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ABSTRACT

This is the seventh volume in a continuing series of working papers on teaching English as a second language. The 13 papers included here represent work in progress and cover a wide variety of subjects. In the first paper, E. Hatch summarizes research on reading a second language. S. J. A. Garcia discusses some of the areas of controversy in the study of Black English. Three papers, by M. Celce-Murcia, T. P. Gorman, and J. Povey present specific ESL teaching techniques. C. H. Prator's "The Dimensions of English Instruction in Jordan" was prepared as an introductory chapter for the report of the English Language Policy Survey of Jordan conducted during the summer of 1972. The first two years of the Culver City, California, Spanish Immersion Program are described in detail by A. D. Cohen, V. Fier, and M. S. Flores. Dr. Cohen also gives a report on the UCLA English Language Placement Examination, and J. Oller and E. Rand comment on some of the research work done on the effectiveness of the examination. J. D. Bowen writes about the Russian teacher exchange program at UCLA. Some recommendations for improving English education in Japan are given in the paper by K. Suzuki, and in the final paper J. D. Green discusses how to make better tape recordings. Abstracts of recent UCLA Master of Arts TESL theses are appended to the volume. (PMP)

# WORKPAPERS

in Teaching English as a Second Language

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## PREFACE

It seems appropriate to emphasize in the preface to this volume of the Workpapers in TESL that, as in previous issues, the papers included represent work-in-progress. The main purpose of the Workpapers is to serve as an academic link between members of staff, students past and present, and colleagues in the profession. Since the papers are regarded by most of the contributors as being first drafts of articles that may be revised and published elsewhere, we would welcome criticisms of, or reactions to them so that they might be amended and improved.

In this volume, we are pleased to be able to include contributions from Professor Suzuki, a visiting scholar in the department, and from Jerry Green, a former student.

There is one change of policy that needs to be reported. Hitherto, Workpapers in TESL has been distributed gratis. Because of rising production costs and the increasing demand for current and past issues, we are reluctantly obliged to change this policy. We would be grateful if those who wish to receive future issues of the Workpapers would complete and return the loose form that is enclosed in this volume for that purpose.

The contributors are indebted to Joan Samara and Ellen Jacobs for typing their manuscripts with efficiency and patience.

T. P. Gorman  
Editor

Copies of this volume as well as the volumes for 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972 are available at \$2.00 per copy from English as a Second Language, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024.

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RESEARCH ON READING A SECOND LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>

Evelyn Hatch

Research on reading a second language has been directed by three very practical questions asked by teachers and policy makers:

1. Should initial reading be taught in the child's first language or in the second language (if that is the language of instruction)?
2. What, other than some such cover term as "inadequate grasp of the language," accounts for slower reading speed and lowered comprehension when reading a second language?
3. If causes can be identified, can the information be translated into classroom activities that will improve the student's speed and comprehension? If not, what procedures make sense in teaching reading in the second language?

The first question has been discussed in great detail so I will summarize the arguments and cite only a few of the more important studies. It should be easier to learn to read in a language you know well than one you don't. If initial reading means learning the phoneme-grapheme correspondences, the alphabetic principle, then it would be helpful if the child knew the sounds of the language to start with. For example, if he hears no difference between /r/ and /l/ in English--and many Japanese students don't--then it seems he would have difficulty learning correspondences of letters to sounds he cannot distinguish. If he hears no difference between /i/ and /I/--and many Spanish-speaking children don't--it should make it more difficult to teach him the letters for these sounds. Also, if his syntax is at the "no want read" stage, it would be difficult for him to use his knowledge of the language to predict the syntax of "Mother said, I see something pretty."

To verify this, Modiano (1968) conducted an experiment with children from three Mexican Indian tribes. Children in the experimental group were taught reading in the vernacular. When they had mastered the primers, they entered first grade where all reading texts were in Spanish. The students were then evaluated against control groups both informally by their teachers and by formal testing. Teachers felt the experimental group showed greater comprehension in reading the second language (Spanish) than control students who had been taught from the beginning in Spanish. And the test data supported the teachers' judgments.

The Tarascan study (Barrera and Vasquez, 1953) showed that children introduced to reading in their first language were better readers by the end of the second year than students who had all their instruction in Spanish, their second language. Osterberg (1961) found that children taught to read in their local dialect of Swedish first and then transferred to standard Swedish were able to read standard Swedish better than those who began reading in the standard dialect. Thonis (1970), discussing the Marysville, California project, claimed success for that program and stated that children, once they have learned what reading is all about, do not have to learn to read again in the second language; they only have to learn a new code.

These studies suggest that a wise policy would be to introduce reading in the child's first language or dialect and then transfer to the second language. The claim is that there is a strong transfer in skills; that

reading a new code is not a difficult new task. That is, once having learned that the letter a stands for /a/ in Spanish, it will not be an insurmountable problem to learn that it can stand for /æ/ or /a/ or /e/ or /ɛ/, /ə/ or /ɔ/ in English. While we would consider such splits as extremely difficult in pronunciation, in vocabulary, and even in syntax, we simply ignore the issue when it comes to teaching reading. The transition, it is claimed, is not as traumatic as learning the correspondences first in English.

There are, of course, findings to support the other side as well. The St. Lambert study (Lambert et al, 1970), the Toronto study (Barik & Swain, 1972), and to some extent the Culver City project (Cathcart, 1972) seem to suggest that learning to read in a new language is not as difficult as we might imagine. After two years, both of the Canadian projects found that English-speaking children receiving all school instruction in French do as well as the control groups in reading readiness and reading achievement. They do report a lag in the first year. The report on the first year of the Culver City project suggests that this well may be the case for English-speaking children instructed initially in Spanish reading readiness. Results are not yet available on the second year of the program.

There are, of course, dangers in trying to compare these studies. Children in some of the programs were volunteered for second-language classes; others involved compulsory schooling in the second language. In some programs children knew the second language well; in others they did not. In some of the studies, reading really means readiness activities or primer reading and in others it means reading test scores. The longitudinal studies have not been in progress long enough for us to be certain of results. The question, then, on first or second language for initial reading instruction is still open. Since it is such a political issue, emotional commitment to one side or the other is usually strong. As more and more bilingual programs are evaluated, we should have more definite answers.

In the meantime, however, reading scores for the Los Angeles area show that children learning to read in a second language do have severe problems. And any ESL teacher can tell you that foreign students who have studied English for many years still have to spend long hours reading material which should not take more than a few minutes of their time. Does research support these observations on slower reading speed and lower comprehension when reading a second language? Yes, it does.

MacNamara (1967a) has shown that students who have had lengthy instruction in a second language, who understand every word and phrase of what they read, still have difficulty in comprehending reading passages. He worked out a set of problems which could be expressed simply in both English and Irish. His Ss were 12 and 13-year-old English children for whom Irish was the language of instruction. The problems were of the following type:

"If the letters BAD were removed from the alphabet, what would be the fifth letter of the alphabet?"

To make sure that differences in responses were not due to vocabulary or to parts of the problem, Ss were later tested on the following questions:

1. What is the fifth letter of the alphabet?
2. What is the eighth letter of the alphabet?
3. If A were removed from the alphabet what would be the first letter of the alphabet?

If the children could complete the second set of questions correctly, they were included in the sample. Half received the questions in Irish and half received the English version. The results were in the direction of his prediction: the children did better in solving problems written in English than problems in Irish, the second language. MacNamara (1967b) has since replicated this study with a large number of Ss with the same result.

Secondly, to check on speed of reading, MacNamara had his Ss read passages in English and in Irish. He found it took them 1.4 to 1.7 times as long to read Irish passages. Looking at repeated reading of passages, he found that Ss read at approximately the same speed each time they reread an English passage but improved significantly on second and third readings of Irish passages.

Since teacher observation and research both point out that a problem does exist, is there anything specific that we can say about these differences in reading speed and comprehension? Or must we continue to say that the difficulty is caused by "inadequate grasp of the language"? A number of studies have been tried in hopes of discovering some of the more specific variables.

Tullius (1971) suggested that one reason second language learners take longer to read a passage might be that they need to make more eye fixations per line and that they frequently regress to check back on information when they do not understand the sense of the passage. This, he thought, might account for the extremely low reading speeds shown by many of our university foreign students. To test this, he conducted an eye movement study. To his surprise he found that his Ss did neither. Instead, the difference in their eye movements compared to that of monolingual English students was in the length of each fixation. The duration of each eye fixation was much longer. So we can certainly scrap all our exercises which try to train students to make fewer fixations per line. That's a relief since the exercises never worked anyway. But what accounts for the longer fixation period? It leaves us with the puzzle again.

One of the suggestions most frequently made (aside from "inadequate grasp of the language") has been articulation difficulty--that students have motor problems with the less familiar language. But this has been discounted (Kolers, 1966) for silent reading. The difference in reading speed is, of course, much larger when reading aloud than when reading silently.

MacNamara (1967a) tried to separate articulation time from word recognition time and the effect of syntax. Using the information from several of his experiments, he estimated that his Ss took 3.900 secs. per 20 words longer to read in their second language than in their first. Of this 3.900 secs per 20 words, he found that 1.799 secs was due to articulation, .785 was due to syntax, and the remaining 1.316 secs per 20 words he attributed to word recognition and other factors. He has since broken this down to seven factors in his experiments with French-English bilinguals but the factors are still basically articulation, word recognition, and syntax.

Considering another of his experiments, it seems strange that so little of the time difference was due to syntax. MacNamara had worked out an ingenious way to get at the effect of syntax (or at least word order probabilities). Using Miller and Selfridge's procedure<sup>2</sup> he constructed 5th and 1st order approximations to Irish and English. He hypothesized that Ss would read the 5th order approximations to English rapidly since the passage would be somewhat predictable while they would read the 1st order slowly. He further hypothesized that in reading 5th and 1st order approximations of Irish, Ss would show no difference in reading speed. That is, the syntax of any approximation to Irish--whether close or random--would be Greek to them. His predictions held. Differences in speed of reading for the two approximations to Irish were minimal while differences for the two approximations to English were significant. The fact that the Ss were not able to use their knowledge of Irish syntax for predictions seems to show that syntax is more important than the preceding paragraph suggests.

What information does this give us? It tells us that in reading a second language aloud, reading speed is slower primarily because of articulation difficulties. Secondly, in silent reading, word recognition must account for most of the time difference. Finally, syntax (as word order probabilities) causes a smaller amount of the time difference than word recognition.

Boiled down, it seems to bring us back to "inadequate grasp of the language." If the students have difficulty with articulation, they will read slower. If they do not recognize words, if the problem is vocabulary, they will read slower. And, of course, Lado (1968) has assured us that the best way to teach vocabulary is by simultaneously reading and hearing a passage containing the vocabulary items. You can see it's already getting circular. And finally, if the students cannot predict syntax (word order probabilities), they will have a slower reading rate. So we must teach the student phonology, vocabulary, and syntax--that is, we must teach him to "grasp the language."

Having watched students pouring over reading assignments at 100 WPM, observing the amount of lip movement, noting the tension involved in the reading process, we began to wonder whether the articulation and acoustic elements might be more important in silent reading than research had shown. Everyone agrees it's an important factor in reading aloud but we felt it was important in silent reading in addition.

We found a study by Serpell (1968) which suggested that Ss who did not hear the distinction between r and l (Bantu language speakers in this case) would misread and misinterpret light as right, cloud as crowd, lip as rip, etc. Obviously phonological interference from the first language occurs in reading as well as speaking the second language. Using his technique we constructed a test for Spanish-speaking children enrolled in Los Angeles schools. Multiple choice items tapped distinctions in English phonology not present in Spanish. We wanted to know whether the student on seeing the word cat would interpret it as cot. Given bit, would he interpret it as beet? In the following examples the underlined item is the test item:

Which of these are parts of your body?

hands      when      fit      eyes      shoes

Which of these are colors?

blue      grin      happy      yellow      red

We found, just as Serpell had, that children did misread and misinterpret words in this fashion. The test does contain a Type 1 error. Children don't normally read passages that are set up to catch this type of problem. That is, it's not likely that in a passage about tuna boats, the student would misinterpret a sentence like "The ship docked at the harbor" as "The sheep docked at the harbor." While this is an example of results that show up as highly significant on a test but are of little significance in the classroom, the possibility of momentary misinterpretation (due to phonological interference) is there. And it shows that the phonological element does not disappear in silent reading.

Secondly, we found that Corcoran had conducted a number of interesting experiments (1966, 1967) with monolingual English speakers from which he proposed an acoustic scanning hypothesis. If I asked you to turn to the beginning of this paper and cross out as quickly as possible every letter e on the first page, you, as a native speaker of English, would miss a very large number of e's. Corcoran on looking at letters left unmarked by Anglos in such a task decided that unmarked letters were frequently "silent" letters (e.g., the e in late). The e in the word the was also frequently missed. We replicated these studies (Hatch, 1969; Polin, 1970, Part, 1970) using foreign students enrolled in English classes at UCLA and Anglo college students. We found that foreign students were highly successful at the task, much more so than native speakers of English. Once we started looking at where letters went unnoticed, an interesting pattern began to appear. First of all, it was evident that Anglos marked letters when they appeared in content words but not in function words. Foreign students marked them everywhere. It seemed that foreign students were much more aware of the visual form than were Anglos. They paid much closer attention to letters in words which show grammatical relationships--prepositions, articles, conjunctions, etc.--than the Anglos. Secondly, we noted that native speakers crossed out letters which appeared in stressed syllables most frequently. That is, asked to cross out the letter a, they would mark the second but not the first a in apparently; they would mark the first a but not the second in vocabulary. Again, foreign students showed no pattern as to stressed or unstressed syllables. By testing students at three levels of proficiency, we found that foreign students at the higher levels marked more letters in content words (they were similar to Anglos in this respect) but that they did not mark more letters in stressed syllables than unstressed within content words.

We are not sure really what the results of these studies mean. The differences between Anglo and foreign student performance, nevertheless, are clear. Anglos tend to ignore grammatical markers, attend to content words, and especially to word and sentence stress. Foreign students do not. Their responses suggest that they have highly developed skills in visual perception. And the visual perception is not modified by simultaneously decoding the reading passage.

Ginger Johnston, picking up on these studies and also on her own experience in learning to read a second language, worked out a procedure to see whether students reading a second language use the graphic cues that are

present in a text to signal some of the suprasegmental information. In a pilot study (1972), she found that foreign students did not consistently attend to such cues. This allowed them to attach time clauses to the wrong sentence and it allowed them to misinterpret noun phrase groups in a variety of ways.

For example, after having read a sentence from a passage on the San Diego Zoo about Monkey Mesa and the Great Ape Grotto, students ignored the capital letters on Great Ape Grotto and changed Grotto from a noun to a verb; they thought the great ape was grottoing. Having read about the Children's Zoo where one can pet friendly little deer, camels, and backyard animals, they responded that you could pet dear little camels. Having read that the skyfari leaves near the lagoon colored by red-billed black swans, and rises over the nearby seal show, they felt that swans are founds rising over the seal show. Many of these assignments are impossible without ignoring graphic cues (commas, capital letters, and periods). Ss were, of course, given unlimited time and line reference to check their answers. They also were given information on vocabulary items. For example, a grotto was mentioned earlier in the passage as the place where apes live.

Ms. Johnston is currently reworking her study to look more closely at a number of problems with pronoun reference, word group errors, and misreading of clause groups. She is also testing the effect of three treatments on reading: pause information vividly marked in the text, stress marks added to the text, and the effect of listening to the passage simultaneously with reading silently.

This brings us to question three--classroom application of the research findings. The studies reported here do suggest that some classroom practices are more valuable than others. Some exercises, for example those designed to widen eye span, can be rejected outright. In fact, the research seems to reject most activities which are concerned with the mechanics of reading once initial reading has been introduced. But let's look at a few first.

In initial reading, the research shows that phonological interference from the first language does occur during the reading process. Rather than struggle with teaching letters for sounds that students may neither be able to discriminate nor produce, teachers have turned to the basal (whole word) approach or to the "linguistic" approach (pattern recognition). With adults, we also work on word recognition speed as pattern recognition (see the exercises in Yorkey or Harris, for example). Pattern recognition (fat, sat, bat, cat, mat, pat, etc.) is also heavily used in remedial reading programs. It forms the basis for the Miami Linguistic Readers, probably the most widely used set of readers for beginning ESL students. The approach seems to work fairly well if comprehension is also stressed and if the method is supplemented with experience materials and some phonics work. Yet, at the same time, the research shows us that "poor" readers excel in pattern recognition and "good" readers (those who read fluently, at high speed and with good comprehension) do not do well in this skill. Our cross-out studies seem to show that foreign students are very good at visual discrimination while fluent Anglo readers are not. TenHouten (1971) as well as Steve Krashen and his students have suggested that pattern recognition is a right hemisphere brain function while the process

of decoding the visual image to some underlying form is a left hemisphere function. The weight of accumulating research from several disciplines stresses that once basic skills are acquired in reading, we should relax our emphasis on pattern recognition of small units and concentrate on the decoding process.

This, of course, is easier said than done. We don't really know what the unit of decoding exactly is. But good readers are able to create a grammatical structure out of the series of images their eye fixations give them. Some people call this "reading by structure." Amble (1957) found that massive practice in reading short phrases was effective as a teaching device with Anglo fifth graders. He called this kind of reading by structure phrase reading. Plaister (1968) has suggested that we give foreign students practice in reading by phrases. His system meant rewriting passages so that each column was one phrase wide. This doesn't mean that Ss really read a column per eye fixation; instead it gives students information of what words should be grouped together. In a sense, it is help with the syntax of the passage. Along with a number of other ideas and motivational devices taken from regular first-language reading programs, the method has been successful with university ESL students. The method is not quite the same as the three treatments that Johnston is working on. Hopefully, her research will have more useful information for classroom teachers.

Another suggestion has been the so-called "outlandish proposal" of Robbins Burling (1968). The system has been used successfully in teaching "reading German" and "reading French" for graduate students who must pass an exam in these fields as part of the degree requirements. Assume you wished to learn French to pass the ETS exam. The first step of the procedure is to read an English passage in which the only change has been to put it into French word order. The second step might be to insert French articles in front of all the nouns. The next step might be to change English-French cognates to their French spelling. Gradually, English would be changed to French. The method begins with word order, then morphological endings, noun markers, etc. and then moves to word recognition, vocabulary. In a sense it is set up to teach syntax; it shows what is grouped together (that the articles go with the nouns, for example). As I mentioned, the method has been tested and found successful, but it is still too "outlandish" for many teachers to accept, particularly teachers who have been conditioned against anything that looks like translation.

Other writers feel that we should relegate all these kinds of activities to a secondary place. They feel primary attention must be paid to "active organization" of what is read. These materials are more concerned with training students to pick out relevant points in their reading and to organize them for recall. The methods usually reflect the classic study technique of Robinson--SQ4R (survey, read, recite, repeat, review). These methods include teaching students to skim as a preview, using headings and subheadings as a guide and paying attention to the summary. After this first preview, the students are better able to recognize the main points and to look for supporting information to fill out the skeleton they were able to form from skimming. Finally, the students review by organizing what was read. This method has not been particularly popular with ESL teachers since they see this as not attacking the "real" language problems of their students.

Some reading specialists have also suggested the use of simplified texts as a bridge to more difficult reading. There are a wealth of materials on the market with adult interest level yet written with controlled vocabulary and simple syntax. The simple syntax frequently does turn out to be more difficult than imagined since the control is usually in terms of sentence length. Most of these materials use a large number of visuals to help the reader make an educated guess about the content and also for motivational purposes. Most have column, rather than page width, text. And many use oversized print. SRA and Xerox materials appeared to be the most popular of the sets available. Rosensweig (1973) ran a small pilot study of the effect of simplified vs. original texts with university foreign students. His findings showed that students did better on comprehension questions covering simplified versions than originals. The students also enjoyed the simplified short stories more than the originals and felt that the style was as effective in the simplified versions as in the original versions. He argues for use of simplified texts as a bridge to more difficult reading materials.

In summary, the answer to all three questions posed at the beginning of this article (and perhaps to all questions) is "it depends." It is difficult to give answers when we frequently do not know whether we are talking about initial or advanced reading instruction, about students who are beginners or fluent bilinguals, whether reading means mechanical decoding of words or the ability to summarize what has been read. The research in reading a second language is both interesting and extremely confusing. But as a matter of fact, we really know little about how one reads a first language let alone a second. I'm not certain that the research would be less confusing if there were more of it, but there certainly are many areas which need to be investigated. Some of these I've mentioned before. We need good replications of Goodman's reading miscue studies (1970) using second language learners. This would show us something about the kinds of predictions students can make based on their knowledge of English syntax. We need to replicate some of MacNamara's studies using other structures and printed material to supplement his filmstrip techniques. We need to test a variety of approaches to see whether we can help students learn to "read by structure." We need to try out Tinker's reading test with its built-in comprehension checks with foreign students. We need to test out the efficiency of simplified texts for intermediate students. Since much of the reading at the university level for foreign students is in the science areas, we need to look at the differences in reading "scientific English" for foreign students. Perhaps these are not even the important questions to ask. But once we have found the right questions, we will be on our way, hopefully, toward finding ways to help students who must do the majority of their reading in a second language.

#### NOTES

1. This paper was prepared for the American Education Research Association convention, New Orleans, February, 1973.
2. This procedure involves showing a native speaker a sequence of four words and asking him to form a sentence with that sequence. The word used directly after the fourth word is added and the first word dropped. This sequence is then shown to another native speaker who adds the next word, and the process is continued until a passage of the desired length is reached. To get a first order approximation, the fifth order passage is randomly scrambled. For example:

5th: road in the country was insane especially in dreary rooms where they have some book to buy for studying Greek people it crashed into were screaming  
 1st: house reins women bought scream especially much said cake love that school to a they in is the home think abilities had that beside I for waltz sew

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## BLACK ENGLISH AND THE SCHOOLS: CONTROVERSY, CONFUSION, AND CONFLICT

OR

BE IS IN THE EYE OF THE BE - HOLDER

Sandra J. A. Garcia

## Pop Quiz:

Read the two sentences below and answer the questions that follow:

1. Every day after my mama she go to work I be watchin' TV cause I aint got nothin' else to do.
2. This dude split over to this foxes crib to cop on smokey but ran into the man on the way and was busted on a jive-assed rap.
  - a) Would you define both of these as black English?
  - b) If your answer to a was "yes," what are the fundamental similarities between the two sentences and if you answered "no," how do they differ enough to warrant different definitions?
  - c) Given that it can be shown that the use of both types of languages can help black children to achieve more in school, which type (sentence 1 or 2) would you prefer to see incorporated into the school curriculum? Circle your answer
 

sentence 1	sentence 2	neither
------------	------------	---------
  - d) Defend your answer to c.

The recent widespread interest in the language of American Blacks has generated much research and discussion. While some of the research is descriptive in nature, a great deal is designed to investigate the relationship of language to the cognitive development, school performance, and psycho-social functioning of Blacks.

Much debate; confusion, and controversy between interested parties such as dialect geographers, linguists, psychologists, sociologists, historians, educators, teachers, anthropologists, and black nationalists has resulted from this research. It is the contention of this writer that much of the controversy is directly related to 1) definition; i.e., the use of vague and misleading terms when trying to communicate to others that aspect of the language system of Blacks which is being studied, and 2) a floating frame of reference; i.e., a haphazard switching between three distinctly different but related sets of issues which will be delineated in this paper as historical-structural, psycho-social-functional, and developmental-pedagogical.

This paper will focus upon this confusion and controversy in an attempt to show that the integration of knowledge from these three areas is essential for any scholarly investigation of the many aspects of the language habits of any group. Further, it will discuss the negative effects of the confusion, i.e., that it fosters hostility and misunderstanding among the aforementioned parties, which, in turn, generates vast amounts of counter-productive thought and action in relation to the questions surrounding the use of black language habits within the educational system.

Concerning the first factor, definition, one need only review the many labels attached to various aspects of what will be generally referred to as black English (BE) in this paper, to become aware of the need for concise definitions. "Black language," "black dialect," "Negro non-standard

English," "black speech," "rappin'," "vulgarity," "broken English," "ethnic slang," "colloquialism," "black vernacular," "black argot," and "decreolized black English" are some of the terms used to describe the language habits of Blacks. As stated, these terms are often undefined and/or used interchangeably as in the following statements from a newsletter published by the Race Relations Information Center, Nashville, Tennessee:

"Black English is Black Nonsense," says Ora Curry. Reporting on an NAACP workshop on education held recently in Binghamton, New York, she said, "At the workshop we took a position that would reaffirm the national NAACP viewpoint that black English is not a valid concept. We put black English in the same category as Chinese English - 'No tickee, no washee' -- and Indian English -- 'How'." Mrs. Curry believes that the use of black English or non-standard English in the classroom falls under the category of cultural genocide. "To accept slang and vulgarity. It's just an excuse for teachers not to teach."  
(Wright, 1972)

These negative comments about what Mrs. Curry has at once called "black English," "non-standard English," "slang," and "vulgarity" may be compared to a black author's remarks on black colloquialism:

...I am simply saying that our colloquialism provides another ethnic aspect of a long, painful struggle toward human freedom. It is a language unconsciously designed to pave a way toward positive self-image; though it may seem, in effect, monotonous and certainly no less tragic, the socio-cultural factors at the root of it are revolutionary. In essence, it is a natural attempt to counteract the classic and dreary weight of political and social oppression, and at a very basic level of human experience (Major, 1970).

Could these people be talking about the same thing? Both authors are highly educated Blacks who are earnestly concerned with how language can best serve the needs of black children and although it may be that their vastly divergent views on BE may be due in large part to their differing political, socio-cultural, and professional views and/or needs, I maintain that in trying to discover from the terminology just what the national viewpoint of the NAACP is, we are facing a clear case of the use of catch-all terms predicated upon misinformation and the lack of information. And because of this, there would appear to be little hope that the two discussants could intelligently deal with BE as it relates to the educational system or to black awareness, their primary areas of interest. Such an impasse would surely be counter-productive.

Let us turn to the issue of the frame of reference, for clear definitions can only be achieved after the context from which one is speaking is concisely stated. Much of the controversy has been focused on the developmental-pedagogical area. The schools have come to play a vitally important role in determining which children will be expected to, and subsequently allowed to, attain the skills and knowledge needed to successfully function within the American mainstream. The overt and covert tracking of children into hope-no-hope-type categories is in large part based upon tests that measure the children's abilities to read, write, and speak standard English (SE), defined as "...the kind of English habitually used by most educated English-speaking persons in the United States" (Allen,

1967).\*\*

Many of the previously mentioned professionals have provided input into the school-related issues on BE based upon the biases of their disciplines and their views on three fundamental questions concerning the three areas I have delineated: 1) should BE play any role in the education of black children, i.e., is BE worthy - structurally and historically - of consideration, 2) do the long-range views of society for all people to use SE hold a place for BE - is BE functional, and 3) what role could BE play in the formal education of black children - a pedagogical question.

Given these three basic questions it is possible to group several interest groups with respect to their primary areas of research, and to show how the questions asked by these groups differ due to divergent frames of reference. Figure 1 illustrates this division and lists some of the active writers and researchers in each division. Some of the key questions posited by these groups are presented. Although names appear in only one category, many of those listed contribute equally to each division, a point that will be discussed below.

The basic questions in Fig. 1 barely scratch the surface of those that could be posited under each of my broad and complex categories. The purpose of this schema is to illustrate the arbitrariness of my divisions; i.e., arbitrary because of the obvious need for overlap and exchange between groups and across areas in terms of understanding the key issues and in order to jointly find answers to school-related problems. This very interdependence is dependent upon the removal of such "divisions." As was noted, many of those listed in Fig. 1 are equally competent in the three categories and can comfortably and competently move between them in order to investigate an issue. The conflict that I have spoken of occurs when the "expert" moves from within his area of expertise and attempts to determine policy in another area in which he is often ignorant of, or insensitive to, the wishes of those directly affected by such policy. I will discuss some of the controversies over BE in the schools to illustrate the need for professionals to pool their resources and reduce conflict by understanding and accepting varying views on crucial issues. Specifically, I will discuss terminology and the dialect reader controversy.

Figure 1 illustrates what I perceive to be an absolutely essential vertical flow of information between various groups so that they may communicate meaningful information to each other. Further, I suggest that a horizontal flow of information directly into what would be a fourth column representing the schools, if this schema were expanded, is also essential; - if, in fact, it is in the schools that crucial decisions regarding the psychological, linguistic, socio-cultural, and economic well-being of countless children will be made. And, again, we find that defining terms and contexts is a necessary condition for any such meaningful exchange.

Terms such as "bi-dialectalism," "diglossia," "restricted" and "elaborated code," "linguistic competence" and "verbal deprivation" are used frequently in discussing current and desired states for children who

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\*\*It should be noted here that I have not attempted to define BE precisely because it is all of the terms used above, (not to mention variables such as tone, pitch, non-verbal characteristics), and therefore any definition must be of the aspect of BE that is under discussion within a given context.

HISTORICAL-STRUCTURAL		
ANTHROPOLOGIST LINGUIST CREOLIST DIALECT GEOGRAPHER GRAMMARIAN HISTORIAN	Melville Herskovits William A. Stewart Beryle L. Bailey David DeCamp Lorenzo Turner J. L. Dillard Dell Hymes Marvin Loflin Dennis Craig	1. What is the origin, evolution, and past and present distribution of the language of American Blacks? 2. How does the language of Blacks differ from SE in terms of grammar, lexicon, and phonology? 3. How does BE achieve structural sense?
PSYCHO-SOCIAL-FUNCTIONAL		
FOLKLORIST SOCIOLOGIST LINGUIST SOCIOLINGUIST PSYCHOLOGIST BLACK NATIONALIST/ CULTURAL PLURALIST	Roger Abrahams Roger Shuy William Labov Thomas Kochman Grace Holt Sims Claudia M. Kernan Clarence Major Orlando Taylor Frantz Fanon	1. How is language used in a speech community; who speaks what language variety to whom, when, and to what end? 2. How does the use of language reflect the value system and culture of a speech community? 3. How does the use of language facilitate the perpetuation of group identity and group solidarity? 4. Who are the primary linguistic models of young children; how does the peer group effect linguistic behavior?
DEVELOPMENTAL - PEDAGOGICAL		
PSYCHOLINGUIST TEACHER/EDUCATOR CURRICULUM PLANNER	Kenneth Johnson Joan Baratz Walt Wolfram Ralph Fasold Basil Bernstein Virginia Allen Bradford Arthur D. I. Slobin Kenneth S. Goodman Raven McDavid Siegfried Engleman Carl Bereiter	1. How is language acquired? 2. How is the use of language related to cognitive development and thought? 3. How does speaking a divergent dialect affect a child's ability to read and write the standard language? 4. How is age-grading related to language behavior in the schools? 5. How can one determine language proficiency in BE speakers? 6. How does TESL differ from TESD?

Figure 1. Three areas of investigation and some writers and researchers from related disciplines. Some questions asked by these investigators.

speak BE. Yet the understanding and acceptance or rejection of these terms as related to what is true about and/or useful for the black child depends upon the observer and his views on how language should serve the child in a particular context. Basil Bernstein (1961) focuses upon the use of structurally complex language, or an "elaborated code" as a measure of linguistic competence and the potential development of thought patterns suited

for complex intellectual activity. In describing the language of the poor who, he says, use a "restricted code," he states:

The poor child's language is a poor vehicle for thought. It employs a large number of idiomatic, traditional phrases which are concrete, descriptive, and simple. This limits the generality and abstraction of thought and forces it into stereotyped channels, preventing the child from verbalizing his unique relationship with his environment.

William Labov (1968) rejects the notion of verbal deprivation and makes a clear distinction between the value and/or utility of structurally complex language and language that is functional within a given context though it may be less complex. He suggests that one can only understand the verbal capacities of children by studying them within the cultural context in which they were developed. In describing the verbal ability of lower-class black children, Labov states:

...To describe the child raised on the streets of the ghetto as "verbally deprived" is wide of the mark. This is an extremely verbal sub-culture in which the child is bathed in verbal stimulation from morning to night.

He discusses Bernstein's notion of the elaborated code by stating:

Before we impose middle-class verbal style upon children from other cultural groups, we should find out how much of this is useful for the main work of analyzing and generalizing, and how much is merely stylistic--or even dysfunctional.

He continues:

Is the "elaborated code" of Bernstein really so "flexible, detailed and subtle" as some psychologists believe? Isn't it also turgid, redundant, bombastic and empty? Is it not simply an elaborated style, rather than a superior code or system? Our work in the speech community makes it painfully obvious that in many ways working-class speakers are more effective narrators, reasoners and debaters than many middle-class speakers who temporize, qualify, and lose their arguments in a mass of irrelevant detail. (Labov, 1970).

Andrews and Owens write in Black Language (1973):

We are Black and different.  
 We live under different conditions,  
 have a different culture,  
 education,  
 and point of view.  
 We differ widely in results of life,  
 not because of unequal heredity,  
 but, because of unequal social environment.  
 And,  
 we like our difference.

We are a community whose members are  
 more or less uniform in speech.  
 Our ties are arbitrary.  
 Our Rhetoric is rooted in melody.  
 It gets next to the mind and skin,  
 and do it to the body and soul.  
 I understand it when my brother sings

the song, "I sing from morning to night  
because it makes my burdens light."

The Black Language has survived death  
and is resuscitative as a result of  
Black children of all generations,  
cared for by Black people,  
playing in the Black community  
with Black children,  
and learning Black Rhetoric after school  
more readily  
than they did the man's speech in school,  
because of its relevancy to Black Culture.

How does the educator translate the views of a sociologist, a linguist,  
and two cultural pluralists who are concerned with the structural complex-  
ity of language, the function of language, and the perpetuation of black  
culture respectively, into meaningful educational policy?

The case of the dialect readers is another example of the need  
for vertical exchange and understanding among experts. William Stewart's  
work in the study of black dialect has been outstanding and thorough.  
Yet his efforts to promote the use of the dialect in beginning reading  
texts has met with resistance from many corners. As a result, he is quite  
often under siege, or himself launching a frontal attack upon those who  
oppose him. I consider this to be counter-productive.

In response to Kenneth S. Goodman's retreat from the dialect  
reader issue that he, Goodman, had been an early advocate of, Stewart  
(1970) states:

...But after admitting the pedagogical utility of dialect  
readers Goodman dismissed them from further consideration on  
purely socio-political grounds.

...Goodman inadvertently raised a crucial issue in the educa-  
tion of lower-class Negro children - one which I expect to  
loom large in the future. The issue is simply whether liberal  
educators should allow their distaste for racial confrontation  
to distort their professional goals to the extent that they  
place the psychological needs of black adults above the educa-  
tional needs of black children.

In the same article, Stewart attacks two black educators who rejected the  
use of BE in the Philadelphia school system because of what Stewart calls  
the "white is right" values implicit in their stance. He states that  
"cultural self-hate" was the primary cause for their rejecting the use of  
BE. We must ask if the "white is right" attitude is truly implicit, a  
question we might also ask of Mrs. Curry's use of "vulgarity" and "slang"  
to describe BE. Speculating about the degree to which they hate them-  
selves is an example of the misdirected energy I spoke of and should be  
replaced by challenging these people to provide defensible reasons for  
not using BE in the schools with regard to the welfare of black children.

It is the view of this writer that Goodman's retreat was predi-  
cated upon a combination of sensitivity to the frame of reference of  
Blacks who opposed the dialect readers, and enlightened self-interest,  
not upon cowardice. I further believe that it is incumbent upon Stewart  
to distinguish between "cultural self-hate" and realistic resistance to  
that which has been used as a tool of oppression; i.e., the perpetuation

of "bad" English in any form, particularly within a school setting where one is told to learn things "right" - or to learn "right" things. In spite of what the informed linguist, educator, or psychologist might know about the utility of using BE within the schools, to try to force it upon those who view it as a threat of continued oppression is pointless. The biases and psychological needs of the consumers, black parents and children, must be taken into account as efforts are made to hasten the flow of information and the implementation of programs into the school system. A more enlightened and subsequently more discriminating consumer should be a by-product of, and not a necessary pre-condition for the continued flow of information into the schools.

The object of this paper has been to illustrate the complexity of the issue of using BE in the schools, and to call for clear thinking. There is no single answer to the many problems that speakers of BE face in school, not linguistic, psycho-social, pedagogical, or otherwise. Yet the need for solutions has taken on a new sense of urgency in view of the current cries for accountability in learning. An article in the Los Angeles Times states:

...Teachers will be required to take responsibility for "expected student progress" in the classroom starting this year. The performance of teachers will be evaluated based on pupil achievement - not how neat their classroom bulletin boards are or how "professional" they act by someone's arbitrary standards. Failure of pupils to reach established objectives will be grounds for dismissal of teachers for the first time.

Who determines "established objectives" and subsequently whose heads will roll regarding the acquisition of linguistic skills by speakers of BE? The linguist? The psychologist? Or how about the parents?

We have come full circle. The need for cross-referencing and interaction between those who have skills and interests in the issues related to BE in the schools is clear. Without this interaction and a realistic appraisal of the problems, there will continue to exist little armed camps whose occupants will be busily engaged in defending their positions and vested interests while the children watch and wait -- and fail -- and rebel.

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## THE DIMENSIONS OF ENGLISH INSTRUCTION IN JORDAN\*

Clifford H. Prator

A. English Instruction in the Public Schools

In their desire to achieve the stated and implicit aims of English instruction, the Jordanian educational authorities have prescribed that a substantial portion of the total school curriculum be devoted to the study of English. English is required of all students at the levels at which it is taught and, except in three schools, is the only modern foreign language available to students in the public schools.

In these public schools the study of English is now begun in the fifth of the six grades of primary education, is continued through the three years of preparatory education, and is also required throughout the three years of secondary education. Graduates of the public secondary schools have thus studied the language for a total of eight years.

This is by far the most frequent pattern of English instruction since, in Jordan, the great majority of students attend public schools. These include schools operated by the Ministry of Education (which account for about 68% of the total school enrollment), by other ministries (1%), and by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (18.5%). Foreign and national private schools account for only 12% of the enrollment. The remaining 0.5% of students attend the University of Jordan (Al-Bukhari, 1972, p. 5). In 1968-69, the last year for which a complete statistical report is available, 87% of the schools on the East Bank were public schools, and 87% of the teachers were employed in public schools (Yearbook of Educational Statistics, p. 55).

English classes in the public primary and preparatory schools, the two levels that constitute the cycle during which school attendance is compulsory, meet uniformly for six 40-minute periods per week. In secondary schools the number of weekly periods of English varies by grade level and type of school. Thus students enrolled in the literary stream of academic secondary schools study the language for seven periods per week in Grade 7, eight in Grade 8, and eight in Grade 9. At the other extreme, students in industrial and agricultural schools study it for only two periods per week in each grade. Further particulars are given in Table 1.

The very considerable variation in the time devoted to English in academic and commercial secondary schools, on the one hand, and in industrial and agricultural secondary schools, on the other, is presumably explained by the fact that schools of the former types prepare students for higher education, whereas those of the latter types are regarded as terminal. One wonders, however, if there might not be justification for including more than

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\*This summary of the patterns of English instruction in Jordan was prepared as an introductory chapter for the "English-Language Policy Survey of Jordan" carried out collaboratively under Ford Foundation auspices by William W. Harrison, Clifford H. Prator, and G. Richard Tucker in the summer of 1972. In January, 1973, the results of the Survey were presented to Jordanian officials by the authors at a two-day conference in Aqaba. The Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington has expressed its interest in publishing the full report.

Table 1

Dimensions of English Instruction in Jordanian Public Schools in 1968-69  
(East Bank only)

Type of School		No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Classes	No. of Students	Average Class Size	Weekly Periods of English			
Compulsory Cycle	Primary	671	5,067	4,944	212,676	43				
	Grade 5			761	31,116	41	6			
	Grade 6			676	25,415	38	6			
	Preparatory	375	1,983	1,408	47,312	34				
Compulsory Cycle	Grade 7			567	21,561	38	6			
	Grade 8			461	15,768	34	6			
	Grade 9			380	9,983	26	6			
	Secondary Cycle	Academic Secondary	72	671	General	407	16,253	40		
Grade 10					144	5,908	41	7		
Literary Stream					168	6,431	38			
Grade 11					100	3,860	39	8		
Grade 12					68	2,571	38	8		
Academic Secondary		72	671	Scientific Stream	95	3,914	41			
				Grade 11	52	2,050	39	6		
				Grade 12	43	1,864	43	6		
				Sec. Commercial	1	16	33	1,265	38	
				Grade 10				694		7
Secondary Cycle	Academic Secondary	72	671	Grade 11				6		
				Grade 12				244	6	
				Sec. Industrial	3	74	21	846	40	2 in each grade
				Grades 10, 11, 12						
Secondary Cycle	Academic Secondary	72	671	Sec. Agricultural	2	13	7	245	35	2 in each grade
				Grades 10, 11, 12						

Data derived from The Ministry of Education's Yearbook of Educational Statistics, pp. 135, 142, 147, 161, 168, 173, 191, 198, 202, 228, 229, 232, and 235

the present two hours per week of English in the program of industrial students. It is a general policy of the Ministry of Education to accept into the secondary industrial schools the better students from among those who passed the Public Preparatory Examination held at the end of Grade 9 (Al-Bukhari, 1972, p. 21). In other words, there is a desire to admit to these schools students who may well be capable of rising above the middle-level skilled-worker positions in which they are often initially employed by the government (in the technical departments of the Railway, the Public Works, the Ministry of Communications, the Jordan Broadcasting Station and Television, army workshops, river-dam projects, the Civil Aviation Department, the Meteorological Department, etc.) or by the mixed sector of the economy (in establishments such as the cement factory, the iron and steel factory, and the Jordan Petroleum Refinery) (op. cit., pp. 22-23). A plan has been initiated which will result in introducing into the industrial schools more textbooks in English and a number of expert British instructors (see A Development Project: Industrial Education and Training in Jordan, 1971). Some graduates of the secondary industrial schools eventually leave Jordan to seek employment abroad. May these people not have a greater need for English, both before and after graduation, than do graduates of the secondary agricultural schools? This is the type of question upon which, hopefully, the information provided by the Field Study undertaken as part of this Survey casts some light.<sup>1</sup>

It had been hoped that the Field Study might also give some indication of the relative effectiveness of the current pattern of English instruction as compared with the effectiveness of the patterns which preceded it. Back in the 1930's children living on the East Bank began studying English in Grade 3.<sup>2</sup> In 1939 this was changed to Grade 4 and in 1953 to Grade 5, as at present. Until 1953 the Jordanian public-school system provided only 11 years of instruction: seven years of elementary school followed by four of secondary school. That year this 7-4 pattern was changed to a 6-5 pattern, which became the present 6-3-3 pattern in 1961. A twelfth year of instruction was thus added at the top of the educational ladder, and the number of years of English instruction, reduced to seven in 1953, again became eight. Whereas five of these years were at the secondary level prior to 1961, only three of them have been taught in the secondary schools since that date. Also in 1961 the length of the standard class period in Grades 5 and above, the span of years during which English was taught, was reduced from 45 to 40 minutes. The most recent change occurred in 1964, when the number of weekly periods of English was reduced from eight to six in Grades 5 and 6, and from seven to six in Grades 7, 8, and 9 (Fifty Years of Education in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, passim).

Unfortunately for purposes of statistical analysis, there has apparently been a considerable amount of simultaneous variation in several other important factors in the equation of English instruction: the teachers' preparation and knowledge of English, the number and quality of the students enrolled, the average size of classes, and the methodology and instructional materials employed. Since some of these factors cannot easily be quantified, there seems to be no way of sorting out and measuring statistically their separate effects on the quality of English instruction. The authors could only compare the use that older graduates of the system make of their English with the use of it made by more recent graduates and speculate as to how the several factors involved may have contributed to this result.

The earlier patterns of instruction were probably more favorable to the acquisition of English than is the current pattern in at least four different ways:

1. The students were younger; there is some evidence that those who begin learning a language at an earlier age succeed better than do those who begin learning one when they are older, even though the total period of study may be the same in the two cases;
2. The total amount of time devoted to the study of English was considerably greater; almost without exception, each change in the instructional pattern has reduced the amount of time available for teaching English;
3. The pre-1953 patterns meant that drop-outs, at whatever point they stopped attending school, had studied English one or more years longer than would now be the case;
4. Students who followed the older patterns had four or five, rather than three, of their years of English at the secondary level, where teachers are presumably better qualified than they are in primary or preparatory schools.

On the other hand, there seems to be no way in which the current pattern of instruction is more favorable than were earlier patterns to the learning of English.

It appears that the progressive erosion in the amount of time devoted to English is destined to continue. The Ministry of Education plans, within the next year or two as new textbooks become available, to reduce the number of weekly hours of English instruction at the secondary level as follows (English Curriculum: Secondary Stage, 1971, p. 3):

- In the general year (Grade 10) of academic schools, from seven to five periods per week;
- In the literary stream (Grades 11 and 12) of academic schools, from eight to seven periods per week;
- In the scientific stream (Grades 11 and 12) of academic schools, from six to five periods per week;
- In the first year (Grade 10) of commercial schools, from seven to five periods per week;
- In the second and third years (Grades 11 and 12) of commercial schools, from six to five periods per week.

These changes will result in a further reduction of about one fifth (19%) in the amount of time devoted to English in the great majority of Jordanian secondary schools. And this reduction will take place, not at the level where the teaching is poorest, but at the level at which it appears to be most effective (Nasr, 1967, pp. 41-49). Since time devoted to study is among the factors most directly related to success in learning a language, these changes will inevitably make it appreciably more difficult ever to achieve the aims of English instruction in Jordan.

The motivation for this contemplated further reduction is said to be the belief that the class schedules of secondary-school students are now overcrowded, the wish to give them more free periods for individual study, and the feeling that no more time can be given to English classes than is given to classes in the mother tongue, Arabic, where the number of weekly periods is also to be reduced. Would it not be possible, as an alternative to reducing the hours of teaching, to consider a gradual lengthening of the school day? Languages such as Arabic and particularly such as English, which in Jordan is a foreign language taught by an oral method, seem to be

among the subjects that students can least well study without a teacher. It is to be hoped that the Ministry of Education will have considered all the implications of these contemplated changes before it actually puts them into effect and thus again creates a pattern of instruction that is less favorable to language acquisition than was the pattern that preceded it.

Table 1 reveals one especially important dimension of public-school English instruction in Jordan: classes are quite large. In most grades and types of schools the average class size approached or exceeded 40 students in 1968-69. There was little if any decrease in the number of students per class from the lowest to the highest grades. And if the average size of all classes is 40, then some classes must be considerably larger than 40. In fact, the head of the English Section in the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Directorate reports that classes of 50 students are by no means uncommon, particularly in the primary grades. Unpublished statistics obtained from the Ministry of Education indicate that there may have been some overall decrease in the size of classes in the last three years, but the difference is discouragingly slight.

Obviously, class size is closely related to the type and quality of English instruction that can be offered. It is particularly difficult in large classes to obtain the participation of all students and to provide adequate opportunities to use spoken English. The 'Oral Direct Method' recommended by the Ministry of Education depends for its success upon giving students a considerable degree of oral proficiency in the early stages of instruction. It is not easy to see how this could possibly be achieved in classes of 50 or even 40 students. The originators of the method thought that it would work best in classes of around 12 students and that in classes of more than 24 other methods and goals might be more feasible.

#### B. English Instruction in the Private Schools

Table 2 shows the most important dimensions of the English instruction given in the private schools of Jordan.

Jordanian private schools are of two basic types: the so-called 'national private schools', which are operated by Jordanians; and the 'foreign private schools', most of them founded by European and American missionary groups. The ultimate control of both types is now vested in the Ministry of Education, though both are allowed certain liberties that distinguish them from the public schools (Law No. 16 of 1964: Culture and Education Law, pp. 15-17). They may teach foreign languages other than English, begin the teaching of English before Grade 5, hire their own teachers and pay them any appropriate salary (provided that the individuals chosen fulfill Jordanian teacher-certification requirements), and select their own textbooks (with the approval of the Ministry). All of them have chosen to have their students begin the study of English in kindergarten or in the earliest grade included in the school's curriculum and to continue to study it until graduation. The number of periods per week of English instruction may vary from school to school, but the total number of instructional hours of English each student receives in all grades combined tends to exceed considerably the hours he would receive in a public school of comparable level and type.

Jordanians---particularly educators and well-to-do parents---seem to believe that children learn more English in the private schools than in the public schools. There appeared to be no statistical evidence, however,

Table 2

**Dimensions of English Instruction in Jordanian Private Schools in 1968-69  
(East Bank only)**

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Classes	No. of Students	Average Class Size
Primary	77	576	505	17,005	34
National	73	481	425	14,489	34
Foreign	4	95	80	2,516	31
Preparatory	28	234	201	6,020	30
National	25	194	171	5,234	31
Foreign	3	40	30	786	26
Secondary	36	173	176	5,571	31
National	29	146	155	5,086	33
Foreign	7	27	21	485	23
All Levels	141	983	882	28,596	32
National	127	721	751	24,809	33
Foreign	14	162	131	3,787	29

Data derived from the Ministry of Education's Yearbook of Educational Statistics, pp. 63, 74-75, 90-91, 142, 168, and 198

to demonstrate the truth or falsity of this conviction. The Amman representatives of the several agencies that test the English of Jordanians who wish to pursue their higher education abroad in English-speaking countries stated that public-school graduates almost never pass any of these tests without further study and that private-school graduates are more often successful, but they were unable to provide supporting statistics.

Miss Salma H. Jayyusi and Mr. Ahmad S. Tawil, assigned by the Ministry of Education to work with the authors of this Survey, therefore analyzed the scores made in June, 1971, by a random sample of students on the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (Tawjihi). This examination must be taken by students of the public and private schools alike upon graduation. The average English scores made by the various types of students included in the sample are shown in Table 3.

The results do not altogether support the widely held belief that "children learn more English in the private schools." In fact, they show that public-school students made better scores on this particular examination than did private-school students, if students of the two types of private schools are lumped together. The figures further indicate that the students in foreign private schools, considered separately, succeeded considerably better than those in public schools and far better than those in national private schools. The fact that students in national private schools made the lowest scores of all groups is perhaps explained by the additional fact that this group of institutions includes a number of 'cram schools' that work largely with students who are having academic difficulties.

There would certainly appear to be a number of strong reasons for believing that students in the foreign private schools are more successful

Table 3

Average Scores in English of 283 Public and Private-School Students  
Taking the Tawjihi Examination in 1971

Type of School	No. of Students in Sample		Average Score	
	Literary Stream	Scientific Stream	Literary Stream	Scientific Stream
Public	119	84	175 (out of 300)	122 (out of 200)
Private	34	46	160 ( " )	107 ( " )
National	26	36	138 ( " )	98 ( " )
Foreign	8	10	231 ( " )	139 ( " )

Data gathered by taking the first score at the top of each page of the official register containing C.S.E.E. results for 1970-71

in their study of English:

1. They begin their study of the language at an earlier age and devote a far larger total number of hours to it before graduation;
2. In such schools the average class size is considerably smaller (29 students) than it is in either public schools (39) or national private schools (33) (compare Tables 1 and 2);
3. The teachers in foreign private schools include more native or near-native speakers of English;
4. The students in such schools, at least as compared with those in public schools, more often come from families of high socio-economic status who tend to be widely traveled, verbally oriented, and deeply interested in having their children learn English;
5. Most private schools operate in urban areas, where much English is used, whereas a majority of public schools are located in rural areas, where contacts with English are rare (Yearbook of Educational Statistics, p. 69).

If the graduates of foreign private schools really do know more English than do public-school graduates, it is perhaps relevant to note that the proportion of private schools declined from 16% in 1959-60 to 11% in 1968-69 as a result of the necessary expansion of the public-school system. Also, during the same period, the proportion of foreign private schools within the total of all private schools declined even more drastically: from 20% to 9% (op. cit., pp. 141, 167, and 197). Though these figures may not mean that there has been an actual decrease in the number of foreign private schools on the East Bank, the declining proportion of private-school graduates may have contributed to lowering the average proficiency in English of the total group of graduates.

### C. English in Higher Education

In Jordan's institutions of higher education the basic dimensions of English instruction are less clearly discernible than at earlier levels in the educational ladder. At the earlier levels English is taught as a separate subject, more or less as an end in itself; at the post-secondary

level it also begins to be used as a medium of instruction, as a means of studying the content of various subject-matter fields. In fact, a large part of the need a Jordanian eventually has for English may arise at the University or one of the post-secondary institutes. It is thus more accurate at this level to speak, not of 'English instruction', but of 'instruction in English'.

In the institutions of higher education of the countries around the world where English plays a role somewhat similar to that it plays in Jordan, instruction in English tends to take at least five different forms. These are listed below: first the forms of instruction in which English is largely an end in itself, and then those in which it is more definitely a means for achieving other ends:

1. There are courses and a curriculum for students who major in English literature;
2. There are courses in English that non-majors are required to take as a part of their 'general education';
3. There are courses and occasionally an entire curriculum specially designed for students who plan to make a career of teaching the English language;
4. There are courses in which are taught the English skills or the elements of English that are most relevant to particular academic activities or fields of study, such as research in the sciences;
5. In various academic fields there are some activities, parts of courses, courses, or entire curricula that are carried out in English.

The need for all of these forms of instruction has apparently been felt in Jordan. Indeed, almost all of the country's institutions of higher education offer some form of instruction in English. English courses are required as a part of the general-education component in the programs of the Junior College, the Institute of Social Work, and even the College of Shariah (Islamic law). The teacher-training institutes provide a curriculum for students who wish to become specialists in the teaching of English. English courses that are especially relevant to particular fields of study are taught in the Industrial-Training Institute, the Higher Commercial Institute, the Statistical Center, and the Institute of Banking Studies. And the Ministry of Public Health's College of Nursing uses English as the medium of instruction (Al-Bukhari, 1972, *passim*).

It is at the University of Jordan, however, that the needs are most complex. This University, which now enrolls more than 3,000 students, is a very young institution established in 1962. It is not surprising, then, that the five forms of instruction in English enumerated above have not yet been clearly differentiated there. There appear still to be a number of cases in which a given class or curriculum is expected to serve two or more quite disparate purposes and where further differentiation, as soon as it becomes feasible, would probably result in more effective instruction in English. One way of identifying such cases is to consider the several types of courses in English offered at the University and to try to determine the extent to which each type can be clearly equated with one of the five aforementioned forms of instruction in English.

It seems clear that the University's Department of English Literature and Language considers its basic function to be the provision of a curriculum for majors in English. Indeed, the University is the only institution in Jordan that provides a four-year program of this sort. The Catalogue

for 1970-71, the latest issue of the publication available in English, indicates that by far the greater portion of this curriculum is made up of courses in English literature (pp. 105-106). In fact, the list of courses is very similar to that required of English majors in many universities in English-speaking countries. This curriculum, then, equates easily and completely with the first of our five forms of instruction in English.

This same curriculum for majors, however, is the only group of courses that could possibly be equated with our third form of instruction, a program of study specially designed for students who plan to make a career of teaching the English language. In its present form it seems too broadly focused, too unrelated to pedagogy, too much concerned with literature rather than language, too much devoted to early forms of literature and language to serve this second purpose adequately. This is a serious matter in view of the fact that the Department estimates that from 70% to 85% of its graduates eventually go into teaching. The problem is dealt with at greater length in Chapter IV of this Survey, where patterns of teacher training are discussed.

The University of Jordan also offers 'service courses' in English for non-majors. Concerning these courses, an earlier group of investigators had written:

There has existed in the past a general three-hour per week service course for all non-English majors. The feeling of the university officials with whom we spoke, including faculty and administrative staff, was that the service course was not meeting the need for English at the University. The need was variously defined as simple English, a reading knowledge of English, spoken English and public speaking through the medium of English.

The general service course now in existence was somewhat confusing to us because there were so many impressions of what it does or doesn't do. Many people told us that the course had been abandoned several years ago due to its failure to meet the needs of the students. Others reported that the course still exists, but that students are expected to do a literature-oriented curriculum rather than a language-oriented curriculum, and that the course is therefore ineffectual. We were never able to determine which students were presently enrolled in the course and which were not. The course, where it exists, is organized under the auspices of the University's Department of English. Graduate assistants from the Department of English are course instructors, and they are the responsibility of the Department of English.

In our discussions of the service course with a group of faculty members, with the exception of the special needs of the Science Faculty, the expressed need for English was a high degree of reading ability. It was brought to our attention that all departments of the University depend heavily on English-language source materials and that most students did not have the language facility which they needed for this purpose. When we asked about the need to write or speak English among non-science students, we were told that there was no immediate need for non-reading skills. The University administrators, however, felt that it was mandatory for all graduates of the University to have a command of all the skills of English, and it seems the clear intention of these decision-makers to establish an English course which will produce these results (Campbell et al., 1972, pp. 12-13).

The authors of this Survey were able to obtain further information about these service courses, though we are unable to dispel all the confusion that seems to surround them. They are indeed given regularly, and there are more than one of them; in fact, there are two different levels of instruction, each divided into a number of sections to which students are assigned according to their major. Some departments (e.g., Arabic Language and Literature, and Philosophy and Sociology in 1970-71) require their majors to take the courses during their first and second years of study. Others (e.g., History and Archaeology, and Geography) require only one year of English. Until 1971-72 none had been required of students in the Faculty of Science.

Formerly, these courses were of a rather general type. They concentrated on teaching the 'basic structures' of English, aimed at developing both oral and written skills, and grouped together students from various departments. Students were assigned to the appropriate level of instruction by means of a placement test. However, since the courses were optional, the students who most needed them were often able to avoid them altogether. And perhaps because the material covered in class had little apparent relevance to the subject-matter interests of the students, morale began to deteriorate.

Several changes were therefore made, which seem to have amounted to the abandonment of the earlier type of general English course. The present pattern of creating separate sections for the students of particular departments was developed, and the material studied in each section was related more directly to a given subject-matter area. The placement test is no longer given, but students are required to take one or two courses in English, class attendance is compulsory, and students have to pass a final examination in order to fulfill the requirement.

The confusion as to what actually goes on in these courses seems to result from the rather loose form in which they are presently administered and from the fact that sections differ greatly one from another. Though the Department of English Literature and Language still bears the nominal responsibility for the service courses, its relationship to them appears in practice to be quite tenuous. No one individual has been assigned to supervise them, but policy regarding them is made by committees of instructors. Each individual instructor is said to choose the texts and methods to be used in his section. Instructors are not required to prepare a detailed syllabus for their sections, and hence no file of syllabi is available in the Department for analysis. One gets the definite impression that the Department, as a whole, is not eager to be given greater responsibility for these service courses.

Under the circumstances, it seems impossible to determine with any degree of clarity whether this particular group of courses should be equated with the second or the fourth of our five forms of instruction in English. The service courses at the University of Jordan have been, and perhaps in some cases still are, courses in English that non-majors are required to take as a part of their general education. On the other hand, they may be coming more and more to resemble courses in which are taught the skills or elements of English that are most relevant to particular fields of study. The lack of definition is obvious and seems to point to lacunae and problems to which we shall return at the end of this Chapter.

Another group of courses provided at the University appears to fit

completely our definition of the fourth form of instruction in English. These are the courses, offered by most departments in the Faculties of Arts and of Economics and Commerce, in which selected texts dealing with the department's field of specialization are read and studied. Students take these courses, which are in no way related to the Department of English Literature and Language, in their third and fourth years at the University. The skill deemed most important here is certainly reading, though there may be some use of oral English in some of the classes.

According to the 1970-71 Catalogue, each of the four departments of the faculty of Economics and Commerce also requires that one of the main courses taken by second-year students should be taught partially in English. Either one of the regular weekly hours of the course is conducted in English, or a 'practical hour' or 'seminar' in English is added each week to the regular instructional schedule (p. 147). This would, of course, be an example of our fifth form of instruction in English, and a very interesting one. Since students are likely to learn more English when they study their favorite subject in English than they do when they study English for its own sake, it would seem that this rather unusual type of bilingual course should be encouraged at the University of Jordan and might well be initiated at universities in other countries.

It is in the Faculty of Science, however, that our fifth form of instruction in English is most extensively used. There, all classes are conducted in English, and the students write all their examinations in English. This language policy is even more ambitious than it at first appears, since the science departments have never, until recently, required their students to take English courses at the University. The Faculty had apparently taken the position that the English that students learned in secondary school should suffice. This left science (and premedical) students in the unfortunate position of needing more English than other students at the University while taking fewer English courses than the others. In fact, the disparity extended all the way back to Grades 11 and 12 of secondary school, where students in the scientific stream have only six weekly periods of English but those in the literary stream have eight (see Table 1).

The Faculty has recently taken action that should remedy this situation, at least partially. At the beginning of 1971-72, a new group of English courses planned to meet the needs of science students was inaugurated. Students from the four departments of the Faculty are grouped together in the various sections of these courses, and plans call for requiring students to continue in them for a second year of English. The description of them that we have seen (Campbell et al., 1972, p. 17) indicates that they bear some resemblance to the service courses for first and second-year students of other faculties which have been described earlier in this Section. They appear, however, to be of a somewhat more general nature and to differ in several other interesting respects. Students in them are required to take a placement test; a locally modified version of the University of Michigan English Proficiency Examination was used in 1971-72. On the basis of this test, the students were assigned to sections at three or more different instructional levels. The instructors seem to be unusually enthusiastic and are all native speakers of English. The work of the instructors is coordinated by a supervisor, who has full responsibility. A number of very pragmatically conceived instructional techniques, including some unusual uses of dictation as a teaching and testing device,

are being tried out. Perhaps as a result of these features, the courses have attracted outside support from several sources.

#### D. Conclusions and Recommendations

The Director of the Economic Research Department of the Central Bank of Jordan recently pointed out the very great investment--he thought it was perhaps an over-investment--that Jordan makes in education. No less than five percent of the gross national product is spent on education each year. What this expenditure means is perhaps best seen when certain figures for Jordan are compared with the corresponding figures for other countries. 96% of the primary-school-age population are enrolled in schools, whereas this percentage is 91% for Egypt, 81% for Syria, 69% for Iraq, 33% for the Sudan, 29% for Saudi Arabia, and 8% for Northern Yemen. 39% of Jordanians of secondary-school age are enrolled, as compared with 30% in Egypt and Syria, 24% in Iraq, 6% in the Sudan and Saudi Arabia, and less than 1% in Northern Yemen. In 1970 the number of Jordanian students registered in institutions of higher education (the vast majority of them outside of Jordan) for each 100,000 of population rose to 1,222, while the corresponding number was only 1,156 for Lebanon, 593 for Syria, 565 for Egypt, 419 for Iraq, 348 for Turkey, 170 for Kuwait, 149 for Iran, 1,239 for France, 1,830 for the Soviet Union, and 3,471 for the United States (Jaber, 1972, p. 5).

Faced with a serious lack of natural resources, Jordan is apparently investing in the development of its human capital. This is the only way many economists have been able to explain the country's very high rate of economic growth during the period preceding the 1967 war (op. cit., p. 3).

A large share of this impressive investment has, of course, gone into instruction in English. Few, if any, other Arab countries have made it possible for such a large percentage of their population to study the language. And almost none devote such a high proportion of the total school curriculum to English. In Egypt and the Sudan, though English is still widely used as a medium of instruction at the university level, students study the language for only six years in the public schools and enter the universities woefully unprepared for what is in store of them (Iarudee, 1970, pp. 145-150 and 153-170). English is taught to the almost total exclusion of all other foreign languages in Saudi Arabia, but there too students who graduate from the secondary schools have studied English for only six years (op. cit., pp. 131-144). In Syria and Lebanon, a large part of the foreign-language instruction is in French (op. cit., pp. 123-130). Only in Kuwait, which has so many economic ties with English-speaking countries, does the investment in English approach that made in Jordan (op. cit., pp. 119-122).

Countries in which English is less widely taught than in Jordan, such as Tunisia, usually think of themselves as teaching it 'as a foreign language'. Countries in which it is more widely taught, such as the Philippines, teach it 'as a second language' and make great use of it as a medium of instruction in the secondary or even in the primary schools. The differences between the two points of view toward English are substantial and imply differences in motivation, in the content of teaching materials, and in methods of instruction. The dimensions of instruction in English in Jordan are such as to call slightly more for teaching it as a second language than for teaching it as a foreign language.

At this point, then, it seems appropriate to ask certain basic questions. Has the very considerable Jordanian investment in English paid off in terms of tangible results? To what extent have the policies with regard to English followed in the public schools permitted the achievement of the stated and implicit aims of instruction? Since the major aim of the academic secondary schools is to prepare students for higher education (Al-Bukhari, 1972, p. 17), how well have they done so in respect to English? Though the Field Study provides further information related to the answers to these questions, even at this point some preliminary conclusions can be reached regarding the answers.

If we take the last and most specific question first, it seems that the answer must be that whatever active command of English students acquire in secondary school is definitely needed and used at the University and the other institutions of higher education. According to their instructors at the University, however, most secondary-school graduates have not acquired a sufficient command of English. They may know a great deal about English grammar and be able to translate from English to Arabic with the aid of a dictionary, but their practical ability to read and speak English is said to be insufficient for their needs. They are largely unacquainted with the vocabulary and structures that are used in their field of academic specialization and usually deficient in the specific skills--such as rapid reading for comprehension, note-taking, and summarizing--that are needed when English is used as the medium of instruction. The evidence for this is very convincing: the University and post-secondary institutes all find it necessary to teach them more English.<sup>3</sup>

At least a partial answer to the second question, that of the extent to which the policies followed in the public schools have permitted the achievement of the aims of English instruction, can also be given. While the stated and implicit aims have remained high, the means for achieving them have grown progressively more meager. The number of years during which English is studied, the number of weekly periods, and the length of the periods have all been reduced. Yet many students must still receive a substantial part of their higher education in English. The more flexible policies that the Ministry of Education has followed in the foreign private schools seem to have been more successful, at least in achieving the aims of English instruction.

The first question, that regarding the tangible results of the great Jordanian investment in English, is of course the most difficult to answer. One does get the subjective impression that Jordanians in Amman are on the whole easier to communicate with in English than are, say, Egyptians in Cairo. And the remark of a leading Jordanian educator that the use of English in a country is an important factor in the country's development certainly seems to be true. But the safest conclusion that can be reached at this point is perhaps that the magnitude of the investment justifies giving all possible consideration to any opportunities that may exist for getting more English for fewer dinars.

We hope that at least some of the following recommendations may point the way toward such opportunities.

1. That the Ministry of Education consider the possibility of providing more instruction in English in the secondary industrial schools. (The language needs of the students in these schools seem to justify such a step. Added weekly periods might not be necessary if the extra instruction could take the form of practical vocational activities carried out in English.)

2. That the possibility also be examined of adding two weekly periods of studying 'scientific texts in English' to the present program of students in the scientific stream during their last two years in academic secondary schools. (These students' need for English is particularly great when they reach university level, and they now have less exposure to English than do students in the literary stream. The two periods of studying scientific texts would parallel the two extra periods of 'literary readings' that students in the academic stream now have.)
3. That all possible alternatives be considered before a further reduction is carried out in the number of weekly periods of English in academic and commercial secondary schools. (Even with the present number of periods, these schools are falling far short of their major aim of "preparing students for higher education.")
4. That an experiment be conducted in one or more academic secondary schools in which at least one year of the mathematics course for students in the scientific stream would be taught in English, and that the achievement in English and mathematics of students in this school or schools be compared with that of students in other schools at the time of their graduation from Grade 12. (Perhaps a precedent for conducting such an experiment in the public schools has been provided by the experiments in the teaching of French that are now being carried out in two schools.)
5. That every effort be continued to reduce the average number of students in English classes.
6. If the attempt to carry out the above recommendation is unsuccessful, that serious consideration be given to modifying the method of English instruction used in the schools in the compulsory cycle so as to put more emphasis on the teaching of reading, and that emphasis on oral activities be postponed until the secondary level. (We believe that such a shift of emphasis would not violate any valid methodological principle and that it might rather, under the conditions of instruction now prevailing in Jordan, result in more effective learning of both written and oral skills.)
7. That the possibilities be explored of using films, radio, and television as means of teaching in English some small portion of the content of courses in various subjects at all pre-university levels. (This should help the public academic and commercial secondary schools to achieve their major aim.)
8. That the University of Jordan urgently consider the early creation, within the Department of English Literature and Language, of a separate section which would have responsibility for all courses for non-majors offered by the Department and would have its own administrative head who would report directly to the Chairman of the Department. (This is the essence of the Proposal for a University English Language Programme recently submitted by Mohammad H. Ibrahim and Charles D. Hart.)
9. That a careful investigation be made of the aims, content, and administration of the University's first and second-year service courses in English for non-majors, and that in this investigation particular consideration be given to the following apparently desirable changes:
  - a. The appointment of a single supervisor for the entire group of courses, including those now being given for students in

- the Faculty of Science;
- b. The establishment of a single interdepartmental committee to make general policy decisions regarding these courses;
  - c. Grouping students together in sections by faculty rather than by department, which would facilitate sectioning and permit making the courses more general in nature while retaining a degree of relevance to specific fields of study;
  - d. Requiring of all entering students an English placement test, and dividing the service courses into at least three different levels of instruction to which students would be assigned on the basis of the scores made on the placement test.<sup>4</sup>

(It will be seen that several of these changes have already been put into effect in the service courses recently inaugurated for students in the Faculty of Science.)

10. That control of the third and fourth-year 'texts-in-English' courses remain the responsibility of the individual departments, and that the latter be urged both to make of these courses something more than mere exercises in translation and to conduct in English such portions of other courses as may be feasible and appropriate. (In implementing the last part of this recommendation, the 'practical hours' and 'seminars' in English of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce could perhaps serve as a model.)
11. That plans for the creation of a language laboratory not be pressed too far before basic decisions have been reached regarding the administration and functions of the proposed laboratory in relation to the University's over-all program of instruction in English.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This Field Study is described in Chapters V and VI of the full report on the Survey.
2. Before 1947, when Great Britain gave up her mandate over what is now the West Bank of Jordan, English was used as a medium of instruction at the secondary level of The Arabic College there.
3. Science students admitted to the University of Jordan made scores ranging from 15 to 73 and averaging 38 on the Michigan English Proficiency Examination given them in 1971-72. At the American University in Cairo, where English is the medium of instruction in all classes, applicants for admission who score less than 50 on this examination are rejected, those scoring 50-64 are required to spend a year at the English Language Institute studying English full-time before they can be admitted, those scoring 65-79 are asked to spend one semester at the E.L.I. but can take one regular University course simultaneously, and those scoring 80 or above are admitted directly to the University--where they spend most of their freshman year studying English. In other words, the American University in Cairo finds it necessary to demand a great deal more English of the students it admits than the University of Jordan has been able to demand.
4. Since this Chapter was written in June, 1972, there have been a number of developments at the University of the sort here recommended: (1) a three-man committee from the Department of English has been asked to study all facets of existing and proposed English-language courses and expects to make its report early in 1973; (2) all students will hence-

forth be required to pass an English-proficiency examination before graduation; (3) the 'service courses' for non-majors are being reorganized to provide training for students who do not take and pass the examination at the earliest possible date.

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## INCORPORATION: A TOOL FOR TEACHING PRODUCTIVE VOCABULARY PATTERNS

Marianne Celce-Murcia

For some time now teachers of English as a second or foreign language have tended to give priority to the teaching of syntactical patterns and to consider the teaching of vocabulary as peripheral. This approach to language teaching, which originated with the structuralists, also receives some support from Chomsky (1965) and other transformational linguists who claim that the knowledge a speaker of English has of his language is demonstrated by his ability to produce and comprehend an infinite number of grammatical sentences.

Vocabulary, when brought up at all in the English language classroom, is usually taught either in conjunction with reading comprehension or in and of itself because the words in question are particularly frequent or useful or interesting. There is seldom much emphasis given to the teaching of productive processes of word formation.<sup>1</sup> Such a trend with respect to the teaching of vocabulary becomes questionable if one feels that a speaker's ability to apply productive rules in comprehending and producing lexical items is also part of his knowledge of the language.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest, first of all, that "incorporation",<sup>2</sup> a type of word formation seldom discussed in an ESL context, is an integral part of the knowledge that the native speaker of English has of his language and, secondly, that "incorporation" is not a separate, incidental feature of English since it involves the teaching of vocabulary in its syntactic context. It is proposed that if the English language teacher (a) understands the process of incorporation and (b) is aware of some of the more productive patterns of incorporation that occur in English, he will then have some notion of how to teach incorporated meanings to his students and how to utilize such a notion when incorporated meanings arise in vocabulary items being used or taught in the ESL classroom.

The term "incorporation" has been employed occasionally by linguists working on American Indian languages; more recently, two semantically-based approaches to language description (i.e. Gruber (1965) and Cnafe (1970) also have made use of the notion of incorporation.

Gruber (1965: 5-27) discusses verbs that obligatorily or optionally incorporate certain adverbs or prepositions. For example, he claims that the verb cross obligatorily incorporates the adverbial preposition across. He illustrates this by citing paraphrase relations that obtain in sentences such as the following:

1. John **crossed** the street.
2. John went **across** the street.

And he notes that the following sentence is impossible:

3. \*John **crossed across** the street.

Gruber claims that the lexical and grammatical facts of the above sentences cannot be explained with maximum generality unless the verb "cross" is analyzed as a motional verb similar to go yet also incorporating the meaning of across.

Another example of incorporation that Gruber provides concerns verbs co-occurring with the preposition for. According to Gruber the verb want obligatorily requires and incorporates for, while the verb yearn requires but never incorporates for. The verb wish, however, requires for and allows both possibilities (i.e. incorporation of for is optional.) The sentences that he uses to illustrate this are:

4. a. John wants a book.
- b. \*John wants for a book.
- c. \*John yearns a book.
- d. John yearns for a book.
- e. John wishes a book.
- f. John wishes for a book.

Since the meanings of these verbs are so similar, these verb-preposition co-occurrences would be very difficult to explain economically without making reference to the notion of incorporation.

I would now like to examine several productive patterns of incorporation in English. For each such pattern I will propose that an underlying noun having a particular type of "function" in the underlying structure has been incorporated into the surface verb. By "function" I mean more or less what Fillmore (1968) refers to as the case relation which a noun in a sentence exhibits with respect to the verb (e.g. agent, instrument, theme<sup>3</sup>, locative, etc.)

A case relationship is something quite distinct from the syntactic role that a noun exhibits in a sentence. For example, in (5) the subject noun functions as the "agent" while the direct object functions as the "theme" and the object of the preposition with as the "instrument".

5. Marge cut the apple with a knife.  
     (agent)           (theme)           (instrument)

An important restriction that should be mentioned at this time is that every English sentence must have a "theme" and in (6) the subject of the sentence functions as the "theme" whereas the object of the preposition in functions as a "locative".

6. Jake lives in New York.  
     (theme)           (locative)

The notion of incorporation can be employed to describe the different meanings a surface verb has when it incorporates a given noun that fulfills different functional relations in the underlying structure. Consider the verb "surface" as it occurs in the two following sentences, which at first glance might appear to be grammatically similar:

- 7a. Phil surfaced the treasure chest.
- 8a. The men surfaced the sidestreet.

In these sentences, instead of saying that there are two verbs with the form surface but with different meanings, we can say that in both cases the underlying verb has incorporated the noun "surface". In (7a) the underlying noun "surface" was functioning as a locative expressing

a directional goal whereas in (8a) the underlying noun "surface" was functioning as a theme. The following paraphrases of the above sentences will help clarify this distinction and show that the verb "surface" is being used in two very different ways precisely because the underlying noun "surface" was fulfilling different functions in the two underlying structures before incorporation took place.

7b. Phil brought the treasure chest to the surface.  
 (agent) (theme) (locative)

8b. The men put a surface on the sidestreet.  
 (agent) (theme) (locative)

Both of the above patterns of incorporation are common in English. Other examples of sentences parallel to (7 a-b) with verbs incorporating a noun that expresses a goal-directed locative or a destination are shown in (9).

- 9a. The cowboys led the horses into the corral. —→  
 The cowboys corralled the horses.
- b. The sherrif put the thief in jail. —→  
 The sherrif jailed the thief.
- c. The captain brought his ship to the docks. —→  
 The captain docked his ship.
- d. The cook put the meat on skewers. —→  
 The cook skewered the meat.
- e. They put milk into bottles here. —→  
 They bottle milk here.
- f. The boy put the groceries into the bag. —→  
 The boy bagged the groceries.
- g. Mrs. Anderson puts up tomatoes in cans. —→  
 Mrs. Anderson cans tomatoes.

ETC.

Other examples of sentences with verbs that incorporate themes--parallel to (8a-b)--are given in (10).

- 10a. Les put plaster on the ceiling. —→  
 Les plastered the ceiling.
- b. I put paper on the shelves. —→  
 I papered the shelves.
- c. The cook put salt on the meat. —→  
 The cook salted the meat.
- d. Lily put water in the plants. —→  
 Lily watered the plants.
- e. They boy put some butter on his bread. —→  
 The boy buttered his bread.
- f. The mechanic put oil on the rusty parts. —→  
 The mechanic oiled the rusty parts.

ETC.

There is another pattern of incorporation shown in (11) that appears to be the opposite of (10). In pattern (10) the theme is put into or onto something; however, in pattern (11) the theme is being taken off of a place where it had been or away from something that it had been a part of.

- 11a. Mary took the dust off the furniture. —————→  
       Mary dusted the furniture.
- b. John pulled the feathers off the goose. —————→  
       John feathered the goose.
- c. The Indian cut the scalp off the cowboy. —————→  
       The Indian scalped the cowboy.
- d. Ann cut the peel off the apple. —————→  
       Ann peeled the apple.
- e. Sally took the pits out of the olives/dates. —————→  
       Sally pitted the olives/dates.
- f. Martin took the scales off the fish. —————→  
       Martin scaled the fish.

ETC.

As the examples in (12) show, a noun that functions as an instrument in the underlying structure can also be incorporated into the verb.

- 12a. Pete cut the wood with a saw. —————→  
       Pete sawed the wood.
- b. Hal removed the snow with a shovel. —————→  
       Hal shoveled the snow.
- c. Irma gathered the leaves with a rake. —————→  
       Irma raked the leaves.
- d. The janitor cleaned the floor with a mop. —————→  
       The janitor mopped the floor.
- e. Madge arranged her hair with a comb. —————→  
       Madge combed her hair.
- f. We fastened the door with a bolt. —————→  
       We bolted the door.
- g. The shortstop caught the ball with his glove. —————→  
       The shortstop gloved the ball.

ETC.

The final type of incorporation to be discussed occurs with English verbs referring to forms of precipitation.

13. It's { raining  
           snowing  
           drizzling  
           sleeting  
           hailing }

Such sentences are unusual because the surface subject is the lexically empty morpheme "it", sometimes referred to as the "impersonal" or "expletive" it. Since it was stipulated earlier that every English sentence must have a theme, these sentences appear to be counterexamples of a sort. However, the notion of incorporation also proves to be quite useful in the explanation of such sentences. If we analyze the underlying verb in the above sentences as being very much like the verb "fall" but incorporating an underlying noun which functions as a theme, and which refers to a form of precipitation, a plausible analysis is achieved in terms of both paraphrase relations and syntactic well-formedness. If we assume that the underlying sentence in such cases is (14), then the intermediate structure that represents the incorporation of the

theme is (15), and the final result after insertion of the vacuous "it" is (16). This final step is necessary because every English sentence is required to have a surface subject regardless of whether the subject refers to anything or not.

14. Rain is falling.  
(theme)

15. \* is raining.  
(theme gets incorporated into verb)

16. It is raining.  
(vacuous "it" inserted)

The interesting thing about the three structures cited above is that although (16) represents the idiomatic way of expressing the notion of "rain in progress" in English, the pattern represented in (14) closely reflects the Japanese idiom for expressing the same notion and (15) represents a structure that was grammatical for Old English.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore very likely that most languages make some use of incorporation since it is an economizing device of sorts (i.e. it takes less time to say the sentence if something has been incorporated than if no incorporation has taken place); however, the patterns of incorporation used and the surface structure constraints involved will differ from language to language. In other words, incorporation is one of the factors that can be used to explain why the surface structures of various languages--or different stages of the same language--are often much more divergent than their respective underlying structures.

The above examples given for English are merely illustrative, not exhaustive. I have tried to give examples of some of the most productive patterns involving the incorporation of nouns into verbs. Native speakers of English can use these patterns quite spontaneously to create new surface verbs that are the result of incorporating underlying nouns into verbs. For example, if during a basketball game someone suddenly produced the following sentence,

17. Wilt Chamberlain basketed the ball beautifully.

most native speakers would know that this sentence means "Chamberlain put the ball in the basket" (i.e. he scored).

In addition to the productive patterns discussed above, there seem to be some idiosyncratic incorporations such as the following:

18. Mrs. Jones treats her son like a baby. —→

Mrs. Jones babies her son.

There are also cases where a verb incorporating an underlying noun has come to have an extended meaning:

19. John sent the package to New York by ship. —→

John shipped the package to New York.

In this case the verb "ship"--which originally incorporated the noun ship to mean a specific means of transport--now has generalized its meaning to include other means of transport permitted by the context (e.g. plane, truck, train, etc.).

In conclusion, if the teacher of English as a second or foreign language recognizes the fact that the meanings of certain classes of surface verbs are best explained as the incorporation of an underlying noun having a particular semantic function, then many seemingly disparate vocabulary items can be taught consistently and meaningfully to students who are learning English as a second or foreign language.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>The exception to this, of course, is when the English teacher devotes part of a lesson to some of the more common derivational prefixes (e.g. un-, re-, mis-, etc.) or suffixes (e.g. -able, -ness, -ly, -ism, etc.)

<sup>2</sup>I first became aware of the usefulness of applying the notion of "incorporation" while doing research on models of recognition grammar at System Development Corporation, Santa Monica, Calif. My application of "incorporation" to this area of research is described in Celce-Murcia (1972).

<sup>3</sup>Fillmore (1968) uses the term "object(ive)" to describe the functional relation I call "theme". I have chosen to follow Gruber's terminology to avoid confusing syntactic labels such as "subject" and "object" with the more semantically-based functional (or case) relations.

<sup>4</sup>The grammar of Old English permitted sentences such as "regneþ" (literally "rains" or "is raining"). In other words, insertion of the vacuous "it"--Old English "hit"--was possible though not obligatory, and sentences parallel to (15) were perfectly acceptable.

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## METHODS OF TEACHING WRITING TO STUDENTS AT ADVANCED-LEVEL

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My experience of teaching writing has been primarily with adults at intermediate and advanced levels of attainment and with university students in particular, and it is with such groups that this paper will be concerned.

I would like to discuss and comment on some of the methods of teaching writing at this level that have been and are being adopted, and subsequently to make some practical suggestions regarding a possible program in composition.

There is no general agreement among teachers as to the subject matter of the advanced composition course or the methods to be used in accomplishing such ends as are defined.

To illustrate this point I would like to characterize briefly some features of methods now in use. The names I will give to the methods I will discuss are intended to have a mnemonic function only.

The first method I will comment on is representative of the free expression method. Several of the features I associate with this method were outlined by Edward Erasmus in his description some years ago of the 'program of fluency' as he termed it, then used at the University of Michigan.<sup>1</sup> One feature of the program he described was that students were 'pushed and motivated to produce extensively with little regard to the number and type of errors and infelicities' made and were directed to write rapidly with little revision or recomposition. In the system of values that was projected greatest emphasis was placed on the length of the materials produced. In his commentary on the method Erasmus argued that 'it is more important to have the student produce large quantities of material than to produce perfect copy.' He further justified the method on the grounds that 'every new use by a student of a vocabulary item, a variation in syntactic sequence or a different structural combination is an enrichment of his language experience and an incorporation into his active language control of a new range of morphemes and their distribution. This is worth the errors that he makes. The next time he goes over similar territory he will do so with greater security and ease and with fewer mistakes.' Professor Erasmus supported this argument with the somewhat obscure and certainly arguable statement that 'language is a self-correcting and self-expanding system and the more it is used the greater facility there is in the use of it.'

Methods similar to that described have been discussed favorably by a number of commentators. Chastain (1971), for example, cites an experiment carried out some years ago at UCLA by E. Brière which, Chastain asserts, demonstrated the success of such a program of 'fluency' emphasizing 'quantity' rather than 'quality' and which indicated that such a program 'resulted in students writing more materials with fewer errors than did a program in which essays had been carefully prepared and corrected.'<sup>2</sup>

In my judgment the experiment demonstrated nothing of the kind. The experiment as described by Brière had these features.<sup>3</sup> In an experimental group students wrote freely for at least six minutes during each class session on the subject of a cartoon. Regardless of the number of errors made, only two errors at the most were indicated by the instructor. Weekly compositions ranging progressively from 300 to 500 words in length were assigned. This is the text of a lecture given to the 370K class in methodology in fall 1972.

and a term paper of a minimum of 1,000 words was required. Home and class compositions and term papers were carefully corrected and students receiving any grade below A were asked to rewrite their compositions.

The final tests showed that there was a decrease in error rate and an increase in quantity of output during the course. In his description of the experiment, Professor Brière suggested that one interpretation of the results might be that 'an emphasis on quantity will produce greater fluency and also have the concomitant effect of reducing error rate,' and he posited that 'an emphasis on quantity and fluency will produce far better results than any emphasis on quality.' He concluded that although no definitive statements could be made concerning the efficacy of emphasizing quantity before quality on the basis of this pilot study, the results led him to 'temporarily accept the hypothesis that in the beginning emphasis should be placed on the quantity of writing rather than the quality.'

In view of the experimental design of the study these conclusions are, in my opinion, unjustified. The experimenter used two methods of teaching the one group of students - not two groups as Chastain infers (p. 236). One method involved an emphasis on fluency and quantity, the other emphasized the identification, correction and revision of errors. There appears to be no way of deducing from the evidence provided in what measure either of the two methods contributed to the final result.

There is, in fact, no convincing evidence that requiring students to write freely and at length under circumstances in which their work is not corrected is likely to produce spectacular results. There is, indeed, evidence to the contrary.<sup>4</sup>

There is, however, a place in an advanced program for exercises involving free expression and I will say something of this later.

I call the next teaching method I will discuss a version of the controlled expression method. A program that will serve to illustrate many of the features I associate with this method was outlined some years ago in an article written by A. Pincas, partly in response to the paper by Erasmus that I have referred to.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Pincas was concerned about his apparent disregard for what she termed the assumptions underlying modern second language teaching theories which require an emphasis on controlled habit formation. She argued that 'the use of language is the manipulation of fixed patterns which are learnt by imitation' and 'not until these have been learnt can originality occur in their manipulation or variation.' She added that 'since free composition relies on inventiveness, on creativeness, it is in direct opposition to the expressed ideals of scientific habit-forming teaching methods which strives to prevent error from occurring.'

Dr. Pincas outlined a course that served to reflect the methodological principles she accepted. She suggested that emphasis should shift progressively from the substitution of words in sentences of different patterns to the substitution of sentences in paragraphs of different types and finally to the substitution of what she termed 'literary devices' in whole essays or stories. At first, students would be told what to substitute and where to substitute it. Later they would be encouraged to develop their own terms for substitution - but at no stage would free expression be permitted.

Naturally the program suggested is more complex than the above description might indicate. In the teaching scheme, multiple substitution exercises of this kind constitute only one stage in a scheme of training that includes firstly, practice in the recognition of different vocabulary and sentence constructions used in writing and speech; secondly and subse-

quently, practice in production involving contrasts of 'the usages of speech and writing,' and only when the student's recognition of the various features of English writing is fairly reliable should he begin to produce these; thirdly, practice in the recognition of different styles of writing for different purposes; and finally, composition writing involving multiple substitution.

The program reflects a theory of language learning that is in part superceded. This is, of course, a fact that in no way reflects on the scholarship of those who espoused it. We now recognize that language is not a habit structure and that pattern practice involving elements of surface structure cannot be so confidently assumed to be the obvious way in which to affect students' language competence. Additionally, while the writer speaks of practice in the recognition of the different vocabulary and sentence constructions used in writing and speech and in different styles, one has to recognize that the categories she uses in discussing these - as, for instance, persuasive versus descriptive styles, or business jargon versus personal writing - reflect a rudimentary form of stylistic analysis.

The fact is that the theoretical basis for the description of personal and group registers and individual and 'collective' styles of writing is only just being developed. Description of the ways writers organize the language system to compensate for the absence of a variety of paralinguistic elements such as voice dynamics and gesture or to compensate for the absence of feedback has only recently been undertaken; and an adequate pedagogical grammar of written English is not available. Teachers of writing as a second dialect, therefore, generally have to rely on their own casual impressions of the manifold differences between the grammatical features of numerous varieties of speech and more numerous varieties of writing.

To follow Dr. Pincas' suggestions in detail is, consequently, far more difficult than may initially appear to be the case. Nevertheless, there are features of the program suggested that, in the present state of knowledge, can be usefully applied in the classroom and I will refer to certain of these in my concluding section.

Two other approaches that might be mentioned briefly because they are widely used in American schools and will therefore be familiar to many prospective teachers are what I term the literary model method and the rhetorical method.

R. L. Stevenson once described how he formed his own style of writing by imitating the work of his literary predecessors. 'I have thus played,' he wrote, 'the sedulous ape to Hazlitt, to Lamb, to Wordsworth, to Sir Thomas Browne, to DeFoe, to Hawthorne, to Montaine, to Baudelaire, and to Oberman.'<sup>6</sup> Other writers have adopted similar exercises in stylistic self-education.<sup>6</sup> This approach might be related to a method of teaching that involves presenting students with extracts from the works of well-known writers and subjecting these to some form of analysis and imitation. The general assumption underlying this method appears to be that by a development akin, perhaps, to the biological process of osmosis, some of the stylistic characteristics of the original will be transferred to the written work of the students. The method as generally practised is not, in my view, one that can be recommended for use with students of English as a second language so I will not discuss it further. This is not to say, however, that there are no circumstances in which examples of contemporary literature might not be used to advantage to illustrate the use of particular stylistic features or to provide subjects for discussion and subsequent composition in advanced classes.

Under the broad heading of the rhetorical method I refer to that ancient and seemingly antiquated body of rhetorical theory and related practice concerning such matters as what are often termed 'invention', 'arrangement' and 'style' in written work. Characteristic of one popular rhetorical tradition is a recognition of forms of descriptive, narrative, expository and argumentative prose--the division supposedly designating the different ways of ordering statements within paragraphs and paragraphs within complete passages. For the purposes of analysis some practitioners also accept a distinction between three major sentence types--loose, periodic and balanced sentences. More recent studies have isolated other types. But, as should be apparent, such distinctions are formulations that do not derive from a coherent system of grammatical description, and their pedagogical utility is limited.

Many texts drawing on the 'rhetorical' tradition also instruct students in the use of schemata according to which materials can be organized and arguments presented. Emphasis is given to different patterns of organization that paragraphs might assume through processes of analysis, contrast, analogy, etc. Albert Kitzhaber has written eloquently of the use of such 'sets of critical abstractions which the student is urged to apply to his paragraphs and themes like a foot-rule to a piece of lumber' and I think it is apparent that the application of such procedural formulae is unlikely to encourage students to write with any degree of spontaneity.<sup>8</sup> Nor is such exposure likely to teach students to think more clearly as is occasionally suggested.

In particular, teachers should be aware of the relative superficiality of studies that purport to have in some sense codified in rhetorical terms 'the thought patterns which speakers and readers of English appear to expect as an integral part of their communication' and of the reduction of these to a limited number of types of paragraph structure. Dr. R. Kaplan, for example, (from whom the above quotation is taken) has suggested that 'two types of (paragraph) development represent the common inductive and deductive reasoning which the English reader expects to be an integral part of any formal communication' and has further suggested on the basis of experimental evidence which appears to be tenuous, that speakers of other languages do not share the English preference or penchant for sequences that are 'dominantly linear' in development. R. G. Bander interprets and paraphrases Dr. Kaplan's suggestions as follows: 'In following a direct line of development, an English paragraph is very different from an Oriental paragraph, which tends to follow a circular line of development. It also differs from a Semitic paragraph, which tends to follow parallel lines of development. A paragraph in Spanish, or in some other Romance language, differs in still another way: its line of thought is sometimes interrupted by rather complex digressions. Similarly a paragraph in Russian often contains digressions....' It will be apparent that such generalization is grossly oversimplified and, from the point of view of the foreign student, condescending.<sup>9</sup>

The above comments should not be taken to imply that in a course for university students it is not useful to discuss matters relating to the organization of research papers, for example, or to present students with essays that employ different types of organization or structure. It is simply to question the value of much that passes for training in rhetoric and logical analysis and to reassert with Kitzhaber that 'the majority of

handbooks present a dessicated rhetorical doctrine that has probably done a great deal more over the years to hinder good writing than to foster it.'

My comments on what I have here termed the rhetorical method have been somewhat flippant and superficial primarily because this does not seem to be an appropriate place to develop these in any more detail; and I do not consider that teachers of English as a second language can profit greatly from current rhetorical theory.

## II.

So far this commentary has been largely negative. I would now like to make a few comments about procedures that a teacher might usefully follow in an advanced composition course. The first step, of course, is for the teacher to define his or her general objectives. Let us assume for the purpose of discussion that a teacher has a class of students from a number of disciplines and that his primary aim is to make their writing in these subjects more generally intelligible. In such circumstances it might be appropriate to broadly define the first objective of the class as the teaching of varieties of writing appropriate in academic discourse, i.e. writing that is written for the consumption, as it were, of other scholars. This definition would serve to exclude close attention to informal varieties of written English or to specialized registers. The teacher will, of course, have secondary objectives. The rubric of a particular course may require him to introduce the students to aspects of American life and culture, for instance, and this will naturally affect his choice of materials.

Having specified his objectives the teacher should get hold of written materials from any source that exemplify such written varieties as he considers might serve as a stylistic point of reference and which will provide students with subjects for the class discussion that will precede most writing assignments. These will also provide a basis for substitution and extension exercises, and consolidation or sentence-combining exercises if these are used.

The initial stage in class activities will involve a reading of the article or passage selected and a discussion of this. Any vocabulary item that is not generally understood should be identified and exemplified in various contexts if an understanding of it is necessary for a full understanding of the text. At this stage also the instructor might point out any item of grammatical structure that he wishes to draw attention to. His observations in this respect can be as systematic as he has the time and inclination to make them. He might, for instance, simply draw attention to items that might be misunderstood or that are characteristic of formal academic discourse or that are for one reason or other unusual in such prose, or he might detail the various noun replacement transformations in the passage.

The teacher should give the members of the class such information about the writer and the readers to whom he addressed himself and, if relevant, the occasion on which he did so, to provide a basis for brief discussion of the purposes he had in writing the article, the effects he wished to secure and, in relation to these factors, the style of writing adopted or employed. In this context I am using the term style to encompass the writer's choice from among the organizational, rhetorical, grammatical and lexical options available to him, given the restrictions imposed by the conventions governing the type of written work undertaken. The first term is used here to refer to the way the writer has disposed or

structured his material throughout the passage; the second refers to that type of organization manifested in careful and, one assumes, conscious patterning within and between sentences. Such patterning generally has an aesthetic purpose and commentary on it would normally be incidental.

Most teachers would balk at the suggestion that they should undertake the task that would be involved in an attempt to describe with any comprehensiveness the style of a passage in the sense that I have used the term, and rightly so. But there is in fact no need for a systematic description to be attempted. The task the teacher should set himself is to get his students to repeatedly ask themselves the question: Why has the writer used this particular item? And subsequently to get them to consider what other possible ways there are of saying the same thing, given the information they have already deduced or been given about the writer, his audience, and his purposes. The teacher will be able to suggest appropriate stylistic alternatives and recognize inappropriate ones by virtue of the complex array of linguistic norms that he has internalized over time through exposure to dialectal, diachronic and diatypic variation (variation relating to use or function). A number of attempts have, of course, been made to establish conceptual schemes<sup>10</sup> in relation to which stylistic variation can be systematically discussed and such might help the teacher to organize his comments on a text. But, essentially, the skills he needs are those he exercises constantly in speaking and writing with different interlocutors for different purposes and in his judgments about the effectiveness for their purpose (or otherwise) of spoken and written materials to which he is exposed. Perhaps the best way to help students to develop such facility for themselves is to encourage them to pay the close attention to the 'words on the page' that this type of exercise involves.

Students will not, of course, be content to consider in detail all sections of a passage. The whole passage or article should be quickly read through first and particular sections should be selected for closer commentary by the group.

The types of manipulatory exercises that the teacher might suggest to students are numerous and I would refer those who would like a number of these to be itemized to C. Paulston's discussion of what she terms 'conversions' (i.e. substitutions, transformations and modifications) in a recent discussion of techniques of controlled composition. Dr. Pincas has also made a number of helpful suggestions for types of exercises in an article concerned with the teaching of different styles.<sup>11</sup> Students should not, however, be asked to make changes that have no communicative purpose (e.g. 'rewrite the paragraph changing the tense of the verbs to past'). Such changes as are made should be done with a specific purpose in mind and a specific audience, if relevant.

Such activity can serve as a prelude to the writing of passages on issues related to the theme of the passage in question. These might involve, for example, refutation or elaboration of particular points raised or commentary on the topic discussed, or the arguments might be presented from a different point of view or with a different audience in mind. Whatever topic is chosen should be such as to require the student to make close and frequent reference to the text. In these last instances, the students' task will not be to select appropriate substitutions but to make changes consonant with the change in the writer's purposive role, the addressee relationship (personal or functional) and the conventions governing the medium adopted (medium relationship).<sup>12</sup>

While discussing the issue of textual manipulation and extension, I would like to refer to Leonard Newmark's suggestions for getting university students to memorize and expand upon written texts. In Using American English students are presented with short passages of academic prose and asked to memorize these and subsequently to reconstruct the text in class from a partly obliterated version.<sup>13</sup> In the incomplete version, alternative or synonymous items to those omitted are provided to serve as a memory cue, to clarify the meaning of the original and to expand the students' vocabulary range. I am not wholly convinced by the rationalization underlying these exercises as this is elaborated by Newmark, and I think it still needs to be demonstrated that the memorization of a relatively small number of passages in this way is a more effective method of helping students to write with facility than a method in which they are exposed to more and longer texts and given greater freedom to manipulate or extend these; but the technique of textual variation has, I think, much to recommend it.

An objection has been made by Nancy Arapoff, whose criticism needs to be taken seriously, to what she calls 'the copybook approach' which requires students to replicate or emulate particular passages. She argues that while it does require that they memorize structures 'thereby increasing their grammatical ability, and perhaps teaching them something about style, it doesn't require them to do much thinking.'<sup>14</sup> She believes that the students themselves 'must ultimately be forced to undergo the intense mental activity involved in working out their own problems of selection and organization if they are ever really going to learn to write. 'One must,' she thinks, 'in planning a writing curriculum devise exercises which necessitate intense concentration.'

I do not personally accept this as a valid criticism. Naturally, if a student is writing an expository essay or a term paper, he will be faced with problems of selection and organization of his material, but in most cases these are problems that can and should be tackled before he begins to write the final version of his paper. Dr. Arapoff's suggestion that the teacher should attempt to ensure that each writing exercise involves some form of intense concentration is, I should think, one of the surest ways of ensuring that some students will write as little as possible.

There are other types of activity that can be usefully undertaken in advanced classes, that have considerable practical value. Exercises that require students to paraphrase sections of text have much to recommend them as do summary exercises relating to note-taking, using materials provided in class lectures or oral compositions or written passages that have been previously discussed in class.<sup>15</sup> All such activities practice skills that the student needs to use in everyday academic life and at the same time require him to restate in ways that are appropriate to his purposes materials that have been prepared by other writers. Time taken to identify the significant points in a passage and to summarize these in intelligible form is never wasted. Such exercises can, however, be tedious for the student and initially they can be best done by the instructor working with the class to build up the paraphrase or summary on a blackboard or overhead projector. These activities can also be used to lead into discussion of the organization of research papers and the conventions governing the presentation of footnotes and bibliographies, if this appears to be necessary.

At this level, also, it is not inappropriate in considering the principles underlying paraphrase and the simplification of passages, to discuss higher-order characteristics of academic prose such as are related to

the features of clarity and economy and the contrasting features of ambiguity and redundancy. These can in some instances be discussed in terms of specific items in a text. Gleason, in particular, has suggested ways of relating such features to elements of surface structure. He discusses clarity, for example, in relation to such tangible features as multiple embedding, front-heaviness and the ineffective use of transitional devices.<sup>16</sup> Here again, however, the teacher's own experience will provide a reliable point of reference in making stylistic judgments. To ask students to edit prose--their own or that of other writers--in terms of the higher order characteristics mentioned, requires them to use a similar set of skills to those they will have exercised in making stylistically well-motivated changes to texts read in class.

In the process also they will be engaged in activities that are directly analogous to those undertaken by experienced writers in what Faulkner writing of Sherwood Anderson termed the 'fumbling for exactitude' that certain types of writing requires.

Because an activity involving such changes characterizes many of the exercises I have mentioned (including those such as paraphrase and summary), the approach outlined in this second section might for convenience be termed the textual variation method. It will be apparent that the approach has features in common with that discussed under the heading of controlled expression but there are also features that make it appropriate to distinguish the two pedagogical approaches; and the theoretical assumptions regarding language learning processes that underlie the methods are very different in the two instances.<sup>17</sup>

### III.

To avoid the accusation that I have ignored in my discussion the problem that teachers find most time-consuming, I would like to make a few remarks on the correction of student errors, stemming from my observation on 'editing.' Unlike Mrs. Pincas, I think it is appropriate for students to spend some time rewriting sections of their assignments that contain gross errors of style--judged, in this instance, in terms of the requirements of efficient academic discourse. To facilitate this, students can be asked to set out assignments in such a way as to leave the instructor room for commentary and themselves room for revision. It is sensible to encourage students to keep all assignments in the same file. This allows a check to be made on recurrent errors and progress in revision, if necessary. Personally, I correct assignments in detail but do not assign grades to individual essays. If grades are required or requested they are best given on the basis of all the work done over a period of time. A single paper written by a student on a given topic at a particular time cannot, as is well-known, be considered a valid basis for evaluating his achievement, unless his level of writing attainment is relatively low.

In class, it is generally practicable to focus attention for revision purposes on a limited number of items of general importance. In each class students will be found, for example, who make errors in written work relating to the use of the modal auxiliaries or involving tense 'harmony.' In a short-term course a number of such items can be isolated from student essays for class discussion, but to go some way towards meeting the need for individual instruction the teacher should, if possible, have on

hand a number of texts to which students with particular difficulties can be referred and from which additional assignments can be given to those who need these.

#### IV.

I would like to emphasize in conclusion that it would be wrong for a teacher to confine his experimentation and activities to one particular method of teaching writing. There are numerous methods that might be employed and teachers should employ whatever techniques they find productive and their students enjoyable. While I think that the approach I have outlined has much to recommend it, I have also found that some students who show a relative lack of enthusiasm for class activities of the kind I have detailed respond well when encouraged to keep a journal or diary and to record their reactions to and observations on incidents in their daily lives at whatever length they wish, in the assurance that these will be carefully and sympathetically read and corrected, but not, of course, graded. Such students often have a great deal to say and nobody to say it to. The teacher can use such a situation to the students' own advantage without abandoning the underlying objectives of the course that he has set himself. And he should be alert for such possibilities.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. E. T. Erasmus, "Second Language Composition Teaching at the Intermediate Level," Language Learning, X, 1 & 2, 1960, 25-31. It should be noted that a systematic grammar review was conducted concurrently with the program described and that errors made by the students in their essays were corrected and explained.
2. K. Chastain, The Development of Modern Language Skills: Theory to Practice, 1971, p. 236.
3. E. J. Brière, "Quantity Before Quality in Second Language Composition," Language Learning, XVI, 3 & 4, 1966, 147-151.
4. For example, a study by Buxton at Stanford University on the work of 257 students indicated that college freshmen whose writing is graded and thoroughly marked and criticized and who revise their papers in the light of these criticisms can improve their writing more than freshman whose writing receives a few general suggestions but no grades or intensive marking, and who do not revise their papers. The subjects were native speakers of English but the findings are nevertheless relevant. They are reported in greater detail in Braddock, R. et al, Research in Written Composition, NCTE, 1963, p. 70.
5. A. Pincas, "Structural Linguistics and Systematic Composition Teaching to Students of English as a Foreign Language," Language Learning, XII, 3, 1963, 185-194.
6. Somerset Maugham claims to have done so; and Dr. Johnson's advice regarding the study of Addison has been heeded by many aspirants to a literary career.
7. F. Christensen's designation of the 'cumulative' sentence is an example in point. Cf. F. Christensen, Notes Towards a New Rhetoric, 1967.
8. A. R. Kitzhaber, Themes, Theory and Therapy, 1963. Rhetorical theory is, of course, undergoing constant development and elaboration. For a contemporary viewpoint of some interest cf. R. E. Young and W. L. Becker, 1965.

9. R. Kaplan, "Cultural Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education," Language Learning, XVI, 1966, 1-20. R. G. Bander, American English Rhetoric, 1971, p. 3. The point is mentioned here simply because Mr. Bander's excellent textbook is used in several classes for foreign students at UCLA.
10. Cf. the suggestions made in Crystal and Davy (1969); Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory (1964); Catford (1965); Ellis (1965); Gregory (1967).
11. Cf. C. B. Paulston, "Teaching Writing in the ESOL Classroom: Techniques of Controlled Composition," TESOL Quarterly, 33-59 and A. Pincas, "Teaching Different Styles of Written English," English Language Teaching, 80-81, Jan. 1964.
12. The terms 'purposive role' and 'addressee relationship' are based on the categorization developed by Gregory, op. cit., 1967.
13. L. Newmark et al, Using American English, 1964.
14. N. Arapoff, "Writing: A Thinking Process," TESOL Quarterly, 1, June 1967, 33-39.
15. In my usage a paraphrase involves precise restatement of the significant points made in paragraph form and in the student's own words. A summary involves an itemization of the points made in schematic and, if necessary, abbreviated form using the writer's terms wherever this is convenient.
16. H. A. Gleason, Linguistics and English Grammar, 1965, Chap. 19.
17. I would, however, like to acknowledge my academic debt to the original and practical suggestions made over the years in the work of Dr. Anita Pincas. The approach outlined in her article, written in the early 1960's, is not necessarily representative of her present position.

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## CREATING A POEM IN AN ESL CLASSROOM: AN EXPERIMENT

John Povey

The following slightly artificial classroom activity was planned because I have a very serious sense that we have to tap deeper sources of language and language use if the utilization of English as a second language is to rise beyond the banal and the merely utilitarian. In the battle between the highly structured and the extremely free methods of teaching composition I opt for the latter. I prefer to seek to stimulate an eager desire to communicate even through all the necessary attendant series of errors rather than set up correctness as a terminal aim in a manner that restricts all usage. I believe that just as we admit in ourselves the extraordinary high proportion of recognition as opposed to use vocabulary we should design projects that tap the amazingly deep well of unrecognized linguistic knowledge embedded in the non-native speaker. I also hold to the human theory that education by its very etymology is a 'drawing out' and that the commitment to literature and particularly poetry and the discovery of the essential impact of verse on the life experience of the student is of incalculable human value, particularly for minority students.

Therefore, I begin where I want to be without apparently passing through the usually appropriate steps along the way. I have offered to teach variants of this technique of what can grossly be called 'creative writing' in many classrooms. Too often the immediate response of the English teacher is scorn. How can they be creative if after ten years of English they can't yet even write a decently correct sentence? But what is the alternative? Another ten years and the same incompetence continuing? Is it possible to break out of this sequence of depressing exercises and attendant depressing failure? Perhaps one can begin, as it were, at the other end. Begin with a sense that language is a beautiful sensitive thing, full of meaning and responsiveness; that it is capable of responding to emotional concerns and reflecting delight and sadness too. If you can, even with a few, establish this priority of language use, then the challenge has been cast for a target that has been defined. That sets up the inspired concept that language itself is a magnificent human attribute and perhaps in a way the source of all human self-awareness.

I realize that these are suspicious generalizations for what may in fact to some seem a one-time classroom gimmick. Yet it shows language at the service of the student, reflecting his feelings, his responsiveness and that accomplishment cannot be too far belittled by the patent inadequacy of this single activity. It is only one experimental aspect of an attitude based upon a student-centered educational philosophy. It is intended less to provide a methodology to be copied than a direction of teaching which is to be varied and molded for a vital educational purpose. The task is to prove that the English language is not the property of an alien administration to be acquired reluctantly for vocational service but a living vital force that is capable of embracing many peoples and many societies in its benign resilience.

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In a ninth grade class at the BIA Intermountain High School in Brigham City, Utah, I attempted an experiment aimed at developing an awareness to poetry by planning a single period around the actual class production of a piece of verse. My initial motive had been to encourage a responsiveness to all poetry when it was being studied. As this class developed, taking its own direction and momentum, it grew increasingly clear that there were other more general, perhaps more significant, educational activities being stimulated by the work. These activities had particular value in Indian schools where a student's already somewhat diffident manner in class was further restrained by halting and unrealistic knowledge of English.

The experiment demanded a sense of personal awareness for the student was necessarily required to recall with detail and precision his own exact experience of a subject he had seen. This personal inspection rapidly generated throughout the class, the discovery that the responses, even to identical things, were unique in their individuality. Discovery of individuality is a crucial educational aim.

Beyond this psychological reaction there was linguistic impact. A new and crucial stress was placed upon language. Need pressed usage into areas of capability perhaps only dimly recognized as being maintained within the linguistic competence of the student. On too many occasions each student has found it practical, even advantageous, to function with only a restricted and highly utilitarian vocabulary for many academic purposes. The search for accurate description brought about the urgent need for fresh and adequate phraseology and, driven by necessity, unusual constrictions were spontaneously developed. In the discovery of the emotive efficacy of words there was also an increasingly sensitive alertness to the subtlety and overtones of which words are capable. That this applied even in English, the second language of these Indian students, should have been an additional revelation.

I began with a prior attempt to liberate poetry from the bogy belief that verse was a construction manipulated by complex prescriptions of format in rhythm and rhyme. The inaccuracy of such a belief is so patently obvious in most contemporary verse that it would hardly appear to need remark. But the 19th century is still powerful in the courtyards of English literature and each time, the announcement that poetry rests somewhere other than in repetitious devices, comes with a sense of shocked discovery to someone in the room--and not always only the students either!

It is this irrational fear of the demon of stylized complexity that has daunted much wider exploration of the delights of poetry by both teachers and students alike. I therefore start by setting out and clarifying the basic premise. I suggest that poetry, if ultimately resistant to any glib definitions is simply the communication of a reaction that achieves the exactness of its description through the sensual efficacy of carefully chosen words, supplemented by the device of the poetic image, a device which employs the concept of analogy inherent in both the simile and the metaphor. Even that statement has grown ponderous enough and I would prefer to fall back upon some statement that poetry is experience transmuted through

deliberately selected words. If such a definition is minimal enough in conveying the great essence of poetry, it is, nonetheless, a reasonable and defensible place to begin both when intending to read or to write poetry at the junior level.

The two elements that make the essence of poetry in this definition can then be isolated and explained: description by naming and description by analogy. This implies, firstly, a recognition of the reason for the choice of particular and specialized words and the force obtained from the nature of comparison.

For the descriptive element a teacher must introduce the concept that words depend upon and reflect the responsiveness of the five senses from which all human awareness obviously must derive. This fact remains equally true, it should be pointed out, whether the experience is direct, through immediate individual perception, or reported, in the acquisition of that equivalent stimulus deriving from the secondary level of communication by a writer of his own original first-hand knowledge.

Demonstrations by Mrs. T. D. Allen in many BIA classes have utilized leaves and sheets of paper as a source for the investigation of sense response to immediate stimuli. With the actual item in front of them and thus amenable to varied discovery, she encourages students to explore the sight, smell and touch of the object, demanding words for the results of the sensory inspection. Skillfully, she elicits such imaginative reactions as "The paper crackles--like eggs frying." For this single lesson I am forced to short-circuit this valuable procedure. I am making only one class presentation as a visitor. For a regular teacher it would make a valuable, perhaps essential beginning to working with poetry, to establish the sensitivity and semantic priority of words in their responsive quality.

For myself I have to take as a starting point a position further along the educational sequence and trust that over-compression does not destroy the effectiveness of the student level of understanding. I begin by the open announcement that any description achieves its communicative force by requiring a linking of equivalent sensual reactions experienced by both writer and reader. It is obvious, but worth reminding the students, that where this assumption of mutuality is not in effect, communication on that particular wave length of the sense spectrum is not possible. One cannot adequately describe a color to a blind man or communicate the sounds of music to the congenitally deaf.

It is well to begin by soliciting the names of the five senses from the class. Write them up on the board so that they are fixed in everybody's mind. One might also usefully offer as examples of the process a few random words that most patently force the response from a particular sense. Allow the students to consider the particular sense titillated by such stimulant words as blue, pepper, crackle, smooth, lemon. Perhaps one could go even further and indicate how few words in fact do appeal to only one single sense organ for the imaginative picture demanded by many terms insists upon a series of simultaneous sensory perceptive reactions.

When undertaking an explication of the second concept, analogy, the indirect manner of description, it is well to leave the metaphor to be discussed later on, preferably after it has been accidentally discovered by the class in the process of completing a poem. It is better to let a metaphor grow out of the writing rather than command one by insisting on a student's following a model selected from the guide books of English language usage. The simplest form of analogy, the simile, can be readily explained and illuminates the entire concept of the poetic image. The simile has as its basis a type of comparison based upon the partial identity of two things. It is most simply, if rather mechanistically, identified by the fact that it requires an introductory 'as' or 'like' signal which indicates this construction. Its nature depends upon linking the individual vision of one thing, with another somewhat equivalent experience acquired by the writer. The latter part of the comparison is less personal because it is shared jointly both by the writer and many of his readers.

For example, if you own a hairy dog only you, and those personal acquaintances who have stroked it, know its peculiarly hirsute quality. To describe the hairiness of this canine by saying that it is "as hairy as a ball of wool" or "as shaggy as a floor brush," etc. assumes that the reader shares the experience of only one half of the statement, the analogy proper. From this shared part of the knowledge he can effectively reverse the appropriate associations and implications of that element he is in fact familiar with and refer it back to the original item, the unknown animal. To know from natural personal experience how hairy a ball of wool is, or how whiskery a brush appears, is to be guided towards that same awareness of the shagginess of the unknown hound and the density of its untouched and unobserved fur.

Some further examples should be given to bring out the implications of this rather obvious device. Obvious or not, awareness of the nature of this usage may be particularly valuable, when, up to that point, the use of 'like' or 'as' has produced only a habitual and unthinking response in the students as they recall the obvious clichés of pop songs. Yet even the most accepted clichés such as "cool as a cucumber" or "to swim like a fish," are worth remark if they allow the teacher to comment upon the palpable qualities of this device and then direct the student in discussion, into more subtle forms such as that beautiful simile achieved by the young Indian girl who wrote, in Arrow III, of a stream, "trickling like a tear on some lonely face."

With these two elements of language usage in mind we can begin the construction of a poem. I was forced to rehearse these details to establish common ground with unknown students of indefinite knowledge. A teacher might make the thoughts indicated above the basis for a series of introductory lessons that display the use of language devices and prepare for later experiments with actual writing.

I began most arbitrarily by suggesting to the class the topic "Trees," pace a more famous American verse. It seemed easy, obvious, and non-committal, and there was one accosting my eye as I gazed out of the classroom window. It might be better in other circumstances to get a title

selected by the students, but I was not confident enough at this stage that all topics would readily work and there would not be time for second attempts in this case. If I had a series of classes planned along these lines, the topics could be much more varied. Later, in another class, the students produced a delightful poem on a peach. This began with my thrusting on them the title "Tree" having liked the earlier results. They responded by defining it as a peach tree knowing that their school in Brigham City was surrounded by peach orchards. Soon the few words offered about the tree were swamped in a plethora of relished verbal reminiscences of the delicious fruit and the tree could be eliminated with no obvious loss. The poem finally stood sturdy and complete describing the sensations raised by the fruit. This made yet another reminder of that fact that even good teachers have to relearn regularly, that students will come up with ideas, and that exciting and unexpectedly original things can happen if one keeps flexible and optimistic and does not crush potential inspiration by imposing too strictly, the hard mould of a predetermined class plan.

I first solicited from the students the obvious parts of the tree. They called out such words as trunk, branch, leaves, bark, roots. I wrote these words down a column on the left-hand side of the blackboard. I then asked for descriptive words or reactions to each of these things in turn. As they were called out I chalked the proffered word up on the board in some rough proximity to the element they were intended to describe. Partly out of an inherent sloppiness in my own blackboard technique and partly because it was impossible in advance to allow the different amounts of space required by the descriptive words and phrases offered, words did have to be interspersed and squeezed up together. The final result was a mess of chalky words in a confusion that perhaps added accidentally to the element of magic at the conclusion when phoenix-like the completed poem arose from the chaotic chalky ashes!

We began with the word trunk as the largest part. At first hesitant response produced only the most obvious words like big, round, fat, brown. I didn't think much of these and pointed out how imprecise and obvious they were. It is also fair to note at this stage that the students were working in a vacuum for there was no indication of where their word efforts would lead. It was the first line and I dutifully and uncritically scribed the words up on the board. The idea at this stage ought not to be the rejection of even unsatisfactory words since rejection too rapidly produces hesitancy and then silence from the class. Daunted by their apparently being wide of the teacher's expected target the students surrender and give up the whole exciting game. Even when the hastily shouted words are irrelevant and unselective they force other thoughts to flow, for obviously inadequate ideas need better definition and modification. The search for the appropriate language is generated out of the patent incompetence of original unthinking suggestions.

Some students, rapidly frustrated by not having more original vocabulary available in the quiver of their current word lists, took instinctive refuge in analogy without being openly conscious of the construction they were employing. They called out "It is shaped like a post," "like a pole." I pointed out that this wasn't very helpful since the equa-

tion between pole and tree was really too close for there to be any advantage in making the comparison as no lesser and suggestive similarities were revealed. It is obvious that if one pursues the question philosophically the point of a comparison rests just as much with the dissimilarities that provoke a thought of otherness than the actual qualities that indicate identity.

Even while describing trunk, they soon got onto the description of its bark. It was "rough," "crusty." That latter was such an effectively emotively word it soon led to other thoughts, that it was "like burnt bread." I asked how hard bark was. Debate elicited that it depended on the type of tree. At this point I recognized with self-conscious dismay that I myself had not thought through this prospect sufficiently and that I had begun this blithely vague about the type of tree that resided in my own imagination. Flexibility is one thing but casualness was reprehensible! We had to force our thoughts into more precise, less vapidly general imagining before we could continue, for only a sharply visual precision could sustain the examination we now wanted and needed to make. However, it was in fact without specifying any particular genus of tree that we agreed that it was softer than wood. "How do you know that?" "Because it can be dented with a fingernail." "It can be broken off---in crusty lumps" (crusty on the board had stimulated that extension of the metaphor). The thought of the active involvement of fingers reminded students that there were other senses involved. They remembered the act of picking off hunks of granulating bark from tree trunks. There was the smell of the wounded wood, "like tar" said one. "Oily scent" said another. It was soon agreed that the word oily covered so many scent impressions that it needed an extra descriptive word but it was not at this point forthcoming, so making virtue of necessity I pressed on with the experience they were each recalling. The sap was "wet and sticky," "gluey" two students called out, pursuing this line of thought. It was my fault that this interesting development got lost when someone hectically started calling out about the branches. Wanting to take advantage of this enthusiastic plunge into the next section I let the earlier description drop. It is a nice point how much one should firmly hold to a focus. It seems cruel to set back enthusiasm when it is excitingly bubbling in the classroom yet I am sure that judgment must measure the advantages derived from eager facility with the more profound value of pursuing into deeper recognition the understanding of a memory or experience.

Initially the branches were described in almost the same words as had been used for the trunk. Branches were big, round, brown, etc. This was understandable enough but I pressed for the difference. "Branches were thinner." Agreed but there was a halt. "What effect does thinness have?" Still silence. I proceeded to wave my own arms in the air above my head. "Branches waved in the wind," several students obliged. "Like arms" added one who had undoubtedly been spurred by my ungainly manipulations and had associated the actual limb with the symbolic gesture. "Arms" was a fairly standard term for branches and very obvious, but I dutifully chalked it up. The more the better at this stage I rationalized. I was after all attempting to develop an attitude and a technique rather than deliberately create an inspired finished product. A poem of more consequence may come later from individual work. Perhaps the committee system invariably makes for mediocrity. But failure, provided that there is no

sense of personal defeat or pain can produce a thoroughly educational result. In lines of poetry, incompetence can reveal what constitutes weaker elements of verse and indicate what should as far as possible be avoided. Poor lines and phrases contrast nicely for teaching purposes with evidence of the quality of the good ones and indicate by their failure the nature of the intended creative success.

Still waving my arms in bizarre pantomime, I tried to stimulate better comparisons than the obvious and derivative "like arms" for branches. One student came up with the branches moving upwards "like President Nixon's victory sign." (Had I been extending my fingers into a V to supply this visual identification?) It was a lovely thought but I explained that it was an idea that would have to be embedded in a total context of a more satiric nature for its unexpected political humour would tend to undermine the other overall serious tone that the poem might develop as it pursued its nature imagery. If I had been working with an individual student I should certainly have guided him to develop this thought through but it was too complex and quirky for a group to handle. A poem must take itself seriously unless the humour is intentional. An accidental joke had the reader too readily laughing at rather than with the writer. "Like a scarecrow" seemed a more possible response even though it struck me as being conventional and secondhand---perhaps it was original, virginal to the student. This phrase was squeezed in alongside the word branches on the board.

Someone, appropos of nothing, observed that birds slept on branches, but merely giggled when pressed for any follow-up on this perceptive observation. It was apparent no one else's thoughts ran along these lines, for requests for comment were met by severe silence and that indicative evasion when it is impossible to meet the eye of any single individual in the classroom!

Leaves proved the easiest subject because they allowed an immediate chant of colors---red, yellow, gold, green, brown. Deliberately pretending confusion I begged clarification of these contradictory hues. I soon was informed that this was a seasonal sequence and so we set the pigments down in appropriate chronological order. In discussing the 'brown' season some one observed that then a leaf was not even part of the tree since it fell off dead at that point. "How did it fall?" "Like a leaf." That was true enough but not very helpful along the principle of Gertrude Stein and her 'rose is a rose is a rose.' "Like a feather" said another. "But it was a brown leaf." "Like the feather dropping off a brown bird."

If I had wanted to be over-clever and emphasize results in this poem, I might have pressed that brown leaf/brown feather identity into some recognition that there was a similar sense of winter death. But a teacher must have some caution. That would have been the construction of my own poem unless I had spent substantial--yet valuable--class time developing the possibilities, and implication, of extending the original simile across the whole structure of the poem. With consistent revision--that might have occupied a second class period--we might have got to that complex and subtle statement of universal death. But it could not have been adequately propounded AS THE STUDENTS' OWN IDEA, within this single period experiment.

Working subsequently with an individual student who had already indicated the commitment to the concepts of poetic self-expression, I should certainly have elicited the implications of this comparison and advised and guided him towards the intellectual consequences it would have for the poem he was attempting to write. A budding poet would readily recognize how he must pursue this thought across the sequence of his own carefully considered verse.

The chorus of words continued. Leaves fell not only like a bird's feather but also "like a butterfly," remarked one student, probably recalling visually the red-gold on the dying autumnal leaf and mentally matching it with the wing pigments of the creature. "But butterflies don't fall; they fly upwards too as a leaf cannot." "Not in winter. They die just like leaves do." Is that true? I did not know. I am far less knowledgeable in lepidoptery than they were. In retrospect--when all the might-have-dones of the best lessons are considered--I might have pursued this issue further. How does a dead butterfly fall? Does it float like a feather? Drop like a stone? Etc. Since the comment at least had effective poetic possibilities regardless of zoological truth, I wrote the comparison around the edge of a nearly full board. Both these suggested comparisons were now available for final selection or elimination. Brown leaves in winter I was also informed crackled and crumbled in your hand. I added this concept rather hastily onto the board, detecting that further introspection from those words would dredge up memories of those insidious cereal commercials that I sensed hovering around as a technological inspiration determining the new cliches for a young poetic muse.

"Where did the leaf fall?" "On the ground." It was a bit banal. I pressed them to agree that it fell directly onto the roots of the tree. I admit to myself, that educationally speaking it is better to draw out rather than push in but in my particular circumstances I hadn't a teacher's regular flexibility with time and the advantageous 'to be continued' was hardly possible. For me there could be no postponement till 'another day'. I could already see clearly that if I was to make any effective result at all I required something that would appear natural and inevitable, and yet would create some deliberate and distinctive kind of conclusion to this poem.

"Where, in fact, did the leaf fall?" "On the roots of the tree," said an obliging student. "The roots look like snakes," asserted some helpful soul who had fallen into the scheme of things. "Are the roots dead like leaves?" (This teacher still over-pressing for results in the worst kind of way.) "No." The very unhelpful monosyllable clearly indicated that with the best will in the world, to be obliging no matter the personal cost, students could not yet see where this peculiar discussion was going to lead. "But roots are not curling and wriggly like snakes, and yet you tell me roots are like snakes." "You can't see roots alive like snakes." Then there was that generous response which in the ultimate happy analysis always seems to be the young people's reaction. They are too generous hearted to see you crucify yourself on the cross of pedagogic incompetence if their own efforts can shore up your muddle and add distinction to your failure. In winter, tree roots were resting but certainly alive. "Sleeping" someone called out to protect me from my self-induced

harassment. Again I had an incompetent sense that I doubted the botanical truth of this assertion but I rejoiced in the poetic validity of the concept and was grateful that the instinctive courtesy of the Indian student had protected me from that hollow disaster where a series of questions unthinkingly launched, turn out to be merely rhetorical and impossible for any rational answer at the appropriate level to which one should be directing one's teaching.

On the classroom board I now had created a total mess that contained the following words, though nothing in the precision of typescript can convey what a scrawling chalky mess had finally been produced after so much repetition and development.

trunk: brown, thick, round like a pole, like a post.  
 bark: brown, crusty, like burnt bread, cut with your nail.  
 sap: moist and sticky, scented like tar, like oil.  
 branches: slender, thin, waving in the wind, like arms, like a scarecrow,  
       birds rest there.  
 leaves: round, flat, red, yellow, green (in spring), brown (in winter),  
       dying, falling like a feather, like a dead butterfly, crisp,  
       breaks in the hand, crackle, falling on the tree roots.  
 roots: like snakes, curly, wriggly, invisibly living, sleeping, resting.

I stopped at this point as I had enough now to make my point... From this mishmash on the board I began to write out a formal poem on a clean area of the blackboard. I took particular care to write neatly to stress the distinction between the tentative words on the board (the equivalent of a writer's notebook in these circumstances) and the formalistic quality of the final poem. I extracted words and phrases, making it clear that I was not doing any major alterations to what had already been provided. I argued that I was only eliminating the obvious things that needed no comment--such as that a leaf was round and flat, which scarcely needed saying if everyone knew that to be so. I also argued that by removing all the excess and repetitive words that interfered with the originality and impact I would get a more immediate effect, for poetry can be measured by the compression it achieves from a concentrated statement.

The result appeared something like this:

A Tree.

Heavy brown post--  
 its bark dark and ragged,  
 like the burnt crust of bread,  
 releasing moist oil, sticky to the fingers,  
 tar-scented at a cut.  
 Branches, moving in the wind with scarecrow arms  
 Birds rest there, among leaves--  
 green in spring, coloring red/yellow/gold,  
 and dying in winter to crackle-crisp brown,  
 Fading, dropping, falling,  
 Like a butterfly,

Onto those roots, dark on the earth  
resting like curled snakes,  
invisibly living in their sleep.

The above result is not dramatically poetic. One could hardly expect it to be. Nor is that the educational point of the enterprise. Yet it is patently a poem of a sort. It had also demonstrably been created solely by the class using entirely their own selected words. They had the pleasure of recognizing that they had all participated in the venture, at least to the extent of a shouted word or two.

As they examined their creation there was such a sigh of approval and self-admiration that I thought it would not hurt to prick this satisfaction that was somewhat self-indulgent! I pointed out the weaknesses and discussed the reasons for the failure. "Post" wasn't a very evocative word. We still had not found words that registered the real tactile effect of that sap on the finger tips, thick, sticky and cool. The scent was not quite like tar. What was it really like?

In discussion we discovered that we had gone as far as memory of our regularly casual observation would permit us. We could not do better now without going out again and getting the damp mess on our hands for refreshed inspection through the newly alerted senses. This need constituted not only an immediate stimulus to present concerns but perhaps began the process of awakening a responsiveness to richer observation of sensation.

In these lines of poetry, when we checked back, we had satisfactorily drawn upon the evidence of most of the senses. Color was sight. Tar was scent. Sticky was touch. That crackling sound affected the sense of hearing. Clearly sight is the predominant sense and makes the most obvious source of first descriptive impressions. Responsiveness to the students' other senses has to be stimulated--at least into verbal manifestation--by the teacher's deliberate enquiries. There are several opportunities in this poem for the teacher to indicate places where another sense response would be appropriate and add details that would allow the scene to impinge more definitely and suggestively upon the reader's sensibility. The concept of a simile has very obviously been appreciated and employed several times, though some comment on its effect on each occasion within these lines would help clinch the basic function and open up the way for more original and suggestive usages in the future.

This presentation may appear to have some elements of the gimmick. I am aware that it could be argued that I have intruded myself more than is immediately apparent and certainly more than the students recognized. But isn't that characteristic of much teaching where even class discussion resolves itself around a teacher's necessary and proper control through guidance and stimulus. More importantly, the results go beyond any minor and immediate satisfaction that comes from this slender but definite success jointly achieved. The sense of the individuality of observation has been awakened by the extraordinarily varied and personal responses described by many after the first stock words have been aired and dismissed. Such facile replies will always be proffered at first. They are obvious and therefore very easy; and students, no less than teachers, do not object to

finding the quickest way out of a task. It is the teacher's job to drive him beyond this level of thought. Only at this moment can the struggle for the new and complicated begin--in this case in the search for fresh and subtle words.

The possibilities inherent in language--in the English language--have been made powerfully apparent even in the relatively elementary functions it has been required to meet here. The need to explore the range of recently acquired language, still held at the recognition level rather than manipulated on the functional plane, provokes a discovery in the young Indian. Language less often employed because it deals with more intense and intimate reactions than are regularly required in the academic give and take of classroom question and answer is gleaned out to capture a personal feeling and an individual reaction.

This makes the most fundamental discovery in education, about the nature of words and what they can do to reflect and establish the transitory yet precious concepts of self-awareness and sensitivity to surroundings. It is not that to name is to know, but that it is words that allow the experience to be perceived in all the richness of its human elements. It is glib to say that one doesn't know love until one has read a sonnet of John Donne (or Rod McEwen?). It is true that richer understanding derives when the glugs and grunts of approval have been separated by thought --and words--into the complex skein of intertangled emotions that compound the urgency of the feeling.

The discovery of the interrelationship of words and being is always difficult. Many manage to live meager lives without such discovery and its attendant self-knowledge. It is quadruply difficult for the students who must work in a language that has none of the first instinctive appropriateness of the first learned mother tongue. Hence this experiment, as an exercise in discovery, in naming, in language attack skills if you will insist on being depreciating by employing the jargon of our trade. More importantly for the young Indian, the discovery of which this lesson intends to instill the very first halting steps, opens up a road that leads into far broader educational skills and aptitudes than were ever required for this amusing, trivial yet worthwhile practice of creating a poem in class.

THE CULVER CITY SPANISH IMMERSION PROGRAM--  
END OF YEAR #1 AND YEAR #2

Andrew D. Cohen, Violet Fier, Marco A. Flores

This is the second in a series of workpapers on the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. It deals first with end of year findings for 1971-72 and then discusses interim findings for 1972-73.

Project Background and Philosophy

Under the guidance of Dr. Russell Campbell of UCLA, the Culver City Unified School District initiated a Spanish Immersion program in the fall of 1971. A Pilot group of 19 five-year-old monolingual English speakers were taught the kindergarten curriculum completely in Spanish (see Campbell, 1972; Cathcart, 1972). This program was modeled after the St. Lambert project in Montreal, Canada, in which English Canadians were immersed in French instruction from kindergarten (see Lambert and Tucker, 1972). In the fall of 1972, 15 English-speaking children from the original Pilot kindergarten continued with Spanish immersion in grade 1, and six dominant or monolingual Spanish-speakers were added to the group. A new, "Follow Up," kindergarten group of English speakers received the same Spanish Immersion program that the Pilot group had received, with the same Mexican American teacher. The Culver City Unified School District financed the program. There were no teacher aides and no special curriculum or hardware was added. In many instances, the Spanish Immersion teachers simply observed and borrowed techniques from the conventional English kindergarten and first grade teachers. In fact, the first-grade Immersion teacher, Violet Fier, belonged to a team of teachers, grades 1 through 3, and shared a common open-space school building with them.

The principal author of this paper, Andrew D. Cohen, arrived at UCLA and became formally associated with the program after the Pilot group's kindergarten year. Dr. Cohen had been the Evaluator of an ESEA Title VII bilingual education program in Redwood City, California (near San Francisco), for three years (see Cohen, 1972; Cohen, forthcoming). In the Redwood City program, there was a 2:1 ratio of Mexican Americans to Anglos in every class. Great pains were taken to make sure that Anglo students always received instruction through English, except in the Spanish language class itself. Thus, a math or social studies class would be taught both in Spanish and English, usually with more use of English. Teachers would use either the concurrent approach, i.e. providing sentence-by-sentence or idea-by-idea translation in both languages, or the alternate days approach, with a subject taught on Monday in English, on Tuesday in Spanish, etc. The concurrent or simultaneous translation approach was by far the more popular approach.

It is probably fair to say that this dual-language approach did not make the Anglos into fluent speakers of Spanish--not even after three years in the program. Since Anglo students knew they could shift into English, they would do so. Also, they were reluctant to speak in Spanish in front of native Spanish speakers for fear of being teased. It was hoped that the Mexican American students would provide a model of spoken Spanish for the Anglo children to copy. Instead, the Anglos felt more comfortable speaking only English (which they were not discouraged from doing) and were

able to "lord over" the Spanish speakers because of their greater command of English, and in many cases, their superior reading ability in English. Needless to say, such an approach was not only less conducive to Anglos learning Spanish, but also somewhat defeating of a major purpose of two-way bilingual education, namely better relations across ethnic groups. When language use patterns of Chicanos and Anglos were observed in the Redwood City classroom, in the lunchroom, and during recess, the results showed that Anglos spoke mostly to fellow Anglos and mostly in English. Thus, Anglos weren't really associating much with Chicanos, and definitely not in Spanish.

In Culver City, the ground rules were different. The children knew that Spanish was the language of instruction right from the start. When native Spanish speakers were introduced into the classroom at the first-grade level, they were welcomed by the English speakers as models of Spanish, and, what is more important, as friends. It is true that they only numbered one-fourth of the class, but they were treated as equals. They had a natural linguistic advantage but they were not resented for this. They were admired. Such a finding speaks very highly for a new approach to handling the participation of Anglos in bilingual education programs. Perhaps because the major concern has always been for the culturally-different and often economically-disadvantaged child, the Anglo student has simply "tagged along" in the Title VII programs. The contrast I have seen between Redwood City and Culver City with respect to the language learning and inter-group relations would suggest the following: Anglo children should be segregated during the kindergarten year and should be instructed exclusively in their non-native language, be it Spanish, Portuguese, French, Chinese, or whatever. Then, bilingual instruction and integrated classrooms should be initiated at the first-grade level (if not later). Such an arrangement should benefit not only the Anglo but the minority child as well. In many ways, such an arrangement is putting the shoe on the other foot--giving the Anglo child a taste of being schooled entirely in a language that is foreign to him, a language that he does not speak at home.

### Early Controversy

In the summer and fall of 1972, there was a major controversy over whether the Spanish-only kindergarten program could continue. At a Culver City board meeting, a parent in the Culver City community publicly read a section of the Education Code of the State of California (Section 71), which requires that the basic language of instruction in all schools in the State be English, and that only after a child becomes fluent in a foreign language can he be instructed in that language. (At first grade, instruction was no longer in Spanish alone because students received twenty minutes per day of science or P.E. in English from another teacher.) The Culver City board voted to initiate a second Immersion kindergarten class, even if it was illegal. They were willing to take the case to court. At the January 11-12 meeting of the California State Board of Education, the board unanimously approved the Culver City decision to establish a new Spanish-only kindergarten class.

During the time that the controversy was raging, parents of children in the program spoke out at a Culver City School Board meeting. They were emphatic about the need to keep the program as monolingually Spanish as possible. Their argument was that introduction of English in the class-

room would simply lessen the children's need to communicate through Spanish. By the spring of 1973, many of the first-grade children were more or less aware that their teacher spoke English. But by then they were also aware that the ground rules for their classroom were that the teacher and pupils would use only Spanish. The rule is so closely adhered to that when English-speaking visitors come into the room, the teacher will have one of the students (often an English speaker) interpret for her.

#### Parental Support

Parental support for the Spanish-Immersion program has been very strong. The following are a series of quotes from parents writing to the Director of Research and Pupil Services in Culver City after the first year of the project. Two families reported changing their personal plans for the sake of the program:

"We are very fortunate in having our son in the Spanish class. At the time we heard of the class, he was enrolled at Betsy Ross. We were driving 16 miles a day to get him to Linwood Howe. Since then, we have bought a home close to Linwood Howe. If we were excited about the class when our son first started, we are twice as excited now. The class has surpassed our original expectations."

"My husband recently accepted employment in Honolulu, but we both feel this is too great an opportunity for our child to miss out on so I'm remaining here."

One Anglo parent expressed pleasure that the project would enhance cross-cultural understanding:

"Besides a tool for learning a second language, this program opens the door of understanding our Spanish speaking brothers who up to now have been hopelessly misunderstood."

Finally, below are the words of a Spanish-speaking parent who had brought up his daughter as a monolingual English speaker:

"Our daughter has completed kindergarten and to my amazement could understand and respond in Spanish. It is hard to put into words the thrills I receive when my daughter can answer in Spanish as I ask in Spanish."

#### Introduction of Reading in English

Because of a number of factors including parental concern that English reading not be put off too long, and a concern that the Experimental children be reading in English before having to take the standard reading test at the end of grade 1, etc., English reading was introduced (by another teacher) in January of 1973. At that point in time, the children had only been reading in Spanish since the previous November. So, in fact, the program almost constituted a concurrent introduction of reading in both Spanish and English. There are no hard and fast data opposing such an approach. A recent conference report suggested that perhaps 45% of the ESEA Title VII bilingual education programs nationally are introducing reading in two languages simultaneously (Pérez, 1973). However, many experts have suggested introducing reading in a second language only after a reading base in one language has been firmly established, and often after learning how to read in the mother tongue first (see Andersson and Boyer, 1970).

Perhaps the main reason for not introducing reading in two languages simultaneously is to avoid interference from one language while

reading in the other. If reading in one language is firmly established, then this foundation can serve as a base for transfer to the other language. If there isn't adequate time for a base to be established, interference can result. Such interference, however limited, has manifested itself in the first grade Immersion classroom, specifically through English interference while reading (and speaking) Spanish. Whereas before the introduction of English reading, children would read the Spanish v in yo voy correctly (as a bilabial fricative), they started reading the v as the English v (labiodental fricative) once they started having instruction in English reading. Whereas they correctly omitted the silent h, as in hay libros, before the introduction of English reading, now they were pronouncing it as the English h, as in happy. Furthermore, the same interference problems carried over to spoken Spanish.

After the project teachers reported these limited problems to the parents, the parents voted for postponing the introduction of English reading until grade 2 for the current kindergarten group next year, in keeping with the St. Lambert model (see Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

#### End of Year Results for Year #1

Before describing the ongoing research for the 1972-73 school year with the Pilot and Follow Up groups, certain results from kindergarten that were not contained in last year's workpaper (Campbell, 1972) will be covered. First, the Harper-Row Reading Readiness Test was required by the school for all kindergarten children. A comparison was run between the Pilot kindergarten of 1971-72 with a comparable kindergarten composed of 15 students in the adjoining classroom. The results of data analysis showed that the Comparison group scored significantly better than the Pilot group (Cathcart, 1972). However, this result is to be expected since the Experimental group were taught only in Spanish. The St. Lambert study didn't test students in kindergarten, but even in grade 1 the Pilot group scored poorer in English reading than did the comparison group. By second grade, however, there were no longer any differences.

Another test mentioned in Campbell's report of last year was the Spanish Vocabulary Test. Vocabulary words on the test included pelota 'ball,' oso 'bear,' avión 'airplane,' mantequilla 'butter,' boca 'mouth,' nueve 'nine,' amarillo 'yellow,' and 43 other nouns or adjectives. Out of a total of 50 items, the scores ranged from 45 to 9, the mean being 27.2.

The students were also asked to repeat Spanish sentences, using a modified "Menyuk" test (Menyuk, 1963). Students were given five sentences in Spanish to repeat. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, negatives, and prepositions were repeated correctly more frequently than verbs, articles, and question words. The final word in the sentence was repeated more accurately than any other. With respect to the Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory (an instrument eliciting reaction to 11 pictures representing Mexican culture, 11 pictures representing Anglo culture, and 2 neutral items, book and school; Jackson and Klinger, 1971), the Experimental group was significantly more positive toward Mexican cultural items (Mexican flag, Mexican boy, tortilla, etc.) than was the comparison group, while the comparison group was significantly more positive toward Anglo culture items (American flag, American boy, bread, etc.) than was the Experimental group (Cathcart, 1972). Such a finding might suggest that the Anglos in the Immersion program are gaining a greater appreciation of Mexican culture at the expense of Anglo culture, but it is probably too early to say.

Relating back to the comparison made earlier in this paper between the Redwood City and Culver City projects, it should be pointed out that the Anglos at the Pilot and Follow Up II levels in Redwood City (grades 1 and 3 in January, 1972, when tested) rated Mexican culture significantly lower than did the Mexican American students, using the same test. At the Follow Up I level, although not significant, the trend was in the same direction. This finding is consistent with other findings mentioned above concerning more extensive and more positive interaction between Anglos and Mexican Americans in the Culver City than in the Redwood City classroom.

#### Interim Report of Findings for Year #2

Evaluation of the Culver City Immersion project in 1972-73 has consisted of the following aspects. After the example of the St. Lambert project, kindergarten students are not being tested except for the school-wide reading readiness test administered in the spring and the collection of interview questionnaires on families new to the program. First-grade evaluation has had several components. One part of the evaluation has been an interim program report conducted by the principal of the Linwood Howe School, Mrs. Vera Jashni, with the coordination of the first grade Immersion teacher, Mrs. Violet Fier, and the other first-grade teachers. It included a test of reading, spelling, and math--the Wide Range Achievement Test (Guidance Associates, 1965), and the Inter-American Test of Comprehension of Oral Language and the Prueba de Comprensión del Lenguaje Oral from Guidance Testing Associates, Austin, Texas.

The following is a section of Mrs. Fier's interim report of March, 1973, on the progress of the Pilot group, currently in first grade:

...In language arts, English speaking children are required to know how to read and spell the Dolch words, a series of the most frequently used words in the English language. In the Spanish Immersion class, there is no such compiled list. However, after a direct translation approach failed, I came up with a list of 130 most commonly used words in my available readers and spellers. (It is interesting to note that the same words are not necessarily common to both languages. For instance, the word "funny" comes up early on the Dolch list, but does not appear in any of the primer, pre-primer, or first grade Spanish texts.) At this point six out of eighteen or 1/3 of the students who can read in the class, have finished the words and have gone on to the second list. In reading the children have read through at least two readers, with an average of five books each. This is in Spanish of course. Here a serious question arises. How are they doing in English? Are they behind, even with, or even ahead of their English-speaking friends? Have they been hurt by having had no formal English instruction for the last year and four months? In answer to these questions we turn to the following sources.

In January of 1972, the children were given the Wide Range Achievement Test in English. Their average grade-equivalent scores were as follows:

Reading:	1.4
Spelling:	1.5
Math:	2.0,

as good or better than the 1.4 grade equivalent score expected for their age group in each of the above categories (reading, spelling,

and math). The results were truly amazing. This was a very good indication that the children were at least chronologically right in step with where they were supposed to be in reading and spelling, and were even way ahead in math. One of the main concerns up until this point had been that the children would be behind in their English skills. One of the hardest things for people to realize was that a child who has learned to read in one language does not begin as a beginning reader in the second, provided the two languages are similar. In other words, in order to read in Spanish, the children had to know how to decode (sound out) words. They had to learn how to determine beginning and ending sounds. They already had the tools and were eager to get down to work in English because they had already gained some skill and confidence in reading itself. Now everyone could relax because the greatest tension had been relieved--the children had not suffered in English even though they had not had one lesson taught in the English language. Math seemed to be their strength. It seems that children can learn content area equally well in math no matter what the language.

Further testing was done in December, 1972, using the Inter-American Oral Comprehension Tests in Spanish and English. The vocabulary subtest was given both in Spanish and English to the Spanish Immersion class, and in English to three other English control first-grade classes, using parallel forms (CE and DE) on split-half groups of students. The results were as follows:

English Oral Comprehension*		Spanish Oral Comprehension*	
Form OCR-1-CE	Form OCR-1-DE	Form OCR-1-CEs	Form OCR-1-DEs
Spanish-Immersion Group		Spanish-Immersion Group	
N=7	N=8	N=8	N=7
M=30	M=29.2	M=22.4	M=25.8
Range=26-33	Range=26-31	Range=17-26	Range=22-29
Class A			
N=10	N=10		
M=26.9	M=26.8		
Range=24-32	Range=20-31		
Classes B & C Combined			
N=10	N=10		
M=30.2	M=28.1		
Range=26-33	Range=24-31		

\*Maximum possible score is 30 points.

Once again the results confirmed the fact that while the Anglo Spanish Immersion class had had no formal English language instruction at that time, they came out either equal to the average score of the English control groups or even a little higher. The average difference between Spanish and English scores for the Immersion group was five points. It is remarkable that the children did so well on the Spanish test because one must keep in mind that they would be at about the level of a two or three-year-old in Spanish language acquisition.

While these tests can only serve as an indication of where the children are in achievement level, it certainly gives a positive

outlook and leads us well on the road to proving that the children are not being disadvantaged by not having instruction in English.

Marco Flores, a TESL M.A. student, also provided an interim measure for the Pilot Anglo group. He constructed a Test of Spanish Morphology and Syntax, which he administered to all Anglo children individually in the beginning of March. Each child's responses were recorded and transcribed. The test included the following 10 items:

1. ¿Qué es esto? (What is this?) (showing a picture of a dog)
2. ¿Qué son éstos? (What are these?) (showing a picture of two mice)
3. ¿Qué está haciendo este señor? (What is this man doing?) (showing a picture of a man opening a door)
4. ¿Qué está haciendo este señor? (What is this man doing?) (showing a picture of a man painting a house)
5. ¿Cómo son estos zapatos? (Describe these shoes.) (showing a picture of a pair of white shoes)
6. ¿Cómo son estas fresas? (Describe these strawberries.) (showing a picture of a bunch of strawberries)
7. Esta niña sabe coser. Ella lo hace todos los días. Todos los días ella \_\_\_\_\_. (This little girl knows how to sew. She does it every day. Every day she \_\_\_\_\_.) (showing a picture of a girl sewing)
8. Esta señora sabe tejer. Ella lo hace todos los días. Todos los días ella \_\_\_\_\_. (This woman knows how to knit. She does it every day. Every day she \_\_\_\_\_.) (showing a picture of a lady knitting)
9. Esta señora sabe lavar. Ayer ella lo hizo. Ayer ella \_\_\_\_\_. (This woman knows how to wash.) (showing a picture of a lady washing)
10. Este señor sabe boxear. Ayer él lo hizo. Ayer él \_\_\_\_\_. (This man knows how to box. Yesterday he did it. Yesterday he \_\_\_\_\_.) (showing a picture of a man boxing)

Mr. Flores provided the following discussion of the results:

Since the children in the Spanish Immersion program had not been taught any structure of the target language in a systematic way, the purpose of this test was to find out at what stage in the acquisition of certain Spanish structures and morphemes the children were.

Even though the children's actual age was around seven, their level of acquisition of Spanish was that of a two or three year old learning his native language. Some of the mistakes the children made in the test, such as the lack of agreement between noun and adjective and the use of incorrect forms of verbs, were quite similar to those a native speaker of Spanish would make during the early stages of language acquisition...

Item #1 was designed to test the children's use of the indefinite article un in front of a masculine singular noun. 9 out of 14 children had this item correct. The rest of the students omitted the article completely or used the feminine form una. Surprisingly enough, none of the children employed the incorrect form uno which is quite common in their free speech.

Item #2 was designed to test the children's ability to give the plural form of a noun in Spanish. The word ratón was considered particularly difficult since its plural is formed by adding the

extra syllable es. In spite of this, 12 out of 14 children in the class answered this item correctly. This might indicate either that the children already knew how to form this type of plural when given an appropriate stimulus or that they have learned the word ratones as a single item by pure imitation.

Items #3 and #4 were intended to test the children's ability to use the present progressive form of verbs. Only 5 children (the best performers on the test) gave the right response to item #3, while 8 out of 14 answered item #4 correctly. The progressive form seems to be the only verb form the children have really mastered.

Items #5 and #6 were included to see if the children could supply an adjective that would suit the inflected noun given to them in the question--in other words, to see if they were able to produce an inflected word that would agree in gender and number with the given noun. The fact that 10 children answered item #5 correctly and only one child out of 14 answered item #6 correctly suggests that the children know how to form the masculine plural form of adjectives, but that they still have difficulty adding to nouns, simultaneously, the feminine and plural morphemes.

Items #7 and #8 were expected to have the students produce the simple present form, third person singular, of the verbs coser and tejer. Although this same technique was applied once before in a pilot test, at that time the examiner did not give any examples to the children. Considering that the first time the children might have misunderstood the item, this time the tester gave two examples before having each child complete the utterances with the correct form of the verb. Also, two items rather than one were used in the present version to give the children a better chance to produce the expected answer. However, none of them responded correctly. This seems to confirm the children's inability to generate simple-present verb forms in their free speech in Spanish at this stage of foreign language development. Whenever simple present forms are used in their free speech, one can immediately recognize them as something learned by imitation.

Items #9 and #10 were designed to test the past form of verbs. Like items #7 and #8, these two items were preceded by a couple of examples in which the past form of the verb was emphasized. In spite of this, all the children used the infinitive form as a response. This confirms a feature found in the data I have collected from their free speech. When speaking in class, the children never use the past form of verbs; instead, they employ either the infinitive or forms of the present that seem to have been learned by imitation.

### Research in Progress

Robert Broadbent, another TESL M.A. student, is currently collecting data on the Pilot Immersion group for his thesis, which is entitled, "On Following an Elementary School Curriculum in a Second Language: Its Implications for First Language Acquisition and Achievement in Non-Language Subject Matter." His instruments include the adaptation of the Berko Test of English Morphology used by Cathcart (see Cathcart, 1972)-- to obtain a follow-up measure of English morphology, a Story Telling Task, and the Cooperative Primary Tests of English Reading and Mathematics. Analysis of data for story telling will include word count, T-unit analysis

(tabulation of minimal grammatically terminable units into which sentences can be segmented without leaving any fragment as residue), and general ratings for overall expression, word choice, grammatical correctness, pronunciation, and rhythm and intonation.

These instruments are being administered both to the Pilot first graders and to a comparison group of first graders, consisting mostly of the same children who were in the kindergarten control in 1971-72. Broadbent is also administering the survey given to the parents of the Immersion class last year (see Cathcart, 1972) to this year's comparison group parents. Furthermore, several new questions will be asked to both groups, such as the amount of time parents spend helping their children with reading and math.

The students will also perform the Story Telling Task in Spanish and will be given the Inter-American Prueba de Lectura, Nivel 1, as a test of Spanish reading. This same reading test was administered to similar age students in several parts of Ecuador, to obtain comparative data on Spanish reading within a monolingual Spanish school system.

Finally, Marco Flores is completing an M.A. thesis entitled, "Early Stages in the Acquisition of Spanish Syntactic Structures by a Group of English-Speaking Children: Semantic Implications of the Learner's Linguistic Behavior." The thesis is based on data obtained from observation of the Culver City Anglo children immersed in Spanish in the first-grade class. Emphasis will be placed not only on the children's recognition and production of Spanish syntax, but also on the appropriateness of the semantic contexts in which utterances occur.

Findings from the Broadbent and Flores studies, along with data on Spanish reading and Spanish story telling, should be available by summer or fall. Even without the benefit of such findings, very definite patterns appear to be emerging. As in the case of the St. Lambert study, the English-speaking students are acquiring competence in Spanish, while maintaining English-language proficiency. These students are also performing on a par with their English-speaking age group on other school achievement measures.

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## THE RUSSIAN TEACHER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

J. Donald Bowen

During the summer of 1977 the TESL Section of the Department of English at UCLA was host to a group of 23 Russian Teachers of English, participants in a government-sponsored program of educational and cultural exchange. A comparable number of American teachers of Russian had similar training in Moscow. These programs are part of a USA-USSR Intergovernmental Cultural Exchanges Agreement which is administered by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), an organization sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The Russian participants are selected by the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the USSR. The exchange of language teachers has been in effect for a decade, since 1963, but this was the first time the training of Russian teachers of English had been located in the Western part of the United States.

The program in Los Angeles was planned to run nine weeks, from June 11 to August 12, but a schedule adjustment became necessary because the arrival of the Russians was delayed. We were able to offer a seven-week program that ran from July 31 to September 17. Almost without exception the participants were linguistically and professionally well prepared for advanced-level training. They communicated in English effectively and with ease, and they were serious and diligent students. Included in the group were two department heads and several section heads; one participant was the author of at least two textbooks used in Russia, one published in 1971 which carried the English title Introductory Phonetic Course. All 23 were from Institutions of higher learning: nine from universities, nine from technical institutes, and five from teacher-training institutes. The participants were mature and sophisticated, with a mean age of 42.04, spread from 25 to 52. There were 6 males and 17 females. They had studied English an average of 7.3 years and had been teaching English an average of 13.0 years. Nine were presently assigned in Moscow and the other 14 from widely scattered locations in various parts of the USSR. They claimed competence in an average of 3.17 languages (including Russian and English). All but two were first-language speakers of Russian; one of these spoke Lithuanian as a first language, the other Georgian.

As indicated above, the program was both educational and cultural, designed to inform the Russian participants of the current status of language-learning theory and language education, including relevant and meaningful practice in English, and to acquaint them with a broad cross section of aspects of life in America. We were understandably very much interested in knowing how the program was received, and the participants were asked to react to several questionnaires. The remainder of this paper reports the figures as compiled, and will serve as a description as well as an evaluation of the programs.

At the end of the program the participants were asked to evaluate the program by checking the relative value to them of each program component on a three point scale of great (1), average (2), or little (3) importance. Program components were academic (including formal coursework, seminars and workshops, films and lectures) and cultural (lectures, visits and excursions). These are presented below in graph form.

The following charts show that the Russian participants in general made very favorable ratings for the overall program.

### 1. Academic Program

#### 1a. Formal Course Work

English Phonology (2-3)	1.00	1	2	3
Language-Teaching Methodology (3-1)	1.09	1	2	3
Advanced English Composition (2-0)	1.18	1	2	3
Structure (Grammar) of English (2-3)	1.55	1	2	3

The numbers in parentheses after the course titles indicate the number of lectures and tutorials per week. The pattern of lectures with interspersed tutorials was chosen to minimize the need for out-of-class (homework) assignments, with full-group lectures to present theoretical concepts and small-group tutorials for discussion, elaboration, application, etc., in which the participants were encouraged to guide the sessions to specifics relevant to their needs and interests.

The numbers alongside the graphs are the mean for values assigned each category (i.e., course in the graph above).

#### 1b. Seminar/Workshops

Audio-Visual Aids	1.09	1	2	3
Cultural Contrasts	1.09	1	2	3
Language Testing	1.41	1	2	3
Culture Capsules	1.55	1	2	3
Literature & Lg. Teaching	1.68	1	2	3
Stylistics	2.09	1	2	3
Bilingual Education	2.19	1	2	3

The Seminar/Workshops were mini-courses of four hours formal duration, given usually on Monday and Tuesday afternoons, with the instructor available the rest of the week to follow up on projects, to work with individual participants who had shown a special interest in the presentation. The listing of these Seminar/Workshops reflects almost completely the order in which they were given, and we believe that the lower ratings given in the later weeks reflects the accumulated fatigue of the participants as the program drew to a close.

We believe that the Seminar/Workshop idea fulfilled its purpose of allowing the presentation of a variety of subjects that could not have been easily incorporated into a class structure. All of these were given by specialists on the UCLA staff or by visitors, rather than by the regular course instructors.

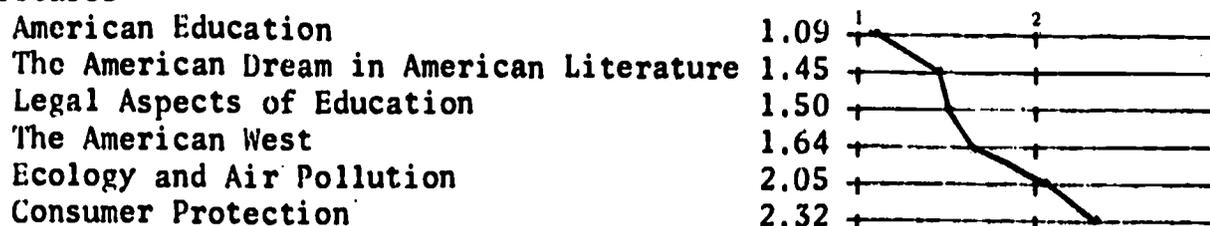
#### 1c. Films and Lectures

Film - Teaching English to Speakers of Spanish	1.41	1	2	3
Film - Starting English Early	1.50	1	2	3
Lecture - Teaching the Written Language	1.57	1	2	3
Lecture-demonstration - The Library	1.67	1	2	3
Lecture - Teaching Short Stories	1.75	1	2	3
Lecture - Language Acquisition	1.81	1	2	3

The academic lecture series occupied an hour slot late in the schedule on Friday mornings. Its purpose was to offer a general acquaintance with professional topics that would not normally be included in the regular course program or in the workshop-seminars.

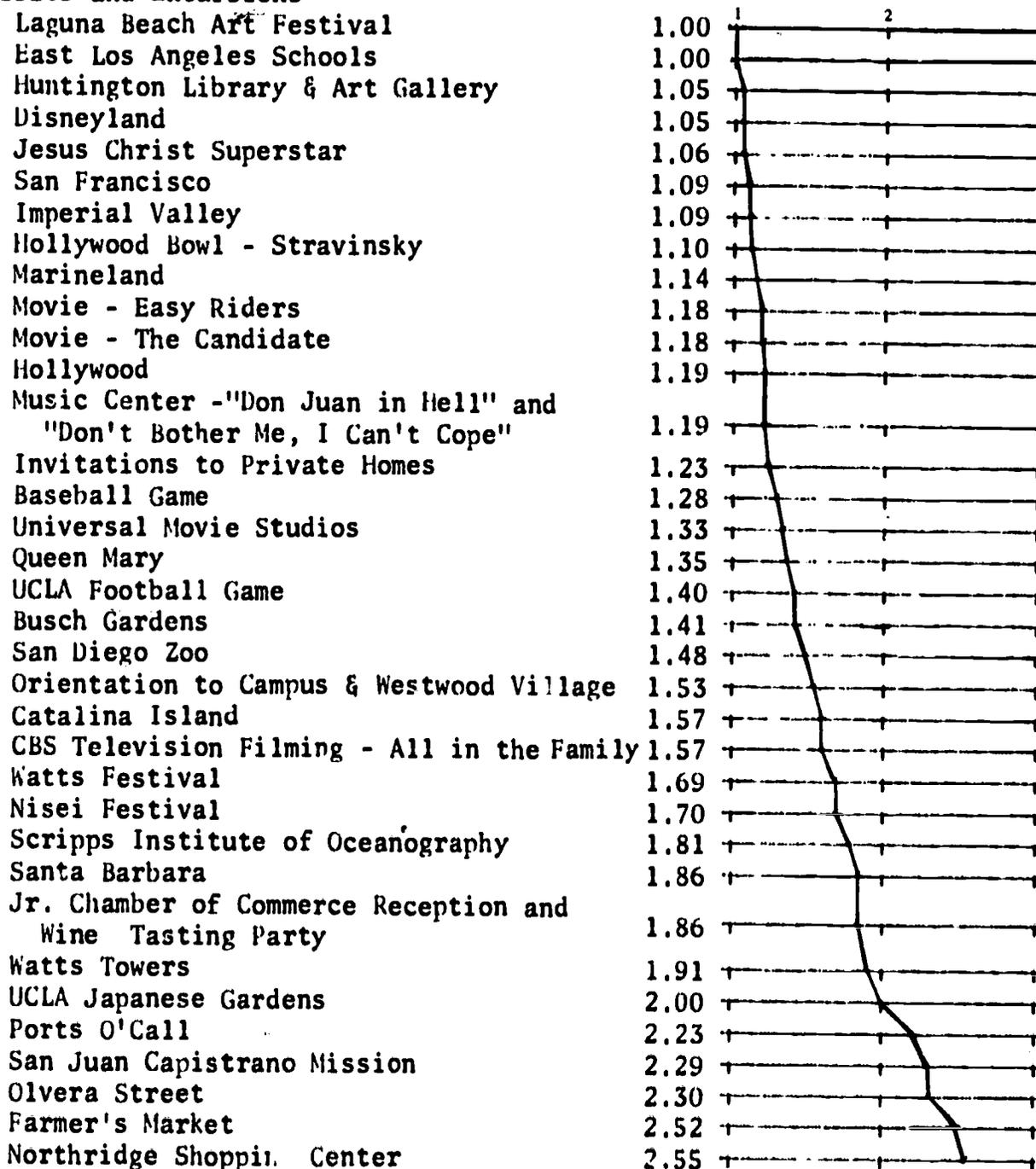
## 2. Cultural Program

## 2a. Lectures



The above presentations were normally scheduled as a regular Thursday night lecture series. As the graph shows, the participants were most interested in American education and literature. They were not particularly concerned with the burning American issues of ecology and consumerism.

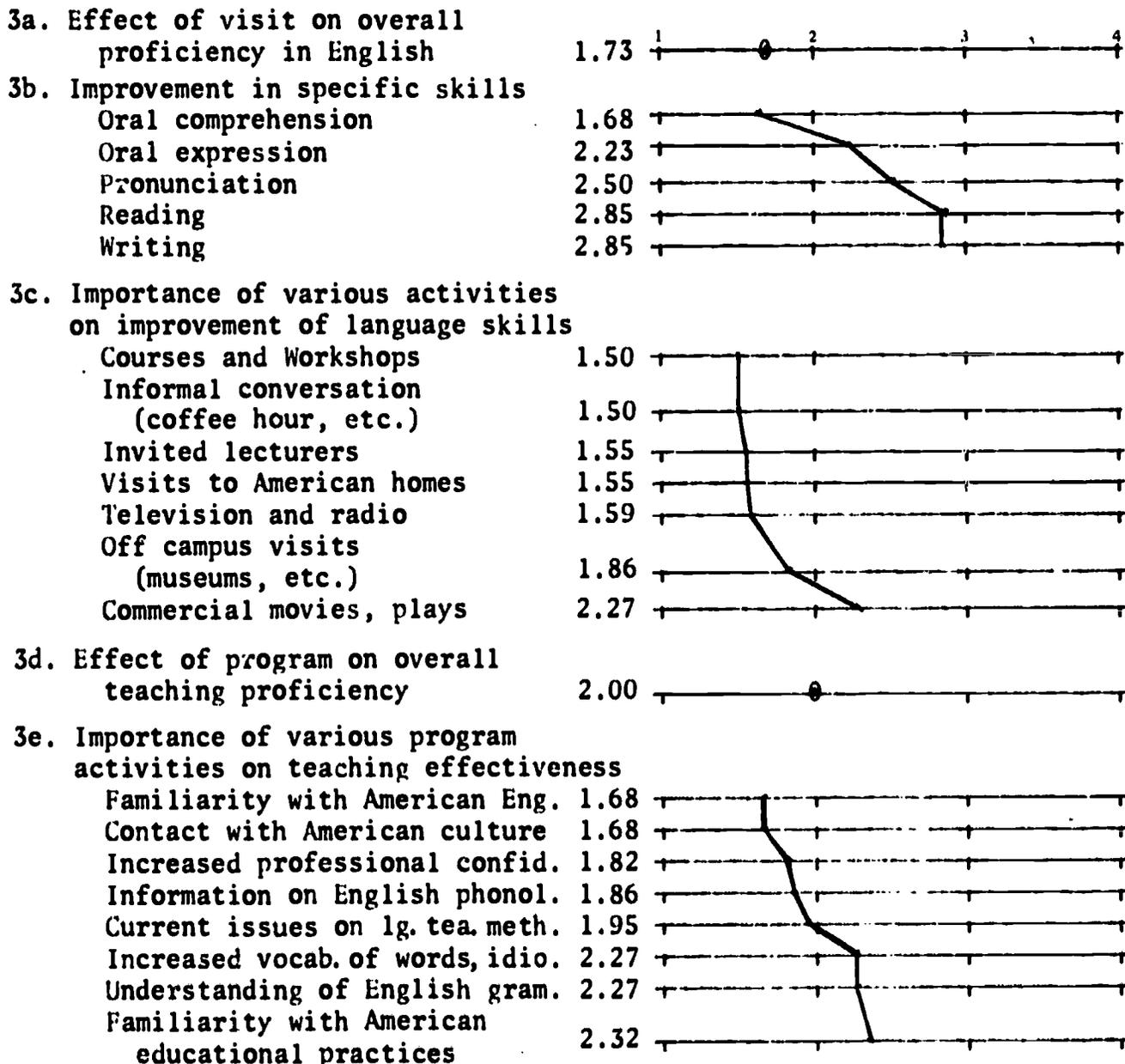
## 2b. Visits and Excursions



This list of places or activities and ratings is very interesting. It reveals a general and quite enthusiastic approval by the Russian visitors of the program offered. It may be of some interest to note that although the Northridge Shopping Center (an extensive complex featuring a large air-conditioned mall) rates last in this list of thirty-five activities, several of the participants asked if it might be possible to return there. Apparently formal judgments were made on the basis of professional relevance, regardless of personal considerations.

We also asked the program participants to evaluate their achievement in various aspects of language performance skills and the effect of the summer's experience on their teaching skills. These ratings were done on a four-point scale of great effect (1), considerable effect (2), slight effect (3) and no effect (4). The lists and graphs below show the means of the ratings by category of skill.

### 3. Evaluation of Achievement



It is interesting to compare 3a (effect on overall proficiency) with 3b (separate aspects of general proficiency). One might expect 3a to be an average of 3b (as 3d is of 3e in a comparable relationship).

Apparently the general feeling of progress in English proficiency is not easily translated into specifics. It does seem that the specific skills of 3b are reasonably related with respect to each other, with oral comprehension rated well above the other skills.

In addition to their own judgments of gains in language competence, we asked the participants to sit for two forms of the UCLA English as a Second Language Proficiency Examination, one at the beginning of their visit and one at the end (a pretest and a posttest). This is the same examination that is used for the placement of foreign students who are admitted to regular student status at UCLA. Each of the forms administered consisted of two cloze tests, two controlled composition exercises, and two dictations.

The results were as follows:

Student No.	Pretest				Posttest			
	Cloze	Compos.	Dict.	Total	Cloze	Compos.	Dict.	Total
1.	40	47	47	134	44	46	47	137
2.	41	45	48	134	44	45	47	136
3.	42	45	44	131	47	39	44	130
4.	42	45	46	133	39	47	45	131
5.	34	42	43	119	41	39	44	124
6.	43	44	49	136	44	43	46	133
7.	36	41	46	123	48	46	44	138
8.	44	47	50	141	45	42	49	136
9.	33	43	4	80	33	38	12	83
10.	41	41	45	127	44	45	46	135
11.	40	46	31	117	40	42	35	117
12.	38	43	26	107	39	42	34	115
13.	38	46	45	129	43	43	39	125
14.	29	43	18	90	41	47	32	120
15.	41	42	45	128	41	43	48	132
16.	41	44	37	122	40	45	49	129
17.	41	40	45	126	45	42	48	135
18.	24	38	22	84	29	42	30	101
19.	35	40	29	104	31	44	32	107
20.	42	42	36	120	48	40	45	133
21.	36	39	36	111	39	45	34	118
22.	38	40	44	122	46	40	41	127
23.	48	46	47	141	50	46	47	143
Possible	50	50	50	150	50	50	50	150

By comparison to the norms applied to regular students, seven of the twenty-three would have been exempt from any English language requirements, thirteen would have been required to enroll for one quarter of training, and three would have been held to two quarters. The cutoff points for these forms of the exam are: 131-150 exempt, 101-130 one quarter training required, 71-100 two quarters, 41-70 three quarters, 0-40 four quarters.

It was satisfying to see that with a little less than seven weeks of training eleven students tested in the exempt range, eleven in the one-quarter requirement, and only one in the two-quarter. Seventeen students improved their scores from 2 to an impressive 30 points for an average gain of 8.29 points. Five students got lower scores by 1 to 5 points, with an average 3.00 point loss. One student got identical scores on

both administrations. Combining this data, there was an average gain of 5.48 points (3.65 per cent) per student on the posttest, which is a commendable gain for a group that pretests in the eightieth percentile.

The teaching staff prepared an estimate of the relative effective fluency of each of the Russian participants. It is interesting to note that this estimate correlates significantly with the students' evaluation of their improvement with respect to pronunciation ( $r=.62$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and writing ( $r=.44$ ,  $p<.05$ ), but fails to reach significance for the participants' judgments of improvement in their skills of oral expression, oral comprehension, reading, or overall proficiency. Perhaps this reflects course emphasis on pronunciation and composition. It should of course be recognized, however, that achievement and proficiency do not have to correlate, and any relation is certain to be indirect. As might be expected, there is a highly significant correlation between staff estimates of participant fluency and the proficiency examination described earlier, in both the pretest ( $r=.54$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and the posttest ( $r=.65$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

It was interesting to note that there was no significant correlation between the estimate of fluency made by the staff or participant competence as measured by the proficiency examination (pre- or posttest) and the number of years the participants had studied English or the number of years they have taught English.

One additional questionnaire was administered in an attempt to ascertain the kinds of pedagogical concepts that have been and are being employed in language teaching in Russia, with a comparison of the relative values placed on different sets of concepts at the present time, differentiated for before and after the training that was offered. Thirteen concepts were rated, comprising the following:

1. Explanations of grammar rules
2. Comparison of first and second language structures
3. Explication of texts
4. Written exercise sentences
5. Written translations of sentences
6. Written translations of paragraphs
7. Controlled composition
8. Free composition
9. Oral imitation drills for pronunciation
10. Minimal-pair pronunciation drills
11. Memorization of dialogues
12. Oral pattern practice drills
13. Free communication activities

The students were asked to rate each of these concepts on a three-point scale of great (1), average (2), or little (3) importance in the following contexts: as the respondent was taught, as the respondent currently teaches, and as the respondent considers an ideal class should be taught. These ratings were done at the beginning of the seven-week course. The last rating, the relative importance of the concepts in an ideal class, was repeated at the end of the period of training, to see if there were any interesting changes that might be attributed to the training.

This modest survey must be considered highly tentative and of limited reliability. No effort was made to assure congruence in the application of conceptual categories to similar teaching situations. And certainly the present teaching assignments of a diverse group of teachers

would suggest variance that might well affect the kind of judgments the respondents would make. In some classes oral competence may be important, but in others reading, or translation would be stressed, or a technical register of the language might be emphasized. And certainly these differences would be relevant and influential in the judgments made by the Russian teachers. But bearing in mind the limitations and the restricted level of confidence that is warranted in interpreting the data, the results are not without interest.

For purposes of analysis the concepts were combined into three groups, designated and constituted as follows.

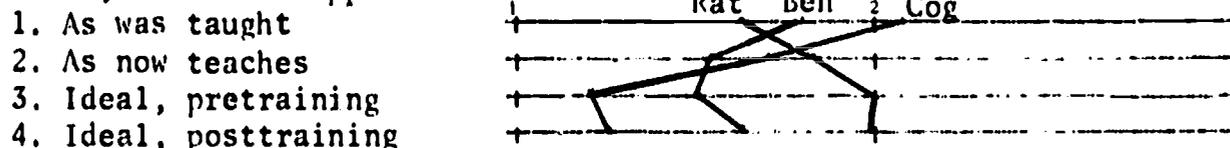
1. Rationalist (items 1, 3, 4, 5, 6)
2. Behavioral (items 2, 9, 10, 11, 12)
3. Cognitive (items 7, 8, 13)

These assignments are arbitrary and can be said to indicate no more than emphases as there are undoubtedly overlaps between conceptual categorizations.

The following means are produced by combining the ratings as indicated:

	Rationalist	Behaviorist	Cognitive
1. As was taught	1.63	1.79	2.07
2. As now teaches	1.84	1.55	1.72
3. Ideal, pretraining	2.00	1.51	1.17
4. Ideal, posttraining	1.99	1.65	1.24

Charted, this data appears as follows:



This chart, read down, shows the history of these three bundles of concepts, labeled for convenience rationalist, behavioral, and cognitive, with a gap of an academic generation between the first and the second levels, with the difference between the real and the ideal worlds shown by the second and the third levels, and with a difference of seven weeks' training shown by the third and the fourth levels. The representation shows the rationalist view (emphasizing grammar-translation methods) as being quite popular a generation ago, but losing ground first to the behaviorists (with their structuralist orientation), and more recently to the cognitive persuasions of the methodologists who are influenced by the current generation of transformational grammarians. The behavioralist position a generation ago was eclipsed by the rationalists, saw a modest heyday during the period of preeminence of structural analysis, continuing to the present day. This acceptance of behavioral concepts was apparently eroded by the training given at UCLA. The cognitive philosophy was the least favored on all scales a generation ago, at least in the memory of the participants, and has since become extremely popular, though somehow this popularity faded perceptibly during the UCLA training. Since the two currently most popular philosophies both lost ground and the least popular only held its ground, it might be assumed that the training introduced a measure of skepticism into the thinking of the participants, though this is not easy to explain. Perhaps it is merely the indirect result of intellectual fatigue induced by a heavily scheduled program.

The graphing of conceptual comparisons shows one feature that is curious: the relative difference in popularity of the three methodological

philosophies, with the present cognitive rating outdistancing both behavioralist and rationalist at their peaks of popularity. One wonders if this disparity may be due to the fact that cognitive applications are currently new and exciting, and the others are familiar and usual. Perhaps ratings made when behavioral (and rationalist) applications were novel and promised to revolutionize results in language instruction would have reflected more enthusiasm and a rating that moved further to the left in the graph.

It is interesting to note that the history of methodological philosophy is the same in Russia as it is presumed to be in the United States, that rationalist, behavioral, and cognitive emphases in language teaching have each in turn been accepted by the profession as most promising of success in the classroom. If this is a valid observation, it is evidence that the ideas of various schools of linguistics and psychology have influenced teachers in a similar manner in both countries.

The American staff and the Russian participants of the English program seemed to enjoy working together. Certainly the staff was unanimously impressed with the seriousness, academic discipline, and intellectual maturity of the Russian participants, but also with their warmth, friendliness, and sincerity. Perhaps the staff appreciation of their Russian students was a response to the Russians' apparent enjoyment of the programs provided for them, both the academic and the activities programs.

The activities, and perhaps the academic, programs were probably over-scheduled, and evidences of the cumulative effects of too many activities for the time available have been cited earlier. We were possibly trying to get the nine weeks' course originally planned fitted into the seven weeks that were available to us. But the staff and the participants influenced each other. "They" were anxious to take advantage of every opportunity that was available, and "we" were hoping to make possible a maximum number of opportunities, and the result was a circular effect. An example can be seen in a comment by one of the participants the second or third day after their arrival, when a vacant space was left in the schedule to allow settling in. The query: "What will we do all afternoon?" as if no minute of this great experience was to be wasted. Our response was to go ahead with a hefty scheduling of activities that left few such gaps in the future. Near the end of the program the questions were, "When do we do our laundry, wash our hair, etc?"

The reactions of people from the community to the Russian visitors was strongly positive. An example can be seen in the visit we scheduled to Imperial Valley, where twenty-one Russians (one had gotten sick and another stayed back to provide care) were distributed among local families for a night's hospitality. In this short time many fine friendships were formed, reported enthusiastically from both sides, and the program has a standing invitation to return to El Centro, if another group comes to UCLA. Also the home hospitality program was very successful, with each participant invited to at least eight American homes. Often there were follow-up visits that were personally arranged, and many letters have been exchanged since the participants have returned to Russia, as reported by both Russian and American sources. I have not attempted to keep account of the number of such contacts, but I do know that I have personally received nineteen letters from fourteen of the participants, filled with greetings, warm expressions of appreciation for the program, friendships, hospitality, etc., with cards, photographs, picture postcards, notice of books sent, requests for various errands, etc.

Perhaps the best way to show the reaction of the participants is to quote from one of the letters:

It has been a month since we returned home and I ought to have thanked you long ago for the most marvelous time we had in Los Angeles. I know it was sometimes a strain on you, but your sincere efforts turned our stay at UCLA into a most enjoyable holiday, for which I can hardly find enough words to thank.

Hardly a day passes when I do not recollect the sunny California and it is not seldom that I am completely lost in thought about last summer. I say "summer" because in my country it is already autumn; we have frost in the morning and there are days when the grey sky seems to hang very low and the relentless rain slashes the earth without cessation.

Though I was entitled to a month's leave, I went out to work on the first of October: it is so hard for the chairman of our department to find a substitute for a month's time right in the middle of the academic year. The first week I could clearly feel the remedial effect of my stay in Los Angeles in that English words seemed to come to me by themselves, without effort. I am afraid I shall not stay long immune against the mistakes and the halting English of my students. But whatever the effect on my English may be in the long run, the experience has been invaluable and it will stay vivid in my mind forever.

This letter indicates both a reaction to the experience of studying in the United States and the competence in written English of students who participated.

As a follow-up to the summer program, it was arranged to have sent to all twenty-three participants two issues of English Teaching Forum, the U.S. Information Agency's Journal for English Teachers outside of the United States, with an offer of a permanent subscription. A substantial number of the participants have responded, indicating that the journal copies arrived safely, expressing gratitude for the sample numbers, and gratefully accepting the offer of a subscription. This promises to be a continuing professional contact with colleagues in the United States.

The UCLA TESL staff appreciated the opportunity to represent the U.S. system of higher education in providing the 1972 summer program for the teachers of English from Russia. We strongly support the exchange program and hope it continues in something like its present form. To pass on a suggestion from our Russian students, it would be desirable to arrange for at least a few Soviet students to spend an academic year in a fuller program of teacher preparation, to provide training beyond what is possible in what is essentially a vacation course.

INTEGRATIVE AND DISCRETE POINT  
TESTS AT UCLA: A REPLYJohn W. Oller, Jr.<sup>1</sup>

In advising students who were about to write polemics, I have often suggested Bertrand Russell's disagreement with John Dewey on the nature of knowledge as a model par excellence of gentlemanliness and scholarship (Russell, 1940, p. 301-8).<sup>2</sup> In fact, that is a model which I have attempted (unsuccessfully, I imagine) to follow in this discussion.

The purpose of this paper is to reply to a review of some of the research on the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE). The review was entitled "Integrative and Discrete Point Tests at UCLA" (UCLA Workpapers: Teaching English as a Second Language, Vol. 6, 1972, pp. 67-78). It was mainly concerned with two series of the UCLA ESLPE which were developed under my direction between the summer of 1969 and the winter of 1972. The list of references in the review did not include the published articles which the paper seemed to be reviewing (Oller, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1971d, 1972a, 1972c, Oller and Redding, 1971, Oller and Conrad, 1971, Oller and Inal, 1971, Oller and Ziahosseiny, 1970). I will assume, however, that the published research on the UCLA ESLPE is in fact the intended and proper target of the criticism stated in the review.

It is always an honor to have such an extensive review of one's work--regardless whether the review is favorable or unfavorable, careful or imprecise. The subject, of course, is difficult. This is probably the reason that the review is as diffuse as it is. The review covers many important topics and reaches some very general conclusions. It is regrettable that the logic for those conclusions, in some important cases, depends on (1) a failure to define terms, or confusions about assigning terms to definitions (both of which result in a lumping together of distinct concepts); (2) both inexplicit and contradictory supporting premises; and (3) confusions about some basic notions on the construction and use of tests of second language proficiency.

I believe that research on the UCLA ESLPE which has been reported in earlier publications has been sufficiently careful to avoid the obvious kinds of internal inconsistencies. I will therefore direct my discussion at the difficulties which arise in the review itself. Little evidence from other sources will be used. It is convenient that the only data cited in the review come from studies carried out on the ESLPE. After clarifying some points of information and some definitions, I will consider ten of the major conclusions stated in the review.

First, a most important point to remember about the ESLPE is that it has been produced in three (3) distinct series. Published research has consistently distinguished these series (see references above). In some places the review lumps these tests indiscriminately under the general heading

ESLPE. Actually ESLPE 1 consisted of three multiple choice sections including Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phonology, along with a Dictation and Composition; ESLPE 2 (in four forms, A, B, C, and D) by contrast contained only four parts, including, Vocabulary, Grammar, Reading (each of these different in significant ways from the counterparts in ESLPE 1), and Dictation; and ESLPE 3A Preliminary contained four Cloze tests, four Dictations, two (experimental) Composition tasks, and an (experimental) Oral Interview. (Actually only two of the cloze tests and two of the dictations in ESLPE 3A Preliminary were used in the placement process.)

Another serious confusion in the review concerns the nature of the Reading section of ESLPE 2. In previously published discussions (especially, Oller 1971c), this section has been referred to as an integrative test. However, in the review it is wrongly considered a discrete point test. This incorrect assumption is the basis for the first and most important conclusion-- that discrete point tests are just as effective as tests of integrative skills. The difficulty arises from a failure to adequately define terms and to use them consistently.

In the review, Carroll (1961) is cited as the author of the distinction between discrete point tests and tests of integrative skills, and rightly so. According to Carroll, the major contrast between the two types of tests is that the discrete point type measures one point of language at a time whereas the integrative type samples a number of language skills concurrently.

In point of fact, the Reading sub-test on the ESLPE 2 consists of two parts: a paraphrase task in which the examinee must select the sentence from several alternatives that best represents the meaning of a given sentence; and a paragraph reading task in which the examinee must choose the sentence from several alternatives which best represents the central idea of a given paragraph. It would be impossible to say that a single discrete point of language is being tested in any one of the items on the ESLPE 2 Reading section in any of its forms (A, B, C, or D). It is unfortunate that the review fails to note this. The mistake leads to a misapplication of the very definitions which are assumed as a basis for the distinction between discrete point tests and tests of integrative skills. Although the Reading sub-test is a multiple choice test, it is certainly not a discrete point test.

This brings us back again to the first and major conclusion of the review (that discrete point tests are just as good as integrative ones). What the review actually attests is something that has been repeatedly demonstrated in previous research and discussed in some detail in earlier publications--diverse tests of integrative skills intercorrelate remarkably well. This, I suggest, is clear support for the validity of integrative tests.

The majority of the criticism in the review is directed against one experimental form of the ESLPE which the test author carefully labeled ESLPE 3A Preliminary. Most of the discussion seems to imply that this preliminary version was intended by its designers as the solution to testing problems at UCLA. This is a misinterpretation of the use and intent of that test.

Further, the substantive criticisms of that test do not stand. For instance, it is argued that the test should measure reading skills but in fact does not. To the contrary, cloze tests have repeatedly correlated at

the .70 level or better with tests of reading comprehension (Oller, 1972c). Moreover, a factor analysis (which apparently is a technique more highly regarded in the review than correlation) led Bormuth (1969) to the conclusion that "cloze tests . . . measure skills closely related or identical to those measured by conventional multiple choice reading comprehension tests" (p. 365). Since cloze tests and dictations intercorrelate very well with reading scores, it is not at all far-fetched to assume that a combined score of cloze and dictation is a fair estimate of reading skills.

In fact, I have argued elsewhere (1971b) that cloze tests and dictations combined are good indicators of a general factor of second language proficiency. The factor analysis of data from ESLPE 3A Preliminary reported in the review (p. 73) clearly supports this suggestion: witness the fact that .70 of the variance in cloze tests, dictations, compositions, and oral interviews from Connally's data (1972) loads on one factor. Even the rotated matrix shows high intercorrelations between the three factors revealed, and factors two and three respectively only account for .09 and .06 of the total variance.

This leads us quite naturally to a consideration of several other important conclusions set forth in the review. A second major conclusion is that cloze tests correlate so well with dictations, that once you have one you don't need the other (p. 70). Yet this point is contradicted in the discussion of the factor analysis reported in the review where it is argued that "the analysis provides evidence that administering a single item test will not measure what a two item test will. For example, one dictation plus one cloze test gives more information than two dictations; . . . and . . . oral interviews will provide even more . . ." (p. 73).

Neither of these contradictory arguments is entirely sound. The trouble with the line of reasoning concerning the factor analysis, for instance, is the implication that simply getting more information is always desirable. If this were the case, to use reductio ad absurdum, we could throw in an I.Q. test and a broad jump with a guarantee that we would get more information. The question is, what is the additional information good for? There is no way of telling on the basis of the reasoning in the review whether the second and third factors mentioned are actually providing useful information or whether they constitute noise in the system. Without knowing what the factors are, it is speculative assertion to say that three factors are better than one.

A third major conclusion is that it is "logically and statistically simple-minded" to argue that high correlations between cloze and dictation indicate test "validity" (p. 70). I believe that a brief consideration of this point will reveal that such an argument is not simple-minded at all. Suppose that one were to say that because test A correlates well with test B, where A and B are similar in all important respects, that such a correlation indicates the validity of tests A and B. This, I think, would be simple-minded. What is indicated in such a case is actually test reliability. On the other hand, suppose that the two tests are substantially distinct as in the case that the review is discussing. It is observed, for instance that Cloze Tests A, B, and C correlate at .76, .84, and .85 respectively with a Dictation (Oller, 1972c). Dictation is not similar to the cloze tests.

important respects. Cloze tests require visual processing while dictations require auditory processing. Why should a high correlation then be regarded as an indication of test reliability? They are not reasonably to be considered as alternate forms of the same test. However, if we can assume that either one or both of the tests are valid measures of ESL proficiency on other grounds, the high correlation most certainly is an affirmation of the validity of the tests. Indeed, when the correlation is as high as .80 or better, the validity of one or both tests is very substantially confirmed. In fact, the validity of such tests can scarcely be questioned when high correlations are consistently achieved with still other tests of ESL proficiency, which are distinct in important respects, and which have independent claims to validity. This is exactly the result which is achieved when we correlate cloze tests and dictations with various reading tasks, oral interview scores, and composition tests. Hence, the third conclusion of the review depends on an interesting but incorrect use of the term "validity."

The fourth major conclusion is complex. In essence it says that weights of part scores on a test largely affect correlations with the total score on the test. This is true. Hence, to base decisions about test make-up on intercorrelations between part and total scores is "foolish" (p. 71, of the review). This last statement is not necessarily true.

The premise implicit in the conclusion is that weightings of parts of a total score do not affect total test variance. This is false. Thus if a reading sub-test (or any other), regardless of how it is weighted, accounts for .97 of the variance in the total score, it is perfectly legitimate statistical procedure to advocate use of the reading score alone (for examples of this, see Oller, 1972a). The observation that auto-correlations tend to inflate the realized coefficients of correlation between a part and a total score is true but trivial in this case. It does not necessarily follow, as is implied by the review, that arbitrary adjustments in weightings of part scores can change the fact that a given sub-test (with a given weighting) predicts nearly all of the variance in the total test score. The statement that it is "foolish" to base decisions about test construction on such intercorrelations is correct only if one does not give careful attention to other criteria in the construction of the test. If the weightings of part scores can be justified on independent grounds, there is no reason that auto-correlations of the type referred to in the review should not be used for exactly the purpose which the review suggests is inappropriate.

The fifth important conclusion is that the "current" ESLPE (presumably 3A Preliminary) only "attempts to find reliable measures" and it is "less than unidimensional" (p. 72). We have already touched on this conclusion in the discussion of the third. The only reason for mentioning it here is to point out an interesting contradiction. On the first factor analysis of the "current UCLA ESLPE" (in fact, ESLPE 3A Preliminary) which is reported in the review, it is argued that the cloze tests and dictations load on different factors in the rotated analysis, and further, that this is sufficient reason for including both cloze and dictation scores in a test of ESL proficiency.

This clearly contradicts the fifth conclusion which says the test is "less than unidimensional." The point on reliability in conclusion five, is the same as the one discussed earlier under conclusion three, so we will not discuss it further.

It seems to me that conclusion five and the contradiction of it both contain a large grain of truth, and oddly enough, the review itself suggests a way out of the confusion. If, as is suggested in another place (p. 73), we simply take factor one (which accounts for .70 of the variance in the test as a whole) to represent a "general English ability" (p. 73), or an underlying competence, the relatively small amounts of variance that load on the remaining factors can perhaps be attributed to different modes of surface level processing. Hence, the extent to which the ESLPE 3A Preliminary is "uni-dimensional" can be accounted for in a felicitous way, and the extent to which it is not is not disturbing in the least.

The sixth major conclusion of the review can be stated as follows: because dictation sometimes performs less well as a predictor of Grade Point Average (GPA) than other sub-tests on the ESLPE, and since the Reading sub-test is nearly always the best predictor of GPA, this clearly implies that for placement purposes the ESLPE should stress reading. Also, research indicates that reading can be taught while it is doubtful whether listening comprehension as measured by dictation can be taught (p. 75).

Conclusion six reflects an unusually confused line of reasoning. The subject merits clarification. In the first place, it has been noted by several researchers that GPA is probably not a very good criterion against which to judge the validity of an ESL proficiency test (Upshur, 1971, Bowen, personal communication, Oller, 1971d). Upshur, Bowen and I have all suggested (independently, and Upshur for different reasons) that GPA should not be influenced greatly over the long term by initial ESL proficiency. Bowen and I have argued that if ESL courses are doing their job well, the skill of the low student should be improved greatly until he is near native, and the skill of the better student should be improved slightly until he also is near native. This would effectively reduce correlations with initial ESL proficiency to near nothing. (Whether or not this actually happens is another issue altogether, as it depends on the effectiveness of ESL teaching, and/or the student's effectiveness in learning on his own.)

Another fact limiting the usefulness of GPA as a validating criterion is that GPA is probably far more sensitive to motivational factors and to the different requirements of diverse fields of study than is ESL proficiency. A foreign student with the willingness to acquire translations in his own language of required readings, or who may be studying a highly technical subject matter which relies more on abstract symbology than on natural language, may need less skill in English. In fact, an engineering major with very low ESL proficiency may achieve a higher GPA than say a history major who is much more proficient in ESL. As Upshur points out, if GPA were a really good indicator of ESL proficiency, we should only give ESL courses for foreign students with low GPA's.

A second major problem in conclusion six is that the review confuses two different forms of the ESLPE (the review treats them as identical). Also, this conclusion relies on faulty data to challenge the utility of dictation as a testing device. To show how this happens let me first describe one of the studies to which the review apparently alludes (though the study is not cited in the bibliography to the review, it is implicated indirectly by the chart and discussion on p. 70 of the review).

In a study of the UCLA ESLPE 1 employing 100 subjects, with the help of Dr. George Allen, I intercorrelated the Dictation and each of the other sub-tests on that exam. Sixteen separate (first order) correlations were computed and the Dictation always out-performed the other tests with differences ranging from .22 to .04 (Oller, 1971a). Why the review should argue that high powered tests of statistical significance of those differences should have been used is surprising to me. The differences are clear and convincing without such tests of significance (which would no doubt give affirmative results).

In fact, the review did not quote the paper (or refer specifically to the data) which it was apparently attempting to refute. Instead, a different set of data was used which was based on an entirely different test. The original study used ESLPE 1, and as I have indicated elsewhere (Oller, 1972a) ESLPE 2, which the review refers to as ESLPE, was a new test altogether. Thus, conclusions about the intercorrelations of part scores on ESLPE 1 are challenged on the basis of observed intercorrelations of part scores on ESLPE 2. This is something like saying "I don't like Jones's politics because I don't like the way Smith talks religion." Unfortunately, it is apparently the confusion concerning different forms of the ESLPE, that encourages the conclusion that differences between the intercorrelations of dictation and other test types are "far from achieving statistical significance" (p. 71).

The third confusion which is partly responsible for conclusion six has to do with differences between the performance of the Dictation and Reading sections on ESLPE 2 as predictors of GPA. The review questions the significance of the clear-cut superior performance of the dictation over other parts of ESLPE 1 (Oller, 1971a) while arguing on the strength of much weaker evidence that the Reading sub-test on the ESLPE 2 out-performs Dictation.

Data are cited from the thesis of Goldman (1972). In fact, I worked with Goldman in the design stages of her research. She is an outstanding scholar and I do not doubt the accuracy of her data handling to any degree at all. With respect to her data, however, some important information was obviously overlooked by the reviewer. At least two-thirds of the data cited to show that the Reading sub-test on the ESLPE 2 was better than the Dictation, were faulty as far as the Dictation was concerned. Those data were based on an unusual handling of the Dictation which occurred in the Fall of 1969. Due to an administrative mix-up about room scheduling (for which I must take the credit) the Dictation was given by six different live voices in six different rooms--unfortunate, but true, and not a secret (Oller, 1972a, see the footnote to Table III).

Even without the foregoing problem, the review does not justify its extrapolations from Goldman's data. In the several multiple regression analyses carried out by Goldman, the total GPA variance explained by part scores on the ESLPE 2 is scarcely enough to support the generalizations drawn in the review. In nine multiple regression analyses the coefficients of determination ranged from only .03 to .17. To say that the test should be rewritten on the strength of such weak data is a serious error. A coefficient of determination as low as .03 says that all of the parts of the ESLPE 2 put together explain only 3% of the variance in the GPA. The case is little better when the entire test explains only 17% of the variance in GPA. Since the ESLPE 2 (even the one with the mix-up on Dictation, cf. Oller, 1972a, Table III) has substantial validity in relation to other criteria, the results of the regression analyses reported in the review only show what we should expect on other grounds anyway (see above); namely, GPA is a poor criterion for validating ESL proficiency tests. To extrapolate to the conclusion that such a weak criterion should dictate the form of an ESLPE is unwarranted.

It may be worth noting that studies of the correlation between the Test of English as a Foreign Language (Educational Testing Service) and GPA have yielded results similar to those of Goldman (cf. Sharon, 1972, and ETS, 1970). Incidentally, TOEFL is mentioned in the review in support of discrete point tests. As a member of the seven member advisory committee to ETS on TOEFL, I know that several sections currently being used in TOEFL cannot be considered discrete point tests. In fact, there is a marked tendency to include more integrative tasks on TOEFL. At present, research with cloze tests and various composition tests is underway (Pike, in progress).

To return to conclusion six there is one point with which I concur whole-heartedly. I agree that reading probably is the most important skill for success in college-level course work (Oller, 1971d, 1972a). The importance of reading, however, does not eliminate the need for skill in auditory comprehension which also ought to be taught and tested by dictation or some other means. The fact that Kirn (1972) found no significant improvement in dictation scores after the subjects had practiced by taking several dictations is support for this technique as a testing device, not evidence against it as the review seems to intimate in conclusion six. The fact that students do not significantly improve in listening comprehension by taking several dictations over the course of a few weeks does not indicate as is implied (p. 75), that listening comprehension cannot be learned or should not be taught. We should not necessarily expect practice in taking a few dictations to improve auditory comprehension any more than we should necessarily expect a student to improve significantly in reading comprehension by virtue of taking a few reading tests. We might, however, expect him to improve in test taking ability. Fortunately, dictation resists this practice effect, and this is the important conclusion Kirn reaches in her study.

The seventh major point of the review is that the UCLA ESLPE should be criterion-referenced instead of norm-referenced. This is a very interesting suggestion. For reasons I will give in a moment, I must disagree with it, but this does not in any way detract from the value of a clear formulation of such an important proposal. In essence, it would merely require the production of a criterion-referenced discrete point test. One reason I disagree with it is because I think that with no more effort, and probably much less, we can have

a much better test, i.e., a test of integrative skills. The implication of conclusion seven that such an integrative test cannot be criterion-referenced in any sense, I think, is incorrect. For instance, native speaker performance can be obtained to establish a reference criterion for integrative tests as easily as for discrete point tests. Moreover, specific points of grammar can be tested in a cloze test or in a dictation. But, in preparing discrete point tests there is always the major difficulty of deciding precisely which points to test. I suggest that this difficulty is due to the intrinsic nature of language--not to the peculiarity of certain test types.

Conclusion eight suggest that the ESLPE (presumably in all three of its series) is "vague and general." The argument here is related to the last statement of the preceding paragraph. If, as has been suggested (Oller and Conrad, 1971), the underlying competence of language is vague in the same way that integrative tests are vague, how can this vagueness be considered a defect of the tests? It would seem unwise to propose that a good test should do other than reflect the nature of the skill that it seeks to measure. Arguments supporting conclusion eight (and also nine which we are coming to) entail the assumption that the amount of language skill necessary for understanding and for something as "vague" as "success in . . . studies at UCLA" can be specified precisely in quantitative terms which can then be reflected in a criterion-referenced discrete point test. This last point is easily refuted by sound reasoning.

Answering the question "how much skill is enough to speak or understand a language?" is like answering the question "how much light is sufficient to read by?" Such questions can be answered operationally, but not in terms of discrete points or particular sets of them. We can no more say precisely which discrete points of language are necessary in answering the first question than we can say which discrete points of light are necessary in answering the second. The objects at issue do not vary in discrete quantities but continuously. There is no sharp line between sufficiency and insufficiency in these cases. Variations in language proficiency are continuous and vague. To say a test is no good because it is "vague" in the same sense is like saying the light of a lamp is no good because it is impossible to circumscribe precisely the area of its effectiveness.

Of course, such an argument would neither be foolish nor simple-minded. In fact, it could be supported by seemingly sound statements. What can be said on this account in favor of the review is considerable. These matters are subtle indeed, and if we are not extremely cautious we are easily deceived by premises that are almost but not quite correct. One such premise is included in the ninth conclusion. On the surface it seems an excellent argument, but in its wording, there lurks a false premise: "English skills . . . will assure [foreign students] of success in their studies . . . at UCLA" (p. 77). Skill in English cannot assure anyone "of success in studies . . . at UCLA." If it could, then all native speakers should perform flawlessly. They don't, however, because skill in English is not the only factor influencing success in college level course work. The review places far too strong a requirement on ESL examinations: it implies that in some way they should "assure . . . success . . . in studies." A more reasonable expectation, I believe, is for

such examinations to measure overall skill in English. The assumption is that those students who do not closely approximate native speaker skill may have difficulty in course work due to their lack of proficiency in English. It is the function of ESL courses to remedy deficiencies.

All of the foregoing conclusions in the review are useful because they help to sharpen our thinking on difficult issues. In conclusion ten, however, the reviewer seems to lose patience. He says, "the present examination attempts nothing. It cops out on all three counts: placing students, guiding our program, and explaining language and success at UCLA" (p. 77). Such impatience, of course, is to be avoided for an excellent reason. It can lead us to conclusions which oversimplify and obscure issues of the greatest importance. One such issue is well put by the author of the review where he admonishes that "ESL language testing in a university setting [must be treated as] the complex multivariate phenomena [sic]" it is (p. 72). It follows that such a phenomenon must be dealt with objectively and unemotionally. For this reason conclusion ten deserves an answer. The various series and forms of the UCLA ESLPE referred to above have been prepared, administered, interpreted, evaluated and revised when deemed necessary in an attempt to achieve several purposes: (1) to devise optimal techniques for the measurement of skill in the use of English by non-native speakers at the university level; (2) to place students in remedial ESL courses on a systematic basis consonant with current theory in second language learning; and (3) to integrate ESL testing procedures and teaching objectives at UCLA as much as possible (see Oller 1971d, for a report on a seminar with teaching assistants on this topic).

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Oller was on leave for the academic year 1972-73 as Chairman of the Program in Linguistics and Language Pedagogy at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

<sup>2</sup>The author expresses his gratitude to the colleagues and friends whose comments and criticisms have improved the objectivity, style, and content of this paper. Special thanks are due Clifford Prator (UCLA), Virginia Streiff, David Ewing, Walton Geiser, Nikolas Haiducek, and Bernard Spolsky (University of New Mexico).

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## COMMENTS ON "A REPLY"

Earl Rand

The reply to the reply is certainly one of the less elevating academic artforms. In it, the author frequently talks down to his readers as though they neither read nor understood the original article, and he often ends up producing more heat than light. I hope I have been successful in not succumbing to these faults.

Before proceeding, I would like to clarify the background of my 1972 Workpaper, which is replied to in this volume. In the Fall of 1971, foreign students were placed in UCLA ESL service courses on the basis of cloze tests (40%) and dictation passages (60%). The same skills were also used in the Winter Quarter, 1972. And in the Spring Quarter, 1972, again, as though these two integrative tests provided "the solution to testing problems at UCLA" (AR PP10, i.e., "Integrative and Discrete Point Tests at UCLA: A Reply", Paragraph 10). However, in the Spring 1972 version, Professor Celce-Murcia, then administering the ESLPE for Professor Oller, who had taken an academic leave, reinstated a composition section. During that same academic year, Tamar Goldman and Harold Connolly were carrying out their MATESL research (see her Abstract in UCLA TESL Workpapers VI and his in this volume) on topics which required them to work with data on the 1969, 1970, and 1971 ESLPE's. Their data formed the basis for the research reported in my Workpaper.

Thus, my Workpaper is based on the 1969, 1970, and 1971 ESLPE's plus other information collected by Connolly and Goldman. It does not, as is stated in AR PP2, criticize the ten articles listed in AR PP2.<sup>1</sup>

An apology is due the readers of my 1972 Workpaper because, as has been pointed out (AR PP5), I failed to indicate by title (though I usually indicated by year) exactly which ESLPE's were being referred to, e.g., the title of CHART I, page 74 and the equation on page 72. By the word "current" (at the beginning of Part V, page 77), I meant the Fall 1971 and Winter and Spring 1972 ESLPE's. However, a most important point to remember about the UCLA "ESLPE" is that it has been given, in one form or another, for years, and it should not be assumed that my research involved the many versions developed by Eugene Briere and others before him. I was only reporting some research on the 1969, 1970, and 1971 versions, though, in fact, I focused on the "current" dictation and cloze version.

The Reading section of ESLPE 2 is stated to be an integrative test (AR PP6). We must view the distinction between IT and DPT as one of degrees, not distinct classes. The Reading section, in multiple-choice form, was concerned with single-sentence summaries of one or more stimulus sentences. This is one type of reading test. An example of a more integrative test would be a candidate-produced paraphrase or summary. A less integrative test would be, on the other hand, identifying the topic sentence or defining a word or phrase in the context of one or more sentences. The error in AR PP6 lies in the fact that by using separate words to distinguish two extremes showing continuous variation between them, a sharp distinction appears where there is none in fact. However, the Reading section does possess more evidence of criterion validity than either cloze or dictation, and thus it is empirically superior to them for predictive purposes.

It is stated that I concluded "that discrete point tests are just as good as integrative ones" (AR PP9). Of course I made no such conclusion because it would not agree with the facts I found. I concluded that, for our program at UCLA, cloze and dictation tests in the "current" ESLPE have "three main consequences, all detrimental to our ESL service program" (page 77, Part V).

After reporting correlation coefficients quite a bit higher than the ones I found ( $r = .53$  to  $.68$ , page 69), it is reported (AR PP16) that cloze and dictation "have independent claims to validity", and this unsubstantiated claim is repeated: "Dictation has substantial validity in relation to other criteria" (AR PP28). The only arguments in AR about validity are some notions of construct validity, discussed in terms of criterion validity (APA Standards, pp 16-24). However, the majority of evidence in AR might be more properly classified as validity by assumption (Mosier, p. 193). In fact, the word "assume" is correctly used in AR PP16 to describe many of the statements about validity found in AR. The repeated affirmation of the validity of cloze and dictation might tend to cause the reader to infer that cloze and dictation tests have been proven as valid instruments for the placement of students in ESL classes. However, a look at the facts in my 1972 Workpaper (and in Goldman's and Connolly's theses) indicates the opposite. Such tests may have some validity, as shown by intercorrelations in these studies, but it would be much more convincing to me if the criteria for determining validity were independent of the test scores (APA Standards p. 18, C4.5).

At this point I would like to detail some relevant data I have gathered in Hong Kong which indicate that random cloze passages do not always accurately reveal knowledge of English as well as discrete-point tests. Hong Kong maintains two streams of secondary schools: Anglo-Chinese, in which instruction is in English, and Chinese Middle Schools, in which instruction is in Chinese. No one doubts and public examinations reveal that these two groups differ greatly in English proficiency. Teachers, employers, and parents all know this. Of course, the groups differ in other ways as well, but here we are interested in their relative English proficiency.

At New Asia College, where I serve as a visiting professor, I have calculated the means and standard deviations for six subtests of two major examinations taken by the 1972 first-year class. The results are in Table 1. A discriminate analysis with the six subtests indicated that the vocabulary subtest separated the groups best, and the reading subtest was second. The random cloze passage, passage 2 of the four given at UCLA in the Fall 1971 ESLPE, did not contribute much to distinguishing the two groups.

I would now like to raise one of the basic issues in this discussion, viz. What should indicate the validity of the ESLPE? In other words, the question should be not "Is it a valid test?" but "Is it valid for what?" (Guilford, p. 471). I think that it should have something to do with foreign student success at UCLA. In AR PP21, this is briefly denied and further reference is made to an article (Oller, 1971d) in which, unfortunately, no mention is made of grade-point average (GPA). The author of AR, along with Upshur, and Bowen (AR PP21) denies that a student's GPA has much to do with ESL. They are correct only in so far as they conceive ESL to deal only with those skills that cloze and dictation tests measure.

TABLE 1

	Chinese Middle School n=110		Anglo-Chinese School n=94	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1972 New Asia College Placement Exam				
Total 1*	54.2	11.6	73.3	11.1
Total 2	441.0	77.7	568.9	74.8
Vocabulary	15.3	3.9	20.7	3.4
Reading	25.5	7.3	35.9	6.6
Cloze (1971 UCLA, Passage 2)	13.4	3.6	16.7	3.6
1972 Chinese University Matriculation Exam				
Total 1	64.1	5.8	72.6	6.6
Total 2	451.7	77.8	566.0	88.5
Multiple Choice	40.5	4.2	45.2	3.9
Composition	10.4	13.4	13.4	2.7
Translation	13.1	2.1	14.0	1.9

I see ESL as much more and the ESLPE as having a much more predictive value. Alan Davies (1967, p. 166) has expressed the notion very well, "What matters to an overseas student is whether he is academically successful in his own subject and whether he has enough English for this end, not whether he has near native control over English." Following this attitude, the British Council constructed a test which correlated .68 with success in the student's own field. An academic placement test should have academic value, by which I mean predictive value. Not all tests need the same type of validity (Ebel, 1961). And Cattell has nicely tried to bring in a bit more logic and common sense to the problem for those of us lost in partial correlation coefficients, factor analysis, and regression equations. (Cattell, 1964). I think that if we were to view the ESLPE as a multivariate phenomenon, we could better serve the foreign students at UCLA than by continuing to ignore the challenge of predicting foreign student success.<sup>2</sup>

Criterion-referenced teaching and evaluation has been the center of much current research. In AR PP31, the topic is quite misrepresented. I would again refer to Briggs' (1970, pp 65-66), and Popham and Baker's (1970) discussion clarifying the distinction between norm-and criterion-referenced approaches. Ebel discussed this notion earlier (Ebel, 1962). It only confuses the issue to present the simple analogy of "how much light is sufficient to read by?" No matter how much light, I can't read Japanese nor quantum mechanics. It is simplistic to assume that (1) only a single variable matters (Guilford, pp. 472-3), and (2) it is all or none, i.e., sharp lines exist. Things are more complex than the author of AR seems to believe. To pursue the "how much light" analogy, if we were given information about the typeface and size of the print, the contrast between ink and paper, the level of difficulty of the subject matter, and the visual power of the student and

\*Total 1 is the raw scores. Total 2 is derived from computing the mean and standard deviation of the total group of 204 students, and then, for each student, computing a standard score based on a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100.

his physical and psychological state, then I have no doubt that an equation could be computed which, with a very narrow standard error, would answer the question "how much light is sufficient to read by?" Certainly, if you just studied the amount of light, you would be frustrated by lack of predictive success. And to study just cloze and dictation in order to predict success at UCLA has proven equally frustrating. ESL and success at UCLA are both more than what these two measure. To establish native-speaker performance as a criterion (AR PP33) renders the distinction between norms and criteria meaningless. And it is, of course, inconsistent with the criticism (AP PP34) of my broader view of English and success at UCLA.

AR concludes with a list of three purposes of the ESLPE. I conclude here that the 1971-72 ESLPE's based on cloze and dictation have failed in all three purposes. (1) First, "skill in the use of English" on the university level involves more than filling in randomly removed words and taking dictation. A visit to any remedial program, learning center, or ESL program will verify this. (2) Second, for placing students, I cannot see how these two tasks (cloze and dictation), coupled with the way the out-off scores are derived at (i.e., so many applicants go to 33A, so many to 33B, etc.), correctly place students in "remedial" ESL courses, and the facts indicated that they did not. Also, mentioned along with point 2, is that the 1971-72 ESLPE is "consonant with current theory of second language learning", but nowhere in AR are we referred to any theory aligned with dictation and the cloze procedure and norm-referenced testing. (3) Third, I can't see how classroom procedures and testing have been integrated. As far as I know, neither dictation nor random cloze exercises are proposed as classroom activities at UCLA. And the 1971 report (Oller, 1971d), mentioned at the end of AR, does not lead me to believe that either skill was ever proposed as a teaching objective in ESL at UCLA.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Of those ten articles, two are not applicable (Oller and Redding, 1971; Oller and Ziahosseiny, 1970), two were in press in the Spring of 1972 (1971c and 1972c), and two others are still "in press" (1971b, 1972a). Two citations refer to versions of the same article (1971a, 1972b), but I did not intend either as a target of my Workpaper. The fact that I didn't mention prepositions eliminates another article (Oller and Inal, 1971). One article (1971d) supports my argument for criterion-referenced testing (see 1971d, page 133, PP2 and PP5). Had I remembered that article, I would have quoted it in support of my arguments (Rand, 1972, p. 77). That leaves one final article (Oller and Conrad, 1971) in AR PP2, and I must deny intending to review it either. Thus it is wrong to "assume" (AR PP2) that the "published" research on the UCLA ESLPE and other topics was the proper target of my Workpaper.

<sup>2</sup>Turnbull, the Executive Vice President of ETS, foresees college admissions placing much more emphasis on biographical data and information of former achievement and less on "the single, dramatic moment of the external test" (Turnbull, 1968, p. 1428). NASA has also looked to previous achievement and biographical data as an "aid in differentiating the highly productive and creative scientists from those who were less productive and creative" (Taylor and Ellison, 1967, p. 1075). One of the most perceptive articles on tests such as our UCLA ESLPE is by Goslin (1968), in which he focuses on criticisms of tests, most of which concern their validity.

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For references not included here, see the two Workpapers:

- Oller, J. W., Jr. "Integrative and discrete point tests at UCLA: A reply." UCLA TESL Workpapers 7(1973). (In this volume)
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I wish to thank Dr. T. P. Gorman for his comments and suggestions concerning this paper.

AN UP-DATE REPORT ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PLACEMENT EXAM\*

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The extensive interchanges between John Oller (former ESLPE coordinator) and Earl Rand prompted Dr. Lois McIntosh, Dr. Marianne Celce-Murcia, and myself to adopt an eclectic approach to ESL placement testing for Fall, 1972. We tried to benefit from the suggestions and research findings of both men. The Fall-1972 English-as-a-Second-Language Placement Exam (ESLPE) included a multiple-choice, discrete-point grammar test, a test of vocabulary in context, a cloze test, a reading-comprehension section, and two dictations. The reading comprehension test was included at the suggestion of Earl Rand (Rand, 1972), and the cloze and dictations because of John Oller's research findings concerning the usefulness of these subtests for assessing English language proficiency. In fact, Oller is most emphatic about the importance of dictation, and "at a fair, fast clip." He points out that "reading a dictation at a snail's pace . . . probably not much of a test of anything but spelling" (Oller, 1972).

The test results in the fall of 1972, however, brought up several issues of concern. First, it became clear that too much weight had been given to dictation on the test, particularly to mechanics. The two dictation passages together accounted for 40% of the total score on the test. Since both dictations were graded for mechanical as well as for structural errors, students with severe spelling and punctuation problems but few or no structural problems, were occasionally placed into English classes that were too elementary for their overall needs. A number of these students came to me, protesting the weighting of the exam. Secondly, large numbers of minority students were now being asked to take the ESLPE (100 out of 520 tested in the fall). The fall test was inadequate for diagnostic placement of these students. Some who did very well on the test clearly had problems with English.

Usually, TESL tests 400-450 foreign students each fall. The dramatic increase in group size was the result of a decision made by the Academic Advancement Program (AAP) to send for ESL testing nearly 100 of their undergraduate students who had entered UCLA under the University Recruitment and Development (URD) program. The rationale behind this move was that teachers in the AAP 99X English series and in Subject A (sequential preparatory classes for English 1) felt that some of the Asian, Chicano, and Native American students they were receiving needed English as a second language rather than remedial work.

After considerable consultation with all parties concerned, the TESL staff decided that if they were to test URD students in the future, a new kind of testing instrument should be designed. This instrument would do two things:

- (1) distinguish the student with foreign-like English from the student with minority-like English, and
- (2) provide adequate diagnostic information with which to place

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\*I wish to thank Marianne Celce-Murcia for her comments and suggestions concerning this paper.

students in classes--students with foreign-like English into English 832, 33A-33C, or the exempt category, and students with minority-like English into the AAP 99X (first or second quarter), Subject A, or English 1.

Such a test was designed and piloted in the Winter and Spring quarters of 1973. It had eight subtests, five of which were intended to be difficult for students with foreign-like English. Such students were expected to have difficulty understanding spoken English, trouble with complex grammatical structures, and trouble with idioms and colloquial expressions. Three of the subtests were intended to be difficult for students with minority-like English. Such students were expected to have little or no trouble with English listening comprehension and no trouble with idioms, colloquial expressions, and many points of grammar. However, such students were expected to have trouble with some verb tenses, with other grammatical forms involving differences between standard and non-standard English, and with spelling and punctuation. It should be pointed out that the increase in the number of persons to be tested increased the need for the test to be as objective as possible (i.e. multiple-choice rather than open-ended items if possible), both in testing discrete-point and integrative skills. Below is a description of the five subtests designed to identify students with foreign-like English.

Subtests designed to assess degree of foreign-like English:

Grammar #1 consisted of a series of sentences to be completed by means of multiple-choice responses. It tested for a knowledge of articles, tag questions, conjunctions, and complex verb structures which have been found to cause difficulty for foreign students. Such forms were not expected to give minority students trouble. Cloze #1 consisted of a series of paragraphs with certain words purposely deleted. The task called primarily for the completion of two-word verbs where the prepositional part was omitted. Although this task was expected to be almost automatic for the minority student, the student with foreign-like English was expected to have difficulty here. Dictation #1 was delivered in large word groups at a time, with punctuation given. The intent was to assess listening comprehension among other things. This dictation was graded exclusively for structural correctness--i.e. whether all the words were written down, with the proper plural and past-tense inflections, etc. This dictation was not scored for spelling and punctuation. The content of the dictation was based on foreign-student errors on previous dictations. The Reading Comprehension subtest, consisting of a series of passages for which the main idea had to be indicated, was intended to be reasonably easy for the student with minority-like English but of difficulty for the student with foreign-like English, particularly one with a limited vocabulary. The Listening Comprehension subtest consisted of a series of dialogs between a male and a female followed by multiple-choice questions. The dialogs were intended to reflect natural speech, both with respect to speed and to use of colloquialisms. This subtest was meant to be no problem at all for the minority student, who generally understands colloquial, everyday English well. However, the student with foreign-like English was expected to have difficulty on this test.

These first five subtests were designed to act as a screening mechanism. The total score on these subtests was to classify a student as having either foreign-like or minority-like English. If rated as a student with minority-like English, then performance on the three subtests

described below was to be used to rate the extent of problems that the minority student had with standard English.

Subtests designed to assess degree of minority-like English:

Grammar #2 tested the student's awareness of the difference between standard and nonstandard English. Students had to underline the nonstandard English Forms in a series of sentences and write the appropriate form in the margin. Minority students were expected to have considerable difficulty here. Many of the items were based on Lin (1965), Dudley (1971), and Bartley and Politzer (1972). Although foreign students were also expected to have difficulty with this subtest, their problems were not expected to be the same as those of minority students. The foreign students were expected to be more aware that certain forms were not acceptable in standard English than were minority students, because of the formal English grammar lessons that foreign students had had. Cloze #2 required that the student fill in the blanks in a passage calling primarily for the use of regular and irregular simple past-tense verb forms and modals. The decision to choose these and certain other forms for completion was based on careful scrutiny of nonstandard forms and analysis of errors made in essays written by minority students in Subject A and 99X English classes. Dictation #2 was delivered in small chunks at a time, with no punctuation provided. This dictation was graded for spelling and punctuation, as well as for correctness of structures. This test was also based on an error analysis of minority student essays.

During the Winter and Spring piloting of these subtests, only the first five were used for placement purposes, primarily because very few minority students were expected to be taking the exam. However, the plan is to use a revised form of this test in the Fall of 1973 in order to distinguish students with foreign-like English from those with minority-like English. Clearly this distinction is somewhat simplistic. The subtests alone probably cannot supply all the necessary information for such placement. Therefore, a cover sheet of background language and demographic questions is included along with the test. These questions include the length of time the student has been in the United States, the amount of English language training he has had, and the type of visa he has (see Appendix for questionnaire). These and other questions help to provide a more complete picture of the student who is taking the test.

At the present moment, data analysis is being conducted on the results of piloting this new diagnostic instrument, and as of yet, no decisions have been made as to exact criteria for placement into one of the two English course streams mentioned above (i.e. for foreign students and for minority students). Essentially, the plan is as follows. Suppose that a student is exempted from English-as-a-second-language courses on the basis of his performance on the subtests measuring foreign-like English. If he is a graduate or extension student, then he would be exempted from future English language courses. If he is an undergraduate, then depending on (1) his performance on the subtests assessing minority-like English and (2) the background data that he reports on the questionnaire, some decision would be made as to whether the student should be exempted from future English classes or be placed in a remedial English class. Preferably, such an English class would emphasize differences between standard and nonstandard English.

The current form of the ESLPE once again takes a middle-of-the-road position with respect to the Oller-Rand debate over integrative vs.

discrete-point testing. Certain subtests more than others call for knowledge of discrete points of standard English (Grammar #1, Grammar #2); other tests call for both discrete-point and integrative skills (Cloze #1, Cloze #2, Dictation #1, Dictation #2); and others test predominantly integrative skills (Listening Comprehension, Reading Comprehension). For the present, test scores are being interpreted on a "norm" rather than a "criterion-reference" basis. Students' scores are compared to those of other students on the basis of a curve. The fixing of cut-off points for placement into courses is determined both by the number of teachers and classes available and by comparison of the present curve with group performance over the past years.

As the goals for giving the ESLPE change, the test changes. It is not reasonable to think of achieving a "final" form for the test since it will always require up-dating and hopefully can constantly be improved. The emergence of this minority testing issue is just one example of the need for flexibility in the testing of English-language skills at UCLA. It is hoped, however, that as this new ESLPE is refined, certain more generalized norms for performance can be established to minimize the degree to which a student's placement during a given quarter is dependent upon the level of English of the other students taking the test at the same time.

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UCLA ESLPE

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_  
(last name) (first name)
2. Sex: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Local Address \_\_\_\_\_  
(street & number) (city)
4. Phone \_\_\_\_\_
5. Place & Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_
6. How long have you lived in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Classification: graduate \_\_\_\_\_ undergraduate \_\_\_\_\_  
extension \_\_\_\_\_
8. Field of specialization (or major subject) \_\_\_\_\_
9. List languages that you know, including English and your mother tongue, in the order that you learned them, and rate your skill in each:

Section I:  
Grammar #1 \_\_\_\_\_ #2 \_\_\_\_\_

Section II:  
Cloze #1 \_\_\_\_\_ #2 \_\_\_\_\_

Section III:  
Reading Comp. \_\_\_\_\_

Section IV:  
Listening Comp. \_\_\_\_\_

Section V:  
Dictation #1 \_\_\_\_\_ #2 \_\_\_\_\_

Totals \_\_\_\_\_

Grand Total \_\_\_\_\_

	understanding				speaking				reading				writing			
	excel- lent	good	fair	poor												
a. _____																
b. _____																
c. _____																
d. _____																
e. _____																

10. What English training have you had?
 

	Number of Years	Hours per week
a. Elementary School	_____	_____
b. Secondary School	_____	_____
c. University level	_____	_____
d. Private teachers	_____	_____
e. Self taught	_____	_____

11. Have you ever taken classes where English was used as a medium of instruction (aside from English language classes themselves) in the U.S. or elsewhere?

Where?	School	City	Country	When?
a.	_____	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	_____

12. Do you think that your English is adequate to exempt you from special courses in English for foreign students? yes \_\_\_\_\_ perhaps \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

If you answered "perhaps" or "no", in which aspects of the language do you think you may need help?

understanding spoken English _____	reading English _____
speaking English _____	English grammar _____
writing academic English _____	

13. What kind of U.S. visa do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Do you intend to remain in the U.S. permanently? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ Undecided \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
15. Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Note: Please print your name (last name, first name) on every page of the exam.

## SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING ENGLISH EDUCATION IN JAPAN\*\*

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In comparison to other non-English speaking nations, Japan devotes a great amount of expense and effort to the promotion of English language education. This situation is the outcome of a historical tradition over the past one hundred years that valued the importance of learning foreign languages, especially English. Because of Japan's status as an island nation, foreign language education has provided a vital link of communication with the outside world. It has been largely through English that the Japanese have engaged in foreign trade and in the importation of Western culture. Thus English education has been, for Japan, an important priority. However, translation of English into Japanese was emphasized in educational programs over the study of English as a spoken, living language.

After World War II, there arose a necessity to re-examine fundamentally this traditional way of teaching English in Japan. When one considers the amount of money and energy which Japan has spent so far on English education, the results seem to be rather fruitless. It is true that we have shown remarkable progress in applying Western technology to industrial development, and that we have also shown a certain degree of accomplishment in various cultural fields. But, with regard to the ability to express our thoughts clearly in English, either orally or in written form, the results have been rather poor. Except for a few outstanding figures such as Daisetsu Suzuki and Tenshin Okakura, we Japanese have not achieved sufficient facility in bridging the language gap between Japan and the English speaking world. This has caused us great disadvantage and inconvenience in the present-day international scene.

One of the current issues in English education in Japan is that a graduate from a Japanese university cannot conduct satisfactorily even a simple, basic conversation in English, in spite of his long-term training in the language. He studies English for almost ten years, from his entry into a junior high school to his graduation from a university. During this rather lengthy period, English is taught as substantially a required subject. Therefore, our lack of proficiency in spoken English is the most urgent problem that we have to solve. If we can succeed in overcoming this particular weakness, I believe, we will have solved one of the important dilemmas of English education in Japan. After my experience in the United States I have observed that the most crucial problem is our inability to express our thoughts freely in English. We are quite capable of grasping the meaning of a written passage or conversation, but we can only express in English a small part of what we want to say. The greatest

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challenge that we have is to train ourselves until we feel free to conduct an ordinary discussion in English.

If one considers the fact that Japan has existed for a very long time without having strong direct contact with other countries, either politically or economically, then our lack of linguistic talents will be readily appreciated. We have never been ruled by any foreign power except for the short period of occupation after World War II. Besides, as Japan is a very homogeneous country, everyone speaks a single language, i.e., Japanese. Thus we lack exposure to foreign languages. However, in the intellectual sphere, we borrowed heavily from what was considered a superior Chinese culture over a period of a thousand years. But the Chinese language itself did not affect our ancestors' lives directly, because of Japan's geographical remoteness from China. Instead they devised a system of writing Japanese sentences utilizing Chinese characters and later invented "Kana," a kind of phonetic alphabet based on simplified Chinese characters. Japan limited itself to minimal contact with other nations and there was no real necessity for our ancestors to learn a foreign language. It was sufficient for them to study Chinese classics according to the prescribed Japanese style of reading. Thus, we could live quite self-sufficiently within the context of Japanese thought and language.

But as isolationism became increasingly anachronistic towards the end of the "Edo" period in the early 1850's, drastic changes in the Japanese way of living became almost compulsory. Since this period, learning a foreign language has become very important to us. To prevent Japan from falling victim to colonialism, it became necessary to apply the high standards of Western technology to the Japanese way of life. So we studied all sorts of things to import Western industrial civilization. Therefore, the focus of our language study was directed towards the comprehension of Western ways rather than towards the structure of language itself. This tendency remains with us today.

Here I wish to discuss our lack of proficiency in speaking English, despite this background over one hundred years. One of the reasons can be explained in terms of our national character. We are poorly endowed with the qualities of positiveness and sociability. We are not accustomed to having contact with other nations. Very shy in nature, we are rather over-cautious in making friends. We prefer not to externalize what we think or feel. The most remarkable characteristic of Japanese culture or of Japanese nationality is our high esteem for harmony, especially harmony within a group of people. We have a reluctance to express, frankly, opinions which differ from those of other members of the group. Traditionally, instead of expressing our own ideas freely, we Japanese would rather read or sense the thought of another. This traditional Japanese tendency towards ambiguity of expression, however, cannot be maintained in the context of a rapidly changing world. In other areas of the globe, where many nations intermingle, using many languages, people must learn to express their own thoughts effectively. Accordingly they cultivate a rather positive way of communicating with other people. Now is the time for us to revise our manner of communication, so as to establish successful relations with other nations.

With the tremendous development of mass media and transportation since the Second World War, this necessity for interglobal communication has become more urgent. We live in an age in which an airplane can take

us to most places in the world within a couple of days and in which we can talk with people halfway around the globe almost instantly over telephone. The number of people who move from one country to another has increased tremendously, with the result that we often have to settle matters within a very short time using a foreign language. Because we live in an astonishingly shame-conscious society, we still maintain a traditional attitude, characterized by excessive shyness and extreme consciousness about making errors. These characteristics--shyness and error-consciousness--hinder us in our communication with people who speak other languages.

The biggest drawback in English education as practiced in Japan is failure to train people in adequate speaking skills. Our English education programs have proven ineffective, as far as speaking is concerned, during the past one hundred years. The primary aim of these programs has been to train students to read in English with little concern for the spoken language. The most important objective in English education in Japan has been, and still is, to absorb new ideas afforded by Western civilization. Therefore, oral communication was considered secondary to the knowledge that could be obtained from books.

The postwar period revealed the urgent necessity for bridging the language gap. But how could students communicate in English who were taught by professors who could not express themselves in English? Aware of the necessity to revitalize the English education programs, some teachers and concerned members of the business community have instituted movements to reform the teaching of English in Japan during the past ten years.

The point of improvement is focused upon the effort to train students to be able to communicate orally in English. Some good results have been accomplished so far, but we have still failed to grasp the fundamental recognition of the importance of spoken English. A drastic reform should be adopted. Greater emphasis should be placed on oral communication. Training methods involving speaking should be conducted more effectively. The most urgent business is to get really proficient teachers. Every teacher should be required to have adequate oral proficiency in English. An oral examination should be imposed as a qualification for teaching English.

The next step to be taken is the reform of the teacher training system in general. English departments in Japanese universities approximately follow the pattern of English departments in England and America. The amount of reading required, however, is considerably less. The major stumbling block is the persistent use of Japanese in university classrooms devoted to the study of English. The grammar-translation method still predominates. It is necessary to reform the curriculum in English departments. Further, we have to establish a system that permits teachers with backgrounds other than English, who have considerable proficiency in the language, to qualify for teaching English.

As long as the system requires English teachers to be graduates of English departments, we will have to consider the quality of education in English departments. To get a really proficient teacher does not necessarily mean that we have only to get a person who can say "good morning" or "hello" most beautifully, but it means we must have a teacher who can introduce Japan and its culture to foreigners in a proper perspective. He should also have the ability to introduce other ways of life and ways of thinking to Japanese. Thus, the English teacher in Japan has the opportunity to contribute to international understanding in his role as cultural

intermediary.

In order to pursue this kind of cultural exchange, he should have an adequate command of oral English. He should not only be able to speak, he should also be able to express himself clearly in writing. After studying English for ten years, it is astonishing that the average university graduate in Japan cannot satisfactorily write a simple letter in English. This is perhaps because he has been given little opportunity outside of his junior high school experience to advance his letter writing skills. This has really been an inconvenience for the person himself and also for Japanese society.

We must struggle to ameliorate the situation. Let us emphasize speaking and writing skills; in other words, let us stress the active command of English. We need textbooks for writing which offer easy, basic sentence patterns. Writing should be closely related to conversation, for good writing is fundamentally dependent on conversational skills. We need more qualified teachers of English who speak English well and who possess a sensitivity for good writing. A teacher who speaks poor English will not make a good writing teacher.

We also have a serious deficiency in the passive command of English as well as in the active command. If we ask the average Japanese graduate to read an English newspaper, he will not understand its exact meaning. The major obstacle is his lack of sufficient vocabulary. His small vocabulary is due to his former education which only required the reading of a limited number of short stories and essays. He has had little chance to acquire a workable vocabulary. But strangely enough, he knows some extraordinarily difficult words which are unfamiliar to a native speaker, while he has difficulty in getting the meaning of some basic words.

This strange phenomenon results from his preparation for a college entrance examination which stresses the translation of difficult passages rather than simple, basic sentences. Textbooks enabling students to acquire basic words and expressions should be compiled. The texts should be systematically constructed so that students can advance to higher levels without difficulty. The amount of reading should be increased but linguistically difficult materials should be avoided. General guidelines should be developed regarding extensive reading which will increase the student's basic reading skills.

In Japanese universities, reading rapidity is not given due importance. Generally, students read English passages too slowly. The average amount of reading required of the university student per course is approximately eighty to one hundred and twenty pages. In some cases a professor will devote an entire year to a mere thirty or forty pages. Students must be encouraged to read more actively and with greater facility. The professor might present a vast knowledge of English literature, but as the explanation is usually given in Japanese, students are not afforded the opportunity of hearing English spoken. We should recognize the importance of the speed element in English reading. It is more important for the student to understand the general idea of a passage than for him to obtain an exact translation of every word. A student should be examined on reading comprehension within a limited time period. He should also be trained to summarize what he has read. The Japanese student who comes to the United States suffers when he is given extensive assignments in reading, because he is not accustomed to read rapidly. An

effort must be made to provide a proper background in reading skills while the student is in Japan, so that he will not have to face such difficulties abroad.

In Japan, it is easier for the student to obtain reading efficiency than it is for him to obtain the ability to speak well. As for speaking, the best way to learn to speak English is to live in a country where English is spoken. Not everyone, however, can have the chance to study abroad. A possible alternative would be to provide more intensive training courses in Japan. A classroom environment in which everyone speaks English could be provided in Japan. To offer the chance to communicate with native speakers of English would not be really difficult in larger Japanese cities. In these training courses, class sizes should be kept small so that every student will have the opportunity to express himself in English often enough.

With regard to this deficiency in speaking skills, we are confronted with a shortage of teachers who are native speakers. Even now there are a number of excellent foreign teachers in Japan, but the number is still small in comparison to the vast number of Japanese teachers of English. Perhaps we should also give more attention to the suggestions offered by foreign professors on the teaching of English in Japan. While they have offered valuable suggestions, few of these have been applied. We have been too conventional in our English education programs. We are badly in need of drastic changes. The adoption of some of these suggestions would not necessarily endanger the Japanese system of education. We should take into consideration the opinions of well-qualified native speakers in revising our curriculum and methods of teaching English. We should have the courage to apply new ideas that will stimulate English education in Japan, whether these ideas derive from Japanese educators or foreign advisors in this field. However, it is we Japanese teachers of English who must take the lead in bringing forth these necessary changes. For we alone can understand the vast complexities of the Japanese educational system. We must also decide to what extent these changes should be carried out.

Let us now turn our attention to another aspect of performance in English, i.e., aural comprehension. Improving the student's listening potential is not as difficult a task as is that of improving his speaking and writing ability. Again, we must first provide sufficient numbers of well-qualified native speakers who can inspire our students with enthusiasm. In addition, we can effectively adopt the use of tape-recorders and other facilities available for classroom use. Students must be exposed to more situations in which they can hear English spoken. Japanese teachers of English can provide explanations of difficult expressions which students might hear on the tape. Students should hear dialogues on the tape rather than passages read by one person, so that they can sense emotions conveyed in English. It is not advisable for the teacher to employ patterns of expression that are too mechanical. We must prepare materials which can stimulate students to apply patterns of spoken English to real life situations. We must take the boredom out of our materials and provide alternatives which will stimulate students to pursue their studies more eagerly.

The length of the class period devoted to the study of English in Japanese universities should be shortened as well. Most universities customarily follow the traditional lecture-type class period, which lasts from ninety to one hundred minutes or more. Because of the nature of

foreign language drills, which require much careful concentration, students cannot easily maintain their interest and energy for such prolonged periods. It is preferable to have forty-five to fifty minute class periods for each language training program. If it is difficult to shorten the class period in some universities because of other programs going on, the individual teacher may divide his own ninety to one hundred minute session into smaller periods. For example, he can devote the first half of the period to the development of reading skills, while saving the second half of the period for instruction in conversational English. The point is not to make students feel bored by using the entire period for one kind of activity. A variety of activities lends balance to the program.

In most Japanese university classrooms this long period of English instruction is devoted entirely to translation. Professors teach students solely how to translate English novels or essays into Japanese, stressing an overly literal translation and grammatical correctness. At times, the professor's translation technique is too subtle for the average student to understand. This kind of training goes on tediously sentence by sentence. Since few students are equipped to be professional translators, it is wasteful of their time to expose them to this kind of trivial technique. This method of instruction should be changed. But the reform may prove difficult because both professors and students have become so accustomed to this method of study. The grammar-translation method is easier and more comfortable for non-native speakers than a type of method which requires an active command of English. It might be almost impossible to root out completely the grammar-translation method, but the amount of time spent on this type of training should be lessened considerably. The reasons are evident. The language used in a grammar-translation classroom is primarily Japanese, in spite of the fact that the target language is English. Only one student besides the professor is actively involved in the translation, because of the custom of asking one student to translate a passage of the text. The other students do not participate actively in the process. They only listen in a passive way to the translation by their fellow student and to the professor's correction which follows. It is quite natural that some students may easily find their minds wandering from the material at hand. It would be preferable to engage all of the students in the educational process simultaneously.

The great impediment to appropriate English education in Japan is the college entrance examination. Another drawback is the general incompetence of English teachers in fields which especially require the active command of English. Therefore, the first thing we should do is to reform the present nature of the college entrance examination. In the traditional college entrance examination in English, the stress is on the translation of English sentences into Japanese and on correct grammatical usage, with some smaller emphasis on the translation of Japanese sentences into English. So the college entrance examination is weighted heavily in favor of the grammar-translation method.

The examination reveals little of the student's ability to communicate orally or in free composition. If we use the language laboratory in an effective way, it would be possible to test quite objectively whether the examinee possesses sufficient hearing and speaking ability. One could have the student listen to a series of similar sentences on tape and have

him select the sentence which conforms to correct English usage. To test for correct pronunciation, one could have the student record in the language laboratory a passage to be evaluated by the examiner. Every effort should be made to evaluate objectively the student's listening and speaking skills in English.

The college entrance examination should reveal the examinee's capacity to read quickly with sufficient comprehension. Skill in speed reading could be measured by questions testing the student's comprehension of a passage within a limited time period. The entrance examination could test the writing skill by requiring students to write an essay on a given theme within a predetermined time period. The college entrance examination in Japan is so competitive and of such importance to the student's future career, that it is necessary that the examination testing English proficiency reflect the student's true capacity for the language.

The nature of the college entrance examination determines the nature of English education in high school and even in junior high school. It is no exaggeration to state that the greatest aim of English education in junior and senior high schools is to provide the student with the skills necessary for passing the entrance examination. Therefore, if we succeed in reforming the existing college entrance examination, we can also revolutionize English education in Japan.

In addition, it is necessary for students to have well-qualified, really competent English teachers. Therefore, Japan should try to send as many teachers of English as possible to countries in which English is spoken as a mother tongue. These teachers would then acquire the necessary training in spoken English. The period of their stay would not have to be longer than three to six months. The next step would be to encourage Japanese teachers of English to participate in the intensive training courses conducted by native English speakers.

In addition to the demand for well-trained teachers, it is absolutely necessary to have the proper materials and texts. Every university should be furnished with a collection of tapes and a language laboratory which enables the student to develop his English proficiency at his own pace. New textbooks should be designed to encourage the student's reading skills as well as his speaking and writing skills. The existing texts for reading devote too much attention to literature and are inadequate for a proper well-balanced English program.

The overemphasis on literature in English reading programs in Japan should be remedied. The topics for study should range from art to zoology, according to the student's field of interest. The point is to train students in the reading of books written in English, rather than in the reading of English literature. Literary masterpieces seldom reflect ordinary, everyday speech. The textbook should introduce students to the basic non-literary language, and gradually prepare them for more difficult, perhaps more literary passages. Newspapers and magazines as well as basic textbooks in various subjects, used in English speaking countries, could be employed for the purpose of teaching the more common and practical English. Practical materials such as these can be applied in conversation and writing.

Teachers should also be equipped to guide students towards a clear understanding of the significance of learning English. For example, by referring to his own experience in foreign countries, the teacher could suggest the variety of possibilities that await the student in his pursuit

of English language learning.

So far, I have pointed out some changes necessary in English education programs in Japan. I began to realize these deficiencies more sharply after my experience in the United States. For here I have had the chance to observe English education programs for foreigners which lay heavy stress upon the acquisition of speaking skills. Further, living outside of Japan has helped me to perceive more clearly some deficiencies in English education programs in Japan. Without this experience I might not have been able to recognize the necessity for some of the changes recommended in this paper.

In conclusion, I would like to summarize some of the points discussed in this article:

1) Our insularity has made it almost imperative for us to study English in order to communicate with other nations.

2) Our lack of proficiency in English may be ascribed to certain national traits developed over a long period of historical and geographical isolation. Traits such as shyness and error-consciousness have proved to be major stumbling blocks to our ability to master other languages.

3) Our foreign language study has been directed primarily towards obtaining Western ideas through books. However, in this rapidly changing world, it is necessary to train students how to communicate orally in a foreign language.

4) The teacher training system must be revised so that we can have really proficient teachers. Every teacher should be tested in oral proficiency, so that he can serve more readily in the role of intermediary for cultural exchange.

5) Free composition should be emphasized rather than literal translation from Japanese into English. Writing should be based on conversational skills.

6) Basic vocabulary and expressions should be emphasized rather than the knowledge of difficult words and expressions. New texts should be written to serve this function.

7) We must discover more efficient programs for extensive reading. Reading rapidly and the capacity to summarize a given passage within a limited time period should be emphasized.

8) As for speaking, a classroom environment should be created in which students can hear as much spoken English as possible.

9) More English-speaking teachers should be employed in Japanese classrooms and their advice should be reflected in the curriculum and the methods of teaching.

10) Training in aural comprehension is necessary. Students must be exposed to English sounds constantly.

11) Sentence patterns which reflect the nature of the language as it is spoken in real life situations rather than mechanical drills are to be stressed.

12) The length of the average English class period in Japanese universities should be shortened. If this cannot be done, the individual teacher may divide the period so that he can conduct a variety of stimulating learning activities.

13) The tedious, sentence by sentence grammar-translation method should be avoided. Attempts should be made to encourage all the students to participate actively in the classroom.

14) Because of the importance of the college entrance examination in determining the nature of English education in Japan, it should be revised so that it can test more balanced skills in English. We must discover methods to examine objectively the students' aural comprehension and pronunciation. Free composition rather than translation should also be examined.

15) The teachers should be encouraged to study abroad and to participate in intensive training courses to improve their command of English.

16) While literature is important, it should not be over-emphasized. Reading courses should reflect a broader spectrum of topics.

17) The teacher of English should guide the students towards a clear understanding of the significance of learning English.

## WHAT THE TAPE RECORDING MANUALS DON'T TELL YOU

J. D. Green

Take a linguistically excellent and pedagogically sound tape script; record the script and edit the recording with only little more than a fundamental grasp of technical know-how; and the result will be instant student boredom and frustration.

In this brief article I shall not discuss the basics of recording and editing language tapes. The fundamentals of these procedures are presented clearly in a number of publications, and especially well in W. B. Dickerson's "Tips on Taping: A Guide to the Selection, Care and Use of Recording Equipment for Language Study" (Unpublished manuscript, University of Illinois, 1969).

Instead, I shall describe some techniques--tricks of the trade, if you will--and little bits of know-how that are not mentioned, as a rule, in the readings about tape recording. Most of the techniques that I am recommending here developed from a lot of trial and error experience on my part. It is hoped that the following comments will maximize your working time and assist you in producing a quality language tape recording if and when you are faced with that task.

Preparation time

If you desire to produce a quality language tape that is to be used regularly, then a considerable investment of time is required. Leaving aside whatever time must be devoted to research in order to write the tape script, one should anticipate a minimum of sixteen hours preparation time for every thirty minutes of recorded time. These sixteen hours may be roughly divided up as follows:

Initial script writing	5 hours
First revision of script	1½ hours
Second revision of script	1½ hours
Final typing	1 hour
Recording	1 hour
Editing	5 hours
Administrative details	1 hour

Tape selection

A tape of 1.5 mil thickness is not only a more durable tape; it is also much easier to handle when editing than the thinner sizes.

The usual factors to be considered when shopping for the kind of tape that suits your needs are the tape's strength, weather and age resistance, quality of playback, smoothness, flexibility, length, resistance to print-through, and cost. It may also be well to consider the compatibility of the tape with the type of tape recorder on which it is to be used for playback. I suggest this because it was my experience that a certain high quality low-print variety of tape, though satisfactory in every other way, appears to have an inherent characteristic that causes it to emit a popping noise when played back on a recorder that has pressure pads that consist of a certain wool-cotton combination.

Voice selection

It is recognized that often one has to do with what one has. Nevertheless, candidates for recording should be screened before enlisting their assistance,

and several criteria should be applied in selecting the final recording personnel. Their voice quality should be pleasant to listen to on tape. Their speech should be a good model of a standard native speaker of English. Their speech volume should match as closely as possible the speech volume of the other recording personnel. Their enunciation should be clear but not artificial. And, with an eye to minimizing the eventual editing required, they should be in a good state of health, not heavy breathers and not possess any nervous traits that will be transferred to the recording. Coughs, sneezes and sniffles, audible breathing, and toe taps, foot scrapes and body movement in a chair all leave their mark on a recording and add to the burden of editing.

#### Administrative details

The tape script's format and presentation should, of course, be easily readable and clearly understandable. Robert Lado, in Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 178, offers a good example of a tape script. He recommends that every script should be prefaced by some information for classification and reference: course, date, subject, text reference, prepared by, and voices. To this list I would add: the tape's recording time, its recorded speed and its footage; what ability level it is designed for; what accompanying special materials there are, if any; special instructions to the teacher; and the kind of recording it is--pronunciation, aural comprehension, dictation, etc. The script should be at least double spaced. Ideally, it should be typed on a typewriter that is equipped with the extra large type that is used for preparing speech scripts.

The box for the tape recording should carry a label that repeats the information for classification and reference that is part of the tape script. Additionally, this label should also mention the location of the tape script.

This same information for classification and reference should also be recorded on the first few feet of the tape itself and separated from the recording the student will hear by several seconds of leader tape. This repetition of information can be helpful in the event of the tape's separation from its box.

#### Recording

Methodical organization, attention to detail and thorough prior planning are essential to a smoothly executed recording session and the production of a quality tape.

It is advisable to have a pre-recording checklist of administrative items that must be attended to before beginning the actual recording. Provision should be made for avoiding interruptions--a Recording-in-Session sign, for example. Check for external noise. External noise can originate in the strangest places--the fan next door, the air conditioning system, the overhead florescent lights, a squeaky chair in the recording studio. A test recording before the actual recording will generally indicate any external noise. Check the recording room itself. It should be uncluttered and without distractions to those who are recording. The microphone and the recorder should not be on the same surface. In fact, it is best that the microphone and the recorder not be in the same room. This will avoid vibrations that might otherwise be transmitted from the recorder to the microphone and picked up on the recording. The physical arrangement of the recording room should permit recording without need to touch the microphone. And, of course, check that the recording equipment itself is functioning and is clean.

Regardless of how acquainted the recording personnel are with the script, it is a good policy to do a rehearsal of it just before the actual recording. This will help to establish a mental set for the recording personnel, clear up any last minute questions there may be about the script, and allow you to double-check the recording level.

The microphone will pick up the rustling of papers. The pages of the tape script should be unattached and arranged on a felt covered table in front of the recording personnel in such a way so that a section of recording can be made without moving the papers. After that section of recording is made, stop the recording and lay out another section of papers. It is easier to edit out the click noise made by the record mode than it is to remove the telltale marks of rustling papers.

It is important to have a constant recording level throughout one tape or a series of tapes. If there is to be more than one recording session for the same tape or for a series of tapes, several techniques will ensure a constant recording level. In addition to making a note of the recording level as measured on the tape recorder, mark on the floor with chalk the chair position of each of the recording personnel. Also, mark the microphone position (if the microphone is suspended from the ceiling, a plumb line is quite adequate), and the arm positions of the recording personnel.

It is desirable to have the same number of recording personnel in the recording room at all times. This is because that, although the recording level may not perceptibly change with different numbers of personnel present in the recording room, the sound quality of the playback will be noticeably different. So, for instance, if the script requires only two persons for one part of it but three for another part, it is best to have all three persons in the recording room even during the segment that requires only two persons. This will ensure a uniform sound quality throughout the tape recording.

The recording personnel must be able to devote their entire attention to the script. To add to this the job of timing student pauses and instructor pauses will increase the probabilities of error. If at all possible, it is best to have a director whose sole responsibility is controlling the pause lengths by signaling the recording personnel when to begin each utterance.

If the provision of a director is not possible, then the recording personnel should keep in mind that in the editing process it is far easier to add clean tape for pause timing rather than to delete pauses that are too long.

Several other techniques, if followed during recording, will ease the task of editing. When entering or leaving either the pause or record mode, leave a pause of several seconds. This will make it easier to edit out the unavoidable clicks that are transmitted from the recording machine to the tape whenever these modes are engaged. If a mistake is made or someone coughs or the like, instead of stopping the recording, just verbally note, there and then on the recording itself, that a mistake was made. Then, merely re-record the passage in which the mistake occurred. This is recommended because it is easier to edit out voice signals than it is to edit out the clicks of the record or pause mode.

### Editing

Editing is a time consuming, boring and tedious job. However, it must be done in order to produce a quality recording. The purpose of editing language tapes is to eliminate unwanted sounds and mistakes and to ensure correct pause timing. Of the several techniques commonly used for editing, the most effective (and the most time consuming one) is splicing.

As with recording, methodical organization, attention to detail and thorough prior planning are essential to a job well done and done with a minimum amount of difficulty.

A tape speed of 7.5 ips yields better fidelity. It also makes the editing job easier, for, compared to 3.75 ips, each signal input is spread over twice the distance of the tape.

The tape recorder used for editing should be the same machine that was used for recording. If this is not possible, the machine used for editing should be as near in quality as possible to the tape recorder used for recording. If the machine used for editing is inferior to the one used for recording, there is a good likelihood that it will not playback some of the unwanted sounds that the recording machine picked up. Another essential feature of the tape recorder that is to be used for editing is that its heads be readily accessible so that the unwanted segments of tape can easily be marked for removal.

A black felt-tip marker is quite satisfactory for marking the segments of tape to be removed. Caution must be taken in marking the tape to not press directly against the playback head. If the tape is marked against the playback head, a popping noise will result on the tape and the segment just edited will have to be edited once again.

Don't immediately throw away a piece of tape that you have just deleted from the recording. Perhaps you have made a mistake and have edited out something you didn't want to remove. If you have made such a mistake and if you have saved the removed segment, you can easily splice it back into the tape. If, on the other hand, you haven't allowed for such an error and have thrown the removed segment away, finding it in the wastebasket along with all the other pieces of discarded tape is nearly impossible.

Regardless of how carefully you have controlled the timing for student responses and instructor pauses during the recording session, modification of the timing will undoubtedly be necessary in the editing process. For this purpose, it is necessary to have some clean, blank recording tape handy to splice in for timing additions.

After completing each splice, check the back of the tape to ensure that the splice is clean. The white of the splicing tape should not show. If it does, the adhesive of the splicing tape will wear off against the heads of the machines on which the tape will be played. This will gum-up the heads and eventually the tape itself will break. If there is an overlap of tape at the splice point, this will cause a popping noise when the tape is played back.

If duplicates of the tape are to be made and if these are to be made on a high speed dubbing machine, fifty to sixty feet of leader tape is required both at the beginning and end of the tape.

Finally, it is advisable to edit a tape as soon as possible after its recording. At that time, the mistakes and unwanted sounds that occurred during the recording will be fresh in your memory. You will be able to anticipate them and conserve time.

The production of a quality tape recording is no easy task. Both the writing and recording of language learning materials require training, time and patience. It is hoped that this article, by emphasizing the importance of thorough prior planning and attention to detail and by presenting some techniques and know-how of recording and editing, will help the practiced and the neophyte overcome a few of the problems in producing an effective language tape.

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## ABSTRACTS OF MATESL THESES

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The Role of Kiswahili in Uganda

Sam Senabulya K. W. Mugalasi  
(Professor Peter Ladefoged, Chairman)

Kiswahili has never played a significant part in Uganda's education system nor in the mass media. Since Kiswahili is widely used in East Africa today, this research investigates Uganda students' and ordinary citizens' opinions and attitudes about the possible role of Kiswahili in Uganda.

In order to bring out the relevance of Kiswahili to Uganda an investigation into the historical background and developments in the modernization of Kiswahili has been made. Factors influencing Uganda's language policy have been analysed in order to give the framework in which Kiswahili may be incorporated into Uganda's education system.

Two sets of questionnaires were sent to Uganda. One questionnaire was distributed to secondary schools, Teachers Training Colleges, and to the University. The other questionnaire was distributed to members of the public.

The data has been analysed according to demographic factors, where necessary, and a linguistic make up (mostly according to linguistic groupings in Uganda) of each sample has been drawn.

The findings show majority support for the introduction of Kiswahili into Uganda's education system and mass media. Kiswahili is regarded more as a language for promotion of inter-tribal, inter-territorial and social communication than a language for academic and social advancement.

Language Switching of Japanese-English Bilinguals

Aiko Uyekubo  
(Professor Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

The task of this study was to investigate the capacity of coordinate bilinguals to switch fluently from one language to another in the middle of a conversation or even in the middle of a sentence. Two aspects of the problem were considered:

- 1) To investigate particular speech situations, (e.g., topic, interlocutor, tone) where Japanese-English bilinguals switch from one language to another.
- 2) To investigate how the syntax and lexicon of the two languages are combined to create a linguistic vehicle for a meaningful discourse with a fellow bilingual.

The subjects for the study were 12 adult coordinate bilinguals and 4 child bilinguals. Taped speech samples of bilingual speakers switching between Japanese and English in a natural setting were collected.

The following are conclusions drawn from the study of language switching and mixing of Japanese-English bilinguals:

- 1) Bilinguals have contextual constraints for each of the languages. Social variables - interlocutor, topic, and tone - often determine the choice of code.

- 2) Language mixing is distinguished from language switching by the breakdown of correlation between the social variable and the choice of code. Mixing is used as a stylistic device to create a more meaningful communication.
- 3) There are certain linguistic constraints on language mixing, and thus, mixing is not random and grammarless.
- 4) Subjects were capable of mixing and unmixing; therefore, language mixing does not imply that a speaker is incapable of speaking two languages separately.
- 5) Bilingual children also performed similar sociolinguistic acts.
- 6) The basic distinction between mixing and either interference or borrowing is the speaker's ability to control his speech.

### The Indirect Object, Women in English as a Second Language Textbooks

Katherine Ann Kennedy  
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks which use American settings and characters in reading selections, dialogues, and language drills, convey a great deal of new cultural, as well as linguistic, information to the foreign student. A survey of ESL textbooks was conducted to analyze one area of cultural content: the portrayal of women. Texts reviewed included those currently used or recommended for intermediate to advanced ESL courses at U.C.L.A., in the English 33 series, as well as other selected ESL readers and grammar texts. A worksheet of questions used in examining each text focused on such topics as: how often women are mentioned and in what contexts, what jobs they fill, what they do for recreation, what they talk about, what they value.

The survey revealed that our ESL texts often portray women in an outdated, derogatory way and express prejudicial attitudes towards them. This is done by omitting women as major characters in dialogues, drills, and reading passages, by excluding them from interesting, meaningful occupations and activities, by presenting them in such stereotyped roles as that of housewife, and by using male-oriented phraseology.

The thesis includes recommendations for improving the image of women in ESL books and for starting to portray people as people, not as rigid categories or one-dimensional stereotypes.

### A Study of Student Turnover in Adult English as a Second Language Classes of the Los Angeles Unified School District

Letitia Marie Johnston  
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

In the adult classes of English as a Second Language in the Los Angeles City Schools, the dropout rate is approximately fifty percent. The purpose of this study is to ascertain why so many students are not continuing in ESL classes once they have begun, and to propose means by which these problems might be dealt with. A questionnaire was administered to two hundred fifty-four students representing the adult ESL population in West Los Angeles.

Each student was requested to think of a friend or relative who used to come to class, but was no longer in attendance. Of a list of twenty statements, he was asked to indicate which might be possible reasons for the student dropping out. He was then asked to do the same regarding why he, himself, was taking ESL and what reasons might possibly keep him from attending class in the future.

The percentage breakdowns of the total student population are presented and discussed. The responses of the Mexican students are then compared with those of the other language backgrounds represented, as well as with the results of a similar study done in East Los Angeles. This study shows the crucial need for career teachers in ESL and furnished a basis for future research into how to teach the non-academic, non-regular adult ESL student.

### Report on a Group of Anglo Children After One Year of Immersion in Instruction in Spanish

Ruth Larimer Cathcart  
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The model for the Culver City Spanish immersion program for Anglo children is derived from Wallace Lambert's program for French immersion in Quebec and modified for use in Culver City by Russell N. Campbell. The assumption basic to immersion model is that young children, taught the regular school curriculum in a second language and expected to perform well, will make steady progress towards becoming proficient bilinguals as well as maintaining their first language and achieving at grade level.

The report on the kindergarten year in Culver City includes evaluation of the children's maintenance of English, reading readiness, Spanish acquisition, and cross-cultural attitudes. Background information was obtained from two parent questionnaires and school records. Observation by the K teacher and three graduate students provided additional data for analysis of second language acquisition.

After one year, the children are virtually equal to the control children in knowledge of English morphology and somewhat inferior to the controls in English reading readiness. The children's attitudes toward Mexican-American test items are significantly more positive than are the control children's. Their Spanish has progressed to a point where they can repeat a good part of sentences modeled by their teacher and communicate very effectively in the classroom by different individual strategies. These strategies are discussed in detail. Parents are generally very pleased with their children's progress in Spanish, but are waiting for evidence of adequate maintenance of their English, which should be provided when the English language arts component begins in the first grade.

### Teaching Skills for the English Language Teacher in Training

Suzanne Buker  
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

A promising innovation in teacher education involves training in specific teaching skills. Five teaching skills considered fundamental to English language teachers are described in detail in the hope that they may

prove beneficial to persons engaged in training teachers of English as a second or foreign language. The five skills are:

1. conducting drills,
2. supporting student responses,
3. facilitating freer communication,
4. asking questions, and
5. providing effective practice.

Each teaching skill is broken down into component skills which are in turn described in behavioral terms; in all, fifteen component skills are analyzed. It is the behaviors involved in these component skills that the teacher in training practices in an attempt to develop his or her use of the overall teaching skill.

Studies cited indicate the success of training in specific teaching skills insofar as directly affecting teaching behavior is concerned. Suggestions for integrating a teaching skills approach into a teacher training program are provided.

#### A Spanish-Speaking Adolescent's Acquisition of English Syntax

Guy Andrew Butterworth  
(Professor Evelyn Ruth Hatch, Chairman)

Research techniques of first- and second-language longitudinal studies were adapted to the observation of a thirteen-year-old Spanish-speaking boy learning English in a "natural" environment in California. Two broad research questions were asked: what did the learner learn, and could inferences be made about how he learned. The questions were designed to prevent the data being analyzed to prove any particular psycho-linguistic hypotheses. A collateral purpose of the study was to determine if the methodology of longitudinal studies could be used successfully with older subjects.

Over a three-month period, recorded English language samples, amounting to at least one hour per week, were collected at an American intermediate school. The learner talked spontaneously and had to change affirmative utterances to negative ones, imitate utterances beyond his normal processing span, give inflections to nonsense words, and translate indirect Spanish questions and statements into direct English questions and statements. A summary was made of the surface structures obtained: copula constructions, prepositions, pronouns, the auxiliary, base forms, mixing, substitution, and imitation. Negative and interrogative structures were treated separately with reference to Spanish surface structures and second-language intermediate structures.

An accurate explanation for his production is difficult because of the lack of general language development and the similarity of Spanish surface structures to either English or English child-language surface structures. While his learning in some ways resembles that of first-language, and child second-language, acquisition, his need to communicate like an adult made transfer almost inevitable. In addition, he simplified his production by eliminating inflections, many function words, and even verbs (if context made relationships clear). Such procedures for simplifying English may be common to all learners.

An Analysis of Errors in the Usage of English Prepositions by Sesotho-Speaking Students

Francina Liako Semano  
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This study is an analysis of errors made in English preposition usage by Sesotho-speaking pupils at the eighth grade level. The errors were identified, corrected and categorized into types and sub-types. Explanations for the correct usage of the prepositions used were given along with the causes of the errors.

It was found that the errors were classifiable into five types and each type could further be divided into subtypes: Type I: wrong choice of prepositions. Sub-types: 1. Prepositions denoting time; 2. Prepositions denoting place; 3. Prepositions denoting direction; 4. Prepositions denoting instrument or means; 5. Prepositions denoting accompaniment; 6. Prepositions denoting material of construction. Type II: Errors in the verb accompanying the preposition. Sub-types: 1. The verb was omitted; 2. Wrong tense of the infinitive. Type III: Prepositions not necessary. Sub-types: 1. Prepositions before adjectivals; 2. Prepositions used where only one is necessary; 3. "Home," a noun of location that may not occur with preceding preposition; 4. Preposition serves no purpose; 5. The verb used alone is adequate. Type IV: Preposition is omitted. Sub-types: 1. Omission of prepositions indicating direction. Type V: Unidiomatic use of "of."

There were three main causes of errors: 40 per cent of the errors were caused by overgeneralization of the rules governing the use of English prepositions; 38.5 per cent were caused by direct interference from Sesotho; 20.5 per cent were caused by bad matching of Sesotho and English equivalents.

Two conclusions emerge from this study: 1. Direct interference from Sesotho, overgeneralization of the rules governing the use of English prepositions and bad matching of Sesotho and English equivalents are the main causes of the errors. 2. Error analysis can provide guidance in the development of teaching strategies and the preparation of texts and other teaching materials.

A Pilot Study for the Development of a Learning Resource Center Format for the Certificate/Master's Program of the Department of TESL at UCLA

Diane N. Battung  
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

Education in the 70's faces the crisis of change. This study is based on the tenet that the concept of the learning resource center offers a means of effective, innovative adaptation to change in the educational field of English as a second language (ESL). The specific focus of ESL adaptation to change and an audience concerned with humanistic application of technology is delineated. The concept of a learning resource center is introduced by a rationale formed from a compilation of contemporary educational writings giving perspectives on the growing need and demand for educational innovation.

Four higher education-based learning centers in the Southern California area were selected for a description of (1) the operational format and fulfillment of one or more of five selection criteria: accessibility;

multiplicity; learning appeal; technical upkeep; and facilitation; (2) innovative features; and (3) suggested applications in the field of ESL.

The result of this descriptive examination of the learning resource center is a proposed design for a learning resource center format for the Certificate/Master's Program of the Department of ESL at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) to demonstrate the feasibility of innovation in the crucial ESL area of teacher training.

#### Intrusions from Chinese in Compositicns by Hong Kong Students

Wai-chun Lee  
(Professor Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

This study is done on the assumption that people writing in a second language will, to a greater or lesser extent, carry their first language habits over in their writing. This is true of students learning to write in English, as they have not yet acquired such proficiency in English as to achieve a break-through from their first language.

This study attempts to analyse forms of expression used by Chinese students in their compositions which reflect certain style features in contemporary Chinese expository prose. English teachers tend to view these intrusions as oddities in style, unidiomatic constructions or grammatical errors. On the assumption that each language has a particular set of standards and restraints regarding writing, a test was conducted to find out how teachers of English would react to these forms. The test showed that teachers are more tolerant than text-book writers who advocate hard and fast rules of good language usage. It also showed that judging writing on the level of style, a highly subjective procedure, inevitably induces diverse opinions. However, this study provided a useful list of stylistic features that might be expected from a Chinese student writing in English.

#### Thai Students' Performance in the Usage of Modal Auxiliaries in English

Pimpaporn Suwatthigul  
(Professor Andrew D. Cohen, Chairman)

The study sought to investigate the errors in the usage of modal auxiliaries in English made by Thai students. A series of tests concerned with English modal auxiliaries was administered to a random sample of twenty-five Thai students and twenty-five other foreign students in the Los Angeles area.

Two independent variables were considered before the sample selection was made. These two variables were: 1) the number of years spent studying English, and 2) the number of years spent living in the United States.

To analyze the Thai students' errors and determine the causes of difficulties for them, the errors made by Thai students were compared and contrasted with the errors made by other foreign students. The error analysis was based on two factors: 1) intralingual errors - errors shared by both the group of Thai students and the group of other foreign students, and 2) interlingual errors - errors found only in the group of Thai students.

The intralingual errors were analyzed from the standpoint of confusing aspects of the English language on the assumption that therein lay the source of the difficulty. The interlingual errors were analyzed from the standpoint

of the contrastive analysis between Thai and English, which has been presented in this thesis.

The results from the tests indicated, first, that there was no significant superiority of other foreign students over Thai students in the use of English modals; i.e., difficulties with English modal auxiliaries were, on the whole, shared by both groups of students tested. There were, however, some errors that appeared to be specific to one of the two groups. Second, the Thai students made many mistakes that were beyond the evaluation of the contrastive analysis between English and Thai modals presented.

The error analysis as presented in Chapter V of this thesis suggests that the English modals that caused difficulties both for Thai students and for other foreign students were "may - might" in the sense of "possibility"; "ought to" in the sense of advisability; "must" in the sense of "appeal" and "inference". The English modal that caused particular difficulty for other foreign students was "ought to" in the sense of "obligation". The English modals which were particularly difficult for Thai students were "would" in the sense of "request"; "can - could" in the sense of "possibility"; "could", "would" in the sense of "non-actuality"; and "could", "would", "might" when they were changed from "can", "will", "may" respectively by the sequence-of-tense rules. Implications of the study and recommendations for further research were also made.

#### The Development of a Set of Instructional Objectives for English as a Second Language

Julie Beth Goldberg  
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

Instructional objectives are appearing in numerous areas in the field of education ranging from industrial arts to anthropology. One purpose of this study was to determine the relevance of instructional objectives to the field of Teaching English as a Second Language. Research dealing with behavioral objectives in health education, science, business, mathematics and foreign languages was examined. Included were experiments testing the use of instructional objectives in the instructional process and the absence of such objectives. These studies indicated that teaching was more effective and efficient in the presence of behavioral objectives.

The second purpose of this study was to develop a strategy by which the teacher may determine specific objectives to be used in a given situation. Here such factors as the age, background, goals and attitudes of the students must be taken into consideration. Next a list of the skills to be acquired in order of priority must be compiled. Included in this study are the means by which the teacher may do this along with examples of objectives used in various situations by the author. Objectives vary from situation to situation making it necessary for the teacher to alter his objectives according to the needs of the students.

The final purpose of the thesis was to create an actual set of instructional objectives to demonstrate the three elements of the objective, the behavior on the part of the student, the criteria for acceptable performance and the means of evaluation. A set of objectives to facilitate the teaching of American English pronunciation sequenced according to their difficulty in attainment, is included. As a result of this study it is noted that instructional objectives are relevant to the field of Teaching English as a Second Language; they can be written by the average teacher without a great deal of effort and they are effective in facilitating learning.