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AUTHOR Midkiff, Ronald G.; Smith, Gary

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ABSTRACT

The first part of this Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project report presents articles which have greater implications for a theory of instruction in English than for practical activities for classroom utilization. It includes "Changing Emphasis on Formal Language Study," "The Growing Importance of and Emphasis on Oral Language Development," "From Composition to the Composing Process," "The Changing Appearance of the English Classroom," and "Implications for a Need to Modify English Teacher Education Programs." The second part of this report discusses the results of a social experiment in teaching standard usage to nonstandard speakers which concluded that a child expands his linguistic skills by receiving and producing sentences in relation to a particular audience, purpose, time, and place. (SW)
Toward An Evolving Philosophy
Of Language Instruction
In The Public Schools

Ronald G. Midkiff, Director
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project

and

Teaching Standard Usage
To Non-Standard Speakers:
A Report of an Experiment

Gary Smith, Coordinator
SEED Project Experiment
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project

Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project
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ESEA, Title III
Rome City School System
Rome, Georgia 30161
ROME CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM
ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Dr. M. S. McDonald ... Superintendent
Jesse Laseter ... Assistant Superintendent
Miss Eleanor Monroe ... Director of Guidance and Counseling
Mrs. George Wood ... Curriculum Director

LINGUISTICS RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION
PROJECT STAFF

Ronald G. Midkiff ... Project Director
Mrs. Eva S. Martin ... Assistant Director
Donald R. Midkiff ... High School Co-ordinator
Gary A. Smith ... SEED Project Co-ordinator
Mrs. Betty Zane Waters ... Language Arts Specialist
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TOWARD AN EVOLVING PHILOSOPHY
OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Ronald G. Midkiff, Director
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project
In 1966, when the application for a Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project was being written to be funded under ESEA, Title III, one of the objectives of the project was “to develop a linguistically oriented English curriculum guide.” At the end of the first year of operation in which there had been extensive in-service sessions in the “new grammars,” language history, and dialectology, selected teachers and project staff members developed a “First Draft” of a “linguistically oriented English curriculum guide” which was distributed to teachers in the Rome City School System for evaluation and further development. Late in the second year, after evaluating the “First Draft” and after reading the new related literature in the fields of psychology of learning, psycholinguistics, language learning, and English curriculum design, the project staff began questioning the philosophy of the “First Draft” guide which was simply the identification of what content was to be taught on various grade levels. Reading in the current literature caused the staff to realize their preoccupation with the identification of content—new linguistic content though it may be—and their lack of understanding of and attention to the development of the student’s mental processes.

The staff members realize that there are several very fine English curriculum guides available which identify content to be covered on various grade levels, but what is discussed in this booklet goes beyond the identification of content to be taught. Jerome Bruner points out that “... a theory of development must be linked both to a
theory of knowledge and to a theory of instruction, or be doomed to triviality." It is the purpose of this booklet to identify areas which have implications for a theory of instruction in English. The ideas set forth in the following articles, to the greatest extent, are more theory than practical, sequential activities for classroom utilization. But they are ideas which must be dealt with in any language development program.

The articles in this booklet are not meant to be a comprehensive commentary on a total English program. The articles identify areas of concern and interest which became evident as the staff of the Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project attempted to write and implement an English program.

The ideas set forth in this booklet evolved in the thinking of the project staff rather late in the three year project after much reading, discussing, and soul searching. Even though these ideas were discussed with the teachers and administration of the Rome City Schools, a complete, sequential program following these "late" ideas was never implemented in the Rome Schools. Many of the practices advocated below are being carried out in the schools by individual teachers, but no complete program was implemented.

The staff members do not feel that they are prepared to commit themselves to a complete, sequential program of English instruction at the present time. They feel that there needs to be more classroom experimentation and deeper research into the learning process. This booklet is in lieu of a linguistically oriented English curriculum guide which was projected in the original proposal of this project. I personally feel that these tentative suggestions for an English program will be of more value to the Rome City School System and the profession in general than a completed form of the "First Draft."

I might comment briefly on the title of this booklet—Toward an Evolving Philosophy of Language Instruction in the Public Schools. The staff members feel that one's philosophy of language instruction will be constantly evolving as he reads of new research and findings

in the related literature. They feel that this is as it should be. Designers of school programs should never be satisfied with things as they are but should be looking for better, more effective methods as well as more complete and accurate information. One who continues to grow in his understanding of the nature of learning and the learner will have an ever-evolving philosophy of language instruction.

The project staff members met often to discuss their changing philosophies of English instruction and seemed to be of “one mind.” But at the end of the project, it became my responsibility to organize their ideas and mine in the form of a final report. I apologize to them if I have not represented them well.

Ronald G. Midkiff, Director
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project
ESEA, Title III
Rome City School System
Rome, Georgia 30161
Changing Emphasis on Formal Language Study

In the past, much of what went on in the English classroom was structured around how much grammar was taught. When structural and transformational grammars found their ways into elementary and secondary English textbooks, once again the English course, to a large extent, was structured around formal grammar instruction. There was simply a replacement of new content for old content in hopes that the new grammars would do a better job in helping students speak and write than the traditional grammar was able to. This was part of the thinking behind this project during the planning stage and first operational year. We had expanded our language program to include other language content which was new to the English curriculum such as language history, dialectology, semantics, phonology and morphology. There were several reports of research projects which caused us to re-evaluate our emphasis on teaching formal language knowledge. In 1966, National Council of Teachers of English published a report of some research which was done by Donald Bateman and Frank Zidonis at Ohio State University entitled The Effect of a Study of Transformational Grammar on the Writing of Ninth and Tenth Graders. Among other things the study reports that memorized principles of grammar, whether traditional or new, play little or no part in helping students achieve “correctness” in their written expression. It also suggests that an emphasis upon the corrective aspects of grammar creates an atmosphere of error-orientation which may inhibit growth of sentence structure and creates negative and

hostile feelings toward writing in general and linguistic studies in particular.

Probably the most important study attempting to show the value of formal grammar study for high school students was done by John C. Mellon of Harvard University. Mr. Mellon was able to prove that "syntactic fluency" could be enhanced in the writing of high school students by using sentence-combining methods of transformational grammar. But Mr. Mellon writes at length to make clear exactly what he has found about enhancing syntactic fluency:

Growth of sentence structure, however, is not a substantive phenomenon. It is merely evidence that the student, through gaining greater experience in the world around him, has learned to construe and take cognizance of this world and of his relation to it in an increasingly adult manner. It is this cognitive growth that results in his making fuller use of permitted grammatical operations, and that produces the changes in his sentence structure noted above.

Growth of this sort, whether one speaks of cognition or of the sentence structure which manifests it, occurs normally and without the aid of formally designed pedagogy.

Finally, there may of course be some who will wish to cite the foregoing experiment as proof that grammar study should remain a component subject in English. In reality, the experiment proves nothing of the kind, nor was it intended to . . . . They (tendencies to advertise the value of grammar study as an instrumentality to some immediate goal not integral to the subject itself) reached a high point in the functional grammar movement, and may be seen today in frivolous attempts to popularize structural and transformational grammars as novel approaches to composition. Thus it would be a disservice to the potentiality of both modern school linguistics and the sentence-combining notion to justify and shape the former as nothing more than an otherwise meaningless vehicle for the latter.

3. Ibid., p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 113.
Also, in the Dartmouth Seminar summaries, this issue of the value of formal language instruction is discussed:

... In the past the main motive for explicit teaching of topics drawn from these levels of linguistic analysis to children between the ages of 8 and 15 has been a desire to alter or improve the structural patterns of the pupils' writing.5

But at the age when they enter our schools, children have already formed most (if not all) of the intuitive generalizations about the structure of their mother tongue which enable them to use it productively. There is little room for expanding their repertory of linguistic resources at the structural level; and since they have already learned so much intuitively simply by using language (as listener and speaker) in situational contexts, it seems probable they will learn the remainder just as efficiently by the same means as they would by deliberate and conscious instruction.6

Moreover, any systematic study of language at the grammatical levels calls for a degree of abstractness in one's thinking that children are seldom capable of attaining much before the age of 15 or 16. (Piagetian researches into concept formation are highly relevant here.)

Much more to the point, in the school situation, would be a study of language at the 'context of situation' level. The basic procedure here would be to examine a variety of 'texts' (both spoken and written) in relation to the contexts of situation in which they occur, observing the different functions which language can serve, and the features associated on the one hand with particular types of user (dialect) and on the other hand with particular kinds of use (register).7

Here is the danger that many of us (on both sides of the Atlantic) foresee in the proposals to introduce the teaching of new and superior English grammars to the schools. Despite different intentions on the part of those producing materials, teachers who have already invested a good deal in the traditional grammar may simply switch to a new body of knowledge, without giving a thought to the process whereby such knowledge could ever come to

6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Ibid.
be in use. The process of arriving at forms of knowledge that affect judgments, choices, and decisions would once again have been short-circuited. And ironically this might well be done under the label of a new 'humanistic' study of language.  

Based on this kind of information, we changed our position as to what kind of language instruction should be provided in elementary and high schools. We feel it is important for the teacher to have a philosophy of language and language learning which has been arrived at through careful study of the content in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, language history, and English grammars. This philosophy should affect decision-making as the teacher develops language learning experiences for students. The emphasis will not be on knowledge about language but on the utilization of language in various situations.

The Growing Importance of and Emphasis on Oral Language Development

In English programs of the past, language communication has held a place of primary importance. Most of the classroom activities designed to "help students learn to communicate better" were lessons in written composition. It was felt that if students could improve their written communication, their oral communication would improve also. This is not the normal language growth procedure. Oral language growth precedes written language growth since it is merely a representation (with conventional modifications) of what can be said.

In recent studies, psychologists and linguists have stressed the close relationship between language and thought. These studies have made our past definition of communication and our methods of teaching it naive and crude. Even though our objective "to help students learn to communicate better" was an honorable one, most of the activities designed to fulfill this objective were not achieving the desired results.

Stuart Chase identifies three functions of language which suggest a broader base of language instruction than to "improve communication." He suggests that every language has three main functions:

1. To communicate with other persons.
2. To communicate with oneself, or as we say, think.
3. To mold one's whole outlook on life.

Teachers of English need to concern themselves with two and three in addition to one.

The following quotes add credence to the notion of the close relationship between language development and thought development:

Thought development is determined by language i.e., by the linguistic tools of thought and by the socio-cultural experience of the child. Essentially, the development of inner speech depends on outside factors; the development of logic in the child, as Piaget's studies have shown, is a direct function of his socialized speech. The child's intellectual growth is contingent on his mastering the social means of thought, that is language.²

One is led to believe that, in order for the child to use language as an instrument of thought, he must first bring the world of experience under the control of principles of organization that are in some degree isomorphic with structural principles of syntax. Without special training in the symbolic representation of experience, the child grows to adulthood still depending in large measure on the enactive and iconic modes of representing and organizing the world, no matter what language he speaks.³

It is not until he (the child) inspects his language that he goes back to his experience to check on a mismatch between what he sees with his eyes and what he has just said. He must, in short, treat the utterance as a sentence and recognize contradiction at that level. He can then go back and reorder experience, literally see the world differently by virtue of symbolic processes reordering the nature of experience.⁴

"Benchmarks about the nature of intellectual growth"

3. Intellectual growth involves an increasing capacity to say to oneself and others, by means of words or symbols, what one has done or what one will do.

4. Intellectual development depends upon a systematic and contingent interaction between a tutor and a learner.

⁴. Ibid., p. 52.
5. Teaching is vastly facilitated by the medium of language, which ends by being not only the medium for exchange but the instrument that the learner can then use himself in bringing order into the environment.5

... mental growth is in every considerable measure dependent upon growth from the outside in — a mastering of techniques that are embodied in the culture and that are pressed on in a contingent dialogue by agents of the culture. This becomes notably the case when language and the symbolic systems of the culture are involved, for there are a multitude of models available in the culture for shaping symbolic usages—mentors of all shapes and conditions. I suspect that much of growth starts out by our turning around on our own traces in recoding in new forms, with the aid of adult tutors, what we have been doing or seeing, then going on to new modes of organization with the new product that have been formed by these recodings. We say, "I see what I'm doing now," or "So that's what the thing is." The new models are formed in increasingly powerful representational systems. It is this that leads me to think that the heart of the educational process consists of providing aids and dialogues for translating experiences into more powerful systems of notation and ordering. And it is for this reason that I think a theory of development must be linked both to a theory of knowledge and to a theory of instruction, or be doomed to triviality.6

On several occasions Piaget and his collaborators have indicated their awareness that the age at which a child attains conservation is in part a function of the experiences he has had. ... Piaget has remarked that "experience is always necessary for intellectual development" and has specified the importance of physical activity and social interactions as ingredients of experience.7

More recent studies seems to be shifting away from study of the processes involved in conservation per se toward consideration of related perceptual and language factors.8

6. Ibid., p. 21.
8. Ibid., p. 44.
These quotes stress the importance of symbolizing experiences in order to give structure to them, thereby reinforcing or extending one's view of himself and his world. Based on this information, it seems imperative that more classroom activities be structured in such a way that students be given more opportunity to symbolize their experiences—both personal and school-planned—in a context of social interchange with peers and guiding adults. As students are made to add details or new information, or to re-think an idea because of the questions and the challenges of classmates and teachers, they are being forced to make adjustments in their thinking and language patterns. This is language growth (thought and syntax) under normal conditions even though the teacher may have preplanned and directed the conditions.

As long as one lives he needs this verbal interchange of ideas to expand the three main functions of language which Stuart Chase suggests. But as one matures in his use of language and the thinking process, he probably needs it less and less. One moves from an almost total dependence on oral language and "thinking out loud" as a child toward "silent thought" and maturity in written language as an adult. This information should affect the type of classroom activities which teachers develop for students.
From Composition to the Composing Processes

In recent years, the concept that composition is just written English has been broadened to include oral and written language and thought development. A clear distinction has been made between "the mechanics" and "composing." "Composing" is bringing structure to experience for a purpose; "mechanics" are social conventions of the language and are secondary in the composing process.

The various steps in the composing process need to be identified at different stages of cognitive and motoric development. Students should be given opportunities to develop proficiency at one level before moving on to more sophisticated tasks. A primary grade child should not be expected to "compose" in the same way a high school student does. By pantomime and drama a seven-year-old may structure his experience of visiting the pet shop. But a tenth grade student is quite capable of interviewing several pet shop proprietors and/or veterinarians to report to his class, orally or in writing, on "The Most Effective Method of Flea Control on Longhaired Dogs." (If this is what he is interested in.) It seems reasonable to assume that composing activities (bringing order and purpose to experience) can be developed to give language confidence and competence to students at different levels of motoric and cognitive growth.

One of the most promising ideas to organize a developmental program in oral and written English is sometimes referred to as "talk" and "drama" with special definitions for these terms. In Growth through English, John Dixon, reporting on the proceedings of the Dartmouth Seminar, explains the importance of "talk" and "drama" in an English program:
These two activities belong together for a number of reasons. Both are found among pre-school children and form the basis for later work in language. Talk underlies all subjects in school. Drama, starting from the simplest representations of experience—the baby pushing four bricks across the floor saying 'shu-shu'—diversifies out to include, say Plato's Symposium... For talk enters into the whole range of human interaction, and drama builds, from that interaction and talk, images of human existence.¹

It is through... talk that children can best find out in exchange with one another what are their responses to an experience, real or symbolic, and help one another to come to terms with it. Such talk does not occur in the classroom, however, without deliberate design; it is most likely when small groups of pupils talk about matters which engage their deepest attention....

Drama itself arises inevitably from talk: at one moment a pupil is telling the class about stevedores at work; the next he is on his feet, enacting with gesture and movement the poise and grip of the man....²

Drama, then, differs from other talk in three ways; movement and gesture play a larger part in the expression of meaning; a group working together upon an improvisation needs more deliberately and consciously to collaborate...; the narrative framework allows for repetition and provides a unity that enables the action more easily to take on symbolic status.³

In moving on to writing and reading we are not moving away from drama and talk but incorporating their discoveries into a new medium with its own special possibilities and, as it grows to independence, its own demands for special varieties of language and gesture. When a class and their teacher use language "to explore their common universe" they become a language community, in which all are learning together as they develop a classroom dialogue that in part can be internalized by each pupil. Just as we take up an overall meaning from a play by internalizing each of the characters and feeling the sum of their relationships, so in class the individual takes up from the discussion of experience what will make sense of his own world. This process of internalizing is developed and extended by writing. To write, then, is to move from the social and shared work to an opportunity for private and individual work. But the private work takes its meaning from what has gone

¹ John Dixon, Growth through English, National Association for the Teaching of English (England), 1967, p. 34.
² Ibid., p. 36.
³ Ibid., p. 37.
on before: thus, as we shall see, writing—assignments without a background of discussion and shared experience are unlikely to elicit much response from many children and young people.  

Making “talk” and “drama” imperatives in the pre-writing process is putting into practice the belief that language and thought are very closely related (discussed in “The Growing Importance of and Emphasis on Oral Language Development”).

Even with the acceptance of the notion that “talk” and “drama” are imperatives in an English language developmental program, there is still a need for a continuum through which students could progress. James Moffett in Teaching the Universe of Discourse has developed a rationale for such a progression. In A Student-Centered Language Arts Curriculum Grades K - 13: A Handbook for Teachers, Moffett puts into practical application the rationale he developed. He first describes the role of the teacher as helping students

expand their cognitive and verbal repertory as far as possible, starting with their initial limits. The goal is for the student to become capable of producing and receiving an increasingly broad range of kinds of discourse, compositional forms, points of view, ways of thinking, styles, vocabulary, and sentence structures.

After stating the teacher’s role and the goal for students he suggests some sequential goals for developmental classroom activities: “a growth scale going from the personal to the impersonal, from low to high abstraction, from undifferentiated to finely discriminated modes of discourse.”

Moffett has suggested the “beginnings of a model” for an English program based on the kinds and orders of discourse. In his design he has developed a highly schematic representation of the whole spectrum of discourse, which is also a hierarchy of levels of abstraction.

This is not a sequence chart with “plays” in the primary grades and “essays” in high school. This model outlines the various types of discourse according to levels of abstraction.

4. Ibid., pp. 43-44.
6. Ibid.
THE SPECTRUM OF DISCOURSE

Interior Dialogue
(egocentric speech)
Vocal Dialogue
(socialized speech)
Correspondence
Personal Journal
Autobiography
Memoir
Biography
Chronicle
History
Science
Metaphysics

Recording, the
drama of what is
happening.

Reporting, the
narrative of what
happened.

Generalizing, the
exposition of what
happens.

Theorizing, the
argumentation of
what will, may
happen.

PLAYS

FICTION

ESSAY

Activities covering the entire model might be covered in each year—or may be in each unit or activity. But as students are able to deal with more abstraction and their interests become less egocentric, they will be exhibiting the growth in language toward which an English program aims.

The Changing Appearance of the English Classroom

The designer of classroom activities in English must rise above the identification of what content (knowledge) is to be taught. Questions like "What text shall we adopt?", "On what grade level shall be teach Antigone?", and "Which transformation rules shall we teach in the ninth grade?" become unimportant when the basic purposes of English instruction are identified.

The members of the Dartmouth Seminar chose not to define "What English is" but rather to give a definition by process, a description of the activities we engage in through language. They realized that language is learned in operation. In the English classroom:

pupils meet to share their encounters with life, and to do this effectively they move freely between dialogue and monologue—between talk, drama and writing; and literature, by bringing new voices into the classroom, adds to the store of shared experience. Each pupil takes from the store what he can and what he needs. In so doing he learns to use language to build his own representational world and works to make this fit reality as he experiences it . . . . In ordering and composing situations that in some way symbolize life as we know it, we bring order and composure to our inner selves. When a pupil is steeped in language in operation we expect, as he matures, a conceptualizing of his earlier awareness of language, and with this perhaps new insights into himself (as creator of his own world).¹

With the basic notion of "language growth through language in operation," one realizes the need for modification of the present English classroom. New organization and emphasis of the receptive and productive language processes need to be incorporated in classroom activities. Even though receptive and productive language processes are used in today's English classrooms, their organization and emphases do not provide for the kind of "language in operation" mentioned above. Primarily, students need to be given more opportunity to talk in the classroom—time to talk with peers, and guiding adults about their interests and experiences, confirming and modifying their views; time to plan activities which will expand and make more meaningful their interests and previous experience. To provide for this kind of activity the English classroom must take on the air of a workshop where many different activities are going on at the same time under the planned guidance of the teacher. Small group discussions, "drama," writers' workshop, editorial desks, listening and viewing stations for using audio-visual media, and well-stocked library shelves are all part of the new English classroom. In addition to "outside voices" being brought into the classroom through the literature book, other media such as records, films, radio, television, and visitors must also be used.

Also the students will need to encounter language in operation in directed ways outside the classroom. Through interviewing the local police chief on a subject of student interest and concern, tape recording candid conversations in an elevator or at a ball game, or reporting on the proceedings of a "hot" discussion at the monthly school board meeting, the student learns something of the variety of ideas and language in operation which he can share with his peers and teacher in class. Through this kind of activity, appropriate speech and conventions in writing will become more important and meaningful.

Implied in what is said above is that the activities planned for the English classroom should provide immediate interest and reward for students. Activities that have meaning today are preparing students for tomorrow. Much English instruction is justified on such statements as: "This will help you pass the college boards," or "This will help you get a better job." The reward is "out there" somewhere. But there is much that should go on in the classroom that gives immediate reward. If students could be actively guided through the ever-broadening processes of language in operation to become more perceptive of their universe and how they fit into it, and to become more empathetic with all men, then there are daily rewards. As students talk with and listen to each other—and sometimes to guiding adults—about their real concerns,
they are using language structures to modify, alter, question and condition (the things we teach in formal grammar—composition) their previously acquired ideas, and new ones, set forth by classmates and teachers. As students read about and hear subjects discussed which are of special interest and concern to them, they are using language structures to learn what others have found it like to be alive—developing and modifying their self-concept. As students speak and write about their concerns, they are seeking to bring order (compose) to their primary and secondary experiences. Language forces structure on experience. To put experience into sentences forces predication, modification, coordination, and subordination. Syntactic relationships force semantic relationships. As students compose their experiences—orally or in writing—and carry on a dialogue with classmates and teacher, they not only are using the feedback from classmates to adjust their thinking, but also are expanding their competencies and improving their performance in using the language processes. Students are learning that it is through language that we find out who we are, why we are, and how we are—that language is the great humanizer.

In this kind of concept of language teaching the content is secondary—the method is primary. Students must learn that language brings order to raw experience—it makes us more sensitive to our experience. They can only learn this by utilizing the processes of language in meaningful ways to discover inductively that language and perception are closely related.
Implications for a Need to Modify English Teacher Education Programs

I. PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION

In order to put the kind of English program advocated in the preceding pages into practice, the English teacher must have a different type of training from that which most teacher training institutions are now providing. Today, most colleges and universities require such a heavy load of literature courses for the prospective English teacher that there is little time for anything else except maybe a survey course in descriptive linguistics and a course in the history of the English language. But when one looks at the role and responsibilities of the English teacher (particularly as they have been discussed above) and compares it with the training he is receiving, it is quite obvious that the prospective English teacher is not being prepared to meet his responsibilities in the classroom. Formal study of literature (history, genre, criticism, etc.) is not an activity in the new English classroom. The emphasis will be on the fact that literature is one means of bringing an outside voice into the classroom to extend and broaden the experiences and interests of students. The selections of literature are not made solely because "It's in the textbook," or "This is great literature," but because they shed light on a particular current experience or interest of students. In addition to rather comprehensive studies of modern grammatical theories and the history of English, the prospective teacher needs study in the sociology and psychology of language. Not that he would ever teach any of these language courses formally to students, but that he would have a rich background upon which to draw as he makes decisions as to his objectives and as he plans his classroom activities designed to help students grow in their use of language in operation.
The area of English teacher education that is presently the weakest is education in the composing process. This is not just the area of written composition, although "maturity in written composition" is one ultimate goal. Instruction in this area would include an understanding of how a person brings order to (composes) his experience at various levels of cognitive growth by means of symbolic representation. Jerome Bruner suggests the importance of language in this "composing" process:

One is thus led to believe that, in order for the child to use language as an instrument of thought, he must first bring the world of experiences under the control of principles of organization that are in some degree isomorphic with the structural principles of syntax. Without special training in the symbolic representation of experience, the child grows to adulthood still depending in large measure on the enactive and ikonic modes of representing and organizing the world, no matter what language he speaks.¹

Once a teacher is aware of the progression of symbolic representation and cognitive growth, he is ready to develop classroom activities along a continuum which will assist students in their maturation in the use of language. Courses in psycholinguistics, group process, psychology of learning, and "improvised drama" (drama as defined above) would prove extremely valuable.

Of course none of this information will make the desired change in the classroom unless these theories are translated into classroom methods of teaching and learning. The most powerful or influential means of teaching methods to prospective teachers is for the college instructor to utilize the desirable methods in the college classroom. Rather than just "talk about" and "read about" good methods, the college teacher should utilize them in his teaching. As a result, the prospective teacher would be more apt to use them in his future teaching.

One other area of teacher training that needs expansion is the area of multi-media utilization in classroom instruction. This would be more than how to operate the various "hardware." It would be an acquaintance with the available "software." In addition to instructional media, the prospective teacher should be acquainted with the "literature" of other media than the printed word.

The kinds of changes in education of English teachers outlined above will necessitate requirement changes at the college and state department levels. But if these modifications in the education of English teachers can bring about desired results, then changes in certification requirements are in order.

II. IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

The education of a teacher is never complete. After a teacher is on the job his education must continue. This in-service education can take various shapes—part of which the school should provide and part of which the individual must assume the responsibility for. Teachers should continue their education through personal reading in the professional literature and through experimentation with new methods and ideas. But the schools need to realize their responsibility in the in-service education of teachers by planning a structured, sequential program and by providing time and money for that program to be implemented. The Dartmouth Seminar suggested three levels of continuing education and curriculum development work:

First, classroom visits, discussions and department conferences in the one school or with one or two like-minded neighbors. Second, local centre work (in English workshops) to exchange ideas, develop new approaches and materials, and evaluate them jointly with visiting teachers. Third (and not least), restocking and refreshing through experience in creative writing, drama, and study of literature; through seminar study of new research evidence on the language processes in general; and through discussion of new organization developments.2

Time for these activities should be anticipated and included in the calendar for the school year and in the daily schedule of each teacher. In-service days during the school year as well as "planning periods" during the school day should be provided.

Leadership for a planned program of in-service needs to be provided. Local, full-time consultative assistance will provide continuity to a program. Guest speakers and consultants can bring new ideas, challenges, and inspiration.

In-service education provided for by the local school system is necessary in developing an evolving philosophy of language instruction.

TEACHING STANDARD USAGE TO NON-STANDARD SPEAKERS:

A Report of an Experiment

Gary Smith, Coordinator
SEED Project Experiment
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project
Introduction

Education in the United States is a vast and vitally important social enterprise. This publication is an attempt to define the school's role in facing one of the major problems of the "education enterprise." Language patterns are persistent social markers in what seems on the surface to be a classless society. The concern here is not for those features which distinguish one educated native speaker of American English from another, but for those features which mark—or are taken to mark—one social class from another.

The strength of this publication is to be found in the fact that its philosophy, methods, content, and activities reflect the dual influence of teacher experience and socio-linguistic scholarship. Teachers have long tried to deal with the problems of "non-standard" dialects, and linguists have recently become strongly interested in describing systematic features of and deviations from a "standard" dialect. As a general rule, teachers have not considered how language is learned nor how language change is induced, and linguists were objective in their interest, looking at dialects from an anthropological point of view. For this reason specific contributions to pedagogy have been few.
Because the Social Experiment in English Dialect (SEED Project) has made a beginning step in uniting these divergent factors in its program, an account of its development seems relevant to the present education scene. In brief, the main idea produced by this union is that the child expands his linguistic repertory by receiving and producing sentences in relation to a particular audience, purpose, time, and place. A speaker has options in using language, and his use of these options is determined by social and psychological reasons, not syntactic ones. Since all linguistic options fill definite needs and thus have value, one role of education must be that of providing students a means of developing a wider range of options. Children can achieve a high degree of linguistic flexibility when they are given a chance to use their options in a broad spectrum of situations. Such usage is the only way that students can see a "real" need for widening their linguistic repertories. At the same time that students are allowed to broaden their linguistic range, tolerance and understanding of language differences will develop as a natural outcome of an enhanced understanding of the nature of language.

Two limitations are characteristic of this publication. First, the cited dialect characteristics are those determined for a representative sample of students of the Rome (Georgia) City Schools and, therefore, cannot be applied to other populations. Second, the sample activities are limited to those necessary to establish a general approach to instruction and thus provide only a base on which individual teachers can develop activities that meet their specific needs.

Thus, what follows is partially a narrative report of trials, partially an extrapolation from experiences into possibilities, partially a relaying of other people's experiences and ideas, and partially a statement of principles—all of which are an outcome of a Social Experiment in English Dialect of the Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project.

Gary Smith
SEED Project Coordinator
Linguistics Research and Demonstration Center
An Expanding Philosophy and Method of Instruction

When the Rome City School System applied for an ESEA, Title III, grant to establish the Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project in 1966, teachers and administrators realized that certain existing instructional practices ignored the realities of language learning. Instruction in English had urged students to heed grammatical rules and adapt language patterns as an extraneously motivated, intellectual feat. Thus, with speakers of non-standard English, teachers found themselves involved in futile attempts to reverse years of unconscious student experience, enmeshed in family and social life. Teachers observed that such instruction produced negative results—particularly among students who spoke non-standard dialects. By denying the value of the child’s language instead of allowing him to build onto what existed, prescriptive techniques forced students either to defend their culture or to avoid saying anything in their language in the classroom atmosphere.

In order to meet the needs of a significant portion of the school population, a proposed phase of the Linguistics Research and Demonstration Project program was devoted to the examination, development, experimentation, and evaluation of instructional techniques and materials that would “remove for some students existing language barriers.”
The SEED Project established a twofold pedagogical strategy. A study of those differences in usage that distinguish the dialects of the school population from the standard dialect of Rome was carried on. Details of this study follow in "The Nature of Dialectal Differences of Speakers of Non-standard English." Then the Project staff attempted to develop taped pattern drills that would enable students in grades one through six to bridge the gap. These drills were used with portable language laboratories that allowed a full range of oral activities from individual to full class instruction.

Instructional techniques were based on pattern practice of the sort employed in second language instruction, and students were drilled specifically on those points of usage that were divergent from the standard. The following section includes brief descriptions of the basic types of oral drill that were a part of such instruction. More details can be found by referring to books on theory and technique in language teaching and language learning and some textbooks that apply these principles.*

PHONEME DISCRIMINATION

Early in the Project's program, examination of samples of student oral language established a need for the development of phoneme discrimination on the part of some speakers. Initial attempts at instruction designed to meet this need were designed around two vital principles: (1) the student must hear the phonological contrast involved and (2) he must produce the contrast in a wide range of situations. Naturally, treatment of such contrasts implies the heavy use of minimal pairs.

*One of the most widely used introductions to language teaching is Nelson Brook's Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice, Second ed. (Harcourt, 1964). A newer and very complete treatment of all aspects of language teaching is W. F. Mackey's Language Teaching Analysis (Longmans, 1965). Among the textbooks with oral drills are the following, all on the secondary level: The Harcourt-Brace A-LM Series for French, Spanish, German, Russian; The Holt, Rinehart, Winston Series for French, Spanish, and German, and The English for Today series, written by NCTE and published by McGraw Hill.
An example of the type of instruction used can be seen in the following sample sequence concerned with the distinction between the *th* in *then* and the *d* in *den*. According to the Project's study of the characteristics of the oral language of the school children of Rome, failure to make this distinction is characteristic of speakers from families of low socio-economic status and is thus a social marker.

Introducing the Contrast:

**TEACHER:** Listen Carefully.
1. This is a book. It is thick.
2. This is a boy. His name is Dick.
3. It is thick.
4. His name is Dick.
5. Dick, Dick, Dick, Dick.
7. *d, d, d, d, d.*
8. *Th-, Th-, Th-, Th-, Th-.*

Identifying the Contrast:

**TEACHER:** Listen to these pairs of words and tell me whether the words are the same or different (or tell me whether they begin with *Th*- or *d*-).
1. Then - Then
2. Then - Den
3. Day - They
   etc.

Producing the Sounds in Individual Words:

**TEACHER:** Listen to these pairs of words and say them just as I do.
1. den - then
2. doze - those
3. day - they
   etc.

Producing the Sounds in Short Sentences:

**TEACHER:** Listen carefully and say these sentences just as I do.
1. The bear lives in a den.
2. The book was read then.
3. The deers are does.
   etc.
Producing the Sounds in Conversation:

Informal dramatic activities provide many opportunities to accomplish this objective. For example, after work with this contrast, students could present school news stories in small groups assuming the role of a network newscaster with the established goal of using phoneme discrimination learned in the pattern drill in dramatized, "real" speech.

The skillful use of informal question and answer techniques holds many possibilities for expanding linguistic repertories of the students. The teacher should become adept at using an informal, conversational form of questioning in order to produce desired transformations in language. For example, students can be encouraged to use standard tense markers by the need to respond to a question that demands an answer showing time sequence.

Phonetic drills were followed by those dealing with syntax.

**Repetition**

In a proposed system of oral drill, this is usually the next step beyond phonemic discrimination. The teacher says a desired form; the response may be choral or individual.

**TEACHER:** Jim goes to school. He doesn't play hookey.
**STUDENT:** Jim goes to school. He doesn't play hookey.

In such repetition drills, boredom is a constant danger, because students can turn their attention elsewhere and repeat without thinking about what they are saying or how they are saying it.

**Substitution**

Substitution involves the replacing of one or more forms with an additional form.

**TEACHER:** The Dales live in town.
**STUDENT:** The Dales live in town.
Mr. & Mrs. Dale . . .
Mr. Dale . . .

Mr. & Mrs. Dale live in town.
Mr. Dale lives in town.
COMPLETION

This form of drill involves the establishment of a pattern by the teacher and the substitution of different forms within the pattern. Student responses are shown in parentheses.

1. She’s doing the same thing she always does.
2. She’s studying (the same thing she always studies).
3. She’s saying (the same thing she always says).

TRANSFORMATION

These drills can involve a single sentence or more than one sentence.

1. Change the statement to a yes-no question.
   TEACHER: He lives in town. STUDENT: Does he live in town?

2. Change the statement to a wh-question.
   TEACHER: He lives on a farm. STUDENT: Where does he live?

3. Make a single sentence from these two.
   TEACHER: I saw the cat. STUDENT: I saw the cat you were playing with.
   You were playing with the cat.

Of course, all these techniques were modified in numerous ways to produce variety in instruction and to meet the demands of varying situations. The ones that have been suggested above are not presented as a comprehensive treatment of such techniques; instead, they are used to illustrate general techniques of instruction.

Early in the program the Project staff and participating teachers recognized that such techniques were not adequate. Initial phases were characterized by student fascination with a novel form of instruction. Teachers felt that such instruction produced students who were much more observant of speech characteristics as they listened. When the novelty began to wear off, student response was reduced to “parroting” of patterns and disdain for instruction.
Obviously, these techniques did not produce the motivation necessary to maintain the sustained effort necessary to make language patterns automatic. Students simply could not see the need to reply to and adopt the language patterns of a "taped stranger" or an artificial, forced conversation with the teacher. Language had been removed from the context of meaningful discourse and the need to communicate; thus, as far as students were concerned, this form of instruction was unnatural.

Students who participated in the specialized instruction of the SEED Project were as a general rule separated from those who did not need such drill as far as language instruction was concerned. No matter how tactfully teachers handled the situation of separation, the insistence that students adopt the patterns of a taped drill or the teacher implied the rejection of the students' native language patterns. Students were quick to sense this rejection and to wonder why they should adopt the language of a group of students from whom they had been singled out and with whom they were not allowed to associate. Thus, instruction really forced students into the defense of their own language patterns and even fostered segregation of "language classes."

Teachers observed that students in the first six grades really did not have the social awareness to understand what was going on. As far as students were concerned, such activities were little more than a game. Students who had come to school with non-standard speech patterns had not been exposed to a wide variety of speech patterns in a conversational context. By relegating the students that were limited in this way to isolated instruction, the school really gave no opportunity for them to expand the linguistic circles in which they move. In this limited situation, students simply did not have a basis to infer any language norms other than those that they came to school with.

The only way that a student can develop any system of standards as far as language is concerned is to converse with a wide range of people in meaningful contexts. Students can expand their linguistic repertories by participating in situations that demand construction of sentences that answer the felt need of maturing thought. When language instruction is separated from thought and becomes a mechanical drill, it cannot be effective with young students. The expansion of language patterns must go hand in hand with an effort to fit what a child wants to say to the way he says it.

Thus, the initial formalized program of the SEED Project had to be expanded to return language usage and language development to
its natural place in relation to cognitive development. When students have developed some awareness of the social nature of language through instruction that allows such awareness to develop inductively with maturity, more formalized programs of usage can be used effectively later in junior and senior high school for those students who still have non-standard forms and who elect to work at such instruction because they understand what they are doing. However, when students have had standard speaking models to interact with verbally, they will adopt on their own a system of standard usage for occasions where it is appropriate.

One side effect of this natural, informal approach to language instruction (as compared to pattern drills) is the development of a fascination with language and a tolerance and understanding of variant forms of language.

Specific activities to illustrate this method of instruction are included in "Some Suggested Activities for a Program of Instruction" which follows.
The Nature of Dialectal Differences of Speakers of Non-Standard English

The language of speakers of a non-standard dialect is governed by definite systems and rules. Since knowledge of these systems and rules can help teachers develop many insights into the language problems with which they must deal, it seems appropriate that they be given attention here. With knowledge of this kind, the teacher can “zero in” on significant items, rather than deal with peripheral or accidental items that do not really matter or will take care of themselves if left alone. Perhaps even more significance is given to the development of such knowledge by the fact that it demonstrates the complexity of non-standard speech, and in doing so should help the teacher respect these language patterns, not as non-systematic “sloppy speech,” but as a valid and complex means of communication. Only through such understanding can a teacher begin to grasp the degree of difficulty a child has in adapting his language patterns to another standard.

Early in this Project, the staff felt the need to know something of the system of the non-standard dialects of Rome. Hours were spent in taping sessions with a cross-section sample of the students of the Rome City Schools. These tapes gave a language sample that represented the range of socio-economic status, race, and sex. Initial analysis of these samples was done on the basis of “A Checklist of Significant Features for Discriminating Social Dialects” prepared by Raven I. McDavid, Jr. Frequency of occurrence for each of the McDavid social indicators was determined for the sample by socio-economic status, race, and sex.


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Those features found to occur with degrees of frequency that indicated social stratification were evaluated in a test of social evaluation. In order to do this, a cross-section sample of the adult population of Rome was selected and asked to listen to a tape that featured brief individual samples of speech that contained each of the occurring social indicators and a corresponding sample of standard usage of the indicator at random. As they listened, evaluators rated each speech sample as to the highest occupational status that the speaker's father could have held on a scale like the one illustrated below.

```
  1        2        3        4        5        6        7        8

SPEECH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FOR THE CHILD OF

Television Personality   U. S. Senator   Corporation Lawyer   Policeman
Supermarket Manager   Barber   Factory Worker
None of These
```

After listening to a few language samples and rating them on individual scales, evaluators become less concerned about specific occupations named on the form and used them only as points with which to establish the general relativity of the scale.

Those non-standard linguistic features that were rated constantly on the lower end of the scale when their standard equivalents were rated high were assumed to be stigmatized by the evaluators.

The following features are those that occur with such frequency to indicate social stratification and were reacted to with such a degree of stigma that they must be considered valid "Features in Discriminating Social Dialects" in Rome, Georgia.
1. Omission of /s/, /z/, and /ɪz/

There are three important inflections in standard English which are signaled in speech by the addition of the sounds /s/ or /z/ or the extra syllable /ɪz/, spelled s or es to the base forms of nouns, verbs, and occasionally other words. Failure to produce these signals in speech is a characteristic of non-standard speech. The absence of these sounds is by no means only a case of mispronunciation, but reflects a regular grammatical system—non-standard though it may be.

Noun Plural
"Two boy come to school."

The majority of nouns in standard English form their plurals by adding the sounds /s/, /z/, or /ɪz/. Standard speakers master this system well before they enter school and, therefore, need little instruction along these lines except in relation to spelling.

If a noun is preceded by a cardinal number or a quantitative objective, there is an obvious tendency to omit the plural inflections as in the following:

"I have fifteen book."
"I see several dog."

Perhaps these omitted inflections are unnecessary for the sake of communication, since fifteen and several indicate plurality, but their omission is a stigmatized feature of non-standard speech.

Occasionally students attempting to adhere to standard rules produce double plurals with words like teeths, peoples, womens, and mens.

Noun Possessive
"His father brother died."

In certain non-standard dialects there is no overt signal of the possessive if the word for the possessor precedes the word for the thing possessed.

In sound this inflection is identical to the plural inflection phoneme. A speaker lacking the plural signs of a standard dialect can usually be expected to lack the possessive inflection as well.
Person-number

Concord of the Present Tense Other Than Be:
“Jim run down the street.”

On the basis of analysis this indicator established the most significant degree of social stratification of all.

Unless instructional techniques enable students to become aware of the system involved, they lead to confusion and the addition of an /s/ inflection to all verb forms as in “I sees it.” The child can easily get the idea that sees or any other form ending in “s” is more nearly “correct” than the one that does not end that way without understanding what is really involved.

2. Omission of forms to be.

In spoken English when “is” follows its subject directly, it is usually reduced to /s/, /z/, or /lz/ in a system parallel to that governing pronunciation of noun plurals. Non-standard speakers often omit these sounds. Similarly, the reduced form of are and am are frequently omitted.

Such omissions occur in varying types of structures:

- before adjectives: “I ready.”
- before predicate nominatives: “He good boy.”
- before present participles: “They going.”
- before past participles: “Window broken.”

3. Omission of reflexes of the verb have.

By a phonological accident, the reduction of has to ‘s is identical with contracted forms of is and similarly is often omitted. Thus “He’s gone” becomes “He gone”. “She’s been sick” becomes “She been sick”. In addition to showing a basic lack of awareness of standard syntactic structure, such omissions cause confusion when a child is called upon to perform the question transformation. Such confusion results in mixed constructions, such as “Is she been sick?”.

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Analogous to the problem of is, are, and has is the omission of the /v/ reflex of have. Non-standard speakers often omit this form producing such constructions as “They gone . . .”

4. Omission of /-t/, /-d/, 'id' of the past participles. (“He work last night”.)

The majority of English verbs form their past tense and past participle forms by adding one of these three sounds to their base forms. Non-standard speakers tend to weaken or omit the tense markers in all environments. This denies flexibility in using the past tense of the verb system in certain situations.

“Irregular” verbs are a different matter and must be dealt with individually.

5. Unorthodox person-number concord of the present of to be.
   (“I be busy.”)

This is a persistent source of difficulty for most students, but its degree of difficulty for non-standard speakers merits strong emphasis. Since the verb is highly irregular, it poses many problems. Particular difficulty arises with the use of the expletive. Among the non-standard usages of to be, the use of be to show a continuing state of being as in “I be busy” stands out.

6. Unorthodox person-number concord of the past of be.
   (“He were there.”)

Again the complexity of this verb causes complications. This is the only verb with two past tense forms—was and were.

7. Analogizing of the compound reflexive pronouns yielding hisself, theirself.

All other reflexives are based on the possessive forms. However, in the analyzed speech samples, non-standard speakers did not use compound reflexives to a significant degree while standard speakers used them extensively.
8. Demonstratives: Substitution of them for those.
   ("Give me them books.")

   A marker of non-standard speech is the use of them as the plural distant demonstrative replacing those.

   ("These here dogs are mine.")

   The reinforcement of the demonstratives by combining "here" with "this" and "these" and "there" with that" is widespread non-standard pattern.

10. Omission of /ŋ/ of the present participle.
    ("He was open a bottle.")

11. Substitution of been, done, or done been for have, especially with a third person singular subject.
    ("He been gone.")


   It appears that many non-standard speakers tend to omit, weaken, or replace all final consonants. Many communication experts assert that final consonants carry little information when compared to those in other positions and vowels. However, when grouped with other problems, such omissions do cause problems. Particularly significant is the loss of nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. In addition, the simplifications of consonant clusters such as sk, sp, st, by the omission of the second consonant presents difficulties.

13. Replacement of the th sounds by /t/, /d/, /f/, /v/, /s/, or /z/.


   While such shifting does occur in non-standard speech and is considered rustic, it does not have the importance of some other features.

   Of course, when these features appear in combination, difficulties are compounded.

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Some Suggested Activities for a Program of Instruction

These activities reflect research and experience in the area of leading students to expand their linguistic repertories. They are presented here not as a total program but as illustrations of desirable methods of instruction. The core of such an instructional program must be the provision of exposure to and participation in a wide range of natural situations of language in operation. Only by building on such experience can students be guided to form abstract concepts of the nature of language, including the appropriateness of certain forms to certain situations. On this foundation he can transfer what is learned to his own situation.

Language cannot be separated from the need to communicate developing thoughts. Some promising methods for developing syntactic maturity are sentence expansion games, group discussion, rewriting compositions, playing with one sentence discourses, and verbalizing cognitive tasks.
A. SENTENCE EXPANSION GAMES

1. “Expanding baby talk” was inspired by the research of Roger Brown and Ursula Bellugi, Harvard psycholinguists*. It involves student exploration of the incomplete utterances of baby talk and having them speculate about possible additions in game or dramatic form. Thus, students can come to realize the need for sentence expansion in order to make communication clear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BABY FORMS</th>
<th>EXPANDED FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baby highchair</td>
<td>The baby is in the highchair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eve lunch</td>
<td>Eve is eating lunch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pick glove</td>
<td>Pick the glove up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Students arrange strips of paper with individual sentences that when ordered properly produce a coherent paragraph. Merits of variant arrangements should be discussed. The same thing can be done with individual components of a sentence.


B. GROUP DISCUSSION

School should be a place where a wide variety of students talk as much as they do outside, because fostering the use of language is the function of the school. Particularly for the disadvantaged child, the realization that his language is of value in school is of major importance. He must have a chance to interact with as wide a variety of people as is possible in class, because this kind of activity will begin to develop the concept of varying standards of usage.

The teacher’s role becomes that of structuring situations in which students become so emotionally involved that they must express thoughts. The atmosphere in such discussions must be such that students do not feel threatened with correction when they open their mouths.

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*“Three Processes in the Child’s Acquisition of Syntax,” in Language and Learning, edited by Janet Emig, James Fleming, and Helen Popps (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1966, p. 12.)
A prime source of topics is the school problems about which students are concerned. Another good supply of topics is to be found in literature.

C. COLLABORATIVE REVISION OF COMPOSITIONS

There are few more effective ways of dealing with written usage than allowing students of varying abilities and dialects to revise compositions as a group. Discussions concerned with variant ways of saying things are inevitable, and insight into varying standards of usage is only one of the valuable outcomes. Students will take constructive suggestions from their peers much more seriously than they will those from a teacher. Thus, a sort of student tutorial system can and should be the indirect outcome.

D. PLAYING WITH ONE SENTENCE DISCOURSES

Have students establish a game-like atmosphere where they carry on conversations in one sentence discourses. Thus, they must become aware of getting everything in a sentence that they can, but still being sure that the sentence is constructed so that it can be understood. Many transforms of students' own speech patterns will be made in such a context.

E. VERBALIZING COGNITIVE TASKS

If students are requested to verbalize various experiences that have required thought, many essential transforms of the language can take place naturally. There are many syntactic transformations inherent in verbalizing a simple science experiment such as watching a candle in a sealed glass container go out when the oxygen supply is exhausted. Just a few are illustrated by the responses to such questions as "when, why, how, what, etc."

By the time a student reaches adolescence, he has the social awareness necessary to understand and take advantage of more formalized instruction in usage. He can use various handbooks and profit from pattern drills such as those illustrated in section I. However, the question is "How much pattern practice will really be necessary if the school has provided him with the more natural opportunities designed to develop fluency as well as flexibility of language in operation?"
F. COMPARING THE MANY DIALECTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Students identify the regions of taped speakers such as Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King.

Later, students speculate about the region, similarities, and differences of the speech of various newscasters.

G. COMPARING LOCAL DIALECTS

Tape stories of students with varying dialects telling the same story in their native dialects to the class. As a group project, students can analyze differences in the dialects used.

H. VARYING FUNCTIONAL VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE FOR VARYING SITUATIONS

Students dramatize and discuss situations demanding various dialects: church, school, football game, home, etc.

Small groups plan and dramatize a phone call telling various people about a class party: a fellow student, a parent-chaperone, a minister, a principal, etc. Afterwards, they speculate about differences in various calls.

I. BUILDING AWARENESS OF THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF DIALECT

Students listen to tape of a stranger's dialect and as a small group determine everything that they can about him from his language. Later, they present findings to the class.

Unless students can begin to put language experience into a meaningful structure, they can make little use of it. The preceding sample activities illustrate types of activities that can help them systematize their knowledge and experiences by comparing the many dialects in the United States, comparing local dialects, understanding that different situations call for different functional varieties of language, and building awareness of the full implication of dialects.