

TESOL QUARTERLY

Volume 6

September, 1972

Number 3

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TESOL QUARTERLY

A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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Membership in TESOL (\$10.00) includes a subscription to the journal.
TESOL QUARTERLY is published in March, June, September, and December.
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Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Editor's Note

A journal, like an unmarried lady in a small town, is judged by the company she keeps. Left to her own baser nature, her unbridled behavior might soon exhaust the respect and sympathies of her well-wishers. Visitors of questionable character, too frequent or too long visits by the same callers, or rowdy behavior can ruin a reputation to a degree that risks ridicule.

Protecting the character of the *TESOL Quarterly* since its inception, Betty Wallace Robinett has been able to keep the journal's reputation unsullied but, nonetheless, lively and interesting, no mean feat in these days of promiscuous publishing. Even in the early issues when there was virtue in simply having enough contributors to fill the pages, standards were never lowered. And as TESOL matured, the quality of the *Quarterly*, under Betty's editorship, achieved an unassailable dignity and stature.

A somewhat thankless role is that of protector. Suitors are sometimes disrespectful and frequently impatient in their passion. The pursued, often flattered by the attention, is not always discriminating in her taste, selective in her company, nor aware of the watchful eyes of envious neighbors. Those neighbors, ever alert to human frailty, eagerly await the opportunity to spread the news of suspected or real indulgences. Brought to her prime a virtuous woman under the watchful eyes of Betty, the journal can now confront the profession with grace, with authority, and with seductive truth.

Unlike sexless fat duennas and harem eunuchs, modern guardians lead lives apart from their charges. It was to pursue other interests in linguistic scholarship, traveling, teacher training, cooking, teaching, and on and on, that Betty gave up the responsibilities of editorship. For her devotion and dynamic guidance during the formative years, all TESOL owes an enormous thanks to Betty.

It seems a long time from the early days when one's school colleagues thought TESOL was an oil company. In the short span of our existence, there have been remarkable changes in the disciplines which underlie our profession, But there has been an even more remarkable change in our sensibilities, an awakening to the severe social and educational problems of people in the United States. There is increasing recognition within our profession and outside that we have something vital to contribute in bringing equal educational opportunities to the nation's children.

In order to stimulate growth in our knowledge and sensitivity, the *Quarterly* will continue to provide the forum for the presentation of innovative ideas about language and language teaching from the classroom teacher, the materials writer, the research scholar, and occasionally even the student. To do this effectively, we need to hear about these innovations. We need creative writers who can tell us with clarity the discoveries which will make us more effective in our various TESOL roles. We need creative readers who will challenge the ideas, try out new techniques and mate-

rials, and let us know how it all worked out. Our vitality as a multi-objective, multi-discipline profession—the domains of TESOL as Betty has identified them—depends on sharing what we have learned in one area with those in another area. The *Quarterly* needs your participation.

MI

CORRECTION

The June issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* should have listed Betty Wallace Robinett as editor for that issue. I apologize to Professor Robinett for the presumption of taking credit for work I did not do.

MI

The Domains of TESOL*

Betty Wallace Robinett

The domains of TESOL are those spheres of concern involving persons who speak languages other than English or dialects of English other than the standard. This paper suggests a classification of these various groups by a configuration which differentiates yet relates them to each other by placing them along a continuous line running from one extreme, that of the non-English speaker, to the other extreme, that of the speaker of standard English. Starting at the non-English-speaking end of the continuum and moving to the other end, these various points are as follows: (1) EFL for those whose purpose in learning English is cultural, such as Germans learning English in Germany; (2) "instrumental" ESL for those who have a functional purpose in learning English, such as foreign students in the United States; (3) "integrative" ESL for those who have the desire or need to join an English-speaking community, such as Puerto Ricans in New York City; (4) bilingual programs for those who need two languages to operate in a community, such as Mexican-Americans in Texas; and (5) those who speak a dialect other than the so-called standard, such as Blacks in New York City. It is suggested that each program is an individual operation distinguished from others by variables such as student population, motivation, teaching and administrative personnel, variables which must be considered in implementing programs.

The domains of TESOL are one, but varied. They are not difficult to determine if we accept the dictionary definition of *domain* as "sphere of concern." Our basic concern is with people who are encountering problems of one sort or another in using the English language. However, when it comes to classifying these people, the task becomes more difficult. They have been traditionally pigeonholed into programs in English as a foreign language, English as a second language, English as a second dialect, and bilingual education. While there is considerable similarity in three of these groups, the fourth seems quite distinct. EFL, ESL, and bilingual education involve students whose native language is not English; ESD on the other hand, concerns those who already speak English, but a dialect which is other than the so-called standard. It seems logical as a first step in our discussion of the domains of TESOL to simplify this terminological complexity by identifying what may seem to be two rather disparate areas of concern: English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and English to Speakers of Other Dialects (ESOD).

As a beginning, a look at how the first of these two areas (ESOL) has been subdivided might be useful. About ten years ago Albert Marckwardt

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, February 1972.

Ms. Robinett, Professor of Linguistics and Director of the Program in English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota, is co-author with Clifford Prator of *Manual of American English Pronunciation* and was editor of the *TESOL Quarterly* from 1967-1972.

called attention to the distinction which the British have traditionally made between English as a foreign language and English as a second language:

By *English as a Foreign Language* they [the British] mean English taught as a school subject or on an adult level solely for the purpose of giving the student a foreign-language competence which he may use in one of several ways—to read literature, to read technical works, to listen to the radio, to understand dialogue in the movies, to use the language for communication with transient English or Americans. It is a use of the language not too different from what we have in mind when we teach foreign languages in the United States.

When the term *English as a Second Language* is used, the reference is usually to a situation where English becomes a language of instruction in the schools, as in the Philippines, or a lingua franca between speakers of widely diverse languages as in India. (Marckwardt, p. 4)

The terms EFL and ESL have been used almost interchangeably in the United States at times, although I believe the more common term now is ESL, reflecting the change in emphasis from foreign students to native American populations. In Harold Allen's *Teaching English as a Second Language* (1965), I found the term "second language" in the titles of five articles and "foreign language" in four. In the title index to the first three volumes of *TESOL Quarterly* (1967–69) there are twenty occurrences of "second language" as against five of "foreign language." As editor of the *Quarterly* I never presumed to dictate usage in this matter, but I had to watch constantly to be sure that acronyms (ESL, EFL, or ESOL) were used consistently in a given article. Two of the titles in the December 1971 issue of *The Modern Language Journal* reflect this vacillation in the use of ESL and EFL: "Imitation and Correction in Foreign Language Learning" and "Recent Methods and Trends in Second Language Teaching." The first article, the one which contains "foreign language" in its title closes with the following statement: "Underlying the foregoing procedures is the assumption that stringent demands for grammatical accuracy are not only unrealistic but possibly harmful in learning a *second* language." [italics mine] (Holley and King, p. 498)

In my own experience I have seen the ESOL field in the United States grow from rather narrowly conceived EFL operations, mainly on the campuses of large universities, to broadly based programs (many with federal funding) reaching from New York City to Miami, across the Southwest to California, beyond the confines of the continent to the islands of Hawaii, and north to Alaska. Dotted across the country are also pockets of ESL constituencies in such large urban centers as Chicago, Indianapolis, St. Paul, Denver.

I think that David Harris interpreted the facts correctly when he said in his 1970 Presidential Report to the TESOL Membership:

It was our growing involvement in domestic programs, where large numbers of learners could not be categorized as foreigners, that more than anything else led to the gradual disuse of the term "English as a *foreign*

language” and its replacement by “English as a *second* language” and, later, “English to speakers of other languages.” (Harris, p. 2)

In reality, there have not been real differences in methodology which have characterized EFL teaching as distinct from that of ESL. Any distinction which may have been assumed simply reflects the many variables inherent in different programs: the student population involved, motivational factors, time available for teaching, materials used, teachers, trainers of these teachers, administrative organization, and so forth. And these variables exist in any program in ESOL. We will say more of this later.

More recently, Wallace Lambert has identified two distinct kinds of ESL learners in terms of their attitudes and their orientation toward language learning. He terms “instrumental” the kind of orientation by which a person is motivated to learn a language in order to get ahead in his profession or occupation, in other words to achieve some special goal. The orientation is called “integrative” if it results in the learner becoming better oriented toward the second culture. (Lambert, p. 39)

William Norris describes the situation as it has developed in the United States in terms of these two kinds of ESL learners:

Both purposes may be present in varying proportions in nearly all TESOL situations, but in the 1940's and 50's most TESOL professionals active in the United States concentrated on foreign students on U.S. campuses with primarily “instrumental” purposes. During the sixties, however, much more attention was directed toward the “integrative” needs of non-English-speaking minorities in America: Spanish speakers, American Indians, and members of other ethnic groups. (Norris, p. 2)

Another supposedly discrete area of ESOL is that of bilingual education involving the teaching of English. It may be possible to apply the terms “instrumental” and “integrative” to ESOL bilingual programs, too. Those with an “instrumental” orientation would be programs in which Spanish-speaking children would be taught English and English-speaking children would be taught Spanish. The English-speaking children probably would look at learning the language primarily as a means of gaining some knowledge of the culture it represents. Programs with an “integrative” orientation would be those in which the native language would be used as a means of instruction to facilitate learning for a child whose native language was not English. The Navajo-English bilingual programs would be an illustration of “integrative” bilingualism. In these situations the bilingualism is practiced on one group of speakers. In the “instrumental” bilingual programs it is practiced on speakers from two different language backgrounds.

The typology of bilingual education proposed by William Mackey gives some idea of the possible diversity of bilingual programs. Mackey points out that “The term ‘bilingual school’ means many things, even within the same country, and in any discussion is likely to mean different things to different persons.” He feels it “necessary to isolate and classify all types of bilingual education” as a prelude to any research. (Mackey, 597) Mackey

is saying for bilingual education what I will say for all ESOL programs: we have to consider each program as separate and individual, taking into account all of the variables involved and building programs in terms of these variables.

While bilingual education has been with us in America since the creation of German schools in Cincinnati in 1840 (Anderson, 427), it has not been until as recently as 1963 with the inauguration of Coral Way Elementary School in Miami, Florida, that it has had any real impetus in the United States. With the signing of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 we have begun to "redress the traditional miseducation of children whose home language is other than English." (Andersson, p. 429)

The newest piece of legislation concerning bilingual education was announced in Massachusetts in December 1971 to take effect in September 1972. This law makes it mandatory in Massachusetts for every school system with twenty or more children of limited English-speaking ability to provide a transitional bilingual education program for its pupils. (Reported in the *Minneapolis Star*, December 30, 1971) It will be fascinating to see the results of this legislation. I warrant there may be as many different implementations of the law as there are people reading it.

One very important concern of TESOL should be the governmental decisions which involve programs for those needing English language instruction. With large amounts of money being earmarked for bilingual programs, it behooves this organization to exert pressure to see that these funds are intelligently used to benefit the population to be served. It also behooves us to try in every way possible to help avoid any political pressures which may be brought to bear that would stultify or adulterate programs in ESOL. As Mackey so wisely points out, "It is important that the pressures of politics be distinguished from local linguistic needs." (Mackey, p. 596)

Let us now turn to the second of the major areas of the TESOL domain and talk about ESOD, the teaching of standard English to speakers of other dialects. This is the area of most recently developing concern in our organization; it is also an area about which many of us feel least secure, not because we have not been interested but because our work has been strongly based in ESOL. This focus is now changing, however, as more information and more research comes to light. In this paper I am assuming that we wish to teach standard English to those who speak a nonstandard dialect. There are those, of course, who hold opposing views.¹

It is natural that people who deal with ESOD problems should have turned to the TESOL organization, not only because of its concern for English language teaching but because it has served populations which are often thought of as minority groups: Puerto Ricans, American Indians,

¹ See for example two articles in *College English*, 33 (January 1972): Wayne O'Neil, "The Politics of Bidialectalism" 433-438; and James Sledd, "Doublespeak: Dialectology in the Service of Big Brother," 439-456.

Mexican Americans. These groups as well as those who already speak English albeit with nonstandard dialect are by no stretch of the imagination “foreigners”; however, they all have a linguistic need.

What may make the task of finding solutions to the linguistic problems of ESOD more difficult than that of ESOL is that there has not been a real consensus among professionals who concern themselves with these populations as to the basis of the problems. There are two opposing viewpoints in regard to school populations who speak nonstandard dialects: (1) they are under-privileged, deprived, deficient children who need enrichment of their experience which will help in the development of their verbal ability; or (2) they are children who speak a different dialect but come to the schools with equal intelligence and equal facility for learning; they need to be stimulated to use the talents they already have.

William Labov has stated the position of most of us quite clearly in regard to the first viewpoint, the “verbal deprivation theory” propounded by Beretier and other educational psychologists, a theory which is founded on the belief that Negro children “cannot speak complete sentences, do not know the names of common objects, cannot form concepts or convey logical thoughts.” (Labov, p. 2) As Labov says, “All linguists agree that non-standard dialects are highly structured systems . . . All linguists who work with NNE recognize that it is a separate system closely related to standard English but set apart from the surrounding white dialects by a number of persistent and systematic differences.” He goes on to say that “Linguists now agree that teachers must know as much as possible about Negro non-standard English as a communicative system.” There should be nothing surprising in this suggestion. Don’t all teachers try to know as much as possible about the language background of anyone to whom they are teaching English?

We are firmly committed, then, to the attitude which linguists take that all dialects are useful for communication. If it were otherwise, they would cease to exist. Pupils who come to school speaking a dialect other than the standard should not be made to feel inferior in any way. Schools should consistently impress on *all* students the validity of varieties of speech. These attitudes of acceptance should be one of the primary targets for teaching.

In summarizing the linguists’ point of view, as well as that of many sociolinguists in regard to ESOD matters, it is safe to say as Williams does, “The difference theorists would turn more to the schools than to the child.” (Williams, p. 8) This does not mean that the child is unimportant, merely that the child is not looked upon as being deficient and the source of the difficulty. From this point of view the onus of the problem is on society, not on the child.

With these preliminary explorations into the various aspects of TESOL let’s look at the total domain. I have come to think of the teaching of English, as we are concerned with it, as on a continuum, the two extremes

linguistic variables. Sociological elements peculiar to the community and the total environment in which the program is to function could make up another list. Psychological factors dealing with student and parental motivation and language-learning theories could be a third. Varieties of teaching strategies, classroom management, and teacher training could be listed as variables from the educational component.

One way to utilize these variables in identifying various programs on the continuum might be in terms of distinctive features, marking the presence or absence of certain items. Programs would then be differentiated by comparing and contrasting the patterns of these distinctive features. For example, a somewhat typical "instrumental" ESL program might be classified as follows: + adult, - non-adult; + heterogeneous language background, - homogeneous language background; + English-speaking environment, - non-English-speaking environment; + native English-speaking teachers, - non-native English-speaking teachers; + 5 hours' instruction per week, - more than 5 hours' instruction per week; and so forth.

It seems to me that a careful listing of the variables in the kinds of programs possible on this continuum would be useful in their planning and implementation. It would point up the fact that programs vary in many different ways and that teaching strategies probably need to vary with the programs. It seems to me that this analysis would be particularly useful in working with so-called bilingual programs which can involve such widely differing kinds of organizations.²

An example of the importance of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic aspects which differentiate various language-learning groups is given by Paulston. In this comment on her own experience in learning English, she points out the threat that sometimes accompanies the learning of a "second" language rather than a "foreign" language.

. . . for a Swede who by necessity learns English as the lingua franca of Europe, the experience is not very threatening. He has a perfectly good language and culture of his own, he considers himself fully equal to anything English or American, and, more importantly, he expects this to be the mutual viewpoint. But consider the learning of English by the Amerindian and the Puerto Rican. . . . The very fact that he is pressured into accepting another culture and its medium of expression is likely to seem a derogatory comment on his own culture. The point I am making is that foreign language learning and second language learning may be a much more dissimilar psychological experience than we have previously supposed it to be. We need to consider more carefully the socio-psychological importance of language as the reflection of the peer group in societies which have sub- and superordinate cultures, and we need to do this in a systematic way. (Paulston, p. 10)

²An interesting application of distinctive feature analysis to teaching strategies is found in Frederick J. Bosco and Robert J. DiPietro, "Instructional Strategies: Their Psychological and Linguistic Bases," in *Toward a Cognitive Approach to Second Language Acquisition*, ed. Robert C. Lugton (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, 1971), 31-52.

We find no threat to the usual American ethnocentric acceptance of the sovereignty of English until we reach the point on the continuum where bilingual education and ESOD appear. Once we are confronted with the suggestion of bilingualism and ESOD (which should be approached in much the same way as bilingual education, I believe), we begin to step on toes. Here is where TESOL is going to have to exercise great educational pressure. We have to overcome the traditional American notion that only English (standard, that is) is acceptable. We have to look at Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, Indian Americans, and Black Americans as different, but not deficient. We need to unify, not separate. The best basis for unification may be through English, but always as an addition to, not a replacement for, the language or dialect which people already speak. Everyone needs to have pride in his own background, his own language or dialect, his own culture. Only insofar as differences are accepted and given proper status, will language programs be successful. Any attempts to eradicate the language or culture of the individual will be and should be met with resistance. The old concept of America as the "melting pot" has resulted in nothing but a seething caldron. Acceptance of cultural and linguistic pluralism is what is needed.

It has been primarily from TESOL's interest in teaching English to Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and to nonstandard speakers of the language that a deeper appreciation of the importance of the variables in a given program, such as student motivation and goals, has developed. The lessening emphasis upon the "purely" linguistic content and linguistic sequencing of materials, and the input from psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research have expanded our outlook.

Although some may have been led to believe so, a background in linguistics has never been the panacea for all language-teaching problems. The development of healthy attitudes toward language varieties and the knowledge of what characterizes all languages are probably the most important bits of linguistic information a teacher can possess. Newer research seems to be leading closer to what may be linguistic universals. If so, we may have useful information about inherent characteristics humans possess which could form the basis on which to build the learning of other languages.

The linguistic input does not have to be an esoteric, theoretical description of the competence' of an ideal speaker; it has to be the description of the actual usage of the speakers of the language. Linguistic theories should lead to a description of the "communicative competence" which Dell Hymes refers to or to what John Oller calls "pragmatics": the correlation of linguistic forms to contexts. Oller maintains that his concept of pragmatics has the following implications for language teaching:

With respect to material construction it indicates that the structures selected should be presented in meaningful contexts where a normal sequence of events is observed. It also indicates that instead of manipulating purely abstract elements of a calculus—usually a paradigm of totally unrelated sentences illustrating a point of syntax—the student should be using language

in response to a paradigm of situations. Instead of concentrating on the words coming out of his mouth he should be thinking about the ideas in his head that he wishes to communicate. Pragmatics defines the goal of teaching a language as inducing the students not *merely* to manipulate meaningless sound sequences, but to send and receive messages in the language. (Oller, 507)

This point of view re-emphasizes what Clifford Prator (1965) pointed out several years ago: the need to move away from the pure manipulation of bits and pieces of the language toward its communicative use.

It is clear that the traditionally referred to "application of linguistics to teaching ESOL or ESOD" must now be augmented by that of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Teachers must have an understanding of the social basis of language and the psychological aspects of language learning.

Sociolinguistics, which Fishman defines as "the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community," (Fishman, p. 4) is obviously of great relevance to ESOL and ESOD programs.

The planning of a program must come from the group involved or the success of the venture is jeopardized. The linguist and/or TESOL expert can provide information about the language content and methods of teaching, but long cherished ideas need to be rethought in terms of the specific people involved. As an example let me mention one Head Start group which asked me for help recently. It was apparent, on my first visit with this group, that the parents of the children involved, the supervisor from the school system who had asked for my help, and the personnel being utilized in the program had not thought through exactly what they were going to do with these pre-schoolers. I could only answer questions of a very general nature because I could not foresee what their final decisions would be. I felt frustrated and I am sure they did too. However, I was pleased to be able to point out some of the information which the *TESOL Quarterly* has published about instituting new programs in ESOL to help them in their decisions.³

Just as sociolinguistics holds promise for ESOL, psycholinguistics shows evidence of providing help in solving the mystery of how language is learned and may aid in our search for better ways of helping people to learn. A critical need in this domain of TESOL is for research and experimentation in teaching strategies. A recent issue of *Elementary English* contained an article with the title "TESL: A Critical Evaluation of Publications, 1961-68" in which the authors state: "The small number of TESL

³Robbie Choate Cooksey, "Priorities in Instituting the Teaching of English as a Second Language in a Southwest Texas School," *TESOL Quarterly*, 2 (September, 1968), 181-186; Stanley Levenson, "Preparing for or Revitalizing ESL Programs: The Task Group Approach," *TESOL Quarterly*, 3 (1969), 61-64.

articles published in the last few years combined with the low quality of much of the research that attempts a scientific format, indicates a pressing need for careful, controlled research that tests a limited hypothesis and careful, controlled research that tests a limited hypothesis and carefully analyzes the results." (Morrisroe and Morrisroe, pp. 59-60) *TESOL Quarterly* was not one of the publications listed in this study although it is the *only* American journal which devotes itself specifically to ESOL concerns. Although I must quarrel with the fact that the authors did not make use of one of the most important resources in ESOL for their study, I cannot quarrel with the statements which are made concerning the lack of reports on experimentation. The authors' belief that "the classroom must be used as the proving ground for new techniques" is held by many psycholinguists. Jakobovits' words regarding what he calls "the liberal approach to language teaching" are pertinent here:

This approach regards the student as the most important contributor to the learning process . . . the teacher, rather than the academic researcher, is best qualified to decide upon the innovations in instructional procedures and materials which are to render foreign language teaching more effective than it presently is. In order to be able to play this role and not relinquish it to others, the teacher must come to have a proper understanding not only of psychological theory and research per se, but of the process whereby psychologists themselves come to formulate these theories. (Jakobovits, p. xvi)

John Carroll made much the same plea to the TESOL membership at last year's convention, but with a slightly different emphasis:

In language teaching, as in other kinds of instruction, probably the critical factor in success is in managing the learning procedures of the student in such a way that any given stage of learning the student is learning just what he needs to learn, being given the appropriate strategy for that learning to take place, and being properly reinforced in that learning. (Carroll, p. 113)

He went on to say, however, ". . . the teacher's ability to manage learning behavior remains one of the most unexplored, unstudied variables in educational research." This should be the concern of TESOL.

Several of the recommendations which Frederick Williams makes in his book *Language and Poverty* bear directly on this question of experimentation and research in teaching, and the development of new strategies of learning. They also serve to focus attention once again on the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of language learning. The three recommendations which I would particularly stress are these:

- 1) We must develop new strategies for language instruction, as our existing ones are largely inadequate for use with children coming from varying language backgrounds.
- 2) We must increase our research efforts in the study of language differences in the United States, and the interrelation of these with different social and family structures.
- 3) Language programs for the poor should incorporate research and evaluation components. (Williams, p. vi-vii)

As the title of his book reveals, Williams suggests that language and poverty are closely related. It is a sad commentary on our society that those who are already weighted down by the mere struggle to exist should be further penalized because of their use of English. It is such inequities as this that the TESOL organization has committed itself to eradicate. This, in the largest sense, is the domain of TESOL.

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A Taxonomy of Second Language Behaviors

Richard R. Lee

Second language instruction requires explicit descriptions of student behaviors. It also needs a special taxonomy to organize objectives from simple to complex, and a description of performance variables to show how a psychologically simple behavior can be made more difficult. This article develops 44 five-part second-language objectives, each one stating who is to do what how well and under what conditions. It also provides a special taxonomy (an adjunct to Bloom's) and identifies five major performance variables. The article replaces the traditional four-skills description of language performance with an information-processing approach, which views the learner as a language processor midway between an eliciting situation and an overt response.

In his *25 Centuries of Language Teaching*, Louis G. Kelly argues that "much that is being claimed as revolutionary in this century is merely a rethinking and renaming of early ideas and procedures."¹ Kelly's review misses the influence of 20th century behaviorism, which in the past few years has changed the nature of much educational literature. Behaviorism has turned the camera around, so to speak, to focus on student, rather than teacher, behavior. These descriptions of student behavior are behavioral objectives. Articles recently have been written *about* behavioral objectives in language teaching,² but few acceptable objectives have been published. The purposes of this article are to present behavioral objectives for language instruction and to describe a taxonomy—a classification framework—for these and other objectives.

Much of the literature about behavioral objectives has been polemic. For example, James Popham argues for their use; Louise Tyler summarizes teachers' objections to behavioral objectives and refutes them.³ Three facts are clear. Unlike other educational innovations, behavioral objectives change the teacher's role behavior, a change which is difficult and often frustrating. Second, the empirical literature shows that, in most cases, the use of objectives improves instructional efficiency.⁴ Third, the classificatory scheme for

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¹ Louis G. Kelly, *25 Centuries of Language Teaching* (Rowley, Massachusetts, 1969), p. ix.

² See Florence Steiner's review, "Behavioral Objectives and Evaluation," in *The Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education* Vol. II, ed. Dale L. Lange, (Chicago, 1970), pp. 35-78.

³ In James Popham, ed., *Instructional Objectives* (Chicago, 1969). AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, Monograph 3.

⁴ See Robert F. Mager and John McCann, *Learner-Controlled Instruction* (Palo Alto, 1961); Robert M. Gagne, "Educational Objectives and Human Performance," *Learning and the Educational Process* ed., J. D. Krumboltz (Chicago, 1965); David T. Miles, Robert. J. Kibler and L. D. Eudora Pettigrew, "The Effects of Study Questions on College Students' Test Performances," *Psychology in the Schools*, IV (January, 1967), 25-26.

second language objectives, a taxonomy, is presently inadequate. The best known model, the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*,⁵ presumes a command of the vehicle of instruction, language. Much second-language instruction requires behaviors beyond the descriptive adequacy of the *Taxonomy*.⁶

Some definitions and distinctions are necessary. A curriculum, according to Macdonald, is a plan of action for instruction.⁷ In other words, it is a program of teacher strategies.⁸ A set of behavioral objectives is not a curriculum, and the adoption of one does not eliminate the need for the other. But it is clear which should be developed first: the behavioral objectives. Once teachers have decided what behaviors they want from students, the curriculum becomes an explicit, testable hypothesis that a certain combination of teacher behaviors, texts and other learning materials will elicit the desired student behaviors.

Neither a curriculum nor a set of behavioral objectives is a panacea for instruction. Neither describes classroom atmosphere, student ability, teacher competence, motivation or how a learner learns a second language. Intelligently used, however, behavioral objectives let the learner know exactly what he is expected to do. When he fails, as he will from time to time, clear objectives let the teacher diagnose and remedy in a precise fashion.

The Elements in a Behavioral Objective

A behavioral objective is a five-part statement that describes who will do what under what conditions and how well according to what explicit criteria.⁹ While the definition is simple enough, writing and implementing objectives for second language teaching is not. For example, the "who" statement is often written as "the student." This is ambiguous and can lead

⁵ Benjamin S. Bloom, ed. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain* (New York, 1956) and David R. Krathwohl, Benjamin S. Bloom and Bertram B. Masia, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals; Handbook II: Affective Domain* (New York, 1964).

⁶ Rebecca Valette has cast foreign language behaviors into the existing Taxonomy in her *Directions in Foreign Language Testing*, MLA/ERIC Clearinghouse on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (New York, 1969). In her schema, the knowledge of cultural trends is simpler, by two entire levels, than the ability to perform pattern drills. This does not reflect common experience.

⁷ James B. Macdonald, "Educational Models for Instruction-Introduction." In *Theories of Instruction*, (NEA, 1965), pp. 1-7.

⁸ See Robert J. Kibler, Larry L. Barker and David T. Miles, *Behavioral Objectives and Instruction* (Boston, 1970). Their definition of an adequate objective is much more explicit than Robert F. Mager's *Preparing Instructional Objectives* (Palo Alto, 1962).

⁹ See H. Ned Seelze, "Performance Objectives for Teaching Cultural Concepts," *Foreign Language Annals*, III (May, 1970), pp. 570-571. One objective reads: "Perform appropriately when one greets (a) a friend, (b) a stranger, (c) a respected elder. The performance should use *linguistic* and *kinesic* forms commonly employed by Spanish speaking people, should be without grammatical or phonemic error, and should be spoken without noticeably long pause." This objective is indicative rather than descriptive. It could be cleaned up by breaking it into several objectives and by spelling out the criteria. One wonders what kinesic criteria Seelze has in mind.

to awkward consequences. If *each* student makes the same oral response in class, it can become tedious waiting for the 35th student to say his piece. In oral work, responses from a random sample of five or ten students is often sufficient to assure the teacher that the objective has been met.

The verb in the behavioral objective must be an unambiguous, observable behavior. The verb "to differentiate" is neither observable nor unambiguous; "write," "say," and "choose" are inelegant but clear.¹⁰ The "what" is simply a statement of language output, such as "a word," a "sentence" or "an utterance 30 seconds long."¹¹

An objective also contains an explicit criterion. When the behavior is writing or speaking, the criterion may require a statement several phrases long. For example, a written dictation passage is often judged for spelling and punctuation as well as for segmentation into separate words. Of course, "spelling" and "punctuation" are abstractions for dozens of complex rules. Rational instruction requires that the rules be added to the criteria incrementally. This careful, specification of criteria, if nothing else, makes the teacher aware of the complexity of the behaviors being evaluated.

Criteria for spoken language are particularly difficult. The components of sounding like a native go far beyond the ability to pronounce the difference between "sheep" and "ship." Intonation appears to be composed of pitch, stress and juncture, which apparently interact with one another in perception.¹² Judges can agree on the amount of foreignness in samples of speech by non-native speakers, but the factors involved defy easy analysis. The implication is that criteria for spoken performance cannot meet the demand for precision inherent in adequate behavioral objectives.

Performance Variables in Second-Language Behaviors: A Special Case

The relevant condition is the fifth element in a behavioral objective. This states the conditions under which the student is expected to perform. Relevant conditions in language behavior are different from those in other academic subjects. They are spelled out here in considerable detail.

Second-language performance in a classroom is influenced by four major variables: the input and output channels, stimulus and response length, speed, and stimulus clarity. All of these variables are part of the relevant condition, and often the criterion as well. Changing any one of them can make an easy task difficult. The performance variables enumerated below are neither exhaustive nor particularly refined. Each one could be elaborated and factored much further, but what would be gained in analytic finesse would be lost in usability.

¹⁰ Florence Steiner in her "Performance Objectives in the Teaching of Foreign Languages," *Foreign Language Annals*, III (1970) gives the following objective. "Given 10 English to French sentences, requiring the omission or use of the definite determiner and plural noun, the student shall correctly complete 9 out of 10. *Sample*: Knives are useful." (p. 581). Without a behavioral verb or product, the student would be hard pressed to study intelligently for the test.

¹¹ Philip Lieberman, Intonation, *Perception and Language* (Cambridge, 1967).

¹² Elizabeth Jancosek, "A Rating Scale Technique for the Measurement of Foreign Dialect," Master's thesis, The Ohio State University, 1958.

The first performance variable is the input, of which there are only three: writing, the recorded voice and face-to-face speaking. One mode may be more efficient than another for presenting certain kinds of information. The learner who has trouble pronouncing minimal pairs presented on tape may do better reading them, where the different spellings might serve as a mnemonic, or by watching the teacher pronounce them, where visual information may help him control lip and tongue position. Treating input as three interdependent modes gives the instructor remedial options that are not suggested by thinking of behavior as the traditional "skills" of reading, writing, speaking and listening.

A second performance variable is length. Stimulus length applies to the relevant condition, and response length is an element of the criterion. Actually, length is a cover term for several sources of performance complexity, both receptive and productive, most of which are minor but which add up to something significant. One aspect of length pertains to short-term memory,¹³ the capacity to remember a stimulus long enough to imitate it. For the beginner, a phrase of five or six syllables long may overload short term memory. Behaviorally, the result is the inability to repeat the spoken stimulus. The intermediate student can repeat longer utterances because he has developed coding devices that reduce demand on short term memory.¹⁴ Any imitation task can be made more difficult simply by lengthening the stimulus.

In an indirect way, length also accounts for linguistic complexity. Longer words are less common and harder to pronounce than short ones;¹⁵ long sentences generally contain complex constructions and more embedded propositions than short ones. Word, sentence and passage length have long been recognized as major variables in formulae which predict readability and listenability.¹⁶ *The Reader's Digest* reflects the common sensitivity to sentence and passage length; the magazine gained the world's largest circulation by shortening prose that people will not buy otherwise. Length, expressed as average syllables per word, average words per sentence and total sentences says a great deal about the difficulty of reading and listening

¹³ George A. Miller, "The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on our Capacity for Processing Information," *Psychological Review*, LXIII (March, 1956), 81-96.

¹⁴In behavioral terms, listening and reading are inferred activities rather than demonstrable behaviors. This redefinition provides distinct advantages in remediation, since it casts the diagnosis of failure in terms which are particular and manipulable by the teacher. The diagnosis that a student is "weak in listening skills" is descriptive rather than explanatory. The failure of a student to choose written answers correctly after a spoken presentation suggests several other avenues of inquiry, such as whether the student was attending to the message or whether he could comprehend the written questions.

¹⁵ John Jung, *Verbal Learning* (New York, 1968), p. 63-64.

¹⁶ Edward Fry's readability formula, developed for students of English as a second language, employs only sentence and syllable length. Its predictive and concurrent validity seems close to that of much more elaborate formulae. See his "A Readability Formula that Saves Time," *Multidisciplinary Aspects of College-Adult Reading*, (Milwaukee, 1968), 199-204.

passages. The length of a conversation, a diction transcript or a composition can be expressed simply as the number of words.

A third performance variable is speed, which is an element in both the relevant condition and criterion. The listener who can comprehend the Voice of America's Special English newscast at 100 syllables per minute may or may not understand the same message at the normal rate of 220 syllables per minute.¹⁷ Standardized reading tests universally use a time limit, and any statement of reading ability has to be qualified by the speed factor inherent in it. Foreign graduate students, who often have low reading scores because of reading rates of less than 100 words per minute, often comprehend difficult technical material quite well if simply given enough time.

The fourth and final performance variable is stimulus clarity. Most speech signals are overladen with extraneous noise. Without realizing it, the native speaker sorts out the speech signal from all competing sounds. Electronic noise over tape-recorded speech tests the listener's ability to flesh out a partial and mutilated signal and make it intelligible. The ability to reconstruct a distorted speech signal distinguishes the native speaker from even the advanced non-native speaker. When the input is tape-recorded speech, some estimate should be made of its clarity.

In print, what is elaboration and refinement for the fluent reader may be extrania for the second-language learner. Again, *Reader's Digest* has developed the world's largest circulation by removing details, supporting arguments, and other forms of rhetorical flesh. Desirable as it may be aesthetically, elaboration in writing is an overburden. The heavier it is, the greater the skill required to extract the story line or the central argument. The clarity of reading material can be indicated by identifying the genre and the source; for example: a newspaper news story, an interpretive article about politics from a literary magazine, a narrative from a third-grade reader, or a process explanation from a how-to-do-it magazine. Stimulus clarity is an estimation of the work required to extract meaning from the printed, spoken or recorded word.

These performance variables are what make behavioral objectives in language learning different from—and more complex than—objectives in other subjects. A complete objective looks like this:

	Relevant condition: After hearing (input channel) a tape-recorded sentence (clarity) at least ten words long (length) carefully pronounced (speed),
Who	all students
Behavior	say (output channel)
What	the same sentence
Criterion	with the same intonation,

¹⁷ Frieda Goldman-Eisler, "On the Variability of the Speed of Talking and on Its Relation to the Length of Utterances in Conversations." *British Journal of Psychology*, XLV, 94-107.

Objectives of this level of specificity are not easily written, but they do allow instruction to proceed rationally. They allow the teacher to focus her teaching, and if shared with him, they allow the student to focus his effort on one, or two or three things at a time, depending on the number of criteria set up for the objective. These seem to be the reasons why the use of behavioral objectives increases instructional efficiency.

A Taxonomy for Second-Language Objectives

It is useful to have a guide which allows the teacher and curriculum writer to estimate the complexity of learning behaviors. This was the purpose behind the development of the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Cognitive Domain*, usually referred to as Bloom's Taxonomy. The original *Taxonomy* is for use with native speakers for conceptual content areas. It does not describe language competence, and is unconcerned with interpersonal social behavior, which are very much the concern of the language teacher. The next part of this paper spells out three levels of behavior beneath the cognitive domain which are peculiar to second-language teaching and learning. The simplest is sub-cognitive behavior, which is so structured that the student can perform them without understanding the content of the language he is using. The next level is semi-cognitive behavior, wherein the learner can respond to discrete stimuli by drawing on a small set of responses. Another level is communicative behavior, which requires the learner to identify socially salient cues and to react to them appropriately. These three levels are seen as amendments to Bloom's *Toxonomy*, and not a replacement for it.

Sub-Cognitive Behavior

Sub-cognitive behaviors are those which can be exhibited without the student's being aware of the meaning of what he is writing or saying. This does not imply that he *may* not know; the test is whether he *could*. These behaviors are of two types, those which require the application of rules, grammatical, phonological, and the like, which lie below the level of consciousness, and those which can be acquired by paired-associate learning. These behaviors depend on an explicit stimulus, and require little interpretation to determine whether the response meets criterion.

The following verbs are definitions of specialized behavioral terms; each verb implies a specific behavior and a specific relevant condition. The definitions below all lack the variables of speed and length, and for listening behaviors, the variable of stimulus clarity. It is assumed that all stimuli are in the target language unless specified otherwise.

1. repeats: upon hearing a single word in isolation, S says the word so that the instructor is satisfied with the production of each phoneme,
2. imitates: upon hearing a word or sentence, S says the same phrase or sentence so that its segmented and prosodic features satisfy the instruc-

- tor. (Repetition and imitation are distinguished since imitation requires the segmentation of a stream of sound into words, an operation already performed for the learner when words are delivered in isolation.)
3. differentiates: upon hearing a pair of monosyllabic words differing by one phoneme, S says either "same" or "different" or pronounces the pair with sufficient distinction to enable the instructor to hear two different words. (Minimal pair discrimination is often used with taped laboratory material but can also be used in class.)
 4. recites: upon hearing a cue which contains none of the words in the intended response, or upon seeing a visual cue, S utters a phrase, sentence, or passage from memory. (This tests the memorization of dialogues and can be used to test a mastery of social conventions, particularly greetings.)
 5. permutes orally: upon hearing an example of a specific grammatical permutation followed by a word or phrase that forces a grammatical change, S says a phrase or sentence that incorporates the forced change. (This is pattern practice, which often includes drills in subject-verb agreement, pluralization, adverb placement, pronoun case, changes of tense, sentence negation, sentence-tag manipulation, pre-article changes imposed by count and non-count nouns and replies to yes/no questions.)
 6. associates: upon hearing a single word in the target language, S utters a synonym. (This is a format much used in native-language vocabulary and reading tests for testing the mastery of idioms.)
 7. names: upon seeing an object, a color, a digit, or a picture or a demonstration of an action, S says its name. (Notice that this form of paired associate learning demands a one or two word response.)
 8. reads orally: upon seeing a printed word or phrase, S utters the same word or phrase. (This demands only a knowledge of phoneme-grapheme correspondences and stops short of connected discourse, which demands an understanding of the content to make intonation coherent.)
 9. answers orally: upon seeing a formula question such as "How are you?" "What's your name?" or "Where are you from?", S utters the most conventional reply, or the one in the text. (Included here are responses to the most conventional greetings and departures such as "Good morning," "Hello," and "Goodbye." Specifically excluded are responses that demand information processing in either the native or the target language, such as "Where were you last night?" or "How's it going?")
 10. copies: upon seeing words or sentences in print or in hand-written script, S copies the stimulus in hand-written script. (This is appropriate for students who are either illiterate or literate in a non-Roman alphabet.)
 11. spells: upon hearing a single word, S writes the correct spelling. (This objective includes only words regularly spelled in English, i.e., those that conform to the most powerful grapheme-phoneme correspondences. The thousand most common words in English are traditionally memo-

- rized because they violate the most powerful phoneme-grapheme rules of English.)
12. lists: upon command or visual cue, S writes in conventional orthography, words or sentences from memory. (This includes the writing of memorized word lists and dialogues.)
 13. transcribes: upon hearing connected discourse of sentence length or longer, S writes in conventional orthography the spoken stimulus. (This is a dictation test.)
 14. permutes in writing: upon seeing an example of a specific grammatical permutation forced by inserting a new word or phrase into an existing sentence, and upon seeing a sentence followed by a word or phrase with different grammatical properties, S writes a sentence by deleting a word or phrase, inserting the novel term, and incorporating the syntactic changes forced by the novel element. (This is the written version of oral permutation, and constitutes the bulk of many elementary-level workbooks.)
 15. answers in writing: after seeing or hearing a formula question, such as greetings, inquires after health and the yes/no questions we ask of small children, S writes the most conventional reply.
 16. chooses: after reading a sentence containing a multiple choice set of words or short phrases, S circles the words deemed correct. (Although it is psychologically dissimilar to speaking and writing, multiple-choice choosing is a valid and convenient test procedure. Correctness here is determined by the grammatical constraints imposed by word in the sentence, not by semantic or stylistic constraints, which require an understanding of what the sentence says.)
 17. matches: given a physical object or picture of it, and a set of printed cards with the name of the object on one of them, S places the card with the correct name next to the object. (This behavior demands the ability to recognize the written form of a name presumably learned as an oral response.)
 18. identifies: upon seeing a printed sentence and a set of lines representing rises and falls in intonation, S selects the linear representation of the intonation characteristically given to the stimulus sentence.

In summary, sub-cognitive behaviors depend on an explicit stimulus, a narrow range of possible responses and either paired associate learning or the application of abstract rules often transferred from the native language. It is possible to perform any one of these behaviors in a target language without comprehending the meaning of the response. These activities tax the memory heavily. They are quasi-linguistic behaviors that serve only as an introduction to communication in a second language.

Semi-Cognitive Behaviors

Semi-cognitive behaviors require comprehension of the stimulus to permit a rational response. Like sub-cognitive behaviors, they depend heavily

on explicit stimuli and permit only a narrow range of responses. They are, however, a step closer to communication in the second language despite their dependence on an explicit stimulus. The student here often has things to say in the second language; his problem lies in finding the time and place to say them. He can also perform complex grammatical operations, given enough time. In this category, comprehension of the stimulus is required, and the response contains non-academic information which is accessible to anyone.

1. answers direct question: given a simple yes/no or wh- question which can be answered by reference to personal knowledge, general knowledge or to physically discernible fact, S speaks or writes the answer in maximally reduced form. (Most languages utilize a deletion transformation when a noun phrase or verb phrase in the answer is identical to one in a short question. Hence, the answer to "Are you hungry?" can either be "Yes" or "Yes, I am" but not "Yes, I am hungry." Excluded are questions that require creative, sentence length responses such as "Why" questions and requests for elaboration.)
2. transliterates: after hearing or reading a sentence free of idiom, S renders its transliterational equivalent in the second language. (Excluded are conventions such as the polite command, (" Won't you have a seat?") slang, jargon, regionalism, technical vocabulary and social formulae ("It's about time!").)
3. translates conversational conventions: upon hearing or seeing phrase-length conventions for exchanging formal and informal greetings, taking leave, for making polite requests and indirect commands, S writes or speaks its equivalent in the target language. The reply will carry the same connotations of mood, intent and level of social transaction as the original. (Included here are elaborated greetings up to six exchanges long, conversational transitions, conversation terminators ("Well, I'll get that information in the mail today.") and standard greetings and closings in personal letters.)
4. performs: given a spoken or written command to perform an action which requires no specialized skill, S performs the prescribed action. (Excluded here is the following of long instructions, such as how to navigate from one end of New York City to the other, commands to inhibit social behavior ("Would you please be quiet?") or how to assemble a doll carriage.)
5. judges structural synonymy: given two sentences which have the same meaning but a different order of surface elements, and at least two distracters, S chooses the two sentences which mean the same thing. (Items of this type are commonly active vs. passive voice, rearrangements of adverbial elements, and pairs of sentences, one of which uses deletion transformations, as with comparatives and adjectival clauses.)
6. judges grammaticality: given three sentences which make sense and a fourth which violates the rules of sentence construction, S identifies

the agrammatical sentence. (The term “grammatical” here refers to sentences such as “I saw a fragile of” and excludes errors caused by transferring first language syntax into the second, or by transferring casual spoken English into the written form.)

7. judges anomaly: upon seeing a grammatically coherent but semantically anomalous sentence in the presence of three other non-bizarre sentences, S chooses the anomalous sentence. (The mental set here must be literalistic. In some sense, “I saw some fuzzy mothers” is not anomalous in the same way that Milton’s “blind mouths” is. In a non-poetic, every-day context, however, both sentences are anomalous.)
8. close sentences: upon seeing a written sentence with a single word missing, S writes a word which conforms to the syntactic and semantic constraints of the surrounding sentence.
9. defines words: upon seeing an uncommon, low frequency word embedded in a non-vacuous sentence, S writes a single word in the same language, which is roughly synonymous.
10. infers emotion: upon hearing a dialogue between two persons, S writes at least one adjective to describe the apparent emotional state of one or the other speaker. (Specifically excluded is the inference of character and emotion from the printed pages, which is the study of literature.)
11. supplies time and place: upon seeing or hearing a stem such as “Today is —,” “You live in —,” “You live at —” S will speak or write the correct day or location. (Specifically excluded are locative prepositional phrases.)
12. supplies location: upon seeing two objects or a picture of two objects, S utters a full sentence that contains a locative prepositional phrase expressing the physical relationship between the two objects.
13. conjugates and declines: upon hearing an instruction to conjugate a verb or decline a noun, S writes as many verb conjugations or noun declension as instruction permits.
14. constructs a sentence: upon hearing or seeing one of the five thousand most common words in the language, S constructs a non-vacuous sentence around the word, i.e., *not* a sentence such as “It is a —.”
15. substitutes: upon seeing a model sentence, S writes a new sentence which conforms exactly to the syntactic structure of the model but contains all new words.
16. imitates composition: after studying a narrative or description written in the target language, S writes novel composition by following the sentence structure, paragraph organization and rhetorical mood of the model. (Specifically excluded is unguided composition, which is properly in the cognitive domain.)
17. converts: upon hearing or seeing a sentence written in indirect speech, S utters or writes the equivalent in direct, quoted speech.

To reiterate, semi-cognitive behaviors presume a limited ability to understand the spoken word, to draw a limited number of words in the target language from memory, to distinguish questions from statements and to perform several kinds of linguistic manipulation. Student behaviors at this level are still tied to very specific stimuli and responses are drawn from a pool of possible responses limited by the student's inexperience with the second language.

Communicative Behavior

The third and final category below the cognitive domain demands the ability to identify cues that are often inexplicit and the ability to supply constructed responses. At this point, it is inprecise to speak of stimuli or responses. Here, both the native and non-native speaker must sweep the situation for relevant cues and then behave in a fashion that is socially and semantically appropriate.¹⁸

1. requests services: given the basic human needs, either real or contrived, for food, shelter, transportation or directions, S asks for information and comprehends the reply. (This is the stuff that travelers' phrase books are made of.)
2. reduces and summarizes: upon hearing or reading a narrative or non-technical lecture, S summarizes the main points. (Length is important here, because of normal limitations of attention span. The professional story teller seldom exceeds five minutes, about the same reading time for most articles in popular magazines. Since second language reading rate is often below 100 words per minute, this objective excludes passages more than five hundred words long.)
3. facilitates: in a real conversation, upon sensing that his conversational partner is at an emotional hiatus, S says the appropriate comforting words. (In conversation, people express distress over things they cannot change, such as grades, transportation, people and money. There are formalistic bridges across these conversational holes.)
4. deduces: upon seeing or hearing a major logical premise, S deduces actions, attitudes, and opinions that would flow from the major premise. (Much conversation is built on this pattern of interchange, as well as exercises in deductive logic. For example, if I express dissatisfaction with foreign policy, my partner is free to start a comment with "Then you probably . . .")
5. rejoins: in a real conversation, upon hearing an expression of opinion by his conversational partner, S concurs with the opinion by reiterating it and elaborating upon his own feelings.
6. supplies background information; in a real conversation with a stranger, S mentions enough about his national, social, or academic background that the partner can ask questions or express opinions about S's experience.

¹⁸A particularly rich source of exercise for communicative behaviors is William E. Rutherford's *Modern English* (New York, 1968).

7. differs: in a real conversation, upon hearing an opinion which is different from his own, S expresses his difference of opinion and mutes the difference with such stock expressions as "Well, the way I see it . . ." or "That's true, but . . ."
8. deduces physical consequences: upon hearing or reading a description of a physical event such as those commonly found in narration, S suggests the most likely outcome. (At the simplest level this is an exercise which can take the shape of "Mary left her doll outside in the rain. When she went outside later her doll was —." In conversation, the description of awkward, aggravating or amusing situations suggests one of two conversational bridges, either suggesting a likely outcome or by simply asking, "What happened then?")
9. identifies cultural stereotypes: upon meeting or seeing a picture of a social stereotype peculiar to a culture, S will correctly label the stereotype. (Each culture has its own regional, characterological and professional stereotypes. Witness these in American culture: the helpless housewife, the Alabama farmer, the hippie, the absent-minded professor, the tough guy, the socialite, the engineer, and the Vermonter. Daytime television will provide a complete listing of current American social stereotypes.)

There are other behaviors which can be elicited in a second-language classroom, but most of them fall in the cognitive domain. Although cognition is demanded by many of the behaviors listed here, the cognitive domain is the proper place for behaviors that demand a command of information and presume a mastery of the vehicle of instruction, language.

Neither behavioral objectives nor a second-language taxonomy is a panacea for language instruction. It is crucial, however, to define just what it is that we ask our students to do, and to assess the complexity of those behaviors. This taxonomy can promote a rational mix of behaviors, so that a semester's instruction is not built around a few behaviors all at the same level of cognitive processing. Variety as well as control is an essential ingredient in effective instruction.

Three Functional Tests of Oral Proficiency

Bernard Spolsky, Penny Murphy, Wayne Holm, and Allen Ferrel

This paper is a description of three experimental tests that attempt to measure communicative competence. The Spanish-English Dominance Assessment Test was developed to permit assignment of six- and seven-year-old children to appropriate streams in a New Mexico school with a bilingual education program. The Navajo-English Dominance Interview, also intended to be used with six-year-olds beginning school, was used to validate teacher ratings in a study of Navajo language maintenance. The Oral Placement Test for Adults is an experimental instrument to place non-literate adults in appropriate levels of an ESL program. The three tests display certain common principles in developing useable functional tests. Each is closely tied to the practical situation for which it was prepared and is intended to be used by relatively untrained testers with the simplest possible materials. Results are gross, classifying rather than ranking students, but this is appropriate to the goals.

The difficulty of defining and testing oral language proficiency has been analyzed in a recent paper by Eugène Brière,¹ in which he points out the inadequacy of present testing methods, and calls for continued work to develop instruments that will measure communicative competence. This paper is an account of three experimental tests that attempt to do this.

Some of the difficulties of existing tests arise because they use what John Carroll has called "the discrete point approach" in proficiency testing.² The key assumption of discrete point testing is that it is possible to translate subjective evaluations like "He doesn't know enough English to understand a lecture" into a series of precise statements like "He is unable to distinguish between phonemes /i/ and /iy/". There would be two ways this could be done, but neither is theoretically possible. The first would be to make an exhaustive list of all the items of the language, from which a random sample could be drawn. But the items of a language are not finite in this sense. The second would be to show that the items in a test are not a random sample from a finite set, but chosen on the basis of functional necessity: in other words, to prove that the specific item being tested is needed for the functions detailed. However, the normal redundancy of language makes it possible to communicate quite successfully without knowing any one specific item that may be selected for the test. On this basis, it is clear that levels of knowing a language cannot be characterized

Mr. Spolsky, professor of linguistics and elementary education at the University of New Mexico, spent the 1971-72 academic year in Israel on a Guggenheim fellowship. Mrs. Murphy is a classroom teacher in the Albuquerque Public Schools. Mr. Holm is principal of Rock Point School, Arizona. Mr. Ferrel was research assistant at the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory and is now a Ph.D. student at UNM.

¹ Eugène J. Brière, "Are We Really Measuring Proficiency with Our Foreign Language Tests?" *Foreign Language Annals*, 4 (1971): 385-91.

² John B. Carroll, "Fundamental Considerations in Testing for English Language Proficiency of Foreign Students," *Testing*, (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1961).

in specific linguistic terms, that is, as mastery of a criterion percentage of items in a grammar and lexicon. Proficiency tests must be based on a functional definition of levels: Tests are needed not of how many items a subject may know (although, of course, this is a reasonable question in an achievement or diagnostic test) but of his ability to operate in a specified sociolinguistic situation with ease or effect.³

The test that most thoroughly fits this description is the one used by the Foreign Service Institute for classification of the language proficiency of officers in the U.S. State Department. The absolute Language Proficiency Ratings are awarded after lengthy interviews by a panel of trained judges, one of whom is normally a linguist and the other a native speaker. There is little argument possible with the power and validity of this measure, but the complexity and expense of administering it seems to put the approach out of the price range of those who are looking for a test to be used in a school situation. One solution to this problem is to develop proficiency tests that make use of the principle of redundancy. The test of overall proficiency⁴ for instance, is an oral test of this kind, and the cloze procedure offers a similar test of proficiency in the written language. However, both of these techniques depend on the literacy of the subjects: for while the test of overall proficiency is oral, the answers depend on ability to write (in the earlier version), or to read (in a later one).

In this paper we describe three test instruments developed to overcome this limitation but to maintain the principle of functional testing.⁵ Each of the tests described was developed for a specific purpose and it would be unwise to use it more widely without careful consideration, but the general principles involved may prove useful to others who need tests that can serve similar purposes.

The Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment Test was developed initially to permit assignment of six and seven-year-old children to appropriate streams; in a New Mexico school with a bilingual education program it offers sufficient delicacy to permit some evaluation of program effects. The Navajo-English Language Dominance Interview was used to validate teacher ratings in a study of Navajo language maintenance; it, too, was intended to be used with six-year-olds beginning school. The Oral Placement Test for Adults is an experimental instrument to place non-literate adults in appropriate levels of an English as a second language program. The aim of each of the three tests is to permit a relatively un-

³For a more detailed discussion, see Bernard Spolsky, "Language Testing—the Problem of Validation," *TESOL Quarterly*, 2 (June, 1968): 88-94.

⁴Bernard Spolsky, Bengt Sigurd, Masahito Sato, Edward Walker and Catherine Arterburn, "Preliminary Studies in the Development of Techniques for Testing Overall Second Language Proficiency," *Problems in Foreign Language Testing*, ed. John A. Upshur, *Language Learning*, Special Issue, 3 (August, 1968): 79-101.

⁵A full description of the principles involved in a functional approach to the assessment of language skills is given in Chapter IV of Leon A. Jakobovits, *Foreign Language Learning*, (Newbury House, 1970).

trained test administrator to arrive at some general classification in as short a time as possible.

Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment.

The Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment was originally developed for use with first and second grade pupils at Coronado Elementary School in Albuquerque, New Mexico.⁶ This school began a Title VII supported bilingual education program in 1969. The assessment was intended for children who were bilingual in Spanish and English or monolingual in one and was aimed to classify them as dominant in one language or another. In developing the instrument, we accepted a number of assumptions:

1. While a school system needs a single decision, bilingual dominance varies from domain to domain. Subscores were therefore given for the domains of home, neighborhood and school.

2. A child's report of his own language use is likely to be quite accurate.⁷

3. Vocabulary fluency (word-naming) is a good measure of knowledge of a language and it is a good method of comparing knowledge of two languages.

4. The natural bias of the schools in Albuquerque as a testing situation favors the use of English; this needs to be counteracted by using a Spanish speaking interviewer.

The assessment is intended to take about twenty minutes for each child. It requires two people to give it, an interviewer and a recorder. Both are expected to be bilingual in Spanish and English; the interviewer, who is to be a native speaker of New Mexican Spanish could have a marked accent in English but must be fluent in it. A teacher aide or mother from the community would be suitable, provided she has a relaxed manner with children and is tolerant of bilingual education. She is given a chance to practice with the questions so as to be able to ask them naturally. The recorder needs to be literate in both English and Spanish; she writes down words given in both languages and works out scores for the assessment. The interview should take place in the least school-like room available. The interviewer and the child should have comfortable chairs facing each other, the recorder being seated at a small table to the side.

The interview falls into three main sections, each with a Spanish and English component. Part A in Spanish and Part C in English are a series

⁶ Work on the Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment was done by Penny Murphy as part of her duties as language evaluator for the Coronado School bilingual program.

⁷ This principle and some of the techniques involved in the test may be found in Joshua Fishman, *Bilingualism in the Barrio*, (Indiana University Publications in the Language Sciences, forthcoming), and were further tested in a study of an Albuquerque School by Kathleen Timmins, "An Investigation of the Relative Bilingualism of Spanish Surnamed Children in an Elementary School in Albuquerque," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1971).

of questions about the child's language experience; the content of the answers is important, and equally important is the evidence of how fluently he answers in each language.⁸ Part B in Spanish and Part D in English each contains four word-naming tasks, two calling for nouns and two for verbs, and covering the domains of home, neighborhood, and school. The child is asked to name either all he sees or all he can do in a certain place such as the kitchen or the yard. In part E, the children are asked to describe what they see in some pictures; from this, two three-minute tape-recorded samples of their speech in each language is collected.

The instrument was first used in October 1970. It was given to all the children in kindergarten, first, and second grades enrolled in the Coronado Bilingual Program. The instrument was administered at two separate sessions. During the first session every child was interviewed by a school mother and scored on his Spanish and English responses by another mother. At this session, parts A, B, C, and D, the self-report and the word-naming blocks, were administered. It was hoped that the scoring of these parts would give a clear picture of language dominance in at least 50% of the cases and so cut down on the time and money that would have to be spent if the entire instrument was given initially. Teachers were asked to give their opinion of the interview score from this first session, and in cases of doubt the child was given part E, the picture test. In about one-quarter of the cases this was felt to be necessary.

At the second session, then, a sample of the child's speech was recorded when he was asked to talk about a series of five photographs taken in the neighborhood. Two of the pictures were used to familiarize the children with the method and the materials; their responses (in both languages) to the remaining three photographs were recorded. The speech samples were available both to check the interview score and for measuring progress through the year.

In its first form, the assessment permitted five categories.

S-e: Spanish dominant. The child's ability in English varies, but he uses Spanish more easily.

S-E: The child seems to handle each language equally easily.

s-E: English dominant. There is variation in the child's ability to understand and speak Spanish but he seems most at home with English.

E: English monolingual.

N: The child did not respond sufficiently for any judgement to be made.

The ratings on the interview were slightly lower than the taping, suggesting that in the three to four weeks which elapsed between the interview and the taping the child became more at ease in the school situation. He noticed that Spanish was acceptable, and was therefore willing to speak more and to speak Spanish more. Thus, while there were ten children in the kindergarten program for whom no score could be given on the inter-

⁸ See Appendix A.

view, four of them were scored on the taping. In about half of the cases, the scoring on the taped sample agreed with the interview but in the others, stronger proficiency in Spanish was noted.

In three-quarters of the cases the teachers accepted the rating from the first section of the assessment. However, teachers' judgments appeared to be much more closely related to proficiency than to dominance. For example, the teachers were not happy with the category s-E arguing often that though English was dominant the child did seem to know a lot of Spanish. By the end of about four weeks of school, the teacher ratings tended to agree with the test scores, which suggests the instrument's validity as an early placement device.

The interview appeared to be reasonably accurate in three-quarters of the cases in making an initial assignment. On the basis of the experience of this first administration, the scoring procedure was modified to simplify computation and to provide a clearer picture of the child's ability to comprehend and produce the two languages. Questions pertaining to the family were revised to include those people with whom the child lives. Earlier questions assumed families consist of parents and children; this is not always the case and caused both the child and the interviewer unnecessary problems.

Ratings of children in the second year of the Bilingual Program gave a picture of the effectiveness of the first year that agreed with other evaluations. The result distinguished between a grade in which children used some Spanish words but language use patterns showed loss of willingness to speak Spanish, and a grade where the children remained eager to use their first language. The instrument has proven therefore a satisfactory one for general decisions, but of course could not, and is not intended to serve for the control on instruction.

Navajo-English Dominance Interview

The Navajo-English Dominance Interview was developed to provide validity data on teacher rating in a study of the language use of six-year-old Navajo children.⁹ The first survey of the language used by six-year-old Navajo children at the time they come to school was conducted in 1969.¹⁰ The general method adopted in the study was to prepare a simple questionnaire to be completed by teachers in schools on or near the Reservation. The questionnaire sent out to teachers asked them to describe the language capabilities of each of their six-year-old Navajo pupils at the time of starting school. Teachers were advised to ask help from staff members if they needed it. This was to encourage them to ask Navajo teacher aides about

⁹ Work on this instrument was carried out by Wayne Holm and Bernard Spolsky and was supported by a gift from John Nuveen and Company to the University of New Mexico. Appendix B gives the test.

¹⁰ Bernard Spolsky, "Navajo Language Maintenance: Six-Year-Olds in 1969; *Language Sciences*, 13 (1970): 19-24.

the student's knowledge of Navajo. They were asked to place each child on a 5-point scale:

- N: When the child first came to school, he or she appeared to know only Navajo, and no English.
- N-e: When the child first came to school, he or she appeared to know mainly Navajo; he or she knew a little English, but not enough to do first grade work.
- N-E : When the child came to school, he or she was equally proficient in English and Navajo.
- n-E: When the child came to school, he or she knew mainly English and also knew a bit of Navajo.
- E: When the child came to school, he or she knew only English.

In cases where they were uncertain teachers were asked to use a question mark rather than a check mark in the appropriate column (only 12 of the 171 used the question mark). The questionnaire, distributed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Window Rock to all BIA schools, was completed by all but five of the 69 schools and by more than half of the public schools contacted in the area.

As part of a second more thorough survey, the Navajo-English Language Dominance Interview was developed to check teachers' judgments. The interview is intended to be administered by two bilingual interviewers, one of whom is to use only Navajo and the other only English in the interview. It consists of three blocks of questions. The first block in Navajo has eleven questions and the second in English has ten.¹¹ The third block consists of three questions to be asked in whichever language appears to be the child's stronger. Decision points within the blocks make it possible to avoid going through all questions. The first two questions of the Navajo block are part of traditional adult Navajo greeting formality, asking the child for the name of his own clan and his father's clan. Very few children were able to answer these questions. Almost all, however, could handle the third question asking them for their name. After the next two questions, which ask where they live, it is possible to decide which children know no Navajo at all. The next set of questions concerns siblings in school, how well the child speaks Navajo, how well he knows English, and where he learned English.

However, the answer to the question about knowledge of English raises certain questions. A number of children who gave their ages in English in response to the question in Navajo said they didn't know a word of English. Some of these on closer questioning were able to give English equivalents to certain Navajo words. One had the impression that some children thought or sensed that an admission of knowing some English would be followed by a request to speak English. The final question in

¹¹ The English portion of the interview is given in Appendix B as an illustration.

this section asking the child in Navajo how often he understands the teacher was generally replied to frankly and probably correctly as "some of the time" or "seldom" or "never."

The English questions also permit an early decision point if the child does not respond to the first four questions. At the end of the second block, the scorers are asked to rate the child's ability in English and at this stage make the decision on dominance if they have low ratings for each of the languages. The third block begins in what appears to be the child's stronger language but continues in the language of his choice. The first two questions ask which language is easier and which language does the child prefer to be spoken to in. While most seemed to prefer Navajo, there were at this point a number of children, particularly in one of the acculturating communities, who said they preferred to be questioned in English even though they proved quite incapable of handling the questions in English.

The final question of this section asks the child's view of bilingual education. The wording of the question (in English) is: "In some schools, they all talk Navajo; in others schools, they all talk English; in still other schools they talk both Navajo and English. If you could choose, which way would you like (to go to school): all in Navajo? all in English? in both Navajo and English?" As we expected the results indicated that the children did not understand the question fully. We had felt however that it needed to be asked because of the importance that Navajo parents place on the child's wishes in educational matters.

In the administration of the interview the importance of a relaxed and easy presentation was most obvious. The four bilingual Navajo college students found much less problem with this than did the other team which consisted of a bilingual Anglo principal and a male interpreter. The interviewers reported that as they became familiar with the questionnaire the children were more relaxed and open. This problem of rapport is closely related to another, that of standard presentation of the questions. It was found valuable to break down the formality of the situation by talking freely before and between questions. Rapport seems much more important with young children than attempts to control interviews by asking exactly the same questions in exactly the same way. The procedure that finally evolved was to ask the questions as they were written (more or less) but to integrate them into a general conversation about the child and things of interest to him. Also very valuable was the training session spent in the wording of the questions in Navajo and in practicing administration of the test on one another; of additional use would have been some practice questioning children. One major problem with the interview in its present form is probably that it does not call for the child to speak as much as might be necessary to make a full judgement about his language abilities. He might, for example brusquely answer all questions but still not have spoken enough to give a fair picture of his production. There is reason then to feel it

would be valuable to add some way to getting more extended sequences of speech from the child.

The interview was used to establish the validity of the teacher questionnaire, showing an overall correlation of .67 for the 194 cases checked.¹² There were a number of valuable additional facts brought to light by the interviews. As mentioned above, a number of children replied with an English number when they were asked their ages in Navajo. Questioned further some of them were able to give the Navajo equivalent and others were not. Some of the children seemed to know in Navajo only the numbers up to three; they would use these in conversation but not for counting purposes. Many five and six-year-olds who used the words "five" and "six" felt these were Navajo words they had learned at home. Asked about their pets, most children gave English names for their dogs. Their answers to questions about the language spoken at home were probably accurate. However, in a number of cases it was clear the children were unaware that their parents knew English.

One final interesting point: some children were asked the standard question used as the opening of the interviews in the International Study of Children's Views of Foreign Peoples¹³ "What are you?" The most common answer was "Diné". In a number of cases, however, the children answered "Naabeehó" and in some cases "Nábeeho". "Navajo" is not a Navajo word. The usual designation is, of course, Diné. The word Naabeehó is also used but the form Nábeeho was quite novel and seems to reflect more closely the usual English pronunciation of the word. A total of 194 children were interviewed by the three pairs of judges; and their scores correlated .67 (significant at the $p > .01\%$ level) with the ratings given by seventeen different teachers.

Oral Placement Test for Adults

The Oral Placement Test for Adults is intended to decide whether an adult who lacks literacy in either English or Spanish but speaks Spanish, needs instruction in English before going on to regular adult basic education, and if so, to decide at what level such instruction should begin.¹⁴ The test is prepared to be given orally, to one subject at a time, by regular adult basic education English teachers. Certain technical limitations were assumed: testing sessions would need to be brief, but provision could be made for giving teachers some training in administering the test.

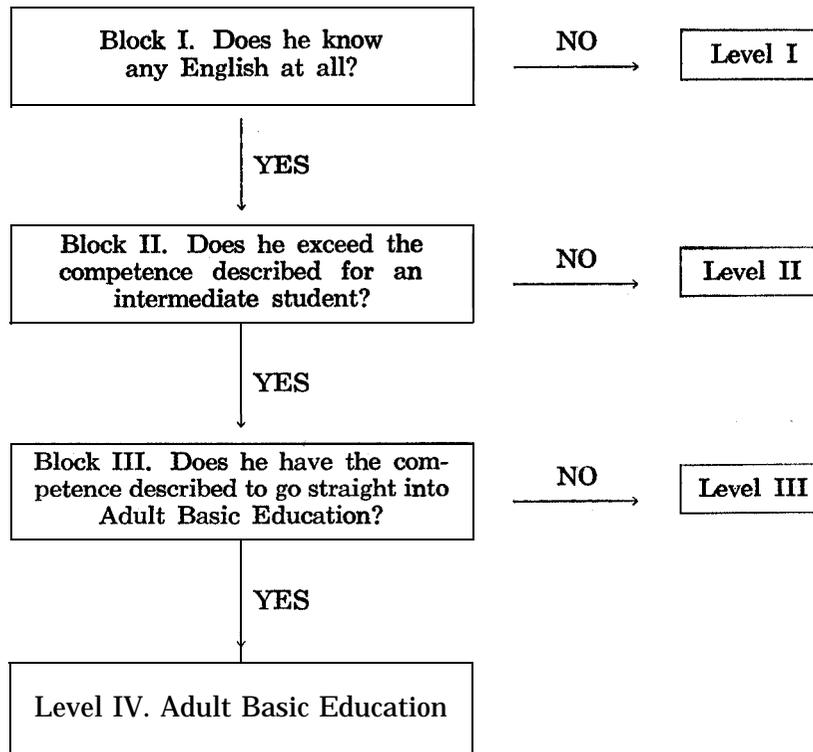
¹² Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, "Bilingualism in the Six-Year-Old Navajo Child" Preprints of the Conference on Child Language, (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971), pages 225-39.

¹³ Wallace E. Lambert and Otto Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967).

¹⁴ The Oral Placement Test for Adults was developed by Allen Ferrel at the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory. Appendix C gives extracts from the test. A good description of the problems of tests for adult basic education is given by Donna Ilyin, "Structure Placement Tests for Adults in English-Second-Language Programs in California," *TESOL Quarterly*, 4 (1970): 323-30. Mrs. Ilyin makes clear the difficulty of using achievement tests for placement.

The general strategy is an overall functional approach. It is based on the observation that a trained and experienced teacher is usually capable of deciding, after a certain amount of time with a student, his level of competence. The test aims to capture this ability, and by developing an appropriate instrument, to make it available to teachers with less training and experience. The final form of the instrument is visualized as a set of filters, or decision nodes; at various points the judge should be able to decide whether to classify the student at a proficiency level or to continue the test.

The four level decision model functions like this:



Such a model permits spending the least time on testing absolute beginners and the most on the decision to exempt a student from Oral English.

The first stage of developing the instrument was to come up with an English proficiency scale which describes the various levels of proficiency to be covered. This scale owes much to the scale developed by Gordon Ericksen and made available through NAFSA¹⁵ but it needed to be adapted

¹⁵ The scale is given as Appendix D. The English proficiency chart on which it is based was prepared by Gordon Ericksen and produced by the Commission on Intensive English Programs (CIEP) under the auspices of the Association of Teachers of English as a second language (ATESL) and the Field Service Program, 1971, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA).

specifically to the requirements of adult basic education. It was discussed with practicing adult basic education teachers to insure content validity. Once the scale had been agreed to, a structured interview was developed which combines a real sociolinguistic situation with certain discrete point items. The interview approaches the student on an adult level and draws on his personal background and experience to form the basis for his speaking English. It is a short test requiring as little as two minutes but not more than seven minutes to administer and score.

In its present experimental form, then, the emphasis is on determining a person's ability to use English as a functional tool of communication. The test is pragmatic in that it does not ask whether a student knows a certain word or can pronounce a certain sound but rather whether he can function in a given situation.

The test is as straightforward as possible, and we avoided the use of props of any kind which the adult learner might associate with elementary school activities. During its development it was tried with students in adult basic education programs to make sure that it seemed adult enough. The test materials consist of an instruction manual and a basic test format. A tape recorder can be used to record the test for later scoring, or the scoring may be carried out during the interview. Test conditions require only a reasonably quiet room where the subject can be interviewed individually. The procedure is simple and direct. The interviewer goes through the usual social amenities of introducing himself, seating the subject and then proceeding directly to the interview questions.

The interview consists of a number of blocks. In the first there are seven straightforward questions asking about personal details, asking him his name, occupation, and so on. If the student cannot reply he is placed at level one. The second block consists of 14 simple sentences to be repeated with an understandable pronunciation. If the student cannot repeat these sentences satisfactorily he is also placed at level one. This second block is a module which requires the Spanish-speaking subject to overcome certain critical language problems of phonology and syntax. The phonology problems are readily apparent to the reader who is familiar with the difference between Spanish and English; but the syntactical hurdles are concealed in the area of verbal complementation in which there are many structured disparities between translation equivalents. For instance, item number 6, "He wanted his friend to come" can only be rendered in Spanish with two clauses, each of which has its own finite verb. (*Quería que su amigo viniera.*) The assumption is that the person who can repeat these items with such underlying structural differences is better able to function in English than one who cannot repeat them.¹⁶

¹⁶ Evidence of the reliability of imitation as a testing procedure is given in Diana S. Natalicio and Frederick Williams, "Repetition as an Oral Language Assessment Technique; (Center for Communication Research, The University of Texas at Austin, 1971).

The next section moves to some more complex questions which aim to stimulate a short conversation. The criterion for acceptability at this stage is whether the subject is able to convey understandable information within the social context suggested. This block next calls for a number of grammatical structural changes involving negative and questions forms. If the subject has got this far, but cannot handle these satisfactorily he is placed at the second level. The next block involves control of tense structures.¹⁷ Successful completion of this block places a student at the highest of the levels measured but failure places him at the third level.

Initial tests of the experimental form have shown very high inter-scorer reliability with students at all levels. Considerably more work will of course need to be done to establish how well the test satisfies the purposes for which it is intended.

These three tests display certain common principles in developing useable functional tests. Each is closely tied to the practical situation for which it was prepared, and is intended to be used by relatively untrained testers with the simplest possible materials. Results are gross, classifying rather than ranking students, but this is appropriate to the goals. And there is likelihood of a certain amount of error, but this is not disguised by complex statistics. They may fairly claim to be not just practical instruments, but a small step towards answering Brière's challenge to provide a valid test of communication competence.

¹⁷ Appendix C gives this part of the test.

APPENDIX A
Spanish-English Language Dominance Assessment Test

Child's Name _____

ENTREVISTA-PART A

	<i>S</i>	<i>E</i>	\emptyset
S1. ¿Cómo te llamas?	—	—	—
S2. ¿Cuántos años tienes?	—	—	—
S3. ¿Dónde vives?	—	—	—
S4. ¿Con quién vives? Quiénes viven en tu casa contigo? (Mamá, papá, hermanos, abuelos, etc.)	—	—	—

Escriban los nombres	“le habla al niño”	“el niño habla”
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____
e. _____	_____	_____
f. _____	_____	_____
g. _____	_____	_____
h. _____	_____	_____

(If child is not responding, go to Part B. If it still appears that he does not understand Spanish, go to English E1.)

- S5. Estamos hablando en español ahora. ¿Hablas español con tu maestra? ___Si
___No ___ \emptyset
¿Con quién más hablas tú en español? (Mark in “el habla” section of S4)
Otros:
- S6. ¿Quién habla contigo en español? (Mark in “le habla al niño” section of S4)
Otros:
- S7. ¿A tí te gusta hablar español? ___Sí ___No ___ \emptyset
- S8. ¿Cómo hablas tú en español? ___Muy bien ___poco ___muy poco ___ \emptyset
- S9. ¿Cuándo la maestra les habla en español, entiendes?
___Siempre ___a veces ___casi nunca ___ \emptyset
- S10. Hablas otra lengua en casa? ___Si Con quien? _____
___No

APPENDIX B

Portion of the Navajo-English Language Dominance Interview

E1 K'ad t'éiyá bilagáanak'ehji nich'i yáshti'dooleeł. Do you understand English?
(Do you know?)* (Do you understand me?)*

Replied: yes: go to E3 no Didn't reply.

*Note: Use Do you Know? Do you understand me? with all subsequent questions in English when needed.

E2 Do you understand *some* English? Maybe just a few words?

Replied: yes no Didn't reply.

E3 What's your name?

Replied: name only with E phrase with N phrase Didn't reply.

E4 Where do you live?

Replied: E name N name
 with E phrase with N phrase. Didn't reply.

Decision: E = Ø: go to B1. If not go to E5.

E5 Do you have an older brother? (A real brother?)

If not: Do you have an older sister? (A real sister?)

Does he/she go to school? (Are you the oldest one in your family that goes to school?)

Replied: older sibs in school none Didn't reply.

E6 Well, you seem to talk English all right. How do you think you talk English:
real good? all right?

Replied: excellent fair-good. Didn't reply.

E7 How do you think you talk Navajo: real good? all right? very little?

Replied: excellent fair-good: go to E9. poor-none Didn't reply.

E8 Do you know *any* Navajo at all? Maybe one or two words?

Replied: yes no. Didn't reply.

E9 Where did you learn Navajo (the Navajo that you know?)

Replied: _____
 Didn't reply.

E10 When the teacher talks to you in English, how much do you understand:
All the time? Some of the time? Almost never?

Replied: all some none. Didn't reply.

Now rate the child's ability in English

e
 E

If child has n-e rating, adjust one to a capital to indicate dominance. Go to B1 in child's stronger language.

APPENDIX C
 Portion of the Oral Placement Test for Adults

Cues

Now we are going to manipulate some more English sentences. I will give you a sentence and I would like you to change it to the past.

For example:

I say:

He drinks coffee.

You would say:

He drank coffee.

Replies

	Acceptable	Not Acceptable
--	------------	-------------------

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Pete sees him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. He knows me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. He will run to the house. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. My wife is going to throw away the box. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. She is wearing a new coat. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Now we will change some sentences to the future.

For example:

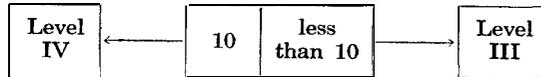
I say:

He is eating his dinner.

You would say:

He will eat his dinner.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6. Pete gave him five dollars. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Marie bought a car. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. My friends are here. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. He does not need the car today. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. She sent the package to you. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



APPENDIX D
English Proficiency Scale

Proficiency level:	I	II	III	IV
<i>Skill</i>	<i>(Elementary)</i>	<i>(Intermediate)</i>	<i>(Advanced)</i>	<i>(Exempt)</i>
Writing				
Reading				
Aural comprehension	Virtually Nil	Understands simple questions, statements and commands on familiar topics, if spoken to slowly and clearly; often needs restatement with gesture or illustration.	Understands simple questions, statements and commands on familiar topics, if spoken to clearly at normal speed; needs occasional restatement.	Understands most questions, statements and commands at normal speed; can follow conversation on familiar topics.
Speaking	Virtually Nil	Can ask and answer questions on daily personal needs with limited vocabulary; frequent basic errors in structure and pronunciation.	Can converse intelligibly in restricted situation, but with incomplete control of structure and pronunciation.	Participates effectively, if hesitantly, in conversation; errors occasionally obscure meaning.

Macro and Micro Methodology in TESL *

Francis C. Johnson

Two interdependent views of what goes on in a classroom can be distinguished in order to understand how we set up an efficient learning and teaching strategy in the classroom. A *macro* view would look at the characteristic behavior of learners, teachers, instructional materials, and so on. A *micro* view would look at the material being learned, the way it was presented, and the responses of the learner. Macro methodology is an overall plan for the roles to be played by learners, teachers, instructional materials, and the classroom as they interact with each other to form the most efficient learning and teaching context for the acquisition of communication skills by each learner in the classroom. Micro methodology is an overall plan for the presentation of new language material to learners, the practice of that new language content, and of previously presented language material by learners, and the use of acquired language material as communication skill by learners. While macro and micro methodology are interdependent aspects of a total learning and teaching strategy, they are not only derived from different sets of assumptions, but have differing consequences for the establishment of an effective strategy. Both macro and micro methodology are aspects of the "orderly presentation of language material."

A visitor to any classroom where formal instruction is taking place may view the scene in two ways. He may firstly take an *overall* view which would take in the arrangement of furniture and instructional materials, the "characteristic" activities or roles played by the learners as they learn, and the characteristic behavior of the classroom teacher. Observations which came from such an overall view might be such as these:

The teacher stays at the front of the room moving between her table and the blackboard. The pupils get out their books and look at them, and at a certain time, a lot of them seem to put up their hands, and then one of them stands up. When this happens, all other hands go down.

Such observations could be made without hearing or understanding a word that was spoken, and yet such observations tell us something about the learning and teaching that was going on in that classroom.

A second view of the same classroom could focus on what a particular individual is doing—how that learner is "learning." To make observations which come from such a view we would have to know something about the materials being learned, the way it was being presented, and the responses that a learner was making to the material presented. One such observation might be this:

The teacher held up a book and said, with feeling, "This is a book."
The teacher then waved her arm, and the learner (together with most others in the class, said, without feeling, "Dees ees air bork."

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, February 1972. Mr. Johnson is Professor of English Language at the University of Papua, New Guinea.

To make an accurate observation of this latter scene we would desirably also be looking into the learner's mind to see what was ticking over there. Such a view would also tell us something about the learning and teaching that was going on in that classroom.

These two views of what goes on in a classroom are obviously interdependent, and yet it seems to me worthwhile to distinguish between them in trying to understand how we set up an efficient learning and teaching strategy in the classroom. I will call the former view of the classroom (when we looked at the characteristic behavior of learners, teachers, instructional materials, etc.) a *macro* view of the learning and teaching strategy in the classroom. The latter may then be called a *micro* view.

Books and articles on TESOL methodology seem to be preoccupied with *micro* learning and teaching. There are innumerable articles on *how* to present a certain bit of language material. Arguments have raged for many years about *how* and when to drill, or whether or not we should drill at all. It is now very fashionable to write about how people deal cognitively with their environment with inferences for the teaching of meaning. All of this is very healthy, but it deals with only one view of the learning and teaching context in the classroom—what I have called the micro view.

We are given the impression, from a review of the literature of our discipline, that the macro learning and teaching context is a fixed set of circumstances that are unalterable, i.e., that there will, in all TESOL classrooms, be a teacher out front, and that the teacher will direct, or perhaps orchestrate, all learning and teaching. This need not, of course, be so.

We could take a macro view of a classroom and make observations such as these:

There seemed to be deliberate chaos. The teacher was working with six pupils in one corner of the room. At the same time, ten other pupils were sitting down working alone from cards and books. Three pupils were sitting in front of a shelf of books reading. There were groups of two pupils working together on a card. Some children were just wandering around from group to group, apparently doing nothing. Three children had earphones on, apparently listening to a story. There appeared to be no centrally directed learning and teaching organization at all.

In this paper I would like to examine the TESOL classroom from both *macro* and *micro* points of view, and to fit this examination into Anthony's framework of *approach*, *method*, and *technique*.

In what has now become a classic article in TESOL, Anthony wrote:

Method is an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts, and all of which is based upon, the selected approach. An approach is axiomatic, a method is procedural. . . . A technique is implementational—that which actually takes place in the classroom. It is a particular trick, stratagem, or contrivance used to accomplish an im-

mediate objective. Techniques must be consistent with a *method*, and therefore in harmony with an *approach* as well.*

While accepting this three-level model of second language learning and teaching, I believe it is important for us to distinguish two differing sets of axioms which constitute an *approach*, two differing sets of procedures which constitute a *method*, as two differing sets of techniques. These differing sets at the three levels refer to the *macro* and *micro* views of second language learning and teaching. In this paper I will confine my remarks to the level of *method* and *technique*.[†]

The orderly presentation of language material in the classroom will include the specification of procedures for the presentation of a particular item of language material to a particular learner (micro methodology). It will also include the specification of procedures for the setting up of an overall learning and teaching context within which that presentation is made (macro methodology).

Macro methodology is an overall plan for the roles to be played by learners, teachers, instructional materials, and the classroom as they interact with each other to form the most efficient learning and teaching context for the acquisition of communication skills by each learner in the classroom.

Roles played by the four major variables of the learning and teaching context may be seen as procedures, not one of which contradicts, and all of which are based on the axioms of an approach. Again, the playing of specific roles by the four major variables, in an actual classroom situation, will detail macro techniques. Let us take one example of an axiom and examine it at the three levels of *approach*, *method*, and *technique*.

An axiom: Each learner brings to the classroom a unique sets of learning equipment, the nature of which will affect the way he learns most efficiently. As a consequence, the most efficient overall learning context in the classroom will be one in which individual patterns of learning are facilitated.

Learners differ in ability, rates of learning, styles of cognition, interests and preferences, experiences, personality thresholds of boredom, need for attention, and a thousand other factors which constitute the "learning equipment" they bring to the classroom. Because of these differences, any context of learning which requires a given learner to progress through a course of learning English as a second language at the same rate of progress and through the same presentational sequences as other learners is necessarily assumed to be less efficient than one which accommodates individual differences.

* Edward M. Anthony, "Approach, Method and Technique," *English Language Teaching*, 17 (January 1963) pp. 63-67.

† A more detailed explanation of macro and micro views of learning and teaching English as a second language is contained in my book, *English as a Second Language: An Individualized Approach*, Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1972.

A related method procedure: Each learner will act as planner-director of his own learning program.

As the planner and director of his own learning pattern each learner is seen as having ultimate responsibility for what he does in the classroom at any one time. This is an acquired role and the learner must be trained to play it. In the early stages of a learning program the ultimate responsibility may be seen in the learner choosing one immediate activity rather than another, i.e., his "planning" may be on a moment to moment basis. Moreover, at first his decision may depend on his choice of two things that are offered by the teacher: Would you like to work on Reading or Handwriting? This is the type of self-direction which may take place in the first year of the Primary School. Later in the Primary School the learner will be able to make daily, weekly, and even monthly plans which he can follow.

This role facilitates the development of individual patterns of learning in the classroom. It enables learners to progress at rates which are peculiar to their own needs and ensures that at all times they are doing *what they choose to do*— a context of learning which, it is assumed will be most fruitful for efficiency in learning. Such a role also emphasizes the importance of the learner's leaning how to learn.

An associated management technique: A pupil comes into the classroom before school. He decides he would like to do some work on reading cards. He looks up his progress chart to see the number of the last card he did, goes to the Reading Center where the reading cards are stored, finds the card he has to work on, and sits at a desk to study it.

The axiom, the method procedure, and the technique are aspects of what I have called a macro view of learning and teaching. They refer to the establishment of the most efficient overall learning and teaching context in a classroom. The learner's being the planner-director of his own learning program is, I would submit, very definitely part of the "orderly presentation of language material" for it ensures that each bit of language material will be presented at a time when each learner is ready, willing, and able to have it presented to him. And yet the role of planner-director of his own learning program is not a method procedure which governs the way that a particular item of language material is presented to a learner, practiced by him, and used by him in interpersonal communication with other learners. Such method procedures are part of a micro view of learning and teaching, are derived from different axioms, and, in turn, generate different techniques.

Micro methodology is an overall plan for the presentation of new language material to learners, the practice of that new language content, and of previously presented language material by learners and the use of acquired language material as communication skill by learners.

Whereas macro methodology concerns itself, with the overall learning and teaching context (the pattern of interaction of learners, teachers, and

instructional materials in the classroom), micro methodology concerns itself with the way each bit of subject matter is presented to learners. Let us again take an example of an axiom, and see how that axiom specifies a method procedure, and a technique.

An axiom: An effective way to learn is to teach.

In 1630, Amos Comenius wrote:

The saying "He who teaches others, teaches himself." is very true, not only because constant repetition impresses a fact indelibly on the mind, but because the process of teaching in itself gives deeper insight into the subject being taught.

This assumption refers to the process of learning any subject matter. It is considered particularly appropriate in the learning of communication skills, for when learners have an opportunity to *use*, by teaching someone else, what they themselves have learnt as learners, they are truly exercising communication skill.

A related method procedure: Interdependence in progress through instructional materials.

Instructional materials can be designed so that learners cannot progress except with the help of another learner. In an overall learning and teaching context where individuals can progress at rates which are peculiarly appropriate to them, materials can be designed so that the completion of a specified unit of work by a pupil-learner depends upon the help of a pupil-tutor who has already completed that unit of work. The design of such materials promotes cooperation and interdependence and facilitates interpersonal communication.

An associated technique: A pupil-tutor explains to two pupil-learners how to play a game which uses picture cards, and requires the learners to ask each other questions. The pupil-tutor explains the rules of the game, and shows the learners how to start, take turns, and keep scores.

In discussing aspects of a micro view of learning and teaching I have deliberately avoided the type of examples which are contained in our professional journals and textbooks—examples about how to contextualized the presentation of new language material, or procedures for different types of drills.

I have tried to emphasize in the examples of both macro and micro methodology, two aspects of the learning and teaching of English as a second language that I consider crucial to any successful classroom strategy—individulization in learning and communication in language.

While macro and micro methodology are interdependent aspects of a total learning and teaching strategy they are not only derived from different sets of assumptions, but have differing consequences for the establishment of an effective strategy.

Macro methodology has ultimate implications for the classroom teacher. It is the classroom teacher who sets up the overall learning and teaching context. It is the classroom teacher who trains learners to play "roles."

It is the classroom teacher who himself assumes roles which will complement the roles that learners desirably play.

Micro methodology, on the other hand, has ultimate implications for the writing of instructional materials. It is the materials writer who designs materials for the presentation of each item of language material in a course of ESL instruction. It is the materials writer who selects, grades and arranges language content, and specifies the ways that language content will be presented to learners, practiced by them and used by them.

However, the classroom teacher cannot train learners to be planners-directors of their own learning programs unless he has the tools to enable such role playing to take place. Unless materials have been specially designed to facilitate individualization, no teacher can individualize instruction in his classroom.

Both macro and micro methodology are aspects of the "orderly presentation of language material," and while they are interdependent aspects of a total instructional strategy they are also, in many respects, independent.

Some Social Aspects of Language Learning*

Jack C. Richards

Language reflects social processes. Different varieties of language reflect different settings for language learning and language use. Aspects of three areas of concern are considered: the learning of English by immigrants, indigenous-minority language issues, and the so-called black English question. These are related to differences in value systems and to particular communication networks for the use of English. Nonstandard dialects are the product and not the cause of social and economic inequality. Careful investigation is needed of the conditions for the learning of standard English.

Our common interest in TESOL is the English language. Our common goal is to help our students learn English, and this motivation rests upon a number of assumptions. The most basic is perhaps the belief that schools *can* and do provide the opportunity for language learning. Most of our methodology courses have led us to believe that language can be taught, provided that we control such factors as presentation, repetition, and the influence of the mother tongue or dialect. Successful language learning is said to bring about the realization of the learner's hopes: school success, job security, financial reward and social mobility, hence our primary responsibility is to see that the condition for the fulfillment of these goals—efficient learning of English—is a product of our ESL program. This emphasis on the importance of standard English as a factor in school achievement and social mobility, I believe, is a misinterpretation of the role of language in social structure. It has generated a number of popular notions that tend to cloud perception of the causes of a number of problems that confront us in our work, problems which on closer analysis arise not from linguistic but from social issues. Aspects of three areas of concern will be considered here; the learning of English by immigrants, indigenous minority language issues, and the so-called Black English question.* * Consideration of each raises the same question. What are the conditions for the acquisition of communicative competence in standard English?

The Learning of English by Immigrants

Why do some immigrants achieve greater success with the learning of English than others? To try to answer this question we need first separate the problems of the individual immigrant family, arriving more or less on their own resources, and coping through their personal initiative, from problems of the immigrant as a group. While the fate of individual immi-

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** "Social Factors, Interlanguage, and Language Learning" (forthcoming, *Language Learning*) deals in greater detail with the interlanguage phenomenon, with reference to immigrant language, indigenous minority interlanguages, and three other settings not discussed here.

grants may depend on individual solutions, dependent on such factors as motivation, intelligence, perseverance, aptitude, learning strategies, socialization and so on, when large numbers are involved the variables involved may be quite different. Kloss emphasizes that the factors relevant to immigrant assimilation are so variegated that their interplay cannot be summarized by a single formula (Kloss, 1966). Much depends on the pattern and area of settlement, and factors such as educational level, cultural and linguistic similarity to the mainstream culture, color, race, etc., will all affect the rate of assimilation. The learning of standard English is an index of this assimilation, and two different patterns are observable. Some immigrants develop functionally adequate but socially unaccepted (i.e. non-standard) varieties of English, while others do not. In the United States we read of Puerto Rican and Mexican-American English, and in Australia, Italian English, but we no longer have Norwegian English or German English as a marked group phenomenon. Why in some cases, do immigrant varieties of English arise?

The evolution of lasting nonstandard varieties of a language by immigrants would appear to be a consequence of the perception of the society by the minority group, and a reflection of the degree to which they have been admitted into the mainstream of the dominant culture. Consider the history of German and Puerto Rican immigrants to America. A recent account of the fate of German immigrants to Texas emphasizes that the German-Americans there are not poverty stricken. They do not live in ghettos. They suffer under no handicaps whatsoever. They learn English easily and well. Although a certain amount of German interference is present in their English, it results in no obvious social discrimination. The people of German descent are thus well off and pursue the whole range of occupations open to Americans of purely Anglo background (Gilbert, 1971). The Puerto Ricans, however, arrived in New York before or after World War II when economic and cultural patterns were already well established (Hoffman, 1968). The melting pot which they were invited to join was one which applied to the lower rather than the upper end of the social and economic spectrum. For those immigrants with limited social and economic mobility, the immigrant mother tongue becomes one marker of second class citizenship. The other is the dialect of English generated and maintained as a consequence of these very same social limitations. Ma and Herasimchuk note that “. . . within a large and stable bilingual community like the New York City Puerto Rican community . . . bilinguals interact and communicate with each other) using both languages, far more frequently than they interact and communicate with members of the surrounding monolingual community. In such a community, speakers generate their own bilingual norms of correctness which may differ from the monolingual norms, particularly when there is a lack of reinforcement for these monolingual norms” (Ma and Herasimchuk, 1968; 644). A similar phenomenon has been noted with respect to the German used by the hundreds of

thousands of immigrant workers in Germany, who use a nonstandard immigrant German to communicate with other Germans and to communicate among themselves when they have no mothertongue in common (Nickel, in James, 1971).

The particular phenomenon here identified, the generation of language norms which fall partially between those of the mother tongue and the target language, has been referred to as the development of an *Interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972; Richards, 1971, 1972). Interlanguages arise in a number of diverse settings, and are characterized to varying degrees, by the generation of a form of the target language in which many of the marked/unmarked distinctions are omitted, where inflected forms tend to be replaced by uninflected forms, where preposition, auxiliary and article usage may be modified, and where the influence of the mother tongue may be apparent in phonology and syntax (Nemser, 1971; Ferguson, 1971; Corder, 1971). In the case of immigrant varieties of English it is this interlanguage which is the focus of study, and it has two dimensions—the linguistic, and the social. While interest in the former would lead to an attempt to locate the rules for the dialect and to account for their origins, recognition of the social dimension of interlanguages leads us to investigate the conditions for the generation of immigrant interlanguages, and these are not linguistic but social (Whinnom, 1971).

Immigrant interlanguages are the product of particular settings for language use. There are said to be two levels of communication in society—the horizontal level, which operates among people of the same status, and the vertical level, which is predominantly downward (Hughes, 1970). In the case of nonstandard immigrant English, we are dealing with the language of horizontal communication, and the contexts in which it occurs are those where there are few informal or friendship contacts with speakers of standard English, and no intellectual or high culture networks in English. It may also become part of the expression of ethnic pride. It is a dialect resulting from low spending power, low social influence, and from low political power. It reflects not individual limitations, such as inability to learn language, low intelligence, or poor cultural background, but rather the social limitations imposed on the immigrant community. Favorable reception of the immigrant group leads to temporary interlanguage generation. This has been the case for many European immigrant groups in the United States (Fishman et al., 1966). Favorable conditions include fluidity of roles and statuses in the community. Unfavorable social conditions lead to interlanguage maintenance. The economic and social possibilities available for some immigrants do not make the learning of standard English either possible, desirable, or even helpful. Language learning is a function of social organization, and the degree of social acceptance can be seen in the immigrant dialect. We can predict the sort of English likely to be learned by an oriental immigrant who mixes exclusively with his own language group and who opens a food shop catering

almost exclusively to that language group. He will probably first learn to reply to a limited set of questions, to manipulate a closed class of polite formulae, the vocabulary of some food items, and perhaps the language of simple financial transactions. Whether he goes on to learn standard English or develops a functionally adequate but nonstandard personal dialect of English will depend on the degree of interaction he achieves with the English-maintained societal structures. If 100,000 such immigrants in similar situations, reach only a minimum penetration of mainstream power structures, begin to self-perpetuate their semi-servile status, and begin to use English among themselves, the setting for the generation of an intrapersonal non-standard dialect of English might be created.

The case of nonstandard immigrant English emphasizes the importance of economic, social and cultural variables in language learning. The difficulties of some immigrant children in school result from more than simple questions of language learning. As Leibowitz puts it, "there is another way to look at the facts and interpret the historical aspects . . . the issue is indeed a political one. Whether instruction is in English, or the native language makes little difference; rather what is important are the opportunities that are thought available to the ethnic group themselves . . . educators have provided the most significant evidence to demonstrate this. Increasingly, they have studied the relationship between a pupil's motivation and performance in school to his perception of the society around him and the opportunities he believes await him there . . . the crucial factor is not the relationship between the home and school, but between the minority group and the local society. Future reward in the form of acceptable occupational and social status keeps children in school. Thus factors such as whether a community is socially open or closed, caste-like or not, discriminatory or not, has restricted roles or non-restricted roles and statuses for its minority segment, become as important as curriculum and other factors in the school itself, perhaps more important" (Leibowitz, 1970). This is well illustrated by an example from New Zealand. Pacific islanders have for the past several yeears been imported into the large northern city of Auckland, where, forced by the pressures of city life into low-class areas and slum conditions, they readily accept the friendly hand of employment opportunity, providing a cheap labor force. Here is the basis for language and education problems currently being experienced in some Auckland schools.

Immigrant language problems are hence more than mere problems of language. The difference between the learner's language and the language of the school does not present major problems when social factors are balanced in the learner's favor (Tucker and Lambert, 1972). One immigrant group may suffer an entirely different fate from another, though in simple terms of language learning their task appears similar. The planning of immigrant education cannot ignore the economic, social, and political hindrances to mobility and advancement that confront many immigrant communities.

Nonstandard immigrant dialects are the product, and not the cause, of social and economic inequality.

Indigenous-minority language issues

The conditions under which nonstandard interlanguages will be the outcome of culture-language contact are present to a greater or lesser extent in a number of related situations. The particular educational and cultural problems of certain American and Canadian Indian and Eskimo groups are well known, and in other countries the fate of socially displaced and economically underprivileged indigenous minority groups has been the occasional focus of concern. The notion of interlanguage is again useful here to describe the processes contributing to the development of particular varieties of English, generated from the limited opportunities for social and economic advancement often associated with membership of a native group. Typical descriptions write of loss of or decreasing fluency in the native language and an inadequate command of school English, and local terminologies have evolved for the particular varieties of English generated: Cree English, Pine Ridge English, Dormitory English, Aborigine English, Maori English, etc., though no full descriptions of any of these dialects are available (Darnel, 1971; Wax *et al.*, 1964; Dubin, 1970; Alford, 1970; Benton, 1964).

In studying the history of Cree English, Pine Ridge English, Dormitory English and so on, it may be possible to use the framework proposed by Fishman for unstable bilingual societies, where language domain separation gradually disappears (Fishman, 1967). In the initial stages of contact between the native community and the colonizing group, domain separation of languages obtains, and English is required in certain limited roles and capacities that are not conducive to the acquisition of a standard form of it. These are the conditions for the generation of a pidgin or a nonstandard form of English characterized by structural and morphological simplification, by communication strategies and by interference (Richards, 1972). As domain separation in language use gradually disappears, English becomes an alternative to the mother tongue, especially in family and friendship domains. The nonstandard form of English now has functions related to intimacy, solidarity, spontaneity, and informality. The standard language, encountered in the school and through contact with outsiders, has formal functions, thus the characteristics of a diglossic setting may obtain where complementary values—L (Low) and H (High)—come to be realized in different varieties of English. This would appear to apply to some members of the Cree community described by Darnell, and is found with some New Zealand Maories, where the frequency of Maori-English features varies according to the appropriateness of the domain.

Traditionally the so-called “broken speech” of many children from these cultural groups was attributed to poor learning backgrounds, such as bad speech patterns in the home, lack of adequate English reading materials,

limited general experience, together with self-consciousness resulting from poor language control. Cultural deprivation was seen as the key to the development of nonstandard language. Of course failure in the school means alienation from the school, and the early drop-out levels reported for many native children reflect an early awareness by the child of the school's nonacceptance of his culture and its values. The school's failure, rationalized as the child's failure, generated such concepts as cultural deprivation, restricted language development, and even cognitive deficiency, all of which are symptomatic of analysis that fails to recognize the real ingredients of the child's experience.

Recently emphasis has been placed on the interdependence of social and linguistic variables. Plumer points out that "the relation between knowing English and the ability to perform in school is clearly much more vital and complex for these groups, but the general point of view is the same. If they see themselves locked out of society anyway, then their motivation to learn English will be understandably low, especially if in so doing they risk cutting themselves off from associations they already have, namely their peers and families" (Plumer, 1970). Wax *et al.* describe the progressive withdrawal for Sioux Indian children from the white environment represented by the school. They refer to the existence of Pine Ridge English, and point out that few Indian children are fluent in the English of the classroom (Wax *et al.*, 1964). Darnell describes an Indian community in Alberta, Canada, and the interaction between Cree and English (Darnell, 1970). Recent work by Philips highlights the role played by conflicting learning styles and behavioral expectancies between the Indian child's home environment and the school, which explain his reluctance to participate in many normal school activities (Philips, 1970). Benton notes the role of the nonstandard dialect as an instrument of self and group identification and of social perception (Benton, 1964). "While the type of language spoken by children as reflected in their performance on reliable verbal tests, is often a guide to their likely educational performance, it may be only one of several factors which retard both the growth of language ability itself, and general scholastic achievement. Ethnic differences also play an important part. Very often children from a minority or low status ethnic group may feel less able to control their own destiny than children from a dominant group. They may find it more difficult to work with a teacher whose ethnic background and general outlook is different from their own, either because they feel less secure with someone in whom they can find no point of common identity, or simply because they do not know how to communicate with this stranger. Many children consciously relate their mode of English speech to their ethnic identity. One teacher reported that a Maori child had told her, 'Maori's say *Who's your name* so that's what I say'. Maori English is often an important sign of group membership and a source of security for these children" (Benton, 1964:93). The whole concept of education may in fact be viewed as a threat, since

the abandonment of the community's traditional values, life style and cultural heritage is seen as the price which must be paid for entry into the mainstream culture.

Education problems encountered with some native minority communities, like those of certain immigrant groups, cannot therefore be seen merely as problems of language learning, comparable say, to the difficulties college students have in learning a foreign language. Language is part of the complex process by which the individual views himself, his peer group, his family, his community, the school, and the nation at large, and where elements of this spectrum appear in direct conflict, the child's verbal behavior or his refusal to participate in verbal behavior in the classroom are indications of these conflicts of interest. More detailed studies are needed of each of the major native communities sharing these cultural, economic, social and linguistic characteristics, to determine the degree to which "language problems" are related to the social, economic, and political status of the native community. The present apparent disadvantages of bilingualism for many native children may then be seen as independent of anything associated with language learning as such, but be simply the result of an unfavorable, social, economic, and political environment.

Black English.

The social conditions which lead to the generation of interlanguages, include economic, and occupational subservience, racial and cultural barriers to social and economic mobility, and conflicts between ethnic values and identity and mainstream values. The stratification of language use along ethnic, racial, and social lines has led some to propose that language is responsible for social stratification, rather than social differences maintaining linguistic differences. Recently the notion that speakers of non-standard dialects should become bidialectal has been proposed as a goal for speakers of nonstandard Black English. A more basic question remains unanswered however. Are dialect differences really a limitation to school success or social mobility?

Most language communities are multidialectal, and in most countries regional and social differences in language use reflect differing networks of social communication. Regional dialect differences are generally attributable to geographical barriers to the spread of the standard speech forms, but these appear to arouse less concern than differences which are ethnically and socioeconomically based. Australia and New Zealand both have "broad" and "standard" dialects, and the transition from high school to university is often accompanied by dialect change. The differences found between British dialects are considerable, yet the phenomenon of dialect shift is a normal aspect of British life. The prestige dialect in England is never taught directly, but is acquired by example rather than instruction (Halliday, 1968). James points out that in England, illiteracy is relatively low, even in those areas where the local dialect is at least as different from

standard British as Black English is from standard American (James, 1970). If the barriers to the acquisition of reading skills in a standard language were solely linguistic, one could hardly imagine how the average European child achieves literacy in his mother tongue, particularly in countries like Switzerland and Germany. A number of objections can thus be made to the suggestion that linguistic differences are the cause of the school problems of some black children.

The central notion is that interference from the child's different linguistic system causes difficulty with learning to read and write standard English. "In all enrichment programs regardless of orientation, language has emerged as a common denominator of the learning deficit. This has led many investigators to the belief that while other handicaps exist, language is at the core of the difficulty for the disadvantaged child" (Blank, 1970). When the notion of interference is examined however, there is little agreement as to how it contributes to the concept of difficulty. Goodman insists that difficulty is proportional to dialect difference. "The more divergence there is between the dialect of the learner and the dialect of learning, the more difficult will be the task of learning to read" (Goodman, 1969). Shuy believes that the grosser differences between the two dialects are *less* obtrusive than the minor ones. "The greater the difference between standard and nonstandard grammatical items, the more likely the intermediate child is to have developed the ability to read it aloud" (Shuy, 1969). Linguists report that dialect differences between standard and nonstandard Negro English result from low-level surface structure differences, while a black educator tells us that many of these differences cannot be perceived by the child anyway (Johnson, 1970).

That educational problems resulting from home-school language differences are not necessarily linguistic in origin, has been confirmed in a long term home-school language switch study in Montreal. Ervin-Tripp describes its significance in this way: "Wallace Lambert's recent experimental program in which Canadian anglophones learn French presents a dilemma to advocates of bilingual education. Lambert took a group of English-speaking children and put them into kindergartens in which French was the sole medium of instruction. The pupils were all monolingual. In an astonishingly short time their achievements in language and in other subjects were equal to those of French and English monolinguals. If this could happen, why do Chicanos have problems in our Californian schools? Since the overt linguistic circumstances seem entirely parallel it seems to me the differences are social. In the Montreal environment English-speaking children have no sense of inferiority or disadvantage in the school. Their teachers do not have low expectations for their achievements. Their social group has power in the community; their language is respected, is learned by francophones, and becomes a medium of instruction in the school. In the classrooms the children are not expected to compete with native speakers of the French in a milieu which both expects and blames them for their

failures and never provides them with an opportunity to excel in their own language" (Ervin-Tripp, 1970).

This should come as a shock to those who advocate that superficial dialect differences are the major reason for the disadvantaged Black or Mexican-American child's learning problems. I fear that the current interest in teaching standard English as a second dialect is another intellectual fashion promoted at the expense of teachers and children, to borrow a phrase from Labov. What is not in question is that some children have general problems with most school subjects, including reading, and that this is correlated with certain ethnic and social trends. What is at issue is the degree to which differences between home and school dialects is a relevant variable in school achievement, and hence by implication, the efficacy of teaching programs aimed at dialect change.

Much of the literature on teaching standard English as a second dialect, appears to have as a premise, the belief that all men are born equal, some speaking standard and some nonstandard dialects, and that the standard speakers rise quickly to positions of social and economic security. We are asked to believe that it is language which is the key to social mobility, rather than social mobility being responsible for changes in language. Are we also being asked to believe that if speakers of nonstandard dialects suddenly began speaking standard English overnight, their economic, social, educational and political problems would disappear instantly? If, as Labov has emphasized, many elements of linguistic structure reflect social processes, it would seem to be fruitless to direct attention to those linguistic features without at the same time investigating the mechanisms inherent in the social structure itself which create such marked social, economic, racial and hence linguistic stratification. As Labov puts it, "We are dealing with the effects of the caste system of American society—essentially a color marking system. Everyone recognizes this" (Labov, 1970: 155). The ideal of social mobility, said to be the motivation of current dialect enrichment programs, always implies that there will be an unending supply at the bottom, that is, that poverty is and will always be self-perpetuating. What is consistently missing in the literature on dialect modification is a realistic consideration of the extra-linguistic and social factors, the persistent segregation patterns which are the background to the maintenance of many nonstandard dialects. Johnson notes: "The nature of our segregated society insures that young disadvantaged black children (and older disadvantaged black children also) have few opportunities to communicate with speakers of standard English . . . young children do learn, surprisingly easily, another language when they begin to live and must function in a cultural environment where another language is spoken and is demanded of them for social and cultural acceptance and the communication demands made on the child by this environment. Under these conditions, children do learn another language more easily than adults. Disadvantaged black children, however, do not have the opportunity to live and function in a cultural

environment where standard English is spoken . . . black children are not a part of a cultural environment where standard English is used and where the communication demands of the environment require standard English" (Johnson, 1970). I would add that it is not communication which creates the environment for learning, but communication as equals. The master and his servant may communicate but they do so with a language appropriate to their roles.

Rather than directing attention to the child, attempting to modify his dialect, the alternative is to focus change at the social structure. In Williams' recent book *Language and Poverty* (Williams, 1970), it is surprising that this objective is not taken up seriously, though there are occasional and somewhat apologetic hints. "One solution is drastic social reform. Since the structure of the family and the attendant family control systems are embedded in the larger structure of society, it may be that nothing short of a major transformation in the economic and social world of the disadvantaged will suffice to bring about a major change in their cognitive world" (Olim, 1970).

Elsewhere in the same volume it is suggested that it would be naive to suggest teaching the standard dialect on a large scale to students "for whom social mobility may be a matter of a chance or currying favor . . . Change of speech will accompany or follow, not precede (the disadvantaged child's) decision to make his way out of the world into which he was born" (Plumer, 1970:267). Labov suggests: "Those who feel that they can solve this problem by experimenting with the machinery of the learning process are measuring small causes against large effects. My own feeling is that the primary interference with the acquisition of standard English stems from a conflict of value systems" (Labov, 1964). There are other alternatives. Wider social, economic, and political penetration of present social structures by speakers of Negro dialect would itself give a certain standardization of this dialect, and elevate the status of the dialect and its speakers. It would then become simply another dialect of English towards which people's attitudes would automatically adjust. And of course, the educational problems associated with economic and social segregation would presumably disappear.

Conclusions

Before commitment can be given to the *teaching* of standard English to those who speak other forms of English, we need careful investigation of the conditions for the *learning* of standard English. The conditions for the successful learning of English include fluidity of roles and statuses in the community for members of minority groups. In looking at immigrant interlanguages and at language use in some native communities we see economic and social segregation affecting both the process and the product of language learning. In the case of bidialectalism as a goal for speakers of black English, we see the effects of language planning without con-

sideration of societal realities. "Given the close association between dialect change and a speaker's perception of himself and his role in society, it is also clear that dialect change without an accompanying awareness of opportunities for social mobility is unrealistic and impractical" (Plumer, 1970). The questions I have tried to raise here however are not questions of methodology but questions of priorities. No amount of pedagogical innovation can change the fact that many minority groups are victims of a simplistic political philosophy in which "society itself has become a mere means for private accumulation, rather than the accumulation of capital being a means for the satisfaction of social needs. The poverty and deprivation which persist in times of capitalist 'prosperity' amidst the colossal waste of human and material resources in under-utilized capacity and superfluous production, manifest the contradiction no less" (Horowitz, 1971; 43). Nobody can be expected to learn the language of a social group if at the same time he is denied the means by which he can become a member of that group. In each of the cases I have considered we see an invitation to learn the language of those who hold economic, social and political power, without any corresponding invitation to become a part of this elitist power structure. Acknowledgement of the social basis of consequent educational problems should lead us to reject weakly conceptualized pedagogic answers, to problems which basically require social, economic, and political solution.

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Some Sociological Factors in Bilingual Schooling*

Beverly Huntsman

Recent studies in some sociological aspects of second language learning have indicated that orientation towards the second language culture group may be a predictive factor in success in learning. Sociological studies show that students tend to be unrealistic about jobs they expect to have, especially in terms of the educational and sociological requirements of the occupations. Yet often, especially in the higher grades, justification for learning a second language, particularly a dominant culture language, is based on such claims as its necessity for obtaining a "good" job. It is important that the classroom teacher be aware of the role that orientation and job aspiration may play in the bilingual setting, and that she base her justifications for learning on evidence coincident with the pupils' own aspirations and orientations.

Bilingual education, or teaching English as a second language, in the U.S. historically has been concerned only with the lower elementary grades, usually terminating somewhere between grades four and six. Thereafter, the students have been expected to function as English monolingual, with only occasional and random attention to any residual language problems which they might have. By tradition, the English teacher has been given the role of guardian of the language. He usually is trained in literature but has no formal training in language (to say nothing of ESL, or the native language of his students). The methods which he knows and employs generate extensive red-pencil correcting of written themes (ordinarily with quite uncommunicative comments such as *AWK* and *UNG*) and periodical oral correction of lexical, grammatical, and phonological usage, for example, "No, Maria, it's *ship*, not *sheep*." Such unsystematic methods confuse and discourage the students. The usual justification offered by the teacher for making such corrections—that it will help the students to get good jobs when they finish school—often is unrealistic and misleading.

Two points must be made: (1) Children show developmental trends in their attitudes and perceptions of vocations but do not show awareness of the qualifications needed for particular occupations until quite late in this development. (2) A teacher using the above methods and reasoning may reflect in his approach toward language and language usage a cultural attitude which is a microcosm of attitude toward other cultures in general, and towards minority cultures in particular.

In the upper grades, a good deal of attention, it seems to me, is devoted to attempting to delineate the relationships between various activities and future occupations, although in somewhat negative ways, such as, "If you don't do so and so, you won't be able to do . . ." Yet studies show

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, February 1972. Ms. Huntsman, Lecturer in the Urban and Overseas English Programs at Indiana University, is currently completing a study of job aspiration and English acquisition among Mexican-American adolescents.

that there is some discrepancy between a child's choice of a future job in terms of what he would *like* to do, and what he really *expects* to do. This discrepancy is related to at least two factors. Eli Ginzberg (1951) points out the first: occupational choice is a process which is largely irreversible, involving compromise as an essential aspect, especially at the three developmental periods of choice—fantasy, tentative, and realistic.

At the fantasy level (ages 8-11), the child identifies possible future occupation in terms of what he wants to "be" as an adult, without assessing his ability to be so—in other words, without regard to the qualifications needed for the occupation. For example, he usually identifies his choice as "I want to *be* a teacher."

During the tentative period (c. age 11-18, 19), the child or adolescent, views his choice in terms of what Ginzberg calls "subjective" factors—interest, capacities, and values, and feels that he himself is in a state of change. The factors on which he bases his occupational choice are also in fluctuation. The result is *tentative* rather than *permanent* choices. In addition, the period in which he begins to consider his own capacities comes at about ages 13-14, somewhat into the tentative stage. He begins to look at how well he does in certain activities and to take this into account. For example, he begins to say "I'd like to be a scientist but I don't do very well at math so I guess I'll have to do something else." At this time, however, capacities are largely assessed in terms of grades he receives in school, which can lead to faulty assessments because grades do not always reflect abilities. He begins to consider occupational *values* at about age 15-16, trying, Ginzberg says, to "find a place for himself in society" (p. 75). The kinds of values he weighs at this point are things like job security, place of work, and to a limited extent, income, although he has a very limited idea of economics.

The final stage, that of "realistic choices," does not begin until about age 18. It is at this stage that he begins to work out compromises between what he wants and the opportunities available to him.

It is during the tentative stage that the teacher attempts to justify the use of "good English" as essential in obtaining a "good job." The teacher assumes that such a delineation is an intuitively obvious and completely compelling argument that by its mere articulation will impel the student to extend his effort to obtain "good English" and help him make a worthy occupational choice. This assumption does not seem to be borne out in view of the large numbers of students who do *not* obtain good English and about whose getting of a good job we know very little. In the absence of positive evidence, we can assume that relatively few such good jobs are secured. Obviously, the teacher's attempts to provide motivation does not work for most of his students.

This brings us to a second factor related to the discrepancies in the child's choice between *desired* and *expected* future occupation. Lewin (1944) pointed out that subjects weighed the probabilities of success

versus failure and made calculated choices regarding the risk. He noted discrepancies between stated goals and performance levels could be influenced by the standards of one's own group, the standards of other groups, the psychological effects of socio-economic background, and habitual success and failure. All of these factors are extremely important to the adolescent, and especially important to the minority adolescent. In fact, Gardner, Lambert, and their associates at McGill have emphasized the importance of reference groups in several second-language learning situations. Equally important for the students that I am talking about seem to be the last two factors. Ginzberg, in citing an earlier study says:

Those individuals giving relatively low (negative or low) positive discrepancy scores, when compared to those giving predominately high positive, are found to be also in a relatively more favorable social and economic position. (p. 343)

In addition, he notes:

Those [children] of the past failure group showed higher goal discrepancy on the average than those of the past success group. More pronounced, however, was the wide variability among subjects of the failure group, such that the range of discrepancies was from very high positive to negative scores. (p. 344)

In other words, those students with a lower SES and/or a history of failure tend to set their goals at levels unrealistic with their performance, either too high or too low. I must emphasize here that in no way are we making any claims about their *abilities*, except as one might choose to infer from performance—which inferences I would strongly urge against.

Additionally, Lewin points out that when subjects are asked to state what they *expect* to do *as well* as what they *like* to do, the discrepancy scores between performance and expectation are lessened. Lewin first made this information available almost 30 years ago; Ginzberg his almost 20 years ago, and recent investigations (Wright, Kuvelsky) show that their findings are still applicable. Yet it has been only in the past 5 years or so that educators have begun to be aware of their value in the classroom, and many teachers *still* don't recognize the syndrome.

Thus it seems that the reason most frequently adduced by the teacher for his students to learn standard English is ineffective. It actually reduces the student's opinion of himself and therefore his chances of future success, including occupational success. The student who does not do well in the English classroom will see himself as a failure. In evaluating his own performance, he may react in a way entirely contradictory to his teacher's desires. He may conclude either that he will not, in fact, be able to obtain a good job (setting his aspiration level too low) or that his command of Standard English really will make little difference (setting his aspiration level unrealistically high).

What does all of this mean to the upper-level classroom teacher? It means, first of all, that, if his desire is truly to help his students achieve

success, he must re-evaluate his methods and the approach upon which such methods are founded. He must, in this re-evaluation, frankly assess the effects of such methods on his students. What are the assumptions upon which such methods are based?

First, the Corrective Approach, as I shall call it, assumes that there is such a thing as Standard English, and that it must, should, and can be obtained by all who use the language, and that anything falling short of this Standard is unacceptable.

Second, the Corrective Approach assumes that the best way for the student to acquire the Standard is through constant correction whenever "mistakes" occur, using the Standard as a performance model.

Third, the Corrective Approach assumes that acquisition of the Standard will enable the student to refine his entire thought processes, resulting in clearer and more logical thinking and therefore in improved intellectual performance.

Finally, and most insidiously, the Corrective Approach assumes that there is only one way that the student can function productively in society, and that is by acquiring Anglo-English and conforming to Anglo norms and expectations.

As a corollary to this last assumption, we find that productive functioning is, in fact, almost synonymous with that nefarious good job, and so, the need for good English in order to obtain it.

Such an approach often leads to failure for both the students and teachers. Students drop out of school, or leave with borderline records, and the teacher is frustrated and helpless, unable to reconcile his amorphous attitude with those he sees in the students ("They don't seem to care."). In his attempt to narrow the discrepancy between performance and goal—English usage and future occupation—he has in many cases succeeded only in a very negative way, by lowering the aspiration level, rather than raising the performance level. By constantly reminding the students of their failures, he reinforces their self-evaluations as failures, and as a result, their aspirations and expectations become adjusted in the direction of their own assessment of their capacities during this tentative period of occupational choice. The result: another completion of the intercultural cycle where the victim and the victimizer play out their roles.

How can such a cycle be broken? The teacher, for his part, must, in his re-evaluation, question the validity of the Corrective Approach assumptions. We have seen that they have failed significantly where the students use a nonstandard dialect of English—why should we assume that they will work for the student who uses a form of English influenced by another language? We have seen that for the Black student, getting a good job is *not* simply a matter of speaking Standard English (as James Sledd so succinctly pointed out in his "White Supremacy" paper (1969)). Why should we assume the case to be any truer for students who belong to a minority group that is equally discriminated against? It is ironic that after some

years of attempting to adopt ESL methods to the dialect classroom, the teacher in the ESL classroom now can adopt some techniques developed in the dialect classroom.

I am suggesting that the upper-level English teacher explore openly and frankly with his students the sensitive area of language attitude, as it relates to cultural and educational stereotyping. This means not only those attitudes which exist outside the classroom, but also those in the classroom which have for so long been suppressed and or denied. This means not only those attitudes which the students have acquired, but also those which the teacher has learned. (And the teacher need not necessarily be an Anglo for this to apply.)

While the English teacher is not a guidance counselor, information about each student's occupational aspirations and expectations could help her to determine what a good job means to the child. This, in turn, would give her realistic and meaningful examples in discussing language requirements of particular jobs with her students. Such information might be obtained through informal conversations with each student or by some group paper and pencil survey.

There are a number of ways that the teacher might begin to explore with his students the area of language attitude. Several attitude surveys, designed for dialects, could be modified for classroom use where English is the second language of the students.

Adrienne Cox (1971), using photographs and tape recordings of different speakers telling stories, asked young children to identify the photograph to which a voice belonged. This approach would be quite adaptable to the classroom, with discussion hinging on such points as differences in choices which the students (and perhaps the teacher) made in attempting to explain such choices, and to explore the nonlanguage factors which influenced such a choice.

Another approach would be similar to that used by Frederick Williams (1971) where photographs of children with different ethnic backgrounds (Chicano, Black, White) were shown with tape recordings of their speech. Tapes and photographs were mixed, so that the voice heard did not belong to the photograph shown simultaneously with it (although the testees were led to believe that it was the voice of the child in the photograph). When asked to comment on the language of a child, the subjects tended to give lower ratings to those photographs of Chicanos or Blacks, even when the coincident voices had been those of the White children and vice versa. This could be adopted to the second language classroom for students to assess their own prejudices and stereotypes as they are reflected in their analyses of language.

A third possibility would be an adaptation of the attitude survey by Labov in New York City (1966) where the subjects were asked to rate on a scale the highest possible job that they thought each taped speaker could hold. This would also open the avenue for discussion of that whole area

of the relationship of English usage to occupation, and both students and teachers might find some surprising and useful revelations stemming from such a discussion.

A fourth possibility, designed for assessing the relationship between job aspiration expectation, and perception of cultural roles (Huntsman, 1972) might also be adapted for classroom use. Here the students are asked to identify their future occupations, not only as they perceive them, but also as they think others perceive them. In addition (and this might be done separately or in conjunction with the above), they are asked to complete a cultural attitude scale which focuses on their perceptions of stereotypes in both their own and the "other" culture. The information obtained from such a scale could serve for investigation and discussion by the students of their roles in society, both presently and in the future, and how to reconcile the conflicts which may be present. The survey itself with its various items, could be used as a basis for discussing role-concept and its relation to English usage.

Any of these approaches could serve as springboards for dealing with language attitudes in the classroom. On-going projects might then be developed by the students, projects which might range from searching literature for various language and cultural attitudes to projects involving investigation of connotative word meaning, dealing with the attitudinal aspects of semantics, to projects in which students investigate English usage (and other) requirements for various occupations, to projects where students look at attitudes implicit in their *own* native languages as well as in English (attitudes like "Spanish is a prettier language than English.").

One of the major advantages that I see of such a program is that the student is no longer required to judge only himself and his performance against some ill-defined norm, but also has an opportunity to look at the language usage and attitudes of others and to see realistically the role of language in his society. Hopefully he will come to understand that much of his "failure" is due to *attitudes* which must and can be dealt with daily, in a conscious way, in order to effect a change in the direction of tolerance. His failure is due to *attitudes* rather than to innate abilities which he feels he cannot change and so must live with forever.

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The Psychological Reality of 'Grammar' in the ESL Classroom *

H. Douglas Brown

Finding innovative, motivating techniques for teaching grammar in the ESL classroom taxes the creative imagination of teachers, and therefore such classes often degenerate into teacher monologues, linguistic debates, and rote classroom exercises, all of which can lead to monotony and boredom. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is that "grammar" itself is a rather ill-conceived notion in many textbooks and curricula. A redefinition of grammar as something bearing psychological reality may lead us back to a more meaningful conception of grammar. The insights of recent generative-semantic theories of language and cognitive theories of learning (cf. Brown, 1972) have the potential for forming a basis for better achievement of the goals of grammar teaching. One of the keys to teaching grammar as a psychological reality is the optimal blending of cognitive and affective variables in classroom activity; many current approaches minimize the crucial importance of the latter, affective domain.

Language teaching can be a very discouraging business at times: there appears to be no end to the number of linguistic and psychological controversies in second language acquisition, and the more we "know" about our field, the fewer actual solutions we seem to be able to offer for our problems. This is not by any means a result of a lack of hard work and sincerity on our part. We get the same feeling that Charlie Brown did in a recent *Peanuts* strip, as he walked dejectedly off the pitcher's mound, discouraged and exhausted: "Good grief!" he said, "184 to O! I just don't understand it. How can we lose when we're so sincere?"

I don't think we are losing by such a margin in the language-teaching ball game, for however dimly we see through the looking glass today there is some progress in the present and hope for the future when we may indeed come face to face with optimal solutions to our language teaching predicaments. One path that is leading us closer to that solution is now being explored in recent attempts to go beyond purely "linguistic" considerations and to examine the relationship between linguistic functions and other complex mental and emotional processes such as intellect, conceptual behavior, personality differences, egocentricity, and other important facets of cognitive and affective behavior.

In an earlier paper (Brown, 1972), I made some speculations about some of the ways in which this new direction of research could lead to more "meaningful" language classes in which learning and retention may be markedly improved. An important distinction was made between "rote" and "meaningful" learning: rote learning is a process of acquiring and storing

* This paper was presented at the TESOL Convention, February 1972. Mr. Brown, Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of Michigan, is the editor of *Language Learning*.

items as relatively isolated entities, usually through a process of conditioning, that is, through repetition and practice, with the effect of relatively short-term retention as soon as interfering items enter cognitive structure; meaningful learning, in contrast, is a process of relating and anchoring new items into an established conceptual hierarchy—this process of “subsumption” is an efficient storage process which promotes retention by what I called “cognitive pruning” procedures. Both kinds of learning are evident in human behavior, but most of the concepts, ideas, and other items which are retained over a long term are a product of meaningful learning.

There are two important conditions that have to be met in order for meaningful learning to take place: (1) First, the learning task itself must be potentially meaningful to a learner, that is, items-ideas, concepts, materials—must be in some way relatable to the learner’s structure of knowledge. (2) Second, the learner must have within him a “meaningful learning set,” that is, a disposition to relate a new learning task to his existing cognitive organization.

There can be little argument that in the larger sense any *language* fulfills condition 1, in that languages are clearly of potential and actual meaning to human beings. What there is a great deal of argument over, however, is whether the units into which we classify language in the language classroom are indeed meaningful!

The second condition implies another question: what are the crucial properties of a meaningful learning set, and to what degree can meaningful learning sets be acquired or learned or induced? And this question implies a theory of human behavior which must include many aspects of cognitive, affective, and psychomotor processes as they relate to language learning.

So, in the ESL classroom, in order to satisfy condition 1, the underlying character of the items of our lessons—the rules of the language and the particular samples of language we choose—must be potentially meaningful, that is, they must bear some relationship to the reality of the learner. And in order to satisfy condition 2, teachers need to create optimal conditions, through classroom techniques, whereby students can maintain maximal use of meaningful learning processes.

Focusing on the specific topic of grammar teaching in ESL, we can see that for some decades, if not longer, grammar has been a controversial topic in linguistics and language teaching. Arguments have ranged from the relative merits of transformational grammar in the language classroom to the virtues of inductive and deductive techniques, and even to the question of whether formal “grammar” has any place at all in foreign language learning. Russell Campbell, recently writing on the “state of the art” in grammar teaching, noted:

The ability of our students to speak and understand a foreign language must, in part, depend upon our ability as teachers to provide them with the opportunity to acquire native-speaker competence, that is, to provide them with

the rules that will permit them to produce and interpret an infinite number of grammatical sentences they have never seen or heard in our classrooms or in the textbooks they use. (1970:37)

This is not a revolutionary statement; it simply recognizes that language is by its very nature rule-governed. But two important questions that must be answered about the statement are, first, what are the rules of language (very little has been discovered about *the* rules by which we, in reality, operate), and second, what are the optimal means by which these rules can be acquired in second language learners? Thus the two basic conditions of meaningful learning serve to define two questions that we face as ESL teachers confronted with either a "grammar" class, or with teaching and integrating "grammar" into our daily lessons.

I

The first question, more specifically, is: with references to ESL, is there a "meaningful" grammar (or, system of rules of the language) which we can identify and use? By "meaningful grammar" I am referring to a set of rules which is "psychologically real" in the sense that the rules themselves, as described, represent or at least approximate cognitive processes and categories through which humans operate. That is to say, grammatical structures are "psychologically real" if they describe or directly relate to mental processing, storage, and recall. For example, in transformational-generative (TG) grammar, we could ask: is a sentence in the passive voice indeed processed and stored in some kind of "active" form with a PASSIVE node attached? Or, does the number of transformations involved in deriving a particular surface structure correlate with the "complexity" of the sentence when compared with other sentences? So, for example, is the sentence:

(1) Bill doesn't have a home.

more "complex" cognitively than:

(2) Bill has a home.

If the negative transformation makes (1) more complex than (2), then we have to decide whether, cognitively, (1) is really any more complex than:

(3) Bill is homeless.

In this sense "grammatical complexity" may be very difficult to define.

Campbell admitted at the end of his article that "there are still substantial areas of English grammar that have not been fully understood and reduced to rules. And of the rules now available to us, many are controversial and incomplete." (1970:47) And by now we have become hardened to Chomsky's widely quoted statement at the 1966 NE Conference on the inapplicability of TG theory to language teaching (Chomsky, 1966). Actually, both the structural and the TG traditions seem to provide rather ill-conceived notions of "grammar." Structuralists give us detailed methods for analyzing surface features of languages but offer little insight into teaching the underlying structures of language which are obviously neces-

sary, as Campbell pointed out, to produce creativity in second language acquisition. TG linguistics provides explicit formal systems accounting for the generative, creative nature of language but those systems are so far removed from reality that the language teacher is left confused and bewildered. Lewis recently noted: "Perhaps the theory of transformational grammar is antithetic to any known method, in that an orthodox, rigid set of procedures may stifle a student's creative powers . . . It is conceivable that a 'non-method' will have to be developed." (1972: 9-10) But from the point of view of meaningful learning, one of the main problems with TG grammar is that the syntactic component is the base component of language, where semantic rules are "interpretive" rules, operating on the syntax. The criterion of "psychological reality" calls for a complete reversal of this notion, with the semantic or cognitive component as the base, at the deepest level of language. A meaningful theory of language must give grammar a cognitive base. In this perspective, it is easy to see how TG grammar has "failed" in foreign language teaching.

A cognitive or semantic base—and thus a greater degree of psychological reality—is suggested by recent generative semantic theories of language. Case grammar seems to fall into the same category. Nilsen (1971) described some of the potential uses of case grammar in ESL, showing that it can lead to structurally-based ESL lessons that are at the same time situational and meaningful. Consider the following sentences:

- (4) The city is noisy.
- (5) The rush hour is noisy.
- (6) The motor is noisy.

To describe "the city," "the rush hour," and "the motor" all as subject noun-phrases is probably farther from reality than to differentiate the three by describing them, respectively, as a "locative," a "temporal," and an "instrument." Similarly, "John" and "Bill" in the following sentences:

- (7) John has a new car.
- (8) Bill ate the bananas.

have an "experience" and an "agent," respectively, Semantic organization is the base and thus forms the deep structure; syntax then emerges from this semantic base.

This of course does not mean that among traditional, structural, and TG grammars there have been no rules which are "real." For centuries English grammarians have spoken of the distinction between present perfect and past perfect tenses, quite "real" in the sense that human beings conceptualize many items not only in terms of chronological order but also with the present moment as a focal point of reference. The grammatical description reflects this phenomenon. But, in contrast, if words like "might," "can," and "will" are called "auxiliaries" or "helping verbs" we may have wandered far from reality in that the cognitive categories of potentiality, capability, and futurity, are major categories by which we analyze and classify the world and ourselves. So if I say:

(9) He might be able to go to the game tonight.
 in terms of cognitive reality I am speaking of [POTENTIALITY + CAPABILITY + FUTURITY + agent + locomotion + locative + time]. It would be hard to argue that what I "really" thought in my mind was something like [pronoun + auxiliary + verb of being + adjective + infinitive + prepositional phrase + adverb], or even [noun phrase + verb phrase].

With a semantically or cognitively based grammar, furthermore, such sentences as (10) through (14) —structurally diverse by some standards— could all be categorized as semantically similar:

- (10) I saw a boy who had red hair.
- (11) I saw a boy and he had red hair.
- (12) I saw a red-headed boy.
- (13) The boy I saw was a red-head.
- (14) A red-headed boy was seen by me.

They all involve, in various permutations of categories, and in varying degrees of emphasis, [agent + visual perception + object + attribute].

In its ultimate form, then, a cognitive or meaningful approach to grammatical analysis could lead to a complete restructuring of our conception of grammar, which in turn, should result in more meaningful *use* of grammar in ESL.

II

This brings me to the second question, an equally, if not more crucial issue: the means or method by which grammar is to be taught in order to be optimally meaningful within the learner himself, to satisfy condition 2.

There is little value in raising the age-old debate over inductive versus deductive learning in a second language. It is hardly a question of "all or nothing"; some degree of both kinds of learning is clearly necessary. The important matter here is that neither kind of learning guarantees success. Both types of learning can lead to boredom and failure: our deductive explanations are often too long, abstract and unclear; our classroom discussions sometimes center about one small detail which interests only one or two students; or perhaps our carefully planned inductive drills lack that bit of zest that is needed to keep things lively and fresh. What emerges of crucial importance, then, is finding approaches in the classroom that make maximum appeal to meaningful learning sets within the learners. This appeal should be made on the basis of the total human organism, in the sense that cognitive, affective, and psychomotor processes are all involved. One of these domains that has been minimized for too long is the affective domain. Some recent research (Nelson and Jakobovits, 1970; La Forge, 1971; Begin, 1971) on language learning suggests that the combination of affectivity and cognition in what has been called "motivation" has almost everything to do with success in second language learning.

How can we bring about this optimal "blend" of variables so as to promote meaningful learning, and minimize rather inefficient rote processes

in the ESL classroom? A stage of "manipulation" in foreign language learning is probably indispensable, whether the "teacher" provides it or not. And I believe it is only an unfortunate set of circumstances that so much of this aspect of language learning has degenerated into rote situations. This tendency was illustrated recently in an amusing incident that occurred in Detroit: a school boy was asked to write down some sentences on a piece of paper, and he said "ain't, got no pencil." Disapproving of the non-standard response, the teacher embarked on a barrage of model patterns for the child: "I don't have a pencil . . . You don't have a pencil . . . He doesn't have a pencil . . . etc." Bewildered by this intimidating onslaught of patterns, the child innocently replied, "ain't *nobody* got no pencils?"

We should also recognize that from the very beginning stages, language learning can and should be meaningful: in some way the distinctive items of a lesson must be related to, existing cognitive structure, "subsumed" into an organized whole, or else they will be very easily forgotten. Reliance in ESL upon "memorization,"—if the term implies *rote* practicing of items until, through conditioning, and perhaps over-learning, certain words or patterns are "learned"—is strongly challenged by the concept of meaningful learning. "Operant conditioning," as a rote process in human beings, is severely limited with respect to foreign language learning; it can perhaps only be applied fruitfully to psychomotor, muscular coordination in the articulation process. Certainly the complexities of memory, recall, and linguistic encoding and decoding are well beyond conditioning paradigms.

So "meaningful" manipulation is perhaps the goal of early ESL classes, and with respect to "grammar" lessons—or any kind of lesson—this kind of goal begins with a communicative, empathetic teacher, a receptive, emotionally committed student, and a positive rapport between teacher and student. Classroom activities themselves can take on meaning in a number of ways: (a) inductive drills and other exercises should point toward a specific grammatical goal which is clear to all students; (b) sentences should as much as possible relate to situations which are real to the student, and should progress from thought to related, thought; (c) as much as possible one should allow reality and truth to be expressed by the student; and (d) allow the manipulative stage to continue only through the point of "muscular habituation," since this, along with inductive internalizing of rules, is the purpose of manipulative activities. These kinds of manipulative activities, if built upon psychologically real grammatical foundations, should fulfill both of the original conditions for meaningful learning.

Beyond the manipulative stage of learning, communication becomes the goal, and for meaningful learning to continue, the earlier communication begins, the better. Through communication the learner himself is better able to relate his new language to his own cognitive organization. At this stage "grammar" itself is more easily adaptable to deductive explanations and class discussions. The latter often serve as merely a diversion-

ary tactic in which students sometimes try to avoid more pressing concerns; but if discussion of a grammatical point is of interest to the whole class, and students are creatively struggling with the language, then they are indeed learning meaningfully: both conditions are being satisfied.

Since adults are capable of deductive reasoning and abstract formal operational thought, grammatical explanation can also serve a vital purpose—if the grammar itself is real, and the teacher is communicating meaningfully. Here, reference to existing knowledge and motivating sets is of utmost importance, and students must see purposiveness in explanations.

Above all, if the complexities of the learner and the complexities of human linguistic interaction are well researched, and creatively reflected in all of our grammar lessons, then grammar, if it is psychologically real, can remain as one of the key categories in foreign language teaching today.

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Reviews

LANGUAGE STRUCTURES IN CONTRAST. Robert J. DiPietro. (Newbury House Publishers, 1971. xix + 193 pp.).

The book, as the author himself points out in Chapter 1, consists of three parts. Chapters 1–3 contain an exposition of transformational-generative linguistic theory in general and of its application to contrastive analysis in particular. Chapters 4–7 bring a detailed discussion of a number of problems in linguistic analysis, drawn from syntax, semantics and phonology, and illustrated by examples from a large number of different languages. Finally, Chapter 8 is devoted to an exploration of the relation of contrastive analysis to the process of teaching and learning a foreign language. “Topics for discussion” and suggestions for further reading are provided at the end of each chapter, and the book carries a fairly extensive bibliography of the subject.

Here then is the first book since Lado’s *Linguistics Across Cultures* (1957) entirely devoted to comparing and contrasting languages. Let it be stated at the outset that it makes stimulating reading and will no doubt be widely studied and discussed in colleges and universities everywhere. (It has already been the topic of a series of seminar meetings at UCLA.) However, prospective readers should be warned that the subject matter of the book is not actually contrastive analysis; a title such as “Language universals and particular grammars” would reflect the contents more accurately. Nor does the book fulfill the expectations that the reader might have after perusing the “Introduction” by Dwight Bolinger, who writes: “While contrastive linguistics draws on linguistic theory and contributes to it, no allegiance is owed by it to any particular theory” (p. viii). This is an attractive point of view; Di Pietro, however, disagrees with it quite emphatically. He writes: “An axiom well worth remembering is that a CA is only as good as the linguistic theory on which it is founded” (p. 12). This is a very strong claim indeed; and one which, if taken literally, would imply instant rejection of the book by all those who do not subscribe to the particular version of case grammar on which it is founded. Fortunately, it is a fact that some of the best contrastive analyses in existence were not even based on transformational generative linguistic theory, let alone on case grammar, and yet they are still both readable and useful.

Another very strong claim of the author is his insistence on going all the way to the bedrock, that is to language universals, in every attempt at comparing or contrasting languages. He states: “The alternative to positing universals in CA is a list of contrasting paradigms and autonomous descriptive statements with no interrelating of the languages being contrasted” (p. 4). Consequently, the author divides possible models of CA into autonomous (not correlated with language universals) and generalized (based on universals). He then proposes a division along another dimension, namely, into taxonomic and operational models, and claims that

only generalized models can be operational, that is, capable of expressing contrasts between languages as "a series of conversions performed on the source language in order to produce the forms of the goal language" (p. 18).

Having thus established the theoretical framework for contrastive analysis, the author suggests that in contrasting two languages one should follow three steps: (1) observe the differences between the surface structure of two languages; (2) postulate the underlying universals; (3) formulate the deep-to-surface (realizational) rules (pp. 29–30).

The present reviewer is of the opinion that both the theoretical assumptions and the procedural recommendations put forward by the author are open to serious criticism. Let us begin with the issue of the relation between contrastive analysis and language universals. There seem to be two uses of contrastive studies. One is practical: contrastive analysis supplies the linguistic background to language teaching and to translation. The other use is theoretical: describing and comparing the structures of different languages leads to postulating hypotheses on underlying universals—hypotheses which are, of course, subject to verification in the course of further descriptive and contrastive work on additional languages. Thus, putting forward hypotheses on language universals and then verifying them seems to be one of the ends of contrastive studies, rather than their starting point. Moreover, the author's proposal that one should routinely posit the underlying universals of the basis of observation of differences between the surface structures of languages (and of just two languages) seems hard to accept.

To return to the practical uses of contrastive analysis. Pairs of languages are compared to supply teachers, curriculum designers, and the textbook writers (as well as translators) with the necessary background linguistic information. To do this, however, one does not have to have recourse to universals at every step of the investigation. The author himself writes: "If we apply the notions of deep and surface structure to the CA of two languages, it becomes clear that the most crucial area of contrast is the one between the deepest and the most surface structures" (p. 26). This is particularly true of comparison of related languages, and a good example of this "intermediate" approach can be found in William Moulton (1968). Moulton draws a tree representing something like the phrase structure of Subject—Verb (predicate)—Direct Object—Indirect Object sentences, which is common to English, French, and German. He then shows how each of these languages applies a different set of transformational rules leading to surface structure. The discussion is in terms of traditional relational notions (Subject, Object, etc.); no reference is made to universals—and for these very reasons the teacher who favors the cognitive code-learning approach can take the analysis into the classroom and use it as a teaching device 'without having to lecture to his students on universals in linguistic theory. In terms of Di Pietro's classification, this model of contrastive analysis would be autonomous for the three languages concerned; and yet it is

perfectly capable of being operational: we could easily write conversion rules leading from one language to another.

It has to be added that we are mindful of the author's warning "to keep clear the distinction between deep and surface structure on one hand and universal and particular grammar on the other" (p. 5). However, all the universals discussed by the author in the book (with obvious exception of the phonological ones) belong to deep structure.

The more different the languages to be compared, the less similarity there is in their shallow structures and the deeper we have to probe to find comparable elements. Consequently, it is more likely that we shall have to have recourse to universal notions. This format of universal-based case grammar, adopted by the author, seems to be particularly suitable to contrastive studies. The question that arises now is, to what extent is the author consistent in describing the structure of languages in terms of the case-grammar model. To answer this, let us examine in some detail the first three, general, chapters of the book, proceeding then to the next four, which deal with particular problems.

The author seems to waver between the Chomskyan and the Fillmorean approach to the theory of grammar; which leaves the reader confused and rather frustrated. The deep structure of Fillmore's case grammar is semantic and the whole of his theory of grammar is pervaded by semantic considerations—to the extent that in the "Closing words" of his "Case for Case" he suggests that "it is likely that the syntactic deep structure of the type that has been made familiar from the work of Chomsky and his students is going to go the way of the phoneme." Di Pietro, however, seems reluctant to accept fully the consequences of adopting the case grammar format. In his chapter on language design he first presents a "General view of language design," with syntax firmly in the center, reminiscent of the early years of transformational-generative theory. Then he says: "The componential view of language design can be accepted without the requirement that syntax be more basic than either phonology or semantics . . . Certainly, the ways in which transformations relate sentences in a language cannot be discussed without reference to the semantic elements which are involved in those transformations" (p. 37). He adds: "we refrain from going beyond the observation that syntax and semantics are intimately connected and that neither is profitably discussed without reference to the other" (Pp. 37-38). In particular he states: "Thus NAME, CASE, etc., are syntactic primes which provide general categories to be filled by semantic elements. In this way, the specifics of CASE (agent, instrument, etc.) are considered as elements of semantics rather than of syntax" (p. 38). Semantics is thus shown to operate at a very deep level in language. Later, however, we read: "Involved in the surface realization of syntax are those rules which incorporate relevant semantic elements. These rules have been termed *semantic projection rules*" (p. 40). By this time the reader feels quite badly confused about the relationship of syntax and semantics, and his

confusion is deepened by the diagrams of language design on pages 46 and 47, which assert the centrality of syntax and allow for interaction of semantics with syntax just on the surface. The place of the lexicon in the overall design is not specified, nor is the relationship of the lexicon to syntax. The author manages to get through more than 60 pages of his text, including all of the discussion of language design, without using the word "lexicon" more than once (on p. 40); and then he states that lexicon belongs to the surface.

In spite of the inclusion of SENTENCE, MODALITY, PROPOSITION, VERBOID, and CASE in "syntactic primes," the scheme is out of focus with Fillmore's view of language design. We can remark, parenthetically, that it is also out of focus with the "Standard theory" of Chomsky's *Aspects* and with the "Revised Standard theory" of his "Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation."

The reader's frustration increases as he proceeds to the two longest chapters in the book: "Semantic Projection" and "The Structure of the Lexicon." The author states at the outset: "To go beyond the most elementary of syntactic ordering rules requires that we consider the effects that various semantic features have on the form that particular grammars take" (p. 72). But according to the diagrams of language design, semantic projection rules operate after *all* the syntactic ordering rules have applied. The reader is apt to ask himself what the author actually means by "semantic projection." The explicit formulation is as follows: "Semantic features . . . are convenient ways in which to characterize focal points of interest in man's interpretation of his being, community, and universe. It is under the title of semantic projection that we shall discuss the ways in which these semantic features interact with syntax to form the surface structure of particular languages" (p. 73). This sounds convincing; but the content of the chapter is curiously at variance with its title and with the passage quoted above. "Dummy subjects," realization of case markers, and tag questions seem to be out of place here: they are almost purely syntactic problems. Pronouns are discussed twice: in the chapter on semantic projection and in the one on the structure of the lexicon—and it is in the latter that the discussion is really semantic. By this time the reader begins to suspect that by "semantic projection" the author simply means lexical insertion; but are we really supposed to understand that this takes place on the surface?

Interestingly enough, it is these two chapters that contain most of the valuable material that the book brings; particularly the chapter on the structure of the lexicon. To mention just a few examples: an interesting semantic analysis of the English words *meat* and *flesh*, with a discussion of equivalents in other languages (p. 113 ff.); some illuminating remarks on the influence of societal patterns on the lexicon (pp. 109-110); a note on surface-to-surface versus deep-to-surface gender relationships (p. 123). The argumentation in favor of distinguishing between nominal and verbal

adjectives seems convincing, as does the statement that adjectivization is a language-specific matter (p. 90 ff.). It is to be regretted, however, that in his discussion of adjectives the author is not consistent. He still derives adjectives from the V node (p. 89), and one looks in vain for some signs of his familiarity with Dwight Bolinger's important paper on adjectives (Bolinger, 1967).

This brings us from a discussion of the general aspects of the book to an examination of some questionable statements and inaccuracies in the treatment of particular problems. We shall begin with the English language. In his discussion of phrasal verbs (pp. 84-85) the author compares English with German. Having commented on verbs such as *pick up* (the paper), *put on* (the kettle), i.e., "separable" verbs, he says: "In contrast to English, German has sets of phrasal verbs, some of which allow separation of proposition and others do not." As examples he quotes *übersetzen* ('leap over', strong stress on *über*) and *übersetzen* ('translate', strong stress on *setzen*). But in fact the latter type has a good analogue in English, in verbs such as *look after* (the baby), *smile at* (a person), etc.

The diagram of structure underlying a sentence with a tag (p. 103) has to be taken as representing surface structure, since it does not explain the relationship between the subject and verb of the tag and the subject and verb of the main sentence.

Conjunctions are explained in terms of recursion of constituents dominated by N or V nodes in the underlying structure of a single sentence (p. 105), rather than in terms of transformations conjoining pairs or series of sentences. One wonders how sentences such as "Mary washed the dishes and scrubbed the floors all night long" can be made to fit this rule.

Let us now look at some of the references to languages other than English. On p. 14 the author states: "Aspect, for example is easily recognizable as a grammatical category in Russian surface grammar while in English it is inextricably interwoven with tense." In fact, aspect in Russian is no less interwoven with tense, particularly in expressions of futurity. More about Russian: on page 101 the author writes: "Not only is the sentence negator used along with lexical negators in Russian, but, in expressions of existence, the lexical negator must be inflected in the genitive case. . ." Change of lexical negator to the genitive is only a particular instance of a general rule which requires that subjects of sentences with a copula and a locative expression appear in the genitive case if the sentence is negated. One final remark: Russian words and sentences can be transliterated, transcribed phonologically, or transcribed phonetically. On page 91 the author uses transliteration, while on page 101 there is a mixture of phonological and phonetic transcriptions.

On page 122 we read: "Among the Indo-European languages (e.g., the Romance group and German, Russian and Greek), nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and sometimes verbs are often marked as being 'masculine,' 'fem-

inine,' and 'neuter' (some languages, like Polish, might even have more distinctions, involving, among others, profession and age)." The present reviewer has tried in vain to find verbs marked for gender in German, Russian, Greek (classical) and French. In Russian and Polish, certain verb *forms* in the past tense are marked for gender; but then in Polish (though not in Russian) the gender distinctions in the third person plural, past tense, involve categories other than 'masculine,' 'feminine,' and 'neuter.' On the other hand, both in his capacity as a linguist and as a native speaker, the reviewer has failed to find in Polish any signs of marking of parts of speech for profession or age.

On pages 150 and 151 the author explains that in Spanish /b d g/ lose their occlusiveness between vowels, but adds: "If a word boundary is present, the rule is not operational." The reviewer remembers seeing at UCLA a cartoon film whose purpose was to teach the intricacies of English pronunciation to native speakers of Spanish. In order to show that both [d] and [ð] "actually exist in Spanish (albeit not in contrast), the authors of the film compared the Spanish word *dama* [dama] with the phrase *la dama* [laðama]. Word boundaries have nothing to do with the distribution of members of the continuant-occlusive pairs in Spanish.

Remarks on passive voice in Tagalog seemed to the present reviewer to be at variance with Stockwell (1957). Stockwell avoids references to an active-passive opposition in Tagalog grammar and uses English passive forms merely as glosses facilitating understanding of Tagalog sentences. J. Donald Bowen (personal communication) supplied the following remarks: Tagalog is said by Di Pietro to require a "verbal connector" in sentences "when the subject precedes the verb" (P. 64). *Ay* indeed is required for a topic-first sentence as an "inversion marker," but has no verbal characteristics whatever. The person-name marker *si* is said to be absent from the passive sentence (i.e., non actor-focus). This is only true if there is no person-name in the focus position of other than actor-focus sentences. Also the explanation fails to inform us that *si* is replaced by *ni* or *kay* in the non focus forms, so in a sense it does not really disappear, just appropriately inflects.

Before we proceed to discuss the author's remarks on application of contrastive analysis, here are a few caveats for the reader, concerning minor inaccuracies in the first seven chapters.

Contrary to what the author states on page 11, Robert Stockwell did not apply the transformational theory in his contrastive study of English and Tagalog (1957). In a long footnote on page C-77 Stockwell explains: "I find myself convinced of the essential rightness of Chomsky's position, but still too ignorant to implement my conviction." Paul Schachter's analysis of English and Pangasinan was transformational, but appeared in 1959, not 1960, and was never actually published (contrary to what we read on page 186).

The references on pages 40 and 51 to Fodor and Katz 1964 are presumably to Katz and Fodor 1963, i.e., to "The Structure of a Semantic Theory."

As starting point for a discussion of translation as a basis for contrastive analysis the author chose to quote Kirkwood (1966). It would perhaps have been more informative to have referred the reader to much earlier (and more substantial) work; for example to Zellig Harris (1954), Joseph Casagrande (1954), and Paul Schachter (1959, p. 124 ff.)

The last (eighth) chapter of the book, "Contrastive analysis and the foreign language teacher," deals with application of contrastive analysis to language pedagogy. Some basic assumptions for it, however, are set out much earlier. In Chapter 2, the author includes the following 'cautious statement in his discussion of autonomous and generalized models of contrastive analysis: "The application of generalized models, while far from easily correlated with theories of language learning, at least provide universal tenets which, if supported psychologically, have far-reaching implications" (p. 17). On the following page we find a much stronger assertion: "Thus, the operational CA is a linguistic analog to those mental processes which may be at work in acquiring a foreign language." On page 21 the author goes even further: "If we understand grammars as being formal explanations of competence, we can see that each grammar represents a model of speaker and hearer of the language it seeks to explain." This is news to the reader who is mindful of Noam Chomsky's emphatic warning: "To avoid what has been a continuing misunderstanding, it is perhaps worth while to reiterate that a generative grammar is not a model for a speaker or a hearer." (Chomsky 1965, p. 9). The author himself is obviously not quite sure about the validity of his earlier statements (from pages 17, 18 and 21), since on page 28 we read: "To date, there is no conclusive evidence that any of the linguist's rules are analogous to the mental processes the speaker goes through in forming his sentences."

It is, thus, in a state of confusion that the reader proceeds to scan Chapter 8. The most interesting parts of it deal with "building competence drive." The author follows Jerome Bruner in stressing the importance of motivation in learning, and makes a plea against mechanical drills and exercises, and for "communicational use of language." Yet on the preceding pages he describes the now traditional stimulus-response drills, which he supplements by suggestions on the use of parsing (transformationally oriented) in teaching a foreign language.

To sum up. The author says on page 1: "The reader who is interested only in general principles may wish to read the first three chapters in detail and then skip the next four." The reviewer's advice is: skip the first three (or even four) chapters, with their rather confusing and occasionally inconsistent and contradictory theoretical discussion, and read the rest of the book, judiciously sifting out the gold from the sand. Do all the "Problems," which are intelligent and stimulating, and study the

"Notes", which contain some of the most interesting material in the book. The effort will be worth it, after all.

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PREPARING THE EFL TEACHER: A PROJECTION FOR THE '70's.
 Robert C. Lugton, ed. (The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc., 1970, 211 pp.).

Volume 7 in *Language and the Teacher: a Series in Applied Linguistics* is a book of readings addressed to teachers and teacher-trainees in the field of English as a second and/or foreign language. It consists of a Foreword, an Introduction, six articles and two reports. Four articles deal with topics related to TEFL and two focus on more general subject matter. Chapter titles and respective authors are: "Linguistics and the EFL Teacher" by Bruce Fraser, "From Linguistics to Pedagogy: Some Tentative Applications" by William E. Rutherford, "Notes Toward an Applied Rhetoric" by Robert B. Kaplan, "Testing" by Robert L. Cooper, "The Language Teacher in the Computer Age" by Bernard Spolsky and "Programmed Language Teaching and Its Implications for Teacher Training" by Klaus Bung. The reports describe two kinds of Teacher Training Programs: "TESL at the University of Puerto Rico" by Joseph Kavetsky and "TESOL at the University of Wisconsin" by Charles T. Scott.

All essays, with the exception of William E. Rutherford's (portions of which appeared in an article in the June 1966 issue of this journal), were written especially for this collection. In the Foreword, the editor points out that "There is no longer any question but that the teaching of English as a second language has become a discipline unto itself with full academic standing" and he cogently stresses the fact that "Not infrequently these

TESL programs—interrelating linguistics, anthropology, and psychology with other disciplines interested in language teaching—have been recognized as models of interdepartmental planning for better teacher education” (p. vi). We might well ask how well this collection reflects the rather privileged position of TESOL as a truly interdisciplinary field. Another question to raise is the extent to which the book lives up to its title. To attempt to answer such questions, particularly the latter, we shall first comment briefly on each article and then come to a conclusion.

Fraser’s article provides a clear and concise background to transformational-generative theory and discusses four areas of research which may prove useful to the teacher or textbook writer: 1) the study of the relationship between sentence stress and the speaker’s semantic competence, 2) sentence construction and violation of underlying presuppositions, 3) types of forces characterizing a speech act and the problem of seemingly interchangeable sentences, and 4) intralinguistic lexical contrastive analysis.

In his article, Fraser suggests the preparation of what he calls “a Goofikon, . . . a compendium of possible errors in English, organized such that the worst kinds of mistakes, those which interfere with intelligibility, are presented first, and minor surface distortions (e.g. number agreement, gender inconsistency in pronouns, etc.) normally taken up at the beginning of previous books of this sort, are presented last. The Goofikon should be organized according to classes of errors made in using English” (p. 25). The author makes the sensible plea that “. . . in a course oriented toward the development of conversational proficiency (which certainly applies to most TEFL courses taught in the U.S.), there must be maximum emphasis on effectiveness of communication rather than correctness of style or grammar” (p. 26). Teachers convinced of the importance of their students having an early creative start in foreign language learning will certainly sympathize with Fraser’s statements on how to build up the learner’s confidence through what he calls “genuine freedom in language use” (p. 27). This lead article is, in short, one of the highlights of the book for the variety of insights provided and for the suggestions on how to apply the findings of linguistics to the pedagogical tasks of analysis, diagnosis and correction of students’ errors.

Rutherford’s article provides a good sequel to Fraser’s. It describes the kind of current challenges being faced by teachers because of the lack of a fully integrated theory of applied linguistics and then discusses the pedagogical implications of three areas of recent linguistic investigation, namely 1) the use of performative analysis as an aid to presentation of syntax, 2) the recognition of universal principles of factivity and presupposition and the development of the student’s ability to infer grammatical properties from meaning, and 3) the use of insights from case grammar for teaching functional relations and prepositional usage. The great merit of the author’s presentation lies in providing very clear illustrative examples of the theoretical points made. The cautious tone with which Rutherford discusses the relevance of linguistics to TEFL pedagogy is certainly com-

mendable, and is typified by the following statement: “. . . although the results for theoretical linguistics of transformational research have been truly impressive, whenever these findings appear to point to pedagogical correlates, then the validity of the application will unquestionably have to be demonstrated” (p. 32). He goes on to say: “Classroom applications of transformational grammar have been most disappointing when wholesale borrowing of the theoretical apparatus has taken place.” He warns us against the danger of the incorporation of the linguist’s rules into the student’s textbook: “Such a procedure is even likely to obstruct the acquisition of another language, since the student (will have) to learn not only the language of communication but also the symbolic language of linguistic theory” (p. 32).

The article by Kaplan is a well-organized introduction to discourse analysis and its application to teaching the advanced EFL learner. Kaplan makes a very cogent appraisal of the state of the art in rhetorical studies. One of his remarks may shock teachers who tend to be too optimistic about the spread of linguistically sound approaches to teaching in the United States: “The view of communication as a dynamic process has not, even yet, filtered and penetrated into public education in the United States. Witness the tenacity with which the concept of ‘absolute correctness’ in grammar, punctuation, spelling and ‘paragraph form’ is maintained in the face of all relevant relativistic evidence” (p. 49). In the second part of his carefully documented essay, the author tries to show how advanced EFL learners can be instructed in the performance of discourse-bloc and discourse-unit analysis according to what he describes as a ‘moderately successful strategy’ for the teaching of composition to mature students. A useful 28-item bibliography will help the interested reader (and Kaplan succeeds admirably in arousing our interest in this old but vigorously revived domain) explore still further. The purpose of Chapter 4 is, as Cooper puts it, “to provide a brief introductory guide to the construction, selection, and use of second-language tests, with particular reference to tests of English as a second language” (p. 76). Of the thirteen sections in this chapter Determining What to Test stands out as a clear pedagogical treatment of language variation and linguistic competence, the latter covering the syntactic, phonological and semantic components. Two points made in the chapter summary (p. 96) deserve quoting: “The specification of test content is the single most important step in test construction.” “Test scores should be viewed tentatively, as hypotheses, not facts, about an individual.”

What has been, and will be, the influence of the electronic computer on language teaching? Spolsky answers his own question by dealing first with the relationship between computer and researcher; he then clarifies the effect of computational analysis for the language teacher and language learner. How can a specialist write about computer-assisted language instruction and still make sense to the uninitiated? The author proves that this can be done. He illustrates his very clear exposition with a flow-

chart describing the logic of a program intended to test and teach the English verb phrase subsystem. The well-balanced wealth of scientific information and humanistic insights to be gained from reading this chapter (especially in the case of Trainers of TEFL teachers who have never had access to computer technology) makes Spolsky's essay another highlight of the book. A lesson in scientific humility (the veritable trait of the scholar-teacher) can be noted in the author's concluding remarks: "In the final analysis, when we try to get a computer to teach someone a language, we find out that we are asking it to do something we don't understand" (p. 116).

The topic handled by Klaus Bung is, in a sense, a logical follow-up to Spolsky's overview of communication technology. This lengthy exposition (60 pp.!) is an unusually comprehensive treatment of programmed language instruction. Illustrations and examples (in English and German) abound and there is an extensive (99 items) universal bibliography. The section on **Implications for Teacher Training** discusses, among other things, the desirability and necessity of PLI; the kinds of exaggerated claims made concerning program effectiveness, how PLI can be fully appreciated and benefits of PLI training for the teacher's classroom performance.

The problem of training TESL teachers at the universities (Puerto Rico and Wisconsin) comes next. Addressed primarily to U.S. teacher-trainers, such reports may, however, offer a great deal of useful information to professionals from other countries where post-graduate programs in TEFL or in Applied Linguistics to TEFL (as is the case in Brazil now) are being established. Particularly noteworthy in the case of the Puerto Rican experience is the requirement that teachers have "a concentration in the foundations of education: a background in the theory of psychology and learning, the philosophical and social foundations of education" (p. 187).

The shortest chapter (8 pp.), by Scott, will be of considerable interest especially to foreign readers of *TESOL Quarterly*. What courses will be taken by a prospective TESOLer in a respectable, well-established American university? The descriptive data provided by the author on course design (changes in TESOL theory and practice are reflected in the constant updating of both course content and methodology) constitute eloquent evidence of the "full academic standing of TESOL" noted in the Editor's statement in his Foreword.

This timely collection, in conclusion, does provide TESOL teachers with a good perspective of things now and things to come. An expanded version of this volume, enriched by the collaboration of other international specialists (Bung is the notable foreign exception in the writing team), would certainly be welcome, considering the already acknowledged universality of TEFL activities.

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LET'S LEARN ENGLISH: Beginning Course (Books 1 and 2). Wright, Audrey L., and James H. McGillivray. Fourth Edition. (American Book Company, 1971).

LET'S LEARN ENGLISH: Advanced Course (Book 5 and 6). Van Syoc, W. Bryce and Florence S. Van Syoc (American Book Company, 1971).

The *Let's Learn English series* has a long history. The Beginning Course (Books 1 and 2) first appeared in 1955 and has been used in about 60 countries; the Fourth Edition, by Audrey L. Wright and James H. McGillivray, was published in 1971, the same year that the Advanced Course (Books 5 and 6), by W. Bryce and Florence S. Van Syoc, was added to the series. The Intermediate Course (Books 3 and 4)—by Audrey L. Wright, Ralph P. Barrett and W. Bryce Van Syoc—was published in 1966 and is now being revised.

Books 1 and 2 are handsomely refurbished in the new edition: spacious pages, good quality paper, sharp lettering, generous spacing. The first-grade-level drawings—a persistent tradition in ESL texts—are the only disappointment in format. Each book in the series sells at slightly less than two dollars, with teacher's editions a bit higher.

These introductory volumes hold no surprise for anyone acquainted with the audio-lingual method. The Fourth Edition of 1971 contains no technique or assumption that was not available for inclusion in the 1955 edition, and both the Beginning and Intermediate Courses are similar in form and content to a number of other well known texts based on the same principles and recommended by a long period of widespread and—judging by their staying power in a highly competitive market—successful use.

Book 1 is introduced as “a text for real beginners at the high school or adult level.” The emphasis here should certainly be placed on *real*, for the book assumes no previous knowledge of English, progresses slowly and, in view of the recommended class time—from three to six hours for each of twelve units—covers a relatively small segment of the language. The past tense, for example, is not presented until half way through Book 2, after an estimated 75 hours of class instruction.

The reading selections in Books 1 and 2 are confined in structure to the patterns practiced orally and in vocabulary to the 500-word limit imposed on each book; unless supplemented by an additional reading program, the Beginning Course would not equip students to read even the daily newspaper. The authors apparently assume that receptive and productive skills must be acquired at the same rate. This assumption is not tenable: a French-speaking student might easily identify the meanings of many Romance cognates in English without being able to produce these cognates. It is far easier to learn to read than to learn to write accurately at a given level of complexity.

Because of such self-imposed limits in content, the Course does not set satisfactory goals for the educational levels—“secondary schools, institutes and universities,” according to the order form—to which it addresses

itself. The goals it does set would be more suitable for students approaching English for the first time at upper grade or lower high school levels. The generous amount of exercise material in these books should be especially helpful to students in non-English-speaking areas.

Well-motivated students with even a rudimentary knowledge of English would do well to enter the *Let's Learn English series* at the level of the Intermediate Course (Books 3 and 4) rather than the Beginning Course. Books 3 and 4 incorporate, as review items or as constituents of larger constructions, all the patterns of Books 1 and 2. Although the structure and vocabulary contents of the Intermediate Course are still carefully controlled, they allow for more challenging exercises and more interesting reading selections than are possible in the earlier books. The weakest part of the Intermediate Course is the writing component, which goes little beyond the transcription of structure patterns and exercises. A strengthened composition program would increase the usefulness of Books 3 and 4 and provide for a more effective transition to the Advanced Course. The editors should keep this in mind for the current revision.

Easily the most attractive and original part of the *Let's Learn English series* is the Advanced Course (Books 5 and 6). While continuing the format and some other features of the earlier volumes, the Advanced Course turns from the audio-lingual orientation to an intelligently planned and coordinated reading and writing program. Beginning where most ESL courses end, it has few competitors for the niche it aims to fill. It would be an excellent textbook choice for foreign students entering American universities with a good basic command of English but without the degree of competence expected in a freshman English course for native speakers. Properly taught, it should enable non-native speakers to function confidently in English at college level. It could also, with minor adjustments, be used effectively in remedial college classes for native-English or dialect speakers.

The authors Van Syoc have done a remarkable job with the reading selections of Books 5 and 6, all but two of which were written to order. These selections unify the lessons in which they appear: they introduce new structure patterns, broaden vocabulary, and serve as models for the writing exercises that follow. Many of the structure patterns introduced in Books 5 and 6 are geared specifically to written English, and embedding processes, illustrated without theoretical fanfare, expand the students' grammatical and stylistic resources. The readings are, moreover, interesting and well written, virtues that ought not to be undervalued.

The Advanced Course has, then, a lot to recommend it, and the Intermediate Course should certainly be examined for possible adoption in situations where its use would seem appropriate. The Beginning Course, aimed at students with no previous experience with English, is neither better nor worse than a number of very similar programs which have

grown out of the same set of pedagogical and linguistic postulates over the past 10 or 15 years.

All the books of the *Let's Learn English* series share certain characteristics which teachers should be aware of when considering them for adoption. First, grammatical discussion and explanation are deliberately restricted to brief comments following the presentation of new structure patterns. Inevitably these comments include many with almost no generalizing power—with little applicability beyond the small set of examples to which they immediately refer. Consider the comments following five examples of the use and non-use of *the* in Book 2, page 189:

A noun without the determiner *the* refers to something in general. The noun is often plural, as in the examples above.

A noun with the determiner *the* refers to a specific thing. The noun may be singular or plural.

An adjective like *young* limits the noun to some extent, but then we speak of *young people* and *old people* in general.

This type of explanation obviously represents a conscious decision to let the patterns speak for themselves as far as possible, an approach that has much to be said in its favor. The Basic Reference Grammar at the end of Book 6 is of so little relevance to the instructional units that one is tempted to suppose that it was suggested—perhaps written-by an editorial assistant in sales promotion.

Similarly, the devices used to represent sound patterns give only approximate indications; they are meant to be interpreted by the teacher and to remind the students of patterns learned aurally. Teachers who are not native English speakers or who have had no training in phonology would have to use the tapes or records available to accompany Books 1-4.

Finally, an annoying though not very frequent shortcoming in the series is the presentation of patterns which have an extremely low probability of occurrence. Though not “ungrammatical,” these patterns often resemble subsurface stages of derivation or unlikely transforms. The following are good examples:

“Is that an umbrella?”

“Yes, it's an umbrella.”

(Book 1, page 3)

“Do you write many letters?”

“Yes, I write many.”

(Book 2, page 230)

Am I not on time?

(Book 2, page 197)

The composition was shown to his friend by Dick.

(Book 5, page 163)

It's important that we not buy a computer. (Book 6, page 276)

Similar patterns are found frequently in ESL textbooks, seldom in actual usage. Indeed, most of the faults one might point out in the *Let's Learn*,

English series are not particular to this series but characteristic of a great body of tradition and precedent which it follows.

Books 1-4 are also available in Spanish editions titled *Aprendamos Inglés*.

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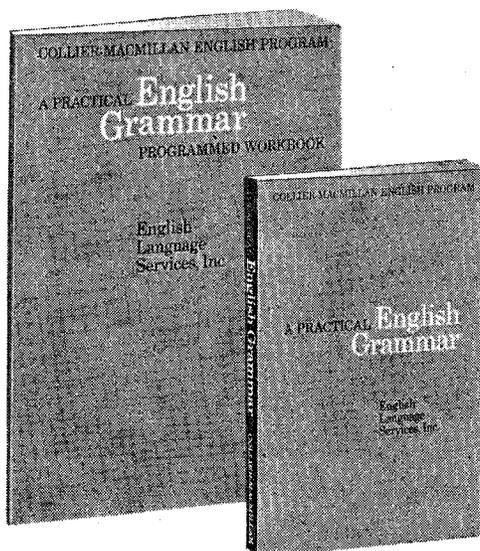
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