> They therefore teach the meaning and the grammar of sentences by asking carefully ordered questions. The questions and answers of these drills differ from audio-lingual pattern drills in that they do not merely offer practice in asking and answering questions. What they do is pose a question about the meaning or grammar of a sentence such that the student must answer (communicate) to show he understands the issue at hand. Thus in answering the question, the students are communicating.

The remaining drills and exercises of the audio-visual-structural-global method are based on the following dialogue which the students have learned well enough so that they can reconstruct it using filmstrip pictures as a stimulus:

#### DIALOGUE

- Pierre: Where do you live, Jacques?  
 Jacques: I live on Post street, across from the cinema.  
 P: What number?  
 J: Number 13. Look, the number is above the door.  
 P: Do you have an apartment?  
 J: No, I just have a room on the 7th floor under the roof.  
 P: The 7th! That's high. Is there an elevator?  
 J: No, it's an old house; there are just stairs.  
 P: Do you eat in your room?  
 J: No, I eat at a restaurant next door.  
 P: There's a car in front of the door. Is it yours?  
 J: No, I have a motorbike; it's in the courtyard behind the house.  
 Come see my room.  
 P: No thanks. I don't have time. Good-bye. Is there a subway station near here?

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<sup>5</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 50-51.

J: No, what neighborhood do you live in?

P: I live on Station Street; it's far.

J: Take a bus. There's a bus stop there, across from the pharmacy.

P: Thank you.<sup>6</sup>

The transposition phase is introduced after the students are able to reproduce the dialogue. Its purpose is to transpose the acquisitions from the context in which they have been learned to a variety of new situations.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Manipulation of the variable elements of structures.*

The teacher instructs the students to assume the roles of characters in the dialogue and asks questions that require the students, in the responses, to manipulate the elements of the structures:<sup>8</sup>

1. Bill, you're Pierre; Tom, you're Jacques. Pierre, (Bill), ask Jacques "Where do you live, Jacques? (Tom), you answer.
  2. Bill (S1): Where do you live, Jacques?
  3. Tom (S2): I live on Post Street.
  4. T (to another student): Where does Jacques live?
  5. S3: He lives on Post Street.
  6. T: S3, ask Jacques the question (teacher indicating another student (S4) for the role of Jacques).
  7. S3: Do you live on Post Street?
  8. S4: Yes, I live on Post Street.
  9. T: Where on Post Street?
  10. S4: Across from the cinema.
  11. T (to another student): Where do you live, Jacques?
  12. S5: I live on Post Street, across from the cinema.
  13. T (to another student): Where does Jacques live?
  14. S6: He lives on Post Street, across from the cinema.<sup>9</sup>
- etc.

The student is taught that when the teacher instructs him to "ask the question," he is to form a question from the statement previously made. To illustrate, see lines 5, 6, 7, 14 in the above example.

Indirect Discourse can also be used in this type of drill:

T: Where do you live, Jacques?

S1: I live on Post Street.

T: (To another student) What did he say?

S2: He said he lives on Post Street.

T: (To another student) Where did he say he lives?

S3: He said he lives on Post street.

<sup>6</sup> Renard and Heinle, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Renard and Heinle, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Renard and Heinle, p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 406-407.

In these exercises the sentence structures of the dialogue are manipulated. You is changed to *I*, *I* is changed to *he*, questions are changed to statements, and vice versa. Pattern drills have been designed for practicing the same kinds of transformations, but the role playing of this technique gives the manipulations a meaningful situational framework, and the question and answer format forces the manipulations to be made in a context which approximates real communication. Such exercises are much more likely to produce students who can communicate than are pattern drills.

2. *Oral description of pictures that illustrate the dialogue.*

Here the students are required to give an oral description of a pre-selected picture illustrating part of the dialogue. Through this exercise the students learn the differences in communication between spoken language dialogue and descriptive narrative. To initiate the oral composition, the teacher asks a series of questions that partially structures the student response, encouraging him to continue unaided. Later, when the students become familiar with the activity, such instigation will become unnecessary.<sup>10</sup>

Referring to the picture in which Pierre and Jacques are talking about where Jacques lives, the teacher asks:

T: Who is this and who is this?

S: That is Jacques and that is Pierre.

T: Where are they?

S: They're in the street, near Post Street.

T: Tell me where Pierre is and where Jacques is.

S: Pierre is in front of Jacques; Jacques is across from Pierre.

Pierre is small and Jacques is big. Pierre is looking at Jacques.

T: What is there on the right and on the left?

S: There is a big house on the left, it has four floors. Downstairs, there is a store. It is an old house. On the right there is a little house. It only has three floors. Down below there is a door and two windows. On the second floor there are three windows.<sup>11</sup>

3. *Questions on the content of the dialogue.*

This drill ascertains whether the students have understood the dialogue and can manipulate the structures with facility. It consists of twenty to thirty questions on the contents of the dialogue. The questions are presented without regard for the exact order of events in the dialogue.<sup>12</sup>

For example:

1. Who lives on Post Street?
2. What is the number of Jacques' house?
3. Where is Post Street?
4. Does Pierre live in Paris?

<sup>10</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 68-69.

<sup>11</sup> Renard and Heinle, p. 416.

<sup>12</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 69-70.

5. What street does he live on?
  6. At what number?
  7. Is Post Street near Station Street?
  8. What is there on Post Street?
  9. What is across from Jacques' house?
  10. Are there stores on Post Street?<sup>13</sup>
- etc.

#### 4. *Narration of the story (résumé).*

This exercise requires that the student communicate the events of the dialogue in the form of a narrative. Here, as in number 2, the students learn the communicative difference between dialogue and narrative.<sup>14</sup> Linguistic structures such as subordinate clauses and indirect discourse which are appropriate to the narrative form must be practiced and learned before an exercise of this sort can be done. Therefore, this drill might have to be delayed until the students have learned these structures. The following is an example of a narrative résumé of the above dialogue.

Pierre and Jacques meet on the street. Pierre asks Jacques about where he lives. Jacques tells him that he has a room on the seventh floor of an apartment building. He explains that he eats in the restaurant next to the building. Jacques has a motorbike. He keeps it in the courtyard. Pierre lives on Station Street. When they finish talking Pierre takes a bus home.

#### 5. *Transfer to the students' lives.*

This drill most closely approximates a real-life situation. It is the most genuine communicative exercise and is the culmination of all previous work. The teacher elicits information concerning the student's own personal experience.<sup>15</sup>

1. Where do you live?
  2. At what number?
  3. On what floor?
  4. Is your house large? (small) (old)
  5. Is your room large?
  6. Does your room have windows?
  7. Does it have 2 windows? (one?)
  8. What is in your room?
  9. Is there a bus stop near you?
  10. Is there a cinema near you?<sup>16</sup>
- etc.

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<sup>13</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 416-417.

<sup>14</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 70-71.

<sup>15</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 72-73.

<sup>16</sup> Renard and Heinle, pp. 417-418.

### Microwave

The Microwave Method, devised by Earl Stevick<sup>17</sup> of the Foreign Service Institute and based on an earlier design by Thomas F. Cummings,<sup>18</sup> has been used in an English as a Second Language course distributed by the Lingoco Corporation in California.<sup>19</sup>

The distinctive feature of a microwave course is the emphasis on communicative use of each structural element as soon as it appears. The principal component is a series of cycles which, because of their extreme shortness, have been given the name microwaves. Each cycle begins with the introduction of new material and ends when that same material has been used for purposes of communication. Each cycle in turn contains at least an 'M phase' and a 'C phase.' *M* stands for *mimicry* of pronunciation, *manipulation* of grammatical elements, learning the *meaning* of the words and sentences, and a certain degree of *memorizing*. *C* stands for *connected conversation*, and of course, *communication*.<sup>20</sup>

*Teaching the M phase.* The M phase of each cycle consists of four or more sub-M's (M-1, M-2, M-3, M-4) each of which has several structurally related sentences. For example:

#### M-1

some	I'd like some eggs, please.
a few	I'd like a few eggs, please.
a dozen	I'd like a dozen eggs, please.
a half-dozen	I'd like a half-dozen eggs, please.

#### M-2

any	I'm sorry, there aren't any left.
any at all	I'm sorry, there aren't any left at all.
none	I'm sorry, there are none left.
none at all	I'm sorry, there are none left at all.

#### M-3

any	Do you have any milk or any cream?
some	Do you have some milk or some cream?
a few bottles of	Do you have a few bottles of milk?
a dozen bottles	Do you have a dozen bottles of milk?

#### M-4

some-any	We have some milk but we don't have any cream.
some-any at all	We have some milk but we don't have any cream at all.

<sup>17</sup> Earl Stevick, "UHF and Microwaves in Transmitting Language Skills," in Najam, ed., *Language Learning: The Individual and the Process*, supplement to *IJAL*, 1966, pp. 64-94.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas F. Cummings, *How to Learn a Language*. (New York, 1916).

<sup>19</sup> Harding, Delisle, Escorcía, *A Microwave Course in English as a Second Language* (Christensen Press, 1969).

<sup>20</sup> Blanca Escorcía, *Teacher's Manual to a Microwave Course, in English as a Second Language*, p. ii.

any-some	We don't have any milk but we have some cream.
any at ail-some	We don't have any milk at all, but we have some cream. <sup>21</sup>

- (1) Mimicry of the teacher's pronunciation
  - (a) The teacher says the first sentence of M-1 twice in English at a normal rate of speed, while the students listen.
  - (b) The students repeat the sentence chorally two or more times.
  - (c) The teacher asks individual students to say the sentence. The teacher says the sentence with the student so that he does not feel left on his own before he becomes familiar with the material.

- (2) Meaning of the sentences

The text is presented in a bilingual format because the authors feel that a Spanish translation is a more economical way to convey meaning than to spend time using gestures and performing actions. Therefore, to explain the meaning of a sentence the teacher writes the Spanish equivalent on the blackboard. He does not say the sentence in Spanish but he merely writes it. In this way the students understand that English is the only form of verbal communication appropriate to the classroom, and at the same time they very easily learn the meaning of the English structure.

- (3) The teacher proceeds in the same way with each sentence within the particular sub-M.

- (4) Manipulation of the grammatical structures.

At the end of each sub-M, the teacher conducts a substitution drill using words in the left hand column as cues.

T: I'd like some eggs, please.  
 S: I'd like some eggs, please.  
 T: a few.  
 S: I'd like a few eggs, please.  
 T: a dozen.  
 S: I'd like a dozen eggs, please.

When the student can perform the substitution drill correctly, the cycle is completed.

The M-phase is simply pattern practice—repetition drills followed by a substitution drill. The only difference is that the amount of pattern practice preceding an attempt at communication is less than in traditional audiolingual materials.

*Teaching the C-phase.* The C-phases represent short conversations that occur in real-life situations. While the C-phase is in progress, both the teacher and the students look at the Spanish translation of the C's and

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<sup>21</sup>Harding, et al., p. 28.

avoid looking at English. The C-phase of the cycle is divided into two parts: controlled conversation and free conversation.

(1) **Controlled conversation**

(a) The teacher takes the part of the first speaker and individual students take turns as the second speaker.

(b) The students assume both parts in the conversation.

(c) The students make variations by replacing the words in the parentheses with words they already know. At this point the teacher can introduce new vocabulary if it is appropriate to the situation and if it fits into the parentheses. For example, the expression "a couple of" could be substituted in the first line of C-1: *I'd like a couple of eggs, please.*<sup>22</sup>

C-1

A: I'd like (some) eggs, please.

B: I'm sorry, there aren't (any) left.

A: Do you have (some) milk or (some) cream?

B: We have (some) milk but we don't have (any) cream.

C-2

A: I'd like (a few) eggs, please.

B: I'm sorry, there are (none) left.

C: Do you have (a few bottles of) milk or cream?

D: We don't have (any) milk (at all) but we have (some) cream.<sup>23</sup>

The controlled conversation segments of the C-phase are really just short dialogues. They are practiced discourse just as in audiolingual materials. The only difference is that they are shorter than the usual audiolingual dialogues and because of the variations taught in the M-phase, they can be altered to a certain extent.

(2) **Free Conversation**

Here the students are given the opportunity to make up their own conversations by using materials already learned and by combining them in different ways. During this step the teacher acts as a moderator helping students with new words and correcting errors. He does not take part directly in the conversation. The sentences the students produce during this phase should reflect their own experience and thus become vehicles for real communication.<sup>24</sup>

The course also provides two other communication-producing devices in the form of the Life-like Situations and Discussion Topics. These are inserted at regular intervals in order to force the student to make active

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<sup>22</sup> Escorcia, pp. iii-vi.

<sup>23</sup> Harding, et al., p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Escorcia, pp. iii-vii.

use of the structures and vocabulary he has acquired.<sup>25</sup> The following are examples of Life-like Situations. Like the microwave cycles, they are presented in a bilingual format.

- (1) You are going shopping and you meet a friend who asks your destination. After you explain, you both decide to go together to a cafe and talk about your plans for the next vacation.
- (2) You return home from the market and you explain to your husband how expensive everything is and how difficult it is to buy all the necessary things with the little money he gives you.
- (3) You are going to take your driver's test. The examiner tells you what kinds of things you have to do: change lanes, turn left, slow down, etc. You feel nervous and make lots of mistakes. At the end of the test, ask the examiner whether you passed or not?<sup>26</sup>

The Discussion Topics are presented to the students beforehand so that they can begin to think about and plan the arguments they are going to use in the discussion. The use of these topics is delayed until the students are quite proficient in the language.<sup>27</sup>

- (1) Should an adolescent be permitted to ride a motorcycle at age 14?
- (2) Is watching TV worthwhile?
- (3) Should the work-day be shortened?
- (4) Should an individual do what he thinks is right regardless of what society dictates?<sup>28</sup>

The free conversation, life-like situations and discussion topics all provide the opportunity for the student to communicate. But, once again, they do not *teach* communication. They do not structure the students' learning so that they are able to communicate and must communicate in order to do the exercise. They merely provide situations or ideas that will, hopefully, interest the students and induce them to use the sentences they have practiced in the M-phase and controlled conversation.

### **Lipson's Method**

Alexander Lipson, Director of foreign language teacher-training at Harvard University, has devised a method that might be called a verbal problem-solving approach. Its purpose is to motivate students to create their own sentences through the desire to communicate specific information. The course is designed so that the student's major activity is constructing sentences with the motivation of conveying information.

The technique has two steps: presentation of a plot, and questions about the plot. In the very first lesson a corpus of sentences is learned through choral repetition and translation. Drawings or symbols replace

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<sup>25</sup> Escorcía, p. iii.

<sup>26</sup> Harding, et al., pp. 108-109.

<sup>27</sup> Escorcía, p. ix.

<sup>28</sup> Harding, et al., pp. 110-111.

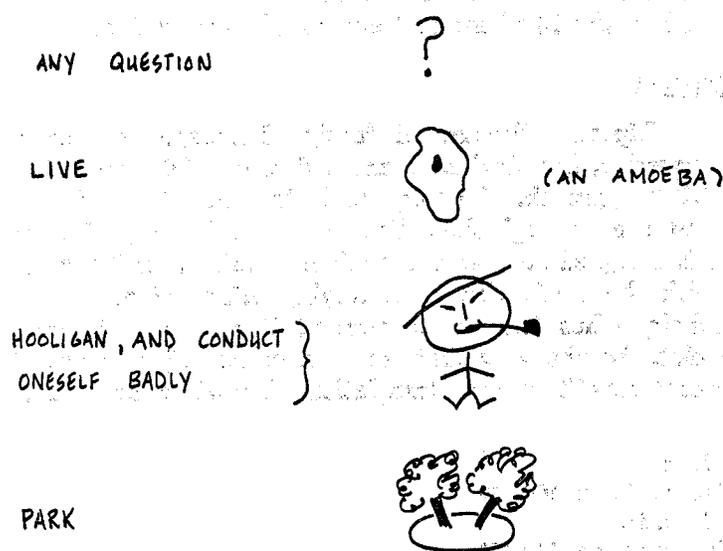
translation almost immediately, and translation becomes unnecessary. Subsequent lessons build on the corpus, adding new grammatical items that allow the plot to develop and become more complicated. The vocabulary used in the plots is meant to be interesting so that the students will want to talk with it. Question words are introduced from the beginning so that students will become immediately accustomed to asking questions.

The following Russian sentences which have been translated into English serve as the initial corpus.

How do hooligans live?  
 What do they do?  
 In factories they steal.  
 In parks they conduct themselves badly.  
 Hooligans are often uncultured people.  
 Uncultured people never wash.  
 They like to smoke in trolley buses.

In the very beginning the students are also taught certain verbal rituals. Where a question does not have a clear answer, i.e., where they haven't already been told the answer or where there is more than one possible correct answer, they must qualify the answer with the phrase "as far as I know." Example; *Do hooligans like to steal in parks? Do uncultured people wash on trolley buses?* As long as they qualify their answer, it is considered correct. Where they do not, it is considered incorrect, and they must apologize with the sentence: "Ah, forgive me, dear teacher, I've made a vulgar error."

The following drawings or symbols are used as auxiliary devices to represent elements of the plot eliminating the need for translation.



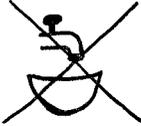
STEAL 

FACTORY 

UNCULTURED PERSON 

WASH 

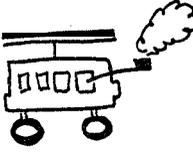
IN FACTORIES THEY STEAL 

UNCULTURED PEOPLE NEVER }  

WASH

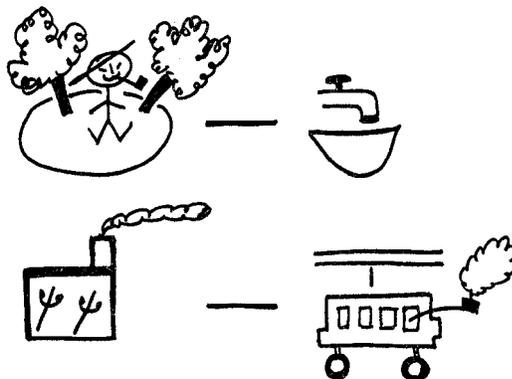
HOOLIGANS ARE OFTEN }  = 

UNCULTURED PEOPLE

THEY LIKE TO SMOKE ON }  

TROLLEY BUSES

Building on the corpus and adding two new vocabulary items, *which*, (interrogative) and *who* (relative), the teacher uses the following drawings to further develop the plot:



With the help of these drawings the teacher gets the idea across that there are two types of hooligans: those who conduct themselves badly in parks and those who steal in factories. Both types are uncultured people, but in different ways. Those who conduct themselves badly in parks never wash; those who steal in factories like to smoke on trolley buses. All categories are mutually exclusive: hooligans who conduct themselves badly in parks never steal in factories; uncultured people who never wash never like to smoke on trolley buses. With the plot thus established, the following questions can be asked which require the students to communicate certain specific information in their answers. The plot is so complicated that the students are forced to focus on the content of sentences they produce. Their motivation for saying these sentences is to show that they know the right answer to a challenging question.

<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer</i>
Which hooligans never wash?	Hooligans who conduct themselves badly in parks. or Hooligans who don't steal in factories.
Which hooligans smoke on trolley buses?	Hooligans who steal in factories. or Hooligans who don't conduct themselves badly in parks.
Which hooligans never smoke on trolley buses?	Hooligans who conduct themselves badly in parks. or Hooligans who don't steal in factories.
Which hooligans often wash?	Hooligans who steal in factories. or Hooligans who don't conduct themselves badly in parks.

(Again, an unqualified answer to an unclear question is considered wrong. The student must apologize for his "vulgar error.")

Which uncultured people steal at factories?

As far as I know, uncultured people who never wash.

or

Uncultured people who don't like to smoke on trolley buses.

etc.

With the introduction of *when* (relative and interrogative), the third person singular (*steals, conducts*), and the possessive, (*Borodin's, Gladkov's*), a more complex example of the technique is possible:

### Situation A

Borodin and Gladkov are both hooligans. But since they are known at their factories, Borodin steals at Gladkov's factory, and Gladkov at Borodin's. They work in pairs; while Borodin steals at Gladkov's factory, Gladkov conducts himself badly at his own factory (kicking over machines) in order to attract attention to himself and draw attention away from Borodin.

#### *Question*

Where does Borodin steal?  
 What does Gladkov do when Borodin steals at Gladkov's factory?  
 Where does Gladkov steal?  
 Where does Borodin conduct himself badly?  
 When does Borodin conduct himself badly?  
 When does Borodin steal at his own factory?  
 Why not?  
 What does Gladkov do when Borodin is not stealing?

#### *Answer*

At Gladkov's factory.  
 He conducts himself badly.  
 As far as I know, he steals at Borodin's factory.  
 As far as I know, at his own factory.  
 As far as I know, when Gladkov is stealing at Borodin's factory.  
 As far as I know, he never steals at his own factory.  
 Borodin steals at Gladkov's factory.  
 Gladkov steals at Borodin's factory.

etc.

### Situation B

Borodin is the leader of hooligans. Borodin's hooligans fail to observe the compact between Borodin and Gladkov and they steal at Borodin's factory (even though this is Gladkov's territory).

*Question*

Where do Borodin's hooligans steal?  
 What does Borodin do when Borodin's hooligans steal?  
 What does Gladkov do when Borodin's hooligans steal?  
 Where do Gladkov's hooligans steal?

Does Gladkov know that Borodin's hooligans are stealing at Borodin's factory while Borodin is stealing at Gladkov's factory?

*Answer*

At Borodin's factory.  
 As far as I know, he steals at Gladkov's factory.  
 He conducts himself badly at his own factory.  
 As far as I know, they steal at Gladkov's factory.  
 As far as I know, he doesn't know that Borodin's hooligans are stealing at Borodin's factory while Borodin is stealing at Gladkov's factory.

until the questions become so complicated that no one is able to give a correct answer. What often happens is that members of the class start arguing with each other and the teacher steps aside and lets the argument run.

As can be seen from the above, there are a number of different questions which can be used to elicit the same response. This allows the teacher the flexibility of eliciting any sentence or any contrast any number of times without losing the interest of the class.

*Question*

1. Where does Borodin steal?
2. Where do Gladkov's hooligans steal?
3. Where is Borodin when Gladkov's hooligans are stealing at Gladkov's factory?

*Answer*

- At Gladkov's factory.  
 At Gladkov's factory.  
 At Gladkov's factory.

From the givens in the plot the student must formulate an answer to the question posed. Having formulated the answer in his mind, the student is motivated to communicate that answer to the teacher and the class. In communicating the answer, the student must generate a sentence using the particular grammatical structure that is being taught. The answer, while using elements that have been previously introduced, yields a recombination of those elements in a totally new sentence. Thus, in this method communication is genuinely taught because the student must communicate (make his own sentences) in order to give the answers and thus practice (use) the structure which is the point of the lesson. Further, the story is so complex that the same question can be asked several times in the course of the drill without the students' feeling that they are repeating themselves. A drill of this sort can serve all the purposes of repetition, substitution, or translation drills by eliciting the same sentences in the same quantity and in the same order as a given pattern drill would do. It has the critical

advantage of eliciting those sentences in the framework of real communication.<sup>29</sup>

One might speculate about a possible limitation of this method. Situational teaching seems to work well mainly because the relevant material the students study fosters transfer to real communication about the subjects they learn. In this method, in order to maintain interest in classroom activity humorous, almost surrealistic, plots are created. These plots form the basis of what might be called a subculture within the foreign language classroom. The students' communication is very relevant to this classroom subculture, but may not be as relevant to the "non-fantastic" world outside. Thus, the method may be less effective in promoting transfer of communication skills from the classroom to the real world than a method such as Situational Reinforcement. This may be particularly true with people of only average language-learning aptitude.

The trade-off between results of the powerful sentence-generating device created by Professor Lipson and highly relevant materials used in situational teaching deserves further examination. It would appear that a fortuitous union of two approaches could come about by constructing plots with relevant situational content.

In sum, this paper has attempted to describe and evaluate briefly four language-teaching methods that are expressly communication oriented. Teachers interested in providing communication practice for their students can add or adapt these techniques without necessarily changing the format of the course they are now using. Since communication will continue to be the stated goal of new language materials, it is important to keep one distinction in mind. Does the method *allow* communication, or does it *teach* communication? In this paper we have examples of both. The situational reinforcement and microwave methods encourage and provide opportunities for communication when the student wants to communicate. Lipson's method teaches communication by providing conditions under which the student, if he is to speak at all, must genuinely communicate. The audio-visual-structural-global method contains elements of both.

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<sup>29</sup> Alexander Tysson, "Some New Strategies for Teaching Oral Skills," in Robert C. Lugton and Charles H. Heinle, eds. *Toward a Cognitive Approach to Second-Language Acquisition*, (Philadelphia: Center of Curriculum Development, 1971), pp. 231-244.

## ***Developing Instructional Materials for a Bilingual Program \****

**Carole Roscoe**

At present, approximately 5,300 native Spanish-speaking children (95% Cubans) are in the Union City, New Jersey, schools. This number represents approximately sixty per cent of the total school enrollment of the community. The children face the problems of how to understand and be understood by those around them, and how to live in a strange environment. Our project is designed to help solve these problems by retaining and reinforcing the language and culture of both groups and by offering the opportunity to all community children and adults to learn both languages and cultures. Instructional materials have been developed for a bilingual curriculum with the following components: English as a Second Language, Spanish as a Second Language, reading, Math and Social Studies in both languages, cultural information in subject matter, and cultural activities in music and art. Through this five-year curriculum, it is expected that the students will achieve functional bilingual fluency in subject matter areas and the ability to switch from one language to the other in unstructured, mixed language activities.

During the past eight years, a tremendous influx of Spanish-speaking people, mostly Cuban, have come to live in Union City, New Jersey, and their children have come to our schools to learn. At present, the number of native Spanish-speaking children represents sixty per cent of the total enrollment of our community. The children face the problem of how to understand and be understood by those around them, and how to live in a strange environment. The problem for the school is how to help them resolve these issues. The problem for the communities is how to unite two separate linguistic and cultural subcommunities.

Project SELL (Spanish-English Language Learning) is designed to help solve these problems by retaining and reinforcing the language and culture of both groups in the schools and in adult education courses.

Prior to the conception of Project SELL, there were various in-service programs which were supported by the local Board of Education, and a Title III program that sponsored the North Hudson Language Development Center. Through this latter program, teachers were trained in English as a Second Language, and ESL materials were developed. An outgrowth of this program was the restructuring of an elementary school to a non-graded continuous progress sequence. In this sequence, non-English-speaking chil-

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\* This paper was presented at the 1971 TESOL Convention.

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dren received one hour of ESL instruction and the remainder of the day was spent in a classroom in which subject matter was taught in English. Realizing that the bilingual component was needed as a means of instruction, Project SELL was implemented in the system.

During the next few years, the project plans to extend bilingual education to all the elementary schools in Union City. Wherever possible, these schools will be reorganized to offer non-graded continuous progress bilingual education to both English and Spanish-speaking children.

Project objectives include the following components: Students will have achieved bilingual fluency (i.e. the ability to function equally well in both languages) and biculturalism; there will be a corps of bilingual specialists assisted by specially trained bilingual paraprofessionals, all of whom have had training in the theory and use of second language teaching techniques and bicultural instruction. Through the latter, they will have achieved cultural sensitivity enabling them to think, feel, and behave in a positive manner toward any cultural or ethnic group. Project-developed bilingual curricula and materials will be prepared and used by these specialists in the program. A five-year foreign language sequence in English and Spanish, and cultural orientation courses will be offered to all community members.

With these objectives in mind, the task of developing instructional materials for the bilingual program has been necessary. The development of curricula and materials has been a joint effort of primary school teachers, trained ESL teachers, native Cuban teachers, and bilingual evaluators. Based on the principle that the native language ought to be used to teach academic concepts, parallel learning sequences in English and Spanish in the reading arts, mathematics and social studies were developed (and are currently being revised and expanded). A special feature of these curricula is that they were prepared with a non-graded continuous progress approach so that the children are in ability groups and proceed to a succeeding level at their own pace.

While the aforementioned curricula serve as the instructional basis for the program, foreign language instruction plays equally as important a role. English and Spanish as a Second Language curricula and materials were developed based on the principle that we teach from the immediate to the outer environment; that is, the newly-arrived child needs to first learn the language patterns most necessary to function in a classroom. Such patterns include the classroom formulas, "May I go to the bathroom?", "May I have a drink of water?", objects used in the classroom, parts of the school, and people who work in it. The curriculum is then expanded to the child's peripheral environment: his family and home, the child himself (his body and clothing), and finally the neighborhood (community workers, stores, transportation, etc.)

The first part of the curricula deals exclusively with the aural-oral skills in the second language, and reading and writing are gradually introduced as oral proficiency increases. As the children expand their oral ability in

the second language, subject matter, such as mathematics and social studies, is taught in the second language. Curricula are continuously being developed to utilize and reinforce the language patterns taught in the foreign language classroom.

The format of the second language curricula is as follows: for each teaching unit, the skills, grammatical patterns, vocabulary, pronunciation difficulties, activities, materials and cultural adaptations that relate to the unit are fully developed for the teacher. A typical unit looks something like this:

TITLE OF UNIT: THE FAMILY

Skills: Recognition of family members

Grammatical Patterns: *He* and *she* used with verb "to be"; example: He's the father. She's the mother.

Pronunciation Emphasis: /ð/ in contrast with /d/

Vocabulary: mother, father, brother, sister, baby, boy, girl

Activities: Identifying family members by name on a chart, drawing family portraits and telling about them

Materials: art supplies, pictures of families

Cultural Adaptation: American family is a nuclear unit in contrast to the Spanish extended family unit

Similar units were developed using a cultural topic or theme such as the one illustrated above. Since the language teacher is also a teacher of culture, a contrastive analysis of Spanish and American cultures was necessary to give the teacher a greater awareness of the similarities and differences of the two cultures. The staff has received cultural sensitivity training through seminars given by a native Cuban sociologist on the staff of Project SELL.

Cultural activities are provided for the children in the bilingual program in heterogeneously mixed classes of both native English and Spanish speakers. In this way, the children meet together during the day, whereas otherwise they are separated according to native language background in all other areas. There activities include music, art, dancing, singing and playing in both languages.

Evaluation instruments in the program fall into two categories: diagnostic and progress tests. The diagnostic tests serve to evaluate a child's ability in whatever the area and place him in a level appropriate to his ability. The progress tests serve *to* determine whether or not a child has successfully completed the work in a particular level and is ready to pass on to the next level. These staff-developed tests are continuously being adapted and revised just as well as all other areas of curriculum development.

All features of our program have been briefly touched on: its history, objectives, curriculum planning and the development of instructional materials and evaluative measures. Our task is by no means complete; rather, we have just scratched the surface and a lot of work remains to be done in order to achieve our objectives. However, a sincere effort by all persons concerned with bilingual education makes possible the realization of our main goal: a better education for our children.

## ***Interaction Goes International***

**Gertrude Moskowitz**

In recent years educators and educational researchers have begun to analyze classroom interaction to determine the effects of teacher behavior on student attitudes and achievement, and to improve teaching. This field, known as interaction analysis, has become widespread, having been applied to almost every area of the curriculum. During the past five years, interest in classroom interaction has spread to all parts of the globe as teacher trainers and researchers discovered the potential value of this field. In this paper, the effects of teacher behavior on those of different cultures is discussed. A description of interaction analysis and how it helps improve teaching is given along with the results of related research conducted here and abroad.

### **Teacher Behavior and Cultural Differences**

“This system of interaction analysis is very interesting, but since it was conceived in the cultural setting of the United States it might not be as applicable in other countries with a different cultural background. The teacher behaviors in the Flanders system would probably not have the same effect on learners of other nations as they do on students in this country.” This point was raised by a foreign-born teacher who was participating in a group I was teaching some years ago. Although I agreed that these assumptions were indeed plausible, I found that I had some personal reservations or biases perhaps, that certain teacher behaviors would tend to evoke fairly similar effects regardless of the setting or upbringing. I found myself feeling troubled and reflecting on this point a good deal afterwards. It seemed to me that we are often so conscious of *differences* between cultures that we overlook the *similarities*.

Being involved in both foreign language education and the teaching of classroom observation systems, I have the opportunity to work with teachers of many different nationalities as they learn to analyze classroom behavior through interaction analysis. Bearing in mind the hypothesis of this teacher, I found I had quite a few opportunities to test my assumptions, for over a period of time I was asked to work with a number of different groups of ESL teachers. Some of these groups consisted entirely of Latin American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, French-Canadian, British-Canadian, and Japanese teachers.

Admittedly these groups differed greatly from one another in “personality,” which made me even more interested in discovering how teacher

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Ms. Moskowitz, Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction and Coordinator of Foreign Language Education, Temple University, has published in *The Modern Language Journal*, *French Review*, and *Foreign Language Annals*.

behavior would influence each of them. Therefore, after giving it some thought, I decided to role play two types of teachers in order to demonstrate the categories of behavior in the Flanders system and to illustrate the effects of teacher behavior on the learner. To do so, I divided the categories of teacher behavior in the system in such a way as to provide a contrast in the teachers I would portray. Then, to carry out my plans, I taught half of each group at a time, while the other half was asked to observe the interaction. In "teaching" the first group, I emphasized behaviors which conveyed acceptance and understanding, focusing on dealing with students' feelings and ideas, praising, encouraging, and joking, while with the second group, I stressed controlling and rejecting behaviors, that is giving directions, criticizing, and justifying authority. With both groups, I gave information, oriented, and asked questions so that the content was not the primary difference between teachers but the process by which the content was taught.

After the role playing was over, a discussion followed in which the "two teachers" were compared, and it was during this period that a very fascinating phenomenon took place: *Each of the various nationality groups had veritably the same reactions and made very similar comments about the teachers.* Those whom I taught while playing the role of "Teacher 1" felt that they were relaxed and at ease, had good rapport with the teacher, and that what they said was considered of value and listened to by the teacher. They indicated a willingness to participate, noted they had interacted with other "students," and said they would like to continue learning from this teacher. The group taught by "Teacher 2" commented on feeling stupid, inhibited, embarrassed, hostile, frustrated, angry, belittled. They said they began to "tune out" the teacher, lost their incentive to participate, felt "put on the spot," and would not care to learn from this teacher in the future. Some refused to participate at all and most felt confused, stating that they didn't understand what this teacher wanted from them. At the same time, I began to perform this type of role playing with native American teachers so that I could make comparisons between their reactions and those of teachers of other nationalities. What I discovered was that the above-mentioned comments were typical of those made by American teachers as well.

I thought that the foreign-born teachers might not feel so strongly the reactions to the "two teachers" as the American teachers would; or that perhaps the politeness of those of other cultures was such that they would not express very negative feelings to me during our first meeting. But I was wrong. Despite the fact that I was role playing, the teachers tended to forget this, and all groups expressed strong and very similar emotions about the two teachers. I found I had more difficulty playing the more dominant, critical teacher with the foreign-born groups; and so with them I was often more subtle and not quite so harsh. Yet they still felt much more comfortable with Teacher 1 and distraught with Teacher 2. So the effects of the teacher behavior were the same regardless of the "students" I taught. In

addition, I had the opportunity of working with groups of teachers consisting of a variety of nationalities such as Arabic, African, French, German, Italian, and Russian, and found their reactions to be very similar to those previously discussed.

These experiences have convinced me that basically learners of all ages, regardless of their background, largely seem to feel more positive about learning in a warm, supportive climate than in a depersonalized, cold, rejecting one. Despite what the culture may condone or practice in the classroom, the learner appears to develop similar negative feelings and reactions toward a critical, highly directive teacher and more positive ones toward a more accepting, understanding teacher. These assumptions now appear to be supported in research conducted first in the United States and more recently abroad. For example, in a study conducted in New Zealand, where the schools tend to advocate more punitive measures than our own, Flanders found that students having teachers who used more accepting, supporting behaviors achieved significantly better and had more positive attitudes (toward school, the subject matter, and the teacher), than students whose teachers used more critical, directive behaviors.<sup>1</sup>

Several studies in India point to similar results. As part of an achievement motivation training project, Mehta assisted secondary-school teachers in learning to create a climate of warmth and support by means of interaction analysis.<sup>2</sup> Two months after the experiment ended, low socio-economic, bright, high-school boys who were underachievers improved in performance on their annual Board of Secondary Education examinations in chemistry, physics, and mathematics. These results occurred in those students whose teachers had been exposed to a combination of two treatments, one in achievement motivation, of which instruction in interaction analysis was an important component, and the other in goal-setting. The latter treatment alone did not produce such results in student learning. A follow-up study conducted by Mehta and Kanade two years later confirmed the earlier study.<sup>3</sup> Students in the experimental treatment continued to perform well, doing significantly better than non-experimental classmates on the annual examinations in chemistry, physics, and mathematics. In an experimental study, Desai found that after teachers were given training in classroom interaction, their students made a 15% gain in achievement.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ned A. Flanders, *Teacher Influence, Pupil Attitudes and Achievement*, Cooperative Research Monograph No. 12 (OE-25040), (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Office of Education) 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Prayag Mehta, "Achievement Motivation Training for Education Developmental *Indian Educational Review*, 3, 1 (January 1968), 46-74.

<sup>3</sup> Prayag Mehta and H. M. Kanade, "Motivation Development for Educational Growth: A Follow-Up Study," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 44 (1969), 1-20.

<sup>4</sup> D. B. Desai, "Motivating Pupils through Teachers' Indirect Influence in Classrooms," Paper presented to the Second National Seminar on Classroom Interaction Analysis and Teacher Behavior. Organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Education (CASE), January, 1971.

In studying the reactions of pupils toward teacher behavior, Patel found the children disliked teachers being unusually cross, failing to praise them, talking too much, and not calling on students to talk when their hands were raised.<sup>5</sup>

Today I would respond more definitively to the statement of my former student. Throughout my teaching contacts, I have been pleased to find that there are many, many similarities among people of different cultural backgrounds and the ways they react to situations I present. In some instances of working with groups of various nationalities, I have found that they tend to enjoy doing the very same activities, become enthusiastic over others, find humor in certain exercises I ask them to do, or get quiet and meditative when given other tasks. As I have worked closely with examining, reflecting on, and analyzing behavior and its effects, I have become more and more convinced that down deep at the *feeling level*, learners of all cultures respond to teacher behavior in many more ways that are *similar* than are different.

The viewpoint I have expressed has strong implications for ESL teachers, who contact learners of a variety of cultural backgrounds; inherent in this statement is that they be thoroughly cognizant of the behaviors they use in interacting with the students they teach. Coupled with the fact that acquiring another language is fraught with frustration, tension, and dissatisfaction, the ESL teacher can not afford to be insensitive to the multitude of feelings present in his learners nor the potential power to influence that his behavior has.<sup>6</sup>

And now, if you've been wondering just what interaction analysis is, let me tell you about it.

### **Interaction Analysis: What It Is and What It Does**

The purpose of interaction analysis systems is to *describe, not evaluate*, the behaviors teachers and students use as they interact in the classroom. The behaviors are labeled, categorized, and recorded as they spontaneously occur. An example of a classroom observation tool is the Flanders system of interaction analysis, which is the one most widely used in teacher training and research.<sup>7</sup> In this system the numbers "1" through "10" are assigned to the ten categories of behavior: seven of which designate teacher talk; two, student talk; with the remaining one being a miscellaneous category. The teacher behaviors are divided into two types of influence: indirect and

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<sup>5</sup>M. N. Patel, "Classroom Interaction of Teachers with Different Behavior Patterns and Students' Reactions Toward Them," Paper presented to the Second National Seminar on Classroom Interaction Analysis and Teacher Behavior. Organized by CASE, January, 1971.

<sup>6</sup>Gertrude Moskowitz, "The Fearsome Foreign Language Hour: *French Review*, 38, 6 (May, 1965), 781-716.

<sup>7</sup>Edmund J. Amidon and Ned A. Flanders, *Role of the Teacher in the Classroom* (Minneapolis: Association for Productive Teaching, 1967).

direct. The indirect behaviors encourage student participation. The phrases which label the categories of indirect teacher influence are: 1) accepts feelings, 2) praises, encourages, jokes, 3) uses student ideas, and 4) asks questions. Direct teacher behaviors tend to limit the opportunity of students to participate. The direct categories of teacher influence are labeled as follows: 5) lectures or gives information, 6) gives directions, 7) criticizes or justifies authority. Student responses are classified as either 8) specific and limited or 9) open-ended or student-initiated. The tenth category is for silence or confusion.

To obtain a complete descriptive picture of what behaviors are used during a lesson, an observer writes down a category number every time a different behavior is used. When the same behavior is repeated for a continuous period of time, he records this category every three seconds. The following is an example of how classroom interaction is categorized in the Flanders system:

- Teacher: Today we're going to see how much geography you remember from our discussion yesterday. (Category 5) What do we call these states beside the Atlantic Ocean, Olga? (Category 4)
- Student: They're the East States. (Category 8)
- Teacher: *Eastern* States. (Category 5) Everybody say "Eastern." (Category 6)
- Class: Eastern. (Category 8)
- Teacher: (pointing to map) Are these Eastern States, Manuel? (Category 4)
- Student: No, they aren't. (Category 8)
- Student: Teacher, my sister lives in Boston and that's an Eastern State. (Category 9)
- Teacher: Oh, no, Felicita, Boston's not a state. (Category 7) Who can tell us what Boston is? (Category 4)
- Students: (several calling out and waving their hands) Oh, I know . . . I know, Teacher . . . Please call on me. (Category 10 for confusion)
- Teacher: I'm happy to see many of you are excited about answering my question. (Category 1) Renaldo is sitting up so nice and straight. (Category 2) Can you give us the answer? (Category 4)
- Student: Boston is a city. (Category 8)
- Teacher: That's right, dear. (Category 2)
- Student: Teacher, my uncle took a trip across the United States and took lots of pretty pictures. You put them in a machine and they look real. What do you call pictures like that in English? (Three 9's are recorded because of the length of this statement).

- Teacher: I believe you mean "slides" Eloisa. (Category 5)
- Student: Teacher, could Eloisa bring the slides to school for us to see? (Category 9)
- Teacher: Hernán has suggested that we could all see the slides if Eloisa can bring them to school. (Category 3) Do you think your uncle would let you bring in some of his slides? (Category 4)
- Student: Yes, I do. (Category 8)
- Teacher: Oh, that's just fine (Category 2) I know we're all going to enjoy our geography lesson the day we look at the slides! (Category 1)

The behaviors that are recorded during an observation are then entered into a 10 X 10 chart called a matrix, resulting in an organized visual picture of the lesson which can then be studied and analyzed. In other words, the matrix summarizes the lesson, showing graphically the specific ingredients that went into it. The time sequence of the behaviors is preserved on the matrix, which indicates the behaviors that immediately preceded or followed each other. By studying a completed matrix, a teacher can learn many specific things about his teaching. Here are just a few examples of what he can find:

1. The amount of teacher talk that occurred
2. The amount and type of student participation which took place
3. The characteristic or recurring teaching patterns used
4. The kind of immediate feedback given to students
5. How students were motivated and controlled
6. How students were brought into the interaction
7. The behaviors the teacher used extensively in communicating
8. The amount of time spent in dealing with content in the lesson

Seeing a matrix for the first time, teachers are usually amazed and impressed at finding just how concrete a description of teaching can be. I have used the Flanders system as an example of a typical classroom observation tool, but there are a number of other systems that have been developed for the purpose of studying teaching, many of them being based upon this instrument, however.<sup>8</sup>

The benefits of learning to apply interaction analysis are many, the primary one being its role in improving teaching. Behavior, as we know, is not easy to change. Others may want a teacher to change and improve but only the teacher himself can change his behavior. For such change to take place, three things in particular seem essential: 1) the desire by

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<sup>8</sup> *Mirrors for Behavior: An Anthology of Classroom Observation Instruments*, Anita Simon, ed. (Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools), Vol. 1-6 (1967); Vol. 7-14 (1970).

the teacher to change, 2) a clear understanding of what it is he wishes to change, and 3) knowing what is entailed in bringing about the change. So along with the will to improve, there must be an understanding of what one does as he teaches and what he prefers to do instead. He needs a way to see himself objectively and a vehicle for implementing how he really wants to teach.

Interaction analysis provides the mirror in which the teacher can see his reflection and so is a remarkable feedback device for *self*-evaluation. With the help of behavioral categories and the matrix, the teacher can analyze specifically the areas in which he wishes to experiment and improve. We tend to be our own worst critics, for who among us is completely satisfied with the image we find staring us in the mirror? A number of studies have already indicated that teachers who learn to see themselves through interaction analysis systems do indeed change and are more satisfied with their newer ways of interacting and with the results they achieve.<sup>9</sup> In the area of foreign language for instance, the first study, conducted by Moskowitz at Temple University, examined the effects of training FL preservice teachers in interaction analysis by means of a pre-post look at their attitudes and teaching patterns during student teaching.<sup>10</sup> The results of this study indicated that training the student teachers in interaction analysis appeared related to their developing more positive attitudes toward teaching as well as more varied and more indirect teaching patterns in conversation and grammar lessons by the end of student teaching. The training also brought about these changes in their pupils: more frequent, longer, and more self-initiated contributions, and more positive attitudes toward the student teachers.

In a subsequent study at the same university the next year, four groups of FL student teachers following the same program were compared.<sup>11</sup> Each semester two groups participated in the study: one received instruction in interaction analysis concurrent with student teaching, while the other did not. The findings of this two-semester study indicated that at the end of practice teaching the student teachers with training in interaction analysis had significantly more positive attitudes toward teaching, and their pupils

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<sup>9</sup>Norma Furst, "The Effects of Training in Interaction Analysis on the Behavior of Student Teachers in Secondary Schools," in *Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, and Application*, E. J. Amidon and J. B. Hough, eds. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1967), pp. 315-328; J. B. Hough and E. J. Amidon, "Behavioral Change in Student Teachers," in *Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, Application*, pp. 307-314; Jeffery Kirk, "Elementary-School Student Teachers and Interaction Analysis," in *Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, and Application*, pp. 299-306; Gertrude Moskowitz, "The Attitudes and Teaching Patterns of Cooperating Teachers and Student Teachers Training in Interaction Analysis," in *Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, and Application*, pp. 271-282.

<sup>10</sup>Gertrude Moskowitz, "The Effects of Training Foreign Language Teachers in Interaction Analysis," *Foreign Language Annals*, 1, 3 (March, 1968), 218-235.

<sup>11</sup>Gertrude Moskowitz, "A Comparison of Foreign Language Student Teachers Trained and Not Trained in Interaction Analysis," *American Foreign Language Teacher*, 1, 1 (October, 1970), 10-15.

had more positive attitudes toward them. The pupils of the experimental group perceived that their student teachers (1) praised them more and (2) minded less when pupils made mistakes. The following findings represent a further trend in the pupils' attitudes. When compared with the pupils of the control group, the pupils of the experimental group felt more certain of themselves while in the FL class, perceived the student teachers as criticizing them less, liked foreign language more when compared to their other subjects, and had more positive attitudes in general toward learning a foreign language. The student teachers in the experimental group used significantly more indirect behavior when teaching grammar and conversation lessons than those in the control group, and their behavior patterns were more in keeping with the goals of the lessons. Related to participation, the pupils whose student teachers had studied interaction analysis spoke for significantly longer lengths of time during conversation lessons; perhaps these pupils became more confident in speaking the language as a result of the change in the behavior of their student teachers.

The self-perceptions of inservice FL teachers who studied interaction systems in a summer course were also examined.<sup>12</sup> During the following academic year, a survey of these teachers indicated that as a result of studying observational systems, they felt their perceptiveness had increased considerably and their interaction patterns had become more indirect.

Research has also indicated that teachers tend to teach remarkably alike.<sup>13</sup> Studying classroom observation systems can be of particular value to FL teachers who often feel limited or restricted to using a relatively small number of behaviors. As FL teachers we often tend to have repetitive verbal habits and verbal tics. An example of the latter is the frequency with which FL teachers say either *good*, *bueno*, *bon*, or *gut* so that these become highly predictable responses, losing the effect of praise and/or acting as transitional statements that communicate, "So much for that; now let's go on to the next thing."

An added way of considering motivation is to become aware of the variety or the sameness in the teacher's behavior patterns, for the latter leads to monotony for students. We often hear reports of how bored FL students become when receiving audiolingual instruction, and so the approach suffers from a bad reputation. However, the problem is not a question of the method being "boring" but that in using this approach, teachers often restrict themselves to using a *very limited number of behaviors*,

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<sup>12</sup> Moskowitz, "The Effects of Training Foreign Language Teachers in Interaction Analysis," pp. 230-235.

<sup>13</sup> Norma Furst and E. J. Amidon, "Teacher-Pupil Interaction Patterns in Elementary School," in *Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, and Application*, E. J. Amidon and J. Q. Hough, eds. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley 1967), pp. 167-175; Isobel Pfeiffer, *Comparison of Verbal Interaction in Goals of Teachers Teaching Classes of Different Ability in Eleventh-Grade English*, Unpublished dissertation, Kent State University, 1966 Norma Furst and R. Hill, "Classroom Observation, Systematic," *Encyclopedia of Education*, Lee Deighton, ed. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press), 2 (1971), pp. 168-183.

which in itself induces monotony. Tools which help us analyze more precisely what we are doing enable teachers to increase their behavioral repertoires and to select the behaviors they wish to use to fulfill their goals for different types of lessons. Such systems can help teachers avoid being carbon copies of each other and encourage them to be more individualistic instead once they become conscious of what they do automatically and are aware of the realm of behaviors available to them for use. We all know how important variety of *activity* is in our teaching, but we must also be sensitive to the impact that variety of *behavior* has as well.

Frequently the teacher's main concern in teaching centers on the content. Yet the teacher should not be so preoccupied with the subject matter that he is unable to focus his attention on the reactions of students. To do so with ease, the teacher must understand the interplay which takes place as he teaches the content, which, in effect, is the process of teaching.

By using systems for categorizing and analyzing interaction, teachers can move away from blind, unconscious, routine practices toward intelligent scientific control of their classroom behavior. Reality must be seen to be believed and changed. Systems of interaction analysis can help bridge the proverbial gap between the theory expounded in professional courses and the actual practice in the classroom.

### **Interaction Analysis Travels Abroad**

Apparently teacher influence is universal in appeal, for during the past five years in particular the use of classroom observation systems has spread outside of the continental United States. Teacher educators and/or researchers have been actively working with classroom observational systems in Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Costa Rica, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, New Zealand, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Sweden, to name a few.

The following are typical ways interaction analysis is being used in these countries. Normative studies have been conducted to determine the verbal characteristics of teachers in schools in Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Brazil, and Central America.<sup>14</sup> From transcripts of classroom interaction in these countries a fairly uniform pattern of behavior emerged. The data collected indicated that teachers primarily give information rather than elicit it from students; the quantity of teacher talk is high compared to student talk, with little dialog taking place between the teacher and students. Learners are given large amounts of content in short periods of time, the amount coming even faster in the elementary grades. Teaching is not done by discovery or through problem solving but largely by explanation. Teachers often repeat what they have said or what the learner has said to reinforce points. Figures of speech and examples are seldom used;

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<sup>14</sup> John E. Searles, *Verbal Styles of Teachers in a Latin American Society*, Penn State Studies Series #80. Institute for the Arts and Humanistic Studies (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1971).

however, many hand gestures are observed during the teaching act. The atmosphere is formal as students stand when reciting, usually to give a memorized response.

In England various types of studies have been conducted. The behavior of student teachers in Britain has been compared with that of American teachers.<sup>15</sup> Among the differences found between these groups were: fewer questions asked by the British student teachers but more open-ended and initiated responses by pupils. Areas of investigation in Britain are the teaching of science and foreign language, and teaching in the primary schools. Teacher education institutions have also introduced classroom observation into their training programs.

In New Zealand interaction analysis is being used to help increase the sensitivity of preservice teachers and to enable them to evaluate their own teaching.<sup>16</sup> This approach has been introduced into the curriculum because of the problems preservice teachers were having in recognizing precisely what they were doing in the classroom, as well as alternatives available for improvement. The idea then of providing a means of self-evaluation in a non-threatening way which aimed at continual professional growth has led to the adoption of observation systems in New Zealand.

A variety of projects related to interaction analysis have caught the interest of researchers and educators in Belgium. To begin with, a category system has been developed based upon the work of American researcher Marie Hughes, called the De Landsheere system.<sup>17</sup> By using this system, studies have been conducted examining first-grade classes and seventh-grade geography periods.<sup>18</sup> Results indicate that in the primary schools, instruction is teacher-centered, with most of the behavior being that of impositive functions (information-giving) and controlling functions. Occurrences of pupils being concretely rewarded and teachers showing a sense of humor were very few. There seemed to be a sameness to the teachers' lessons as five-minute random samplings of the observations were typical of the entire lesson. Furthermore, the geography lessons were similar to the teaching of the first-grade lessons. A number of sixth-grade arithmetic classes were also observed to determine the level of thinking taking place.<sup>19</sup> For all teachers in the study, most of the mental processes called upon were of

<sup>15</sup> E. C. Wragg, "Interaction Analysis in Great Britain," *Classroom Interaction Newsletter*, 7, 1 (December, 1971), 17-24.

<sup>16</sup> C. J. Wright, G. A. Nuthall, and P. J. Lawrence, "A Study of Classroom Interaction in the Training of Teachers," *Educational Research Newsletter*, No. 2 (Christchurch, New Zealand: Department of Education, University of Canterbury, 1970).

<sup>17</sup> Gilbert L. DeLandsheere, "How Teachers Teach: Analysis of Verbal Interaction in the Classroom," *Classroom Interaction Newsletter*, 7, 1 (December, 1971), 40-56.

<sup>18</sup> E. Bayer, "Etudes objectives des comportements d'enseignement," in *Revue Belge de Psychologie et de Pédagogie*, 28, 115 (1966), 73-88; G. Jacques, "L'enseignement de la géographie en première année du secondaire. Analyse des fonctions d'enseignement" (unpublished dissertation, University of Liège, 1969).

<sup>19</sup> A. M. Ninane, "Essai d'application de la taxonomie de Bloom (domaine cognitif) à l'analyse des comportements d'enseignement" (unpublished dissertation, Université de Liège, 1969).

the two lower levels of Bloom's taxonomy of education objectives, cognitive domain.<sup>20</sup> Another application of interaction analysis in Belgium has been as a feedback device to determine if change occurs in teacher behavior as a result of such input.

A great deal of interest in interaction analysis is evident in India, so much so that two national seminars on Classroom Interaction Process Analysis and Teacher Behavior have been held there during 1970 and 1971. Studies in India have sought to identify norms of teachers of different subject matter areas and grade levels, and to note the effects of various forms of feedback on teacher behavior. A normative study conducted in Delhi of fifth-grade classes during social studies periods indicated that the following were typical characteristics of the lessons: teachers spent most of the time lecturing with questioning being next in frequency; student feelings were rarely dealt with (in 90% of the observations this behavior was totally absent); praise, encouragement, and use of student ideas were also seldom found.<sup>21</sup> The teachers tended to use at least twice as much direct behavior as indirect and often spoke two to sixty times more than students, whose main type of response was of a factual nature.

As mentioned earlier, other countries are conducting similar work with interaction analysis, that is using it in teacher training, conducting studies, and developing observation systems of their own. Related to such activity, I have been privileged to have some personal involvement in several projects in which interaction analysis was used outside the United States. One summer, for example, an administrator from the Peace Corps came to Philadelphia to take a special course which I offer on interaction analysis for FL teachers.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, I was asked to work with a new group of Peace Corps volunteers who would be teaching English, a mandated language, in Iran. During their staging, which is just prior to their leaving this country, I introduced the volunteers to interaction analysis. Once they were sent to Iran, the instruction was continued by the Peace Corps administrator who had attended my summer course. For this purpose, he used materials especially designed to train ESL teachers to analyze their teaching by means of interaction analysis.<sup>23</sup> From then on the system was used to guide, supervise, and sensitize the volunteers.

In Canada I had the pleasure of working with supervisors connected with the Public Service Commission, which is similar to our Civil Service.

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<sup>20</sup> Benjamin S. Bloom, ed. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956).

<sup>21</sup> Udai Pareek and T. Venkateswara Rae, "The Pattern of Classroom Influence-Behaviour of Class V Teachers of Delhi," *Indian Education Review*, 5, 1 (January, 1970), 55-70.

<sup>22</sup> Moskowitz, "The Effects of Training Foreign Language Teachers in Interaction Analysis," pp. 230-235.

<sup>23</sup> Gertrude Moskowitz, *The Foreign Language Teacher Interacts*, Rev. Ed. (Minneapolis: Association for Production Teaching, 1970), accompanied by tapes in ESL, French, German, Italian, Latin, Spanish.

Anyone who holds a position with the government of Canada must be knowledgeable of both English and French. Therefore many adult classes are held in Canada to provide the opportunity to learn English or French as a foreign language for governmental purposes. The members of the group I worked with traveled throughout Canada to supervise the teachers instructing these language classes. After I had trained these supervisors in interaction analysis and its use in supervision, they in turn taught it to their teachers and used it to supervise them.

So you see, the use of classroom observation systems are many and varied. Through interaction analysis, teacher training institutions in various countries are sensitizing preservice and inservice teachers to classroom communication. Supervisors are trying to help student teachers develop insight into their teaching through this nonthreatening form of feedback. At the same time, supervisors are developing a more skillful way of communicating as they carry out their charge by providing supervisors a means of self-evaluation. Researchers are studying normative patterns in various grade levels and subject matter areas, and comparisons are being made between the results in classrooms in other countries with those in the United States. Experimental studies are being conducted in many countries to determine the effects of teacher behavior on student achievement and attitudes. New observation instruments are being developed to study teaching in more detail. Leading American textbooks on interaction analysis have been translated into such languages as Dutch, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish.

The field of systematic observation is young, exciting, challenging, promising. As a result of interaction analysis, humanizing learning is receiving the attention it so justly warrants. That this approach to the study of teaching has spread to such diverse areas and cultures of the world speaks for the universal appeal and appropriateness of such a way of viewing and improving teaching.

## **Reviews**

CONVERSATIONAL ENGLISH. Thomas H. Brown and Karl C. Sandberg (Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1969, 333 pp.).

Many foreign students come to universities in the United States with little or no experience with informal oral English; they may read well and may have a fairly good understanding of grammar, but they cannot communicate in ordinary situations. *Conversational English* was designed for them.

It is an intermediate textbook for an intensive course providing daily aural-oral practice. There are twenty lessons, each beginning with a dialogue typical of informal conversations heard on a university campus. Each line of the dialogue is accompanied by a quasi-musical scale with dots of various sizes to represent stress, intonation, and rhythm. A broad transcription guides pronunciation.

Then follow brief commentaries about the patterns of culture characteristic of American life that are incorporated in the dialogue. Besides giving cultural insights, these comments should help the student get the sense of the passages and thus understand the context in which new words are encountered. Some comments about levels of language show how Americans vary expression from formal to informal to fit the social situation.

The focus throughout is largely on syntactic patterns commonly used in conversation: tag statements, tag questions, emphatic patterns, requests, questions, indirect statements and questions, patterns with negative forms, etc. There is considerable practice with the grammatical problems that persist. It is no surprise that the major part of the book is devoted to patterns selected for their verbal constructions.

The drills are arranged to guide the student from controlled practice to rather free expression. There is repetition of a pattern and then substitution to extend the pattern to other contexts, substituting first in the same position and then shifting the slot to be filled. Control continues with transformation drills, but drills become more demanding as the substitution and transformation forces other changes to be made. Control is more relaxed when student responses are elicited by simply asking a question without giving cues or by having a student ask another student a particular question. And finally freer conversation is provided for with leads such as: "Let's talk about Betty's flight . . . When did she arrive . . ." or "Let's talk about you . . . Are you planning a trip . . ." etc.

A series of taped recordings to accompany the lessons provide material for practice in the language laboratory, and for helping the student memorize the dialogue and master the patterns in the more difficult drills, they are adequate. The drills provide practice in substituting, changing stress to emphasize information asked for, changing word order, time of action, i.e., whatever is emphasized in the lesson.

A feature of each lesson is a practice exercise using rejoinders. Sample instructions:

Respond to these situations using "I'll say!" (enthusiastic agreement), "That's too bad!" (sympathy), or "It doesn't matter." (indifference).

Before responding to the question or statement, the student must decide which is the appropriate rejoinder. This should be a challenge to the more advanced students.

The final oral activity is the free conversation using situations designed to encourage the use of the patterns which have been practiced in the lesson. As only two or three situations are provided, a teacher would need to be resourceful at this point and invent others that would involve the students personally.

Beginning with Lesson 12 the dialogue is given without visual representation of intonation and transcription, and a writing exercise concludes the lesson. The instructions for writing clearly suggest a situation for the student to write about and are intended to elicit the grammatical patterns drilled in the lesson. Usually only one topic is provided, but the context is so fully explained that the student has something specific to write about. The teacher, however, will need to be resourceful in devising situations that will have relevance for his students.

A minimal amount of drill on articulation is provided in the lessons, for the students are at the intermediate level. However, the Appendix includes a short diagnostic passage to be read aloud, a listing of common problems in articulation, as well as a brief explanation of the diphthongized vowels characteristic of American pronunciation, a description, with diagrams, of the more troublesome vowels and consonants, and a brief account of stress and intonation. The level of proficiency of the students will determine how much of this should be incorporated in the lessons.

At the intermediate level students should be able to manipulate sentence stress to make contrast. This important feature of American English is often overlooked in textbooks. *Conversational English* provides several drills similar to the following model:

Intonation Practice. Answer these questions, giving heavy stress to the word which stands in contrast to the model statement.

Model: My visa's good for only one year.

Teacher: Is your visa good for two years?

Student: No, my visa's good for only *one* year.

Teacher: Is your passport good for only one year?

Student: No, my *visa's* good for only one year.

What is particularly praiseworthy about this book is that the authors make clear what the student is to do and why he is doing it. The grammar notes are adequate, brief, and clear. Examples clarify the procedure for each drill. There are plenty of practice drills to select from and there is enough variation in each lesson. The language is natural and appropriate.

The sentences used in drills often group into a dialogue. Even an inexperienced teacher, with additional help from the Instructor's Manual, could use the material with confidence. As the teacher becomes better acquainted with his students, he will be able to improvise by drawing upon the experiences of the students for freer conversations and thus lead them to more fluent communication.

A note of caution: the publisher's blurb on the back cover of the book is somewhat misleading: "It [the book] can be used by a wide range of students, from the lower intermediate level to the advanced intermediate level." It is doubtful that a student on the lower level would possess a large enough vocabulary to work comfortably through this book. While the words are those in common use, it is the reviewer's impression that the vocabulary is extensive. If much time has to be spent in class clarifying the meaning of many words, the purpose of the book, to develop fluency in communication, will be defeated.

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**STUDY SKILLS FOR STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE.** Richard C. Yorkey (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, 228 pp.) .

This text is the only one of its kind to have appeared on the general market so far, so it should enjoy fairly wide distribution. Besides, it does go a long way toward fulfilling a dire need in ESOL classes at the university level, that of guiding the foreign student in making efficient use of his often severely limited study time.

At Iowa State University we have used this text at the low-intermediate to advanced levels of our ESOL classes in both intensive and non-intensive courses. Its greatest usefulness is for the student who is facing his first exposure to the U.S. academic system, although it also finds a good reception from those in their first term of study here.

I will comment briefly on each section of the book, then conclude with some general criticisms and recommendations.

1. **STUDYING IN ENGLISH** is a brief introductory chapter on the value of having a set time and place for study, perhaps best read by students for their own information rather than for much class discussion.

2. **USING AN ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** Most students are convinced that they know all about dictionaries, but Mr. Yorkey apparently discovered, as we have, that there are many fuzzy notions about alphabetical order, spelling, pronunciation symbols, and other dictionary features. His exercises are varied, challenging, and for the most part valuable.

3. **LEARNING THE VOCABULARY OF ENGLISH** covers not only prefixes, roots, and suffixes, but also techniques for guessing meanings from contexts. This

and the previous chapter together with the lesson on using a library could almost constitute a separate course.

4. WRITING AN OUTLINE contains good examples and exercises although the forms followed are more those of the humanities departments than the technical sciences which most of our students are interested in. (Few scientific journals follow the MLA style sheet.) This might have been enlarged to include remarks on plagiarism and report writing.

5. IMPROVING YOUR READING. The first part of this chapter is reminiscent of David Harris' *Reading Improvement Exercises*<sup>1</sup> in aiming at reading by phrases rather than word by word. However, it also illustrates various types of paragraph organization such as analysis, description, definition, etc. (This might have been handled in the shorter chapter on outlining.) A section on skimming is also similar to Harris' treatment. But there are novel and valuable exercises on connective and transitional expressions, and on interpreting tables, graphs, footnotes, and even indexes. Another useful section asks the student to read a passage and reconstruct the author's outline. Again, this and the chapter on outlining could be the core of a separate short course.

6. MAKING GOOD NOTES is the only detailed discussion of this technique that I have seen in an ESOL textbook. Mr. Yorkey distinguishes between notes taken on reading assignments and those from lectures, and again refers to the earlier discussion of outlining. One might wish that he had not included three lectures to be read aloud while the students take notes, because they can be read badly by the teacher or studied in advance by the students. An accompanying tape recording might have been provided, but that is an unreal lecture situation also.<sup>2</sup>

7. USING A LIBRARY is an excellent presentation. We have taught this chapter in conjunction with a special short course offered by the library staff for our foreign students who have responded very favorably to its usefulness.

8. PREPARING TO PASS EXAMINATIONS contains a discussion of psychological preparedness and examples of various types of exams.

Each chapter ends with a list of vocabulary words introduced, and at the end of the book is an "Inventory of Vocabulary" that lists them all again along with the page number where each word first appears. In none of these lists are definitions included.

In general, the level of vocabulary and grammatical patterns used in the explanations and exercises is rather advanced. But, with help from a teacher, most students who are considered admissible to a U.S. college

<sup>1</sup> David P. Harris, *Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English as a Second Language* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Yorkey, "A Study Skills Course for Foreign College Students" in *TESOL Quarterly*, 4: 2 (June 1970), pp. 143-154 for further suggestions for providing note-taking practice.

or university should be able to comprehend the material. Those who cannot are still in definite need of intensive instruction in basic English.

The book concludes with a good, detailed index. How often this is passed over as unimportant by authors and editors!

A separate teacher's edition containing supplementary drills, lectures for reading aloud, and suggestions for audiovisual aids would be welcome. For instance, there might be additional examples based on excerpts from scientific writing for use with students in those fields alongside the more generally applicable items.

The integration of the exercises with the discussion at hand is well done. However, some of them might be printed so that they could be torn out of the book and handed in. This could prod the lazier students into action and also prevent the re-sale of books with all the answers already written in. All the information in this book can be useful only if each student understands and masters it himself by actually doing it with his own hands and mind.

My criticisms are minor. My hat is off to Mr. Yorkey for giving us a very useful book to help teach some of the more subtle forms of communication involved in the foreign student's study on a U.S. campus.

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**PRONUNCIATION CONTRASTS IN ENGLISH.** Don L. F. Nilsen and Aileen Pace Nilsen (A Regents Publication, Simon and Schuster, 1971, 87 pp.).

Since it is human nature to notice differences, language teachers have long realized that one of the best ways to teach the sounds of a foreign language is to contrast the differences between sounds. By listing all of the distinctive contrasts among the segmental sounds of English and by compiling copious lists of minimal pairs illustrating these contrasts, the authors of *Pronunciation Contrasts in English* have provided English teachers with a useful resource with which they can highlight the differences among the sounds of English. As the authors have suggested in the introduction, the book can serve both the initiated and the uninitiated language teacher.

It has been planned to serve as a time-saving aid for both the beginning and the experienced teacher in preparing materials for classroom use geared to the individual needs of each student. The established teacher will perhaps most appreciate being spared the hitherto tedious and time-consuming task of compiling lists of minimal pairs of words, which are now provided here in abundance. Teachers with less training or experience will find the material presented as simply as possible and that previous knowledge in this area is not presumed. (page vii)

It should be quickly emphasized that *Pronunciation Contrasts in English* is not simply a list of minimal pairs; the sound contrasts are presented and illustrated in a variety of ways: with charts and with diagrams as well as

with minimal words and sentences. Two charts in the form of matrices are listed at the beginning of the book, one for vowels and one for consonants. The columns and rows of these matrices are filled by the phonemic symbols for the sounds of English; the cells are filled by the page number on which the contrasts are listed for the two sounds which intersect at a particular cell. The authors have thus provided a quick index to any contrast which a teacher may wish to choose.

The bulk of the book is a listing of these contrasts between pairs of English sounds—one per page. At the top of each page is a Sound Production Chart which lists pairs of distinctive features for the two sounds to be contrasted. Vertical position, horizontal position, lip rounding, diphthongization, and tenseness are the features listed for vowels; and voicing, duration (e.g. stop vs. continuant), passage (e.g. oral vs. nasal), articulatory, and point of articulation are the features listed for consonants. Those features that are different in a contrast are shaded on the chart. For example, in the /iy/ vs. /i/ vowel contrast (the authors have chosen the Trager-Smith system of phonemic notation), the diphthongization and tenseness categories of the chart are shaded since they are different (/iy/ is slightly diphthongized and tense; /i/ is not diphthongized and lax). The other three categories are left unshaded because they are similar (/iy/ and /i/ have the same vertical position, horizontal position, and degree of lip rounding). It is unfortunate that the sound symbols used in the charts are incorrectly placed in brackets, which are traditionally reserved for -etic contrasts, and not between slashes, which indicate the -emit contrasts with which the authors are dealing. It might also be noted that tenseness and lip rounding are redundant categories on the charts for vowels. That is, no two vowels in English contrast in these two categories and not in vertical position, horizontal position, and degree of diphthongization. I think that the authors are justified, however, in including these two categories in the vowel charts since they are pedagogically relevant. On page 72, the sound /y/ is misprinted as /ÿ/ in the chart.

Below the Sound Production Chart are placed two Profile Diagrams, or "Sammies," sagittal sections of the oral cavity during phonation. Superimposed on the tongue in the Profile Diagrams depicting vowels is a shaded grid of the nine main tongue positions in vowel production. This grid is useful in contrasting the difference in tongue positions between vowels that are articulated in approximately similar areas (e.g. /ə/ vs. /a/). Unfortunately, the grid is missing in the Profile Diagrams of /e/ on pages 3, 5, 8, 12, 13, and 14. In their description of the Profile Diagrams on page xiii, the authors confuse the reader with several annoying mistakes. First, the vowel grid used in the Profile Diagrams is reproduced from a chart on page viii, not on page x as the authors erroneously cited. Second, in the representation of diphthongs, the authors used a solid line for the tongue position at onset and a dotted line for tongue position at release. The authors incorrectly stated the reverse. Finally, the authors state,

“Small arrows indicate whether the voiced sounds pass through the mouth or the nasal cavity.” No such arrows exist in the diagrams.

Some further errors occur in the Profile Diagrams throughout the book. On page 16, /æ/ is incorrectly profiled as /a/. Since /æ/ is being contrasted with /a/ on that page, the two Profile Diagrams are identical. The velic is mistakenly represented as closed in the production of all nasal sounds: pages 33, 34, 57, 58, and 73. The diagrams for /w/ and /g/ are reversed on page 42. On page 48, /v/ is misrepresented as /b/ (something that would confuse the poor Spanish student), and /b/ is misrepresented as /æ/ (something which would befuddle everybody!). The diagram of /č/ on page 61 is not consistent with the depiction of the other affricates in that it does not contain a dotted line showing two different tongue positions. And on page 71, /ç/ is inaccurately depicted as /y/. A final error is noted on page 72, where the Profile Diagram of /y/ depicts lip rounding.

To the left of the Profile Diagrams are listed the names of the languages in which the particular pronunciation contrast in English is a problem. The authors consulted with many linguists on a wide variety of different languages, everything from Urdu to Uzbek. For those teachers whose knowledge of these source languages is high, some quibbling could be done over which English contrasts were cited as difficult for a particular language and which were not, but, on the whole, I would think that this listing is relatively accurate and useful guide to the beginning teacher who can quickly find out what contrasts are difficult for any language by turning to the language index at the end of the book.

The remainder of each page is filled with examples of the sound contrasts used in words and sentences. Besides listing practically all of the possible minimal pairs for any two sounds, the authors have ingeniously listed two kinds of illustrative sentences—Sentences with Contextual Clues and Minimal Sentences. Sentences with Contextual Clues are sentences in which two minimally distinctive words are used in two different grammatical positions. For example, in “Uncle SAM is not the SAME,” the student has both phonological and syntactic cues to the difference between SAM and SAME. In the second kind of illustrative sentence, Minimal Sentences, the student is given a choice of one out of a pair of minimal words to complete the sentence. In these examples, the meaning of the sentence hinges on the phonological cues alone. The authors have done a good job in providing examples that are interesting and sometimes witty. My favorite is, “She brings out the BEAST/BEST in him.” A few of the Minimal Sentences contrast not only in the pronunciation of the minimal word pair, they contrast in intonation as well. For example, “Hurry DON.” has a very different intonation pattern from “Hurry DOWN.” This leads me to suggest that a set of intonation contrasts would have been an extremely useful addition to the book. The following conversations containing Minimal Sentences illustrating intonational differences are an example of what I have in mind.

- 1A. "I like cowboy movies."
- 1B. "I do too."
- 2A. "You're kidding me—you don't like cowboy movies."
- 2B. "I do too!"

Native speakers of English will immediately recognize the difference between the intonational patterns of 1B and 2B and will understand the meanings implicit in each; non-native speakers have great difficulty understanding the difference between these two sentences however.

The book ends with a list of multiple vowel contrasts, a list of consonant cluster contrasts—always useful in a pronunciation course—and a brief, but well-written glossary of phonological terms which should give the inexperienced teacher a good grasp of some basic linguistic terminology.

It is easy to fault a book for a few errors, and I am afraid that there are those who will be turned off by the numerous errors in the Profile Diagrams. This review itself could serve as an errata sheet, however. These errors should not be allowed to detract from the overall values of the book, for it is indeed a rich source book of contrasts for the English language teacher. The Sound Production Charts and the illustrative sentences are particularly useful; and I, for one, find *Pronunciation Contrasts in English* much more appealing than appalling.

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**EARLY CHILDHOOD BILINGUAL EDUCATION** Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner. (New York: Modern Language Association, 1971, xxv + 187 pp.).

The recent monograph, written by John and Horner, which comprises a comprehensive description of bilingual education programs in the United States delighted me. It simply must be read by all educators affiliated with such programs. The book contains eight sections: an Introduction, some Demographic Information on Minority Language Groups, Program Descriptions, Teacher Recruitment and Training for Bilingual Programs, Curriculum Materials, Testing and Evaluation, Research in Bilingual Education, and Models of Bilingual Education.

The authors begin with a very clear statement of their personal bias: "We believe that such a bilingual and bicultural approach [toward education] can facilitate the movement toward an open and varied society with full and equal participation for all groups" (p. xxv)—a bias which I'm sure is shared by all of us who advocate bilingual education.

Three sections of the book will prove particularly useful. In the section on "Program Descriptions" (pp. 15-107), John and Horner provide an extremely informative thumbnail sketch of bilingual programs which existed prior to June, 1969. They have described five aspects of each program: Personnel and Teacher Training, Curriculum and Materials, Parent and

Community Role, Testing and Evaluation, and Financing and Resources. Their descriptions give the clearest summary that I have read of the diverse ongoing projects. This chapter should have general interest for those seeking an overview of existing approaches, and special attraction for the educator thinking about a program. The chapters on "Curriculum Materials" and "Testing and Evaluation" also will prove very useful since they contain a list of distributors of materials (imported, domestic, and teacher-made) and a list of test publishers. These three chapters alone make the book a valuable addition to any educator's library.

The chapter on "Testing and Evaluation" also contains a succinct and cogent discussion of the evaluation process and reiterates the often-ignored caution that a program's goals must be clearly defined and specified. This specification requires that a fundamental decision be taken concerning the kind of bilingualism the program hopes to produce (p. 161), and that progress toward the achievement of these goals be rigorously evaluated.

The only chapter that I considered to be relatively disappointing was the one on "Research in Bilingual Education." I was disappointed by the rather incomplete review of the relevant longitudinal research which has been conducted to date (cf., Tucker & d'Anglejan, 1971). Careful, critical research evaluating the success of innovative educational programs has been conducted in several of the so-called developing countries and certainly deserves the attention of North American investigators.

My one other minor objection concerned the authors' seemingly baseless rejection of the use of a "weaker language" as the primary medium of instruction at the early primary grades (p. xxiv). In our own research (Lambert & Tucker, 1972) we have evaluated the effects of a continuing program of home-school language switch on the linguistic, cognitive, and attitudinal development of English-speaking elementary school pupils living in Montreal. These children attend kindergarten and grade 1 classes taught exclusively via French. English, their mother tongue, is formally introduced in grade 2. The amount of English instruction is gradually increased so that by grade 5, the children are participating in an essentially balanced bilingual program. Our data indicate that after four years the children understand, speak, read, and write English as well as carefully selected, conventionally educated English youngsters; and that, in addition, they appear to be able to understand, speak, read, and write French far better than students who follow typical French as a Second Language programs. These data led us to suggest that "in any community where there exists a serious widespread desire or need for a bilingual or multilingual citizenry, then priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages least likely to be developed otherwise, that is, the languages most likely to be neglected." The admonition of John and Homer is not inconsistent with our suggestion; but I believe that our statement represents the more generally applicable principle.

These criticisms, however, are trivial. The monograph is carefully re-

searched, clearly written, and attractively presented. I enjoy reading it, and certainly regard it as a valuable first-level reference book.

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