TESOL QUARTERLY

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Editorial Policy

The *TESOL Quarterly* encourages submissions of articles of general professional significance to teachers of English to speakers of other languages and dialects, especially in the following areas: (1) The definition and scope of our profession; assessment of needs within the profession; teacher education. (2) Instructional methods and techniques; materials needs and developments; testing and evaluation; (3) Language planning; psychology and sociology of language learning; curricular problems and developments; (4) Implications and applications of research from related fields, such as anthropology, communication, education, linguistics, psychology, sociology. The *TESOL Quarterly* also encourages submission of reviews of textbooks and background books of general interest to the profession. Submit articles to the Editor (Ruth Crymes, Department of English as a Second Language, University of Hawaii, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822). Submit reviews to the Review Editor (Richard Light, ESL Program, SUNYA, Albany, New York 12222).

Manuscripts

Articles should usually be no longer than twenty double-spaced typed pages, preferably shorter. References should be cited in parentheses in the text by last name of author, date, and page number. Footnotes should be reserved for substantive information, kept at a minimum, and each typed directly below the line to which it refers. An abstract of two hundred words or less must accompany all articles submitted. Authors receive 25 reprints of their articles free of charge; additional copies may be ordered from the printer at the time of publication.

The Forum

The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes questions from readers regarding specific aspects or practices of our profession. Questions will be answered in *The Forum* section from time to time by members of the profession who have experience related to the questions. Comments on published articles and reviews are also welcome. Comments, rebuttals, and answers should normally be limited to five double-spaced typed pages.

Problems in English Grammar

Readers are invited to send in questions about English grammar and to participate in the discussion of such questions. Send questions and comments to Ralph Long, Box 1326, St. Petersburg, Florida 33733.

Subscriptions

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Editor's Note

The *TESOL Quarterly* is pleased to announce the institution of a new section to appear in each issue beginning with the next one: Problems in English Grammar. Ralph B. Long, scholar-grammarian and grammarian-teacher, will edit the section, serving as what he calls "a kind of secretary." In this issue he introduces the section and invites contributions of questions and comments.

Professor Long's engagement with the English language has spanned over 40 years of teaching and research and writing. He has published numerous papers on grammatical analysis and theory in many journals and is well known for his grammar, *The Sentence and Its Parts (1961),* and *Structure Worksheets for Contemporary English* (1963). In 1971, with Dorothy B. Long, he published *The System of English Grammar.*

The depth of his scholarship is matched by the breadth of his teaching experience. He was a member of the Department of English at the University of Texas at Austin from 1930 to 1960, receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1939. At Texas he taught the first group of foreign students (Mexican) in regular freshman English. In 1941 he originated special English and Education courses in ESL at Texas. In 1960 he went to the University of Puerto Rico to head the English program in three departments there. Since 1972 he and his wife have been living in St. Petersburg, Florida, where he is doing research and writing.

He now brings the richness of his knowledge and experience to *TESOL Quarterly* readers, seeking at the same time answers to his own questions, which the language keeps posing to him, as indeed it does to all of us.

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Is Second Language Learning Like the First [*]

Susan M. Ervin-Tripp

A considerable array of evidence has been collected about the order and process of mother tongue acquisition. This study compares these findings to second language acquisition (learning of French by English speakers) in a natural milieu in which communication rather than form is the learner's focus of attention, and where the language is heard most of the day. The study showed that in many respects the development of comprehension of syntax and of morphological features follows the order in the mother tongue studies. Children of older ages learned much faster than younger children for the sample in the range of four through nine.

It has taken surprisingly long for scholars of language learning to envisage the relation between first and second language learning, and to view theories of the human language acquisition system as having a bearing on what they study (Cook, 1973; Corder, 1967; Selinker, 1972). For it has long been believed that there is a fundamental difference between the two, so deep it is pointless to develop a common theory. Why does this belief exist? Some reasons lie in the difference in purpose, method, and focus of the respective research traditions. For example:

1. Research on second language acquisition has generally been applied in purpose, and has until recently been light on basic and general theory; writing on child language, particularly in the Chomskyan tradition, has been more theoretical, and research has been less applied.
2. Child language research, for nearly a century, has used the case study as its primary method, with a focus on stages of development common to various cases. Second language learning studies normally are of large groups, with statistical pooling of information so that individual acquisition patterns are less visible.[1]
3. Research on child language has focused so heavily on learner strategies

1 There have of course been exceptions, such as the work of Evelyn Hatch's students (Huang, 1971), Ravem (1968), and Malmberg (1945, 1964).

that the input to the learner was, until recently,[2] almost completely ignored. Research on second language learning has paid primary attention to manipulation of the structure and presentation of teaching materials.

4. With some notable exceptions in which additional instructional milieux were added,[3] research on child language has been limited to the natural settings where language is learned, but not taught, as a by-product of communicative needs. Research on second language learning has almost entirely occurred in classrooms, where language is taught formally and where language structure rather than communicative intent is the focus of attention.

In addition to these differences in research style, there has been a theoretical rationale offered for treating first and second language learning as irreconcilably different; second language learning is, it is argued, built completely upon transfer from the first language, and therefore can tell us nothing more general about language learning (Bever, Weksel, 1965). Now it is certainly the case that the second language learner makes use of prior knowledge, skills, tactics, but it is also true that the first language learner does this. That is, any learning builds on what has happened before, and it remains a major question just how this occurs. A child learning a language at four, whether a first or second language, has knowledge of the world, knowledge of spatial and object relations, knowledge of causality, which a child of one does not have. A child hearing a sentence he has never heard before, at the age of four, can bring to it knowledge of sound groupings, recognition of familiar patterns, expectations about basic syntax-meaning configurations, which a child of one does not have-whether or not he is listening to a new sentence in his mother tongue or a second language. The fact that the second language builds on prior knowledge is not what differentiates it from first language learning.

It has been argued that language-learning is easy for children because the human being is biologically well-prepared to learn languages, a point Chomsky (1965), Lenneberg (1967), and McNeill (1971) have been most noted for making. In addition, it has been argued that there are critical periods for such learning, in order to account for the facts, especially adduced by Lenneberg (1967), of sharp age changes in language acquisition after traumatic aphasia, and for age changes in literality related to language functions.

If the human brain is especially competent to deal with language learning, there is no reason to suppose this ability would confine itself to the first language. From the standpoint of research, the rejection of second language acquisition as a testing ground for the properties of the Language

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[2] Findings by a group of students concerning input to English-speaking children (Pfuderer, Drach, and Kobashigawa, 1964).

[3] Cazden (1965), and numerous Russian studies.

Acquisition System[4] removes the possibility of studying those very conditions which may account for the repeated observation of age differences. Are the differences due to age? We can readily control age of second language acquisition, but are dependent on social or physical accidents, with attendant confounding circumstances, to study hearing-recovery cases or isolated children, learning a mother tongue late. Are the differences due to the changes in learning circumstances, amount of exposure, the need to communicate, the activity setting, simplicity and semantic obviousness of input, all of which may in natural uncontrolled conditions be greater for the younger language learner? There is certainly a much greater possibility of manipulation of circumstance for second than for first languages, for ethical reasons.

The research reported in this paper concerns an initial study asking two questions: Is second language learning like first language learning? Is there a change in learning rate or process with age? If it is the case that second language learning appears to draw on skills and processes similar to those available during first language learning, then the answer to the second question may be generalizable to first language acquisition. If the process is similar, then also we can manipulate the functional, social, and structural circumstances in which learning occurs and have a much broader knowledge of the learning system than is now available.

Method and subjects. The small study to be reported here was conducted in Geneva, Switzerland, and involved the testing of all English-speaking children in that area between the ages of 4 and 9 who were in school where French was the instructional medium, and who had not been exposed to French for more than nine months. There were thirty-one children in the study, with heavier age concentrations at the younger ages. The subjects are in no sense a random sample of second language learners; the social circumstances were such that English speakers in Geneva are unusually well-educated, and those who chose to send their children to French rather than bilingual or English schools tend to be almost entirely professionals. The diminution in numbers available at 8 and 9 probably is related to the preference for English schools as curricular complexity increases, since some people were on one-year visits.

Comprehension tests. Most of the tests employed involved the comprehension of syntax and morphology, rather than production, in order to avoid shyness, perfectionism, and other factors which might mask knowledge of the second language by performance inhibition. The most elaborate comprehension tests were of 24 sentences with passives, actives, reversed

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[4] In Ervin-Tripp (1973b) we have argued that a Language Acquisition System (LAS) is composed of component processors whose properties were discussed generally there. Some of these may be highly limited and specific to language acquisition, as proposed by Chomsky in his discussion of an hypothesis-testing Language Acquisition Device (1965). It has been shown convincingly by Braine (1971) that an hypothesis-testing device requires corrective feedback which does not exist in natural conditions. Levelt (1973) cites studies showing that learning must involve interaction, or at least have very special text properties, for even quite weak grammars to be learned.

anomalous passives (e.g., the boy was eaten by the carrot), indirect objects, and telegraphic sentences (box open boy), in which the children acted out the situation with dolls or animals. These were given in both English and French, since the younger children had not mastered these sentence types in their mother tongue. Mastery of French pronouns for number and gender (for animate referents only) was assessed through two tests: a story in which sentences about dolls were interspersed with sentences using anaphoric pronominal reference (e.g., *il la lave),* and a picture-comprehension test using demonstrative and adjectival cues *(ces petites amies, ce petit camarade, cette petite camarade, ces petits amis).*

Imitation was employed with the children of five to nine. The sentences had two purposes. One was the inclusion of phonological features, with contrasted pairs where possible in a given sentence. The other was testing the relative accuracy of pronominal imitation as a function of initial, medial, or final location in a sentence, or of phonological features, e.g.,

> Lui il a répondu: "Cachez-la."
> Il lui a répondu: "Cachez-la."
> Il a répondu: "Cachez-la-lui."
> Papa t'apportait le train.
> Papa m'apportait le train.
> Papa supportait le train.
> Papa y apportait le train.

Translations were elicited for key structures such as simple sentences, interrogation, and various kinds of indirect and direct objects.

Case material. Diary records and taped natural conversation of a five year old and a six and a half year old child added details to the knowledge obtained from tests, with a production emphasis. In addition, in the discussion below we shall refer to studies of case development by students of Evelyn Hatch, who have studied natural acquisition of English by children.

Social milieu. The logic of the study required that the acquisition of French be in situations like those in which children acquire their mother tongue. Since the study was done during the school year, we were limited to children who were exposed to French in school. There were basically three sources from which they acquired French: peers, school, and home. All learned from peer interaction in the school and often outside of school. All learned in the classroom. The majority of them were in classes where each was the only anglophone, and where the teacher knew little or no English. Many of the children also learned French at home, since their parents, and often an *au pair* girl spoke to them. In some families, sibling interaction began to occur in French in the course of the year. We have no control over the amount of home exposure. In addition, television and assorted interaction in shops provided miscellaneous exposure. It was clear that in terms of hours, the school training was important. The children spent between 22 and 26 hours a week in class; nursery schools were on half-days.

The children heard only French in school. There is more time given to memorizing songs and poetry than here, and playground activities tend to be highly structured, with language involved in instructions and teacher control of activities. The classroom interaction is formal and teacher-centered.

We do not know how much of the classroom instruction was specifically focused on language. At the age of six, primers were used which are in some ways optimal initiation into second language. The impact of schooling was evident in the spelling pronunciations which sometimes appeared in the imitation tests—such as "grenouille" pronounced with a final /l/ instead of a semi-vowel. Presumably the content of the curriculum dealing directly with French structure varied with the grade level. A good deal of formal instruction in French schools perforce deals with gender and with conjugation, since the cues for some of the contrasts are different in the written and oral forms of the language.

A few children had a little supplementary FSL instruction in their schools, but as far as we could learn the focus was on vocabulary, not on the syntactic features of this study.

RESULTS

Similarity to child language

1. Learning by children occurs first for the material which is predictable, and for which the meaning is apparent. We did not have diachronic comprehension tests, so our evidence on this point comes from the diary material. Some of the children said nothing for many months, so we do not know what they were learning. My own children began speaking six and eight weeks after immersion in the school setting. Their earliest utterances included greetings: "au revoir," "salut," "bonjour, Madame;" operational terms dealing with interaction: "regarde," "tiens," "allez-y," and claims related to the self: "moi bébé," "moi sanglier."[5]

Evelyn Hatch mentioned that a Chinese five year old learning English after two weeks of exposure imitated "get out of here" with full comprehension, as indicated by a correct translation. Three months later this phrase survived in expansion sets like "Let's go. Get out of here. Let's get out of here."

In the Geneva study, the first phrase memorized by the two children in the case study was "Peut-je jouer avec Corinne?" They knew its meaning.

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[5] These sentences and phrases are parallel to those observed by others. Benjamin Chen, keeping a record of his two-year-old son's first utterances in English as a second language for a term paper found "Thank you," "you are welcome," "Ya," "Good night," "Pleasant dreams," "no," Good-bye," "Bad boy," "Like that," "Wait here," "It's mine," "Like You," "Stand up," "Sit here," and "want that," in that order. He pointed out that the child did not map the meanings onto already known Hebrew forms such as the equivalent of "Good night." Instead, he overgeneralized: Whenever his father kissed him, even in the morning, he said "Good night, pleasant dreams." As Chen points out the first forms are not nouns but functionally significant reflections of interactive   milieux.

TABLE 1
FRENCH
First Spontaneous Speech Samples of Two Anglophones at Home

Weeks in Geneva	6.7 year old child	
6	moi sanglier	(me boar) [claiming animal from comic book]
	au-revoir	(goodbye)
	je-ne-comprends	(I don't understand)
	à moi, lait, moi	(mine, milk, me) [gestures he wants milk]
	allez-y	(hurry up, get going)
	tour de vélo	(bike trip) [wants to go biking]
	assieds-toi	(sit down)
	asseyez-vous	(sit down)
8	Nicholas dit non.	(Nicolas says no)
	Nicolas dit pourquoi.	(Nicolas says why)
	pousse-moi	(push me)
	ferme la porte	(close the door)
	toi nez rouge	(you nose red)
	petit couteau	(little knife)
	ça Nicolas vélo	(that Nicolas bike)

5 year old child

8	regarde [lə'gaʁd]	(look)
9	regarde, escargots	(look, snails) [saw snails for dinner]
	moi bébé	(me baby) [playing she is baby]
	moi poupee	(me doll)
	moi princesse	
	Thérèse, tiens	(Therese, take)
11	regarde, Anna	(look at Anna)
	le crayon bleu, c'est là-bas	(the blue pencil, it's over there)
16	pas moi, toi, moi là.	(not me, you, me there) [directing play locations]
	ça moi, ça Alexandre.	(that me, that Alexander.) [possessions]
	moi, c'est grand.	(me, it's big) [= mine's big]
	ça va, ça va pas, Eric?	(that's okay, that's not okay, Eric?)
	pas lait là, pas lait, milk.	(not milk there)

It referred to a child in a hotel they occupied for two weeks. This phrase, without overt practice, was recalled two months later. As in the Huang example, the size of the unit stored is impressive, since at the time it must have been stored as a lexical simplex.

Second language learners, like children, remember best the items they can interpret.

2. Meaning recurrences provide basic categorization devices for mapping of forms. Two examples can be seen in the texts on Table 1. When the child said "moi sanglier," with the meaning of "my boar" (boars being major *figures* in a favorite French comic strip), he was corrected: "mon sanglier." He resisted complicating the system by having inflected pronouns, and persisted for some *time* in using "moi" as the form both for "my" and "me." The resistance to correction when the system would be complicated is fa-

miliar in child language studies. In this case it cannot be attributed to mother tongue interference.

The child reported that a new word learned at school was "Assieds-toi" (sit down), pronounced as a single word [asi'ɛtə]. The next day he reported that this was a mistake, he had heard wrong, the word was "asseyez-vous." The situations appeared identical to him, requiring a single form.

Most of the 31 children regularly treated "le" (masculine article) and "la" (feminine article) as synonyms, perhaps because they appeared to have identical meanings. In the imitation test, though they never confused [a] and [ɨ] otherwise, they regularly failed to differentiate these articles and pronouns. In songs they confused them. In the pronoun comprehension test, differentiation of gender for direct object pronouns "le" and "la" was quite late. In texts, the existence of arbitrary gender created ambiguous cues for marking the meaning of the forms. In the case of number, this ambiguity did not exist, so number contrasts for articles and pronouns were correctly imitated and understood much earlier, while gender still was random.

E. Hernández studied a Chicano child who in learning English rejected double vocabulary, noting that "it's not wolf, but *lobo* !" in a bilingual environment. *The basic preference of the child at first is for a principle of one meaning-one form, and he rejects two forms for what appears to be an identical meaning or referential situation.*

3. The first features of sentences to be used in comprehension rules are those which survive in short term memory best. We have argued elsewhere (Ervin-Tripp, 1973a, b) that it is plausible to extend findings from word list studies to the learning of initially unfamiliar sentences. In these studies first and last position survive best in memory. In the Geneva study, medial pronouns were far less often imitated than initial or final pronouns. The order of items is relatively easy to recall, and appears to be very strong in imitation examples, from the beginning.

Young children also learn the relation of order to meaning relatively early. In permuting languages like Finnish, they learn the relative hierarchy of frequency of subject-verb-object order and other permutations. In fixed order languages, they learn simple order strategies at an early age, such as English possessor + possessed, quantifier + quantified, attribute + head. Paul Huang's studies of a Chinese child learning English showed sentences much like native speaker English: "This kite," "Two cat," "No candy," "No more truck." Although in both Norwegian and French the negator follows the main verb, Ravem (1968), studying a Norwegian child learning English, and Kesselman studying French children (personal communication) found that in English they placed the negator before the verb.

The most thoroughly studied of these order strategies is the so-called NVN or SVO strategy, which in its basic form identifies the first noun as an agent, and the second as direct object of a transitive action (Bever, 1970, 1971). Developmentally, this begins with a rule that the noun just before the verb is the agent (sometimes with semantic restrictions that it be animate

or a vehicle). Later the order of nouns alone signals the meaning (Sinclair-de Zwart, 1973).

In my research, half of the four and five year olds interpreted the first noun. in an English NVN sequence, even a passive, as the agent. Thus in "The bear is pushed by the giraffe" it is the bear who pushes. This strategy remains later for word sequences which are telegraphic, such as "box open boy." Sinclair-de Zwart (1973) found that 37% of the seven year old francophones try to make the box open the boy when they hear "boite ouvrir garçon." The general principle of this rule also causes errors of comprehension for indirect objects in English. In response to "The bear gave the giraffe the monkey" many children, even at later ages, move the giraffe to the monkey.

After five the children begin to interpret the morphological information in passives well enough to by-pass this rule, but they may not do so if semantic plausibility counteracts. For example, if the first noun is animate and the second both inanimate and a common object of the verb, an active interpretation is almost inevitable, as in a sentence like "the boy was eaten by the carrot." The same children who stumbled over this sentence might correctly interpret "the boy was pushed by the dog."

We might expect, on the transfer hypothesis, that English-speaking children learning French would simply interpret the sentences as if they were English. But they don't. In the early stages of learning French, regardless of age, the children reverted to the unmodified SVO strategy and systematically misunderstood passives. The older children, who in English correctly understood anomalous passives, regressed on the French version.

In French, the indirect object sentences are easy since they are marked by a preposition, but if we used the English order, the children often ignored the prepositions and interpreted the noun following the verb as the patient, regardless of its form. Thus they continued to use an SVO strategy in spite of the cue from the preposition.

By chance, we encountered two American children who were losing English after nine months living with their Swiss mother and grandparents in Geneva. Their family language had been English until then, but their father was absent in the Air Force. They were extremely reluctant to respond to English speech, and when they did, used comprehension patterns similar to those of the other children after three months exposure to French. That is to say, they interpreted English passives, but not French passives, as if they were active. They had regressed to a simpler sentence processing heuristic in which the cue from the function words and suffixes was inoperative, and the primary pattern, NVN = SVO, reappeared. Other studies of language loss may show patterned deterioration of syntax, too.[6] We would

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[6] In a study of language loss of Israeli-speaking children in the United States, Shaltiel (personal communication) noted that the irregular forms were particularly vulnerable, as if the over-regularization stage of child language may recur. In two years, during which Hebrew was the home language, the six year old lost the ability even to say "I want to go home" which has two irregular forms.

expect that the general syntactic rules which are qualified by special rules would take over and the special rules would be the first to be lost; also that over-generalizations would take over, in morphology.

Translations were our only systematic data on sentence production, other than the diary and taped material, which only exists for a few children. At first glance, many of the translations (Table 2) look as if they were word-for-word. We would expect to find such translations if the general production pattern for the children was mapped onto English syntax rather than onto

TABLE 2
Examples of English to French Translations

Stimulus	5 year old Geneva since birth English only at home	5½ year old Geneva 9 months E, F at home	7 year old Geneva 9 months E, F at home
I see her.	Je vois elle.	Moi je vois elle.	Je elle vois.
She sees them.	Elle voit eux.	Elle regarde eux.	Elle les voit*
Why does she eat them?	Pourquoi elle mange Ie?	Pourquoi il mange ça?	Pourquoi elle les mange?†
He gave her the carrots.	Il a donné une carotte.	Il a donné les carottes.	Il a donné à elle les carottes.†
Who is she waiting for?	Où est-elle attend pour?	Qui elle attend pour?	Elle attend pour qui?
She's waiting for them.	Elle attend pour eux.	Il attend pour eux.	Elle les attend.*
What pushed the door?	Quoi poussait la porte?	Quoi il poussait la porte?	Qu'est-ce qui a poussé la porte?*
What fell down?	Quoi-t-il a tombé?	Quoi il a tombé?	Qu'est-ce qui a tombé?
Why is he pushing her?	Pourquoi il pousse elle?	Pourquoi il pousse elle?	Pourquoi il elle pousse?
Where is the dog going?	Où est le chien, il va?	Où le chien il va?	Où va le chien?*
Where is he going?	Où est-ce il va?	Où lui il va?	Où ils'en va.† Il s'en va où?†

* Correct. † Colloquial, possible in native speaker's usage.

a newly developing French syntax, or if the child solved the particular challenge of the task by a word-for-word mapping onto the surface of the sentence. But these appeared to be the strategies used in only a small residual of sentences. The basic patterns seemed rather to be as follows:

a. In declarative sentences, use SVO order. Very few children had progressed to a separate rule for pronominal objects. The result of *this* rule was sentences like:
   "I see her"   Je vois elle
b. In question word sentences, give the question word, then the nuclear order, either SVO or SVL. (Older children displaced the question word to preserve nuclear order.)

"What can she see?"
    Quoi elle peut voir. (What can she see.)
    Elle peut voir quoi. (She can see what.)
"Why is she there?"
    Pourquoi elle est là. (Why she is there.)
A word-for-word translation would lead to inversion of these sentences,
but inversion was rare. It is not surprising that *Dato* (1970) found
inversion errors to be rare in anglophones learning Spanish.

c. Word-for-word translations were a small residual and were most fre-
quent in the youngest children. These were to some extent lexical,
as in:

"Who is he waiting for?"
    Qui elle attend pour? (Who she waits for.)

A particularly interesting example is the sentence "Where is the dog
going?" which produced some of the most amusing translations. The older
children had, in many cases, learned the French inversions or an acceptable
apposition:

    Où va le chien? (Where goes the dog?)
    Où il va, le chien? (Where he goes, the dog?)

Or they employed the second rule, with results like this:

    Où le chien il va. (Where the dog, he goes.)
    Le chien va où. (The dog goes where?)

The smallest children had more trouble, and revealed segmentation errors
arising from the very high frequency, familiar question "Où est le chien?"
which was one of their first question structures. Its alternative form is "Où
il est, le chien?" The result of the alternation is that "Où-est" = "Où-il-est"
and they are in free variation for the little speakers. My two year old,
months after our departure, still alternated "Où-il-est Daddy" and "Où-est
Daddy." The translations employed these forms, which of course are in-
appropriate for a main verb sentence.

Où-il-est	le chien	aller.
Où-il-est	le chien	il-va.
Où-est	le chien	va.

"Where did the dog go" also elicited the same forms, so we cannot account
for them entirely as word-for-word translations. They may also reflect the
question-forming rule Q-S-V, but with a different segmentation for the com-
ponents, just as we find in early child English free variation of "there's,"
"there's a" and "there" in sentence-initial position (Ervin-Tripp, in press).

In sum, we found many similarities between the sentence forms produced
and understood by children learning their mother tongue and children learn-
ing a second language. In the most carefully studied example, the SVO
strategy, it appeared that this clause-analysis heuristic is either relearned

again in the early stages of the acquisition of French, or that the detailed sub-rules which govern indirect objects and passives are ignored in early comprehension of French, just as they seem to be lost as mastery of English disappears. Obviously, the best test of these alternatives would be the study of a language in which the rules of simple clause analysis are quite different in mother tongue and second language.

Most of the evidence showing mother-tongue interference in the learning of syntax has had two peculiarities: It has come from learning conditions in which the second language was not the language of the learner's larger social milieu so that the learning contexts were aberrant both in function and frequency of structures. Further, both the learning and the testing often occurred in situations where the milieu and the addresses were not overwhelmingly connected with the second language. Yet we know that learners are extremely sensitive to such nuances.

If it is the case that second language learners recapitulate mother tongue acquisition, why do we have the impression that the second language learner is severely handicapped by first language interference?

Let me speculate a little on this question. We do not at the moment have good models of speech production, even for monolingual, so we have very little knowledge of how interference occurs. In the free speech observed by Evelyn Hatch's students, and in my own tape recordings, there is only partial evidence of word-for-word translations. Most of the first sentences are either learned as units *or* generated from very simple order rules, such as those we find in early child language. The older learner, as Hatch has persuasively shown, has a very good capacity to repeat long sequences, compared to two-year olds, so more idiomatic material could occur of deceptively long sequences.

I would suppose that if we push a child to generate sentences about semantically difficult material or concepts unfamiliar in the new culture, he may use somewhat different production patterns. Some years back, there was an argument over whether speech was degenerate and full of errors and false starts; the evidence from conferences suggested that it was, the evidence from family speech to small children that it was not (Bever, Fodor and Weksel, 1965; Pfuderer, Drach and Kobashigawa, 1969). I am suggesting that the simpler the semantic task, and the simpler the relation between meaning and form (e.g., description vs. inference), the less the likelihood the speaker will have recourse to other-tongue formations.[7] This notion

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[7] There is some evidence that in formulating simple order rules, children sometimes draw on mother-tongue formulations if (a) there is some second language support for the rule, i.e. partial overlap or (b) the mother-tongue rule is much simpler. An example appears in Ravem's (1968) data. The children employed the English order rule for negation, because it was simpler than the Nowegian and did not differentiate between modal and main-verb sentences, but always puts the negator before the main element in the verb phrase. But the children retained the Norwegian question-inversion rule, for main verbs at first. The implication, which needs testing through studies of comprehension, is that verb-first sentences are highly marked and the salience of the verb

might lead us to predict the kinds of speech situation which should produce most and least interference. It may also be the case that we normally make greater semantic demands in testing older learners, and that they may, in free speech, make attempts at more complex communication than younger children do, leading to more apparent interference.

Age and rate of learning

It is a common belief that the older the learner is, the more burdened he or she may be with overlearned habits. My reasoning supports a different prediction, on the following grounds:

1. Oral languages are alike more than they are different. The older learner has already discovered some basic principles of phonology. If he has learned to read a syllabic or morphophonemics written language he has acquired a fairly abstract knowledge of oral language phonology.

2. Languages tend to have similar semantic content. By and large the major changes we find in acquisition of the mother tongue with age are related to semantic development. The older child has a fuller semantic system, so he merely needs to discover a new symbolic representation. There will of course be errors in the cases where the semantic properties differ, but these are minor compared to the burdens of a child learner at a similar stage of syntax.

3. The older child has more efficient memory heuristics, related to his greater knowledge. Because he can learn both strings and single items faster, he may map new vocabulary into storage too quickly, before he has enough text to discover the semantic and structural distribution, in those cases where there is a slight difference.

4. The older learner is smarter. The child's capacity to solve problems, to make sub-rules, to carry in mind several principles increases with age. We would expect rule learning to be faster with age in both phonology and syntax.

Another way to think about age is to examine the principle that we learn our mother-tongue throughout life, but that different components of our Language Acquisition System are most activated at various ages. For most people, the prime activation of phonology learning is in the first five years,

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was important to major interrogation-forming rules in Norwegian and were carried over into English.

Shira Milgrom, studying Israeli acquisition of English in a term paper, found that children, but not adults, went through a stage which evidently was influenced by Hebrew. In Hebrew, there is a Y/N interrogation morpheme that is sentence-initial. Children created a syntactic class of preposed auxiliaries, rather on the model of tag questions, as in:

        Is I am going to be a rich man?
        Is it he is singing a song?
        Is she is crying?
        Do I'm am going to be a fortune teller?
        Do you can tell me what is the time?

and then again at six in relation to reading, where different segmentation is required than in speech. Only if we travel in different dialect areas or learn to understand quite different phonological registers do we tamper much with phonology in later years.

For most people the prime period for the learning of syntax may be from two to tenor so, and only recondite aspects of register are of issue later. For all of us, vocabulary learning goes on throughout life, unless we lead very isolated and humdrum lives. Even in village cultures, the social nuances of certain vocabulary continue to be elaborated throughout life.

Thus adults learning a second language tend to pay most attention to vocabulary, but I would suppose that children well into their teens may still be good learners of syntax (Asher and Garcia, 1969). I have assumed that for phonology, the optimal learning stage might be around seven or eight, after the learning of reading. In these predictions, the assumption is that learning strategies can fall into relative disuse. There is, of course, another set of predictions, based on biology, which would be generated by lateralization and aphasia research (Bever, 1971). However, testing such generalizations would require a later time range than this study included.

Phonology. For most features of segmental phonology, the children above seven learned faster than the younger children. The samples are fairly small in the higher age ranges, however. This finding is consistent with the experiment of Olson and and Samuels (1973).

The most interesting finding is accidental. My six and a half year old son, who could read English and was learning to read French, playfully pronounced an American name with a French accent a month after our arrival. Of course I rapidly tested both the children on this skill and developed a test for the other children in the study, but at a much later stage. The evidence on Table 3 will show you responses of two children who had been in a French milieu only a month. The younger child could not read, and had much simpler rules. However, it is very clear that the children had

TABLE 3
Phonological Translations After Five Weeks

English Stimulus	5 year old	6½ year old
knife [naɪf]	[naɪ]	[nif]
ride [raid]	[raɪt]	[ʁad]
fan [fæn]	[fæn]	[fã]
fast [fæst]	[fæs]	[fast] "British"
bent [bɛnt]	[bɛ·]	[bant]
cones [konz]	[kõ]	[kõz]
bones [bonz]	[bõ]	[bõz]
finger ['fɪŋgɾ]	[fɪŋ]	[fɪŋ'gøʁ]
winter ['wɪntr]	[wɪn]	[wɪn'tiʁ]
ladder ['lædɾ]	[læt]	[lə'tir]
hungry ['həŋgri]	[həŋg]	[həŋ'gʁi]
birthday ['brθdeɪ]	[brθ]	['bɪθdeɪ]
umbrella [əm'brɛlə]	[bʁɛl]	[pɑʁa'plyi]

mapped the two phonological systems onto each other and had discovered some general principles.

The younger child reduced all words to a single syllable, and deleted most final consonants. She converted nasal segments to nasalized vowels, and partially replaced apical or retroflex with uvular R. Her older brother had more complex rules, including more complete R replacement, a shift of stress to second syllables, vowel changes to the French vowel values-even including a rounded front vowel, and of course nasalization.

The dramatic evidence from this example and the other cases is that children can make such correspondences well before they comprehend much. Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez and others have told me that anglophone children spontaneously "speak Spanish" by adopting Spanish phonological features, with either English words or nonsense. Ronjat (1913) in his elegant description of his child's France-German bilingualism from birth, reported that the child tried words out in both systems before settling on the right one, as though he stored them abstractly and had corresponding production rules. So there is apparently a phonological mapping, much like lexical mapping, onto an existent analysis. The children did, however, have a strong sense of the appropriate system in speech and did not recognize, or corrected, proper French names if they were Anglicized.

Morphology. The older children learned number and gender more rapidly than the younger children. The youngest learner was a very bright six year old. Both number and gender exist in English and are usually semantically mastered by the ages in this study. The assumption made here is that French gender for inanimate nouns creates "noise" in acquisition, and retards the discovery of systematic correspondences between form and meaning. Number was correct before gender.

In an analysis of the acquisition of English plurals in two Malayan children, Arfah Aziz has shown in a term paper that an eight year old uniformly learned to use suffixes (although with some phonological problems) when the four year old had not. The four year old more often added numerals, which is the most general of the Malay pluralizing devices which could be extended to English. These findings confirm the age difference in rate of acquisition, and suggest that the child might (as in the Israeli example) at first overgeneralize patterns which look common to the two languages.

Syntax. Syntax was learned faster by the older children. On virtually all the tests the nine year olds were always correct in French, including a child in Geneva for only six months. Age gave enough of an advantage to overcome even a relatively short exposure.

The most complex syntactic tasks were relative clauses, with the purpose of finding changes at later ages, when internal clause structure might be stabilized. The measure of comprehension was acting out of two actions in the two clauses. In each of 12 sentences there were three nouns and two verbs. Table 4 shows the sentence types, and relative success at various ages. In the first three of the sentences the order was NVNVN or NVNNV. In

TABLE 4
Relative Clause Comprehension*
(Percent with correct patients and agents)

Age	English			French	
	4-6	7-9		4-6	7-9
	%	%		%	%
SS	78	79		38	55
0S	24	68		35	60
0 0	38	92		52	72
SO	15	57		27	64
N	19	12		19	12

SS The dog who pushed the cat carried the bear.
OS The dog pushed the eat who carried the bear.
00 The dog pushed the cat that the bear carried.
SO The dog that the cat pushed carried the bear.

* There were three sentences of each type in French, two in English.

these sentences, the children could draw on their NVN = SVO strategy to interpret agent and patient in the clauses. In the last, which proved much harder, they could not, since the order was NNVVN.

In the first three sentences, the children easily interpreted the first NVN sequence, but had trouble finding the missing noun complement in the second clause. The younger subjects tended often to keep the same agent for both actions. This solution leads to success for sentence SS but error on sentence OS, which were treated indiscriminately by children 4 through 6, in English.

A second common solution, found at all ages, was to interpret NV sequences as agent-action. This solution produced errors on SS but success on OS and 00. A third strategy appeared on the 00 sentence, where the problem was to find a patient. Many subjects went back to the first noun of the sentence for that patient—possibly a random guess. The English findings are similar to those of Amy Sheldon (1972).

I have mentioned earlier that children had available to them in French an SVO clause interpretation strategy, so they had no problems with the first clauses of these sentences (at least the first three). The surprising finding was that they generally used solution strategies in French for the second clause like those in English. Age, rather than language, seemed to dictate their solutions. In both languages, for each sentence type, the older children were more successful and more likely to take into account the location of the relative pronoun.

Only for the most recent learners, who knew little French, was there a distinct advantage in interpreting the English sentences. This was true of the passives, too, but in the case of the passives, the new learners used a simplifying, earlier strategy still available to them. In the relative clauses, there is no evidence of such return to a simpler, earlier strategy.

For the younger newcomers, there was a reduced tendency in French to use the first noun in the sentence to complement the second verb. The result was that in French they had fewer errors on the second and third sentence

in French than in English and more on the first sentence. Perhaps their short term memory was briefer in French so the first noun was less salient.

In brief, learners of transitive clauses in French appeared to recapitulate the stages of acquisition the first language learners traverse. But in interpretation of relative clauses they do not. Perhaps the interpretation of relative clauses is less a function of surface structure heuristics and more related to the stage of cognitive maturity than is comprehension of simple sentences.

The first question of this paper was whether the process of second language acquisition looks like the first. We found that the functions of early sentences, and their form, their semantic redundancy, their reliance on ease of short term memory, their overgeneralization of lexical forms, their use of simple order strategies all were similar to processes we have seen in first language acquisition. In broad outlines, then, the conclusion is tenable that first and second language learning is similar in natural situations. However, if children come to the task with some knowledge already available, there may be very accelerated progress in some respects, so that the rate of development will not look the same for all details. In every respect, we found that in the age range of four through nine the older children had an advantage and learned faster.

The first hypothesis we might have is that in all second language learning we will find the same processes: overgeneralization, production simplification, loss of sentence-medial items, and so on. More detailed studies will be needed to find which aspects of acquisition change with age when learning contexts are identical, and which are sensitive to structural dissimilarities between L_1 and L_2, or differences in social milieu.

The most difficult problem in generalizing the results of this study is the high degree of syntactic similarity between French and English. For the syntactic patterns studied in the simple and complex sentences the languages are word-for-word translations of each other. Therefore, in this particular study, we cannot fully differentiate the two interpretations, which I have used interchangeably: (a) The children in learning a second language recapitulate learning, and go faster through essentially the same stages, as a child learning French as a mother tongue, (b) because they lack knowledge about, for example, the morphemes identifying passives in French, they "regress" to a processing strategy still available to them for use under certain conditions in English. Only studies of structurally dissimilar languages can disambiguate these interpretations. But we can reject, at least, the hypothesis that children's interpretations of second-language sentences are directly processed through a translate. For interpretation tasks and translations both, direct word-for-word translations did not account for the evidence as well as did learner strategies quite like those mother-tongue learners employ.

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Errors and Strategies in Child Second
*
Language Acquisition

Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt

The study attempts to determine whether the syntactic errors children make while learning a second language are due to native language interference or to developmental cognitive strategies as has been found in first language acquisition. 513 utterances containing errors were extracted from the natural speech of 179 children, 5–8 years old, learning English as a second language. Only those errors which could be classified without question as "interference" or "developmental" were included in the sample. The results indicate that first language interference accounts for only 4.7% of the children's errors, while developmental strategies account for 87.1% of the errors. These findings suggest that less explicit teaching of ESL syntax to children may produce better learning.

There has been an increasing amount of speculation recently about how children acquire a second language. A number of researchers have suggested that the general process of second language acquisition may be similar to that of first language acquisition,[1] i.e., it may be, as Roger Brown (1937a) has elegantly described it, a "creative construction process." This account of language acquisition attributes to the child specific innate mechanisms which guide his discovery of the rules of the language to which he is exposed. In other words, children do not simply imitate adult speech; they structure it and create rules of their own that are simpler than adult rules. In time, the "mismatch" between the child's developing forms and the developed forms of adult grammar diminishes and disappears, without the help of explicit instruction, positive reinforcement of correct structures, or correction of incorrect structures.

Such startling discoveries in first language acquisition are the result of some twenty years of careful collection and analysis of the spontaneous speech of children learning to talk.[2] Many researchers have spent thousands of hours with children, patiently tape recording the utterances which have

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[1] Ervin-Tripp, 1973; Dulay and Burt, 1972 and 1973; Hernández, 1972; Milon, 1972; Natalicio and Natalicio, 1971; Jakobovits, 1971; Ravem, 1970 and 1969; and Cook, 1969.

[2] This research has been most recently summarized by Brown, 1973a and b.

provided the empirical evidence that generated the above account of language acquisition. However, no such extensive empirical evidence is yet available to guide us in formulating an account of children's acquisition of a second language, although there are a growing number of second language studies that do analyze the speech of children. These show that errors children make while learning certain structures of English as a second language are similar to those made by children learning English natively. Ravem (1969 and 1970) reports that the developing English *wh-* question and negation structures of his two Norwegian children were indistinguishable from those of children learning English as a first language in the United States. Milon (1972) reports the same for a Japanese child's developing negation structures in English; and Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) for the acquisition order of English plural allomorphs by native Spanish-speaking children. Thus, the suggestion that second language (L2) acquisition is similar to first language (L1) acquisition receives support.

However, to accept the account of L1 acquisition as valid for L2 acquisition is a serious matter for many of us. Acceptance of the "creative construction process" involves rejection of the "habit formation" theory, some form of which underlies much of the current ESL teaching methodology. A switch in theoretical basis would mean a rethinking and revision of a great number of ESL teaching methods for children. Since we now have to deal with two conflicting theories, both of which purport to explain how children learn a second language, and each of which has different and important pedagogical consequences, we decided to test both theories against a substantial amount of available L2 data.

The Issue

A well known corollary of the habit formation theory is "negative transfer" in the form of first language interference. That is, children will tend to use (transfer) the structures of their first language when trying to speak the second, and therefore, will make mistakes when the structures of the two languages differ. (In fact, ESL materials often list the structures that differ in the learner's native and target language, and suggest that these "difficult structures" be given extra practice.) First language interference would yield certain types of errors directly traceable to the structure of the native language. For example, a native Spanish-speaking child should tend to say, "He have/has hunger" ("El tiene hambre"), according to this approach.

If on the other hand, L2 acquisition is a creative construction process, then we must assume that children, in reconstructing the new language, say English, create rules similar to those created by native learners of English. This process would yield different types of errors than those that would be caused by native language interference. Advocates of the creative construction process would predict that a native Spanish speaking child would say "He hungry." (See Dulay and Burt, 1972, for a detailed discussion of the theoretical issues.)

This distinction between interference errors and first language developmental errors is not always clear. For example, in describing the errors Spanish speaking children make while learning English, those in the negative construction are often mentioned, e.g.:

I not have a bike.
Jose no wanna go.

These constructions do reflect Spanish negation structure:

Yo no tengo bicicleta.
Jose no quiere ir.

However, these constructions are also produced by children learning English as a *first* language (Klima and Bellugi, 1966). This type of error is therefore ambiguous with respect to the issue at hand, and cannot be used to support either account of child second language acquisition, as it supports both.

The elimination of all such ambiguous errors makes possible a clear-cut empirical test of both theories. The linguistically describable differences in error types predicted by the habit formation and the creative construction theories thus provide a splendid opportunity to see which theory accounts for the errors children actually make.

The Study

We extracted 513 *unambiguous* errors (i.e., those that support one or the other theory without question) from the speech of 179 Spanish speaking children, 5-6 years old. These children were learning English as a second language in three school districts (two in northern California and one in New York City). The children's speech was collected by their teachers using the *Bilingual Syntax Measure* (Burt, Dulay and Hernández, 1973), an instrument that elicits natural speech containing a range of basic syntactic structures. The Measure uses cartoon-type pictures and simple questions that children who know a minimum of English understand and enjoy answering. Out of all of the children's utterances, we extracted those that contained errors. And from those "error-riddled" utterances we used only those that could be classified without question as interference or non-interference. This procedure left six syntactic structures that are different in English and Spanish and that contained errors. (See Tables 2–7.) The errors were then classified into three categories:

Developmental: those errors that are similar to L1 acquisition errors

Interference: those errors that reflect Spanish structure

Unique: those errors that are neither "Developmental" nor "Interference" errors, but which appeared in our sample.

The tables below illustrate our tidings.

TABLE 1
Summary of Error Count

| | Number of Errors | | |
Age	Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years (33 children)	98	5	2
6 years (51 children)	113	6	16
7 years (52 children)	123	7	13
8 years (43 children)	113	6	11
Total	447	24	42

TABLE 2
Error Count for Structure 1: NP-V-Pron
Example of Structure: The dog ate it
Example of Developmental Error: (The) dog eat it
Example of Interference Error: (The) dog it ate (El perro se lo comió)

| | Number of Errors | | |
Age	Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years	18	0	1
6 years	21	0	0
7 years	27	0	2
8 years	27	0	1
Total	93	0	4

Discussion of Findings

Only 4.7% of the errors—24 out of 513—made by our 5-8 year old children learning English as a second language unambiguously reflected native Spanish interference. In other words, only 4.7% of the children's errors could be explained by the habit formation account of language acquisition. On the other hand, 87.1% of the errors—447 out of 513—reflected the same developmental structures used by children learning English as a first language. The implication therefore, is that the creative construction process account of language acquisition can explain 87.1% of the errors. The remaining 8.2% were "unique" errors, that is, they did not reflect Spanish interference, nor were they similar to English first language errors reported to date.[4]

Data reported in several other studies on the acquisition of selected structures (partly summarized in Dulay and Burt, 1973) support these findings. These studies include children from various language backgrounds—two Norwegian children learning English (Ravem, 1969 and 1970), 21 British children learning Welsh (Price, 1968), a Chinese child learning

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4 These unique errors may prove to be the most interesting in investigating the dif - ferences between the construction strategies used by children in L1 and L2 acquisition. For, it seems reasonable to expect that the differences in age, cognitive sophistication and metalinguistics awareness would combine to make the L2 learning process more efficient than the L1 process. (See Burt, Dulay and Hernández, 1973: Handbook 18-19). The discussion of these errors must await further analysis.

TABLE 3
Error Count for Structure 2: Det-Adj-N
Example of Structure: the skinny man
Example of Developmental Error: skinny; skinny man
Example of Interference Error: (the) man skinny (el hombre flaco)

Age		Number of Errors		
		Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years		14	0	0
6 years		30	1	0
7 years		15	0	0
8 years		15	0	0
	Total	74	1[a]	0

[a] When this paper was presented at the 1973 TESOL Convention, L2 interference errors of the type Det-N ("the skinny," "the fat") were reported. However, Susan Ervin-Tripp, who was present, reported that she had found the same error type in her English first language data, e.g., "the broken." Thus we eliminated those errors from our count, as they are ambiguous.

TABLE 4
Error Count for Structure 3: Pron- (Aux) - (Neg) -VP
Example of Structure: He doesn't eat
Example of Developmental Error: He not eat
Example of Interference Error: Doesn't eat (No come)

Age		*Number* of Errors		
		Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years		58	4	1
6 years		49	5	13
7 years		70	7	9
8 years		55	6	10
	Total	232	22	33

TABLE 5
Error Count for Structure 4: Det-N-Poss-N
Example of Structure: the king's food
Example of Developmental Error: king food
Example of Interference Error: the food (of the) king (la comida del rey)

Age		Number of Errors		
		Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years		2	1	0
6 years		2	0	0
7 years		2	0	0
8 years		8	0	0
	Total	14	1	0

TABLE 6
Error Count for Structure 5: NP-be-Adj
Example of Structure: They are hungry
Example of Developmental Error: They hungry
Example of Interference Error: They have hunger (Ellos tienen hambre)

Age	Number of Errors		
	Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years	1	o	0
6 years	2	0	2
7 years	4	0	0
8 years	4	0	0
Total	11	0	2

English (Huang, 1971), and three Spanish children learning English (Her-nández, 1972). Further, our analysis of Milon's (1972) data from a Japanese child learning English shows no Japanese interference in the child's English utterances (Dulay and Burt, 1973). In addition to these findings, Hernández (1972) notes that one of his young Spanish speaking subjects made errors in English that would not have been made had she followed the Spanish rule for that structure. Thus "positive transfer" (another corollary of the habit formation theory), at least in this case, did not seem to be operating either.

In summary, overwhelming research evidence drawn from the actual speech of children learning English as a second language shows that children do not use their "first language habits" in the process of learning the syntax of their new language. If the principles of habit formation do not predict the difficulties—i.e., the errors children make-can it explain how they do acquire language structure? There seems to be little reason to assume so. On the other hand, the account of language acquisition offered by L1 research has proved to be a most productive predictor of children's errors in L2 acquisition.

TABLE 7
Error Count for Structure 6: (NP-Aux)-V+ing-(Infin)- $\{$ NP-Prep-NP / NP-NP $\}$
Example of Structure: The mother is giving food to the birdie.
Example of Developmental Error: The mother give food to birdie.
Example of Interference Error: The mother him give food to the birdie. (La mamá le dió la comida al pajarito.)

Age	Number of Errors		
	Developmental	Interference	Unique
5 years	5	o	0
6 years	9	0	1
7 years	5	0	2
8 years	4	0	0
Total	23	0	3

Practical Implications

Perhaps the most important general conclusion we can draw from first language acquisition research is that the child's errors are not indicators of faulty learning nor of a need for instructional intervention. Rather, making errors is a necessary condition in the learning process. And to date, no one has found a way to accelerate the rate at which children pass through these "error stages" while learning their native language (Brown and Hanlon, 1970; Cazden, 1972a). Indeed, Cazden suggests that

> the first paradox in language acquisition is that while the attention of neither parent nor child is focused on language structure, that is what all children learn well. (1972b: 3)

Our personal experience as ESL teachers in the primary grades suggests a "first paradox" in second language syntax instruction:

> while the attention of both teacher and child is focused on language structure, much of what is taught in class is not learned and much of what is learned was not taught in class.

This paradox has been expressed in various ways by many ESL teachers and is also the logical outcome of the account of second language acquisition as a creative construction process. Since most of the syntactic errros we discovered in children's second language speech are indistinguishable from those in first language acquisition, it seems reasonable to assume that in second language acquisition, the mismatch between the child's developing forms and the developed forms of adult grammar will also diminish and disappear without the help of explicit instruction, positive reinforcement of correct structures, or correction of incorrect structures.

Though we must continue to monitor and diagnose the syntax of children in ESL classes, our findings suggest that less explicit teaching of ESL syntax to children may produce better learning. Therefore, some alternatives must be considered in order to make ESL programs more closely related to the natural processes of second language learning.

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The Development of Negation in English by a

Second Language Learner

John P. Milon

The speech of a seven year old Japanese boy recently arrived in Hawaii *was* examined in light of the hypothesis that non-native speakers, if they are well below the age of puberty, will acquire the grammatical structures of negation in English in the same developmental sequence which has been described for the acquisition of those structures by native speakers. Video tape recordings were made over a period of more than six months at regular intervals. It was found that there was a striking similarity between the developmental substages of negation in the acquisition of English as a first language as described by Klima and Bellugi (1966) and the development of negation in the speech of the subject.

Introduction

This paper compares the development of the system of negation in English in a seven year old Japanese immigrant's speech with the system of negation as it developed in the speech of three native English speakers as described by Klima and Bellugi (1966).[1] It is an attempt to bring some data to bear on the question of whether the processes of first and second language acquisition are similar in pre-pubescent children when both processes take place within the cultural context of the language being learned. The hypothesis is that there will be demonstrable similarities between the characteristics of first and second language acquisition because there are universal heuristics used by young children in acquiring language.

Negation is an ideal area for studying the initial acquisition of syntactic processes in English because its development in native speakers follows an orderly and well documented pattern.[2]

Methods

The subject, "Ken,"[3] was video-taped in a small-group situation at weekly intervals (barring illness and vacations) over a period of six months from November, 1970, until June, 1971. There were twenty taping sessions totalling approximately eight hours of recording time.

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1 I am deeply grateful to Carol Feldman and Kiyoto Mizuba, who read earlier versions of this paper and suggested many improvements in form and substance.

2 See Bloom (1970) and McNeill (1970).

3 Ken had lived only in Japan and had attended Japanese schools exclusively until he was enrolled in a public school in September, 1970, shortly after arriving in Hawaii in August.

For three weeks before the study began Ken had been in daily half
hour ESL classes with three students who were fluent speakers of the dialect
best described as Hawaiian Creole.[4]The daily classes that were conducted
both before taping began and while taping was going on were unstructured,
except in the sense that the teacher attempted to encourage the children to
talk as much as possible about whatever they were willing to discuss. There
was no attempt to introduce, control, or manipulate particular lexical, struc-
tural, or phonological elements.

The data which Klima and Bellugi presented were from three native
English speaking children who were 18, 26 and 27 months at the beginning
of the study. They state on page 186 that each of the three stages into
which they have divided the data represent several thousand child utter-
ances: ". . . the first stage is from the first month of study for each child;
the last is from the month in which' the mean utterance lengths approach
4.0 for each of the three children; and the second stage is between the two."

The data for Ken cover 321 negative utterances. Based on the structural
features of the Klima-Bellugi rules, 47 of these are in Stage I, 143 are in
Stage H, and 131 are in Stage 111. Klima and Bellugi state on page 192
that "there are no negatives within the utterance, nor are there auxiliary
verbs" in Stage I. Therefore, Stage I for Ken is considered to be up to the
point where he first uses an auxiliary verb in a negative utterance and first
embeds a negative morpheme, producing utterances which cannot be char-
acterized by Klima and Bellugi's Stage I rules. For Ken, Stage II is from
the Stage I cut off point up to the first appearance of an overt tense marker
in a negative utterance, which produces an utterance which cannot be
characterized by Klima and Bellugi's Stage II rule. The Stage III data in-
cludes everything after that point.

Comparison of the Three Stages of Negation

STAGE I

Klima and Bellugi represent the Stage I negation system as:

$$\left[\begin{Bmatrix} \text{no} \\ \text{not} \end{Bmatrix} - \text{Nucleus} \right]_S \quad \text{or} \quad \left[\text{Nucleus} - \text{no} \right]_S$$

Ken's first stage shows 47 negative utterances. Of these, 9 were *I don't
know's,* 37 are describable by a very slight modified version of Klima and
Bellugi's rules, and one was an anomoly. A breakdown of these utterance
types is given in Table I.

Some of Ken's Stage I utterances from each type are given in Table II.

There is internal evidence that all occurrences of *I don't know* should
be treated as holophrastic at this point: i.e., as single negative lexical items,
rather than as negative sentences:

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4 The most comprehensive source of information on Hawaiian Creole is Tsuzaki
and Reinecke (1966).

TABLE I

	#	%
I don't know	9	19
Neg—(Nucleus)	37	78
anomolous	1	3
	—	
	47	100

TABLE II

I don't know	*no* *not* *no more* [5]	*no my turn* *not Dennis* *not work* *no more sister*	*I don't have a watch* /ai no mo wa'/

a. Except for the anomolous utterance discussed below, they are the only utterances in Stage I in which the negative element does not occur in initial position.

b. With one exception (I *don't know how/* ai dono hau/, Feb. 2, Stage II), they are the only non-imperative occurrences of the unit *don't/* don/ until May 4, well into Stage III.

Ken used *I don't know* frequently all during the sessions. One expects non-native speakers to discover certain very useful phrases and borrow them in their entirety. The use of them obviously does not imply a general control of the syntactic processes involved.

I have treated *I don't have a watch/* ai no mo wa'/ as anomolous. It is in a different category than I *don't know.* The latter is a frequently used "borrowing" while the former occurs only once and occurs then as an immediate and exact repetition of an utterance by one of the other children.

Except for adding *no more* as an alternative to the left of Nucleus, Ken's Stage I rule is identical to the first half of Klima and Bellugi's rule. The second half of their rule is not needed for Ken's Stage I rule since the negative element always occurs first in the relevant utterances.

KEN—STAGE I RULE

$$\left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{no} \\ \text{not} \\ \text{no more} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Nucleus} \right]_S$$

STAGE II

Klima and Bellugi represent the Stage II negation system as the rules for Stage I and:

$$S \longrightarrow \text{Nominal} - (\text{Aux}^{\text{neg}}) - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Predicate} \\ \text{Main Verb} \end{array} \right\}$$

---

[5] *No more,* usually /nomoa/, is a single negative morpheme in Hawaiian Creole.

TABLE III

	#	%
Ken's Stage I Rule	90	63
Ken's Stage II Rule	48	34
anomolous	5	3
	143	100

$$\text{Aux}^{\text{neg}} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Neg} \\ \text{V}^{\text{neg}} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Neg} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{no} \\ \text{not} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{V}^{\text{neg}} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{can't} \\ \text{don't} \end{array} \right\} \text{V}^{\text{neg}} \text{ is restricted to non-progressive verbs.}$$

Ken's second stage shows 143 negative utterances. Of these, 90 are captured by Ken's Stage I rule, 48 are describable by a very slightly modified version of Klima and Bellugi's Stage II rule (this includes 17 instances of *I don't know),* and 5 are listed as anomolous. A breakdown of these utterance types is given in Table III.

The five "anomolous" utterances are all negative tag questions. Klima and Bellugi treat questions separately from negation. Since this study is restricted to a comparison of the development of negation which they have described for native speakers and the development of negation in Ken's speech, I have merely listed the negative tags as anomolies.

Some of Ken's Stage II utterances from each type are given in Table IV.

As was mentioned above, the two crucial characteristics for Stage II are the use of auxiliary verbs and the presence of the negative element *within* the utterance. In the text, Klima and Bellugi give a number of other characteristics of their Stage II data:

    a. Impersonal, personal, and possessive pronouns, as well as articles and adjectives, begin to appear with frequency.

    b. The negative imperative appears as *Don't . . . . .* rather than *No . . . . ,* as in Stage I.

    c. Sentences composed of Neg followed by a predicate occur.

All of these characteristics apply to Ken's Stage II data as well.

TABLE IV

Stage I	Stage II	
no	*I'm not climb.*	*I no like small.*
not cousin	*I not going Japan.*	*Me no win.*
no more Owen	*I not giving you candy.*	*Don't tell teacher.*
	You no can go.	*I don't know how.*
Anomolous		
George come school, no?		
Owen likes/kuku/, no?		

The only substantive difference between Ken's Stage II data and Klima and Bellugi's Stage II data is in the area of the auxiliary verbs. Klima and Bellugi state on page 194 that, ". . . it is a fact that the auxiliary verbs do not occur in questions or declarative sentences at this stage." Ken used auxiliaries in both questions and declarative sentences all through Stage II.

Except for the addition of *no more* as an option in Neg and the addition of *no can* as an option in V^{neg}, Ken's Stage II rule is identical to Klima and Bellugi's Stage II rule:

KEN—STAGE II RULE

$$S \longrightarrow Nominal - Aux^{neg} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Predicate \\ Main\ Verb \end{array} \right\}$$

$$Aux^{neg} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Neg \\ V^{neg} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$Neg \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} no \\ not \\ no\ more \end{array} \right\}$$

$$NV^{neg} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} can't \\ don't \\ no\ can \end{array} \right\} V^{neg}\ is\ restricted\ to\ non\text{-}progressive\ verbs.$$

STAGE III

Klima and Bellugi represent the Stage III negation system as:

$$S \longrightarrow Nominal - AUX - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Predicate \\ Main\ Verb \end{array} \right\}$$

$$Aux \longrightarrow Tense - V^{aux} - Neg$$

$$V^{aux} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} do \\ Modal \\ be \end{array} \right\}$$

They also suggest transformations for *be* and *do* deletion and various constraints on *be, can,* and *do.* An examination of the text and a comparison of Klima and Bellugi's Stage II and Stage III rules shows that the crucial difference between Stages II and III are the expansion of the modal system and the marking of tense in Aux. The data from Ken show that he is developing a negation system in exactly these directions. A breakdown of Ken's utterance types in Stage III is given in Table V.

Some of Ken's Stage III utterances from each type are given in Table VI.

TABLE V

	#	%
Describable by Ken-Stage I Rule	75	57
Describable by Kern-Stage II Rule	45	34
Stage III—Not describable by either of the above rules.	11	9
	131	100

TABLE VI

Stage I	Stage II
no	*I don't know what kind.*
not ocean	*I no look.*
no more	*He can not.*
	I not cheat.
	Don't look Michael.

Stage III
I never saw yours?
I not saw.
You no go win.
I never do.
Dennis, you do that, you don't play with the kind.
You never cut yet.
No, he got five, he tango move, but he no more five so he can not.

[6] *Never* and *go* are overt past and future tense markers respectively in Hawaiian Creole.

I have not attempted to formalize a rule for Ken's Stage III data for three reasons. First, the complexity of Ken's data at this point would necessitate a separate, quite lengthy, and basically irrelevant exposition on the differences between Ken's dialect-Hawaiian Creole-and the Standard English dialect of Klima and Bellugi's subjects. Second, Klima and Bellugi's account of their Stage III rule in the text is rather sketchy. Even if their discussion were more comprehensive, the treatment of negation by transformationalists (Klima perhaps chief among them) has changed so much since 1966 that to do the necessary defending of Klima and Bellugi's rude as the standard against which to measure Ken's hypothetical rule for Stage III would be pointless. The third and most important reason is that the point of this paper is not that Klima and Bellugi's rules and Ken's rules are identical for each of the developmental stages. The point is that the developmental stages for three native speakers and a second language learner occur in exactly the same sequence and within almost exactly identical syntactic parameters.

Conclusion

One of the implications of Lenneberg's work is that native-like language learning ability could in principle remain a human characteristic up to the age of puberty. The subject of this study is well below the age of puberty. The evidence indicates that he has made use of what is assumed to be a universal set of language learning heuristics to acquire English in a manner closely analogous to the manner in which he would have acquired it as a native speaker. If other young non-native speakers were found to develop negative systems in English in the same way that Ken has, this would be

important evidence for the claim that young children learn all languages "natively." It would indicate that not only native speakers but also second language learners—at least up to a certain age-have access to universals of language acquisition. We have done some preliminary work with video taped data from two other prepubescent children (a Korean male and a Korean female) which indicates that Ken's developmental progress is by no means unique.

Young immigrant children do not initially learn the language of their teachers. None of Ken's teachers—or the Korean children's teachers—used Hawaiian Creole constructions such as *no more, never* as a negative tense marker, *no can* as a substitute for *can not,* the deletion of copulas, *go* a future tense marker, etc. These children learned the language of their peers and they learned it *from* their peers.

One of the implications of this study is that any TESOL classes for pre-pubescent children which are conducted in communities where English is the dominant language should have maximal peer involvement and minimal teacher involvement. Every second language class should contain a number of native speaking peers of the second language learners. With native speaking peers available, the TESOL teacher's primary role should not be to instruct, model, provide feedback, etc., but to insure interaction among the second language students in the class and the native speakers in the class.

One appealing hypothesis is that any child who is learning a second language while functioning within the culture of that language—including the child who has no formal language instruction from a TESOL teacher—makes use of the same learning strategies used by native speakers of that language. Since these are probably the most efficient ones available, any interference by the teacher can only detract from the efficiency of the learning process. The teacher can not provide the child with appropriate strategies, heuristics, etc. because no one knows how to formulate them. If the second language learner displays the same developmental stages as native language learners we have some grounds for assuming that he has "discovered" the same strategies.

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The Implications of Interlanguage,
Pidginization and Creolization for the Study
of Adult Second Language Acquisition *

John H. Schumann

This paper describes several recent views of second language learning all of which see learner speech as systematic attempts to perform in the target language. The social functions of pidgin and creole languages are presented as the basis for a model of the development of the learner language. Within this model, the learner language is seen to simplify and reduce when it is restricted to a strictly communicative function; it is seen to complicate and expand when it is extended to integrative and expressive functions. Examples of these processes are presented from various pidgins and creoles.

1.0 **Interlanguage.** In recent years a hypothesis has developed that regards the speech of a second language learner at any point in the acquisition process as a systematic attempt to deal with the target language data. Accordingly, the utterances of such a learner are not mistakes or deviant forms, but rather are part of a separate but nevertheless genuine linguistic system. For the purposes of this paper a second language learner will be defied as one who is acquiring a language naturally from exposure to speakers of that language; we will exclude from consideration the learner who is receiving second language instruction. Thus in this paper we are concerned only with language *learning* and not with language *teaching*.

Corder (1967) proposes that the process of language acquisition is essentially the same for both first and second language learning. He believes that while the biological predisposition to acquire one's native language may be replaced by some other force in the learning of a second language, the basic capacity for language acquisition and the strategies employed in both processes are fundamentally the same.

Within this framework a second language learner's errors are seen to be similar to those of a child acquiring his first language. The errors of both are systematic and as such give evidence of the system to which they belong. Thus errors provide the researcher with evidence of how a second language is acquired, and they provide the learner with a way of forming and testing hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning.

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In a further development of his theory, Corder (1971a) defines the spontaneous speech of a second language learner as a language hating a genuine grammar. He calls this learner language an idiosyncratic dialect. For Corder, the concept of ungrammaticality does not apply to the second language learner. All utterances in the learner's idiosyncratic dialect (exclusive of performance errors) are therefore acceptable. Longitudinal studies of the successive stages in development of this learner language are necessary in order to begin to understand the process of second language acquisition.

Nemser (1971) identifies the learner language as an "approximative system" which is defined as a structurally cohesive linguistic system distinct from both the source language and the target language. It is by definition transient and is gradually restructured in successive stages from initial through advanced learning. According to Nemser, the ultimate goal of the study of such systems would be the "accurate projection of the approximative system throughout its successive stages of development in each contact situation." (p. 123)

Selinker (1972) suggests that there is a *latent psychological structure* in the brain which is activated when one attempts to learn a second language, i.e. whenever one tries to produce sentences in the second language using meanings one may already have. When such an attempt is made, the utterances which are realized are not identical to those which would have been produced by a native speaker of the target language. Nor are they identical to the sentences having the same meaning in the learner's native language. Thus a separate linguistic system is hypothesized to account for the actual realized utterances. This system is called "interlanguage."

According to Selinker, the evidence for interlanguage is found in fossilizations which are forms, phonological, morphological and syntactic, in the speech of a speaker of a second language that do not conform to the target language norms even after years of instruction in and exposure to the standard forms. Also, they are those forms which though absent from a learner's speech under normal conditions, tend to reappear in his linguistic performance when he is forced to deal with very difficult material, when he is in a state of anxiety, or when he is extremely relaxed. This systematic back sliding of certain linguistic forms toward the interlanguage norms leads Selinker to hypothesize the psychological reality of fossilization and interlanguages. The goal of a theory of second language learning, according to Selinker, then would be to describe the knowledge underlying interlingual behavior and to predict the linguistic shapes (surface structures) of the utterances produced in interlanguage.

There seems to be a general trend to use the term "interlanguage" to refer to language of a second language learner. Therefore, for sake of terminological uniformity, let's allow "interlanguage" to designate both "approximative systems" and "idiosyncratic dialects."

The interlanguage hypothesis established by the authors referred to above regards the speech of a second language learner as a real language with a

systematic grammar. This interlanguage is thought to develop in successive acquisitional stages during the learning process. In order to validate this hypothesis, adult second language learning must be studied. Selinker has suggested that the process might be examined by studying fossilizations. Corder believes that the process would be revealed by making longitudinal studies of second language learning. A third area for study which is the subject of this paper has been proposed by David Smith (1971) who suggests that pidginization and creolization offer laboratory situations in which second language acquisition can be studied. (p. 15)

Smith analyzes language into three components: communication, affirmation of social identity, and expression of psychological need. Pidgins are functionally restricted to the first component—communication. As a result, pidginization produces interlanguage which is simplified and reduced. When the function of the language of a second language learner is also restricted to communication (as is the usual case in the initial stages of learning), we can expect a learner's interlanguage to reflect some of the simplications and reductions that are found in pidgins. In the process of creolization, the function of language extends to the integrative and expressive uses mentioned above. Concomitant with this extension in function is the complication and expansion of the language structure. In a parallel fashion, when a second language learner attempts to mark his social identity within the target culture or to use his pidginized interlanguage for expressive purposes, we can expect his language to complicate and expand in ways similar to those fostered by creolization. Thus, pidginization and creolization can serve as models for the second language learning process.

2.0 Pidginization and Creolization. A pidgin is a language that develops to meet the communication needs of two or more groups of people who speak different languages and who are in a contact situation. A typical example is that of traders (generally of European origin) speaking language X who come in contact with a group of people (usually indigenous natives of non-European origin) speaking language Y. In order to communicate, a pidgin (language Z develops). This pidgin is a second language of both parties and is used simply as an auxiliary vehicle of communication. A creole evolves when speakers of languages X and Y intermarry and the pidgin becomes the first language of their children. Actually the origin of pidgins and creoles is still a hotly debated subject. The above formulation ignores the debate between monogenetic and polygenetic theories and reflects a variety of polygenesis that seems best suited to the issues involved in the study of second language acquisition. It also ignores Whonnom's (1971) distinction between secondary and teritiary hybridization and regards the interlanguage of a second language learner (secondary hybridization) and a legitimate pidginization.

2.1 Simplification and Reduction. David Smith (1971), as mentioned above, has analyzed the function of language into three components: com-

municative, integrative, and expressive.[1] Through the communicative function information is exchanged among persons. The integrative function serves to mark one's identity within society and the expressive function is designed to allow the expression of certain psychological needs. Pidgin languages are generally restricted to the first function-communication. That is, their purpose is merely to convey information. Since pidgins are always second languages, the integrative and expressive functions are maintained by the speakers' native languages. As a result of this functional restriction, pidginization produces an interlanguage which is simplified and reduced. The simplication process yields several salient characteristics which are illustrated below by Smith in examples taken from both West African Pidgin English (WAPE) and Neo-Melanesian.

2.1.1 Word order tends to replace inflectional morphology. This can be illustrated by a verb paradigm from WAPE.

i cop	He eats, is eating, etc. (unmarked)
i bin cop	He eats
i don cop	He has eaten
i de cop	He is, was, will be eating
i go cop	He will eat
i bin de cop	He was eating
i bin don cop	He had eaten
i go don cop	He will have eaten
i go de cop	He will be eating
i wan cop	He wants to eat
i get fo cop	He should eat (Smith, p. 9)

English, like many natural languages, often uses both word order and morphological inflection in grammatical constructions. This combination produces language which is redundant. For example, in the sentence *He eats,* both *he* and the ending -s indicate third person singular. In the construction *five books,* the number *five* and the ending -s indicate plurality. "This redundancy is one of the things which makes language useful in performing integrative and expressive functions." (Smith, p. 9) However, since pidgins are used only for communication these redundant features become unnecessary.

2.1.2 Certain grammatical transformations tend to be eliminated in pidginization.

a. Pidgins usually lack agnate sentences such as active-passive constructions. Smith offers these example from Neo-Melanesian: In English we can say *He often buys books.* or *Books are often bought by him.* In Neo-Melanesian there is only one form, *Oltaim em i baiim sampela buk.* The active sentence in English, *John gave him two books,* has two passive forms, *He was given two books by John* and *Two books were given him by John.*

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[1] Smith defines "expressive function" as the use of language to demonstrate one's verbal virtuosity. I intend to include his meaning here, but also to extend it to the use of language to express psychological needs and states.

In Neo-Melanesian there is only one form, *Jan i bin givim em tupela buk.* (Smith, pp. 11, 12) The elimination of such stylistic devices again reflects the restriction to the communicative function.

b. The reduction in grammatical transformations can also be illustrated by comparing the word order combinations in English and Neo-Melanesian questions.

English:

I / am building / a house.	(1 2 3)
Who / is building / a house?	(1 2 3)
Are / you / building / a house?	(2 1 2 3)
What / are / you / building?	(3 2 1 2)
What / are I you / doing?	(3 2 1 2)

Neo-Melanesian:

Mi / wokim / haus.	(1 2 3)	
Husat / i wokim / haus?	(1 2 3)	
Yu / wokim / haus?	(1 2 3)	
Yu / mekim / wanem samting?	(1 2 3)	
Yu / mekim / wanem?	(1 2 3)	(Smith, p. 12)

These paradigms show that whereas the English questions vary in their surface structure, Neo-Melanesian interrogatives all maintain the same word order and that order is identical to the statement form. Thus, a question transformation is virtually absent in Neo-Melanesian.

c. The reduction in grammatical transformations also makes the surface structures of pidgins more closely resemble their deep structures. Smith offers the following example:

> . . . the verb in *He arranged it,* in English, could be analyzed semantically as comprising several discrete actions. In pidgin this sentence would be rendered, i *bin tek am muf am put am fo da pies.* (Lit., "He took it, moved it, and put it someplace else.") What in English is only analyzable at an underlying level is realized on the surface in West African Pidgin English. (Smith, p. 16)

2.1.3 Pidgins tend to have a radically reduced lexicon.

a. Whereas most normal languages are characterized by words having the same denotations but different connotations, pidgin words have few connotations. For example, in English, *house* and *home* both denote the same thing-dwelling. However, their connotations are different. *House* usually means a building which serves as living quarters; *home* can also mean a family's place of residence and/or the social unit formed by that family. With the reduction in connotations resulting from pidginization both *house* and *home* would only have one meaning, that of *dwelling.* Therefore the two words would be seen as redundant and one form would not be used.

b. Pidgins also tend to delete monomorphic words such as "calf" and "puppy" and instead use two-word substitutes, one indicating the larger category and the other indicating "young." Thus in West African Pidgin

English calf and puppy would be rendered *kaw pikin,* "baby cow" and *dok pikin,* "baby dog." (Smith, pp. 10-11)

2.2 **Complication and Expansion.** The simplification in morphology, reduction in vocabulary and deletion of certain grammatical transformations which are characteristic of pidgins tend to give way when the function of the pidgin is extended from communicative to integrative and expressive use. When a pidgin is creolized, i.e. when it becomes the first language of a group of speakers, it must serve all three language functions. It becomes a vehicle for marking one's social identity and expressing psychological needs and states. Concomitant with this extension in function is the complication and expansion of the language structure (Smith 1971). It is a thesis of this paper that when the second language learner attempts to use his interlanguage for integrative and expressive purposes it will complicate and expand in ways similar to creolization. Redundancy will increase, obligatory tense markers will tend to develop, speed in speech will increase as a result of morphophonemic reductions and reductions in primary stress, and finally the lexicon will usually undergo extensive development.

Gillian Sankoff and Suzanne Laberge (1971) examine the first three of these phenomena in relation to the adverb *bai* in an incipient creole which is evolving as Neo-Melanesian acquires a generation of native speakers.

Bai is the reduced form of the adverb *baimbai* (coming from English *by and by).* It appears to be evolving into a future tense marker. It never receives primary stress and the children for whom Neo-Melanesian is a native language show a tendency to place less stress on it than do adults. Thus they speak the language with greater speed and fluency. *Bai* is becoming a redundant grammatical feature. It is used in sentences with adverbs of time such as *klostu* "soon," *bihain* "later" and *nau* "right now." Its redundant character is also evident from its frequent use several times within a single sentence. In addition, *bai* appears to be an obligatory future marker. Both its redundancy and its obligatory character are evident from the following example where every verb except *wokim* carries the future marker.

> Pes pikinini ia *bai* yu go wok long, — *bai* yu stap ia na *bai* yu stap long banis kau bilong mi na *bai* taim mi dai *bai* yu lukautim na yu save wokim susu na *bai* yu givim long, wonem ia, stua, na *bai* ol i baim.
> You, first son, will go and work in, — you'll stay on my cattle farm and when I die you'll look after it, and you'll keep milking them and you'll send it to the store, and the people will buy it. (p. 12)

3.0 **Conclusion.** Let's now examine the processes of simplification, reduction, complication and expansion as they appear in ordinary second language learning situations. In the initial stage of learning, when the function of the language of a second language learner is restricted to communication, we can expect the learner's interlanguage to reflect some of the simplifications and reductions that are found in pidgins. In early second language learning, rejection of redundancy leads to a pidgin-like simplification in morphology that all language teachers have observed:

a. *Verb inflections*
   He play baseball everyday.
   He play baseball yesterday.
   He play baseball tomorrow.
   { He play baseball now.
               or
   { He playing baseball now.
               or
   { He's play baseball now.
b. *Plural inflection*
   We have many pretty dress.
   He bought five book.
   I want these pencil.
c. *Possessive inflection*
   He has John book.
   We drive he father car.

Language learners also tend to delete certain grammatical transformations which appear redundant and thus they produce question forms similar to pidgins:

He open the door?
Where he put the book?
What she say?

It is only when a language learner develops an integrative motivation such that he wants to use his language to mark his social identity within the target culture or to express psychological states or needs to native speakers of the target language, that the need for redundancy, alternate forms and stylistic variation becomes important. It is at this point that the speed and fluency of the second language learner increase, obligatory tense markers appear along with adverbs of time, and vocabulary expands to include synonyms with different connotations.

The longitudinal studies suggested by Corder should allow us to test the hypothesis that the learner language evolves from pidginization, to creolization, to eventual conformity with the target language norm. Nevertheless, it is a common observation that some second language learners never acquire a complicated and expanded interlanguage which eventually conforms to the target language. These learners continue to use simplified and reduced interlanguage in spite of long exposure to the target culture. The persistence of pidginized forms probably indicates that the function of the speakers' second language is still limited to communication. Expansion and complication will not take place until the function is extended to integrative and expressive use.

In order to confirm the "interlanguage hypothesis" as developed by Corder (1967), Selinker (1972) and Nemser (1971) or to establish that the development of the learner language is analogous to pidginization and creolization, longitudinal studies of second language acquisition will have

to be made. Both the interlanguage hypothesis and the pidginization-creolization model offer very clear suggestions of what to look for in such studies.

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The Dual Language Model: A Practical

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Approach to Bilingual Education

Eileen Gonzales and Juan Lezama

The ideal learning atmosphere in a Spanish-English Bilingual/ Bicultural classroom provides for the learner two models with which to identify; a Spanish speaker and an English speaker, each of which reflects ethnic characteristics associated with the language. Where the Spanish language model assumes the responsibility of speaking only Spanish in the classroom, concept development and acquisition of standard Spanish are facilitated in the Spanish speakers. At the same time, the English speakers are surrounded by the sounds of Spanish outside of the actual classtime allotted for structured Spanish as a second language lessons. In addition to teaching the curriculum in English to English speaking members of the class, the English language model responsibility to the Spanish speakers consists of teaching English as a second language.

Each language model functions independently utilizing teaching techniques appropriate to any classroom, such as small group and individualized instruction, peer teaching, and learning center activities. However, in a bilingual/bicultural atmosphere the models teach as a team to the entire class during specific times and for specific objectives. Both languages are used cooperatively to elicit lesson objectives without redundant translation.

An Introduction. Bilingual-Bicultural Education is the "popular" experience these clays. It threatens educators who misunderstand its real purpose, but offers a vehicle for meaningful change to those who recognize learning needs.

Let's examine some of the myths surrounding Bilingual-Bicultural Education.

Myth 1: Bilingual-Bicultural Education is a remedial program for those children who come to school with a language other than English. Instructional assistance is provided in Spanish, the child's dominant language, to facilitate his functioning in the regular classroom.

Rather than being remedial, however, a Bilingual-Bicultural program should be an enriching experience. Children from various cultures bring with them to school the tools needed to function educationally. They also provide for their peers the opportunist y to share cultures and languages in a multicultural atmosphere.

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Myth 2: Bilingual-Bicultural Education programs are only for those children speaking Spanish. Spanish speakers from various cultures are seg-regrated from the regular classrooms and grouped together for instruction in Spanish.

Bilingual-Bicultural programs are not solely for the Spanish speaking population, but rather all those representative of the total community. In order to promote understanding and create respect, the languages and cultures are brought together in a healthy, active environment where a sharing atmosphere exists.

Myth 3: Bilingual-Bicultural programs are synonymous with English as a Second Language programs. The Spanish speaking children are grouped together according to their English language needs, and growth in other academic areas is stifled while English is learned.

Even though English as a Second Language is an important component in a Bilingual-Bicultural program, it should not be the entire program. In a traditional English as a Second Language program, English is learned at the expense of a diminished facility in Spanish. Expansion of the native language, cultural reassurance, and acceptance of one another are major goals of a Bilingual-Bicultural program in addition to the acquisition of a second language.

The Dual Language Model. An ideal learning atmosphere in a Spanish-English Bilingual-Bicultural classroom would be one where the learner is exposed to Spanish speaking and English speaking individuals, each of whom models characteristics representative of her culture, including language, food, costume, social patterns and values, but specifically language.

It is essential that the language role of the teacher and teacher assistant be identified from the very beginning of the year. Each model should con-sistently use and maintain only her language at all times during the school day. The Spanish language model assumes the responsibility for speaking only Spanish in the classroom. Concept development and the acquisition of standard Spanish are facilitated in the Spanish speakers while the English speakers are surrounded by the sounds of Spanish outside of the actual class time allotted for structured Spanish as a second language lessons. The English language model assumes a reciprocal stance in that her responsi-bility consists of teaching the curriculum in English to the English speaking members of the class in addition to teaching English as a second language to the Spanish speakers.

In a Dual Model classroom, children are exposed to a language con-sistently by one individual and they will come to associate that individual as both an ethnic and language representative. In time and with sufficient stimuli and language reinforcement, students will develop a separate language track without the necessity of continuous translation from one language to another. The attempt then is to develop a coordinate bilingual capable of thinking in two languages and a culturally marginal individual who can operate effectively in two cultures.

DUAL MODEL RESPONSIBILITIES
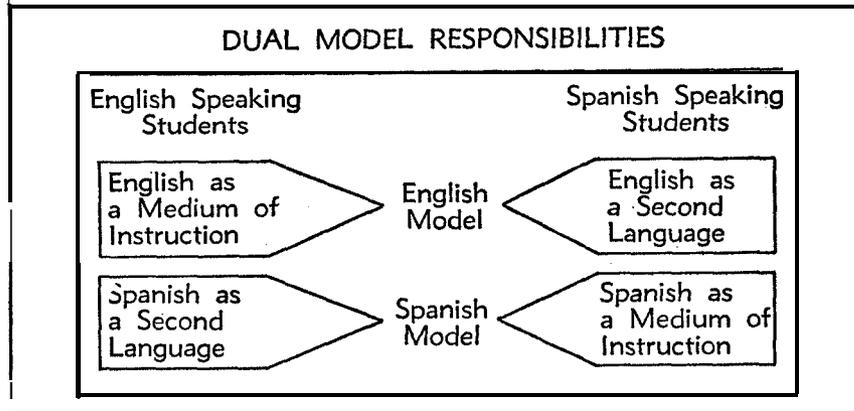
The Team Teaching Technique. Where two language models are in a classroom, each instructor functions independently, utilizing teaching techniques inherent to any classroom, such as small group and individualized instruction, peer teaching, and learning center activities. However, Team Teaching is a bilingual classroom instructional strategy where both instructors teach to the entire class, each in the language she models. An objective is selected and each instructional model incorporates methods of inquiry teaching to develop related, but not identical lines of questioning.

During the Team Teaching situation thought processes are continuing in the vernacular of each child increasing his language ability and cognitive

TEAM TEACHING TECHNIQUE
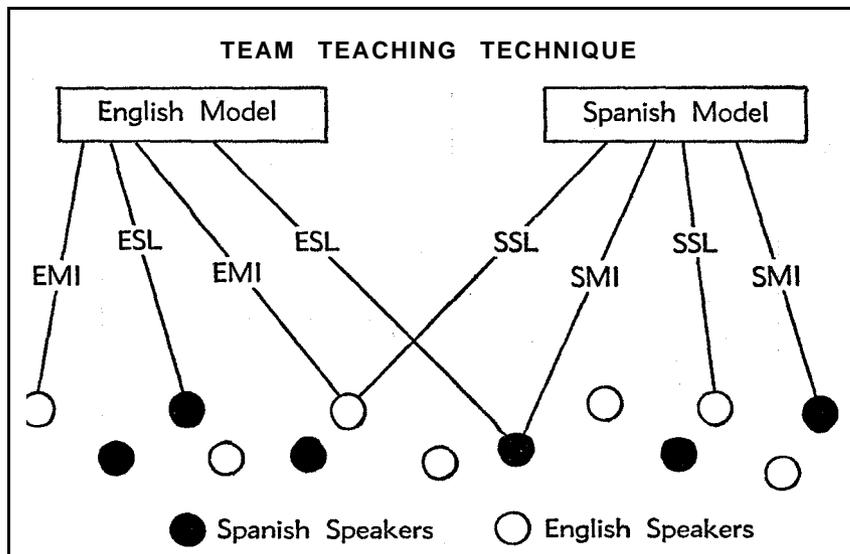
proficiency. The child is also encouraged to respond in either language to the extent of his ability. While conducting a lesson as a team, each instructor keeps in mind that the child's ability to receive and understand second language stimuli exceeds that of his ability to reproduce the language.

The Preview/Review Technique. Implementation of the Preview/Review Technique initially requires the participation of the entire class, but it differs from Team Teaching where both languages are used cooperatively, in that the content of the presentation is previewed in synopsis form in one language, but the body of the presentation is conducted in the other language. For example, if Spanish is to be used as the medium of instruction, the Preview will consist of an introduction or an explanation of the subject matter in English to prepare the English dominant children for what is to be presented. Lesson content is then considered in detail in Spanish. The lesson, therefore, is a dominant language lesson for the Spanish speakers and a second language experience for the English speakers.

The Review occurs when the group is divided according to the student's dominant language and a follow-through is conducted by each model. The Spanish model expands upon the ideas introduced and develops related areas of interest. Through the use of inquiry teaching techniques, the English Model leads the children through a re-development of the lesson ideas and provides for vocabulary enrichment in English.
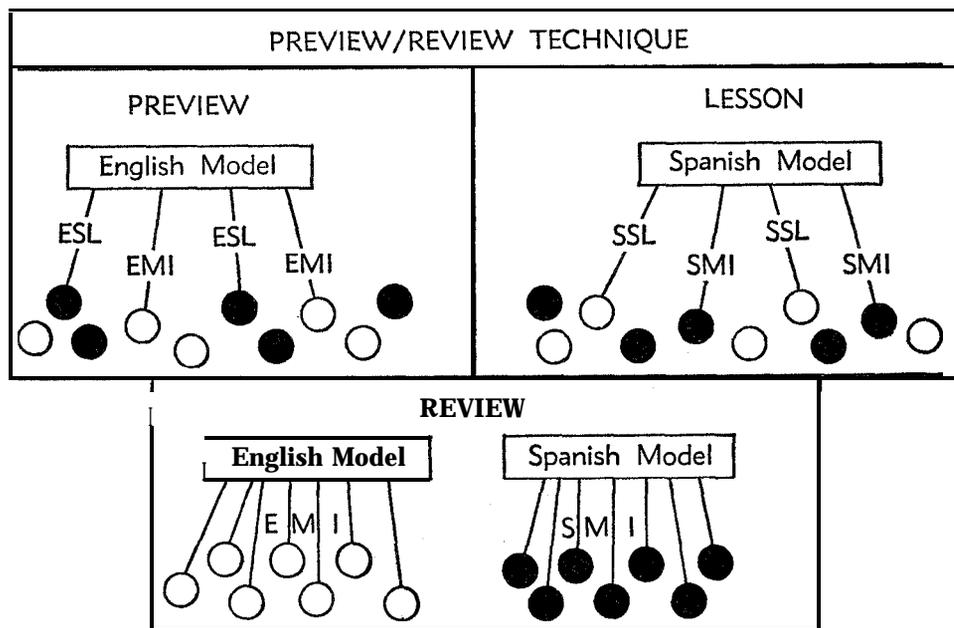
Conclusions. The teaching methods described above have their foundation in the Area III Valley and Upper Valley Intercultural Programs, a regional Title VII project encompassing twenty-seven classrooms in four

counties and nine school districts. Each classroom, Kindergarten through third, is composed of 50% Spanish surnamed and 50% other surnamed children.

As resource teachers, it has been our responsibility to observe, instruct, diagnose, and prescribe materials and teaching methods conducive to achievement of program objectives, particularly those related to dominant and second language acquisition.

Based upon our experience over the past two years, and substantiated by the Final Evaluation Report published in July, 1973, we submit the following conclusions relevant to language acquisition:

1. Concepts in all subject areas are acquired by the Spanish dominant child in Spanish while he is learning English. (See Chart 1)

CHART 1
Acquisition of Concept in Subject Matter Areas

VIP School		1 Pre % 10/71	2 Post 5/72	%	3 % Dif	1a Pre % 10/72	2a Post 5/73	%	3a % Dif
A	OS	57	78		21	54	86		32
	SS	54	82		26	56	87		31
B	OS	62	75		13	53	70		17
	SS	66	77		11	47	71		24
C	OS	54	73		19	52	62		10
	SS	57	72		15	55	71		14
D	OS	62	75		13	55	73		18
	SS	61	75		14	55	77		22
E	OS	53	77		24	51	63		12
	SS	57	79		22	58	71		13
F	OS	52	81		29	52	76		24
	SS	54	77		23	46	70		24
UVIP School									
G	OS	*	67			54	59		5
	SS		63			56	66		10
H	OS		74			55	70		15
	SS		74			61	72		11
I	OS		76			49	78		29
	SS		77			57	81		24

* No pre-test was administered to UVIP Kinders (G, H, I) in 1971.

The data in chart 1 was generated by administration of the DVR Bilingual Test, a criterion-referenced instrument developed by Consuela de las Reyes, John Vatsula and Daniel Romero, to the VIP-UVIP Kindergarten population.

Each school is identified by code letter. OS represents Other-Surnamed. SS represents Spanish-Surnamed. Column 1 represents percentage of achievement on the pre-test, 10/71. Column 2 represent percentage of achievement on the post-test, 5/72. Column 3 represents the growth taking place, 1971-72. Columns 1a, 2a, 3a represent corresponding information for 1972-73.

2. Concepts in all subject areas are acquired by the English dominant child in English while he is learning Spanish. (See Chart 1)

3. As the Spanish dominant child progresses through the program oral Spanish facility increases. (see Chart 2)

CHART 2
Spanish as a First-Learned-Language

Months in Program		Mean	Standard Deviation
0-8	Level	4.6535	.7929
	Ratio	.9129	.0761
9-17	Level	4.667	.6774
	Ratio	.9034	.0927
18-27	Level	4.7317	.5488
	Ratio	.8925	.0939

Spanish-speaking children enter the program with the ability to speak Spanish at a relatively high level commensurate with age. After nine months the level mean is 4.65. As Spanish-speaking children progress through the program, oral Spanish facility increases to 4.73 at twenty-seven months.

4. Proficiency in English as a second language is acquired at a rapid rate by the Spanish dominant child. (see Chart 3)

5. English dominant children achieve varying levels of proficiency in oral Spanish. (see Chart 4)

The Bilingual Syntax Measure, by Marina Burt and Heidi Dulay, was designed to determine the level of structural language development of the child in two languages. It was administered in Spanish and in English to each child in the VIP-UVIP by either a teacher, teacher assistant, parent, or volunteer proficient in the language corresponding with the test version. Data were organized to reflect the following:

(1) A profile of each testable child's oral proficiency in English and in Spanish. Data are expressed as an ascending scale of levels 1 to 5 and a corresponding representation of the ratio between the child's responses and totaling of "appropriately" structured responses.

(2) Means reflecting oral proficiency as a function of time in the program in the areas of; Spanish as a first-learned-kmguage, English as a second-learned-language, and Spanish as a second-learned-language.

6. Children participating in the dual language model program are able to react to bilingual stimuli.

The matrix in Chart 5 was based on data from the Bilingual Syntax Measure. The vertical scale represents levels of proficiency in oral Spanish. The horizontal scale represents levels of proficiency in oral English. The total population tested was 666. Each cell is identified by letter, and con-

CHART 3
English as a Second-Learned-Language

Months in Program		Mean	Standard Deviation
0-8	Level	4.3765	.9633
	Ratio	.8735	.1067
9-17	Level	4.8333	.3755
	Ratio	.9178	.0560
16-27	Level	4.9070	.2939
	Ratio	.9394	.0514

For that portion of the student population having been identified as having Spanish as a first-learned-language, and acquiring English as a second language, data seem to indicate that facility in oral English attains the high level of 4.90 sometime between the 18th and 27th month in the program.

CHART 4
Spanish as a Second-Learned-Language

Months in Program		Mean	Deviation Standard
0-8	Level	2.6989	1.3087
	Ratio	.7693	.1718
9-17	Level	2.6667	1.1327
	Ratio	.7467	.1316
18-27	Level	2.7541	1.3621
	Ratio	.7962	.0964

The above data should be considered in light of the fact that in the English dominant child's environment, exposure to Spanish is limited to the bilingual classroom. Proficiency in oral Spanish as a second language after nine months in the program is at level 2.6989. After 18-27 months, a slight level increase is evident.

tains the number of the tested population exhibiting proficiency at the level indicated by the intersection.

Data seem to indicate that:

For cell "A," 161 students are bilingual at the highest level of competence relative to the age span tested, (Level 5).

For cell "C," 7 students exhibit equivalent proficiency in English and in Spanish, but at a lower structural level, (Level 4), and for cell "G," one student at level 3.

CHART 5

English Levels of Proficiency

		1	2	3	4	5	Row Total
	1	U 0	T 0	S 0	R 8	Q 243	251
	2	V 8	M 1	L 0	K 3	J 59	71
Spanish Levels of Proficiency	3	W 0	N 0	G 1	F 2	E 26	29
	4	X 4	O 4	H 1	C 7	B 44	60
	5	Y 15	P 32	I 14	D 33	A 161	255
Column Total		27	37	16	53	533	Testable Population 666

Level 3 was selected as that point which, if attained in either language by a student, indicated a measurable proficieny for that student. If cells "A" through "I" were added, they would reflect a total of 276 acceptably bilingual students, or 40.7% of the testable population.

A child will usually exercise his facility in either language, regardless of how limited, when confronted with an ethnic representation of that language as indicated by the high number of testable children based upon the entire population.

It is our opinion that bilingual-bicultural education has great value, contributing particularly to establishing a long-needed rapport between school and community; to the self-concept of the child who comes to school with Spanish as his first-learned-language; to rendering entire teaching staffs cognizant of the fact that the child will progress academically in his dominant language and make a transition to English smoothly; to stimulating an awareness in the English-dominant child that learning a second language can be hard work, but that he, too, can make a transition.

A Student-Led-Tutorial Approach in Sri Lanka

Dean Brodkey

An experimental university ESL program at Vidyodaya campus of the University of Sri Lanka features small, student-led tutorial groups for the development of conversational skill and college reading skill. Circles of six students meeting daily tutor each other with only occasional guidance from professional ESL teachers, who manage several such groups working simultaneously in the same classroom. This approach may be useful in other university programs where a reasonable number of students on campus already have advanced English proficiency, and where the scarcity of funds for professional ESL teachers makes small-group instruction economically prohibitive.

As of the 1972–73 academic year, university students in Sri Lanka exhibited a number of qualities in common with university students in many developing nations.

1. Among several thousand who enter the university annually, English proficiency ranges from virtual native speaker fluency to very minimal knowledge of the language.

2. Students are an intellectual elite. University entrance is on the basis of a stiff national examination.

3. Out of fairness to rural students and because national policy dictates that all university classes shall be conducted in one of the national languages, Sinhala or Tamil, English skill is not an entrance requirement.

4. The majority of students, while able to read very simple English, cannot read university textbooks in English. However, professors are anxious for them to be able to do so because available readings in the national languages are scarce.

5. The majority of students, while recognizing some spoken English, are too painfully shy to speak and will retreat in embarrassment when spoken to—a not unexpected outcome in a nation where rural mores encourage shyness, and where perfect English is an important social and economic class distinction.

6. Almost all students are enormously eager to learn *spoken* English, since without real fluency in English a prestige job is almost certainly unobtainable.

7. There is definite, but usually covert, friction between urban, English-speaking students and rural, non-English speaking students.

8. University students approach English classes with real enthusiasm and continue to attend regularly whenever possible. However, English

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teachers face the problem that their classes must be exceptionally interesting since attendance is not compulsory and the English examination can be passed at such a low level of proficiency that students know it is unlikely they can fail. When other university courses compete with English at examination time, attendance at English classes suffers greatly.

Historically, the effectiveness of English instruction at Sri Lanka's campuses has been an issue of national debate at all levels, including the daily newspapers. Indeed, the future of the English language in society is a burning topic. A century and a half of British colonial rule was succeeded by the optimism of independence after World War II, then a fifteen-year spate of anti-English language nationalism, and now pressures for renewed emphasis on English to meet the needs of university education. Against this is the fear of reinforcing the power of the English-speaking elite if the language should receive undue revival. The issue is far from being resolved.

Meanwhile, English instruction has continued unabated at the university and with considerable rivalry over competing methods. At present, each of the four university campuses, Peradeniya, Colombo, Vidyalankara, and Vidyodaya has one or more independent ESL programs in operation. All are essentially taught by the lecture method with classes of twenty-five to one hundred. Certain programs are organized about a syllabus of basic structures or transformations with vocabulary selections to be mastered in a step-by-step sequence. Complete lesson plans cover one or two semesters or more. Teachers are expected to follow these master plans with serious deviation except to move more slowly with slower classes. In programs where such a syllabus is not provided, teachers generally use a "reading and questioning" technique. A short, simplified passage from the teacher's private collection is translated and explained to the class, and this is followed by a question and answer drill, usually line by line, orally and in writing.

Teaching conditions are difficult in most cases. Classrooms are open-air, hot, and noisy. Usually the teacher has little more equipment than a blackboard, chalk, and mimeograph facilities. Tape recorders, language laboratories, and commercial ESL textbooks are unavailable. Even subject-matter textbooks are difficult to obtain and the libraries seldom shelve more than a handful of copies of each; more commonly only one. Students do not usually buy textbooks as they are extremely expensive and seldom available on the market.

University English teachers are generally selected from among the considerable population of well-educated Ceylonese native speakers of English. (The term "native speaker" is used advisedly, however, because of its perjorative associations in vanishing British imperial usage.) Some have had training in TESL techniques at teacher-training colleges in Sri Lanka and abroad, although many others have not had formal instruction in TESL methods. Salary and rank of English teachers are low on the academic scale and a point of perennial contention. Many of the teachers I met would be considered highly qualified and very skillful ESL teachers in any country.

No university program at present makes a goal of *spoken* English skill. Reading comprehension is the primary aim, with the understanding that university lectures, examinations, and written assignments will be in one of the national languages. Speech and writing in English are therefore introduced as adjuncts to the reading process, and as hypothetical reinforcers of reading skill. Overwhelming emphasis on reading alone has been the outgrowth of recent attempts to eradicate spoken English from the national scene in favor of Sinhala. Future university policy with regard to spoken English remains moot as the political climate changes.

There is general agreement among ESL teachers that while progress in English is noticeable among many students, the ultimate goal of ability to read an English textbook is never reached by the majority of students, and ability to speak conversational English remains almost nil. This is especially true of Arts Faculty students, who find themselves unprepared in English to pursue such critical studies for national development as Estate Management or the Applied Social Sciences. Students in the hard sciences, being more academically select, seem to fare better in English classes no matter what "method" is used. Yet it is the Arts curriculum that demands the most sophisticated reading level.

It was for freshmen entering Vidyodaya campus for the Applied Social Sciences degree program that the following English classes were designed, Preliminary tryouts took place in 1972-73 during which only a few short weeks of classwork were possible at Vidyodaya campus. Several teachers at Colombo campus expressed interest and pursued the experiment themselves, contributing helpfully to the assessment.[1]

An Experimental Program

AIMS: 1. To speak conversational English readily and without shyness, despite errors of usage.
     2. To read authentic, freshman-level textbooks in English with the rapidity and level of comprehension suitable for homework assignments in academic subjects where lectures, discussions, and testing are conducted in Sinhala or Tamil, not English.

Following these two stated *Aims,* we emphasized two basic exercises: practice in English conversation and practice in English textbook reading, both utilizing small, peer-led discussion groups of approximately six students each. While the goal of the conversation circles was to have the talking carried on entirely in English, the English textbook readings were discussed

entirely in Sinhala for reasons which will be explained. This arrangement was in turn predicated on three notions: that peer-teaching could be effective; that teachers could change their role from being lecturers before large classes to being catalysts moving among several small groups of students; and that effective English learning could take place without a syllabus of pre-selected linguistic items, or pre-simplified reading materials to be mastered in a pre-determined sequence. All three features were a complete departure from methods in use at the campuses.

1. *Speaking English in small groups.* Lecture rooms were rearranged so that students could sit in circles of six and talk to each other. One teacher was assigned to monitor two groups at a time, and as many as six groups and three teachers sometimes operated simultaneously in one room. Teachers were encouraged to present speaking games such as "20 questions," "adding to a story by turns," or simulated situations such as "planning a trip" or "a job interview." However, teachers were asked to turn all conversation over to group members as rapidly as possible, and to refrain from continually leading and lecturing to the groups.

After some minutes of initial surprise and embarrassment, this arrangement invariably resulted in some sort of tentative discussion in English among the students, and occasionally a most lively one. Without segregating the groups by ability in spoken English we found that each circle of six had at least one or two students who were relatively fluent in the language. Many others, however, sat dumbly listening, too shy to participate in the talk. Some of the shyness was overcome when the noise level in the room rose with many simultaneous discussions. We found that a quiet room was usually very intimidating for shy students, and so we promoted loud talking whenever possible. The bad acoustics in most classrooms actually served our purposes well.

At first, if a group contained two fairly fluent speakers of English, they of course began conversing exclusively with one another. But with encouragement we got them to direct their remarks to the others and to help them participate.

While we tried to make it a policy to permit students to use Sinhala whenever they felt excluded or could not follow the meaning, we soon found that almost all preferred to struggle with what little English they knew. Not infrequently the more fluent student in the group became a "little teacher," directing questions to the others and correcting their replies.

Ability to speak some English when under pressure to do so seemed to bear out the teachers' informal opinion that these students really understand a good deal of spoken English despite their intense shyness about using it. My own opinion was that many would be classified as lower-intermediate, and some little more than advanced beginners, but none appeared to be a complete beginner.

The aim of the conversation groups was to produce an *esprit* in which students who met together daily would eventually take all instruction into

their own hands, suggesting their own topics for practice; an outcome of small group language learning situations described by Curran (1961). During the few short weeks we had classes, the newly-reopened Vidyodaya campus was experiencing unusual administrative problems, irregular student attendance, and all the disruptions that accompany the approach of final exams, so this goal was not reached.

Teacher response was quite favorable after the first few group classes. Most welcomed the change from lectures and the challenge of providing conversational ideas for the groups, cajoling them to talk, and joining the circles when necessary. A few teachers continued to feel uneasy about abandoning their familiar syllabus of collected readings and grammar points, and expressed some uneasiness about teaching spoken English without clear political approval.

2. *Discussion of readings in small groups.* The same groups of six students read short, authentic textbook passages in English and discussed them entirely *in Sinhala.* The rationale for this shortcut was simple. Few freshmen were yet capable of holding even simple conversations in spoken English, and to discuss a university topic was entirely beyond them. But the demand to read and understand college English begins in the first term and cannot be postponed until the time when oral proficiency matches reading comprehension. In my opinion, only a relatively small percentage of freshmen are likely to be able to discuss a university-level topic even at the end of their three or four years at the university. There simply isn't enough exposure to spoken English in use on a day by day basis. But by reading rapidly for the gist of the material and discussing the contents in their own language, ideas can be shared immediately and accurately, and difficulties with the English of the passage can be rapidly pointed out and explained by a more proficient student or teacher.

The reading passages were selected as representative of moderately easy textbook writing in the subject-matter fields students most often study: the various Social Sciences and the Humanities. Each passage was about 1/3 to 1/2 of a typewritten page and was selected because it made some generalizable point or argument. Passages of a purely narrative or fact-listing type were avoided. Teachers found selection of these passages from real textbooks a challenge and soon made excellent collections. We discovered that by limiting ourselves to argumentative reading selections we were able to cull many useful selections from books on Anthropology or Economics. However Geography, History, and Religion posed a stylistic problem in that the most one can usually expect in a short selection is a list of statements which can be paraphrased but offers no point for summary. We eventually included a number of these paraphrase passages,

Groups were handed one of these passages and asked to determine 1) the general topic, 2) the main point, 3) the supporting arguments, and 4) the opposing view the author might be implicitly arguing against. A sample "answer" in Sinhala was written and provided to the students for verifica-

tion of their answers. Again, the questions, answers, and discussion were all in Sinhala.

At first student talk was spirited but revolved almost entirely around questions of translation-the customary reading exercise. However they were soon able to catch on to the point of the exercise and to come to group consensus about the study questions. During the ensuing discussions, teachers often sat by, both surprised and amused. The students conducted the discussions by themselves and apparently needed little or no help from them.

At the end of a half hour, each group in the room was asked to present its interpretation of the passage and results were compared at the blackboard. Usually the groups had no difficulty figuring out the main ideas of the passages, and enjoyed defending details of their interpretations against the "model" answer.

Since exercises in reading for rapid, overall comprehension are not customary, a few teachers at the Colombo campus decided to try some of the prepared lessons. They found that many of their students were quite skilled at skimming passages for the main idea even while they failed to understand details of the prose. There was some reservation voiced about the usefulness of the exercise for students who could not skim easily, and some insistence that the exercise permitted students to avoid focusing on important vocabulary and grammatical items which could possibly facilitate their reading if pointed out by the teacher. My own feeling was that the value of experiencing real comprehension of the ideas in a passage in English was a plus to student morale which might outweigh the value of the study of any discrete points of English-points which only promised, some time in the future, to enhance their reading abilities. It was a matter of emphasis rather than an either-or situation. Of course grammatical items could be explained by the teachers, but ability to skim rapidly for overall meaning had to be the skill practiced first and foremost, and this was the skill given least attention in the classes I had observed.

The aim of the reading groups, like the conversation groups, was eventually to make the students themselves take on responsibility for democratically selecting the articles or books they would read and discuss. Hopefully, they would soon graduate from reading brief, isolated selections to reading entire homework assignments in History, Geography, or Economics.

At the end of our experiment, despite the apparent success of some student groups, some teachers were still skeptical of giving authentic textbook passages, unsimplified, to all students. They still felt that for most students they were genuinely too hard and predicted that these students would quickly regroup themselves in order to study with the teacher who gave the easier, simplified passages. They feared loss of popularity. However, with study groups of mixed abilities to help the weaker students, and with a uniform selection of readings all at approximately the same level of difficulty, this sort of escape will not be possible. Moreover, peer-pressure to carry on the work despite difficulties might help. Still, it was suggested

that students might fall away from classes that were felt to be "too difficult." If this occurs, teachers will most probably return to some form of simplified readings.

3. *Peer-teaching.* This appeared to be most popular with students in reading-discussions, where they exhibited a great deal of enthusiasm in contrast to the passivity with which lectures on readings are usually received. On the other hand, conversation groups seemed more anxious to have teacher participation, or at least the presence of a very fluent speaker.

The economics of small-group study requires some sort of inexpensive teaching, and a college trained ESL teacher simply cannot be supplied for every six students on campus. Fortunately for Sri Lanka, although the number of students who enter the university as fluent English speakers is dwindling yearly, it would seem that at present at least ten percent of the student population is quite skilled in the language. Therefore, we found that most randomly assigned groups ended up with at least one fluent speaker of English. However, some did not and we proposed soliciting volunteers from the general university population (as suggested by other popular "volunteer" efforts for national improvement called "sramadana"). If unsuccessful it was suggested that the university pay students a small hourly stipend for these tutoring services. The group strategy itself was not an attempt to deny the need for skilled teachers, but to admit that plenty of students were already skilled enough in English and sophisticated enough in college reading techniques to help their peers.

Peer-teaching, besides affording the obvious advantage of small group instruction, suggested some possible sociological advantages. Friction between urban, middle class students, many of whom speak English well, and rural, lower class students, might be lessened by beneficial contact in English peer-groups. Where an urban student may surpass a rural student in English fluency, the latter may show superiority in intellectual understanding of subject matter, and mutual respect might ensue. Certainly the authorities of the university would welcome such an outcome.

A second desirable result of peer-group study might be to overcome excessive student dependency on their lecturers for all motivation to study. When students are more responsible for their own learning many academic difficulties can be lessened.

4. *Teachers as catalysts.* A problem accompanying the peer-teaching approach is that the professional teacher must re-orient himself to the role of a wandering catalyst, rather than the central stage character around whom all things revolve during the class hour. The teacher's primary responsibility becomes that of supervising a system which threatens to spin out into complete independence from him, and indeed should do so. In fact, this never happened during the short tryout at Vidyodaya. Teachers remained very much center stage in many activities, sitting in on weak groups, exhorting others to keep talking, demonstrating new games, and selecting and editing reading passages and sample summaries. It appeared that some teachers

were more comfortable in this role than others, and that new criteria would have to be used for teacher selection. In fact, during my stay at Vidyodaya the staff of seven was augmented by ten new appointees who were selected with these criteria in mind.

6. *A non-selective linguistic approach. One* of the most controversial aspects of the experimental program was the lack of a syllabus of sequenced linguistic items from which a daily program could be determined. Arguments frequently proposed by Newmark (1969) suggest that such a syllabus is possibly better ignored. Our problem was that the Ministry of Education generally expected such a syllabus, and when I left Sri Lanka the exact form of the syllabus had not yet been decided.

Certainly in a student-directed system using unstructured conversation games and unsimplified textbook passages such a selective organization of materials was inappropriate. One significant effect of our choice was on testing. Although students are scored almost exclusively on tests of overall proficiency in translation of textbook passages, some campuses do include a testing section on structures and vocabulary taught in their classes. We could ignore this section and devote more time, and therefore more chance for reliability, on the paraphrase or summary test. Testing of speech remained to be developed, although a test in which each student is rated for his participation in conversation with a group of five peers, or with strangers, would seem appropriate enough to judge ability to carry on conversations without shyness and despite mistakes. In Sri Lanka such a test could be scored practically on a does/doesn't basis.

To some teachers the abandonment of sequenced grammar and vocabulary lessons seemed very unsound, and the degree to which teachers, students, and the Ministry of Education feel the need for a return to a clear outline of prescribed structures will be a matter of great interest. There is some precedent for the acceptance of syllabi in English which do not center exclusively on structural concerns. An Area Educational Officer of the Ministry of Education (Samararatne, 1972) has introduced many of the features we tried into his English program at 200 schools in the Colombo area, where it has been used for two years. On the basis of its apparent success in the lower schools it was being introduced at the Teacher Training Colleges to improve teacher English. I visited one of the high schools where the Samararatne plan was in operation, found the teachers most enthusiastic, the students keenly involved in peer-group activities, and the originator confident that he could show better achievement levels than other types of ESL programs in his district.

Conclusion. Success of a program of this type will depend, I believe, entirely on the question of student and teacher morale. If both parties repond with enthusiasm, peer-teaching will flourish; but if either party finds it a frustrating experience the experiment will surely fail.

For students there is a significant difference between accustomed dependence on the teacher's authority and the self-reliance and boldness of

peer-group study. For teachers there is a large gap between the role of center-stage performer and backstage catalyst; and for both a plunge into unstructured exposure to English without preliminary digestion of bits of the language can be quite a challenge.

When I left Sri Lanka it appeared that teachers who had experimented with the peer-group strategy felt that they could continue in the same vein with the hope of finding popularity with the students and achieving more toward the goal of teaching effective conversational and college reading skills. Student enthusiasm will probably continue as long as teachers provide a fresh atmosphere in which the students can feel the support of their peers and a sense of progress toward fulfillment of their real needs-in this case the perception that they may indeed become English speakers and may indeed read a college textbook in English with understanding.

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Explaining Problems of Iranian Students by Comparing English and Farsi Verb Forms

Parivash Manuchehri

A comparison of English with the students' native language can supply information which proves useful in the TESOL classroom. Upon comparing the English verb system with that of Farsi, for example, one finds differences which help account for errors frequently made by students from Iran. Many ideas which are expressed in English by simple verbs require the use of verb + complement combinations in Farsi; certain tense distinctions essential to English are not part of the Farsi system, and so on. Some implications of these differences (and others) are explained, and suggestions are offered for helping students learn to use English verbs.

Anyone who teaches English to speakers of other languages ought to know as much as possible about each student's mother tongue. This kind of information enables a teacher to develop insights into the problems that his students are likely to encounter as the result of differences between English and their native language.

In the United States, many ESL teachers are becoming familiar with the problems of Spanish-speaking students, and also, to some extent, with those of Japanese and Chinese students. But relatively little seems to be known about features of Farsi which might interfere with Iranian students' learning of English. In Iran, too, studies of Farsi/English contrasts have been only fragmentary. For this reason, the writer has noted several ways in which Farsi verb forms differ from their English equivalents, for the guidance of those who teach Farsi speakers either in Iran or in the United States.

Sentences comprising the corpus for this comparison have been drawn from Bertrand Russell's book, *On Education,* and from the Farsi translation of that book. These sentences show how differently verb forms operate in the two languages. Problems which may arise out of those differences are discussed, and procedures for dealing with the problems are suggested.

For approximately five hundred simple verbs in English, there are only seventy-two simple verb equivalents in Farsi. For the rest, the equivalents are composed of complements plus verbs, thus:

English	Farsi	Literal Translation
to attempt	/sæy kærdæn/	'to do attempt'
to agree	/mowafeq buwdæn/	'to be agree'
to love	/duwst daštæn/	'to have love'

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It can be seen, therefore, that the Farsi counterpart of a simple English verb is often a verb + complement. Sometimes even two complements are used to express the concept of a simple English verb:

to aim	/hædæf qærar dadæn/	'to point the aim'
to differ	/extelaf peyda kærdæn/	'to find the difference'

In Farsi, the tendency is to combine a noun, in the form of a complement, with one of the limited existing verbs, producing unlimited new verbs. This is true even of loan verbs. Thus *to serve* gets the form of /serv kærdæn/ 'to do serving,' *to service* becomes /servis dadæn/ 'to give service,' and so on.

Problem: A Farsi speaker, expressing himself in English, adds unnecessary items to the English simple verbs, saying "to do attempt" instead of "to attempt," or "I am agree" instead of "I agree." In the case of verbs such as *learn* and *teach* or *lend* and *borrow,* the complements used in Farsi are the same, only the verbal element changes:

to learn	/yad gereftæn/	'to take learning'
to teach	/yad dadæn/	'to give learning'
to borrow	/vam gereftæn/	'to take borrowing'
to lend	/vam dadæn/	'to give borrowing'

Such verbs are repeatedly misused by Farsi speakers.

In many cases, when the English verb is followed by a noun group, the Farsi equivalent consists of an adverbial group plus a complement and a verb:

attacked the enemies /bær došmænan hojuwm bordænd/
'to the enemies took attack'

Problem: The student uses unnecessary prepositions after certain English verbs:

   * They attacked to the enemies.
   * We enjoyed from the nice weather.
   * I hate from sitting and doing nothing.

When a frequency adverb occurs, the adverb is usually placed between the auxiliary and the main verb in English. In Farsi, however, frequency adverbs may occur at the beginning of a sentence, after the subject, or after the object. *Problem:* A Farsi speaker of English may say:

   * Always it can be destroyed.
   * Never I will see him again.

When an infinitive occurs in an English verb group, the Farsi counterpart of the infinitive is always a subjunctive:

He wants to show . . .	/mixahæd	mešan dæhæd/
	Vb Indic.	Vb. Subj.
	'wants'	'give show'

Problem: In such a sentence, the student uses a clause instead of the infinitive:

> * I want that I go.
> * He wants that he be the president.

Sometimes a lexical phrase is used in Farsi to express a time concept which is signalled grammatically in English:

> It *used to* be supposed . . . /dær gozæšte . . . mišod/
> <u>Lex. Phr.</u>
> 'in the past . . . became a supposition'

Problem: The phrase *used to* is not learned by the Iranian student for a long time. Instead of saying, "I used to play tennis," he expresses the idea thus : "I played tennis in the past, but not now." Furthermore, on the recognition level, he misunderstands *used to,* confusing it with *be used to.*

On some occasions one clause in English equals two clauses in Farsi. Thus the Iranian student may not know how to construct a sentence like the following:

The cat loves the kitten, but not the mouse.
In Farsi this one-clause sentence would consist of two clauses:

> <u>/gorbe -- duwst daræd</u> --- <u>mædaræd/</u>   'the cat has love . . .
>   clause 1   clause 2   does not have love'

Problem: The student overlooks the possibility of deleting the repeated verb phrase, and unnecessary repetition of the verb occurs.

A related, but slightly different, problem occurs as the result of the fact that the modal auxiliary *may* is combined with the verb following it to make one clause in English, whereas in Farsi the equivalent construction consists of two clauses:

> It may differ. <u>/momken æst færg konæd/</u   'is possible do difference'
>   clause 1   clause 2

Problem: Under the influence of his own language, the student uses the singular verb marker, thus saying:

> * It may differs.

Non-finite verb forms in English have finite equivalents in Farsi:

> before attempting   /piyš æz . . . sæy koniym/   'before we attempt'
> without demanding   /beduwne . . . koniym/   'without we demand'

Problem: The use of non-finite verb forms will seldom enter into the student's production of English soon enough. A verbal like *broadly speaking* will be expressed as *if we want to speak broadly,* which may be acceptable in English, but not always rhetorically effective.

In addition to the foregoing, teachers should also note the following differences in the use of emphatic forms. There is no exact equivalent in

Farsi for the emphatic *do/does/did.* Sometimes the concept of emphasis is expressed by raising the pitch; in other cases an intensifier is used:

| But it did differ. | /væli vageæn færg dast/ | 'but it *really* ... |
| I did tell you. | /be to goftæm/ | 'I told you.' |

Problem: Students are slow to learn to use emphatic *do/does/did.* On the recognition level, this construction is confused with the use of *do/does/did* as question markers.

Even when used as question markers, *do, does* and *did* are difficult for Farsi speakers, because in Farsi a question word corresponding to the *Wh-* word in English is always sufficient to make an interrogative sentence:

| *English* | *Farsi* | |
| How did they get it? | /cetowr anra .../ | 'how they got it' |

Problem: The student tends to use a *Wh-* word without the *do/does/did* question marker when he speaks English. Errors like the following are very common:

   * How much it costs?   * Why you don't study?

There is also a difference in the use of tenses in the two languages. For instance, the present perfect tense is used differently accounting for such errors as these:

   * It's a long time that I haven't seen you.
   * He has bought it last Friday.
   * My mother has come back from Europe last week.

Another area of difficulty is the use of the present continuous and the simple present tense. These two tenses have one single counterpart in Farsi, and the lexical items /hala/ 'now' and /hær ruwz/ 'every day' may designate the proper time:

He is drinking tea. ⎫   / (hala) (hæruwz) cai miyxoræd/
   He drinks tea.   ⎬   ('now') ('everyday') 'eats/has tea'

Almost all types of conditionals, too, seriously confuse Farsi speakers learning English, as do constructions involving indirect speech. The following are only a few examples of common mistakes resulting from differences in the verb systems of the two languages:

   * If I had money yesterday, I gave it to you; but I didn't.
   * Yesterday the teacher said that he has talked to my father last week.
   * I saw Mrs. Brown last Monday. She said she will go to the hospital
      the next day.

In addition, teachers should be aware of the differences in the use of Voice in English and in Farsi. In many cases, an idea which is expressed in the passive voice in English cannot be similarly expressed in Farsi. The following constructions all have active equivalents in Farsi:

They were taught French.
It may have been won.
They have been trained.
We are met by . . .
It is believed . . .
It should be enjoyed.

Problem: Students are slow to learn to construct passive sentences. As a result, their sentences often sound childish and in some cases rhetorically weak:

It is known...	Everybody knows . . .
He was taught French.	They (somebody) taught him French. (Or—more often—He studied French)

Finally, it should be noted that double negation is commonly used in Farsi; consequently, the student transfers the same construction to English:

* There isn't no one in the house.
* I didn't never tell him the truth.
* I can't not to cry. (I can't help crying)

When teachers are aware of the Farsi/English contrasts noted above, they can take extra pains to make sure that Iranian students focus full attention upon example sentences illustrating the English verb forms. If the teacher himself speaks Farsi, he can give the students a few Farsi sentences constructed as an American might construct them. Students are always amused by hearing such sentences; and, at the same time, they fully understand the crucial necessity of avoiding interference from the habits of their native language in using these verb forms.

Whether or not the teacher speaks Farsi, various kinds of exercises should be used to impress the point upon the students' minds. These should include mechanical drills involving substitution, transformation and integration. For example:

(a) *Change the sentence, using the given words:*
   He drinks tea every day. (Mary, Jack, every afternoon)
   He is drinking tea now. (Jane, Elizabeth, at this moment)
(b) *Change the statements into questions with WHAT:*
   He drinks tea every day.
   He is drinking tea now.
   They usually take the bus to work.
   They are taking the bus now.
(c) *Shorten the following sentences. as in the example:*
   Bob likes football, but he doesn't like baseball.
   (Bob likes football, but not baseball.)
   Jane studies English, but she doesn't study Spanish.
   Jack enjoys movies, but he doesn't enjoy concerts.

After a few minutes of mechanical drill, the students should progress to more meaningful exercises, including questions based upon a text. Finally communicative exercises should be used. Such practice may involve a picture or possibly a filmstrip as a stimulus for conversation among the students in

the form of asking questions, answering questions, making comments, etc. Even then, students will not achieve a command of English verb forms unless the teacher provides ample opportunities for them to use the verb patterns at intervals in different situations which require speaking and writing.

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Pragmatic Syntax in the Classroom

William E. Rutherford

The thesis that classroom instruction in the grammatical forms of a language is undesirable, held by some applied linguists, is rejected. On the other hand, it is neither necessary nor desirable to exclude attention to pragmatic. Syntax and pragmatics can work in effective harmony. That the student wants to "use" the language to communicate and that the teacher needs to draw attention to certain structures are not irreconcilable facts. What the student "wants to say" can in some ways actually be controlled by the teacher, with the aid of proper materials. Samples of three kinds of such materials are presented.

Few of us can fail to notice the increasing attention which current ESL literature devotes to the matter of communication. The idea of using a language for purposes of sending and receiving real messages would seem on the face of it not to be very outlandish; yet, somehow we need these days constantly to be reminded that communication is after all the name of the game. The swing of the pedagogical pendulum is unmistakably away from emphasis upon the teaching of language *form* and toward emphasis upon the teaching of language *use.* [1] This at least is the thrust of the bulk of current ESL articles that concern classroom techniques and materials preparation. [2] Since textbooks, whose production generally takes years, can never quite keep pace with new developments in the field, those in use now by and large reflect our earlier satisfaction that it was sufficient to spend most of our class time in the study of language forms and in their manipulation through controlled exercises. Whatever came out of the student's mouth with no prompting of any kind not only constituted a small percentage of his classroom output but, by virtue of its very spontaneity, could not have had the textbook as its starting point. Published classroom materials, therefore, have generally displayed a bias toward the teaching of those aspects of language that are most amenable to structuring. However desirable or undesirable this may be, it is not hard to find other reasons for such a practice. It is far less difficult to compose a mechanical drill than it is to sketch out a framework in which some kind of controlled but nevertheless

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[1] See James (1970) for an interesting discussion of the form/use dilemma in the context of the history of language teaching.

[2] A glance at recent issues of *TESOL Quarterly* should confirm this. See for example Rivers (1972 and 1973), Schumann (1972), and the papers of Aid (1973) and Dubin (1973). Pages 41-42 of Slager (1973) look in a direction very similar to that being suggested here.

meaningful communication can take place. The easiest of all to invent, perhaps, is the frame sentence in which random lexical substitutions occur in one particular "slot," which is really only one step removed from mere repetition. Generally less easy to write than the random mechanical drill is the drill whose items are confined to a single topic. Harder still is the single topic with the added element of meaningfulness. Indeed, the more meaningfulness is built in the more difficult becomes the task. Perhaps it is no wonder then that in the majority of language texts appearing over the last three decades—the heyday of linguistically conceived exercises-it is not the pragmatic utterance but the language token, divorced from any communicational context, that best typifies the content of the drill.

"Drill," moreover, is a very well chosen term. If you look the word up in the dictionary, you find a definition something like "disciplined, repetitious exercise as a means of teaching and perfecting a skill or procedure." And in the case of language teaching, the "skill or procedure" refers of course to the mastery of grammatical forms. Even among the most ardent supporters of communication-above-all-else it is seldom denied that at various times classroom attention does need to be called to features of language form.[3] The problem, however, is that these two components of language mastery—that is, the formal and the pragmatic—appear at first glance to be pedagogically irreconcilable. How does a teacher teach language form without at least temporarily postponing actual communication? And when communication does take place, how does he elicit from the student the grammatical construction he has been trying to teach, let alone elicit the *correct form* and *use* of that construction? In other words, teachers want to bring to consciousness, or perhaps subconsciousness, certain features of the language being taught, but at the same time they feel it important *to* have the student say things that "originate," so to speak, in his own head. Can this be done? Is it actually possible *to* exercise control over the *form* that the student uses to express his own thoughts? Certainly not in the most literal sense, but there perhaps are some techniques which allow at least a move in this direction. I wish to concentrate here upon three such procedures, which I will refer to as "presupposition," "commentary," and "visuals."

Presupposition. Suppose someone were to walk up to you in the lobby of the Caribe Hilton in San Juan and say "Pardon me, where do the buses leave for Miami?" The question is grammatical, and yet there is no piece of information that can serve as a correct answer to it, nor is it even quite appropriate to state, by answering "I don't know," that the place whence the Miami buses depart is not at that moment part of your store of information about the world around you. Rather, you would feel strongly compelled

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3 One such ardent supporter is Leonard Newmark, in one of whose articles (1966), however, he underscores, by means of an unstated presupposition, the need for attention to language form: *"The student's craving for explicit formulization of generalizations* can usually be met better by textbooks and grammars that he reads outside class than by discussions in class" (p. 82). The italics are mine.

to say something like "But there *are* no buses to Miami," or "Don't YOU realize you're in Puerto Rico?" or "What makes you think you can get from here to Miami by bus?" In other words, a portion of the original question assumed as fact something which we know is not a fact, namely that San Juan has bus service to Miami. Therefore, the appropriate response to such a question is not an answer—for there is no answer—but a correction of the false presupposition embodied in the question itself.[4] This sort of correction is what we usually do in such circumstances. Of course, if the hearer is not positive that the presupposition is false, but only suspects that it might be, his response is likely to be a little different. In this case he would probably answer the question about the bus with "I don't know," and then follow with a question of his own, perhaps "Are you sure there's a bus service between San Juan and Miami?" In still another situation the hearer might assume the presupposition is true but express surprise at learning this supposed fact. Again, his first response would likely be "I don't know," this time followed by something like "I didn't realize there *were* any buses from here to Miami."

The vast majority of information questions, except for the high frequency kind like "What time is it?" "How are you feeling?" "Where do you work?", typically elicit answers displaying syntax of a wide variety and often of great complexity. Given the form and content of a question, the chance of predicting for any speaker what grammatical form the answer will take— beyond that of a declarative sentence—is quite slim. Prediction is considerably more accurate, however, for responses to questions in which the hearer perceives a false presupposition. And it is in such questions that we begin to see possibilities for attempting to exercise control over the grammatical form of utterances which, as far as the person responding is concerned, express original thoughts.

With far less than the usual amount of prodding, I have found it possible to elicit indirectly, from foreign students of English, constructions of the form *John is tall and so is Bill, John isn't tall and neither is Bill, John is tall but Bill isn't.* We can do this by means of an exercise consisting of a series like the following:

A. 1. I'm thinking of taking a trip but I don't want to go to Europe this time; I think I'll go to Spain and Portugal. *Spain is in Europe, and so is Portugal.*

2. What countries border on Spain besides Germany and Belgium? *Germany doesn't border on Spain, and neither does Belgium.*

3. My first stop is Madrid, but I haven't decided whether to go there by boat or plane. *The plane goes to Madrid, but the boat doesn't.*

4. I'm studying French and Italian now so that I'll be able to communicate a little when I get there.

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4 For a tabulation of the various kinds of presupposition that can be seen across the range of English sentences, see Keenan (1971), pp. 46-47.

5. I don't like to drive those foreign cars, so I think I'll travel around in a VW or Fiat.

6. At first I thought I'd be back by the 31st of August, but the whole trip has been delayed, so now I'll be coming back on the 31st of September.

Of course, the suggested student responses here do not represent the only thing that it is possible to say. Very natural for number one, for example, would be *But Spain and Portugal* **are** *in Europe.* And in fact the same exercise could be used to prompt responses containing the emphatic form of the verb. In any case, the students would need to have some foreknowledge of the grammatical construction which they clutch at in their eagerness to correct the false presupposition. Imparting this knowledge would constitute at least part of the classroom preparation for such exercises, leading the students to more likely choose a certain suitable construction over a different but equally suitable one.

Also lending itself to this technique would be the teaching of cleft-sentences, such as, for example, *It's not the machines that determine the lab's effectiveness; it's what you feed into them.* We could proceed as follows:

B. 1. It was a tremendous idea of Nixon's, starting the Peace Corps, don't you think? *It wasn't Nixon who started the Peace Corps; it was Kennedy.*

2. That's right. That was more than a decade ago, just after Saudi Arabia nationalized the Suez Canal. *It wasn't Saudi Arabia that nationalized the Suez Canal; it was Egypt.*

3. Oh, right. Speaking of Egypt guess how many tourists go there every year, to see the Taj Mahal.

4. Tell me, don't you think India should be criticized for all that nuclear testing?

5. Oh yes, of course. It couldn't be India, with that large Catholic population that they have there.

6. I suppose anyone who calls himself a Hindu hopes to be able to take a trip to Mecca some day.

These two sample exercises are instances of where the grammar construction at issue arises only in the response of the student as a consequence of the particular kind of communication directed at him by the teacher. But we can also structure the presupposition exercise in such a way that the student first hears the focused-upon grammar construction embodied in the teacher's presupposition, in which case the student merely responds in some way appropriate for the communication but necessarily reproduces the syntax of the presupposition. Thus, for focus on superlatives:

What countries besides India are bigger than the Soviet Union? *But India* isn't *bigger than the Soviet Union.*

Notice that if the original question left out *besides India* (i.e. What countries are bigger than the Soviet Union?), or in other words did not contain the false presupposition, the natural answer for anyone would probably be *None.* With the straight question, then, there is no natural way, at least for

sentences like the above, to elicit from the student the grammar feature that we happen at this point to want to hear.

Commentary. For want of something better, I have used the term "commentary" to cover an area of conversational exchange in which the speaker in a way "sets up" the hearer for a commentary or retort commonly used in that particular situation. The expected semantic content of the retort usually carries predictable syntactic form, which is what interests us here. For example, in a conversation about, say, a mutual friend, I can set up a chain of events leading to a commentary of high expectation by saying that last month this friend was driving a Volkswagen and now he's driving a Buick. A very natural response to this for many speakers would be something like *The next thing you know he'll be driving a Rolls Royce.* The expression *the next thing you know* easily follows the setting up of a steady progression of connected events containing a common actor. The accepted verb form to use in that expression is the so-called "future continuous." Usually, however, a sequence of three events, two supplied by the first speaker and one by the second, will follow the pattern of a small step between events one and two, a large step between events two and three. Moreover, the pattern does not seem to be bound to our culture alone, as most foreign students instinctively complete the progression the same way. For instance, in continuing to talk about this same mutual friend I might mention that last month he owned ten shares of ITT; now he owns fifty shares. Very few students come up with *The next thing you know he'll be owning a hundred shares,* which indeed would sound peculiar. The majority retort is always on the order of *The next thing you know he'll be owning the whole corporation.* Following is a sample listing of some progressions which have proved to be useful:

C. 1. A few days ago he borrowed a dollar; now he's borrowing five. *The next thing you know he'll be borrowing a hundred/a week's* salary/etc.

2. Four years ago he ran for student body president; now he's running for city councilman.

3. Yesterday he was complaining about his job; today he's complaining about his wife.

4. Last summer he took a two-week vacation; this summer he's taking a three-week vacation.

5. He always used to eat in French restaurants and go to see French films; now I see he's driving a Peugeot and taking French lessons.

In somewhat similar fashion we can "arrange" it so that the student's most appropriate commentary will contain the conditional perfect, not by any means a very simple verb form. Continuing the adventures of our above friend, if I report that a fire destroyed a thousand dollars in cash that he had been keeping under his mattress, the commentary would, I trust, be something close to *He should have put his money in a bank.* We can continue the story in this vein and thereby make our friend into a

prize nincompoop all the while eliciting, hopefully, a series of conditional perfects. Thus:

1. The first thing he did when he discovered the fire was to try to call his mother in Chicago.
2. The line was busy, but he had to break open the telephone to get his dime back.
3. Now he has to borrow all the money to repair his house.
4. Here's a telegram for him, but he's on a business trip and we don't know how to reach him.
5. When he comes back he's going to find that his electricity has been cut off.

Visuals. "Visuals" is the term I have assigned to the third technique, mentioned earlier, for having the student engage in communication that at the same time incorporates a certain desired feature of grammar. Some years ago in many daily papers there regularly appeared a syndicated feature called "Droodles," by a cartoonist named Roger Price. A droodle is an individual drawing that doesn't make any sense until the person who thought it up identifies it. Although in the syndicated droodles the author always supplied the titles, the reader could still use his own imagination and make his own guess. In the little booklet of droodles now on the market this is in fact what the reader is sometimes invited to do. For example, at the very beginning of the booklet appears the following droodle[5]:
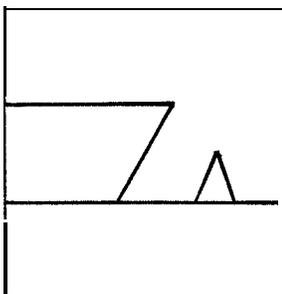
Price writes, "This, of course, appears to be 'A Mother Pyramid Feeding Its Child,' but it isn't. It is called: A Ship Arriving Too Late To Save A Drowning Witch." From an inspection of all the droodles in the booklet it is evident that the majority are identifiable with a phrase incorporating a relative clause whose main verb is in the present continuous and whose relative marker + *be* have been deleted. The title of the above droodle also carried this syntax, a very common form. The students then can be

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[5] All of Price's droodles reprinted with the permission of Price/Stern/Sloan Publishers, Inc., Los Angeles, California. From the book *Droodles* by Roger Price copyright © 1953, 1954, 1955, 1964, 1966 by Roger Price.

invited to invent titles to droodles like the following, all but one taken from Price's booklet[6]:

1   2   3

4   5   6
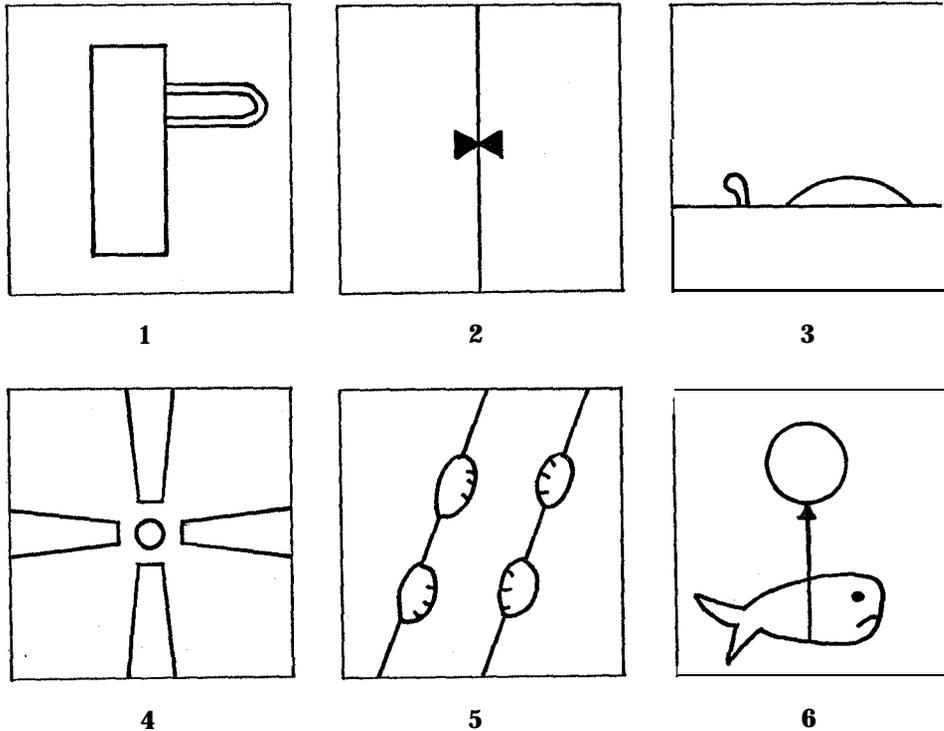
   The intended meanings of the droodles are as follows: 1. A man playing a trombone in a phone booth, 2. A man wearing a bow tie who stood too close to the front of an elevator, 3. A fat man smoking a pipe in a soft bed, 4. Four elephants inspecting a grapefruit, 5. A bear climbing a tree, 6. A fish committing suicide (which Japanese students for some reason always find screamingly funny).

   Droodles are the most successful method I have found for zeroing in on a point of syntax while at the same time letting the students be totally absorbed in the communicative aspects of the exercise. What also contributes to the usefulness of the droodles is the fact that this particular brand of humor seems to be universally picked up and enjoyed by all nationalities. Unfortunately, droodle identification brings into play only one small area of syntax, that of reduced relative clauses, and at the moment I know of no other graphic material of comparable enjoyment that can tap other parts of English grammar. Nevertheless, it is a direction worth looking in.

   The exercises discussed here have been constructed in such a way as

6 The exception is number 5.

to attempt to exert some measure of control—perhaps "prediction" would be a better word-over the form of what comes out of the student's mouth. The ideal practice in syntax would be to exercise that control without the student's realizing that it is happening. Exercises C and D, in which the student refers to a mythical "he," are farther from this ideal; droodles are probably nearer to it. In any case, these and other exercises incorporating similar principles, most yet to be devised, can help to point the way toward an amalgamation of classroom syntax and pragmatics.

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Reviews

IMPROVING AURAL COMPREHENSION (2 books: Teacher's Book of Readings and Student's Workbook). Joan Morley. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1972).

Improving Aural Comprehension helps to fill a void in available EFL materials by providing a well-developed series of units in the area of high-beginning, intermediate, and advanced aural comprehension intended, according to the author, to guide the student in coping with the tasks of when to listen, what to listen for, and how to listen—i.e. "listening with understanding." The appearance of such a text shows that it is too much to assume that a student will develop skill in aural comprehension without any guided classroom work.

This is a text designed for upper level secondary students and adults as either a textbook for an aural comprehension/pronunciation class or a supplementary text in an English program. It is intended for those who have had at least one course in English. The variety of lessons, lasting from three or four minutes of listening time to fifteen minutes, enables it to be used by a wide range of students—high school or university, scientific or non-scientific, high beginner or advanced, and academic or non-academic.

The student workbook and an accompanying teacher's book of readings is organized into eight units. Each of the first seven units is planned around one of the following *concept* areas: numbers and numerical relationships; letters, sounds, abbreviations, spelling, and alphabetizing; directions and spatial relations; time and temporal sequence; dates and chronological order; measurements and amounts; and proportion, comparison, and contrast. Unit Eight, Getting the Facts, consists of fifteen independent readings to be used for summary practice.

Within each concept unit there are four kinds of lessons. Review lessons provide basic vocabulary and concept review. Content lessons provide practice of learned concepts. Problem lessons provide more real-life practice plus the opportunity to use relationships and organization methods in manipulating the data. Test lessons provide testing of the concept area.

Each individual lesson has five parts. Part one is a short introductory paragraph to the lesson. Part two of each lesson is the aural comprehension dictation. Part three consists of aural comprehension questions or problem-solving. Part four is discussion of the lesson. Part. five is a list of the vocabulary and phrases used in the lesson. For example, in the concept area on numbers and numerical relationships, lesson two, one of five review lessons, is titled Discriminating Between Teens and Tens. Part one, which appears in the student workbook, is a brief introductory paragraph pointing out that the teen numbers are often confused with the numbers formed from multiples of ten. This is to be read orally either by the teacher or, on an ad-

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vanced level, by a student. In Part two students see fourteen sentences in their workbooks, such as "The student from Norway bought (40–14) books." The student task is to decide which number was dictated after the sentence has been read. In Part three they are asked to answer five aural comprehension questions based on the previous sentences. In Part four, discussion topics, they see a list of possible discussion topics to be used in classroom follow-up. In this particular lesson they see three suggestions: difficult pairs of numbers, syllable accent for teen numbers, and syllable accent for multiples of ten. Part five, also to be used as follow-up, is a list of vocabulary words and phrases. These also appear in student workbooks. Directions are given in the workbook for each part of the lesson.

In the teacher's instructions, appearing before each concept unit in the teacher's manual, directives are specifically given about what lessons to include and what lessons to omit for high beginning and advanced students. Since a capsule view of each concept unit is also given, teachers know how the lessons progress within each unit and, therefore, know how to properly select them in order to meet the needs of the students. This type of information is very helpful because of the fact that teachers are always pressed for time. Instead of learning through experience what lessons are good for what level student, teachers can refer to the "nutshell" view of each unit. In this kind of format there is much more flexibility because one is not tied to doing every lesson just because of the mere fact that they appear in the text, be they useful or peripheral to student needs.

Improving Aural Comprehension provides an interesting variety of materials that can help to eliminate student boredom in an area of language learning that can be dull. Exercises do not exist in a vacuum as they normally do when teachers develop an exercise ad hoc to meet a momentary need because each lesson is part of a carefully programmed sequence of lessons. While each lesson is based on a specific concept area, the subject matter of the lessons has been taken from a wide assortment of topics, from people, places, things, events, and actions in history to geography, sports, entertainment, science, mathematics, culture and customs, government, and economy. As a result, a student is learning new and useful information as well as improving aural comprehension. For example, students are being exposed to common acronyms while reviewing the alphabet. They are being introduced to the food-pound-second measurement system while they are reviewing measurements and amounts. They are being exposed to American holidays while they are reviewing dates. Certain culturally bound lessons such as Popular Magazines, the Dewey Decimal System, Greyhound Bus Schedules, US Publications, and Tourism in New York City perhaps might be more meaningful and relevant if the student is studying English in the United States, but Morley suggests that lessons can be adapted or completely omitted to meet specific teaching situations and learning needs and, therefore, this is not a real problem. In fact, Morley seems to encourage the

teacher to use the lessons with flexibility. Perhaps certain other lessons such as those on science abbreviations, chemicals, and mathematics may not be of interest to all kinds of students but again the teacher is free to pick and choose since each lesson is a self-contained entity, a favorable feature of this text. It should be mentioned here that teachers will find that they will probably want to spend more time in class follow-up on some lessons than on others when there is high student interest. Some statistical data might soon be dated but the practice is still there even if the information is old.

Prepared tapes are available to accompany the text and can be used in conjunction with classroom work. For beginning students most of the lessons must be done in class with possible duplication in the language laboratory for reinforcement and review, if time permits. High intermediate or advanced students could either work as a group in the laboratory or individually at their own pace with oral follow-up supplied after each group of lessons assigned. Teachers will know if students have done the work because they will only be able to answer oral follow-up questions if they have done the required work.

The key to this text is the flexibility which it offers the teacher. In her introduction (p. viii) Morley lists three features that she considers important in the design of the lessons that allows them to be used profitably by high-beginning, intermediate, and advanced students. First, the lessons in each unit have been arranged in careful sequence with gradually increasing difficulty, except for occasional easy review lessons. The student moves from the easier units, one and two, to the more difficult ones, three, four, and five, to the most difficult ones, six, seven, and eight. Second, each lesson is a short self-contained entity, which permits omission of some of the easier Context lessons for advanced students. She says, however, that under no circumstances should review lessons of a unit be omitted. It seems rather unnecessary to have an advanced level student do many of the review lessons in Units One and Two, if one assumes, as Morley does, that an advanced student is one whose level is approaching the general level of proficiency required for college entrance. Why does such a student need to waste time reviewing every detail of the numeral system or practicing the alphabet in such detail, especially if time is of the essence, as it usually tends to be. Enough review can be gained from the context lessons and the problem lessons of Units One and Two. One should follow the strategy of picking and choosing lessons which meet the needs of students. This reviewer must agree, however, with Morley when she says that some of the lessons in all the units are deceivingly easy, such as, for example, those on writing telephone numbers, addresses, or abbreviations. Third, variation in pace enables the teacher to use the lessons at other levels of proficiency quite easily, even though they are designed with the intermediate student in mind. As every teacher knows, it is rare to find a book that has something meaningful for three levels of proficiency.

The weak point of this text is the fact that it does not go far enough in individual lessons to give students the opportunity to practice the vocabulary and phrases in living situations, although its author acknowledges the fact that it is difficult to separate the listening-speaking skills because they are so closely related. Morley does suggest oral class follow-up in Part four of each lesson called Discussion; however, the term "discussion" is somewhat misleading. In fact it is NOT free flowing discussion that is needed, but rather a controlled type of practice or drill of the useful vocabulary and phrases in the lesson. Students need to have the opportunity to manipulate *useful* vocabulary and phrases as well as to get to know how to use them in meaningful situations. Knowledge gained passively via aural dictation can very often be extended to the speaking area of language in order that complete learning take place. Of course, some lessons need not have as much follow-up orally in class as others but, in any case, all lessons that are used necessitate some follow-up by the teachers after the lesson has been given, or else one is merely dealing with lists of vocabulary words. Some of the suggested topics of discussion such as the square root (Unit 1, Lesson 7), exploration and colonialism (Unit 5, Lesson 11), scientific abbreviations (Unit 2, Lesson 11), and territorial expansion (Unit 5, Lesson 5) are somewhat difficult to handle; but, again the flexibility of this text enables teachers to adapt these recommendations to their needs. Others are more helpful such as food prices (Unit 6, Lesson 8), holidays in other countries (Unit 5, Lesson 7), and local store openings and closings (Unit 4, Lesson 8). For the most part, however, much is left up to the creativity of teachers to effectively use the vocabulary and phrases in good classroom follow-up.

By its nature aural comprehension is actually testing. Students are presented with something in order to see if they have heard it. The real test and real learning comes if given vocabulary and phrases can be used in a meaningful way, outside the controlled text of the aural dictation and into the reality of the learners. In many lessons lower level students are bombarded with many new vocabulary words which they cannot hope to absorb and be able to use unless there is good practice and drill to follow up the lesson. For example, the lesson on adverbs of frequency in the concept unit on time and temporal sequence gives the students fifteen adverbs with such distinctions as "frequently," "often," "many times," and "sometimes," "occasionally," and "once in a while" pointed out. At a lower level of proficiency this would be a lot, perhaps too much, to absorb all at once because the words are so closely related. This could result in misuse. At a more advanced level the students would probably know one-third to one-half of the words and, therefore, the task of transferring these words into a real-life situation would be less difficult; but, follow-up would still be needed in order to give students practical drill. This is also true in the lesson on Lines, Angles, and Shapes in the concept unit Directions and Spatial Relations where students are exposed to eighteen distinctions with such terms as convex (lens), concave (lens), trapezoid, and sphere. Again the more pro-

ficient students will know more words initially than lower level students. In the lesson Three Dimensions: Outside Relationships and in the lesson Three Dimensions: Inside Relationships, which make use of very cute illustrations to show what the various prepositions mean, students are again faced with many related vocabulary words, perhaps too many at one time.

It should be mentioned here that in order for the lessons to work and be effective teachers should definitely study the teacher's manual carefully before they start using the text. This is important because knowing how to ready students for the required task is essential in order to ensure the proper use of the material. The mood and discipline must be set from the very beginning. Students must not expect material to be repeated (except for the first few examples of each lesson) because they must understand that the goal of the text is to learn how to listen and retain pertinent information the first time they hear it. With this in mind teachers will learn to pace their dictation to the level of the students. This is also important in order to understand how the lessons in the workbook are referred to in the teacher's manual where all the dictation for the lessons appear. If not, one can tend to get confused and not clearly see how to coordinate the two books.

All in all this text is well deserving of its title because students can certainly improve their aural comprehension regardless of their level of proficiency if the correct methodology suggested by Morley is followed. It is basically a text limited to listening comprehension and, therefore, it is not meant to be a springboard for improving every other language skill. Since there is such an interesting and useful variety of information in the lessons and built-in flexibility teachers cannot help but be attracted to it as a valuable new classroom text.

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PRACTICE, PLAN AND WRITE: GUIDED COMPOSITION FOR STUDENTS OF ENGLISH, Book 1, Book 2, and Teachers Guide and Key, by Patricia B. Mathews and Sasahat Tura (New York: Litton Educational Publishing International, 1973).

This text is designed to "teach writing at the intermediate level," but the authors further state their aims as "to prepare the student to express himself with a minimum of errors within the basic grammatical patterns of the language and with appropriate vocabulary; to assist him in expressing his ideas in an orderly fashion . . . and to help him master the, standard rules of capitalization and punctuation." Each book has eight units and appendices containing Metric Measurements and Their Equivalents plus indices of structures, vocabulary topics, and words and phrases. Each unit presents

first a Model Paragraph accompanied by directions for very controlled exercises such as the repetition aloud and in writing of the sentences of the model paragraph and then substitutions within those sentences. The model paragraph is followed by Additional Vocabulary related to the paragraph and a dialogue which is to be repeated and/or copied. The second part of each unit offers Language Practice: (1) a set of structures, most of which are presented as sentences extracted from the model paragraph, with directions for the students to repeat and substitute, (2) structural pattern charts with brief grammatical descriptions and the exercises of repetition, substitution and transformation. The third section, entitled Form and Organization, includes information and exercises on punctuation, letterwriting, and rhetorical organization. The final section provides writing assignments, primarily imitations of and analogs to the model paragraph. The Teacher's Guide, 117 pp. long, has a good number of suggestions for teaching, suggestions for additional activities, and a key to the exercises.

The authors note that the writing assignments are "extremely guided." The whole text is extremely guided. For inexperienced teachers this extensive guidance plus the full Teacher's Guide may well be a boon, for the same kinds of classroom activities and assignments, easy to understand and perform, are repeated throughout the two books with slight variations as the material becomes more complex. For the students there are many exercises that they will learn to become successful at. If confident teachers and busy students are the desiderata for good language classes, this text will provide them.

On the other hand, if teachers expect their students to achieve the laudable goal stated on p. iii, "Students who complete the text would be able to write an interesting paragraph which is basically accurate and well planned," they may be disappointed. Most of each unit is devoted to grammar and repetition of sentence structures. Unit 8, Book 1, for example, begins with a model paragraph entitled "Directions for Going from Simpson Hall to Paul's Apartment" (p. 127), a dialogue (p. 128), language practice on prepositions and imperatives (pp. 129-130), a map (p. 131), adverbial clause chart (p. 132), adverbial clause description and exercises (133-134), gerunds as objects of prepositions (pp. 134-136), verbs with prepositions and particles (pp. 136-141), writing assignments (pp. 142-143). It is clear that this is essentially a structure text plus some exercises in writing and thus especially suitable for those teachers who see composition as the writing of sentences and who wish to limit their students' experience in writing to controlled composition.

However for those teachers who believe (1) that intermediate and advanced level students (the authors intend their text for "intermediate and advanced level of high school and above") should be exposed to models of good English writing, (2) that writing is more than putting a series of sentences together after a topic sentence, and (3) that attempts at writing something significant in English should be encouraged for all students even

though the student will make errors in his efforts to use the language, this is not their text. Such teachers will not be thrilled by the model paragraph topics (e.g., *I'm Oscar Marcos Prados; My Family; My Apartment; My Office; The Lincoln Memorial: A Historical Monument).* They will be unhappy with writing that sounds like stilted informal speech and with exercises that require a reading aloud of such writing. They will have difficulty explaining writing assignments such as that in Unit 8 where students are asked to write a formal description of a place, to put the description into the form of a personal letter, and, at the same time, to demonstrate the use of a topic sentence. While it is certainly possible for students to do all this, and it can be argued that the language training would be valuable for them, the resulting writing, a formal-informal topological survey with a logical topic sentence, does not resemble anything students might ever want to read or be called on to write—outside of the English class.

Two features which all users of these texts will find welcome are the very useful indices to structures and vocabulary topics and a presentation of supplementary vocabulary organized by field (e.g., the language of the university, its divisions, fields of study, etc.). Two other features which may not be received as pleasantly are the rather intimidating tone (exemplified by the martial title), and a physical appearance that looks a little more home-made than perhaps intended.

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THE GOOFICON: A REPAIR MANUAL FOR ENGLISH. Marina K. Burt and Carol Kiparsky (Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1972. pp. xxiii + 121).

The Gooficon is **a** delightful book which I heartily recommend to all teachers of English as a foreign or second language. Although this book is written primarily for practicing teachers and not for theoreticians, it is clear that Burt and Kiparsky represent the new breed of TEFL specialist who view second-language learning as a creative process involving the active participation of the learner.

They present two ideas in their Introduction which clearly signal this theoretical framework: first that the major focus of activity in the classroom should be on communication where "answers can be right or wrong for content, not just grammar" (p. 11) and that, in fact, there will be occasions when teachers should tolerate *goofs.* Second, they introduce the notion that many of the "errors" made by EFL students arise from intra-English sources rather than from mother-tongue interference. This latter view suggests that the behavior of students at various stages of language study will be systematic and predictable although different from that of native speakers under similar circumstances. Hence, one of the important aims of this book is to help the teacher "to recognize and respond to the particular problems

of his own students by becoming thoroughly familiar with their error regularities" (p. 3).

I accept this theoretical orientation and the subsequent pedagogical implications. If the native and second-language learning process are essentially analogous, and if the learner like the young child moves actively through a series of approximative stages as he approaches target-language competence, but if the emphasis in many language classrooms to date has been upon the control of form rather than content; then the teacher's role in the classroom and his preparation must be critically re-examined.

As I have indicated, this book was written for classroom teachers, and it should prove to be an extremely valuable reference tool for them. Burt and Kiparsky begin with a cogent, succinct Introduction in which they clearly outline the objectives of the book and covertly convey their theoretical bias. In this chapter, they introduce two potentially controversial topics-the establishment of an error hierarchy and the provision of rules— in an intuitively sensible and, I believe, pedagogically sound manner. They argue that the teacher simply cannot and probably should not correct *every* error; but that he should give priority to those errors which interfere with comprehension and communication and which have general application in English sentences. Furthermore, they argue convincingly that it may frequently be appropriate for the teacher to formulate explicitly for the student guiding principles or rules which characterize acceptable target-language behavior. This latter message comes across particularly clearly even though a cursory glance at the literature on the role of explanation in language teaching suggests that not all practitioners agree with Burt and Kiparsky.

The monograph itself contains six readable, informative chapters. Each chapter addresses itself to an important topical area: 1) The Skeleton of English Clauses (11 pages); 2) The Auxiliary System (18 pages); 3) Passive Sentences (13 pages); 4) Temporal Conjunctions (25 pages); 5) Sentential Complements (24 pages); 6) Psychological Predicates (17 pages). Each chapter contains three sections—Definitions, Analysis of Goof Types, and Pedagogical Notes.

The definitions provided by Burt and Kiparsky (e.g., limited and unlimited verbs, Chapter 4; straightforward and reverse verbs, Chapter 6) are clear and useful and have been very well received by students in one TESL program with which I have worked.

In the sections on the Analysis of Goof Types, Burt and Kiparsky choose a series of structures or features of English which cause persistent problems to students. They explain the feature in question, provide examples of erroneous usage, discuss possible sources for this erroneous usage, and present rules for correcting the deviant behavior. Their rules are simple and concise and should aid, rather than confuse, both teacher and student.

Finally, each chapter concludes with a section entitled Pedagogical Notes. I found this portion to be extremely helpful. Burt and Kiparsky recommend

the teaching of grammar points by using devices such as the following: 1) the rearrangement of scrambled sequences in which cues to the correct solution are gradually removed (cf., a vs. b)

a) VERY WALKED FAR PRIEST THE

b) USE COUNTRIES MANY ENGLISH

c) THE ROBBED TRAIN BY WAS BANDITS

2) the decipherment of headlines:

a) PRISONERS UNION   A Prisoners' Union has
   FORMED UPSTATE   been formed upstate.

b) PRESIDENT CRANKY   The President is cranky
   OVER CRITICS   over his critics.

3) and role playing in which the students discuss and act out various situations using features such as the passive. These and many other pedagogical techniques are both sensible and relevant-something which cannot be said for the drills which appear in many Methods books.

In summary, I like this monograph *very* much. It forms a welcome addition to my library. I only hope that Burt and Kiparsky will find the leisure time to revise and expand it.

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: A BOOK OF READINGS. Harold B. Allen and Russell N. Campbell, eds. (McGraw-Hill International Book Co., 1972. 449 pp.).

A book can be judged only in terms of the purpose for which it is published. This purpose may be either explicitly stated or implicitly affirmed by its contents. For this book, the explicit statement and the implicit affirmation work at cross purposes. This may be a result of the current state of the art and not of the negligence or malfeasance of the editors. When the first edition of this volume was published, language teachers knew what they were doing, even if what they were doing was not quite right. The current domination of the linguistic scene by the transformationalists has left **the** language teachers, many of whom are applied linguists, in a limbo where they do not quite know what they are doing. The reason for this is that most of the linguists, following Chomsky's lead, would rather not comment on matters such as language teaching. As a result, the stated purpose of the book, transferred verbatim from the first edition, does not seem to aptly describe the central thrust of the second edition.

The stated purpose of the work is as follows: "This collection has one ultimate purpose: to help everyone now teaching or preparing to teach English to those for whom English is not the first language" (p. viii). This stated purpose is more appropriate for the first edition, from which it was taken, than it is for the second edition. To put it another way, the first edition was more suitable for the person who was doing the actual teaching; the second edition is more suitable for the M.A. student who is interested in theoretical matters. For instance, the section on audio-visual aids and the language laboratory in the first edition has been omitted in the second edition and only one paper from this section in the first edition has been preserved in the second edition, "Emphasizing the Audio in the Audio-lingual Approach," by Newmark and Diller. One paper on language laboratories, William N. Locke, "The Future of Language Laboratories; has been added, but this paper deals largely with a survey of the current use of laboratories and a prediction of their future status; it is not as practical as the three articles it replaced from the first edition. Similarly, by this reviewer's estimate, 31 articles out of 50 in the first edition are practical rather than theoretical in nature; the proportion in the second edition is 16 practical articles out of a total of 44. It is true that two highly theoretical (and very difficult for students) articles were omitted from the first edition, the papers by Haugen and Weinreich on the phoneme and contrastive phonology and it is also true that the authors probably subscribe to Wardaugh's dictum "There is nothing so practical as a good theory" (p. 19). But the over-all impression remains: The second edition of the work under review is generally more theoretical in tone and less practical than the first.

This impression is further strengthened by the inclusion of papers such as "A Typology of Bilingual Education" by William F. Mackey, a paper which purports to be able to describe and differentiate 250 types of bilingualism (p. 427). Similarly, the non-practicality of theoretical matters is exemplified by Robin Lakoff's paper, "Transformational Grammar and Language Teaching," which on the one hand criticizes behavioristic methods of language learning and pattern practice (pp. 60–61) and on the other hand says that "Pattern practice drills are of value" (p. 65). The theoretical orientation of the whole volume is best characterized by the glaring omission of papers on individualization of instruction. Probably, the most practical thrust in second language pedagogy since the advent of transformationalism in linguistics has been the individualization of instruction. Yet, the second edition of this work does not have a single paper on the individualization of instruction in TESL even though the work bears a 1972 copyright date. The reason for this resides in the scarcity of articles written on the subject of individualization of instruction in ESL, but there are still many fine articles on individualization of instruction in second language learning that could have been used.

This is not to say that all of the editorial decisions made in reference to the second edition have been deleterious. For instance, the second edition

has added the very excellent paper by Robert Kaplan, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education." It has also retained the commendable paper by Donald Knapp, "A Focused Efficient Method to Relate Composition Correction to Teaching Aims" and has added two other papers on composition, one by Dykstra and Paulston and another by Arapoff. But the useful paper by Lois Robinson on controlled composition has been deleted from the second revision. Similarly, the second edition has lost one of the better papers on the teaching of literature, Charles T. Scott's, "Literature and the ESL Program."

At this point, the question arises "What, if any, have been the guiding principles behind the changes made between the first and second edition of the work?" Part of the answer can be found in the statement that "He {Russell N. Campbell) is almost entirely responsible for the changes that appear in this edition." Another part of the answer can be found in the obvious effort to cut away many of the audiolingual articles from the orthodox era of audiolingualism in the 1950's. Thus, the Charles C. Fries article on "A New Approach to Language Learning" has gone from the second edition as has the article *"Have* as a Function Word" by the same author. Reprinting both of these articles would have been anachronistic to say the least. Similarly, the Australian article on a contrastive analysis of English and Spanish has disappeared from the second edition. It has been replaced by a paper from the pen of Paul Schachter stating that transformationalism's contrastive analysis is looking for similarities between languages. From this reviewer's viewpoint, both similarities and differences are important to the language teacher and should be stressed equally.

Similarly, all of the following strictly audiolingual articles from the first edition have been excluded from the second edition:

Adelaida Paterno, "A Lesson on English Modification"
Harold V. King, "Oral Grammar Drills"
Robert L. Saitz, "Large Classes and the Oral-Aural Method"
Eugene A. Nida, "Selective Listening"
Robert A. Lado, "Patterns of Difficulty in Vocabulary"

(The last of these is associated more with the contrastive analysis hypothesis than it is with the audiolingual method.) Along with this pruning of structuralist articles must be counted the loss of the excellent article by Kenneth L. Pike, "Nucleation." A similar article from the structuralist era which has some merit, William G. Moulton, "Applied Linguistics in the Classroom," has also been lost in the change from the first to the second edition. However, a structuralist article which has little to offer except a terminological innovation has been retained. That is Earl W. Stevick's, " 'Technemes' and the Rhythm of Class Activities." This is not to say that Campbell has discriminated against the audiolingual method by removing all articles written from its theoretical basis. On the contrary, he has added at least

two largely audiolingual articles by V. J. Cook and Christina Paulson on differing types of oral structure drills.

The pruning of structuralist articles has been accompanied by an effort to update the work in the areas of linguistics and psychology. Thus, the excellent discussion by Chastain on "Behavioristic and Cognitive Approaches in Programmed Instruction" has found its way into the new edition together with the article by Newmark on "How Not to Interfere with Language Learning." This also undoubtedly prompted the addition of a new section to the book entitled "Current Issues." This section contains an article by Bosco on psychological studies, one by W. E. Lambert on bilingualism, another by Spolsky on "Attitudinal Aspects of Second Language Learning," an article by Fishman and Lovas on sociolinguistics and the previously mentioned article by Mackey.

The major thrust of the revision then, has been to up-date the first edition as might be expected. On the plus side this has resulted in the beefing up of the section on testing with articles by Brière, Cooper, Oller and Upshur together with an article on reading by George R. Carroll. It has, however, also resulted in the heavily theoretical tone of the anthology. In a day when *Teaching English as a Second Language: A Book* of *Readings* had no competition its few shortcomings could probably be overlooked. But today this anthology has competition and it may be the decision of some not to use it in classes but to switch to another much more practical-in-tone book of readings such as that edited by Kenneth Croft.[1]

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1 See *TESOL Quarterly* 7,3 (September, 1973) for a review of Croft's *Readings on English as a Second Language.*

JAMES W. NEY
Arizona State University

The Forum

Behavior Patterns in the ESL Classroom

Teachers of English as a Second Language would certainly agree that to live successfully in this country, our students must learn our cultural patterns as well as our language. Mari-Luci Jaramillo in her "Cultural Differences in the ESOL Classroom" *TESOL Quarterly,* March 1973) makes this very clear:

> Dr. Robert Lado describes in *Linguistics Across Cultures* how a Latin who is trying to attract the attention of a waiter or someone else hisses. But hissing is very impolite in the Anglo world; there one does not hiss at anybody. When we teach students how to order food in a restaurant and do not teach them what they can or cannot do to attract the attention of the waiter or waitress their newfound knowledge may not be used under the most pleasant circumstances.

But the ESL classroom brings into contact the American ways of the teacher and the ways of students from diverse cultural backgrounds, creating an environment itself highly charged with the potential for cross-cultural conflict. The teacher faces a tremendous task in this multi-cultural environment: he must become as familiar as possible with the cultural patterns of his students (in order to avoid offending and to show interest in the students) and at the same time, without seeming to disparage their ways, introduce them to ours.

Where it is merely a matter of acquainting students with cultural patterns followed outside the classroom (how to act when shopping or in restaurants) the problem is not very great. If the teacher strives to be very polite, respectful, and tactful in explaining the way Americans act in such situations, he will encounter little difficulty. If he knows how these things are done in other cultures, he might make comparisons and contrasts; and if he does not know, and if his students' English is sufficient, he might ask them to explain how these things are done in their countries. Classroom work might then involve the students in situational activities which afford the opportunity to practice both the language and the behavior appropriate in those situations in this country.

The problem is extremely serious, however, when it is a matter of cultural behavior in the classroom situation itself, where the American and foreign behavior patterns are in immediate contact in a real-life situation. What should the teacher do in this situation? And here it must be asked whether Jaramillo's statement that "if Latin Americans are going to learn English and learn and understand Anglo ways, they must also understand the Anglo behavior pattern. In the classroom both behaviors should be permitted and encouraged with thorough explanation and discussion" is entirely satisfactory. For although it is unquestionably true that our students must acquire an understanding of our behavior patterns and that in the classroom cultural differences must be thoroughly explained and discussed, it would seem an utter impossibility to permit and encourage in the same situation behavior patterns that are in conflict. It would seem impossible, for example, to encourage a student to stand one foot from the teacher during an after-class conference, as is the way in Latin American countries and at the same time encourage him to stand four feet away, as is done here. A teacher, asked a question which he cannot answer, cannot say both "I do not know," as American teachers would do, and pretend he knows, as his Latin American counterpart would do.

If Jaramillo is suggesting that we adhere to the student's cultural patterns one day and to the American teacher's way the next, one can but wonder if student-acculturation can take place in an environment where the behavior patterns shift from one time to another or from one situation to another. That this may in fact be Jaramillo's intention is borne out by her statement referring to the Latin American's orientation toward teamwork: ". . . rewards will sometimes be given for group efforts and sometimes for individual efforts." And one wonders if in like fashion it is being recommended that the ESL teacher sometimes let his student breathe down his neck and sometimes insist upon maintaining a "neutral" American distance, sometimes admit he must look up an answer and sometimes pretend he knows, sometimes dress and act formally in the classroom and sometimes dress and act with usual American informality. One might be forgiven, I think, for doubting that with such an approach "we will be creating empathy in our students and in time this classroom effort will be repaid by higher motivation."

Furthermore, although the mixing of American and foreign ways in the classroom is a questionable practice in any ESL program, the deleterious effect might be less noticeable where all of the students share a common cultural heritage. But in those numerous programs where students are of diverse cultural backgrounds such an approach is patently untenable.

One could hardly quarrel with Jaramillo's contention that we should help our students acquire authentic gestures to accompany their English expression and that "while we teach them our gestures, we should be learning theirs." Emphatically we should be learning the ways of our students, but this teacher-learning should not be done during ESL class time, nor

should the ESL program formalize a procedure in which foreign cultural patterns are actually practiced in the classroom.

What, then, is the teacher to do? It would seem that in addition to general politeness, tact, and good manners, the teacher must simply use common sense. At first he might permit his students to act in any way which is not offensive to other students, does not require the teacher to do anything his own cultural background prohibits, and does not impede the progress of the class toward the accomplishment of its primary goal—to teach foreign students the language and culture of *our* country.

An ESL teacher of my acquaintance once stated firmly, "I will never say I know when I don't. I can't bluff my way through! And surely she was right in her instinctive rejection of the notion that she be required to act in a way which her cultural background would prohibit, One of the most basic of language-teaching principles is also fundamental to "culture-teaching": the teacher must teach the language he actually speaks (his pronunciation and regionalism), for he cannot teach a language which he does not naturally use. Similarly, an American teacher cannot naturally perform the behavior of his foreign counterpart. Moreover, the goal of the ESL class, once again, is to help the student acquire *our* language and *our* culture and not the teacher the student's. Just as the teacher models our language and encourages his students to follow his example, so must he model our behavior patterns and encourage his students to follow them.

If this sounds like "when in Rome," so it is—that common sense adage expresses precisely what our students must do to act appropriately in our country. But if he can do it (and here individual teachers may differ), and if no one else is offended, and if learning is not impeded, the teacher might indulge a student in his customs for a little while, if by so doing, he can gain the student's confidence and win his acceptance of the course and of Americans in general. I no longer retreat when Latin American students talk right into my face. I am uncomfortable, but I now accept it as a small price to pay for the establishment of friendly rapport. But if another teacher told me that he simply could not permit students to breathe down his neck, I would suggest that with as much tact as he could muster, he insist upon maintaining the American distance customary in a teacher-student con-ference. I would suggest, however, that at the next possible moment he do his best to explain fully the American custom and how it is different from the student's. He should then make this behavior pattern the object of future work in the classroom, devising ways to practice it with all his students.

There is a vital difference between being aware of and sensitive to the cultural patterns of our students so as to avoid offending and so as to be able to explain our ways fully to them and following their ways in the classroom.

ln her abstract, Jaramillo states: "In the actual ESOL classroom, situa-tions may be created where both Anglo-American and the native cultural

patterns may be practiced in open relaxed atmospheres." I disagree emphatically with this and would wish to restate it thus: In the actual ESOL classroom, an atmosphere should be created where students and teacher can explore openly their cultural differences preparatory to creating situations wherein the Anglo-American cultural patterns can be practiced in an open relaxed atmosphere.

If, after all, it is true that the ESL classroom is for speaking English and that it is necessary when speaking any language to accompany our speech with authentic behavior patterns, what possible justification can there be for encouraging our students to use their cultural patterns in their English classes? To do so would seem as inappropriate as encouraging them to go to American restaurants (where they must also speak English) and hiss at the waiters.

<div style="text-align: right">

J. Philip Goldberg
Gallaudet College
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Dr. Mari-Luci Jaramillo's Response

After reading Mr. Goldberg's critique, I believe our differences are essentially philosophical. Mr. Goldberg indicates that an ESL class should concern itself exclusively with learning English and middle-American behavior patterns. Teacher acceptance and familiarity of the students' first culture are only important if they further this goal. He speaks continually of *"our* students," *"our* culture," and *"our* country." In other words, he feels, "If this sounds like 'when in Rome,' so it is . . ." Obviously, Mr. Goldberg believes that the function of an ESL classroom is to turn foreigners into "Americans." I disagree completely. First of all, "our country" includes quite a few cultures. I believe that each ethnic group has the right to survive and flourish.

Historically, ESL programs were designed to help so-called foreigners become "Americans." ESL was a tool of the melting-pot philosophy—the "when in Rome" philosophy. But I believe that if ESL is to remain a useful concept in American education, then it must change from its very roots. ESL programs must respect a student's first culture, recognize its equal importance to the new culture being introduced, and acknowledge the threat to a student's first culture that an ESL teacher can readily be.

If an ESL teacher concerns himself only with the teaching of the English language and of Anglo behavior, that teacher inadvertently is impressing on his students the superiority of the new culture over the student's mother culture. An ESL teacher who holds to the melting-pot theory will bring "American" superiority vibrations into his classroom no matter how well he tolerates "students breathing down his neck." Perhaps such a teacher will succeed in teaching children the English language, but how many of his students will leave the classroom viewing their original culture proudly and their self images positively? Not many. ESL programs which lack

cultural sensitivity and respect (not merely as a technique) can be disastrous to a person, both as an individual being and as an embodiment of culture.

I could argue the effectiveness of one ESL program over another with respect to second language acquisition, but the basic issue is philosophical rather than technical. The question is this: is ESL concerned only with teaching English at the expense of a student's attitude toward his first culture, or does it have the additional responsibility of helping to preserve one's original culture? I believe it is the latter.

MARI-LUCI JARAMILLO
University of New Mexico

Introducing

Problems in English Grammar

A New Section

It seems certain that all teachers of English anywhere are sometimes puzzled by questions about the grammatical structure of the language. Teachers whose students had little or no contact with English in childhood often confront especially difficult questions about the grammar of the language: it is for this reason that such teachers—many of them continental Europeans—have produced most of the best grammars of modern English. It is appropriate for journals such as *TESOL Quarterly* to include sections that give their readers an opportunity to raise questions about English grammar and to participate in discussion of such questions. Such a section is to be included in *TESOL Quarterly* beginning with the next issue. To get it started, readers are invited to send in questions now.

Questions about terminology ought to be of minor importance, but they can be troublesome. We need names for the things we work with: it is significant that the first human use of language mentioned in the biblical account of the Creation was the giving of names to "every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air." Discussion of grammatical matters is complicated by the fact that different accounts of English grammatical structure employ different sets of terms. Certainly questions about terminology can be taken up in the new section.

Some differences in terminology do not reflect real differences in analysis. Thus whether the *John's* of *John's faults is* called a "possessive" or a "genitive" is a matter of taste, not of a difference in analysis. But many differences in terminology are the natural result of genuine differences in analysis. If our analysis of such a phrase as *the newer buildings* distinguishes the functions performed by the two modifiers of *buildings,* some such term as "determiner" will seem useful to us; and if we attempt to label all semantic relationships within sentences, we will find ourselves employing terms presented in recent years both in Britain and in the United States. If we regard verbs as central within clause structure, we will have no use for a term such as "predicate" to cover everything outside subjects; and if our analysis of such a sentence as *Is it true that Shanghai is the world's largest city?* treats the final subordinate clause as part of the syntactic nucleus of the sentence (in spite of the fact that *it* occupies the subject position), we may not want to employ the term "extraposition" in connection with the subordinate clause. Obviously questions about analysis should be discussed in the new section.

Problems of a very different kind confront us when we are doubtful about

the acceptability of grammatical constructions and would like to resolve our doubts. It is more than thirty years since I began teaching English grammar to teachers and prospective teachers of English, and I still encounter constructions whose status I am not certain of. A recent example may deserve mention here. Working through the Quirk-Greenbaum-Leech-Svartvik *Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972) a few months ago, I came upon such sentences as *Theoretically, I have no objections to his proposal and nor have any of my colleagues,* and found *nor* excluded from the list of basic coordinators because it can follow *and* and *but* immediately (pp. 552, 565, 587). I myself never use *nor* immediately after *and* or *but;* I use *neither.* And I have no memory of ever having seen or heard *nor* used in this way. The Quirk volume is as impressively sponsored as any grammar can be, and it is the most extensive grammar of the living language published thus far in the second half of this century. It is British, but it attempts to describe the grammatical structure of the "educated English" of all of the world's "major English-speaking communities," putting the principal emphasis on describing the structure of "the English of serious exposition." Normally it includes comments on distinctions between British and American grammatical practices, but it includes no such comment on the use of *nor* with *and* and *but.* I cannot help wondering whether through all these years I have missed something that I certainly should not have missed.

Confronted with problems about English grammar, we can (and should) consult the best grammars, the best works on usage, and the best dictionaries. But sometimes we cannot find answers to our questions, and sometimes we find answers that do not convince us. There is a wholesome but often-inconvenient anarchy in this field: there is no holy book, no pope, no supreme court or academy. We can discuss our problems with colleagues and friends. And now we can send questions to *TESOL Quarterly.* The opinions of others who have thought about such matters can be of great value.

I have been asked to act as a kind of secretary for the new unit devoted to grammatical problems. Letters can be addressed as follows:

RALPH B. LONG
BOX 13261
St. Petersburg, Florida 33733

Announcements

CALL FOR PAPERS—1975 TESOL CONVENTION

The 1975 TESOL Convention will be held in Los Angeles, California, March 4-9, 1975. This year we are inviting papers on the eight areas of special interest to TESOL members:

1. English as a foreign language in foreign countries.
2. English as a foreign/second language, for foreign students in the U.S.
3. English as a second language, for U.S. residents in general
4. English as a second language, in bilingual education
5. English as a second language, in adult education
6. Standard English as a second dialect
7. Applied linguistics
8. Bilingual education

Within these areas, we suggest the following topics:

1. The process of becoming bilingual: second language acquisition, first language maintenance and loss, and second language reacquisition. Aspects of this process:
   - Description of ESL speech produced or understood, and learning strategies inferred from these
   - Motivational and attitudinal factors
   - Effects of teaching methods and techniques on the sequences of acquisition of linguistic structures and on the errors students make
   - Effect of type of speech students are exposed to on what they actually learn
   - Acquisition of conversational or communicative competence
   - Acquisition and functions of different dialects and speech styles

2. Teaching non-English speaking students
   - New ESOL teaching methods and techniques that you have developed and used successfully in your class
   - Classroom management: classes with mixed language and dialect backgrounds, different ages and mixed proficiency levels
   - Interaction between the second language teacher and the subject matter teacher (second language curriculum and subject matter)
   - Diagnosis of students' language proficiency level
   - Tailoring second language curriculum to students' various motivations for learning that second language
   - What reading teachers have to know about students' oral language proficiency
   - Subject matter instruction in a first and/or second language
   - Competency-based teacher education and certification

Papers that report on both research in the learning process and corresponding teaching techniques are especially needed.

If you would like to present a paper on one of these or other topics

in the field, please submit five copies of a two-page abstract typewritten double-spaced. Please include title of paper, time desired (15-40 minutes), your name, address, and telephone number. Persons whose abstracts have been accepted for presentation at the Convention will be notified by November 15, 1974.

Abstracts or inquiries for further information should be sent no later than OCTOBER 1 to:

> MARINA BURT
> TESOL Chairperson
> School of Education
> Room 340
> State University of New York at Albany
> Albany, New York 12222
> Telephone: (518) 457-7539

PRE-CONVENTION WORKSHOPS, March 4-5, 1975

At least one workshop for each special interest area in TESOL is being planned. In addition, persons or groups of persons who would like to give two-day workshops in any of the following areas are invited to submit workshop proposals:

1. Developing behavioral objectives for ESL programs in elementary grades
2. Developing behavioral objectives for ESL programs in secondary grades
3. Developing behavioral objectives for bilingual programs in elementary grades
4. Developing behavioral objectives for bilingual programs in secondary grades
5. Competency-based teacher education and certification
6. ESL and/or bilingual education materials—criteria for review and adaptation of existing materials, and development of new materials
7. Needs assessment (survey techniques) for bilingual program planning
8. Reading in a first and second language
9. How to develop criterion-referenced (teacher made) tests

If you would like to conduct a workshop on one of these or other topics in the field, please submit a detailed outline to:

> MARIA RAMÍREZ
> TESOL Pre-Convention Workshop Chairperson
> Bilingual Education Unit
> New York State Education Department, Annex 761
> Albany, New York 12224
> Telephone: (518) 474–8076

(Persons submitting workshop proposals for the Pre-Convention may also submit abstracts for the main Convention.)

The Arizona Bilingual Council announces publication of *The Newsletter of the Arizona Bilingual Council,* a Quarterly Journal of Bilingual Education. Subscription is invited; manuscripts for publication are being solicited. For information write to James W. Ney, LL B 504, English Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Subscription price is $4.00 per annum.

The Speech Communication Association Commission on International and Intercultural Communication is planning to publish an *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* within the next several months. They are seeking the names and addresses of groups which include international and/or intercultural communication study in their activities. Anyone having such information is requested to send it to Corinne K. Flemings, Department of Speech Communication, California State College, California, Pennsylvania 15419.

The Fortieth Annual Foreign Language Conference at New York University will be held on Saturday, November 2, 1974, at 9:00 a.m. in the Loeb Student Center of New York University at Washington Square. For information and a copy of the program, please write to: Professor Emilio L. Guerra, Head, Division of Foreign Languages and International Education, New York University, School of Education, 239 Greene Street, 735 East Building, New York, New York 10003.

Publications Received

Allen, J. B. B. and S. Pit Corder. *Readings for Applied Linguistics.* The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics, Volume 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Butzkamm, Wolfgang. *Aufgeklarte Einsprachigkeit: Zur Entdogmatisierung der Methode im Fremsprachenunterricht.* Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1973.

Composition: Guided —> Free Program. Levels 1, 2, 3, 4 and Teacher's Manual. Part of a Comprehensive Series in 12 Levels. Project Editor, Gerald Dykstra; Program Editors and Authors, Antonette Port and Richard Port. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1974.

SEAMO Regional English Language Centre Newsletter, VI, 3 (September 1973). Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization, Singapore.

The Voice of the Foreign Students. Flushing, New York: Queens College English Language Institute, Fall 1973.

ERIC- TESOL Documents

The following are documents which have been selected from those processed by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics that may be of interest to TESOL members. They have been divided into four categories. GENERAL includes those documents whose scope spans two or more of the other sections, as well as miscellaneous studies of interest. The section BILINGUALISM includes two sub-categories, *General* and *Content Analysis Schedules.* LINGUISTIC STUDIES lists those documents that treat ESL-related problems in greater, linguistic depth.

Where indicated, paper copy (PC) and microfiche (MF) reproductions of the full text are available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS), P. O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014. (Prices are noted in each citation for microfiche and paper copy.) Copies of documents must be ordered by the individual ED numbers, and payment must accompany orders totaling less than $10.00. In the U. S., please add sales tax as applicable.

GENERAL

Gardner, Robert C., and Wallace E. Lambert. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972. 316p [Document not available from EDRS: ED 081 270.]

> This book summarizes a twelve-year research program concerning language-learning aptitude and factors influencing academic achievement. Attention is centered on the matter of individual differences in skill with foreign languages, concentrating primarily on adolescents attempting to learn French or English. The studies carried out by researchers from McGill University and the University of Western Ontario give rise to a sociopsychological theory of second- or foreign-language learning. In brief, the theory maintains that the successful learner of a second language must be prepared to adopt various aspects of another linguistic and cultural group. Research approaches are summarized and integrated while the separate research reports are appended with extensive supporting data. Students from Louisiana, Maine, Connecticut, and the Philippines were involved in the research. Subject and author indexes are provided.

General

Ehrlich, Alan, comp. *Tests in Spanish and Other Languages and Nonverbal Tests for Children in Bilingual Programs. An Annotated B.E.A.R.U. [Bilingual Education Applied Research Unit] Bibliography.* New York: Hunter Coll., 1973. 23p [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 078 713.]

> This annotated bibliography contains a list of tests in Spanish and

other languages and nonverbal tests for children in bilingual programs. Included are an alphabetical list of tests showing language and grade range, and further sources of information on assessment for bilingual programs. Attached to the bibliography is an announcement pertaining to an analytical bibliography of language tests prepared by Jean-Guy Savard of Laval University in Quebec, Canada. For the earlier edition of this bibliography, see ED 074852.

Kary, James, and Bernard Spolsky. *Trends in the Study of Athapaskan Language Maintenance and Bilingualism.* (Navajo Reading Study, Progress Report No. 21.) Albuquerque: Univ. of N. Mex. 1973. 48 p [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 078 715.]

This report discusses trends in the study of Athapaskan, concentrating on language maintenance and bilingualism. It presents both the potential richness and the actual poverty of studies of sociolinguistic aspects of the Athapaskan languages. Noted are two trends: (1) There is a greater interest among linguists in the studies of language in use: studies of context, of diversity, and of the sociological aspects of language which are no longer considered uninteresting; and (2) There is evidence of an increasing sense of responsibility toward the speakers of American Indian languages. The report anticipates rapid advances in the study of Athapaskan language maintenance and bilingualism.

Materials Used in Bilingual Programs. New York: Bilingual Resource Center, 1973. 17p [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 078 721.]

This list of instructional materials used in bilingual programs was prepared by the Bilingual Resource Center. It includes textbooks, educational materials, and audiovisual aids used in the various school districts of New York City.

Programs Providing Bilingual Education: Title VII—ESAE (Elementary and Secondary Education Act): Questions and Answers, Participating Schools, Contact Persons. Albany: N.Y. State Education Department, n.d. 27p [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 081254.]

This booklet is designed to acquaint the reader with some of the most basic provisions of ESEA, Title VII, and to give him some idea how these funds are currently being used in New York State. The first part provides a general survey of ESEA, Title VII; the second is devoted to describing the programs in bilingual education currently being funded by ESEA, Title VII, in New York State.

Content Analysis Schedules

These *Content Analysis Schedules for Bilingual Education Programs* present information on the history, funding, and scope of various projects. In an attempt to standardize data pertaining to these programs, a twenty-page questionnaire was developed by Hunter College of the City University of New York and sent to project directors, who returned the completed forms with additional material specific to their programs. Included in the schedules are sociolinguistic process variables such as the native and dominant languages and their interaction, information on staff selection, and the linguistic backgrounds of project teachers. Assessments are made of the duration and extent of the bilingual components and the methods of language teaching in general. The reports include an analysis of materials, student grouping, tutoring, curriculum patterns, and cognitive development; and discuss self-esteem, learning strategies, the bicultural and community components, and means of evaluation. The following schedules, identified below

by subtitles, have recently been processed into the ERIC system; in each case, the EDRS prices are MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29.

Bilingual Education Center. 1971. 62p [Chicago; Spanish.] ED 078705.

Bilingual Education Program—Adelante! 1973. 29p [St. Helena, Calif.; Spanish.] ED 080019.

Bilingual Project Forward—Adelante! 1971. 73p [Rochester, N.Y.; Spanish.] ED 078 706.

Calexico Intercultural Design. 1972. 45p [Calexico, Calif.; Spanish.] ED 080 022.

Healdsburg Bilingual Education. 1972. 28p [Healdsburg, Calif.; Spanish.] ED 080 016.

Los Angeles Bilingual Schools Program. 1971. 54p [Los Angeles, Calif.; Spanish.] ED 080 021.

Plan for Implementing a Bilingual Education Program: Kolehon Mandi-kike. 1972. 38p [Agana, Guam; Chamorro.] ED 080 020.

Proyecto Pal. 1972. 32p [San Jose, Calif.; Spanish.] ED 078 704.

San Francisco Chinese Bilingual Pilot Program. 1971. 47p [San Francisco, Calif.; Chinese.] ED 080 017.

Santa Fe Bilingual-Bicultural Education Program. 1972. 45p [Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Spanish] ED 080 023.

St. Martin Parish Bilingual Program. 1972. 60p [St. Martinville, La.; French.] ED 080 015.

Tucson Bilingual-Bicultural Project. 1971. 35p [Tucson, Ariz.; Spanish.] ED 080 018.

ENGLISH (Second Language)

McGregor, G.P. *English in Africa: A Guide to the Teaching of English as a Second Language with Particular Reference to the Post-Primary School Stages.* Paris, France: UNESCO, 1971. 214p [Document not available from EDRS; ED 080 008.]

This UNESCO source book concerns the development of the teaching of English as the language of instruction in English-speaking Africa with particular attention to the problems of the secondary school course. It is intended primarily for African educators in senior positions who have not had a chance to receive formal training in teaching English as a second language. The various chapters concern issues which are vital to an English-as-a-second-language course at the secondary level: aims and attitudes, vocabulary selection and the grading of teaching materials, reading, writing, study skills, grammar, speech, drama, and poetry. The author stresses the importance of a solid foundation in the first year of a student's English study. The final chapter offers suggestions for preparing students for the School Certificate test when they have not had an adequate introduction to English. Appendixes concern audiovisual aids, English language testing, and recommended reading.

Santos, Percilia, and Frederick Jenks, ed. "From Brazilian Portuguese to American English: Pronunciation Problems and Drills." Tallahassee: Fla. State Univ., 1973. 27p [Unpub. paper.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 081 255.]

This paper presents a comparative analysis of the sounds in American English and Brazilian Portuguese in order to focus on the problems that Brazilian students may encounter when learning to speak English. The comparative analysis of the consonants, vowels, and diphthongs describes

how a given sound is pronounced in both languages. Particular problem sounds for the Brazilian student are mentioned, and steps for teaching and learning these sounds are indicated. The author maintains that overcoming these difficulties requires knowledge of the organs of speech and of how they operate in both languages; contrasting sounds should be taught together so that students can hear, identify, and produce the sounds.

Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization, Regional English Language Centre, Singapore: Program of Activities, 1972–76. Singapore: Regional English Language Centre, 1972. 8p [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 080 007.]

This brochure describes the work of the Regional English Language Centre (RELC) located in Singapore and established by the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO). Indonesia, Khmer Republic, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam are the member countries. The fundamental purpose of the Centre is the improvement of standards of teaching English as a second or foreign language in the member countries. The Centre operates in response to regional needs as identified by member countries, and its general approach is problem-oriented. This document outlines the work of the Centre in areas of teacher training, research, instructional materials development, library and information work, publications, and activities to promote regional cooperation.

LINGUISTIC STUDIES

Fishman, Joshua A. *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays. Rowley,* Mass.: Newbury House, 1972. 184p [Document not available from EDRS; ED 080 014.]

The extent to which the language planning that has been pursued in many localities and in many periods has been guided by nationalism, that is, by ". . . the social movements, attitudes, and ideologies which characterize the behavior of nationalities engaged in the struggle to achieve, maintain or enhance their position in the world" (Wirth 1936), is examined in this text. The study familiarizes the reader with the formations and the transformations of nationalism itself, and also examines how and why language commonly comes to be one of the ingredients in nationalist goals and programs. Two essays deal with the nature of nationalism and the impact of nationalism on language and language planning. A bibliography and index are included.

Fishman, Joshua A. *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972. 250p [Document not available from EDRS; ED 080 013.]

This text on the sociology of language, there defined as ". . . a focus upon the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behavior," lays the groundwork for the theoretical development of this emerging branch of linguistics. The author proposes that sociolinguists investigate everything concerned with language from the standpoint of social function rather than from other more traditional linguistic perspectives. An introduciton to the text is followed by sections on: (1) the emerging science, (2) basic sociolinguistic concepts, (3) interfactional sociology of language: micro and macro, (4) societal differentiation and repertoire range, *(5)* societal bilingualism: stable and transitional, (6) language maintenance and language shift, (7) sociocultural organization: language constraints and language reflections, (8) applied sociology of

language, and (9) linguistics: the science of code description and an addendum for nonlinguists. A reading list is included.

Greenman, Joseph G. "The Language Situation in Israel as Related to Socio-linguistics." 1972. 63p [Unpub. paper.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 080 000.]

This paper provides a sociolinguistic discussion of the language situation in Israel, based on relevant linguistic and Hebraic literature and on the author's two-year visit to the area. The author discusses the background and use of the many different languages spoken in the country; the function of each language is described. Characteristics of Hebrew as it is spoken in Israel are noted, and four main varieties are mentioned. One portion of the paper reports on current research and suggests areas for future sociolinguistic study. An appendix provides examples of the multi-lingual situations that arise in specific Israeli homes, which are character-istic of multilingual situations throughout the Israeli population.

Key, Mary Ritchie. "Black English: A Selected Bibliography." 1972. 24p [Unpub. paper.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 081 253.]

This bibliography lists approximately 200 books and articles on the subject of Black English for practical use by students interested in lin-guistic analysis and by educators. The listing is divided into seven sec-tions: Linguistic Analysis—Linguistics and Culture; Lexicons, Word Lists, Glossaries; Vocabularies; Verbal Art; Nonverbal Communication; Gullah and the History of Black English; Education and Curriculum. In her introductory remarks, the author describes her rationale for selection of materials; works presenting a negative attitude toward Black English have not been included.

Kleederman, Frances. "Black English: Two Viewpoints." 1973. 23p [Speech.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 080 011.]

This paper focuses on the two main schools of thought concerning the structure of Black English and its relationship to other dialects. One approach is that of the social dialectologists who claim that Black English shares features and origins of white nonstandard Southern speech; the frequency with which specific features occur in actual speech constitutes the dialect differences. On the other side, the Creolists contend that Black English can be traced to pidgin and creole-based systems originating in coastal West African languages; the deep structural differences in Black English represent underlying vestiges of its West African origin. These two viewpoints are considered in their analysis of the verb system of Black English, specifically with respect to the verb "be" and to verb agreement and aspect. The social and educational implications of these theories are also discussed.

Lamendella, John T. "Innateness Claims in Psycholinguistics." 1973. 29p [Un-pub. paper.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 080 010.]

While agreeing with psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic theories that suggest that innate language-related cognitive structures are the basis of language development, the author seeks to establish what it is that is innate and what is meant by innateness in the first place. The author con-siders the claims of psychological relevance made on behalf of Chomsky's transformational model and outlines a neuropsychological framework by which one could consider descriptions of genetically-determined cognitive-linguistic processes existing as the product of the evolution of the human nervous system.

Wells, Gordon. "Learning to Code Experience through Language: An Approach to the Study of Language Acquisition." 1973. 31p [Speech.] [EDRS Price: MF-$0.65, PC-$3.29; ED 081 286.]

"How does a child come to be able to relate his own experience to the formal means of communicating about that experience in the language to which he is exposed?" The author maintains that the innate predispositions that underlie the development of the cognitive ability to organize and structure experience also underlie the acquisition of the structural *systems* for communicating about this experience, chief among which is language. Applying the ideas of Piaget and other psychologists, concerning conceptual schemata and cognitive development, and Halliday's (1970) method for analyzing meaning in language to the taped utterances of seven children, the author notes patterns in the developing use of clause types by the children. The author suggests, having cited parallels between cognitive development and language development, that what is required *is* a detailed investigation of the strategies that children employ in their attempts to comprehend and convey the meaning intentions that are coded in speech.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM TESOL HEADQUARTERS

Reference Guides . . .

TESOL, 1967–68: A Survey. Kenneth Croft. Washington: TESOL, 1970. 33 pp. Paper. $1.00.

A TESOL Bibliography: Abstracts of ERIC Publications and Research Reports. 1969–1970. Anna Maria Malkoç (compiler). Washington: TESOL, 1971. 310 pp., annotated. Paper. $2.00.

Reference List of Materials for English as a Second Language. Part I: 1953–63. Texts, Readers, Dictionaries, Tests. Sirarpi Ohannessian et al. (eds.). Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964. 152 pp., annotated. Paper. $6.00.

Reference List of Materials for English as a Second Language. Part II: 1953–63. Background Material, Methodology. Sirarpi Ohannessian et al. (eds.). Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964, 105 pp., annotated. Paper. $6.00.

Reference List of Materials for English as a Second Language. Supplement: 1964–68. Dorothy A. Pedtke, Bernarda Erwin, Anna Maria Malkoç (eds.). Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. 200 pp., annotated. Paper. $8.50.

TESOL Training Program Directory, 1972–73. Charles H. Blatchford. Washington: TESOL, 1973. 92 pp. Paper. $1.00 to TESOL members, $1.50 to non-members.

Other TESOL Publications . . .

Studies in Honor of Albert H. Marckwardt. James E. Alatis (ed.). Washington: TESOL, 1972. 166 pp. Paper. $3.00 to TESOL members. $4.00 to non-members.

A Handbook of Bilingual Education. Revised Edition. Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph Troike. Washington: TESOL, second printing, 1973. 71 pp. Paper. $1.75 to TESOL members, $2.00 to non-members.

Classroom Practices in ESL and Bilingual Education. Volume 1. Muriel Saville-Troike (ed.). Washington: TESOL, 1973. 84 pp. Paper. $1.75 to TESOL members, $2.00 to non-members.

Program of the Eighth Annual TESOL Convention. March 5–10, 1974, Denver, Colorado. pp. 139. Paper. $1.00 to TESOL members, $1.25 to non-members.

From other publishers . . .

Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education. Alfred C. Aarons, Barbara V. Gordon, and William A. Stewart (eds.). Special Anthology Issue (Vol. 7, No. 1) of the Florida FL Reporter, Spring/Summer, 1969. 175 pp. Paper. $6.50.

Studies in English to Speakers of Other Languages and Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect. Rodolfo Jacobson (ed.). The English Record. Vol. XXI, No. 4 (April, 1971) New York State English Council. 185 pp. Paper. $4.25.

Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects. Maurice Imhoof (ed.). Viewpoints: Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 4, No. 2 (March, 1971). 135 pp. Paper. $2.00.

Adapting and Writing Language Lessons. Earl W. Stevick. Washington: Foreign Service Institute, 1971. 431 pp. Paper. $3.25.

Essays on Teaching English as a Second Language and as a Second Dialect. Robert P. Fox (ed.). National Council of Teachers of English, 1973. 116 pp. Paper. $2.50.

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