ABSTRACT
        A selection of 29 papers presented at the 1978 TESOL
convention is presented. Part one consists of the plenary addresses
which concern the following: a survey of the profession, the
notional-functional syllabus, the humanization of English as a Second
Language, and a review of inconsistencies of national policies and
priorities regarding the teaching of English abroad. Part two
contains papers on the following professional concerns: variables
important in constructing a language instruction program, a model for
identifying goals for English achievement overseas, foreign language
teaching in the People's Republic of China, a curriculum for
maximizing the effectiveness of teachers whose English is less than
proficient, the effectiveness of a teacher retraining program in
Canada, and the advisability of translation as a part of language
training. Part three covers various aspects of classroom practices as
follows: (1) ways to adapt materials that are already in print, (2)
classroom activities that illustrate the various registers of
language use, (3) ways to overcome the drawbacks of huge classes, (4)
interactions to prepare students for reading, (5) models for teaching
writing, (6) differences between "will" and "be going to," (7) ways
to wean students away from dictionary reliance, and (8) a way to
assess student progress by accurate observation and attention to
students themselves. Part four concerns experimental research.
(SW)

On TESOL '78

EFL Policies, Programs, Practices

Edited by

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and

Jacquelyn Schachter

Selected papers from the Twelfth Annual Convention of
Teachers of English to Speakers of Others Languages
Mexico City
April 4-9, 1978

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
Washington, D.C.

Dedicated to
VIRGINIA FRENCH ALLEN
in gratitude for her service to the profession
as teacher, professor, colleague and friend.

Preface

A book is the most varied product in the world. Its physical aspects are second-ary to the range of thoughts and images it attempts to transfer to the mind of the reader. In this respect, a book is like a piece of rope: it takes on meaning only in connection with the things it holds together. What is carried by the book is nothing less than the life of the mind.

—Norman Cousins, 1953.

This book is a sampler. It is varied in its content and is held together by the theme of the teaching of English as a *foreign* language, a topic that the 12th annual TESOL convention focussed on in its Mexico City venue, April 4-9, 1978.

A book the size of this cannot possibly capture the breadth and depth of the scholarly presentations at the convention*; it can, perhaps, portray the diversity of interests characteristic of the convention and of the TESOL organization itself. And although the surface concerns of the articles herein are many, the underlying theme of each is the focus on the benefit of English learners—our better understanding of how they learn, our increased proficiency in teaching them, and our improved application of theory to these concerns. These articles, then, reflect part of the collective mind of TESOL.

Part I consists of the plenary addresses, all of which were invited. The first two (Crymes and Brown) survey our profession from their vantage points as editors of the two leading American journals in our field and begin to braid the rope whose thematic strands the reader will find woven through many of the subsequent selections. The next four (Campbell, Rutherford, Finocchiaro, and Widdowson), dealing with the notional-functional syllabus, are a step toward familiarizing an American audience with curricular innovations emanating from

*The TESOL '78 Convention Program, including abstracts of 243 of these presentations, is available, while the supply lasts, from the TESOL Central Office, 455 Nevils Building, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. Price: $2.50 ($2. to members), prepaid

Europe and worthy of our attention. They indicate a model for developing a syllabus based on sociolinguistic research. Curran's paper represents a relatively new approach to language teaching/learning and illustrates the humanizing of the EFL venture Winitz contributes an approach to language instruction that has divorced itself from a slavish insistence upon immediate student response. Finally, Harold B. Allen, the first president of TESOL in 1966-67, traces the inconsistencies of our national policies and priorities regarding the teaching of English abroad, and in so doing urges us—you and me—to voice our concerns to policy-makers.*

Part II contains papers that reflect a diversity of professional concerns. Judd presents a number of variables that must be considered in constructing a viable program of language instruction. Moody, as an administrator, proposes a model for realistically identifying goals for English achievement overseas. Based on recent trips, Light's article sketches a picture of foreign language teaching in the People's Republic of China; his information may be extremely valuable in the near future as exchanges with the PRC become more frequent. Díaz, Adams and Torrano provide a curriculum for maximizing the effectiveness of teachers whose English is less than proficient, while Buch and de Bagheera report on the effectiveness of a teacher retraining program in Canada. The advisability of translation as a part of language training is revived in Foltz and Henderson's paper, and finally in this section, Dubin tackles the problem of designing classroom materials that not only work but also derive from what the profession is learning about language from sociolinguistics and about teaching from less dogmatic approaches.

Various aspects of classroom practices are covered in Part III. Madsen and Bowen suggest ways to adapt materials that are already in print and inappropriate for a particular setting—those that a teacher is "stuck with." Di Pietro offers some classroom activities that will clearly illustrate to students the various registers of language use. From her experience in Africa, Taska suggests ways to overcome the drawbacks of huge classes. Selekman and Kleinmann present some interactions to prepare students for reading. Kroll extends our understanding of models for teaching writing. Martin's syntax paper gives insights into differences between *will* and *be going to* which should keep teachers from saying they're interchangeable. Alcalá and Best illustrate ways to wean students away from dictionary reliance, and finally, Gattegno provides a way to assess student progress, not by formal tests but by more accurate observation and attention to the students themselves.

Part IV, Experimental Research, is an integral part of TESOL, a source of inspiration for what we do in classrooms. By providing anecdotal observations of two different ESL learners, Keauia and Krashen not only develop the monitor

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* To assist, TESOL is reprinting this article separately in a form which can be enclosed in a letter to your legislator. Copies may be obtained from the TESOL Central Office (address in preceding footnote). Single copies, no charge, multiple copies, 10c each.

theory, but also demonstrate the importance of acknowledging different learner strategies. Fathman looks at learners in two settings ("informal" and "formal") and identifies certain similarities and differences in oral proficiency. Gaining data from students of French as a second language, Bialystok provides a new perspective on the relationship between learner characteristics and second language achievement. Carrelll discovers similarities in the interpretive abilities of both native speakers and learners of English indicating possible universal language-processing strategies. Finally, Selinker and Lamendella reexamine the concept of fossilization and point out several areas for research in which classroom teachers' contributions will be essential.

In acknowledgment, this volume could not have appeared without the cooperation of the authors, the support of TESOL's Executive Secretary, James E. Alatis, and Administrative Assistant, Carol LeClair, and the work of Harry Baldwin and Ron Parrish whose time and expertise eased our task.

This is a part of the rope braided in 1978. Its end is not knotted and its fibres are ready for lengthening. What strands you choose to weave in the future is the challenge.

Charles H. Blatchford
Jacquelyn Schachter

Honolulu and Los Angeles
September, 1978

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EFL Policies, Programs, Practices

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Part I
Plenary Addresses

The Developing Art of TESOL: Theory and Practice

Ruth Crymes

In this assessment of the developing art of TESOL I have chosen to focus on one element, and that is materials, instructional materials, in order to trace what I think has been one of the significant recent trends in our profession. And, as will become apparent shortly, I have also chosen to deal with theory and practice in a particular way, taking *theory* to comprise the set of principles that we follow and *practice* to refer not only to applications deriving from the principles but also to the conditions under which we practice, the real world conditions.

The trend that I refer to is the trend away from attention to language in itself and towards attention to language in use, to language as communication, to functional language, that is, language which is functional from the point of view of the learner, whether it occurs in a poem or in playground talk or in a technical treatise. This trend is reflected in the shift, over the last decade or so, from linguistically based to communication-oriented materials. I will document this shift from the pages of the *TESOL Quarterly*. But I don't want to stop there. I want to go on to suggest that this shift is still evolving, that the trend toward attention to language in use is moving us away from contrived materials towards natural texts as the primary in-class vehicles of the language data on which we base our instruction. I want to argue for the validity of this trend, suggesting that underlying it are, first, our increasing involvement in real world language problems which pushes us to ask why people are learning English anyway, and, if they do need English, to ask what kind of English it is that they need, and second, our increasing understanding of what it means to know a language and of how people learn a second one. So both practical and theoretical forces are converging to bring real language into the classroom.

1. Linguistics and materials development

Some years ago it was primarily theory, specifically linguistic theory, that determined the content of instructional materials. My own introduction to TESOL materials was twenty-five years ago, when i arrived in Bangkok, Thailand, is an untrained EFI teacher. I was scarcely off the plane before someone thrust Charles

C. Fries's *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* into my hand, an insightful and thought-provoking book both then and now. That book characterized the scientifically constructed materials which were the distinctive feature of the oral approach. Fries (1945:5) argued that people untrained in language analysis would at best be uneconomical and inefficient and at worst misleading in helping foreigners learn a foreign language. He argued that for an adult to learn a foreign language "most quickly and easily he must have the really important items of the language selected and arranged in properly related sequence with special emphasis upon the chief trouble spots." The techniques of descriptive analysis developed by linguists in the twenty years preceding publication of his book had, he said, revealed "the significant matters of structure and sound system amid the bewildering mass of details which constitute the actual rumble of speech." By scientifically constructed materials Fries meant materials that were "based upon an adequate descriptive analysis of both the language to be studied and the native language of the student;" that is, they were based on contrastive analysis

   This basis for materials is one which, over time, we became dissatisfied with. We are familiar with our profession's general disenchantment with contrastive analysis, which Ronald Wardhaugh (1970:129) prophetically suggested was "due for a period of quiescence." Through the 1950's and into the early 1970's we underwent an unsettling period of uncertainty and self examination. (See, for example, Wardhaugh 1969 and 1970.) But ready or not we continued to tackle pressing real world problems not only in familiar domains abroad and at home but also in newly recognized domestic domains, such as English as a second dialect, ESL in adult education, and ESL in bilingual education (Robinett 1972). It was, you will remember, what Harold B. Allen, the first president of TESOL, called the "looming consciousness" of these domestic needs that inspired the creation of TESOL in the first place (1967:4).

   Ultimately, we found our disciplinary foundations not only in contemporary linguistics, in particular transformational grammar, but also in psychology, sociology, and anthropology in their various hyphenated, compounded, and derivative terms, many of which in recent years have been extraordinarily vigorous and then iconoclastic. (See, for example, Bosco 1970; Wardhaugh 1972; Hamerz 1973; Grimshaw 1973.) Further, an increasing number of ESL specialists, drawing on the insights of these various disciplines, have become field researchers and are contributing from within the profession to our theoretical understandings, especially in the areas of second language acquisition research and, more recently, in conversational and discourse analysis.

   But in the late 1960's and early 1970's it was still primarily theoretical linguistics that we looked to for input to materials. The early pages of the *Quarterly* show efforts to apply transformational grammar to the preparation of language teaching materials either directly, by incorporating new generalizations about syntax and phonology into drills (De Camp 1968; Rutherford 1968) or into explanations (Campbell 1970; Di Pietro 1970), or indirectly, by suggesting that

transformational grammar could provide a framework for contrastive analyses that would contrast different surface manifestations of underlying linguistic universals and would hence be more valid than the earlier structural contrastive analyses (Rutherford 1969, Bowen and Moore 1968). A major problem, however, was, and still is, that the findings of the linguists are often very difficult to interpret. William Rutherford's performative analysis of subordination in 1969 and Walter Cook's explication of root and epistemic modals in 1978 are examples of the kinds of interpretations that we need. Also Betty Wallace Robinett has reminded us that we can find many insights useful to ESL in older grammars as well as in current ones (1973:426). Recently, Wayne Dickerson (e.g. 1975) has been working on incorporating insights from generative phonology into drills and explanations for teaching pronunciation.

2. The shift to communication-oriented materials

Our work could not wait, of course, on our finding applications of transformational grammar to teaching, and we came to have the courage of our own intuitions. What we did in our teaching was to emphasize the importance of meaningful, contextualized materials (See, for example, Imhoof 1973.) We also talked about situational in contrast to linguistic sequencing (Bolinger 1972:118). We did this, I suspect, primarily out of common sense in the face of practical circumstances, though in fact the emphasis on context was consistent with the increasing attention by linguists to meaning (Bolinger 1972:119; Wardhaugh 1969: 109) and with the view of psychologists that appropriateness to the situation is part of the grammaticality of the utterance (Carroll 1971:105). We had thus begun to concern ourselves with language as communication and had declared the autonomy of language teaching, placing linguistics in a supporting but not an intervening role (Bolinger 1972).

Communication as the instructional goal for the language learner is of course much more ambitious than mastery of the sound and structure system within a limited vocabulary, which was the goal that Fries had set for the first stage of language learning, which is the only stage that he was explicit about (1945:3). This expansion of the goal of language instruction required examination of the relationship between drill, which had been the stock in trade of the oral approach, and spontaneous language use. Wilga Rivers (1969 and 1972b) and Christina Paulston (1971) developed somewhat different frameworks, but ones which were similar overall, for sequencing drills from more to less controlled, drills that would lead the learner through manipulative and meaningful practice to first simulated and then real communicative use of language.

We are still struggling with the role of drill in language learning. One of the marked differences between the so-called unconventional approaches to language learning, such as Community Language Learning and the Silent Way, and conventional approaches is in the attitude toward drill (see, for example, La Forge 1977:373). Drilling has something to do with establishing habits; it also has something to do with gaining insights into language through the manipulation of

language. If habit plays a role in learning a second language, and I believe that it does, it is functional habits that learners need to acquire. Functional habits, as John Carroll has described them (1971:111), function in actual language behavior. The question that needs to be raised is whether or not the establishment of functional habits might be promoted by having learners observe the manifestations of those habits in natural texts, then having them work through related, manipulative drill to encourage insights into language, and finally allowing them to drill themselves in their own way by providing opportunities for real communication. (cf. Stephen Krashen on learner involvement 1976a:165.) It is the role of teacher-directed repetitive drill that I think is in particular need of re-examination.

Be that as it may, it was the case that by the mid-1970's we were attending to communication. We believed that drills should be meaningful and that there was a place for spontaneous use of language in the classroom. It was about this time that we became aware of sociolinguistics, particularly of Dell Hymes' sociolinguistic notion of communicative competence, as explicated and explored, for example, by Christina Paulston (1974). Now we had a theory to support our intuition that linguistic competence was necessary but insufficient for communication, that we must help learners acquire the social rules of speaking also. And we began to learn something of the complexities of the rules of speaking (Grimshaw 1973; Applegate 1975).

We are now in a phase of developing communication-oriented materials, using both linguistic and sociolinguistic input, as we have that input available to us (see, for example, Paulston 1974; Holmes and Brown 1976), recognizing also that in the area of communicative competence the teacher needs, as Paulston has suggested (1974:356), to become an anthropologist. As the content of communication-oriented materials approximates more and more closely the real uses of language which are the goals of a particular course, the materials can be called functional, and if the real uses are very specific ones, the materials may be for English for Special Purposes (ESP). We are at present exploring the possibilities of a functional or communicative syllabus and assessing its strengths and weaknesses. (See Stratton 1977.)

Concurrently, there is an intense examination going on of language in use, as exemplified by current work on the functional syllabus, just mentioned, especially by the British, and by pedagogically inspired conversational and discourse analyses. Earlier analyses of discourse had been primarily rhetorical and had focussed on explicit relationships. Some present analyses are still rhetorical, but focus now more on implicit relationships in special uses of language, such as the language of scientific and technical written English (e.g. Selinker, Trimble, and Trimble 1976), and some are sociological, emphasizing the role of context and interaction in the discourse (e.g. Borkin and Reinhart 1978).

3. The practical push towards natural texts as materials

All this analysis of language in use which is going on within a pedagogical framework indicates that we are looking more and more closely at learners' ESL

goals in order to relate the instructional means to those goals. We are asking why students are learning English and what kind of English they need. These are complex questions that have to do with the function of language in society. But to the extent that learners' ESL needs can be identified, our role, it seems to me, should be supportive, and one way to be supportive, I would suggest, is through the use of natural texts that are representative of learner goals.

It is easier, of course, to determine and meet learner needs in contexts that are relatively neutral socially and politically than in contexts that are socially and politically sensitive. The teaching of English for special purposes, for example, does not reverberate to the social and political tensions located in the present and past relationships of the people involved in the way that teaching English as a second dialect does. Nor does the teaching of English as a foreign language do so in the way that teaching English as a second language does. The contexts for teaching English for special purposes and teaching English as a foreign language are, relatively speaking, not socially and politically loaded. The contexts for teaching English as a second dialect and as a second language are. Teaching English as a second dialect has been a touchy subject for a long time, and this touchiness probably accounts for the fact that very few articles on the subject have been submitted to the *TESOL Quarterly* in recent years. There is somewhat of a counterpart situation abroad, and that is the status of the various Englishes in areas where English is being used as a second language. Only one article in the *Quarterly*, by Braj Kachru (1976), has addressed itself to this problem. Yet it is of crucial importance to deal with if we are to meet the needs of students. What kind of English do students in these parts of the world need to know? Their own national version? If so, don't we need to develop the same tolerance for variations in communicative competence across the different varieties of English as we have developed for at least some of the variations in linguistic competence (cf. our tolerance for some of the variations in pronunciation, vocabulary, and sometimes even syntax)?

It is also easier to identify what kind of English students need when these needs are specific rather than general. Again English for special purposes, including, for example, English for science and technology and English for academic purposes, provides an example of specific needs. So in some cases does ESL in adult education. What language must adults command for survival in their particular environments or for whatever special purposes they may have? ESL adult education teachers commonly use natural texts for materials, such as application forms, instructions, and labels, and they could make good use of transcribed authentic oral interactions if they had them available. ESL in bilingual education also provides in part an example of specific needs. The ESL component should support the English part of the curriculum. If there are pull-out ESL classes, these should support the content area classes. But figuring out ways in which ESL can support the English part of the bilingual curriculum is not the real problem. The real problem is figuring out ways that the total school experience can support the child. This is a social and political problem, the complexities of which are still unfolding.

Where student needs are general, as in cases where secondary students are studying English to fulfill a foreign language requirement, it is more difficult to identify language samples to support their goals. We need here to look not only at the language that young people read but also at the things that they talk about and the language that they use when they talk. We need to find language samples that fit their inter st.

The use of   oral texts as instructional materials is in sharp contrast to the use of the scien: .lly based materials of the oral approach. But in both cases the materials "fall ou:" of the goals. In the oral approach, the materials "fell out" of the structural linguists' understanding of what it means to know a language, and it was limited to the "first stage" of mastery, as they perceived that mastery. In a communicative, or functional, or integrative approach, it is natural texts that "fall out" of the goal.

4. The theoretical bases for using natural texts

The use of natural texts does not mean that we do not concern ourselves with what it means to know a language and with how we learn a second one. It means that we recognize how limited our explicit knowledge is of language and language use. The use of natural texts can allow us to incorporate into our instruction what we do know about language and language use as it is exemplified in the texts and at the same time can prevent us from depriving our students of input for them to process as they are able.

The use of natural texts is consistent with our perceptions of the nature of language use as *integrative* and of the nature of language learning as *approximative* and as both *imitative* and *creative*. Let me touch briefly upon each of these characteristics.

We first talked about language use as integrative in connection with testing. In the late 1960's, people, using John Carroll's labels, started to explore the integrative versus the discrete point approach to testing (e.g. Spolsky 1968). The integrative approach tested ability to function in the language in particular situations whereas the discrete point approach broke down language competency (typically linguistic competency) into its parts and tested the parts separately. To function in a language, to use it, the speaker must integrate not only the linguistic components of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, but also the rules of speaking, the discourse rules. Natural texts, of whatever variety of English, by their nature reflect the speaker or writer's integrated competencies. Even those with performance errors reflect the competence of the listeners or readers who understand them.

Fries argued against exposing learners in the early stages to "the bewildering mass of details which constitute the actual rumble of speech" (1945:5). But we have learned a lot in recent years about the approximative stages by which language learning proceeds. Learners will not process all that they are exposed to at any given time. They themselves are doing the sequencing of what they acquire, not the materials writer, at least not yet, not until we have more insights

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into the nature of this sequencing than we have now. Judgment must of course be exercised in selecting natural texts for particular learners.

There is also evidence that language acquisition is both imitative and creative. It may involve not only hypothesis making and testing but also the acquisition of unanalyzed wholes which the learner later breaks down but which he may initially imitate as a means of entry into interaction with native speakers, as Lily Wong Fillmore reported in a course which she taught in the 1977 LSA Summer Institute, drawing on her doctoral research. (See Fillmore 1976.) That is, communicative competence may sometimes be prior to linguistic competence. The use of natural texts can provide opportunities for learners to at least eavesdrop on native speaker interactions.

5. Conclusion

The suggestion that natural texts be used in the classroom does not imply that systematized materials be abandoned. The argument is only that systematized materials should fall out of natural texts and not out of our incomplete understanding of how language works. I think that the idea of using natural texts is no longer even "a little bit revolutionary," as Earl Stevick suggested that it was when he proposed using them in the first volume of the *TESOL Quarterly* (1967:8).

Some may say that teachers do not have time to create materials based on natural texts, but in my experience one of the characteristics of ESL teachers is their predilection to prepare their own materials. The real materials need at this time is, it seems to me, for archives of natural texts—transcriptions of oral interactions as well as samples of written forms. As teachers, once we have the natural texts, we need to learn to respond to the language in them, to perceive system to the extent of our knowledge, and to develop materials compatible with the texts, materials that fit our students' needs. Therein lies the art.

The Development of TESOL:
Sizing up the Elephant

H. Douglas Brown

Three years ago at the 1975 TESOL Convention in Los Angeles I gave a paper on what I described as a revolution in language teaching methodology, a revolution which was due on that year, according to the twenty-five-year cyclical timetable of language teaching revolutions in the last century. It is now plainly evident that that revolution is here. We are experiencing a revolution in all its fervor and hope. One glance at the TESOL program for the 1978 TESOL Convention provides a convincing overview of the shape of this revolution: Community Language Learning, Suggestopedia, the Silent Way, Notional Syllabuses, Bilingual Education, and ESL in United States foreign policy.

What led up to this revolution? Where will it lead us? These are the questions I will attempt to answer today in examining the development of the TESOL profession over the past three decades. In so doing I hope to avoid the pitfall of subjectivity. It is difficulty to make an assessment such as this without being quite opinionated. The subjectivity of human judgment was rather painfully brought to my attention yesterday as I arrived at the Mexico City airport and, in my ignorance of the value of the local currency, asked the porter at the airport how much an average tip was. The kind gentleman, with great politeness answered, "Oh, I think about fifty pesos[1], Señor." Though that seemed a bit steep, not wishing to be an ungracious guest in this country I obliged with a fifty-peso tip. Whereupon the delighted porter said, "Why, thank you, Señor, you are the first person who has ever come up to the average." The subjectivity of the porter's conception of an average tip was suddenly made quite clear.

I hope I can also avoid the pitfall of overlooking the variability of a phenomenon by making erroneous generalizations. Sometimes we gloss over variety and diversity in people and in organizations by using labels or statistics which focus on only one aspect, a mean, or a midpoint. The danger of that kind of blindness is aptly illustrated by John Godfrey Saxe's poem "The Blind Men and the Elephant:"

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1. The United States equivalent is about $2.50.

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT

A HINDOO FABLE

It was six men of Indostan
  To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the Elephant
  (Though all of them were blind),
That each by observation
  Might satisfy his mind

The *First* approached the Elephant,
  And happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side,
  At once began to bawl.
"God bless me! but the Elephant
  Is very like a wall!"

The *Second*, feeling of the tusk,
  Cried, "Ho! what have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
  To me 'tis mighty clear,
This wonder of an Elephant
  Is very like a spear!"

The *Third* approached the animal,
  And happening to take
The squirming trunk within his hands,
  Thus boldly up and spake
"I see," quoth he, "the Elephant
  Is very like a snake!"

The *Fourth* reached out an eager hand,
  And felt about the knee.
"What most this wondrous beast is like
  Is mighty plain," quoth he;
" 'Tis clear enough the Elephant
  Is very like a tree!"

The *Fifth* who chanced to touch the ear,
  Said: "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
  Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an Elephant
  Is very like a fan!"

The *Sixth* no sooner had begun
  About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
  That fell within his scope,
"I see," quoth he, "the Elephant
  Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
  Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
  Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
  And all were in the wrong!

Moral
So oft in theologic wars,
  The disputants, I ween,
Rail on in utter ignorance
  Of what each other mean,
*And prate about an Elephant
Not one of them has seen!*

John Godfrey Saxe

Today, with eyes wide open to the diversity of TESOL, I will sketch the development of research on learning within the TESOL organization.[2] To do so, I have chosen to use the analogy of human ego development. We are all familiar with ego development to some extent, and the analogy seems particularly appropriate in this case.

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2. Ruth Crymes, who shared the plenary session with me and whose paper appears in this section, dealt more with the development of TESOL in terms of teaching and materials development.

We will consider three stages in the development of the ego—the very young child, the pre-adolescent, and the mature adult.

1. *The very young child.* At this stage the human organism has little self-awareness. Ego boundaries are not clear, the distinction between self and others is blurred. The child identifies with parents and other models, engaging in a great deal of imitative behavior. At this stage the child is very uninhibited; there is high permeability with few defenses.

2. *The pre-adolescent.* At this point there is growing self-awareness, increased identity as a separate person with the growth of more definitive ego boundaries. Parental identification decreases. But with the increased self-identity of this stage, the pre-adolescent experiences insecurity, lack of self-confidence, and defends his ego with a complex array of defense mechanisms. The fragile ego is protected by impulsiveness and criticism of others.

3. *The mature adult.* The mature, healthy adult is secure in self-awareness and self-knowledge. Knowing "who I am" also means knowing the limitations of my capacities. While in the truly mature adult there are fewer defenses, there is nevertheless a complex network of affective systems interwoven in the fabric of personality. With little need to lash out defensively, empathy and acceptance of others increases.

We can now apply these stages to the development of the TESOL organization. We will accordingly look at three time periods.

1. *Period One, ca 1960.* In the late 50's and early 60's we find a very young TESOL, with ESL still very much an infant in our schools and universities. There was little self-awareness or separate ESL research. Research on learning ESL was still a part of language teaching in general, or a subset of linguistics or psychology. Pedagogical, psychological, and linguistic theories were modeled and imitated; witness the wholesale acceptance of behavioral psychology and structural linguistics. There were few defenses at this time, little questioning of paradigms of learning and teaching. It was a stage of naive dependency for TESOL.

2. *Period Two, ca 1970.* The late 60's saw TESOL as a pre-adolescent. At this time the TESOL organization itself was founded, the first public declaration that "I am a person . . ." With growing specialized research on learning English as a second language, TESOL began to distinguish itself from psychology, linguistics, and modern language teaching. But there was the defensiveness of pre-adolescent insecurity as we lashed out in harsh criticism of theories and methods around us. In the last issue of *Language Learning* in 1969 and the first in 1970, some four such criticisms appeared: "In defense of pattern practice," "On the irrelevance of transformation grammar," "The failure of the discipline of linguistics in language teaching," and "The role of linguistics in TEFL methodology." Contrastive analysis was passé, cognitive approaches were put forth to combat behavioristic approaches, and even the relevance of *teaching* was questioned! It was a period of defensive justification in TESOL.

3. *Period Three, ca 1980.* Today TESOL is approaching mature adulthood; it has a distinct self-awareness and self-identity in the merging of three com-

ponents: (1) second language learning, (2) English, an international language, and (3) teaching approaches, methods, and techniques. The first component—the topic of this address—manifests the same mushrooming complexity of systems which is found in a mature adult. Consider the topics of research that have been represented in the pages of *Language Learning* recently, for a mind-boggling sampler of this research: memory, aptitude, intelligence, strategies of learning, simplification, overgeneralization, transfer, avoidance, forgetting a second language; affective variables, empathy, social distance, hypnotism, the good language learner, immersion, critical age, lateralization; error analysis, fossilization, morpheme data, index of development, presupposition, implicational scales; input, language and society, discourse analysis, notional syllabuses, pidginization, pragmatics; cloze testing, aptitude testing, proficiency assessment, passage dependency. And one could go on with even more topics.

This third period of TESOL is marked by intense, complex, but non-defensive research. The research is creative and researchers are aware of the limitations of research. An interdisciplinary perspective is present as we have at last learned that second language acquisition is not bound to one discipline; rather, the best theories of second language acquisition require the intelligent integration of the best of *all* the disciplines which study human behavior. In mature, self-confident achievement, we have moved beyond the stage of pre-adolescent lashing out to protect a fragile ego against the "infidels" of other disciplines, and ironically, in some cases we are seeing that the tables are turned.

TESOL's adulthood has brought with it a difficult question: is TESOL a discipline? A discipline is a branch of knowledge or learning with defined limits, with some distinctiveness, and usually with a body of scholarly research supporting it. It is difficult to know how to define TESOL in these terms, but there is a sign of our times. And that sign materializes when articles, research reports, and dissertations are read by the linguist who says there's too much *psychology* in this, the psychologist who says there's too much *education* in this, and the educator who says there's too much *linguistics* in this! Like the elephant and the blind men, the research is there for all to see, but no one can quite identify it. So I think we need not quibble with questions about whether TESOL is a discipline or not. Rather, knowing that vast unexplored territories lie ahead of us in research on second language learning, let us be about the business of engaging ourselves seriously in this specialized area of scholarly research, an area that transcends the bounds of traditional disciplines.

Where are we going? Where will this revolution lead us? Within the scope of research on the learner, I think there are two directions of inquiry which will be evident over the next decade: focus on the learner and focus on the interaction between learner and teacher.

1. *Focus on the learner:* Research on the learner has shown us that the ESL learner is a whole person, whose cognitive, affective, and physical self is centered on the act of learning another language. He is not a compartmentalized organism with a language channel that operates separately from others. We will probably

never be able to isolate the ingredients of successful language learning to find one or two variables or even a formula which captures the phenomenon. The complexity of human behavior and the complexity of language merge in second language learning to form the most mystifying and elusive of behavioral phenomena. Teachers and researchers will need to develop an integrated understanding of that learner and of that process of learning.

2. *Focus on the interaction between learner and teacher.* Language is not learned in a vacuum. Meaningful contexts of human communication give birth to language. The interaction between the learner and the teacher is the single most important facet of such meaningful contexts. The 80's will help us to understand how to facilitate that learning process by developing interpersonal relationships between learners and teachers.

This, then, is the "elephant" called TESOL, the elephant that moves and breeds in the confines of universities, public schools, community colleges, in the oil companies of the Near East, and in the factories in Japan. Several thousand of us have come to Mexico City to examine this elephant, and so I think it is only appropriate to end with my own version of John Godfrey Saxe's humorous verse:

It was six teachers of ESL
By objectivity much enticed,
Who did observe TESOL
Though all of them were biased,
That each might clearly state
What is the TESOL *gent*

The *First* approached the beast,
And happening to fall
Into the Applied Linguistics group,
At once began to bawl. "God bless me,
　　but this bunch
Has proved hypotheses null "

The *Second* who chanced upon
ESL in the University,
Cried, "Ho, what have we here,
But people of scholasticity,
With grim determination,
Teaching ESL "

The *Third*, in search of answers
To questions, oh so critical,
Found teachers of Bilingual Education,
Working for the miracle
Of equality of opportunity,
In a system frightfully political.

The *Fourth* reached out an eager hand
And found a group called ESD,
And said, "E'en the most biased person
Can see with certainty,
That this TESOL giant
Has cultural diversity.'"

The *Fifth* had no sooner begun
About TESOL to feel,
Than some English Teaching Abroad
Specialists he did reveal:
Quoth he, "This marvel organization
Has international appeal."

The *Sixth*, in a large assembly hall,
Did the Legislative Assembly see.
" 'Tis mighty plain," he said, "that TESOL
is very like a bureaucracy,
But with Alatis and President Knapp,
It's ruled with efficiency."

And so these teachers of ESL
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion,
Exceeding stiff and strong,
But each was partly in the right,
And *none* was really wrong.

H Douglas Brown

Notional-Functional Syllabuses: 1978
Part One

Russell N. Campbell

In his excellent book, *Memory, Meaning and Method,* Earl Stevick (1976) provides us with a brief autobiographical sketch. He reveals there that for some twenty-five years he resided in the land of Audiolinguia. In more recent times, although he still had many friends in Audiolinguia, he moved to the land of Cognitia, but even before being granted citizenship in that interesting and dynamic land, he decided to leave Cognitia to explore Terra Incognita. As far as we know, Earl still resides there, and fortunately we hear from him quite frequently so we know that he is alive and well in Terra Incognita.

By recounting this small part of his personal history, Earl made an extremely important point: namely, our thinking about language teaching and language learning need not be limited by the boundaries of the so-called audiolingual and cognitive approaches. There are other lands that bear exploration, lands that may have much to contribute to our understanding of language teaching and language learning.

One of the things that struck me about Earl's autobiography was the name he bestowed upon the third land in which he took up residence; namely, Terra Incognita—the unknown land. It occurred to me that such a name would have to be given by an outsider since for the residents of Earl's Terra Incognita their land certainly is *not* unknown. They know their land perfectly well—it is only unknown to those of us who have not had or have not taken the opportunity to become acquainted with its inhabitants, their beliefs, and their accomplishments.

For many, perhaps most, American TESOL scholars, there is a land that is in many ways Terra Incognita. This land is known to the aborigines as Terra Britannica. It is our intention here to assume the role of returned explorers to reveal to you some of the more exotic features of this land.

The suggestion that we are generally ignorant of the contributions of British scholars to the field of modern language teaching is, of course, exaggerated. Nevertheless, a perusal of the most popular methodology texts used in our university TESL/TEFL programs or, of the ESL/EFL textbooks produced by Americans, or of papers delivered at our professional meetings, or of the publications

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in our journals, reveals that if we are aware of the substantial body of literature on an approach which is variously referred to as the *Notional* or *Notional-Functional Approach*, we have not permitted this awareness to influence our theoretical positions or our professional practices very much.

This approach, which I will refer to hereafter as the Notional-Functional (N-F) Approach, has been a topic of heated scholarly debate in Great Britain and in other European countries for at least the past six years. Furthermore, the approach is predicated on assumptions about language and language learning that have been discussed for well over a decade. In the sixties and early seventies, Hymes, Labov, Jakobovits, Schegloff, and Saks in the U.S. and Firth and Halliday in England have been telling the community of linguists and language teachers that verbal communication is dependent upon a host of sociocultural variables over and beyond the formal linguistic aspects of language, and that these must be accounted for if we are to thoroughly understand what are sometimes called communicative acts.

If these debates of the N-F Approach had remained purely on the theoretical plane, were simply esoteric discussions far removed from the world of teachers and students, perhaps we might have felt less compulsion to bring them up in a forum such as this. But as a matter of fact, many of the assumptions and hypotheses associated with the N-F Approach have already been adopted by some textbook writers and translated into published texts which are currently being used in various countries around the world. For those of us responsible for teacher training, or those of us who are required to choose or prepare or use textbooks, it seems important that we be prepared to understand and judge the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

What then, are the theoretical underpinnings of the N-F approach? The following quotation from Widdowson gives us some insight:

> "A new orthodoxy is emerging which defines the 'content' of language teaching in terms of *function* rather than *form* and which represents the learner's terminal behavior as *communicative* rather than *grammatical* competence." (Widdowson 1973)

To be sure, language teachers on both sides of the Atlantic have become more and more conscious of the communicative aspects of language learning. Witness Prator's (1972) early article, "Development of a manipulation-communication scale;" Jakobovits' (1970b) paper, "Prolegomena to a theory of communicative competence;" Savignon's (1972) monograph, "Communicative competence: An experiment in foreign language teaching;" and Schumann's (1975a) article, "Communication techniques for intermediate and advanced ESL students," and dozens more. However, there are several features of the N-F approach that in most cases are not apparent in the publications cited. In general we feel that these differences are worthy of our attention.

To begin with, the N-F approach does not take as its point of departure the rejection of grammar based or situation based approaches. However, both of these are deemed inadequate as bases for the development of language programs.

The former, the grammar based approach, besides other weaknesses cited in the
N-F literature, is questio....le since, to quote David Wilkins:

> "Even when we have described the grammatical (and lexical) meaning of a
> sentence we have not accounted for the way it is used as an utterance . . . The
> fact is that sentences are not confined in use to the functions suggested by the
> grammatical labels that we give to them, nor does one use of language require
> the selection of one particular grammatical form." (Wilkins 1976.10)

Widdowson (1971) points out, for example, that the imperative, a linguistic
label, may serve the semantic functions of an instruction, an invitation, advice
and a prayer in sentences such as "Bake the pie in a slow oven," "Come for din-
ner tomorrow," "Take up his offer," and "Forgive us our trespasses." But each
of these functions could also be served by non-imperative sentences.

The situational approach, characterized as an approach which takes social
settings such as "at the bus station" as focal points for an instructional program,
is also seen as overly simplistic. Clearly, over and beyond the special vocabulary
related to the physical trapping and the limited special processes related to situa-
tions, it is impossible to predict what the interlocutors might in fact wish to com-
municate to each other. Wilkins makes this point when he says " . . . It would
be naive to think that the speaker is somehow linguistically at the mercy of the
physical situation in which he finds himself" (1976:17). In any situation, say at
the bus station, depending upon the speaker's intentions and purposes, in addi-
tion to, or even instead of buying a ticket, say to Cuernavaca, he may wish to
complain, suggest, invite, deny, argue, or express any number of emotions, that
in fact are not peculiar to this one situation, but rather are functions he might
wish to fulfill in almost any situation.

I repeat, however, that there is no suggestion in the N-F literature that
either grammar or situations are unimportant, or are to be neglected in the
design of instructional materials. The roles of both are fully appreciated and are
to be incorporated into N-F syllabuses. Their status however is to be subservient
to and governed by prior determinations of the communicative functions the
learners will be expected to carry out in the target language. Three short quota-
tions, two from Wilkins and one from Widdowson, will permit us to better grasp
this last point:

> The whole basis of a notional approach to language teaching derives from
> the conviction that what people want to do through language is more impor-
> tant than mastery of the language as an unapplied system. (Wilkins 1976:42)

> The essence of a notional syllabus will be in the priority it gives to the
> semantic content of language learning. (Wilkins 1976:55)

> There seems no reason at all why we should not for example say "For this
> course we will select undertakings, promises, warnings, definitions, classifica-
> tions," and so on rather than "For this course we will teach the simple present
> tense, present continuous, count and mass nouns," and so on. (Widdowson
> 1971 39)

Although it has been said that some textbooks which are touted to have an N-F orientation are little more than " . . . .structural lamb served up as notional-functional mutton," the tenets of the N-F approach have been and are being incorporated into the design of textbooks for use in teaching English as a second or foreign language. Of potentially much greater impact on our profession however is the product of the combined work of Wilkins, Bung, Richterich, Trim, and a number of other European scholars in a publication entitled *Threshold Level in a European Unit-Credit System for Modern Language Learning Adults* edited by J. A. van Ek (1975); a work that takes as its basic theoretical position the assumptions of the notional-functional approach. This pioneering work, in addition to providing a tentative definition of "threshold competence" in a second language, offers selected inventories of *situations, functions, general* and *specific notions* (that is, general and specific concepts); and typical *grammatical* strings that can be employed in fulfilling the functions selected. Very briefly, the major categories of functions are:

1. Imparting and seeking factual information
2. Expressing and finding out intellectual attitudes
3. Expressing and finding out emotional attitudes
4. Expressing and finding out moral attitudes
5. Getting things done (suasion)
6. Socializing

Each of these is subdivided into many sub- and sub-sub-categories. Both the choice and categorization of the functions included in van Ek's work have received serious criticism from several reviewers, the most serious claim being that there are no principled reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of items in the inventory. Yet, the least that can be said is that a beginning has been made towards the codification of functions and this beginning is worthy of considerable praise.

Let me conclude my introductory remarks to the following articles by listing, without discussion, a few observations and opinions that I have about the N-F approach:

1. The fact that our attention has been drawn to the multi-functional role of syntactic strings should result in substantial modifications of the content of future instructional programs.
2. The recognition of an additional, if not an entirely different, focus for the development of syllabuses, that is, language functions instead of language form, constitutes a major breakthrough in our field—one that is worthy of our most serious consideration.
3. It is apparent that the identification and categorization of functions say little about either teaching methods or testing functions. Strategies for both of these are yet to be thoroughly understood or developed.
4. The assignment of a particular utterance to a particular function depends upon its position vis-a-vis other utterances in discourse. Therefore, the relevance and significance and importance of research in discourse and conversational analysis looms larger and larger as the viability of the N-F approach increases.

5. The last point I want to make is this. For both theoretical and practical
   purposes the N-F approach must be seen to be in its earliest stages of
   development and application. The theoretical reasons are found in the
   fact that we do not have a complete understanding of the functional
   system of any one language much less understanding of the differences in
   functional systems across socio-cultural boundaries. The practical reason
   lies in the usual reticence on the part of educators, teachers and students
   to accept drastic departures from the teaching/learning strategies with
   which they are familiar.

My hope is that applied linguists, researchers, methodologists, textbook
writers and teachers will continue testing the assumptions of the N-F approach.
The results of such efforts will result in the resolution of the questions I've raised
above and will contribute a salutory advance in the field of modern language
teaching.

Notional-Functional Syllabuses: 1978 Part Two

William E. Rutherford

Communication is a qualitative act; the construction of a syllabus is a quantitative act. The scope of the one is infinite; of the other, finite. Any syllabus, whatever else it does, must inevitably comprise a quantification of language data. Whether it is a "synthetic" syllabus (having as its points of organization, for example, features of language form) or an "analytic" syllabus (having as its points of organization, for example, features of language function)—the terms are from Wilkins (1976)—the compiler will select samples of the language and display them for the purpose of revealing some kind of generalization. All syllabuses incorporate generalizations of one sort or another, all generalizations must be drawn from inspection of a finite sampling of language data, and all of these data have the potential for constituting communication. A quantification—again, whether formal or functional—will be made to yield a qualification, as it were.

What kind, or kinds, of quantification then do we consider? More specifically, what quantification themes do we take as principles around which to organize the language content of a syllabus?

For discussion of language teaching content in general, it has for a long time been customary to resort to a framework of binary oppositions: for example, the either/or characteristics of form vs. function, structural vs. notional, synthetic syllabus vs. analytic syllabus, and so on. And since it would be far more sensible for me to make use here of the existing framework than to strike out in some new direction, I shall pursue the more conservative course.

I believe it is fair to say that language forms are not difficult to identify and enumerate. Pressed to cite examples of English structure, for instance, teachers would very likely respond with things like sentence, noun phrase, relative clause, complement, past tense, etc., though of course no two lists would be exactly the same. The table of contents of any informal or pedagogical grammar would constitute a list of structural feature designations that most teachers could conceivably be comfortable with. (I leave open for the moment, however, the question of whether syllabuses are to call attention to features of language form, and if so which ones. I shall return to this later.)

In attempting to cite examples of functional features, there would be far less unanimity, I would venture to guess, and indeed one can easily imagine that for some individual lists there would be no overlap at all. But this is not surprising. Although we all have periodic recourse to one or another of the many informal or pedagogical grammars that have been published over the years, we would, I think, find it not so easy to cite a non-technical reference work containing generalizations relevant to functional, notional, or semantic categories. Handy grammar books abound, handy function books do not, to my knowledge, exist.

The comparative difficulty that we have in talking about language function is related, I believe, to the question of what we mean when we talk about function. Take, for example, the utterance "This chair makes me uncomfortable." The fact that the phrase "this chair" functions here as subject of the sentence has been cited as an instance of "constructional function." With reference to the syntactic and semantic relations obtaining between the verb "make" and the associated noun phrases, where "this chair" would have to be identified as the agent, we can, in Halliday's terms, speak of the "participant role function." If we look at the utterance as one possible instance of the arrangement of a certain bit of information—preferring, according to the conventions of "given" vs. "new," "theme" and "rheme," etc., to say "This chair makes me uncomfortable" rather than "I am made uncomfortable by this chair"—then we may want to speak of "rhetorical function." The use of the utterance to convey to some hearer the fact that the utterer is feeling uncomfortable might represent its "communicative function." And if, as seems very plausible, the ultimate intent of the utterer was to get the hearer to do something—namely, provide a more comfortable chair—then we may properly speak of, for want of a better term, "perlocutionary function." There seem to be—and not surprisingly I think—as many functions as there are levels of language analysis.

Now if we look at the van Ek corpus, which is the most elaborate and most systematic inventory of notional/functional parameters that we have to date, we find that the kind of function tabulated there is the above-mentioned communicative variety. But the question has recently been raised in several quarters of whether or not this kind of function is quantifiable at all, or even whether attempts like those of van Ek are in any way useful. This is the tack that has been taken in much of the criticism of the van Ek corpus (some of it unduly harsh and misdirected, in my opinion). If communicative function is so open-ended, in other words, what basis is there for singling out any such functions for incorporation into a syllabus? As one proceeds down the lists of function-types cited earlier, one moves from the closed-set variety of subject/object to the infinite-set of possible things that can be accomplished through language. It is this essentially unquantifiable lower end that the functional syllabus seeks to enumerate and specify, and therein lies one of its major weaknesses.

There is another aspect of the functional syllabus in which problems or potential conflicts might be predicted. This has to do with the as yet relatively unexplored interrelation of language form and language function and the possi-

ble effects upon learning strategies of that interrelationship. For example, instances of language use in particular social situations turn out sometimes to be irritating counter-examples to the neat formal generalizations that many textbooks push and many learners crave. The English determiner system will provide a simple example of this. The nouns *name*, *address*, *age*, and *occupation* are all count nouns, which means that when they occur in the singular they must be accompanied by a determiner of some kind, for example, *a*, *the*, *my*, *this*, etc. (One does not say, for example, *What is age of this monument? Teaching is good occupation*, and so on.) But what happens to the learner's noun-countability hypotheses when the syllabus, in order to teach the "function" of imparting certain kinds of information, displays for him the "natural" use of these nouns in the familiar interview-type setting where the determiner is not called for: *Name? Address? Age? Occupation?* And so on. A rule for language use has come into conflict with a rule of language form and it is language use that wins out, so to speak. Does this kind of conflict have a detrimental effect upon learning strategies? Where are other such points of conflict to be found? Should the teaching of this kind of function be delayed? At our own institute we noted one effect of this form-function clash in the syllabus for written English, where practice in writing topic outlines (in which determiners are typically dispensed with) carried over detrimentally into the writing of the full composition, where the now obligatory determiners were still missing. My point here is not that because of these observations, syllabuses should be constructed on this model or that model, but rather that much more needs to be known about the interplay of formal rules and functional rules before we can begin to say with any assurance that one particular way of selecting, arranging, and presenting language data for pedagogical purposes is ... best.

I should like now to return to the question that I raised earlier concerning language syllabuses and the teaching of language form. D. A. Wilkins has this to say on the subject: "It is taken here to be almost axiomatic that the acquisition of the grammatical system of a language remains a most important element in language learning. The grammar is the means through which linguistic creativity is ultimately achieved and an inadequate knowledge of the grammar would lead to a serious limitation in the capacity for communication. A notional syllabus, no less than a grammatical syllabus, must seek to ensure that the grammatical system is properly assimilated by the learner" (Wilkins 1976:66). Whatever the kind of syllabus then, grammar must be learned. Does it follow from this that grammar must be taught? To those of us who would answer "yes," it is necessary to ask what grammar, and how should it be presented? Should the selection simply be a consequence of the language choices made at the situational and functional levels? Are whatever structures needed at these levels the ones to be displayed? Given this constraint, can meaningful generalizations still be drawn? Is it possible to prevent the selected facts of grammar in any kind of sequence? Does it matter? In other words, is grammatical decision-making, to quote Wilkins again, "still subjective?" Rather than try to answer, which I'm not sure I could do even if I had the time, I prefer to raise yet one more question.

This one has to do with the "function," so to speak, of grammar rules themselves or, more specifically, the encoding of discourse function into grammatical structure. We often ask *how a rule works;* we seldom ask *why we have it*. We are concerned to identify, for example, existential constructions with *there is/there are;* we seldom inquire as to *what we use them for*. But the fact that the grammatical accounting of the construction stops short of a specification of its use does not prevent the learner from finding a use of his own. Recent research by some of my USC colleagues suggests that the reason Chinese speakers produce so many more sentences with "existential" *there* (e.g. "there are many Taiwanese live in this area") is that for them this construction serves exclusively the function in English of introducing into the discourse what is to become the new topic, which is a reflection in English of the fundamental organization of their native language. English existentials can support that function, but of course they have other uses as well.

Understanding of the function of grammatical rules is also crucial for the appropriate arrangement of information within sentences, in order that discourse flow freely and communication be thereby facilitated. It is not enough to know, for example, that English has rules for moving sentence elements to the front, or to the back; it is necessary to know what discourse functions are being served by such rules. Among the quantifications of form and function yet to be compiled then, one might hope to see more evidence of what our grammatical constructions are designed to accomplish, of how grammar encodes discourse function. Information of this kind, it seems to me, might ultimately prove more useful to the compilation of syllabuses than some of the functional inventories of the van Ek corpus

Whatever the shape of the syllabus, therefore, it should, I believe, take serious note not just of language as a vehicle for personal expression but also of language as rule-governed behavior, and it should be a reflection of whatever knowledge about the interrelation between the two the current state of our profession can provide. The syllabus can therefore be at least an indirect product of the ultimate goal that even now is being suggested for the field of linguistics, which is to achieve a scientific understanding of how people communicate.

Notional-Functional Syllabuses: 1978 Part Three

Mary Finocchiaro

If I may adapt Shakespeare, I should like to begin by saying that "I come to praise the notional-functional syllabus and not to bury it." I am really excited by this new concept in language learning, which has been developed by the Council of Europe and has taken Europe by storm but which is virtually unknown in the United States.

I want, however, neither to proselytize nor to try to convince you to cast aside the many excellent materials you have been using in order to adopt this approach in its entirety at the present moment. Any such attempt on my part would be dishonest for several reasons: the syllabus contains a number of ambiguities; it has not gone into methodological problems in any depth; it ignores reading and writing; it is not as yet supported by results of experimentation with varied populations. It is still the center of controversy.

Nonetheless, I am optimistic about the functional-notional approach. Living in Europe as I do, I have read everything published by the Council of Europe; I have listened to numerous speakers and participated in discussions in four countries; I have watched superb demonstration lessons in Holland and Spain; I am doing research with actual materials and students which have stimulated me immensely because I realize that learners are motivated by the concept. Further reasons for my optimism are:

1. The syllabus sets realistic learning tasks in which either full-class or individualized instruction may be utilized.

2. It provides for the teaching of everyday, real-world language use in sociocultural situations in which items of phonology, lexicon, grammar and culture are selected and graded and yet intermeshed meaningfully from the first lesson—at the first level of learning—in order to serve the learners' immediate communicative purposes. Expressions such as, *I'm sorry I don't remember, What do you call this?, What does ___ mean?*, are introduced during the very first day.

3. It emphasizes the need for numerous receptive (interpretative) activities before pushing learners into premature performance.

4. It recognizes that while the language used in any speech act should be

based on the situation or setting in which it occurs, and be grammatically correct and semantically appropriate, the speaker must, above all, have a real purpose for speaking and something to talk about.

5. The act of communication—even at elementary levels—will be intrinsically motivating simply because it expresses basic, universal communicative functions of language and because it makes use of notions (the term used for the semantic themes and language items) which are most appropriate to complete the specific function or functions being expressed.

Let us take a brief look at some sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and linguistic features in the syllabus which also contribute to my optimism. First and foremost, emphasis has shifted from preoccupation with structure and setting to the communicative purpose of the speech act. Neither grammar nor situation are neglected but the unit and lesson content stem specifically from the integration of the specific function and the socio-cultural situation.

Since a speech act—communication—takes place in definite but varied sociolinguistic situations, both linguistic and extralinguistic factors have been taken into consideration. The syllabus takes cognizance of the fact that the social roles and psychological attitudes toward each other of the participants in a conversation—employer-employee, teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, parent-child, for example—the place and time in which the communication act is taking place and the activity being discussed will determine to a large extent the form, the tone and the appropriateness of any oral or written message.

In words, the syllabus addresses itself to the question of who the speakers and hearers or readers and writers in the communication are, and more important, it takes into account what the purpose of the communication is and what the persons involved are trying to say to each other.

And here of course, we come to the heart of the notional-functional concept—the functions. Communicative language functions are generally subsumed under five broad categories: personal, interpersonal, directive, referential and imaginative. The personal function refers to the speaker's or writer's ability to express his innermost thoughts as well as the gamut of emotions—love, joy, disappointment, distress, anger, frustration, annoyance at missed opportunities, sorrow—which every human being experiences. The interpersonal function enables us to establish and maintain desirable social and working relationships. Within this category are included expressions of sympathy, joy at another's success, concern for other people's welfare, the making or polite breaking of appointments, apologizing for errors or for commitments not met, the appropriate language needed to indicate agreement or disagreement or to change an embarassing subject—all of which we use in everyday situations and which help make living with others possible and pleasant. The language used in the directive function enabling us to make requests or suggestions, to persuade or to convince, is also treated extensively in the syllabus. The referential function of language—the one which has been the most frequently practiced in language classes in the past—is concerned with talking or writing about the immediate environment and

talking about language itself. Some writers call this latter function the meta-linguistic function. I would include translation from one language to the other under this function. The imaginative function refers, of course, to the ability to compose rhymes, poetry, essays, stories or plays, orally or in writing.

Under psycholinguistic bases, I would underscore that the notional-functional syllabus has taken cognizance of the basic needs of all human beings. It makes provision for teaching the appropriate language needed at the five levels of human needs recognized by most psychologists—beginning with the need for survival (exemplified by the Threshold Level of the Syllabus) to the most elevated need of man—the need for self-realization or self-actualization.

The syllabus is self-motivating since it is specifically designed to serve the actual social, cultural or vocational needs of learners as they perceive them. Moreover, the materials that are appearing have had written into them an awareness that each human being has a different rhythm or pace of learning as well as a different mode or strategy for acquiring knowledge.

The unit organization of the materials, the multi-media and cyclical or spiral approach advocated and the alternative linguistic forms ranging from the very simple to the extremely complex permit learners of varying ability and at different learning levels to express *all* the communicative functions of language, in harmony, however, with their personality, their immediate social or vocational needs, and their intellectual or linguistic capacity. For example, a directive may take forms such as the following: (non-verbal) gesture toward the window accompanied by one of opening; (linguistic—ranging from the simple to the more complex) *Please open the window. Would you open the window, Would you please open the window, Would you mind opening the window, I wonder if you would mind opening the window. I'd be grateful if you opened the window*, etc. etc..

I like to emphasize that one need not wait for advanced learning levels to teach suggestions such as *I wonder if you would mind*, etc. or even the present perfect—considered the bête noire of language learning.

Let us move quickly to linguistics and by linguistics I simply mean what a person must know of the language system when he is a native member of the speech community or when he wishes to become a functioning part of a foreign speech community.

The term *notions* which I have mentioned would be placed under linguistics. Notions may be general—referring to universal themes such as time, space, motion, matter, case—or specific, that is, the structural and vocabulary items which would be found within the general categories and which are needed to complete the various functions of language. (We regret *something*, we disagree with *someone* or with *some opinion*.)

Allow me now to rush on to the educational principles which underlie the structure of the notional-functional syllabus. I shall merely list, in no particular order, several which I consider paramount, however, since each is important in the learning-teaching process.

1. The individual learner is at the center of the learning process. All the

resources available in the school or community are deployed to serve his present communicative needs and purposes as well as his foreseeable needs.

2. The syllabus is divided into units. The functions and notions the learner would need or wish to express form the nucleus of each unit and serve as the fulcrum around which the situation, the dialogue or reading passage, the structures and the learning activities are developed. The starting point is always the communicative function and the social purpose of the utterances. This makes it imperative that vocabulary and structural items be centered around a theme— complimenting someone, for example—which would make immediate communication of meaningful messages possible. The title of the unit is always expressed in functional terms so that learners are given the necessary mental set or readiness essential to learning. Most important, the specific notions within each unit (e.g., structures, verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, function words) result from the integration of the communicative function(s) and the social situation.

3. The specific linguistic objectives of the unit—although its starting point may be to learn how to make suggestions, for example—depend of course on the events, the persons involved in the events, the time and the place in which the communicative act may be occurring. It is obvious that real-life socio-cultural situations, structures and vocabulary play an important role in clarifying and completing the function(s) being emphasized.

4. The learning objectives for each unit in material currently being prepared specify the content—notional-functional and semantico-grammatical—and the socio-cultural circumstances which make the verbal behavior of the speakers appropriate. They indicate also the performance criteria which the learner is expected to meet before he or she is encouraged to move on to the next unit. (The next unit of a textbook or of a curriculum, in harmony with the spiral or cyclical approach, may be a more advanced presentation of the same function— apologizing, for example, within another social situation, or a different function altogether—for example, requesting someone to do something.)

5. Attention is given to ways in which the student's knowledge of his native language can be utilized in the presentation of the new material. In my opinion, this facet of the syllabus still presents problems which will require further research. For example, will the expressions of functions and notions which contrast markedly in L_1 and L_2 be deferred to a higher level? In my work, I generally do not defer items which are considered difficult. Often, however, I present them for recognition only and not for (learner) production.

6. The performance objectives—in other words, the terminal behavior expected of the learner upon completion of a unit or level—do not demand absolute mastery of any corpus of linguistic items. The aim is rather to develop a potential of communicative competence in the learners, always in consonance with the learning resources available and with the social or vocational situations in which the learner may be expected to use the language. There are provisions for two major streams in the material: socio-cultural and socio-vocational.

7. Emphasis in the syllabus is placed first on giving the student awareness,

and then on enabling him to perform correctly and appropriately in the functions and within the complex, diversified language situations we use in our daily lives. The people involved, the time, the place, the communicative functions to be fulfilled and the notions to be referred to are exemplified in such a way that the differences they may bring about in language forms and utterances are made crystal clear to the learner and, let us not forget, to the teacher.

8. A common core of grammar and vocabulary is presupposed. It is generally thought desirable to introduce the syllabus at intermediate or advanced levels but material is now being readied for lower schools.

9. The pedagogical strategies and means for developing receptive or interpretative ability and performance of the learners are explained but frankly much remains to be done in this area. As you will note in the next section, however, the strategies of presentation and practice do not differ to any great extent from those used by good teachers in the past to develop competence and performance in students.

10. Flexibility is encouraged. The learner is free to follow the units he or she needs—guided of course by an instructor or other resource person. The units, however, are identical in terms of the types of terminal behavior which will be required. Functions, notions, social situation appropriateness, fluency and comprehensibility are specified.

11. Five levels of learning in consonance with Maslow's hierarchy of human needs have been envisaged: the threshold or survival level which uses a vocabulary of 750 to 1500 words, a basic level, a general competency level, an advanced level and a professional level—that leading to self-realization or actualization. The syllabus at each level makes use of the language learned at each preceding level. This spiral or cyclical approach is a cardinal point of the format.

12. Since it is patently impossible to teach all the language in any one unit, year or level, selection and gradation of language items or notions within the communicative functions is imperative. The selection will depend on such factors as the functions and notions to be expressed, the linguistic knowledge the student already has, the complexity of the grammatical structure, and the length of the stretch of speech needed to express one's ideas. Often learners are given only a passive or receptive awareness of alternative forms used in expressing the same function.

13. It is important to emphasize that in each unit and at each level the learner is helped, through oral discussion with a teacher, where feasible, or through an introductory paragraph in his native language, to understand the social role, the psychological attitudes and thus the rationale for the formality or informality of the language and its appropriateness in the particular situation.

14. In addition to the fact that its starting point is always a communicative function and not a situational topic or a structural item, the functional syllabus differs from the structural and the situational syllabus in several respects. For one thing, the title of the unit always makes reference to the communicative function to be emphasized. For another, in the functional syllabus as in real-world com-

munication, the structures in each utterance of a dialogue may be dissimilar. For example, a suggestion such as *Let's go over the engine* may elicit a reaction of disagreement followed by an alternative suggestion, such as *I don't feel like it now. It's late and I'm sure it's too complicated. We can do that early tomorrow.* Further, in a functional syllabus, a number of different functions may be clustered in one unit. For example, an invitation may be extended, accepted gracefully, arrangements made about time, place and transportation and thanks extended before conventional parting remarks are made. A refusal of the invitation would force the use of an entirely different range of functions, structures and notions.

Finally and most important, grammatical structure and function do not overlap. A function may be expressed directly through the use of any number of different structures. There is no obligatory one-to-one relationship between structure and function. For example, a request may be worded as *May I have a glass of cold water?*, *Could I have . . .*, *Would you get me . . .*, *I wonder if I might have . . .* The same function (of requesting something) may be expressed indirectly, but with the same meaning, in a question such as *Is there (or Would there be) a glass of cold water?*

By the same token, a directive might be expressed as *Pick up you coat and put it away*, or (in an angry tone) *Is that your coat on the floor?*—an interrogative which obviously does not ask for information. And conversely, the same structure may be used to express more than one function of language. An utterance such as *You don't really like . . .*, may be used to find out about someone's moral or intellectual attitude, or to persuade someone to change his/her mind.

It is the skillful blending in the syllabus of the interdisciplinary approach (psychological, sociological, anthropological, linguistic and educational) and concern for the basic communication needs of all human beings which gives great hope that the notional-functional syllabus will sustain the motivation of learners.

And now what are the responsibilities of classroom teachers? Teachers should help learners:

1. Recognize and discuss communicative functions, formal and informal, appropriate and inappropriate, acceptable and non-acceptable speech in listening and reading activities.

2. Gain insight into all aspects of the culture system of the foreign language including the paralinguistic (gestures, intonation, etc.) features of language.

3. Use appropriate paralinguistic features and paraphrases to get meaning across when they are at a loss for particular structure or vocabulary items.

4. Gain a conscious awareness of the redundant features of language as an invaluable aid not only in listening and reading comprehension but also in speaking and in writing.

5. Make use of contextual clues in listening and in reading.

6. Grasp every new meaning of a familiar word as it is heard or read in a different context or situation.

7. Monitor their own speech—obtain feedback, in other words—by learning to listen to themselves and by watching the reaction of their listeners.

8. Become aware of cognates in L₁ and L₂.

9. Recognize language varieties and be able to discuss the reasons for their use. I would recommend, as does the notional-functional syllabus, that except for high frequency formulas and expressions, these be introduced after a basic corpus of linguistic material has been learned. The time will depend, of course, on age, school level, students' socio-cultural or socio-vocational needs and other socio-cultural factors.

You will have noticed that the notional-functional syllabus ensures that recognition and conscious awareness always precede production. This remains a problem, however, in some of the materials I have examined. For one thing, very little has been said about the reading skill in the syllabus. This is due to the fact that only the first level, i.e., the threshold or survival level, has been completed.

Additional activities to bring about awareness which I have found helpful include the following:

1. Simplifying listening and reading passages at two levels of difficulty before asking learners to hear or read the original version, and asking different types of questions for each version: for example, yes/no questions for the simplest version, Wh- questions for the second version, and these plus inferential questions for the original version.

2. Preparing brief statements incorporating one or more functions within one social situation or work activity and asking the students whether the speech they hear or see is formal or informal and what the primary purpose of the message is.

3. Reading or having students listen to brief conversational exchanges within one functional category and asking them to indicate whether the second utterance is appropriate or inappropriate, of the same level of formality, socially acceptable or not.

4. Describing a situation which highlights a functional category very briefly and eliciting whether the short conversational exchange which follows it is appropriate or not.

5. Listening to or reading a conversation and helping learners indicate either where it is taking place or the social role of the speakers or their attitudes to each other.

Oral and written activities to elicit learner production may include asking students to:

1. Transpose a prepared dialogue centered around one or more communicative functions to a formal or less formal style.

2. Dramatize a dialogue illustrating (through different intonation patterns) varying emotions; for example, Is that your new car?, in anger (parent-child) or as a compliment.

3. Ask for information at a museum, railroad, post office, etc. in the native or foreign language (where feasible) and to report back to the class in the foreign language only, of course.

4. Paraphrase sentences or short passages using appropriate alternatives in the same register.

5. Prepare and create appropriate alternative utterances in a dialogue maintaining the same functional and notional core.

6. Add one or more comment or sequence sentences to a statement or question; for example, *It's very hot. Let's go to the beach*, or *Would you like a glass of lemonade?*

7. Match utterances exemplifying the same function.

8. Formulate appropriate rejoinders to statements or questions and, in reverse, tell what statement or question could have preceded a given response; for example, *Yes, he's gone to Paris* may have been preceded by *I haven't seen George for a week or so. Has he left?*

9. Exploit previously learned dialogues. Brief dialogues are excellent vehicles for production. Two dialogues can be recombined; the original dialogue situation can be changed; a familiar dialogue can be expanded with newly acquired language material adding appropriate utterances before the beginning or at the end; questions and answers of all kinds based on the dialogues can be formulated by one group of students and answered by others; original dialogues can be prepared by a group or a pair of students centered around a function but, based on a given situation, the dialogue can be changed to reported speech or vice versa. Any of these dialogues can also be dramatized illustrating different attitudes or emotions.

In conclusion, I would like to discuss how the teacher or materials writer can incorporate some of these ideas in a lesson plan. Let us make the assumption that the learners have acquired a basic common core of grammar and vocabulary and that you, the teachers, will present the material live to an entire class. The possible steps in a lesson plan built around the function of making a suggestion follow. Please notice that this procedure is exactly what we have been doing in the past:

1. Presentation of a brief dialogue, preceded by a motivation and a discussion of the function and situation—people, roles, setting, and the informality or formality of the language which the function and situation demand. (At beginning levels in which all the learners understand the same native language, the motivation can well be given in their native tongue.)

2. Oral practice of the dialogue (entire class repetition, halfclass, groups, individuals).

3. Questions and answers based on the dialogue itself. (Inverted or *Wh*-questions, inferential questions, open-ended questions.)

4. Questions and answers related to the students' personal experiences but centered around the dialogue theme.

5. Study of one or two of the basic structures in the dialogue which exemplifies the function. (The teacher will give several additional examples of the structure with familiar vocabulary.)

6. Generalization or rule underlying the functional structure. This should include at least four points: the oral and written forms, position in the utterance, grammatical function and meaning.

7. Oral recognition activities (two to five depending on the learning level, the language knowledge of the students and related factors).

8. Oral production activities proceeding from tightly controlled to freer communication activities with emphasis on role playing.

9. A brief summary.

10. Sampling of the written homework assignment, if given.

Finally, let me summarize the highlights of the notional-functional approach. Learners develop a sense of security and more positive attitude toward the foreign language and its speakers as they realize that all human beings share universal common needs. It is only natural, therefore, that the communicative functions they may wish to express exist in their native tongue and can find counterparts in any language they may wish to learn. The concepts are already there. We are merely enabling them to cloak them in different words. The fact that the functions and notions exist in their native language and in the target language is highly stimulating and encouraging to learners.

For this and other reasons mentioned throughout this paper, the notional-functional syllabus gives promise of becoming a coherent, logical instrument to ensure authentic communication from the first day of instruction. It is my earnest hope that you will wish to incorporate some of the ideas it contains not only informally in your daily contacts with your students but also more widely in course revision. I can assure you that this will be an enriching experience both for you and for your learners.

Notional-Functional Syllabuses: 1978 Part Four

Henry G. Widdowson

Notional syllabuses are represented by their proponents as an alternative to, and an improvement on, structural syllabuses. How do they differ? And what are the grounds for believing them to be better? The two types of syllabus differ most obviously in the manner in which the language content is defined. In the structural syllabus it is defined in *formal* terms, as lexical items and grammatical patterns manifesting the system of English. In the notional syllabus, language content is defined in *functional* terms, as notions which are realized by formal items. In both cases the essential design is an inventory of language units in isolation and in abstraction. In the structural syllabus the inventory is ordered by reference to grading criteria. In the notional syllabus (at least in its most familiar form) it is not.

The question then arises: what are the grounds for favouring a functional rather than a formal definition of language content? We can, I think, discern two arguments in the supporting literature. One refers to *linguistic description*. The other to *learner needs*.

The first argument rests on the assumption that descriptions provided by linguists capture the "real" nature of language so that units for teaching should correspond with units of linguistic description. The structural syllabus was developed at a time when linguists conceived of language in terms of the distributional properties of surface forms. So the subject matter for teaching language was similarly defined. The notional syllabus is being developed at a time when linguistic interest has shifted to the communicative properties of language, when meaning has moved to the centre of the stage with speech acts, presuppositions, case categories, conversational implicatures and what have you all dancing attendance. It looks as if linguists have now decided that language is "really" communication. As before, the syllabus designer follows the fashion.

If you do not believe that we progress towards the truth of things by recurrent revelations, or if you do not believe that there should be necessary correspondence between units of linguistic analysis and units for language teaching, then you will not be impressed by the fact that the notional syllabus can drum up current linguistic support. So we will turn to the second argument, the one

relating to learner needs. The question to consider here is this: what kind of knowledge or behaviour does a learner need to have acquired at the end of a course of instruction?

Proponents of the structural syllabus will argue that the learner needs a basic knowledge of the language system, of lexical and grammatical forms, constituting a core linguistic competence and that this will provide the essential basis for communicative behaviour when the learner finds himself in a situation which requires him to use the language to communicate. The belief here is that what has to be *taught* is a knowledge of the language system: its exploitation for communicative purposes can be left to the learner. Proponents of the notional syllabus will argue that the learner needs to learn appropriate behaviour *during* his course since one cannot count on him learning it later simply by reference to his linguistic knowledge. The belief here is that communicative competence needs to be expressly taught: the learner cannot be left to his own devices in developing an ability to communicate.

Both types of syllabus recognize that the learner's goal should be the ability to communicate. They differ in the assumption of what needs to be actually taught for this ability to be acquired. In both cases there is a gap between what is taught and what is learnt; both leave something for the learner to find out for himself. They differ again in their awareness of this fact.

The structural syllabus quite openly—brazenly you might say—leaves the learner to realize his linguistic competence as communicative behaviour when the occasion arises. A tall order.

The notional syllabus, it is claimed, develops the ability to do this by accounting for communicative competence within the actual design of the syllabus itself. This is a delusion. Because the notional syllabus presents language as an inventory of units, of items for accumulation and storage. They are notional rather than structural isolates, but they are isolates all the same. What such a syllabus does not do—or has not done to date—(an important proviso) is to represent language as discourse and since it does not it cannot possibly in its present form account for communicative competence—because communicative competence is not a compilation of items in memory but a set of strategies or creative procedures for realizing the value of linguistic elements in contexts of use, an ability to make sense as a participant in discourse, whether spoken or written, by the skilful deployment of shared knowledge of code resources and rules of language use. The notional syllabus leaves the learner to develop these creative strategies on his own: it deals with the *components* of discourse, not with discourse itself. As such it derives from an analyst's and not a participant's view of language, as does the structural syllabus. Neither is centred on the language user.

The focus of attention in the notional syllabus, then, is on items, not strategies, on components of discourse not the process of its creation and in this respect it does not differ essentially from the structural syllabus, which also deals in items and components. In both cases what is missing is an appeal to cognition, to the language processing ability of the learner. For example, in a notional syllabus functions of different kinds are correlated with various linguistic forms. But the

relationship between function and form is not just fortuitous: the form itself has what Halliday refers to as "meaning potential" and it is this which is realized on particular communicative occasions. This realization of meaning potential depends on a knowledge of the conventional code meanings of linguistic items *and* of the ways in which these meanings can be conditioned by context. A notional syllabus presents certain common formal realizations of a range of communicative functions but does so statically without any indication of the dynamic process of interpretation that is involved. There is no demonstration of the relationship between form and function, of the meaning potential in the language forms which are presented. And so there is no attempt to develop an awareness of how this potential is realized by interpretative procedures which provide linguistic items with appropriate communicative value. But what is important for the learner is not to know what correlations are common between certain forms and functions but *how* such correlations and innumerable others can be established and interpreted in the actual business of communicative interaction.

It seems to me, then, that the focus of the notional syllabus is still on the accumulation of language items rather than on the development of strategies for dealing with language in use. And in *practice* once you start writing materials or applying teaching procedures it may turn out not to make much difference whether you define these items as forms or functions.

I have spent most of my time pointing out what I see as the deficiencies of the notional syllabus, as it has been developed to date. I want to end on a more positive note. What the work on notional syllabuses has done, I think, is to sharpen our perception of what is required of a syllabus if it is to develop communicative competence in learners. It is an attempt to look afresh at the principles of syllabus design and it thus directs us to a re-appraisal of these principles: I have said, for example, that the notional syllabus, in its present form, does not develop an awareness of meaning potential. But then how does one go about developing such an awareness? This question might then take us back to the structural syllabus to find out if there are not ways of reforming it so that there is an emphasis on the meaning potential of forms and the varied ways in which this is realized in contexts.

We can now return to the two questions I posed at the beginning. How does the notional syllabus differ? Its proponents represent it as an alternative to the structural syllabus, forcing us into taking sides. This is unfortunate. The work on notional syllabuses can best be seen I think as a means of *developing* the structural syllabus rather than *replacing* it and, if it were seen in this light, the extent of difference between them would become clear and we would be less likely to be deluded by false visions, which we are all rather prone to be. How far are notional syllabuses an improvement? In the attempt rather than the deed, I think. They are the first serious consideration of what is involved in incorporating communicative properties in a syllabus. We must give full credit for that. Work on the notional syllabus opens up the horizons and does not confine us to a creed. It is liberating and developable. It indicates a direction to follow and ground to explore. But it is a starting point not a destination.

A Linguistic Model for Learning
and Living in the New Age of the Person

Charles A. Curran

We can begin with a conceptual model drawn from the familiar experience
we have all had, of dropping or throwing a stone into a pool and watching the rip-
ples or circles slowly move out from the center. For our purpose the stone will be
seen as the teacher-learner relationship in the process of which people learn to
speak a second language. The circles radiating out from the center will represent
our present new age with its overlay of influences from the previous age just
recently ended.

We will therefore talk about these two circles. The larger of the two
represents the previous age—from the seventeenth century until now. The inner
or smaller circle, we can consider the new age—the age of the person—into which
we have now entered. We have entered into this new age, however, with many
carryovers, many unanalyzed models from the earlier age. Later, after the
analysis of these two circles, we will come back to the stone itself in the center,
namely, the personal relationship between the knower of English, or any other
language, and the learner, who is a speaker of another language.

1. Astronomy: The ideal model of science

Many of the unconscious as well as conscious models of our present age have
their origin in and are related to the concept "scientific." This has been the
dominant model throughout the last four centuries. Obviously the word "scien-
tific" can mean many things. It can mean genuine openness to new ideas, an en-
quiring mind questing for whatever is valid and helpful; freedom from bias. Such
concepts we want, of course, to retain. But if I were to ask you to free associate
about the origin of the word "scientific"—and if your free associations are
similar to mine—you might quickly see somebody looking out a window through
a telescope and the familiar picture of Galileo looking at the stars and moon
would come; you might see various instruments for calculations, say, figures on a
blackboard with an analysis of the planetary system.

Our outer circle, then, represents the scientific age in which astronomy has
been seen as the ideal model of science since the seventeenth century. This model
is objective, impersonal and mathematical and it stresses the great value of the

observer position—removed and uninvolved. Without question, this model has brought enormous benefits. But it has now reached the point of diminishing returns, with the overwhelming threat of the power of the hydrogen bomb that is hanging over us now like the sword of Damocles. On the positive side, however, it enabled us to go to the moon—a goal that mankind has had since the beginning of time. So we can see how fitting the brilliant sunset of this age has been, particularly in enabling us to achieve this unbelievable feat of going to the moon. It began by observing the moon from afar, and ended by going there.

If we look carefully at this outer circle then, we can see that much of what we are now doing, even though we have moved into the age of the person, is interwoven with attitudes and values which flow from this model. What the scientific age and the model of astronomy stressed most was the way in which the knower, through his instruments, stood off and examined what was happening "out there" and then calculated from what was observed. These observations were put into a mathematical formula; they were turned into a series of problems, worked out and answers arrived at. To have "answers" ended the process.

The astronomy model also puts the knower totally in charge of the process. What is "out there" can be figured out and predicted. We know from our own experience that this is exactly what happens when the scientist, using careful calculations, accurately predicts an eclipse and it takes place exactly as predicted. According to this ideal model, the knower, then, if he makes the right formulation of the problem and figures it out properly, will come up with the right answers and "things out there" will happen just as the knower has concluded they should. The astronomy model, then, puts all the emphasis on the knower. It also highlights the point that the uninvolved, the distant position, the observer, the unengaged, is the one who is apt to yield the most accurate answers to the problems and even produce the most accurate formulations of the problems.

2. Problem-solving model

Now it is not hard to jump into our own time and realize that without the word "problem" we would be rather lost. You cannot pick up a newspaper without reading about international problems, personal problems, business and economic problems. If we move to language teaching, we almost immediately think in terms of grammar problems, pronunciation problems, vocabulary problems. In most textbooks, the process and exercises by which the students are helped to focus on these problem areas are thoroughly spelled out to both student and teacher.

This is not intended to be a criticism of linguistic textbooks no more so than one would criticize the calculations that had man landing on the moon safely. But if we are not consciously aware of when the problem-solving model is or is not appropriate, we can unconsciously be affected by it to the point of conceptualizing almost all personal relationships basically as problem-solving ones. We have so many different adjectives that we can put on the front of the word "problem" and we do it so easily that we hardly even hear what we have said.

This analysis of the hidden model implications behind common words such as the word "problems" we have called "Linguistic Value Analysis." This process enables us to see that common words we use tie us unconsciously to ways of thinking and acting in relation to ourselves and one another.

You can test this influence of "problem-solving" in yourself. If someone makes an appointment to see you and in some way they have implied they want to talk about some personal thing or some learning situation and if after a few polite exchanges there is a silence, you will probably have a strong urge to say, "Well, what's your problem?" This suggests that the only way to get to the nitty-gritty of something is to formulate it into some kind of problem. Then we can proceed to some kind of answer. We see here a mathematical model unconsciously determining our thinking process and our relationships.

Another dynamic that seems to follow from a problem-solving model is a "selecting-out" process. The way it works is that we tend to select out or not hear other models of relationship that our language still suggests to us. We have tested people in their reaction to the following type of sentences. Again if your reaction is similar to theirs, you will see that in some measure, you have largely "selected out" what the sentences in their totality, imply. The sentences might go:

Our intention in this paper is obviously not to come up with any final answers to anything. The problems are far too vast for that but hopefully we can come up with some new ways of looking at these problems. It is not that these new ideas will be fruitful immediately, but hopefully, over a period of time, they will have sunk in and taken root, eventually bear fruit in your own experience when you have had time to put them into practice.

Now, if some later someone were to ask you what I had said in those sentences, you might say, if your reaction is similar to others who have done this:

Well, he said we are going to take a fresh look at some particular areas of problems and come up, not with any final answers, but with answers that, at least, in some practical way, will be helpful and then we would have a chance to try these answers and various solutions and see how they work out for us.

If in hearing this, you say to yourself, "Yes, that's about what I thought he said," then you will have illustrated how deeply the outer circle age has embedded itself into our model of thinking. While it is true that the first part of the sentences talked about problems and answers, the second part talked about ideas sinking in, taking root, and bearing fruit. Two totally different models were presented. The one, from the mathematical notion of problems and their answers in the back of a book and the other, from an agrarian model of seed entering soil.

3. Agrarian model

The agrarian model suggests a very different dynamic than the problem-solving one. In the model of seed entering soil, there is an equal stress on germination as well as insemination with all the nutrients of the soil coming forward.

First the soil must open up to let the seed enter. Then the soil must bring all its cooperation for the seed to have any hope of being fruitful. So while the first model puts the focus on the knower-person and almost like the stars in astronomy, considers the learners merely objects of the predictions and answers of the knower, the second model has the learner deeply engaged and responsible for bringing fruit out of this seed that the knower has planted.

So we can see that, in a certain sense, we have moved from the outer circle— the scientific age—to the inner one—the age of the person—by looking at an older linguistic model, seed and soil, which we still use. What is interesting, though, is how seldom we reflect on this earlier model in itself and how we can select it out in a series of sentences and interpret it according to a problem-solving one.

We can now come at this somewhat differently and also move into the inner circle by looking at what has happened in the last fifty years, in all the basic sciences. The present knowledge of science has found great difficulty with such a depersonalized model, even though, in fact, it proved so valid and rich until the first part of the twentieth century. At that time a change came about in science led by new knowledge in physics, as no doubt many of you would know. This change was due to the realization that predictability and therefore the problem-solving model no longer held when one got to individual particles and individual instances. The purely observational relationship was no longer possible.

One of the leaders in this awareness was Heisenberg. His famous summary of the issue was called the Uncertainty Principle and was presented as an alternative to the scientific notion of rigid predictability and depersonalization. A quote from Heisenberg and then we will go on:

> Natural science does not simply describe and explain nature—it is part of the interplay between nature and ourselves. It describes nature as exposed to our method of questioning. This was a possibility of which Descartes could not have thought but it makes the sharp separation between the world and the "I" impossible

Said in another way, in many instances the "I" has to get involved, much as the seed must enter the ground and the two must become engaged if the conceptualization of fruitfulness is to emerge. And this "I" is not an abstract intellect but an emotional, instinctive and somatic being as well—filled often with anxiety and anger as well as positive feelings and urges to learn. To discuss this further would lead us much too far afield. But I simply want to suggest that this awareness was the beginning of the break that leads us from the outer circle to the inner one and introduces us now to the age of the person.

4. Key and lock model

So let us look directly now at our present age. We can see clues to the inadequacy of the problem-solving model if we notice how—in a kind of folk-wisdom—the substitution of one word for another can give rise to a new model.

This is what has happened with the common and often unnoticed substitution of the word "key" for the word "answer." There is revealed in the way people use words the mysterious process by which a people begins to sense the inadequacy of models which have been set up by certain words. So, more recently, we have been talking about the "key to the problem" as well as the "answer to the problem."

The phrase "key to the problem" creates a quite different operational relationship than "answer." If one pauses to reflect, one can see that this phrase relates more to the "seed-entering-soil" model than to the "answer-in-the-back-of-the-book" model. We can be profoundly grateful for the great achievements and gains of the previous age that allows us to solve problems, predict going to the moon and finally walking on the moon. But if we are to remain true and responsive to this new age of the person, we need to see that putting a "key" in the door and opening the lock does not end a process as does an "answer" to a problem. It rather begins one.

In other words, we need to recognize that when we have the "key to language learning" or the "key to proper pronunciation," for examples, we are not at the end of a process. One cannot rely on the predicted outcome as in the problem-answer model. Each key has a particular lock. It is in this sense, then, that certain words and phrases can imply a totally different operational system.

Let us look further at this relationship between the key and the lock and the process that is inherent in that model. No matter how valuable, well constructed, or accurately cut a key is, it will only be effective if it has the total cooperation of the lock. A rusty lock, one with a damaged tumbler system or simply a key that looks like it ought to fit but does not for some reason, can all cause non-entry into the room or whatever the lock is locking.

So with this shift in modality, we are no longer talking of teachers who would solve problems, offer the right solution, and then expect learners to respond in a predictable way to those solutions. We are saying, rather, that if we use the problem-solving model, we need to consciously recognize that having arrived at certain keys to various problems, we are still in need of the committed and involved cooperation of the learners. A key does not give answers but enters-in.

We can see, then, that moving from the "answer" to the "key" to the problem, we have come to the same conception that Heisenberg has given us; namely, that the "I" is in every relationship and no matter what problem-solving process we may go through, we come finally to two persons relating together. The person of the knower who has some keys to some problems and therefore is absolutely essential and the person of the learner, whose cooperation is letting these keys enter, submitting to the aggression of the key-turning process of the knower and then in turn actively being aggressive to pull the bar in the lock, are equally important to the entire process.

Therefore, in so understanding this mutually cooperative and responsive process, we have not only a model for the knower-learner relationship, but, in a

basic sense a model of what science is now maintaining. That is, we can have the objectivity of an observer up to a point but beyond that point we enter into an interpersonal relationship where the "I" of the knower and the "I" of the learner are equally and intensively intertwined as are the key and the lock. If both are to be effective in what they are trying to do, they must work closely, sensitively and graciously together.

5. The adult teaching/learning relationship

This leads us then to the stone itself—the knower-learner relationship and particularly the knower-learner relationship as conceived under the acronym TESOL. To have two persons deeply engaged with one another at the level of complexity and subtlety of their whole personalities is a totally different relationship than for one simply to provide answers to the other's linguistic problems. It is far more complex and far more challenging than the simpler astronomical model drawn of the knower as observer problem-solver.

Here, we might take a look at some implicati   n the acronym TESOL. What we see is a name which intriguingly catches the person not only of the knower but also of the learner. Let's look carefully. "Teachers of English"—it could end there, couldn't it? Most of us would have no difficulty in understanding teachers of English meeting together to discuss their problems and coming up with better answers and hopefully better ways of teaching.

Now look at the rest of the acronym. "To Speakers of Other Languages." If we put an equal emphasis on the word "speakers" then we suddenly realize that we have two experts in this relationship—not just one. In using the word "expert" here what we mean is that we have two persons quite experienced in their own languages. Therefore, we are talking about adults: an adult-knower/adult-learner relationship. We could twist the relationship around, assuming that some of our speakers of other languages are native Italian, for example, and change TESOL to TISOL. All relationships would immediately be reversed. The speakers of other languages would become teachers of Italian, and the teachers of English would become learners of Italian. This is to remind us all of how totally adult and expert in his own language the learner, who is a speaker of another language, has to be considered.

An adult or adolescent learner, as we know, is not simply a person who is passive and who is going to be automatically receptive to the suggestions, answers, and solutions we, as expert teachers, have worked out. He or she is an emotionally charged, intensely conscious adult aware of how much they already know in their own language. To take on a whole new communication system—to learn to speak English—at least in the first stages of this process, means to have this competence and confidence threatened. While we all know that this is, in most instances, not traumatic for the child, since the child seems not that invested yet in self-identity with his own language, for the adolescent or adult, it can be.

Going back, then, to the acronym TESOL, we can see that it implies another acronym to express the other person in this relationship, namely, LESOL.—

Learners of English as Speakers of Other Languages. So what we are looking for in the key-and-lock or agrarian model, is the fruitful inter- relationship and constructive cooperation between TESOL and LESOL. LESOL must willingly accept the seeds of knowledge that TESOL can offer if there is to be an entering into the target language. In like manner, in the later stages, TESOL must willingly accept the learning aggression—pulling the bar in the key-and-lock model—that brings LESOL ideally to know English as well as TESOL. So our ultimate aim is that LESOL become TESOL and in this sense, TESOL ceases to be needed.

We know that this ideal is not always achieved; it is nonetheless, like 300 in bowling, the ideal goal of this creative learning relationship. We might say, however, that the realization of this ideal is furthered to the degree that there is delicate and sensitive understanding of both the teacher-knower and student-learner.

6. The five stages of human creative learning

Let us now look at a way we can combine the agrarian sowing seed model or what we have called the "inseminational-germinational" model of learning with the more mechanical but similar model of the key entering the lock. In the beginning of the agrarian model, the seed enters the soil and is totally encapsulated by it. We have called this Stage I. In the human model, one can talk about the embryonic position. Here, because the self of the other person who is the speaker of another language, is so inadequate in the new language, he or she is seen as totally dependent on the knower of the target language. So in Stage I, the understanding skills in the knower enable the learner, often in a state of anxiety and threat, to make a commitment to the knower in security, confidence and trust.

The adult and adolescent learners are self-conscious of identity with their own language in contrast to the pre-adolescent child who seems able to interchange grammatical constructions and language sounds without resistance. The self-conscious adult, therefore, must be encouraged by the sensitive and skillful understanding of the knower if the knower's seed is to be given a chance to take root or if the key is to function successfully in the lock

In Stage II, one sees beginning attempts toward separation from the knower but still there is a great deal of dependency. As we move to Stage III, especially toward the end of Stage III, we see ambivalence and ambiguities. To help imagine this, think of a circle with a line through the center and make one half of the circle black and the other half, white. The black indicates how much, at the end of Stage III, the learner has already absorbed. The subtlety here is that now the learner is in a crucial position. He can now "get along," have a job and enjoy a certain level of wage-earning and personal success in English. The danger now is that because the immediate pressure is off, the strong motivation to move into the white part of the circle—the refinements of English—is not there. So if we meet such students ten years later, they may be speaking much the way they did ten years before, even though previously they had made noticeable and in some cases remarkable progress up to that point.

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Therefore, at this point in the process, a whole new relationship has to emerge. Going back to our analogy of the key-and-lock, we would propose that here is where we begin to get a reverse process. The lock, now, must respond aggressively and begin to put pressure on the bolt to withdraw the bolt so that the lock may be opened. Looking at the sensitive and complex personal relationship involved, this point in the human learning process is crucial for both knower and learner. The learner, now quite conscious of what he knows, can become increasingly resistant to what he still does not know. The knower, on the other hand, increasingly conscious of the learner's resistance, the learner's pride in what he already knows, is apt to begin having difficulty in offering corrections, or, in our terms, filling out the white side of the circle.

Stage IV comes about when this ambiguity has been resolved constructively; when the learner's anger, aggression, intense struggle to work out for himself his achievement in the target language has been quietly encouraged. This is done not so much by overt approval but by an obvious willingness on the part of the teacher to leave learning space. So the end of Stage IV, the learner is secure that he can be self-assertive, committed, even angry in the new language, much as he is in his own and in no way will this assertion of self be misunderstood or interpreted negatively by the knower or other members of the learning community. At the same time, the learner is sure he will receive the knower's necessary corrections and precisions.

This leads, then, in our experience, to the creative relationship where at the second half of Stage IV, the beginning of Stage V and beyond, minute discriminations and corrections can be made and absorbed. At this point there can be a total investment of the learning self in all the fine discriminations, idioms, subtleties of construction, and better style that the knower can still give. But, for this to be best fulfilled, the learner's defensiveness must give way to open understanding of the knower's hesitancy and insecurity in making such corrections. The understander now becomes the learner in this subtle aspect of the relationship.

As we can see here we have moved from the model of the knower who has the "key" to linguistic "problems" and the learner who is seen as the cooperative lock, to a more human creative learning model. In this creative relationship, a new learning self is born through the delicate union between a sensitive knower and equally sensitive learners.

Before we move on to those conditions that most favor this kind of creative growth of a new learning self, let's look at one further point about the speaker of another language. One can still remain somewhat of an observer in studying grammar, vocabulary and in learning to read another language. While it is less true in writing because one's knowledge of grammar and vocabulary is in some measure on the line, yet even in that case, there is usually a chance for correction before we make a total commitment of ourselves in writing.

It is when one *speaks* another language that one is linguistically naked. One is vulnerable to the skilled knower who can immediately catch the mistakes. It is

this special risk in being a speaker, the sole person, that heightens the necessity for an atmosphere of personal security permeating all five stages.

7. Mutual security for both knower and learner

To catch the conditions that seem, in our experience over twenty years of research, to be necessary to best produce this creative relationship, we have devised the acronym SARD. The "S" is this mutual security that both learner and knower have with one another. We have found this best achieved by imitating counseling and psychotherapy in the relationship of deep understanding between learner and knower. We wish to arrive at the same kind of commitment and methodic trust that the client has towards the counselor and in turn the same unconditional positive regard on the part of the counselor towards the client. This seems to result in a creative security equally shared and mutually supported by both knower and learner. This does not mean the knower needs to be a psychotherapist or even a skilled counselor. But certain understanding skills that bring this knower-learner security can be learned by practice and effort.

There are a number of subtleties in how this security is produced. But in our experience two basic attitudes held by the knower-teacher seem important. The first is an attitude of total trust and confidence in the learners. Along with this must go a non-judgmental attitude about the person of the learner. In this kind of atmosphere, learners can let the sounds of the target language as they come from the knower-teacher flow through them in total and relaxed imitation. We might add here that this total trust may be especially difficult in our time because of advertising and similar daily barrages that tend to force us to continual skepticism and doubt. But unless the learner trusts the teacher, he will tend to filter, distort and even misunderstand. So, confusedly, the learner proves his doubts right when, in fact, in an attitude of doubting resistance, he never clearly heard and so never learned what the teacher had really said.

While there are many ways in which this initial trust and non-judgmental atmosphere can be brought about, we have found one of the best ways is to have learners begin speaking the target language in small groups (4-7) at a time through a skilled language counselor. The same trusting atmosphere can be generated in larger groups. Out of this sense of support grows the independent knowledge of the learner, as we have described earlier, by reason of a slowly assertive independence. These conversations, recorded, played back, and put in writing, can serve as a text, if desired, for grammatical and vocabulary reflection. We will say more about this when we talk about reflection.

The second attitude which is basic to security has to do with the teacher seeing himself as giving "seeds of knowledge" which must have their unique germination in each learner. This view is in contrast to the model "knowledge is power." The giving up of teacher power is crucial here and not easy since power brings status and self-security. But the knower's willingness to give this up is a major factor in student growth.

In the agrarian seed model, then, power is not an issue at all but it is rather an entering-in process. If there is to be a harvest, the farmer must put seeds into

the ground, cover them up with dirt and then depend on the soil and the natural process to do its work. Once plants begin to emerge the farmer must then do other things than he did at the beginning, if they are to continue to grow sturdy and strong.

Learner security seems to emerge in much the same way. When learners have tested the teacher by openly imitating the strange sounds or later, making up phrases and sentences by themselves, and they discover total acceptance through the non-judgmental attitude of the teacher, the learners seem to gain confidence. confidence grows and takes on a different value, especially in Stage III, where the learners feel that they can be aggressive and angry. They can even project this on the knower, as a surrogate for what they are hostile to in themselves—namely, the mistakes they continue to make—and yet still not be rejected by the teacher or the other group members.

Once this kind of security has been established and affirmed, the learner seems increasingly motivated to work on his own vocabulary lists and grammar structures and able to sort out what he knows and what he still needs to know. It is in this sense that he is freeing himself more and more from a dependency on the knower. In this way too the teacher grows more confident and secure making discriminated corrections. It is this mutual confidence and security then which is characteristic of Stage IV. However, it is at this point in the process, as we have indicated earlier, that the learner begins to recognize that his very confidence may, in turn, begin to threaten the teacher. If it is so, the teacher may, in fact, say this.

This is a pivotal point in the relationship. It has been our experience that in proportion as the learner takes the responsibility of making it easy for the teacher to make these final corrections, give idioms and different subtleties of expression which could not be given earlier, a final mutually fulfilling creative learning experience occurs. All these changes in the learning process we have placed under the heading of security.

The second letter in the acronym SARD can be understood as attention-aggression. While it is true that the word "aggression" in popular parlance has a pejorative tone, we mean it to signify an active posture on the part of the learner in contrast to a more passive one. The very fact that learners in this process begin by *speaking* puts them in an assertive or aggressive position. It also puts them in an attentive position. As the learner speaks and hears back his own sentences, as well as those of the other learners in the group, he is constantly made aware that he is guiding the conversation, not the teacher. It is in this sense that attention and learner aggression coincide. The more actively involved the learner, the greater the attention. This can also be helped by the use of playing cards, as we do with many of our groups; some type of conversational script can be helpful here too, when conversation bogs down. But any activity that can be the occasion of active participation on the part of the learner heightens attention.

Moving to the "R" of SARD, the core element here is the concept of reflection. While retention flows from reflection and is also represented by the "R," for our purpose in this paper we will talk about two types of reflection. One we

will call "text reflection" and the other "experience reflection." The text reflection can be carried out in a number of ways. One way we have found quite helpful is to listen back to a tape recording of the conversation—in the target language. The learner partly by guesswork, partly by memory, and partly by recognition, realizes that he has understood almost all of its contents—in the target language. This is a great satisfaction.

This experience alone, which can occur in one of the first sessions, becomes one of the most important of all security sources by way of reflection. The learner can say to himself, "I understood that and it was all in the target language." Even though he had said it originally in his native language, having now heard himself speaking English, his English self is already beginning to be born. This initiates the process through which this new English self (NES) steadily grows to finally become a confident adult in English as he or she is in his or her own language.

The second type of reflection, reflection on the learning experience itself, is also important. This is where the teacher needs some special skills in psychological understanding. The learner often needs time to take counsel with himself around his conflicts, anger, anxiety and general emotional states brought about by the learning experience. We have found it extremely valuable if the teacher or another skilled person who can speak the native language of the learner, is able to allow the learner to clarify his anger, discouragement, or alternatively, feelings of encouragement and hope and similar reactions, even if that exchange is only two or three minutes.

This exchange, however, is best carried out if the teacher has acquired some skill in understanding both affective and cognitive communication. This kind of communication can bring forward remarkable gains in self-awareness and can free the learner to go on unimpeded by a certain emotion, conflict, or self-accusation. This kind of understanding seems especially to help the learner overcome an urge to withdraw in shame and embarrassment at making mistakes.

While it can be extremely demanding on the teacher of English who works with multi-language students and who does not speak their native languages to attempt this kind of reflective experience, the very nature of the struggle, painful, slow, and inadequate as it might appear to be, can be significantly freeing to the learners. We are not proposing that reflective understanding demands a complex and esoteric psychotherapeutic skill. Rather, we are saying that such understanding can be learned, with effort, by any dedicated and sensitive teacher.

The last letter in the acronym SARD is related to *discrimination*. We feel that one of the most common reasons why learners do not discriminate in a language and therefore continue all their lives to make the same mistakes, is that they were never totally secure and so never completely attentive. Consequently they never had a chance to reflect on what the exact sound, spelling, grammatical construction, was. In the rare instance when they had a chance to do this, say, after ten years of speaking English, they are amazed that they never knew that the word sounded like that even though they may have used it thousands of times.

The adult language learner is, at first, often impatient with the minute details of perfecting the target language. We propose, therefore, like the small child, the adult learner is allowed to be secure in the first three stages as long as he or she can be understood. But we are not suggesting any neglect of precision, grammatical accuracy and careful pronunciation. Rather 'we are suggesting waiting for an adult learning readiness for this kind of discrimination. We are suggesting that we wait until a stage of adequate learning security has been achieved—in our process, Stages III and IV. It would be at this time that precise discrimination in various areas would emerge as part of the creative new-self growth. By this time too, the learner is secure enough to concentrate on and so really hear these discriminations.

Now that we have discussed those conditions contained in the acryonym SARD, you may be saying to yourself, well this kind of model for learning demands far more advanced psychological skill than the ordinary teacher would have. Our experience has been the contrary. This is part of the reason for entitling our talk, "A linguistic model for learning and living in the new age of the person." We are in a new age, an exciting new age. We can begin to consider now not only methodologies aimed at helping teachers to be more skilled teachers, but also methodologies aimed at helping learners to be more skilled learners. These methodologies also further those deep personal relationships that we have called "community learning." The acquiring of this kind of creative skill is not beyond the ability, understanding and degree of commitment that any dedicated teacher would normally have.

We are not minimizing that this does demand training and skill. From our experiences with teachers, however, we are proposing that it is most valuable training and skill not only for learning but for living in this new age of the person.

8. "Yoin"

We return now to the model with which we began—the stone dropped in the pool. The Japanese use this to illustrate what they mean by *yoin*. In the concept of *yoin*—one of the most sensitive relationships among cultured ar 1 educated Japanese—a knower delicately suggests only the minimum of what he thinks an enquirer would need. The enquirer, then, is left on his own to pursue in his own uniqueness, fineness, and sensitivity, all that this quest would lead him to. The height of *yoin* is for the knower to hold back and in no way enter this sanctuary of the learner's quest.

This, perhaps, is what we in the West are beginning to learn now in this new age of the person—something of the Japanese conception of *yoin*. Or stated another way, we are beginning to understand the conditions of fineness between persons who are in a deep . . . ive relationship. Whether it is the creative relationship of having child. . in love or producing a manuscript together, or knowers and learners deeply engaged together in the language learning process, the conditions that convalidate each one's worth seem to be the same.

This is the heart of Counseling-Learning/Community Language Learning.

We are proposing that a truly creative learning relationship, like any creative relationship, must give evidence not only of insemination, as most basic and essential, but also germination and a continuing delicately demanding cooperation together. What we are talking about then—if I may use the word, not sentimentally but in a constructively creative sense—is a love relationship between TESOL and TESOL, giving birth to a whole new English self in the Speaker of the Other Language, or what we might call NESSOL.

To truly learn something then, is to grow a new self—from infancy to adulthood. This, we know, is best accomplished in an atmosphere suffused with mutually reflected fineness, worth, consideration and deeply shared regard.

Comprehension and Language Learning

Harris Winitz

With the development of modern linguistic theory a reassessment of the psychological processes which underlie linguistic functioning was unavoidable. Not only were traditional concepts reassessed, but the psychologies offered in their support were labelled as simplistic and at times scorned. Throughout the history of language teaching, language teachers and psychologists have worked together to advance their understanding of the language learning process. This point was recognized by John Weigel in his review of Carl Krause's book on the direct method. His comments appeared in the second volume of the *Modern Language Journal* and are still relevant 61 years later. Weigel (1917:86) said, "We must . . support him [the psychologist] when he is right and set him right when he is wrong. But to do that, let it be repeated, we shall have to debate with him on his grounds, i.e. in *specific, definite* and *objective terms*. That must be the next step in our field."

Language teachers because of their tradition and experience are generally cautious in their acceptance of new teaching approaches. Recently Disick urged conservatism and illustrated her position with the following passage:

> Hurry, hurry, folks, step right up. Take yer places now. Bandwagon leaving every ten years. Just a few seats left. Be the first in your school (Disick 1973:248)

Disick does not have a closed mind, but like many other language teachers exercises caution when there are promises of easy and rapid language learning.

At times psychologists have recommended to language teachers that they break with tradition, but often have not offered substantive replacements. For example, the psychologist Leon Jakobovits (1970a), writing on foreign language methodology, urged foreign language teachers to abandon the past by doing away with behavioristic audio-lingual drills. He recommended instead "tranformational" drills. Jakobovits' tranformational drills are, in reality, substitution drills, commonly used by teachers since the introduction of the audio-lingual system. Jakobovits failed to provide substantive methodological changes in

language instruction simply because he was unable to operationalize two major philosophical premises held by tranformational grammarians.

The two premises to which I refer as well as a third one from the discipline of child language shall serve to explain the origins of the comprehension approach to foreign language instruction. As I have said on other occasions, our early research activity in this area was begun before we were aware of the writings of James Asher (1965; 1977). To him tribute must be given for conceiving and developing the comprehension system which he has called the "strategy of the total physical response."

Prior to my discussion of these three premises a brief description of the language teaching system, which we call the comprehension method, will be given. The learner is asked only to look at pictures and to listen to sentences. Initially single words are taught, then short sentences are introduced through careful sequencing of sentence patterns. Each sentence corresponds to a picture as illustrated in Figures 1 through 5.

These figures are taken from our language program entitled *The Learnables.*[1] Figure 1 presents the first four items of lesson 1. In Figure 2 Noun-Verb-Object sequences are indicated. Both the subject and object nouns were initially introduced as single items. Figure 3 illustrates a sequence in which the relative clause is introduced (lesson 24). Right embedded rather than center embedded clauses were used to reduce the initial complexity of these structures. In Figure 4 the lexical item "forgot" is taught in the context of a story sequence (lesson 28). The non-reversible passive is introduced in picture form in Figure 5 (lesson 34). In our illustration "meat" could not be identified as the grammatical subject, because the sentence "the meat ate the dog" is semantically anomalous. The conditional is introduced through a story context (lesson 37) and is illustrated in Figure 6.

The first premise of the comprehension approach is that language should be understood before it is spoken. Often comprehension has been regarded as a passive process and speaking as an active process. This tenet is in sharp contrast to a basic belief held by transformational grammarians (Chomsky 1957; 1965), who regard the grammar for listening and the grammar for speaking as the same. Speaking is a performance function which utilizes the same grammar that enables the listener to understand spoken sentences. Speaking is made possible by certain encoding processes, but these should not be confused with the linguistic systems traditionally identified as semantics, syntax and phonology. It is unknown whether production, the conversion of an abstract grammatical string into speech, can be taught. However, it seems reasonable that this process could not

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1 The pictures and sentences on pp. 51–53 are representative of lessons taken from *The Learnables,* published by International Linguistics. Each picture corresponds to a word, phrase or sentence. The subject listens to an utterance and looks at the appropriately designated picture. The words and sentences which are bracketed in Figures 1–6 are not shown to the subject, they are presented here for illustrative purposes only.
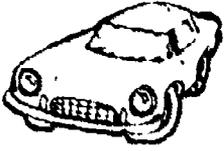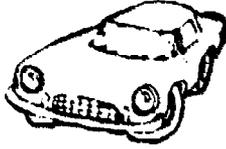
1 [car] **2** [car]

1 [The lady eats the fish.] **2** [The doctor eats the egg.]
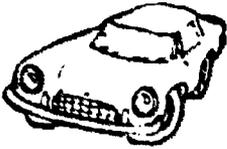
3 [car] **4** [doctor]

3 [The doctor eats the fish.] **4** [The doctor eats the fish.]

FIGURE 1. LESSON 1.

FIGURE 2. LESSON 1.

1 [Mrs. Smith watches the movie and eats the candy.]

2 [Mr. Smith eats the candy and watches the movie.]

3 [They see a lady who is fat.]

4 [They see a man who is fat.]

5 [They see a boy who is fat.]

6 [They see a girl who is fat.]

7 [The boy who is fat is eating candy.]

8 [The fat man is the father.]

FIGURE 3. LESSON 24.

5
[The checker A checker is a cashier in a grocery store.]

6
[The cash register]

7
[The cash register]

8
[The checker puts the coffee, lettuce, tomatoes and chicken on the counter.]

9
[I forgot the milk.]

10
[Her husband goes to get some milk.]

11
[He returns with the milk.]

12
[I forgot the bread.]

FIGURE 4. LESSON 28.

5
[This boy's name is Bill.]

6
[Bill sees the dog eating the meat.]

7
[Bill runs to his mother.]

8
["Mother, the meat was eaten by the dog."]

9
["What? The meat was eaten by the dog?"]

10
["Yes, come into the dining room."]

11
["See, the meat is gone."] ["The dog has eaten the meat."]
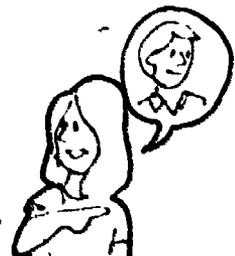
12
["Oh, no! Let's tell Father."]

FIGURE 5. LESSON 34

5J

5 ["Carrots are good for you. Eat your carrots."]

6 ["I do not like carrots."]

7 ["If you eat your carrots, I will give you this ice cream."]

8 ["If I eat my carrots, you will let me have the ice cream?"]

9 ["Yes. If you eat your carrots, you can have the ice cream."]

10 ["But I do not like carrots."]

11 ["Please eat your carrots."]

12 ["All right, I will eat my carrots."]

Figure 6 Lesson 37

take place without grammatical knowledge. It should be no surprise, then, to observe that advanced theories of speech processing are predicated on the belief that listening (or analysis) presupposes the generation of an internal speech-like process (or synthesis). Understanding takes place when the perceived sentence is believed to have the same interpretation as the internally generated sentence.

It should be emphasized that the comprehension approach does not discourage speech; it simply does not use speech as a medium for language instruction. Speech, it is believed, will develop without any direct training (Winitz and Reeds 1975; Asher 1977), rather spontaneously as it does in young children as they learn their native language. In one article (Winitz 1973:586) I posed this question. " ... is speech production not taught at all? Our answer to this question is an emphatic yes."

A second premise held by transformational grammarians is that grammatical knowledge is tacit knowledge (Chomsky 1965). The native speaker acquires his language by having contact with a variety of sentence patterns from which he develops or discovers an abstract set of grammatical structures. These internalized rules are not explicitly available to the speaker-hearer. Surface structure is critical input for the acquisition of deep structure, because the speaker-hearer apparently derives deep structure meaning by applying behavioral strategies to surface structure strings (Bever 1970).

Rivers (1972a) distinguishes, as Chomsky and others have, between a linguistic grammar and a pedagogic grammar. Yet she fails to take the final plunge: eliminating explicit instruction in grammatical rules. Dulay and Burt (1973) and Winitz and Reeds (1975) have taken the position that explicit instruction in grammatical rules should not be used as a language training routine. They give three reasons: (1) language acquisition is an implicit process, (2) the grammatical relationships currently used to describe sentences are incomplete and in many instances wrong, and (3) rules are derived from experience with sentences. Let me explore with you these three reasons further. First, it is generally believed that the native language learner through contact with the sentences of a language establishes underlying relationships. He is not taught these relationships explicitly, that is by being given explicit grammatical rules. Rather he processes language data covertly from his contact with the sentences of a language. He is given some help along the way, but it is not of the variety found in language classes. The initial sentences he hears are simplified, somewhat slower and repeated often. As the child shows understanding of the sentences addressed to him, his parents gradually increase their complexity. It should be recognized that only the overt sentence patterns are manipulated by the child's parents. No grammatical explanations are given, no audio-lingual drills are memorized, no speaking practice is insisted upon, and the memorization of grammatical paradigms is not urged.

A second consideration is that the grammatical constructions which are usually taught in standard first-year foreign language texts are poor approximations of generative grammars. Most rules are of the surface variety. Rules of transformational grammars can be taught, although it can be quickly recognized that if transformational grammar is stressed in a language class a large majority of students will fail to understand the material not only because of its complexity, but also because of their unfamiliarity with the second language. It is therefore not recommended that the second language learner be introduced to transformational grammar as a strategy for language acquisition.

The third reason and, perhaps the major difficulty with explicit instruction, is that there is good reason to believe that language acquisition is an implicit process: underlying rules are internalized by contact with sentence exemplars (Slobin 1971, Winitz and Reeds 1975). This position is in contradiction to the convention that sentences are generated after rules are instantiated.

Asher (1965; 1977), Winitz and Reeds (1973; 1975) and Dulay and Burt (1973) have all advocated that a second language is learned by listening to sentences and abstracting rules according to a process that is essentially the same as that of first language learning. Dulay and Burt confine their remarks to children learning a second language; nonetheless they question whether syntax can be taught explicitly. They phrase their question in the following way:

"Should we teach children syntax?" The available research indicates, "No." Although we believe that an L; teacher should continue to *diagnose*

children's L, syntax, our findings suggest that we should leave the learning to
the children and redirect our teaching efforts to other aspects of language.
(Burt and Dulay 1973:257)

It has been advocated before. Adherents of the natural method as it was practiced
in medieval Germany (Purin 1916), postponed statements of grammatical prin-
ciples until late learning stages. I am, of course, recommending that grammatical
principles not be taught at all as part of the language learning process.

The th. I premise pertains to an often unchallenged principle of foreign
language instruction which I have called the principle of linear language learn-
ing. According to the principle of linear language learning, each language exer-
cise or set of rules is to be mastered before another grammatical rule or paradigm
is introduced to the student. Those who utilize this principle of language instruc-
tion assume that language is acquired in discrete steps and that mastery of a
natural language involves the cumulative total of all discrete steps.

Language mastery is not linear in form. The structures underlying language
are too complex and intertwined to be isolated into discrete, putatively sequen-
tial, surface units, like a textbook in social studies or history. Correct mastery of
discrete lesson units, such as the past, the future, the subjunctive, contractions,
relative cla' markers, embedded clauses, etc. could only be possible if a natural
language w composed of a set of phrase structure rules.

In point of fact language is a set of base rules and transformational rules, of
which the exact form has not been determined. It is, therefore, impossible to
isolate units of instruction which will teach errorless learning in usage. This prob-
lem is specific only to output (writing or speaking) and not to comprehension. As
an example consider the following set of sentences, contributed by Belasco
(1965), which might turn up in a student's text in a unit on objects, pronouns or
verbs:

> I am writing it to him
> I am sending it to him
> I am telling it to him
> I am saying it to him

The next three sentences might also appear, but the last one will not, because it is
ungrammatical:

> I am writing him to do it
> I am sending him to do it
> I am telling him to do it
> *I am saying him to do it

Although this last sentence will not appear in the lesson as incorrect, its omis-
sion and the student's ability level at this point will probably encourage its allow-
ability

Belasco's example cogently and forcefully confirms that lessons or sets of ex-

ercises cannot lead to correct usage, because correct usage is tied to an under-
standing of the entire grammatical system and its interlocking and contrastive
parts. To insist that individual lessons should result in correct grammatical usage
is to believe that language consists of a set of isolated phrase structure grammars.

From an instructor's perspective non-linear learning means that "errors" in
speech or composition are to be accepted. The comprehension approach handles
this problem well because speech or writing is not demanded, and, therefore, er-
rors in these modalities are ignored. Only comprehension is taught and only pro-
gress in comprehension is assessed. The learner simply acts out commands
(Asher 1977) or listens to sentences and observes their meaning through pictures.

I do not have space here to give a detailed description of the teaching pro-
cedures of the comprehension approach, nor is there space to summarize the ex-
perimental findings evaluating this approach. May I refer you to references con-
tained within this paper

The Teaching of English as a Second Language and U.S. Foreign Policy

Harold B. Allen

In this paper I shall be talking about the role of the teaching of English in the foreign policy of the United States. It is a role that manifests first a promising rise to importance. Here is revealed a tragic situation for us who believe in the significance of the teaching of English in the international field—indeed, for all of us concerned with the teaching of English to speakers of other languages, anywhere.

It is coincidental that this paper was first given in Mexico City, for it was there, forty-five years ago, that the United States first established an English-teaching operation in another country. You might well say, "That is where it all began."

In 1933 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt described to the members of the Pan-American Conference the principles of cooperation that became known as the Good Neighbor policy. In anticipation of the increased concern with the teaching of English in Puerto Rico and the Latin American countries, the American Council on Education asked the late Professor Charles C. Fries of the University of Michigan to undertake a preliminary investigation, which he made on a grant from the Carnegie Foundation. By this time the interest of the U.S. Department of State in teaching English in Latin American countries was so great that, with the cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation, it promoted a crucial invitational conference at the University of Michigan in the fall of 1939. The purpose of the conference was to decide upon the ideological basis for such teaching—as it turned out, to decide between the Basic English with pictures proposed by I. A. Richards and a linguistically based approach advocated by Fries. The upshot of the conference was a grant to Fries to develop teaching materials for the intensive course in English that was experimentally offered in the trial summer program for Latin American students at Michigan in the summer of 1941. It was so successful an experiment that it led to the formal establishment of Michigan's famous English Language Institute with State Department support and helping funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. The following year the

Department of State, through the office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, took a significant first step. It provided a grant to the Institute to train a select group of U.S. teachers for English-teaching posts in South America and at the same time invited eighteen Latin American students to enroll in the intensive course in Ann Arbor

One year later, in 1943, the United States for the first time in its history moved through the Department of State to set up an ongoing English-teaching program abroad. It provided a grant to the Michigan Institute to support for eighteen months the English Language Institute at the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico City. Fries sent the late Albert H. Marckwardt as the first director.

That action affected my own life, too. It developed that Marckwardt was needed for the full eighteen months, before the Institute was placed under the sponsorship of the Instituto Norteamericano de Relaciones Culturales. When he learned that he could not fulfill an obligation to serve as visiting professor of phonetics at Mills College's own English Language Institute, he recommended me for the position. That's how I first became involved in teaching English as a foreign language.

After the Second World War the United States found its international relations so greatly expanded as to extend its English language concern to other parts of the world besides Latin America. Because these interests were sometimes political, sometimes economic, and sometimes educational, governmental attention to these needs developed independently in several different departments and agencies. There was no single over-all plan or direction. Inevitably, duplication and overlapping resulted. In Beirut in 1959 William Slager and I found two parallel English teaching operations carried on by two different U.S. agencies with no coordination between them and with no awareness on the part of their directors that in nearby Cairo were Smith-Mundt professors available for workshop or consultation.

By that time, however, the problem had become apparent in Washington. In that same year, 1959, the then assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs created an interagency working group to exchange among the agencies information about what each was doing in the field. In countries where several agencies operated parallel programs coordinating committees were set up, although not always with complete communication between them, and the central coordinating committee met regularly in Washington.

But since the information was exchanged only among the concerned agencies without reference to equally concerned nongovernmental groups or individuals, a certain need still seemed to exist. That is why an ad hoc conference in Washington in 1961, sponsored by the International Cooperation Administration and the Center for Applied Linguistics, recommended the appointment of a small permanent nongovernmental group with two major functions: to assist in promoting the desirable interchange of information among the relevant government agencies, and to provide those agencies with impartial professional counsel

from academic specialists. This group, the National Advisory Council on Teaching English as a Foreign Language (NACTEFL), met first in 1962 and semi-annually or annually thereafter until 1975. At its meetings the Council received increasingly frank reports from the various agencies and prepared for them con-structive decisions reflecting the Council's reactions.

What agencies have been providing these reports about America's English-teaching activities overseas? It has been an assorted group, indeed. In England the slow expansion of English-teaching operations since the days of the Empire allowed growth of a single semiautonomous agency, the British Council, with a variety of tasks. But the rapid expansion in the United States spread these tasks among several governmental bodies, not always with clear lines of demarcation. They are the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), the Agency for International Development (AID), the United States In-formation Agency (USIA), the Office of Education (HEW), the Peace Corps, and the Department of Defense (DOD).

After the first tentative beginning in Latin America, the English-teaching activity of the United States increased tremendously in various agencies and de-partments until it reached a peak just before 1970. Then began the serious downward trend that reduced the activity to its present sad plight.

As our teaching of English overseas burgeoned in the 1950's and 1960's, the lack of such a central focus as in England inheres in the British Council was at least in part provided by a series of high-level policy statements. In 1961 the ad hoc conference called by the Center for Applied Linguistics agreed that the teaching of English was of such critical international significance as to require a sustained national emphasis. The conference concluded that the government should take the steps needed to formulate long-range strategy and policy. One year later, in 1962, Philip Coombs, the then assistant secretary of state for cultur-al affairs, responded by telling the participants in the initial meeting of NACTEFL that "the problem of English as a foreign language is crucial and hence has prior-ity in the government." Because of the tremendous motivation for learning En-glish, from that of the elevator operator in the Istanbul Hilton to that of the school club in Africa seeking to use library books and listen to the radio, "a mas-sive effort," he said, "is required of the United States."

This high-level support was repeated a year later, in 1963, when Coombs' successor, Lucius Battle, addressed the second meeting of NACTEFL. Members of the Advisory Council heard from him that Secretary of State Dean Rusk was spearheading a new awareness of the important role of the English language in United States foreign policy, both economically and culturally. He went on to stress the need for coordination and unity, through his example of no fewer than seventeen different American governmental and private agencies engaged in teaching English in Ankara, Turkey.

But the most important policy statement was that signed by President Lyn-don B. Johnson on June 11, 1965, enunciating the official U.S. position. It read, in part, as follows:

> The rapidly growing interest in English cuts across ideological lines. . . .. Demands for learning English are widespread. The United States ought to respond to these demands. English is a key which opens doors to scientific and technical knowledge indispensable to the economic and political development of vast areas of the world. An increase in the knowledge of English can contribute directly to greater understanding among nations. . . . The United States government is prepared, as a major policy, to be of active and friendly assistance to countries that desire such help in the utilization of English.

How did the achievements match these statements of need and policy? They are so many and so varied that here I can only sample and generalize. But as I describe them, remember always that behind the figures are people, on the one hand dedicated teachers and government professionals contributing to what they considered a noble cause, and on the other, men and women, boys and girls, eager to learn English because it can offer a channel of communication to new knowledge and new opportunities.

I used "dedicated" and "cause" deliberately. Of course, I know that there have been those who accepted overseas assignments just because of the chance to travel or the need for a job of some kind or the opportunity of a rich experience for their children. I know too, that some governmental motivation was not particularly ethical. Yet most of the people directly involved in the teaching were really dedicated to a cause. They believed that the teaching of English is a definite step toward the kind of international understanding that must be the foundation of world peace. I can say honestly that when I went to Egypt in 1954 and again for a second year in 1958 I was driven by the thought that somehow by helping to prepare teachers and textbooks for that country I was doing my small bit for the cause of peace. Many of you can offer similar testimony about your own commitment. It is idealism, yes, but idealism with a very practical motivation. It is the idealism, at a time when American materials for overseas use were generally inadequate, that led the executive committee of the National Council of Teachers of English to accept a proposal of the United States Information Agency to plan and produce a series that eventually became the *English for Today* textbooks. I know that you understand this for it is that same idealism that led also to the founding of the TESOL organization itself.

Well, here then are the government agencies through which these dedicated people have offered their special professional competence to the peace-related activity of teaching English and preparing teachers of English outside the United States.

1. **Department of State.** Since its first attention to English-teaching in Latin America nearly forty years ago, State's Bureau of Educational Policy and Cultural Affairs (CU), has sponsored many programs to strengthen patterns of informal communication abroad. Its announced purpose has been twofold: to influence the environment in which American foreign policy is carried out, and to enlarge the circle of those able to serve as influential interpreters between the United States and other nations.

After that beginning in 1939, State steadily extended in Latin America a program for sending American professors to Latin American universities. Support from the Congress allowed it to bring teachers and administrators to the United States for development programs in English. It also prepared English orientation programs for students heading for graduate work in American universities. These programs were particularly successful in Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico.

In the 1950's the activity expanded greatly in order to accommodate the national involvement overseas. Through the Teacher Exchange Program, the International Educational Development Program, and the grants provided by the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act, teachers and exchanges were provided for Japan, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Lebanon, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Syria, and several African countries.

The grants for all this activity varied according to the countries involved. One country needed teachers of advanced methods, another needed specialists in materials preparation, and yet another required specialists in applied linguistics to provide theoretical background. The time of the academic year and the availability of possible grantees, especially in the senior categories, were other critical variables. So some American lecturers were abroad for a half year and some for a whole year; some specialists could take time only for short-term seminars; classroom teachers normally received grants for a full school year. The grantees coming to the United States under the International Education Development Program usually were research scholars for a semester or an academic year, teachers for three- to six-month training courses or for educational travel for one or two months, foreign students for graduate work in TEFL or applied linguistics, or educational leaders for two- to three-month visits with their opposite numbers in American institutions or school systems.

Recent specific actions through the State Department are the 1970 agreement sending twenty-five American TESL teachers to Spanish teacher-training institutes and bringing twenty-seven Spanish secondary school teachers of English to the United States for a year of advanced training; the 1973 agreement with Hungary that has brought three graduate students to the University of Minnesota for the M.A. degree in teaching English as a foreign language; and the 1975 arrangement with Egypt by which on a five-year contract the University of California at Los Angeles is providing staff in the faculty of education of 'Ain Shams University in Cairo in order to improve the quality of English teaching in that country.

2. United States Information Agency. Within the USIA a minimal portion of the time and effort of the Voice of America has been apportioned to teaching English—so minimal, indeed, that one Agency staff member described it as "mickey mouse." It is true that between 1963 and 1969 the Voice did profit by English specialist guidance in the production of useful English teaching materials for radio instruction, but since that time nothing professional has been done. I

should mention that the recent beaming of English lessons to the People's Republic of China brought numerous requests for advanced textbooks in English.

But the strength of USIA's activity has been in what is now classed as its English Teaching Staff. In the most recent report available to me, that of March, 1977, it appears that in FY 1976 the USIA was able to support direct teaching programs in 61 binational cultural centers with USIA-approved directors. These centers that year taught 183,000 students. The figures do not include former centers still operating in various countries without any Agency-approved personnel, that is, with only indigenous teachers and directors.

During that same fiscal year USIA, with the help of the Washington-based consultants who travel six to nine months a year, offered more than 100 teacher-training seminars to more than 4,600 teachers.

The English Teaching Staff is also responsible for publication in the TESL field. It issues annotated catalogs of the commercial products available, prepares supplementary classroom materials, and compiles reference documents. Best known of the last group is *The English Teaching Forum*, a pedagogical publication issued quarterly, with a present circulation of about 70,000. Last year the staff completed two half-hour television programs treating varieties and levels of American English, and a third is scheduled for completion in June, 1978.

If your own work is only within the United States, you may never have heard of *The English Teaching Forum*, despite its value for you. The reason is to be found in the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, the legislation that created the USIA in the first place. One clause prohibits the distribution of USIA publications within the United States. Preposterously, this clause applies also to this quite non-political publication, *The Forum*, which was not established until 1961. After NACTEFL complained about this to USIA for several years, it became clear that any action would have to be initiated outside a government agency. So recently I went to my own congressman, Donald Fraser, who agreed that the situation doesn't make sense. He has assured me that he will seek to introduce wording into the next appropriations bill so as to make *The Forum* available to ESL teachers and students at home as well as overseas.

Incidentally, some hint as to the effectiveness of the teaching in the binational centers appeared during my visit to a high school in Tehran five years ago. Only two students in a third-year class in English could converse with me during an attempted class question period. After class they acknowledged that their ability resulted from their studying English after school at the Iran-American Society Center.

3. **Agency for International Development.** AID, although without its own English teaching specialists, has an imposing record of past accomplishment through its establishing language laboratories, offering intensive English language programs to middle management in various countries, helping to prepare textbooks and other teacher-training materials, and making a long-range plan for six regional English Teacher Training Centers throughout the world. In 1970, for example, Congressional appropriations enabled AID to provide textbook

paper, books, and manuals in Indonesia, send 400,000 English textbooks to Vietnam, offer in Kenya both preservice and inservice training for elementary teachers and supervisors, give Nigeria books and grants to improve English instruction as with a new language laboratory at Kano, continue some support for the first regional training center in Beirut, and fund the final steps in construction of the center in Singapore.

The Singapore center is housed in its own eighteen-story building that was dedicated in 1972. It has a staff of twelve and two language experts each from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. It has training and research facilities, a library, research and publications units, a thirty-post language laboratory, tutorial rooms and classrooms, and self-supporting office and hotel accommodations intended to finance the building operation without further funding. The center provides a one-year diploma course, a four-month certificate course, and a three-month specialized course, all of which have been taken in numbers by teachers from the countries of Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

And the demands upon AID continued. In 1972 Afghanistan requested a seven-month national survey of English teaching needs and resources, Senegal sought an English-teaching center, and Yemen asked for English teaching help through the new AID missions there.

Most recently AID has been able to grant Georgetown University a five-year contract to set up and staff in Damascus an intensive English teaching center for a limited number of Syrian governmental officials and graduate students intending to study in the United States. The total obligation will be about $1,000,000.

4. Health, Education, and Welfare. Although not authorized in its own right to function outside the United States, the Office of Education has served as the contracting agent for the Department of State in administering the International Development Program. This is the program by which, as I have already described, foreign students, teachers, and scholars have been brought to the United States for study, research, and consultation.

5. Peace Corps. When the Peace Corps was established in 1961, it was not considered primarily as an English teaching enterprise. Under the first director, Sargent Shriver, its naive position was that if any Volunteers were called upon to teach English they could do very well simply because they were native speakers of the language. The fact, of course, was that most Volunteers did find themselves teaching English—with zeal but with no preparation, no experience, and often with no teaching materials. By 1964, however, repeated suggestions from NAC-TEFL led to at least some acceptance of the view that a certain measure of professionalism was required. Most of its 10,000 trainees that year participated in 35 training programs with at least a minimal EFL component.

By 1970 the Peace Corps had five professional English language teaching specialists. By 1974 the number had grown to seven, and the Eastern Africa program had become largely concerned with English teaching. There were then 378 Peace Corp Volunteers teaching in schools and preparing teachers in teacher-training inst. tions in thirteen French-speaking countries in Africa. The Peace

Corps was also teaching English in six other countries there that had been British colonies. In addition there were 650 English-teaching Volunteers in Afghanistan, Iran, Korea, Tunisia, Yemen, and elsewhere, besides special workshops conducted in Fiji; Thailand, and Malaysia. An oft-repeated suggestion from NAC-TEFL led to the creation of a Peace Corps English-teaching clearinghouse in Washington in 1975 in order to reduce some of the excessive duplication in materials preparation that since the beginning had characterized the operation.

6. Department of Defense. Quite different from the other agencies is the Defense Language Institute of the Department of Defense, charged as it is with providing specifically targeted intensive English instruction for foreign military personnel. The numbers of participants are staggering in this largest single intensive English program in the world. In 1964, 100,000 military personnel studied in this program either while temporarily in the United States or in their own countries. With the current trend toward local country instruction the number brought to the United States has diminished, yet in 1976 more than 6,000 military personnel studied in this country, most of them at the Lackland Air Force Base in Texas. Some received further instruction intended to prepare them as teachers of English in their own armed forces.

Once in Tehran I shared a taxicab with an army officer. After a silent half mile during which he sized me up as an American he suddenly began talking to me in very good English. Soon I learned that his fluency had been gained in his courses at Lackland Air Force Base.

7. Foundations. Not to be overlooked in this broad picture of English as an active element in American foreign policy is the value of cooperation provided by two kinds of sources. One is the British Council itself. Since 1955 the Council and the United States have held ten joint conferences, both in England and the United States, in addition to their joining in the Harper's Ferry 10th anniversary celebration of the Center for Applied Linguistics. American participation first was under the aegis of the USIA but in the early 1960's responsibility was assumed directly by the assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs. The Council and the USIA jointly produced the twelve Marckwardt-Quirk dialogs on American and British English for the Voice of America and BBC, dialogs then published and distributed throughout the world. Beginning in 1974 the Council and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs cooperated with the Ford Foundation in supporting and staffing a linguistic institute in the Near East, first for three years in Cairo and now in Tunisia. They have joined in support of a program at the University of Leeds to train African specialists in teaching English. Throughout the world they have consistently cooperated in about fifteen percent of the short-term English training courses of USIA, especially in countries without institutionalized courses. They have worked together in several ways in India, as in the regional center in Hyderabad.

The other cooperating resource has been the foundations, chiefly the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, but also the Asia Foundation with its grants for American linguists and specialists to conduct seminars in Japan and

with its current assistance in defraying the cost of attendance of foreign students at TESOL conventions. The Ford Foundation has undertaken several major projects within the framework of American foreign policy, notably long-term teacher-training and materials-preparation in Indonesia and the operation of the Cornell University Center in Rome. Besides its aid for the linguistic institutes in Cairo and Tunis, Ford funded a significant Cairo conference in 1969 for the preparation of English teachers in the Arab world and supported the comprehensive English teaching survey in Jordan in 1974.

The Rockefeller Foundation backed a long-time major teaching and teacher-training project directed by the University of California, Los Angeles in the Philippines. Rockefeller, and later the Ford Foundation, joined the Department of State in enabling nine Egyptian college teachers of English to obtain the Ph.D. in linguistics at three American universities, and twenty members of the English inspectorate in Egypt to get the M.A. degree in linguistics at Brown University.

Clearly the demand for English on a world-wide scale has grown steadily. Even in a huge area where we have no responsibility, the U.S.S.R., the demand is tremendous. Last September, at the University of Samarkand in Uzbek in Central Asia, I found a seventeen-member English staff preparing 200 English teachers and translators each year. Last year more than 1,100,000 students in the U.S.S.R. were studying English.

I really would like to leave you convinced that the United States is meeting its responsibility in teaching English overseas. But the picture, unhappily, is not complete unless it includes a record of the discouraging downward trend of the past eight years. Up to this point I have been talking about the remarkable development of America's English teaching activity as an integral foreign policy component realized through support by the Congress of the United States. But to be honest with you I cannot omit the tragic decline of that concern since the administration of President Johnson.

You will recall that in 1965 Johnson accorded overseas English teaching high priority among the nation's world responsibilities. Since then, not one American president has made a similar commitment—not Nixon, not Ford, and, at least to date, not Carter. You will recall that in 1962 and 1963 high officials in the Department of State also pledged high priority in their statements at the annual meetings of the National Advisory Council on Teaching English as a Foreign Language. Up to the most recent meeting of NACTEFL in 1975 not one of their successors made a similar commitment.

Furthermore, even though in 1965 Johnson had lent his official support to English teaching, it was during the latter half of his administration when the drop in congressional appropriations began. For example, the money assigned to the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs declined from $53,000,000 in FY 1966 to $31,000,000 in FY 1969. In March, 1969, a Cultural Affairs representative testified before the House Appropriations Committee that the teaching of English would be seriously affected by this reduced budget. It is true that other

non-war-related departments also took a cut because of the expense of the Viet-
namese war and it is also true that subsequently ct's allotment increased to
$45,000,000 in FY1973. But this increase was not accompanied by a correspond-
ing resurgence in English-oriented concerns.

The appropriation provided in FY1966, its best year, enabled the Depart-
ment of State to provide 603 grants to Americans going abroad and to foreign
students and teachers for a year in the U.S. But for FY1969 only 297 grants were
budgeted, a drop of more than fifty percent in three years. Such a sharp decline
drew the attention of the United States Advisory Commission on International
Education and Cultural Affairs, which in its report to Congress in January,
1969, declared bluntly: "These fluctuations. . . show the lack of a firm belief in
Government-sponsored international and cultural programs which is unbecom-
ing a great nation." Because I have been unable to obtain direct comparative fig-
ures for recent years, I cannot offer evidence for a percentage decline, but I
would point out that, with the omission of grants for foreign students, the figures
for 1975-76 do not look very encouraging. In that year only 103 Americans could
be given funds to go abroad in the English field and only 36 from other countries
to visit the United States, at a time when the demand for grants and grantees had
exceeded all expectations.

I have earlier referred to the U.S. Office of Education as a grant ad-
ministrator of Department of State funds for two related programs, the Interna-
tional Educational Development Program and the Teacher Exchange Program.
It may be that these figures are embedded in the larger totals I have just cited for
Department of State grants in 1966 and 1969. Nevertheless, taken specifically,
they have their own message to impart. During the 1960's the International
Educational Development Program brought to the United States between 110 to
130 teachers each year, about 90 in the six-month schedule and about 40 in the
90-day summer schedule. The decline in grants began in 1970, at a time when
oral and written reports expressed keen enthusiasm for the programs' effec-
tiveness. But by 1976 the number of participants in the six-month program had
dropped to five (three from Finland and two from Turkey). Only two projects re-
mained in the summer arrangements; they had sixty-two participants, forty-two
from western Europe and twenty from eight African countries. Incidentally, all
those from Africa and two from Greece were supported by regional funding, that
is, by allocation from local country embassies. No regional funding at all was
available this past year.

The Teacher Exchange Program likewise has been hurt badly. It is true that
some of the appropriation that might have gone into it was diverted for other
English language purp es within the Department of State's general program. It
is not clear whether those uses entirely justified the situation apparent in the ob-
vious decline. Fifteen years ago ninety such exchanges occurred each year. In
1972 there were only twenty-nine, in 1973 sixteen, in 1974 ten, and in 1976 only
four. For American exchange teachers going overseas the grants dropped from
151 in FY1963 to only twenty a year ago—and nineteen of the twenty went to
West Germany.

The Fulbright-Hays program, however, does not seem to be useful for evidence of a decline, at least not recently. In 1969 the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, the contracting agency, stated: "A decrease is evident in the numbers of overseas posts in linguistics and TEFL, largely as a consequence of cuts in the Congressional appropriations for the past two years." Only thirty had been granted for that year. But now a gratifying shift has occurred. In FY1974 the total had dropped to twenty-five, but a year later it was thirty-seven, a year after that forty-three, and for the current year it has moved up to forty-eight.

It is when we turn to the Agency for International Development that we see a really critical situation. True, a decline in concern with English had been manifested early because of the general decrease in all foreign assistance from three percent of the GNP under the Marshall Plan to only .25% in 1976. But in 1973 and 1975 Congress amended the Foreign Asistance Act to redirect the functioning of AID. The main purpose of the amendments was to benefit the poor in less developed countries. The emphasis was to be upon agriculture, rural development, population planning, and education. This last included provision for bilingual education with the national language as the target tongue for speakers of local languages, such as Quechua in Peru and Guarani in Paraguay. This otherwise commendable emphasis, however, overlooked the fact that even in such programs supervisors, foremen, and others above the manual labor level, would profit from some ability to read English directions and instructions and to communicate with English-speaking consultants. It also overlooked the need existing in AID's Office of Science and Technology, which is busily occupied providing technical documents in English to people who cannot read English. The result of this congressional action, of course, is that AID projects for teaching English as a foreign language have disappeared, and will not reappear without a change in the attitude of Congress itself. For years AID has always had a representative at the meetings of NACTEFL. When the last one retired last May 30, no one replaced him. There were no English projects for such a replacement to look after and report on.

Even AID's involvement with projects already begun has vanished. Only two of the magnificently planned English teacher-training centers were even established; and now the only support given to them is some deficit financing for that in Beirut and, in FY1976, $70,000 to that in Singapore for scholarships to teachers in Malaysia and South Asia.

Nor has the Peace Corps escaped the attrition attacking programs in English teaching. Even there the position of English has been downgraded. In a letter to me on February 6, 1978, the acting director, Gretchen Handweger, wrote: "While the Peace Corps continues to assign Volunteers to various TEFL programs, we are currently deemphasizing this area of programming in an effort to address the food and health needs of the rural poor." The figures tell the story. In August, 1967, there were nearly 3,000 Peace Corps Volunteers assigned to teach secondary school English abroad. They constituted twenty-eight percent of the total of more than 10,000. Ten years later, August, 1977, there were only 553

Volunteers teaching on this level, a mere nine percent of the total of more than 5,700.

Let us turn to the ψSIA. At the Washington joint conference with the British Council in 1959, Ambassador George Allen, then the USIA director, said: "If any members of Congress wanted to up our programs by $50,000,000 during the next year, I would say, 'Yes, I can use that. I could use it on English language teaching.' "

But despite the importance Ambassador Allen perceived, English teaching has not otherwise been viewed as more than a peripheral area within the Agency. It has been viewed as bearing only a supporting role in USIA's concern with the arts, American culture, and what is sometimes called "The American message." It is not unfair to suggest that its fortunes within the Agency have fluctuated not only in accord with legislative funding but also in accord with the personal enthusiasm and whims of whoever might be the director. Thus a recent director thought so little of it that by personal fiat he simply abolished the Agency's prestigious English Teaching Advisory Panel, a panel composed of several leading TESOL members and chaired by the late Albert H. Marckwardt. In 1974 the director actually downgraded the English Teaching Division within the governmental hierarchy by demoting it to staff status. A staff is only one of several subordinate units within a division.

Furthermore, although the Agency itself has suffered budget cuts, the English Teaching Staff has been weakened out of all proportion, since its share of the appropriation is allocated by the director within the Agency, where it has become low man on the totem pole. That share has dropped steadily each biennium from a high of nearly $3,000,000 in FY1967 to only half of that in FY1975. And even that million and a half includes all attributable costs such as one-tenth of the salary of a cultural affairs officer in an embassy if he reports that one-tenth of his time was spent on English teaching concerns. Yet, since these figures ignore inflation, it appears that actually English teaching has experienced a much greater reduction percentage than the State Department itself suffered. On top of this is the additional sad fact that, because the Washington headquarters personnel could not easily sustain a severe cut, the most stringent decrease was abroad, with a drop from $2,250,000 in FY1967 to less than $1,000,000 in FY1976.

Inevitably, the USIA personnel situation overseas has become tragic. In 1952 Bangkok's binational center had four Agency English specialists for 800 students; today it has only one Agency-assigned specialist for 6,000 students. In Latin America the mid-'50's total of more than fifty base-assigned English teaching specialists had already been sliced to twenty-two by 1961; in 1965 it was twelve; in 1969 it was four; today there are none at all. Altogether now there are just nineteen such specialists, only six of whom are overseas and not one of whom is in Latin America These six serve as directors of courses in Tehran (two there), Bangkok, Rabat, and Kinshasa, and as the English teaching officer in Warsaw. The thirteen others are based in Washington.

In a desperate hold-the-fort attempt to retain a minimum of consulting im-

pact, five of these thirteen are assigned as traveling consultants who spend about seven months a year traveling from post to post. This is a heavy schedule, since each must plan the visits carefully in advance and then prepare follow-up materials as well.

If the USIA, or its successor, the new International Communication Agency, had the $50,000,000 (now more than $100,000,000 because of inflation) that Ambassador Allen fantasized in 1959, it would not be hard to suggest how the new director might spend it. For one thing, he could hire eighteen English teaching specialists to fill what is almost a void, specialists who would be prom-ised tenure positions with promotion in the English teaching field just as in the British Council. Then, with the binational center system in mind as a close prece-dent, he could set up a number of resource centers around the world. Such centers, unlike the six envisioned by AID two decades ago, would begin on a small workable scale. Each would have probably only one English teaching officer, with program money for books and audio-visual aids, and with funds also for visiting American specialists. Later, the inevitable success of these initially established centers would lead to their expansion through congressional appropriations. There could be residence facilities for visiting specialists, programs for demon-stration teaching, and programs for materials development, all within the host country framework and all consistent with the local culture. The centers would be located where the need appears, in South and Central America, Europe, the Maghreb and the Arab Middle East, East and West Africa, South Asia, and East Asia.

The new director might even hire an associate editor to relieve the now harassed single editor of *The Forum!*

But I, too, fantasize.

I am also going to insert a relevant parenthesis. For me, as the chairman of NACTEFL, the climax to this sequence of bad news came last fall, when a telephone call from the Center for Applied Linguistics reported that the financial plight of the Center forbade further support for NACTEFL's annual meeting with represen-tatives of the government agencies. Ford Foundation grants over the years had supported these meetings. But reduction in the annual grant to the Center, as well as the increase in the general expenses of the Center, led to the decision to give up responsibility for the Council. Whether present attempts to obtain an an-nual grant elsewhere will succeed I cannot predict. But NACTEFL is too valuable to be allowed to disappear without a struggle.

Perhaps we should spare ourselves further details of this pessimistic scene, of this failure on the part of the country to bear our part of the burden jointly assumed with Great Britain. USIA's six specialists stationed abroad contrast only too sharply with the British Council's forty-two. The Council is able to outspend the USIA by a ratio of four to one in maintaining its own overseas English pro-gram. But our competition is not really with the British. They are our colleagues.

Where we fail, and where private school operators and contractors, some good and some unconscionably inferior, only partly meet the need for an interna-

tional language, other countries take over. France has greatly accelerated its French teaching operations abroad, especially in East Asia and Latin America. West Germany is likewise moving ahead with the teaching of German, particularly in Latin America and western Europe, with plans now to extend its Goethe Institutes into East Asia. Russia is stressing the teaching of Russian as a medium of international communication. Five years ago in Varna, Bulgaria, the U.S.S.R. organization of teachers of Russian language and literature brought together for a conference 1,500 such teachers from fifty countries, and the organization itself now has more than one hundred chapters in thirty countries.

Will the United States meet this challenge? Will Congress and the administration act to reverse this tragic downward trend in support for the teaching of English? Perhaps in part we in the profession are at fault for not helping the agencies by letting our legislators learn how important the overseas English programs are. Last year I gave the late Senator Humphrey a resume of much of what I have said here this afternoon. He replied that he himself was strongly in favor of the ESL programs and would support them through the foreign relations committee. His death now deprives us of his powerful assistance, but there are other influential members of that committee whose understanding and help can be sought.

In anticipation of this meeting today I sent an abbreviated advance copy of the talk to each of two officers of the administration and asked whether either could provide an encouraging reaction. One went to President Carter. He did not reply. I am not sure how much one should infer of his basic position because of his agreeing last July 26 with Premier Andreotti of Italy upon a mutual pact to assist in the teaching of Italian in the United States and of English in Italy. I suspect that that was an ad hoc agreement from which not very much may be inferred.

The other copy went to Ambassador John E. Reinhart, then the director of the USIA, who two days ago was sworn in as the director of the new International Communication Agency. This agency, created in accord with President Carter's reorganization plan, has merged the USIA, the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and the Voice of America. Although much planning must occur during the coming year before the lines of merger are clarified, it is already known that the English teaching concerns of the Department of State and of the English Teaching Staff of the USIA will be the direct charge of the associate director of the new agency, Dr. Alice Stone Ilchman, who will be coming to the new agency from a position as dean of women at Wellesley College.

To what extent these concerns will be reflected in the overall activity of the new agency may appear in the letter Ambassador Reinhardt sent me in reply two weeks ago. Reinhardt, himself a former professor of English, encouragingly referred to a just completed study of the past and future role of English in American operations abroad. He then added: "Though it is too soon to project the new Agency's priorities in specifics, I feel confident that English teaching will occupy a significant role overseas."

That was a heartening response, but we cannot yet ignore the basic part played by Congress. Although the Agency will allocate the funds, it is Congress that outlines comprehensive policy and it is Congress that provides the funds. If this new Agency receives only inadequate funding for English teaching overseas, then you and I are the last recourse. We are a recourse that admittedly has been unaware of its own role and of its strength. Through our organization, TESOL, we have the means to inform and guide representatives and senators. It is unrealistic to expect them or their staff members to become familiar otherwise with such information as I have presented here today. We in TESOL are the true believers. The time is at hand for us to turn belief into action. TESOL from now on must be alert in determining how best it can persuade Congress of the value of TESOL as a peace-directed activity in the foreign policy of the United States. If we don't speak up, Congress won't hear us. If Congress doesn't hear us, English is likely to remain as a concern with low priority in our foreign policy. I urge TESOL to accept this charge!

POSTSCRIPT

At the conclusion of this address a member of the audience who is on the staff of the new International Communication Agency told me that at the swearing-in ceremony in Washington two days earlier President Carter had definitely included English teaching overseas among the responsibilities he assigned to the Agency. As yet the full significance of this intramural statement is uncertain.

Part II

Professional Concerns

Language Policy and TESOL: Socio-Political Factors and Their Influences on the Profession

Elliot L. Judd

The author argues that TESOL programs are always influenced by the language policies of the countries in which they function. In such programs language policy affects the attitudes of the students toward English, the reactions of native English speakers to TESOL students and the attitudes of the TESOL instructors and administrators. Further, language policy influences such things as the number of instructional facilities available for TESOL instruction, the amount of financial resources allocated for TESOL programs, the selection of students in TESOL programs and the hiring practices for TESOL instructors.

Case studies are presented to illustrate the author's main contention that language policy directly affects TESOL. The sensitive and controversial issue of politics and its effects on TESOL ought to be discussed in professional forums since language policy, in part, will shape the instructional strategies and materials that will be implemented in TESOL programs and the failure to evaluate such factors may diminish the effectiveness of many TESOL programs.

The author concludes with several suggestions for the incorporation of a language policy unit as part of the regular teacher training program for prospective TESOL instructors as well as some general suggestions for additional research on language policy and its effects on TESOL.

It is obvious that in order to achieve maximum success in any TESOL program, one should examine the student, teacher, course and community variables which can influence the program. Without such scrutiny the instruction of ESOL may not achieve its intended results and negatively affect all those involved in the learning process. The focus of this presentation will be on language policy and its impact on TESOL programs. Little has been written on how TESOL is affected by language policies and such neglect should cease for decisions made in language policy will undoubtedly shape the success or failure of TESOL programs in terms of the variables mentioned above.

1. English language policy: In brief

Language policy exists in every teaching situation. In some countries the policy is articulated formally, in terms of officially promulgated national

language or languages, government documents or through statements by various politicians or educators. In other areas, the policy has never been officially stated yet is understood through tradition and/or through unofficial consensus. Examples of the first kind are countries like Canada, Switzerland, Belgium and Tanzania where one can find statements as to exactly what the official language/s is/are. The United States, on the other hand, has no official documents proclaiming that English is the language of the country; yet, this assumption is unquestioned by most of the populace.

In terms of multilingual political entities where English instruction exists, the decisions of what languages are to be used vary tremendously. In some situations, only one language is tolerated for all official activities at the national level. Such is the case of countries where English is the mother tongue, as in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. In these cases English can be considered the native language of the vast majority of the native speakers. In other cases English is the only official language but is not the native language of the majority such as in Botswana, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Uganda and Zambia. In all these cases, except one, English was the language of the former colonial power, Great Britain; Liberia, the one exception, was under American influence (Fishman et al. 1977:7-10).

Other cases exist where English has been designated one of several co-official languages. Such countries are Ireland, Canada, Cameroon, India, Lesotho, Namibia, Nauru, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Western Samoa, Puerto Rico and Guyana. In still other countries English is given special status but is not an official language as in the case of Burma, Ethiopia, Israel, Kenya, Malaysia; Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the Sudan (Fishman et al. 1977:7-10).

In most of the rest of the world, English is taught as a foreign language. In some places it is the major foreign tongue being taught in the schools, as in Japan, Brazil or Mexico   other countries it is only one of many foreign languages being learne :

Regardless of the case or the motive behind the way English is considered, the teaching of English as a native, foreign or second language is a reflection of language policy. Stated in another way, English language instruction is influenced by the policy that any country makes and its teaching must be viewed in this light.

2. ESOL student variables

Students in any ESOL class are motivated and influenced by many factors, all of which might affect their learning. When viewed from the language policy perspective, an ESOL instructor is faced by a variety of positions on the part of the students. One student variable to consider is why the student is learning English. In some cases that decision was not by choice and reflects the language policy of the native country. This factor may affect the student's performance depending

on whether he/she agrees or disagrees with that policy. In addition the student's view of English speakers in general may be seen as part of a socio-political stance. Are English speakers former colonials who might represent a repressive past or are they present or future allies? Are English speakers pushy tourists or professional colleagues? These, and other, views are brought into the ESOL classroom and represent language policy decisions. As Joshua Fishman (1977) points out, there is a difference between knowing, using and liking English.

Furthermore, we must consider what specific skills are desired by the student and these too are representative of language policy decisions. Some students desire oral ability, others reading and/or writing ability and many would like all of these skills. This may be viewed as reflecting language policy, for in some places English is viewed as a device for wider communication in scientific and technical areas where reading and/or writing may be sufficient, while in other places English is viewed as a medium of interaction with other English speakers in face-to-face communication, in which case knowledge of listening and speaking are vital. These factors should also affect the instructor's choice of register in any ESOL classroom.

Depending on the country, English may be viewed as either a mass language for all to know or a language of an elite who represent those of the highest social, political and economic status. Such views of English will affect a student's attitude in ESOL as well as his view of English speakers in general and, like the other areas previously mentioned, is a reflection of language policy.

3. ESOL instructor variables

The ESOL teacher is also directly influenced by language policy. On the most obvious level, the ESOL instructor is the one who must implement the language policies, even though he was not consulted about them. The fact that the same instructor may also be employed by the Ministry of Education or a state, provincial or local educational institution which makes policy decisions also affects that teacher's behavior. Whether or not the teacher agrees with the stated or unstated language policy will affect classroom performance.

The ESOL instructor is also a visible representative of the English speaking world and as such is treated both in and out of the classroom in ways that mirror prevailing language policy. Does that specific teacher symbolize past inequalities or future aspirations?

Which teachers are hired often reflects language policy as well. Does one choose an outside, native speaker of English or an inside, nonnative speaker of English? Such decisions may entail political as well as nonpolitical motives. The outsider may represent a former or present colonial power; the insider may be viewed as an individual who has "sold out." Either decision can affect the ESOL program and either indirectly or directly reflects language policy.

Furthermore, the teacher's attitude toward English, like those of the students, may be shaped by the country's language policy. The teacher may view English as a means for political, economic and social advancement for all or for

iust a few. That instructor may be viewed as perpetuating the status quo or as changing the society for the better. Whether the teacher feels that English should be taught by itself or with other languages also may reflect language policies.

4. ESOL course variables

A program design in TESOL can either be supportive or nonsupportive of overall language policy. If the materials in a program, for instance, stress reading skills and English is viewed by policy makers as a device for acquainting students with scientific and technical materials being used throughout the world, then we can say the program is congruent with language policy. If oral skills were to be stressed, then they would be in conflict with policy. As with the other variables cited, it can be seen that language policy and TESOL interact.

Another ESOL course variable is time. If the national goal is oral fluency in English, then the course design must allow enough time for this to occur. Besides time factors, it is necessary to evaluate fiscal resources. Does the program receive enough financial support to achieve the country's desired aims in terms of being able to afford the best teachers and materials, and to support students who need scholarships? If the desired goals conform to financial realities, then there is a better chance of success in TESOL.

5. ESOL community variables

In looking at the community in which ESOL classes must function, we often see disparity between language policy and TESOL. For example, many communities may not support government policy with regard to English language policy. If they disagree with such decisions, the climate for ESOL instruction will no doubt be affected.

In other cases a community may view native English speakers with hostility but not necessarily dislike English language policy per se. A program with or without native speakers might encounter success or failure based on this variable.

It is difficult to convince a community that learning English, even if it is a stated national goal, is a realistic aim when everyone realizes that there is little likelihood of their children's ever encountering English speakers; and the ESOL teacher will be caught in the middle of such a dispute.

6. The variables interacting

So far language policy has been discussed in terms of four separate variables. While these serve a useful analytical purpose, they should not be considered as mutually exclusive. In fact many of the factors must be viewed as parts of a whole. For instance, when English is one of many foreign languages being taught, the course is designed in a certain way, the teachers who instruct in it act in a certain way and the students who study the language behave in a certain way. Conversely, if English is viewed as a medium for scientific and technological knowledge, then we would expect this factor to influence student, teacher, course and community variables in a uniform manner.

Often, however, such views on language policy are far from harmonious. A government may decide that English is the only official language and teachers in public institutions may design courses to reflect this goal. Yet students and community members may feel that one or more indigenous languages should be granted coequal status. In such a case the English classroom may become a focus of a language policy debate. Students could resent the English instructor and curriculum feeling that they are repressive and discriminatory and thus student performance in English will be affected.

Another dilemma may occur when teachers and students feel that oral English is useless, even if it is government policy. The instructors are faced with the choice of implementing a policy which they consider worthle-- nd thus risk alienating their students or refusing to follow such a policy an ' daring to alienate the administrators, with possible loss of employment. The choice for students is equally hard: adapting to a learning situation which is viewed as irrelevant but which may mean future economic and social prestige, or challenging the policy and jeopardizing future opportunities. The situation can be extremely difficult for all.

7. Two case studies

7.1 *The United States.* The official language policy of the United States on the national level is seen by most as recognizing English as the sole official language of the country. Yet other languages have been accorded equality in certain educational programs as well as in other activities on state, local and national levels such as voter registration or obtaining a driver's license. The question of language policy in the United States may be viewed, therefore, as in flux. Depending on one's interpretation of such policy, it is possible to argue that bilingual education in the United States is either compatible or incompatible with the language policy. Obviously, if one feels that the English language is or should be the sole official language, then bilingual education, except perhaps as a transitional education strategy, is an unacceptable policy. On the other hand, if one interprets the language policy of the United States in a different light, then bilingual education becomes part of a pluralistic view of the country. Without going into further depth, the continuing debate over bilingual education versus monolingual English instruction may be viewed as a process of deciding the present and future language policy of the United States. In the absence of consensus on such a policy, the arguments will no doubt continue and will affect ESOL instruction in the United States for some time to come.

Before leaving the topic, some comment should be made from an historical perspective. It should be remembered that in the United States, as in other parts of the world, language policy has been made by politicians who have little background in the day-to-day operation of schools and who have very little knowledge of educational research, curricula and methodology (Mackey 1972). The vagueness of the first federal Bilingual Education Act pays ample testimony to that (Judd 1977). What is implied is that politicians who make language policy

in the United States are often unaware of the results of their decisions and, in most cases, make decision for reasons including but not limited to educational considerations (Tauli 1974.65) In fact, this author would say that the majority of the politicians who voted on the Bilingual Education Act have no deep knowledge of what bilingual education entails or whether or not it is beneficial from an educational standpoint.

    7.2 *Malaysia* In discussions with both Malaysians and former Peace Corps Volunteers, an interesting and complicated picture emerges about ESOL instruction and how it is influenced by language policy. Following independence English was used as the language of instruction beginning in primary schools and continuing through the university level. The use of English as a medium of instruction was to last for ten years and was motivated by several factors. First it was the language of the colonial power and immediate language shift, it was felt, would cause governmental and educational chaos. Second, English, viewed as a language of wider communication, was needed to keep up with scientific and technological advances in the world. Third, English was politically neutral. Since Malaysia is composed of three ethnic groups each speaking its own language— Malays who use Malay, Chinese who use Mandarin and Indians who speak Tamil—the choice of English was seen as unlikely to offend any group and thus lead to greater internal stability on the political as well as the economic level.

    After several delays, Malay was finally given preference in education, replacing English as the primary language of instruction. The decision led to riots and destruction in many areas and h.... .sed hostility among Chinese and Indian groups. Others fear that many ... sians will have troubles entering foreign universities, mainly British and .. erican institutions, since their English language proficiency will drop because of the change in educational policy. Malay speakers have a linguistic advantage in education since under the new policy there is also the potential for continued unrest in the Chinese and Indian communities. On the other hand, supporters of Malay claim that the language policy shift represents a redress of past social and economic inequalities and gives Malay speakers more equal opportunities in society.

    Currently also, the Indonesian and Malaysian governments are embarking on a plan to add more scientific and technological terminology into their languages and to form a sort of "linguistic merger" between the two languages. One obvious goal of this plan is to have less reliance on English as a language of wider communication.

    The changes in language policy will no doubt have great impact on ESOL instruction and force changes in both curricula and the rationales for learning English At present it is too early to assess the exact changes which will emerge; however, it is safe to assume that language policy will tremendously alter ESOL in Malaysia.

8. Language policy, TESOL and the future

    All the data presented so far in this paper have supported the contention that language policy exerts strong influence on ESOL instruction. No longer can we in

the profession view TESOL as a monolithic giant which is to be uniformly applied in every teaching situation. Each ESOL learning environment is influenced by different policy decisions and, in each, efforts must be made to design instructional strategies which are suitable to the particular ESOL situation. Failure to do so will lead to ineffectual instruction and possibly resentment against the entire field of TESOL.

There are several possible ways of incorporating language policy into TESOL. First is the need for more public discussion in professional forums on how specific ESOL programs have been influenced by language policy decisions. This case study approach, if not overgeneralized, can serve to acquaint others with specific problems and possible ways of devising solutions.

A second strategy is for ESOL teacher training programs to introduce to future teachers units of language policy in order to acquaint them with the large numbers of variables which might influence their future ESOL assignments. Whether part of the traditional methods course or as part of a sociolinguistics course is unimportant and merely represents stylistic differences; however, somewhere in a teacher's preparation, an introduction to language policy is crucial. We, as professionals, can no longer perpetuate the myth that one method will work in every situation with equal success. Past experience proves otherwise.

Third, ESOL professionals must seek to establish closer contacts with those who make language policy decisions. People in ESOL can provide decision-makers with information on the practical workability of proposed policy and/or the success or failure of existing policy. We are the o .. no must live with and implement the policy decisions once they are made and it would behoove us to make the effort to present our views to those who enact language policy. To be sure, we cannot expect that we will always alter or affect policy, but if we achieve even modest successes, the time will have been well spent (Noss 1971:31-32).

Finally, we must continue to encourage more research on language policy in general as well as studies pertaining specifically to ESOL instruction. Much additional knowledge is needed and the field of language policy study is only in its infancy. As others continue to research, we will continue to benefit from their efforts as well.

In closing, I think that Frances X. Karem's words on language policy should be remembered by all interested in language policy and TESOL.:

> Language planning may be thought of as the management of linguistic innovation; however, this management is probably more of an art than a science (Karem 1974 118)

We all need to know a lot more about language policy and TESOL and now is the time to start these investigations.

Conditions for Effective Language Learning

H. L. B. Moody

In many developing countries, very substantial resources (administration, materials, pupil-hours, teacher-hours) are often devoted to TEFL, in both more and less formal institutions, with little significant or lasting result. The lack of achievement is due to multiple causes, and remedy involves action of various kinds. To enable administrators, both national and institutional, to decide on the extent and nature of their investment in TEFL, a learning-model for effective language learning is proposed, based on four principal considerations:

Objectives must be conscious, realistic and relevant to the needs of specific groups or categories of learners, and include both short- and long-term interests. Target-levels of learner performance should be specified.

Performance Models of a credible kind must be available. These include auditory and visual materials as well as teachers who exhibit the skills to be taught.

Teaching/Learning Procedures Effective models must be developed exploiting not only teachers' ability to teach but learners' ability to learn.

Practice Learners must be able to practice the skills they learn, not only within the institution, but as a form of spontaneous social activity. Where few natural opportunities exist, special situations can be developed.

This will be basically an essay on curriculum, and an attempt to formulate some very basic considerations about foreign language teaching, "steadily and as a whole." It springs immediately from experiences in a particular Latin American country, but the ideas developed may have relevance to other situations. This may seem, especially at a gathering where so many are concerned with the latest methods and techniques, to be rather unexciting. However, I am unrepentant about this approach, for a great weakness of foreign language teaching, whether of French and Spanish in Britain or of English in Latin America (etc.) has been its preoccupation with the *Como?* rather than with the *Que?*, with questions of techniques and means rather than with conditions and ends. The problem for consideration is what can be the place of foreign languages in a mass education system, and on what conditions can they be included.

Foreign languages in the past have held a time-honoured position in the curricula of many elitist secondary education systems. Perhaps this was because members of social elites always had access to foreign travel and foreign cultures, or, as some other authorities would suggest, because the study of foreign languages—which is a very difficult thing—was one of the best ways of keeping elite systems elite! However, about fifty years ago Alfred North Whitehead, that thoughtful mathematician and philosopher whose observations spanned both sides of the Atlantic, was denouncing "the fatal disconnection which kills the vitality of our modern curriculum!"

> There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is life in all its manifestations. Instead of this single unity we offer children: Algebra, from which nothing follows, Geography, from which nothing follows, History, from which nothing follows, a Couple of Languages, never mastered.

A good deal has perhaps been accomplished in recent years towards coherence and relevance in public secondary education, but Whitehead's comment on the success of foreign languages ("never mastered") would not be easy to refute. More recently the whole fabric of formal secondary education has been under severe scrutiny, on the one hand from the Deschoolers, and on the other from the educational economists, whose systems-analysis invites us to compare the considerable "inputs" with the very meagre "outputs" of many formal systems, whether in developing or developed countries. A fortiori the general effectiveness of foreign language teaching is open to question, and as teachers of foreign languages we have a special need to reflect on what we are doing, and on whether it can be done much better.

To justify any educational curriculum, or even any part of one, it is necessary to establish first that it is *desirable* (which involves questions of the aims, aspirations and needs of the particular society), and secondly that it is *feasible*. If any part of a curriculum, however desirable is definitely not feasible, there would seem to be no case for retaining it. Official curriculum-builders usually have little difficulty in presenting a good case for foreign languages at secondary level. Here, for example, is a somewhat cautious suggestion for the aims of a *Primer Idioma Extranjero* in proposal for a new curriculum for Educación Media Vocacional in Colombia:

> Los objetivos generales que el alumno debe haber logrado al finalizar la educación media vocacional son los siguientes:
> - Apreciar el idioma extranjero elegido como medio de comunicación y como instrumento de adquisición de ciencia, tecnología y cultura.
> - Interesarse por continuar el estudio del idioma elegido
> - Entender un texto escuchado sobre un tema con el cual esté familiarizado el estudiante
> - Manejar oralmente en forma inteligible las estructuras y el vocabulario estudiados

- Captar el sentido general de un texto escrito que contenga estructuras familiares, aún cuando no todo el vocabulario sea conocido.
- Reproducir correctamente por escrito lo aprendido oralmente.
- Conocer críticamente algunos aspectos de la cultura y civilización extranjeras, contenidos en el material lingüístico.

Against this, however, we have to face empirical data such as the following:

1. "Aún después de seis años de bachillerato y cinco de universidad, queda difícil y casi no se ven alumnos que 'leen, escriben y comprenden' una lengua extranjera." (comment by a teacher reported in *Report on a Series of Regional Seminar/Workshops*, The British Council, Bogotá, 1977)

2.

TABLE I

Student Ranking of Subject by Preference and Grades Received

Most Preferred	Best Graded
1. Biology	Social Studies
2. Mathematics	Biology
3. Chemistry	Spanish and Literature
4. Physics	Mathematics
5. Spanish and Literature	Chemistry
6. Social Studies	Physics
7. Foreign Languages	Foreign Languages

(Charles W. Stansfield Jr. 1973. The teaching of English in Colombian secondary schools. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida S U.)

     The discrepancy between the ideal and the real in the context of foreign language teaching is clearly very great, and the conclusion is almost inescapable that in spite of the great conceptual revolutions (linguistic and psychological), abundant methological innovations, and increasingly sophistic ted technologies of recent years, the teaching of foreign languages in general education systems throughout the world has not been conspicuously successful.

     There seem to be two alternatives open to educational administrators. Either the attempt to teach foreign languages to mass school population should cease, and the considerable amount of time and other resources thereby freed should be devoted to more manageable, useful and feasible objectives, or, if there is a strong conviction that all members of a mass school population should have the opportunity of acquiring some proficiency in a foreign language, then any society taking that decision must accept the necessary *conditions of effective language learning* and see that they are systematically provided. No responsible educators, no self-respecting human beings, can be content to operate ineffective systems such as are implied by the "facts" quoted in the previous paragraph.

     The principal object of this paper, then, is to state a set of minimum and necessary conditions for the effective learning of a foreign language within a general educational system. It may not be too pretentious to think of this set of conditions as a learning model, which can be presented diagrammatically thus:

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     OBJECTIVES      │
                    └─────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────┐          ┌──────────────┐
        │ PERFORMANCE  │          │  MATERIALS   │
        │   MODELS     │          │              │
        └──────────────┘          └──────────────┘

        ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
        │   TEACHING/LEARNING PROCEDURES      │
        └─────────────────────────────────────┘

               ┌─────────────────┐
               │    PRACTICE     │
               └─────────────────┘

               ┌─────────────────┐
               │   ASSESSMENT    │
               └─────────────────┘

               ┌─────────────────┐
               │      USE        │
               └─────────────────┘
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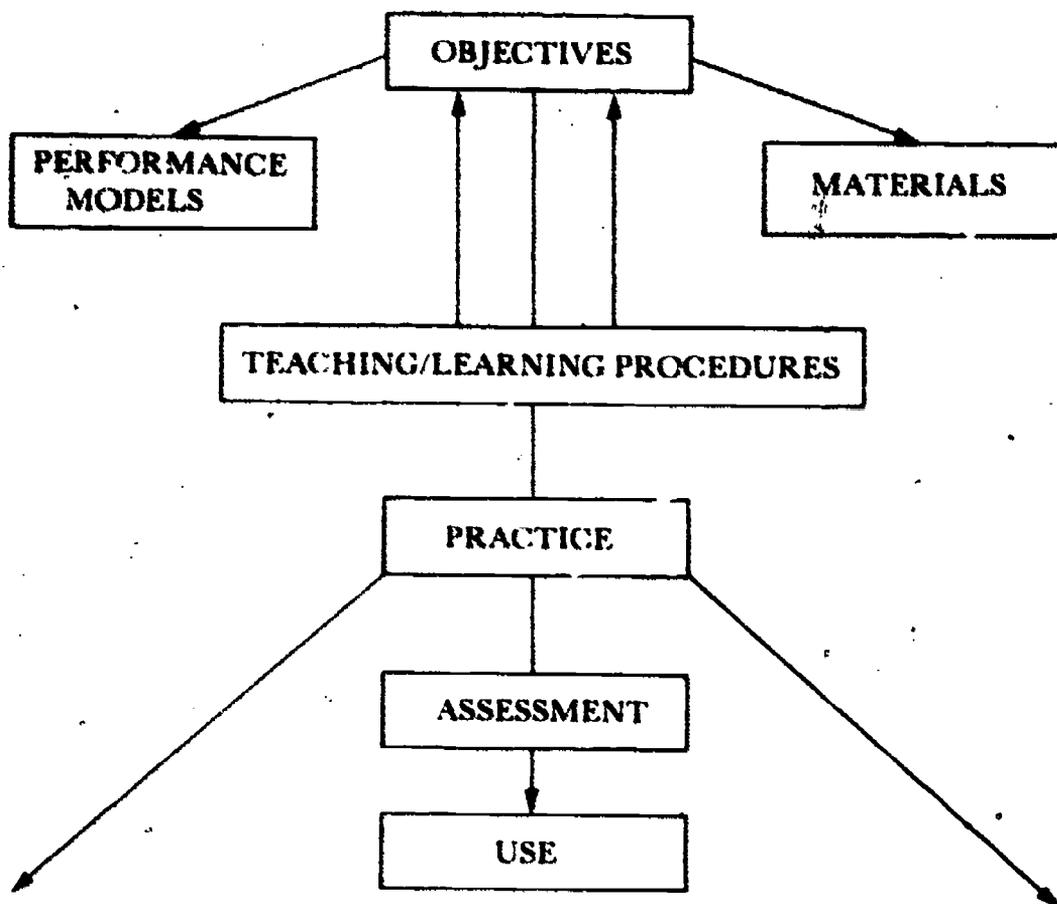
The learning model, which shows the interdependence of all the factors involved in a language learning process, needs to be kept in mind by *all* who have an interest or responsibility in this field. By *all*, we mean not only teachers, but politicians, administrators, teacher trainers, materials producers, ex-alumni associations, parents—pressure groups of all kinds, not excluding pupils and students themselves. Language learning is a complex and artificial affair, and it is not beyond the scope of human resourcefulness to create the conditions in which it can proceed effectively. However, the arrangements available in many public education systems around the world are only a veritable shadow of what is needed. Before we decide to scrap the whole business, it is a challenging exercise to consider what has to be provided if a reasonable degree of success is to be ensured.

1. *Objectives*. It is not enough to say "We want our students to learn a foreign language." We have to arrive at a clear and agreed idea as to why they should learn a foreign language: the reasons may of course be diverse. Also, we need to have a clear idea of which foreign languages and which parts of which languages. What do we have in mind as terminal behavior? Is it to be the same for all students, or can we specify different groups of skills for different groups? Much progress has been made in academic circles in the description of "com-

munication needs," but on the whole the process still has to be extended to world-wide educational communities.

The determination of objectives is not only the essential first step in any process of rational planning; it has other consequences. Once objectives have been determined, it is possible to make decisions on such important matters as syllabuses and programmes of work, materials required (textbooks and other teaching aids), methods of instructions to be developed, relevant types of assessment, etc. Too often, existing systems of instruction prove to be no more than a rag-bag of odds and ends, obsolete and irrelevant textbooks, irrelevant and non-productive teaching procedures, tests which are unrelated to any worthwhile communicative activity, and so on.

The planning of a programme based on realistic objectives is of great importance in relation to questions of interest, motivation, etc. which are so often absent in large-scale systems. When once a planned programme of language learning has been set up, based on rational objectives and furnished with appropriate materials, the attitude of students is likely to change significantly. To achieve this, of course, all parties to the learning process must know what the objectives are, so that maximum collaboration is ensured.

Objectives, of course, need to be set out, hierarchically: terminal behavior—what students will be able to do at the end of their studies—is fundamental, but it is also important to set intermediate targets, so that students have a strong sense of progressing stage by stage towards their ultimate goals. So there should be objectives for each year, semester, term, unit of study—according to the way that the time available is to be organized.

A practical point of some importance is that if a whole language learning programme is to be controlled by objectives, which have to be widely proclaimed, it is very desirable that the official objectives have received the assent of as many of those involved as possible. Hence the desirability of widespread consultations, especially between officials, academics, materials producers, test writers and classroom teachers, before the objectives are finally accepted as the basis for many other decisions.

2! *Performance Models.* An important question is the quantity and quality of exposure to the target language which is available to the learners. A language learner needs a rich and attractive experience of what the language sounds like, what it looks like, what rewarding opportunities it can bring, what it *has* been used for (literature, etc.), and what it can be used for (science, technology, etc.). There are various ways in which models of a language can be made available: the visual range, which includes books, newspapers, periodicals, preferably with pictorial reinforcements; and the audible range, including records, tapes, and radio with the film and TV combining the two. Many mass education systems are unable to provide as much as is desirable in these forms, and the principal performance model is in fact the teacher—and it is the quality and capacity of the teacher which decides, especially for adolescent students, whether the learner will "take to" the language he is to learn, or whether he will consciously or un-

consciously reject it. It is precisely at this point that many educational systems fail. Teachers of English, for example, are often reluctant to express themselves in English except in the set phrases and exercises of the textbook. It is often only too clear to the students that they have very limited ideas of how to organize a teaching/learning routine, and worst of all they convey no pleasure or enthusiasm in the language they try to teach or for any of the things with which the language is associated. It is not appropriate to blame such teachers, who are usually doing their best: they are the products of particular systems which offer very inadequate opportunity. Usually they are very aware of their deficiencies, and await—and welcome—any attempts to help them.

Before committing all the students in a mass education system to the learning of a foreign language, it is essential for the responsible authorities to make an accu te appraisal of the "performance models" available, and of all possible sources of supply. An important corollary is to look carefully at the arrangements for the training, retraining, and supervision of language teachers. No doubt it takes a long time to build up an effective teaching force, well equipped in all respects. It would be wise not to attempt more than can be reasonably certain of success.

3. *Teaching/Learning Procedures* The basic question here is how to promote the maximum learning of the target language in the time available, which is usually rather limited. For the teacher who consults the ELT journals there is a multiplicity of advice, especially on techniques and other specific topics within the field. For the teacher who does not have access to such sources of information, there is little conviction as to how to proceed, and usually a number of antediluvian routines are employed to keep a class going.

In developing a teaching/learning procedure, the language teacher needs to work from a deep understanding of the underlying principles which govern the acquisition of any language, whether the mother tongue or a foreign language. These are: presentation, explanation, practice, and application. There may be variations on this, but too rarely does the average language lesson reflect this basic learning sequence.

Another very important aspect, more often honoured in the breach than the observance, is the question of progress. Too often the development of teaching/learning over, say, a six-year period represents only a very flat spiral. In a frenzy of despair teachers are apt to hammer away at the elementary aspects of a language (often of little real relevance, e.g. question tags), unwilling to move on if all their students have not fully mastered what they want to teach. Teachers of foreign languages in secondary education systems need to be more aware of what students are doing in other parts of the curriculum, and then ask themselves if what is offered in the language classroom makes anything like the same intellectual, social or human appeal. Probably at the present time more attention should be paid to the content of language lessons (reflecting aspects of the objectives) than to the mere mechanics of the language. It is horrifying in visiting classes in English for students at university level to find them still being drilled on the same

books as were used at the beginning of secondary level—sometimes, of course, because teachers just do not know of any better materials. It is advisable in all education systems to define, along with objectives at various levels, performance levels so that students do consciously advance year by year. When remedial work is necessary, this should be provided, but not made an obstacle to systematic progress in terms of content.

If we are concerned to maximize the learning of a language, consideration must be given to best use of all the available resources for learning. These may be listed: the teacher, teaching materials, the student, fellow students, and the external environment.

Too often teachers monopolize too much of the teaching time, and fail to give sufficient scope to the learners' readiness to learn or to help each other. In many classes, teachers appear to be the main interrupters of learning, and their excessively technical explanations often act as a considerable brake on the learning process. How often does one notice teachers who, intent upon putting over what they know about a language, are quite insensitive to the efforts being made by their students. The word "teacher" is one of the semantic traps in the English language: we need a word which indicates certainly 'an authority,' but otherwise one who is chiefly 'an organizer of learning.'

Joshua Fishman's article on "Knowing, using and liking English as an additional language" (1977) reminds us how rarely the teaching/learning procedures currently in use do actually call forth a positive or collaborative response on the part of learners. Perhaps the greatest deficiency in language teaching routines is the failure to develop learning from significant "wholes." I should like to see every language lesson begin with the presentation of a substantial learning experience, from which necessary analysis and drilling can be developed. One suspects that the image of language learning which exists in the minds of many students is of an endless network of baffling and confusing items from which, in Whitehead's words, "nothing follows."

4 *Practice* Colombians apologizing for their own or their students' poor command of English frequently say "but we have no opportunity to practice." This is true up to a certain point. English is very definitely a foreign language in Colombia and forms only a very small part of the *ambiente,* and presumably most Colombians are not aware that such key words as *gol* (goal), *show* (de las estrellas), even *sexy-strip,* are derived from English. It is very possible that English is present in the environment to a greater degree than is commonly supposed, and more practice could perhaps be had from the actual environment, if teachers studied this possibility:

    Reading—of graded readers, magazines, periodicals. The only English-language newspaper in Colombia *The Chronicle* is aimed at tourists and expatriate readers: it would not be an impossible scheme, given techniques available in the country, to produce an English newspaper geared to the interests of the student population—just as *El Campesino* (in Spanish) is geared to the needs of the rural population undergoing *alfabetización.*

Writing—This is an art rather poorly developed even in the mother tongue, where so much testing is done by putting ticks in boxes. Realistic practice could be provided by letter writing, either of a social kind (and why not with real pen friends?) or in answer to advertisements in the press. Nor would it be impossible to organize 'concursos' for stories, poems, or other written assignments on an institutional, inter-institutional, regional or national basis.

Speaking—Every learner of English should be provided with basic equipment of speech in English ("for survival purposes") to be able to communicate orally with the regular speakers of English who arrive in the country. Basic tasks would include to introduce oneself, to ask courteous questions about visitors, to give simple information about the locality (whether touristic, industrial, agricultural). Some of this can legitimately be brought into the formal curriculum, but in the interests of greater realism, more could be done on a social basis through the organization of English clubs or circles, at which every attempt should be made to bring in native speakers of English who happen to be available.

Visits—Visits to English-speaking countries are expensive, though not beyond the limits of human ingenuity. However, visits to places or institutions where English forms part of normal functioning could be planned much more frequently.

In brief, those who "profess" the teaching of English, and those who organize them, need to act as though performance in English can be taken as a part of everyday reality.

It is important that the right attitude to English is adopted: not as a foreign language, which could in any circumstances take the place of Castellano, but as a very useful additional language which enhances everybody's range of life-chances."

Foreign Language Teaching in
the People's Republic of China*

Timothy Light

Political and educational background to the present situation in education in China is outlined. The major goals of foreign language teaching in China are listed: 1) instruction in the languages of the countries with which China has relations; 2) production of interpreters and translators; 3) training the general populace in the reading of a foreign language; and 4) providing bilingual training for minority groups and Han citizens working in minority areas. The multi-leveled structure of foreign language teaching is described and the relation between the various levels and the goals is discussed.

English is the most widely taught language in the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the English language enterprise in China is important and growing. English teaching is a part of an energetic, nationwide program in language teaching, and as with other languages, the structure of English teaching can be most easily described as a facet of foreign language teaching in China in general. In this paper I shall describe the goals and organization of language teaching in China.

However, any description of educational conditions in the PRC requires a few words regarding recent political developments and their effect on education. From the founding of the PRC until 1966, China's educational enterprise expanded enormously. Universal primary education became a top priority, and extensive strides were made towards near realization of that goal. Widespread literacy was also declared a national goal, and classes were instituted around the

country for adults beyond the age of formal education. Popularization of *Putonghua* (Mandarin), the standard language of China, was yet another goal, and beginning in 1956 formal schooling began to be conducted in that language in all places except those where there were not teachers able to teach in anything but their native dialect. Along with radical changes in social and economic structure, access to further education was broadened. Private education (formerly a very significant sector in secondary and higher education) was eliminated, and all students were formally admitted to specialized schools and all tertiary institutions through examinations.

Despite these changes, by 1966 a significant sector of the population felt that formal education in China was serving to perpetuate a new elite of intelligentsia, Communist Party members, and government bureaucrats. This view of education was paralleled by similar opinions on the structure of management and decision making in the government and party. The leading critic of the status quo was Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In 1966, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a sweeping radical reform movement that in only three years succeeded in toppling the other party leadership. A great deal of the government leadership re-oriented the management of industry and completely restructured decision making processes on all levels of institutional life throughout the country.

As major targets of the Cultural Revolution reforms, secondary schools and universities were closed down for periods of up to four years. When they reopened, some extraordinary changes had been made. The curriculum was greatly narrowed. Practical subjects were emphasized, and anything that smacked of "ivory towerism" was ridiculed and abandoned. Work in most of the social sciences and major areas of the humanities was so branded, and teaching and publication were effectively stopped in linguistics, sociology, psychology, and anthropology—except for such teaching and publication that could be shown to have directly applicable usefulness. The plight of students from worker and peasant backgrounds attempting to compete with students from privileged families was given serious attention, and standards in many subjects were deliberately lowered to create more equality. Examinations were generally branded as a tool for repression of the underprivileged. Normal university entrance examinations were abolished, and tests at most levels became deemphasized. The practical wisdom of workers and peasants was exalted, and "Open Door Schooling" was instituted. Under this slogan, the door was open to bringing into schools and universities farmers and laborers who could instruct "theoreticians" in the realities of their subject. Seeking instruction from the practically skillful but untutored extended from having farmers talk to agriculture students on the practical effects of technology to having groups of laborers help students and faculty annotate editions of the Chinese classics. Under this slogan the door was also open to letting faculty and students gain practical experience of their subjects and of labor on school time. Whole classes would leave campuses for long periods in order to work in factories and on farms. Teachers would accompany such groups,

and would carry on part-time instruction in academic subjects to accompany the labor experience.

Chinese assessment of the Cultural Revolution vary. But educators that I have met seem to agree that the positive effects included at least the following: spreading of opportunity for advancement among groups which would not previously have had that opportunity, providing a path for interchange between intelligentsia and workers and peasants; and breaking down the rigid barrier between student and teacher which had been carried from tradition right through the Communist Revolution that led to the founding of the PRC.

At the same time, most educators have been quite willing to acknowledge during the last year and a half that the Cultural Revolution was followed by some egregious errors perpetrated in the name of Cultural Revolution reforms. Under the guise of making it easier for underprivileged students to get ahead, standards were dropped to an unacceptable level of mediocrity. Deterioration of quality in language arts and science classes have been particularly mentioned in this regard. The elimination of examinations led to strong social pressure for automatic promotion, furthering the decline in standards. University admission of students on the basis of good citizenship rather than ability or academic achievement resulted in the graduation of students quite incompetent in their fields of specialty. The open door was grossly abused. An excess of school time was spent requiring reluctant workers and peasants to lecture on subjects they themselves would have been happy to be students of, and unreasonable amounts of time (up to eight months out of a ten-month school year, according to sources in some places) were spent in factories and on farms. Perhaps most shocking of all, China—a nation with virtually no delinquency—began to experience discipline problems in the schools and even hooliganism and vandalism.

The post-Cultural Revolution excesses are now identified with the rule of the "Gang of Four," a group consisting of Chairman Mao's wife (now widow) and three close supporters. The animosity which they fostered against themselves among both seasoned politicians and militarists as well as educators resulted in their rapid removal from power and arrest one month after Mao's death. The downfall of the Gang of Four was followed by intensive efforts to return education to normalcy. Regular administrators removed by the Gang and their followers have been returned to authority. University entrance examinations have been reinstituted, and regular testing is again a standard part of the curriculum. Research and teaching in linguistics and other social sciences have been reinstated. Discipline has been restored to the schools. Standards on all levels have been dramatically raised, a. i 1977 university graduating classes were held back for an extra year of instruction because their preparation was deemed to be too weak.

Foreign language teaching was seriously affected by the post-Cultural Revolution developments. Foreign language standards declined with those of other subjects. In some areas of the country it appears that overzealous reformers considered foreign language instruction among the irrelevant subjects to be

downplayed or eliminated. In those areas where the disruptions of normal education were the most severe apparently little foreign language instruction was actually possible. In other areas the situation was more favorable to foreign language instruction, but there were problems of continuity, particularly in the movement from secondary to higher education so that a student trained in one language in secondary school might end up in a foreign language institute beginning a wholly new tongue with the expectation that he or she would have to perform in that language after a mere three years' instruction which was interrupted by overly heavy doses of politics, extensive trips to factory and countryside, and general attention to the concerns of the moment.

Given these conditions, foreign language instruction was ripe for major upgrading after the fall of the Gang of Four. Moreover, foreign languages became doubly important because of other changes in Chinese priorities after 1976. In the past two years China has indicated an intent to increase the speed of economic development and consequently had indirectly signalled a willingness to depend increasingly on certain types of foreign technology and foreign trade. At the same time, China has set in motion plans for a vastly expanded tourist business. Foreign trade and tourism both require very large numbers of foreign language specialists, for China must expect to deal with foreigners in the foreigners' own language or in a non-Chinese lingua franca. The demands for people trained in foreign languages have therefore grown dramatically, and intensive and extensive foreign language training has become a major priority in Chinese education.

Current policy on foreign language teaching is directed to meet the anticipated needs of the near and distant future. Because of the recent changes just outlined, the current policy is new in the sense that it revives interest in foreign languages in a most dramatic way. Nevertheless, all the parts of the policy and all of the types of institutions expected to implement the policy have been around for some time, and the new policy is essentially built on a base which already existed. That policy can best be discussed in terms of its goals and in terms of the types of institutions which exist to meet those goals.

China's aims in foreign language instruction can be enumerated as follows: 1) providing instruction in the national language of every country with which China has diplomatic relations, 2) producing an ample supply of interpreters and translators to satisfy increasing foreign language needs, 3) enabling all educated people to read at least one foreign language so that China's total ability to learn from other countries will be increased; 4) enabling all Chinese citizens who natively speak non-Han (i e , non-"Chinese") languages to learn Standard Chinese, and to enable educational and administrative personnel working in areas where the majority language is not Han to learn that language.

All aspects of formal education have a part in trying to meet these goals. Formal education in China consists of elementary, secondary, and tertiary institutions. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, the years devoted to each level were Elementary 6, Secondary 3 + 3, Tertiary: 4, a system historically related to that

in the U.S. The post-Cultural Revolution reforms reduced elementary and secondary to five years each and university level to three years. Now tertiary education is in the process of reverting to four years. As in the U.S., elementary and secondary schooling in China is comprehensive in curricular scope and rather uniform around the country; there are bilingual schools in minority areas, and in major cities there are schools associated with foreign language institutes which begin foreign language instruction in the later grades and continue throughout secondary school. In ordinary schools foreign language instruction is a standard part of the secondary curriculum and is required throughout secondary school. Generally each school offers only one language, a limitation that is presumably dictated by economic necessity and a shortage of foreign language teachers. At present foreign language instruction is generally rare in elementary school, though it is now policy that foreign language instruction will begin in mid-elementary school as soon as there are sufficient numbers of teachers available to make that possible.

The function of normal elementary and secondary instruction in foreign languages is to achieve the most modest of the goals listed above: providing a populace which can read a foreign language. For pedagogical reasons, classroom work contains a good deal of oral exercise and recitation. But the realistic expectations of standard school language classes are limited to the products having an ability to obtain knowledge through the written form of another language. A similarly modest expectation is held for the foreign language course that majors in other subjects at university level may take.

Much higher expectations are held out for products of university foreign language major courses and foreign language institutes. The mission of university foreign language major courses and foreign language institutes is to meet the country's need for interpreters and translators. Both university language major courses and institute courses are very intensive, though it appears that, because language teaching is their sole task, institutes find it more convenient to create an immersion atmosphere. An apparently typical breakdown of courses for the three-year higher education course at one institution (the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute) is as follows:

Year 1		Year 2		Year 3	
English	12 hrs/Wk	English	11 hrs/Wk.	English	8–10 hrs/Wk.
Chinese	2 hrs/Wk	Chinese	2 hrs/Wk	Chinese	2 hrs/Wk.
Politics	2 hrs/Wk	Politics	2 hrs/Wk.	Politics	2 hrs/Wk.
Phys. Ed.	2 hrs/Wk	Phys. Ed.	2 hrs/Wk.		
Hist./Geog.	1 hrs/Wk	Hist./Geog.	1 hrs/Wk		

This curriculum is based on a three-year university course and will be revised and strengthened when universities revert to four years. It is intended that formal work in translation and grammatical analysis will be added in the fourth year. The figures that are given merely indicate the formal class hours that are held.

Formal classes are given in the morning at many institutions and are sup-
plemented the rest of the day by tutorials, discussions, field trips, etc. so that the
total exposure time to the target language is considerably greater than the
numbers would seem to indicate. Exposure time to the target language is also
enormously greater than it is for American foreign language majors, for—as is
the case elsewhere in Asia and Europe—students enter their major department
when they enter their university or institute and follow a set curriculum
throughout their university years. The number of formal class hours reduces in
the final year because third year students are expected to spend increasing
amounts of time in independent study.

Although there is not much functional difference between a university
foreign language major course and an institute course, there is an important
distinction between "national" schools and local (provincial or municipal) ones.
Familiar names among those which serve the whole country and whose student
pool includes all eligible students in China are Peking University, Fu Dan
University (Shanghai), Chungshan University (Canton), the Peking First
Foreign Language Institute, and the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute.
These institutions generally have their choice of the most promising students in
the country, and their products are most likely to be placed in foreign service
work, translation for publication, guiding important visitors throughout the
country or teaching at the tertiary level in jobs of national significance. In addi-
tion, it is the Peking First Foreign Language Institute which aims to offer instruc-
tion in all the national languages of China's diplomatic partners. In contrast,
provincial and municipal institutes and universities draw their students from
within their own boundaries and generally send their graduates to work at local
tasks. Because the numbers of foreign visitors to China are increasing very rapid-
ly, the need for bilingual guides is particularly acute in major cities and places of
visitor interest. Consequently, local training of foreign language specialists is
treated as a major effort by provincial educational authorities.

The high level of expectation that is held for products of tertiary level foreign
language programs is demonstrated by the fact that, upon graduation, language
specialists are immediately placed in responsible jobs which require use of the
language of concentration. Interpreters and guides with whom I have had contact
seem to fulfill this expectation. When asked for his own evaluation of his training,
one very able interpreter said that after his three-year institute course he felt con-
fident of his automatic command of English grammar and phonology, but that
his vocabulary was very small. He said that the five years on the job after gradua-
tion were mainly used to increase his vocabulary. Other interpreters and teachers
have both agreed with this characterization and illustrated it in their work. In-
dividuals naturally vary in their attainments. Some interpreters (especially local-
ly trained ones) speak rather flawed English and sometimes make it ever difficult
for English speakers to follow what they say. But, on balance, the foreign
language standard attained at the tertiary level in China is notable. It is especially
notable when one recalls that in recent years there have been few native-speaking

teachers in China, that the educational system was disrupted by currents described above, and that, because of the disturbances, many foreign language specialists were able to begin their language study only when they started their three-year institute or university course.

An expectation of language-competent graduates also governs one other type of institution, namely those schools and institutes whose students are minority citizens of China or Han Chinese preparing for work in minority areas. The U S Applied Linguistics Delegation visited the famed Central Institute for National Minorities in Peking and were able to talk with Uighur students who had had but two years of formal instruction in Standard Chinese. Even granting that there must be at least some Chinese language influence in predominantly Uighur Xinjiang (Sinkiang), the fluency and polish of these students was remarkable and it appeared that the immersion environment of Peking's outskirts is put to good advantage by the Institute. The Applied Linguistics Delegation also visited bilingual Korean-Chinese schools in Jilin (Kirin) Province. The standard resembled that of good bilingual programs in the U.S. Also familiar were descriptions of actual language use in the cities of Changchun and Jilin, both of which have substantial Korean populations. In areas where Chinese is the dominant language, Korean is not maintained in most homes, and children are not sent to bilingual schools, but in areas where Korean is dominant and where knowledge of Korean is important in children's future careers, bilingual schools are used, and Korean is fluently spoken by all generations.

Outside of formal education, foreign language instruction is offered in a variety of adult educational programs. Most popular and most famous are the foreign language broadcasts in major cities, especially Peking and Shanghai. The material is prepared and read on the air by professional language teachers. Special texts are published to accompany the radio programs, and opportunity is provided for listeners to meet with tutors involved in the programs for supplementary help.

It is difficult to gauge either the expectations that authorities have of such informal programs, or the results produced by such programs. At the very least, however, the numbers of radio texts that are sold (hundreds of thousands) and the estimated numbers of listeners to radio language courses (certainly millions) are eloquent testimony to the seriousness and enthusiasm regarding foreign language learning in China today. The seriousness with which language learning is viewed is obvious from frequent public exhortations on the value of all educated people knowing a foreign language. The concern is evident, too, from casual visits to bookstores, which are stocked with foreign language texts, reading materials, and dictionaries. The genuine popularity of foreign language learning is brought home to the foreigner in conversations with average people who inevitably turn to topics concerned with language teaching and learning.

Nonetheless, the enthusiasm for language is accompanied by a realistic marshalling of resources. While exposure to foreign languages and the opportunity to begin the study of a language are given to all citizens, and while all school

children will soon have had many years of language instruction prior to completing secondary school, intensive instruction with the best qualified teachers is reserved for that tiny minority who will be expected to put their language skill to use in a lifetime career. In thus dividing types of language instruction and the allocation of resources according to expectations of performance and estimates of national need, China has made a clear strategic decision. The results of that decision are already becoming evident in the numbers of foreign language specialists that China is now able to produce each year, even though she started from a very small base. China's strategic decision is certainly worth careful and serious study, and it may be worthy of adaptation by other countries (such as the United States) where foreign languages are not popular and where the able workers in most languages are hard to come by.

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In-Service Teacher Training in a Third World Country

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This paper describes an in-service teacher-training course which was put into effect a year and a half ago in Mexico City. The authors begin with a description of teaching conditions at secondary levels and the average level of English and training of secondary teachers. They go on to describe how these conditions have influenced their decisions regarding course content and design.

Prerequisites for selection and course requirements and duration are outlined, as well as the course content, and reasons for the exclusion and/or inclusion of specific topics are given.

Detailed descriptions of pattern analysis, practice sessions and workshops are included, as well as sample handouts for analysis and lesson planning.

A great deal has been said lately about the use of "real" texts, the abandonment of pattern drilling, the advantages of a notional as opposed to a structural syllabus, and the appeal to students' natural acquisition abilities through exposure to "real" language in its dynamic processes.

It is assumed that teacher training programs in the United States and Britain will be obliged to alter their content somewhat in order to reflect these new developments, and that the focus of the courses will shift from emphasis upon teaching English structures to emphasis upon collecting suitable materials and organising classroom activities for exploitation of these materials. The grammatical element of the notional syllabus may in fact be more difficult for trainee teachers to master than that of the structurally ordered one, and, equal, even distribution of practice time may be more difficult to insure in any systematic way. Generally, however, the task of training teachers to design and organise activities which cause students to engage in longer more realistic discourse will not be an overwhelming one, as long as the trainee-teachers have a near native grasp of English, and as long as the socio-cultural environment is similar to those which exist in the United States and Britain. Here, in Mexico, neither of these two conditions pertain.

A year and a half ago, teacher trainers in our institute decided that the teacher training courses which we were offering did not do much to alleviate the

most pressing problems of teaching English in Mexico, that is to say, the prob-
lems faced by the secondary school teachers.

For one thing, the institute's admission requirements regarding English
were too high for them, and for another, many of the techniques and activities
which student teachers were trained to use, were inapplicable to conditions in the
secondary schools. The solution, it seemed, was to create a Basic Training
Course, especially designed for in-service training of secondary school teachers,
whose own proficiency in English is generally low. The purpose was to consider
realistically what these people were able to do in the classroom—in terms first of
their own abilities, and second, the conditions they had to work in—and then to
adapt materials and activities which might be serviceable.

The basic procedures of the structural-situational method, which is the
method used in all of our training courses, were retained. The method makes use
of a structural syllabus, that is to say, one which presents language structures se-
quentially, arranging them in an order which moves from relative simplicity to
relative difficulty. The method also requires that each new English structure be
presented to the students in a meaningful and true context or situation, (thus the
name, structural-situational method) and that this context be a usual one, one
which would be likely to occur in "real life." The conditions of true and mean-
ingful mean that when students are asked to repeat or to substitute, they are mak-
ing a true statement or asking a meaningful question with regard to a visual cue,
and not simply substituting words in slots.

Before going into a more detailed description of the course itself, six limiting
or affecting factors need to be mentioned.

In secondary schools

1. The teacher is usually the students' only informant.
    a. The students have no means of evaluating the model which is provided
       for them.
    b. They will reproduce the teacher's pronunciation, intonation and stress
       patterns in their own speech.
    c. They have no opportunity to practice outside the class.
2. The teacher's language is limited and often incorrect.
    a. He or she cannot handle unpredictable combinations of language
       structures;
    b. He or she cannot deal with a range of colloquial or dialectal idiosyn-
       crasies.
    c. He or she often cannot evaluate the correctness of students' original
       combinations of language structures.
3. The teacher has little contact with native speakers of the language. He
   must rely heavily on his dictionary, his textbook, and whatever teachers'
   notes the textbook provides for him.
4. The traditional cultural roles of teacher and student are confining.
    a. The teacher may come from a different socio-economic background
       than that of his students.

      b. The students may be either uninclined or overly inclined to question
         his competence and authority.
    5. Teaching conditions may be poor.
    6. English is irrelevant to students' immediate needs. Therefore, all mo-
       tivating factors must be provided within the classroom.

The activities student teachers are trained to engage in are meaningful and related to realistic situations, and the course reflects a preference for natural language which can be transferred to real-life situations. However, since our teachers' competence in the classroom is very dependent upon their ability to prepare and predict ahead of time what types of problems may arise during a given class, it is felt that a structural syllabus imposes an order of teaching and learning which is necessary and accessible for them. The official government secondary school syllabus is also a structural one.

With regard to the recent trend to do away with pattern drilling, it was pointed out earlier that meaningless pattern drilling is not included in the methodology. However, choral repetition and substitution drills which relate to visual cues continue to be employed in our training course because:
    1. they ensure equal and even distribution of practice.
    2. the size of a class is usually large.
    3. no other type of early practice functions as efficiently in the same amount
       of time.

The educational authorities in Mexico find it necessary to employ people with no training in TEFL at all because there is a shortage of teachers of English at the secondary level. There are about 10,000 teachers of English in Mexico, but less than half have had some type of training. Out of these 10,000, about 1800 have been trained at the official teachers' college, over the last thirty years. The teachers who graduate from this college are officially recognized as secondary teachers, specialized in TEFL, after a four-year part-time training course. Private institutes have produced perhaps twice as many teachers in about 15 years' time. Unfortunately, these teachers are usually accepted only in private schools, at primary level or in private institutes or commercial schools. Very few manage to get jobs in official secondary schools.

1. The student population

The vast majority of the student population attending official schools at secondary level comes from the lower-middle class and the working class as most parents from the upper-middle class and above prefer to send their children to private schools.

Many children in secondary are inadequately nourished and may not get enough sleep. The students' academic background is rather weak and the command of their own language is most of the time poor and limited. The attitude of their parents towards education is not an encouraging one as some of them have hardly managed to go through the basic cycle of education themselves and, therefore, are unable to offer adequate help or motivation to their children at home.

2. School conditions

School conditions aren't perfect either. The teacher of English has to overcome handicaps such as the following:

1. Most schools are in noisy areas.
2. The classrooms are not adequate. There is not enough light or ventilation.
3. In many schools the chairs are nailed to the floor.
4. There is hardly any electrical equipment, as school budgets are barely sufficient to meet the most essential requirements.
5. There is a great lack of visual aids, and the few that do exist are those prepared by the teachers themselves with their own money, and are, therefore, their property.
6. The number of students in each group is generally between 50 and 60 children per group.
7. There are rules in some schools obliging classes to make as little noise as possible so as not to disturb classes going on next door, below or above.

3. Course content

English is a required subject in the public school system. This means that the children cannot pursue any studies in higher education unless they have been credited with three years of English. Given the conditions mentioned above, the course aims at helping teachers function more efficiently; therefore, it concentrates on the following main areas:

1. Analysis of the structures in the secondary school English syllabus with special focus on improving the teachers' classroom English, based on the English in the textbook they will be teaching with. Fortunately, a general program of English for secondary was put into effect in 1974, to which all textbooks have to conform. Trainees are made to understand the multiple usages of the language structures, and to confine themselves to the one the textbook provides for presentation to the students.
2. Trainees are taught techniques which will enable them to organize different language practice activities in groups and to use every minute of class time profitably, that is, they are asked to plan their lessons logically and realistically.
3. On the practical side of the course, trainees are given ample opportunity to practice under the supervision of a trainer.
4. On the theoretical side, trainees are given: a) basic principles of educational psychology including such notions as attention span, motivation, rewarding techniques, correction techniques, suitability of materials according to age and interest; b) disciplinary tactics; c) language acquisition theory; d) structural grammar; e) recognition of phonetic symbols.

The course consists of 118 hours. It lasts for six months and meets three times a week for two hours. Students have one hour of practice followed by one

hour of round table discussion every week and they have to attend two 45-minute sessions at the language laboratory per week.

In order to be accepted for this course, the candidates must meet the following requirements: a) be a practicing teacher; b) pass the institute's English entrance exam showing that the applicant has reached a level equivalent to 300 hours of classroom instruction.

The course certificate is only awarded to trainees who attend at least 90% of the course and satisfy the instructors in workshops and written papers that they are competent in the method and the teaching techniques dealt with in the course. They must also prove that they are able to plan classes efficiently and appropriately, demonstrating their understanding of the language items to be taught and the problems involved.

4. Course design

In the first class of this teachers' course, trainees are given a Russian demonstration of the method with trainees acting as students. There are four main purposes in doing this: first, for trainees to see what the methodology looks like; second, for them to feel what it is like to learn by means of the structural-situational method; third, for them to see how different types of visual aids are used; fourth, for them to see how meaning is conveyed without the use of L_1.

After the demonstration, trainees are asked to form groups to analyze and discuss what they have just seen. Later, they are asked to discuss it with teacher trainers.

During the second class period, trainees are given a second Russian demonstrat   with an overload of vocabulary and at an overly fast pace—that is to say, a den   stration of a badly taught class. The purpose in doing this is for trainees to see that although the same method and techniques are being used, the result is mainly frustration. This again is discussed with trainees; they are asked to criticize the demonstrator and give suggestions for improvement. The purpose in doing this is to show them that constructive criticism should always be welcome. At the same time the way is being paved so that when they are in turn criticized after their own practices, they'll be able to accept and profit by it.

In the following classes, mini-demonstrations on how to teach the first patterns in th   secondary school syllabus are given. They are immediately followed by a workshop. The class is split into small groups of five in which trainees do peer teaching.

During the following two weeks trainees are prepared for their first real practice with "guinea pig students," who are students from nearby *secundarias* or students from the institute, who feel they need or want the extra practice.

In order to prepare trainees for this "ordeal," they are given intensive peer practice workshops, which enable them to practice their newly acquired techniques; they are also introduced to the use of the chalkboard (mainly stick drawings) and probably the most important of all, they are introduced to pattern analysis.

Pattern Analysis Sample

1 Pattern 2 Phonetic script	1 Concept & usage 2 Problems 3 Recommendations	1 Form 2 Problems 3 Recommendations	1 Situations & aids 2 Problems 3 Recommendations
They're pens (ðea penz)	1 Identification of two or more objects of the same type. 2 The pronoun they is used for things and persons (students may think objects only) Idea of plural 3 Show one object first, then two or three to establish idea of plural. Use both objects and persons. Check questions "what?" or false statement	1 P + v + N 2 Form, plurals a) ending s, o, es, or ies or ves b) irregulars, men, oxen etc c) addition of plural ending. Absence of article They are (a) pens 3 Group nouns according to endings. Don't mix endings in presentation. Say sentence slowly at first. Repeat at normal speed for choral repetition 2 Pronunciation a) Plurals: /s/, /z/, /ɪz/ etc 3 Repeat individual nouns slowly, etc	1 classroom situation realia flash-cards cut-outs blackboard drawings 2 Students may think form refers to 2 objects only. 3 Be sure to show objects not only in two's.

5. Pattern analysis

Column one of the sample pattern analysis deals with the structure itself and the logical sequence of its transforms. In the sample given, for example, the next transform dealt with will be:

Are they books? Yes, they are. / No, they aren't.

Phonetic representations are given under each transform and simple symbols for stress and intonation (not indicated in the sample) are included to help the teacher give natural models.

Column two deals with the concept or usage of each structure. There are usually three numbers in columns two, three and four. In column two, number one attempts to clarify the idea expressed by the structure; number two points out the problems of concept or usage which may arise either because of a similar structure in English or because of first language interference; number three lists the possible solutions to such problems.

Column three deals with the form of the structure. In this column, number one tells the teacher in grammatical symbols what elements the pattern consists of. The number two in this column presents possible problems of form, pronunciation, stress or intonation. As before, number three suggests solutions.

The function of the fourth column is to offer situations (contexts) for the

presentation of the structure and some suitable aids for practicing it. Problems of finding suitable situations often arise and these are pointed out, as well as their possible solutions.

6. Laboratory

While all this is happening, trainees are already attending the laboratory outside their regular class hours, where they are listening to tapes which are closely related to the pattern they are going to teach. It is hoped that by having these laboratory sessions, trainees will improve their pronunciation, stress and intonation. The laboratory sessions are a requirement of the course. Trainees are required to attend 18 hours of laboratory.

7. Practices with guinea pig students

Finally, at the beginning of the third week the trainees practice with real students. They are put into four groups functioning simultaneously. There are seven trainees in each group and the class period is divided into seven parts. Each trainee is told he has to teach a set part of a class.

Such a class will normally consist of: 1) presentation of a new structure; 2) choral and individual practice; 3) substitutions; 4) group work; 5) reading and writing; 6) personal examples where appropriate; and 7) song or game.

The teaching time per trainee increases during the course until each teaches 30 minutes and conducts several of the above activities in succession and without interruption.

While their peers are teaching, the remaining six are observing and taking notes. The teacher trainer is also taking notes. At the end of the class and after students leave the room, a round table discussion is held. First, each trainee is asked to evaluate his own performance; then his peers do likewise and at the end the teacher trainer adds any points which might have been left out and makes suggestions for improvement. Trainees are individually given a carbon copy plus a mark. This gives the trainees the opportunity to go over their mistakes and to keep a record of what they did and how they performed.

8. Lesson planning

About half way through the course, lesson planning is introduced. Student teachers are shown how to plan presentation of a new pattern and change activities using the same pattern; some further practice activities such as oral composition, games, songs and dialogues may be included.

In these plans they are asked to consider such things as: 1) age and sex of group, plus areas of interest; 2) size of group, quantity of material for a 60 minute class; 3) the lexical, phonological and structural problems which the pattern and the model sentences contain; and 4) textbook material which can be used for classroom practice or set as homework.

In order to give trainees practice in making lesson plans they are required to write one before each practice with "guinea pig students."

The lack of visual aids in most secondary schools has already been mentioned. Therefore, trainees are taught how to make their own materials such as flashcards, wall pictures and puppets, taking care to ensure that these aids are multi-purpose whenever possible.

Other aids such as tape recorders, slide projectors, and overhead projectors, are mentioned and their use shown in the course, but not much emphasis is placed on their use, as student teachers have found that they are not at their disposal in the schools where they teach. Great emphasis is given to the blackboard as the teacher's most useful, cheap and versatil aid.

Student teachers are taught to handle and adapt official textbook material to the structural-situational method they are learning. But they are encouraged to use textbook material as often as possible.

9. Testing

Testing is confined to diagnostic and achievement tests. Because of most trainees' limited knowledge of the language, only two types of test items are dealt with: multiple choice and fill-ins. Validity and reliability are discussed. Sample tests are given out and trainees are asked to produce parallel items

10. Conclusion

The authors by no means pretend that this course is a panacea or that it has covered all the needs of the student teachers. Changes in its original design have been made and will continue to be made so as to serve the teachers it was devised for, until such time as a need for "basic" teacher training no longer exists in Mexico.

An Immersion Program for the Professional Improvement of Non-native Teachers of E.S.L. *

Georgette Buch

Ivan de Bagheera

This paper focuses on a retraining program for ESL teachers in the Canadian province of Quebec. It consisted of two phases: a five-month schedule of intensive university courses; then a return to the field for a five-month practice teaching period.

For those enrolled at the Université de Montréal, all courses were given in English. All communications in and out of the classroom were conducted in the target language from the first day to the last. Emphasis was placed on improving the teachers' mastery of English.

Testing was conducted upon enrollment and on completion of the university course work. M T.E.L. P., Cloze, free style writing and tape-recorded interview tests were administered and analysed to assess the results obtained by this type of immersion program for non-native teachers of ESL. Tape recordings, video tapings and personal visits were used to assess their ability to transfer new skills to the classroom.

The paper provides a critical assessment of this model for teacher retraining based on the results obtained at the Université de Montréal.

The teaching of French and English as second languages has been a recurring problem within the province of Quebec's educational system. Constitutionally divided along confessional lines, there have been relatively few exchanges of teachers between the French-Catholic and the English-Protestant sectors.

The adoption of the Official Language Act in 1974 (a forerunner of Bill 101 of 1977) was accompanied by the implementation of a province-wide program for improving the qualifications of second language teachers. The avowed aim was to ensure that children enrolled in either the French or the English school systems would be assured of effective instruction in the corresponding second language.

This paper thus focuses on the retraining of ESL teachers and constitutes

somewhat of a preliminary report on the said improvement program which ended only last January (1978).

It is much too early to have gathered all the loose ends together and to have come to some hard conclusions; however, it is permissible to attempt a description of the project or program, the participants, the procedures used, the implementation, and from there go on to the immediate results, the tangible ones that can be measured objectively. It is also proposed to have a look at what might be called the subjective aspects, in other words, the expected long term accomplishments as perceived by our former students. Finally, taking into account what has been done and what remains to be done if the requirements of Quebec's society are to be fulfilled, recommendations will be made endeavouring to match future teacher-training with societal reality and student needs.

In order to place the results obtained in the proper perspective, five aspects of the program will be described; they are 1) the rationale for the improvement program; 2) the institutions responsible for its implementation; 3) the program accepted by the Ministry of Education, Quebec (M.E.Q.); 4) the teachers assigned to l'Université de Montréal (U. de M.) for retraining; and 5) the implementation procedures at U. de M. These five points will then be followed by a report of the immediate results as measured by testing. An evaluation of expected long term results as described in a questionnaire answered by 70% of U. de M. former retrainees will come next. Finally, taking into consideration the nature of Canada's political set-up, recommendations will be formulated.

1. The rationale

Briefly let us establish the background history of our program. For our present purpose, may it be simply stated that because of a battle in 1759 on the plains of Abraham (near Quebec City), between the respective troops of the Kings of France and of England, we are now beset by constitutional peculiarities hard for outsiders to understand. One such oddity is that although in Canada there is no state religion, the responsibility for public education is divided along religious lines. Two systems co-exist: one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant. Traditionally, before the coming of the Irish, Roman Catholic meant French and Protestant meant English. This being the case it was natural that very few exchanges of teachers or students were ever to take place across the confessional lines.

Until quite recently, within the Anglo-Protestant system, French as a second language (FSL) was taught at the elementary level by Protestant Anglophones and at the secondary level by French Protestant teachers hired directly from Europe or native speakers of French originating from North Africa. Now however, quite gradually, Francophone Quebecers are starting to cross the line to teach in the Protestant school boards of the province.

Within the French Roman Catholic system of Quebec, FSL was and still is taught mostly by Quebec-born Francophones. Acheson et al. (1977) established in their sampling that among the teachers taking part in the Government retrain-

ing program, 93% were of French Canadian origin. Efforts by Anglophones to enter the system as teachers of ESL are being thwarted by the unilateral and rigid enforcement of antiquated regulations established by the Catholic Committee Superior Council of Education:

DIVISION V
MANAGEMENT AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF
Article 21.   Every person in management, teaching and other educational
              services in an institution is required to respect the confessional
              character thereof.
Article 22.   The members of the staff of an institution must be Catholic. In
              the event of difficulty in retaining the services of a competent
              Catholic person, the services of a competent non-catholic may
              be retained provided such person binds himself to respect the
              confessional character of the institution.
                   However, Catholic religious instruction shall only be
              given to Catholics.

Having established or described what has been a long-standing situation, let us proceed to what could be called factors of change. Geographically the small (5 million ±) French speaking community of Quebec is surrounded on three sides by the English-speaking world of North America. Quebecers feel threatened in their cultural and linguistic heritage and quite rightly so. The French language is losing ground to English, not only in the whole of Canada as documented by Lieberson (1970), but also within its home province according to statistics by Castonguay and Marion (1974). Within Quebec until quite recently business, industry and sciences were dealt with in English. To speak English was seen as a basic requirement leading to material progress; however it was a skill seldom acquired at school, but rather on the street or on the job (d'Anglejan 1978). Thus if at long last English was learned, it was mostly as a means of communication with superiors and rarely did it lead French Quebecers any further than positions of minor authority within industry or business.

Gradually, after 1960 and what was called the "Quiet Revolution," French Quebecers' political and business aspirations grew. A desire to take their destiny in their own hands became a driving force. They felt that the erosion of the French language, symbol of their identity, had to be stopped and that access to high positions must be opened to Francophones regardless of their knowledge of English. Eventually they became convinced that their objectives could be reached only by making French the official language of Quebec.

It is thus that the Official Language Act (Bill 22) was enacted in 1974. It designated French as the official language for communication within and with the Government of the Province of Quebec at every level of business activity.

This new law sponsored by the Minister of Education had already during its elaboration period led him to reassess the language curriculum established by the Ministry. If French was to become the official language of the Province, then measures had to be taken to ensure that its teaching be not only of high quality,

but also pure and untainted by Anglicisms. Moreover, if French was to be the working language in industry and business and French children could no longer attend English schools, English as a Second Language would now have to be mastered within the school environment. Faced with the foregoing implications, the M.E.Q. elaborated a province-wide program called "Plan DEL" (Language Teaching Development Plan). This Plan DEL was to provide for improvements in the teaching of French as a native language, of FSL for the benefit of Anglophone Quebecers, and finally of ESL for Quebec's Francophones.

2. The institutions

The M.E.Q. and the various universities of the province of Quebec had to work hand in hand on this wide-ranging program. From the start the M.E.Q. established the basic framework and time scheduling for the program. All the practicing teachers selected to attend this program, meant to qualify them as teachers of ESL, would have to adhere to the established time schedule, that is, five months of academic studies intramural, five months of practice teaching according to the new methods or theories in their home school, and finally a six-week stay, back at university, for two final courses.

There could be an intake of teacher retrainees in September for a period of five months and another one in February which would last until the end of June. Both groups would thus meet for the summer session. Those were the broad guidelines established by the M.E.Q., along with a final directive making the universities responsible for establishing a 30-credit program to be covered within the period available. All teachers selected were assured by the M.E.Q. of their full salary and all their expenses, including tuition and an increase in remuneration upon their return to the classroom that had been safeguarded for them. Implementation of the Plan DEL was then turned over to the various universities of the province, consideration being given to location, clientele, and normal outlets for the "finished product." In this way the phase of the program assigned to us at "La faculté des sciences de l'éducation" dealt with the retraining of teachers already certified to teach other subjects. These teachers had become involved with ESL at the high school level, in many cases due to the lack of an opening in their own discipline.

3. The accepted program of U. de M.

With the exception of the guidelines outlined above, the curriculum structure was left entirely to the responsibility of the teaching personnel. Thus, although U. de M. is a French-speaking institution, eight of the nine academic courses were to be given in English by native speakers either already lecturing at U. de M. or brought in from McGill University. The titles of the courses selected for our particular program are as follows: Descriptive Linguistics, Error Analysis, Interaction Analysis, Measurement and Evaluation (in French), Micro-Teaching, Practice Teaching (under supervision), Psycholinguistics, Second Language Didactics, Spoken English, and Written English.

It should be mentioned that practice teaching had been designated as an im-

perative by the M.E.Q., although the supervision and evaluation of that activity remained the responsibility of the instructor in charge of teacher practicum.

Testing procedures were established on a pre-course and post-course basis using the following four instruments: a) the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency Form A; b) a Cloze test including 50 blanks (Stubbs and Tucker, 1970); c) a free-style writing test containing two paragraphs of 70 words each, covering two subjects; and d) a free-style taped interview. The purpose of these pre-tests was to help us orient the courses offered according to the needs of the incoming teachers. The post-tests hopefully would tell us the measure of success achieved by the program. Correction of both the pre- and post-tests was carried out by an outsider to the program, who was a native speaker of English teaching at the college level.

4. The teachers under retraining

Four groups of teachers were thus accepted and pre-tested at U. de M. Table 1 below shows their results, on the Michigan Test, prior to starting the improvement program courses.

TABLE 1

Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency; Results obtained by teachers upon their admittance to the improvement program: Equated score.

Date	Group	Teachers	Average	≥91
Sep 75	A	24/23	74.5	2
Feb 76	B	18/16	80.5	0
Sep 76	C	17	90.1	8
Feb 77	D	14	90.9	9

Total 73 teachers

General average 82.94

Scoring 91 or above 19 teachers. 20.9%

The results shown above might very well lead us to ask who were these teachers of ESL. According to the survey by Acheson et al. (1977) cited previously, Quebec's French high school students are being taught English in 97% of the cases by Francophone teachers. These teachers in 93% of the cases are French Canadians. Of the group surveyed, only two teachers (2%) indicated that they were native speakers of English. Furthermore, only 21% had ever received ESL teacher training.

5. Implementation

As stated previously, it was decided to implement the program entirely in English. Thus, the first intake of 24 teachers on arrival were addressed very briefly in French by the director of the department who immediately handed over the proceedings to the professor in charge of the program. From there on in it was English morning to night, day in, day out, in the lecture room, during spare time, and at play.

In the case under review, English as a Second Language is a compulsory language for French Quebecers. It thus involves sociological implications for the students forced to learn it. The push and pull caused by the ambivalent feelings created in this particular situation affect not only the students of English but also the teachers. The attitudes of one towards the other, the sociological needs of the students and finally the professional needs of the teachers all impinge on one another.

As a result, the program of U. de M. was centered around three interrelated courses, namely Didactics of Second Languages, Interaction Analysis and Micro-Teaching. Although these three courses could have been dealt with in any language, they were carried out from start to finish in English, in an immersion situation. Immersion, for our purposes, means the exclusive use of the target language, not only to master it and to learn about it, but also to acquire the skill needed to teach it as a compulsory second language.

One must recognize that for non-native speakers of ESL to follow an improvement program including Didactics of English, Interaction Analysis (of the teacher in interface with his students) and of Micro-Teaching, where his teaching skills are analysed under what might be called the eye of a microscope, involves a privileged learning situation. Under the circumstances described, the target language was used at all times. Whenever the teachers talked together of their own discipline, when they recalled problems encountered in the field, as they reviewed past experiences, successes or failures, when they debated the validity of certain procedures or argued against the theories to which they were exposed as being far removed from classroom reality, English was spoken. If one is objective about it the brand of English to which they were exposed did smack of professional jargon and as such might fall into the category of English for special purposes. One advantage of this procedure was that they all knew their subject and all they had to do was to express their ideas or their feelings in the target language. Communication was the aim of the exercise. The students were protected from the traditional classroom danger where the teacher of a language is faced with a crowd of students whose native language leads the teacher to accept a somewhat pidginized form of the target language, where both vocabulary and syntax show evidence of simplification (d'Anglejan 1978). For the first time the teacher trainees had a chance to use English within their peer group. The level of proficiency, as was noted in Table 1, varied considerably. High input generators as described by Seliger (1977) helped provide stimulating input for the less talkative participants.

As stated above, three courses were interrelated to the utmost; the techniques and procedures taught in Didactics were put into practice in Micro-Teaching, a video-taped course, where the teachers were required to exercise specific skills in a micro-situation (Brown 1975).

Interaction Analysis (Flanders 1970; Moskowitz 1968; Lemire 1977), was also tightly interwoven with Micro-Teaching. For example during each micro-lesson one spectator trainee was responsible for carrying out an interaction analysis directly from the video monitor. At the end of the lesson the trainee was

given an audio-tape of his micro-lesson for interaction analysis at home. Finally, in every case there was a meeting to review the results obtained through observation of the video monitor and the results obtained through listening to the audio-tape. An additional feature in this case was that the two retrainees involved had an occasion to listen to the errors they had made while using the target language.

The person in charge of Micro-Teaching had previous qualifications in both interaction analysis and second language didactics. The same applied in reverse order for the instructor responsible for teaching the sociology of language. Thus close liaison was maintained between the professors responsible for the three courses. The collaboration took the form of passing on to each other the errors committed by the students, in such a way that it permitted each professor to use examples describing properly the desired skill, the desired interaction or the desired application of methodology.

It is important to state that by common agreement between professors and trainees, only positive criticism would be used in the three courses under review. Only the good points accomplished or offered by the students were brought to the attention of all: carrying this practice even further, the teacher trainees were also required to single out the good points brought out by their colleagues in any of the three courses. The theory behind this practice was that once something worthwhile has been pointed out by a teacher trainee there is no psychological objection for that person to use what was put forth by a colleague who otherwise might even be on occasion seen as a competitor.

Focusing on the form rather than on the communication function of language does not appear to encourage language acquisition (Cazden 1965). Therefore, imitation, identification and empathy, processes which according to Mead (1964) are evident in informal learning, were emphasized in the classroom situation, for in second language learning one can surmise that a parallel exists and that these three processes would be equally efficient and successful.

With the above reasons in mind the professors themselves conducted their lectures mostly along the lines of seminars rather than in the usual more formal manner, attempting to fulfill the role of perfect or at least near-perfect models. Errors of syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation were corrected not by addressing the particular teacher trainee at fault, but rather by carrying on the subject with the group at large or with another teacher trainee and using the proper form, the required word, or the desired pronunciation. This procedure ensured that no member of the group was singled out for his errors. The group therefore was confident and uninhibited in their level of proficiency in ESL. They felt encouraged to participate, in exchanging and communicating within their peer group. The process of accommodation normally present in a classroom, where the teacher lowers his style to approach the one used by his students, was taking place here in reverse order. Within this peer group the high input generators were bringing up the low proficiency trainees.

We might in a certain way concur with Ferguson (1975), who has shown that native speakers instinctively direct a simplified form of their language to

non-native speakers. In this sense oddly enough, one might say that in our im-
plementation of the program the only losers might have been the actual pro-
fessors in charge of each course, for some did become accustomed to this un-
sophisticated style.

Outside of the trichotomy of courses considered as the central core of the
program, two instructors had privileged and discrete access to teacher trainee
recordings. The instructor of Written English was given private viewing of the
video-tapes taken during micro-teaching, the advantage of this procedure being
that grammatical errors evident on the video-shown chalk board or transparen-
cies could be noted and made, in an unobstrusive fashion, the subject of the
subsequent Written English class. Similarly in the case of spoken English the in-
structor was given private auditions of the audio-tapes used for interaction
analysis. Once again errors of spoken English could be readily detected for inclu-
sion and discrete remedial action in the course of further sessions dealing with
spoken English.

Two other aspects of this program should be brought to light. First, within
the course of Didactics of Second Language, a great emphasis was placed on the
sociology of language. Kirch (1973), Fishman (1968) and many others were
studied. Articles by these authors were handed out for group discussion and used
as subjects of group reports. At all times in these discussions and reports commu-
nicative competence (Savignon 1972) was emphasized and encouraged. Second,
as indicated previously the theory of interaction analysis was learned in one
course and put into practice during micro-teaching. The program however, went
one step further: during their practicum, lasting some 16 weeks, all teacher train-
ees were required to forward a fifteen-minute audio recording and the interaction
analysis of what they considered to be their best lesson of the week. The teacher
trainee analysis was computer-processed at U. de-M. and the resulting printout
commented upon by the instructor as he listened to the actual tape recording.
This procedure encouraged the teacher trainees to maintain a high standard dur-
ing their practicum. It also gave the instructor the opportunity to ensure a high
level of quality control over the brand of ESL being used in the actual classroom.

6. Objective results

As already stated, the program for each of the four groups started with a bat-
tery of tests and was terminated by a similar procedure. Basically the tests were of
the same nature, with only some minor changes in the topics of the free-style
writing test, these changes being made to obviate the effects of possible research
into the meaning of the original topics offered as subjects to write upon.

In the results below we will first report on the objective tests, starting with
the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency Form A.

The *t* of Student shown in Table 2 was calculated according to the following
formula, Ferguson (1976)

$$t = \frac{\Sigma D}{\sqrt{\dfrac{N \Sigma D^2 - (\Sigma D)^2}{N-1}}}$$

Groups A, B and D show significant improvement in performance, .05 or better. Group C has improved also, but only to the .1 level. The overall average of the four groups taken together is extremely encouraging, with a significance level of .001.

The next three tables show the Cloze, Free-style writing and Free-style interview results on the basis of pre-test and post-test.

TABLE 2

Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency: Compared results with levels of significance.

Group	Pre-test Date	Results	Post-test Results	Date	N	t	S
A	Sep. 75	74.5	77.7	Jan. 76	23	2.50	.02
B	Feb. 76	80.5	88.6	Jun. 76	16	2.41	.05
C	Sep. 76	90.1	92.9	Jan. 77	17	2.08	.1
D	Feb. 77	90.9	94.1	Jun. 77	14	3.68	.01
Overall		82.9	87.2		70	4.94	.001

TABLE 3

Cloze Test results: Improvements expressed in terms of percentage

Group	N	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Improvement	t	S
A	21	38.8%	39.8%	1.0%	.12765	NS
B	18	38.8	45.9	7.1	.3588	NS
C	16	55.0	61.2	6.2	.65891	NS
D	13	57.0	62.2	5.2	.75029	NS
Overall	68	46.1%	50.7%	4.6%	.8397	NS

TABLE 4

Free-style writing results: Improvements expressed in terms of percentage

Group	N	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Improvement	t	S
A	21	55.2%	67.0%	11.8%	.39048	NS
B	17	62.6	70.1	7.5	.34786	NS
C	17	74.3	77.2	2.9	37662	NS
D	14	74.8	81.0	6.2	.28823	NS
Overall	69	65.71%	73.12%	7.4%	.71259	NS

TABLE 5
Free-style interviews. Improvements in terms of percentages

Group	N	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Impro.
A	23	40.5%	51.1%	10.6%
B	18	34.1	36.5	2.4
C	16	50.8	57.0	6.2
D	13	52.3	61.3	9.0
Overall	70	43.4%	50.6%	7.2%

7. Discussion of objective results

The Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (M.T.E.L.P.) is a widely recognized well-validated instrument; as such we have used it as our basic test to measure improvement in our teacher trainees. Significant changes have been noted, except perhaps in group C. The overall improvement for the four groups taken together reached the .001 level of significance. It should be noted that, in order to use Ferguson (1976) t of student formula, each subject had to be compared to himself in the pre-test and post-test performances. This requirement meant that only the teachers taking both pre- and post-tests could be used as subjects. We have thus followed the same procedures as far as subjects are concerned for the Cloze, the Free-style writing and the Free-style interview tests.

Group A, the weakest according to the M.T.E.L.P., benefited most from the program in their writing and speaking skills. These were improved by 11.8% and 10.6% respectively.

In the case of the Cloze test, groups B, C and D showed a remarkable improvement compatible with their scores on the M.T.E.L.P. The low 1% improvement of group A is difficult to explain unless one is prepared to accept that they had started from too low a level to be able to show a marked improvement on a test such as the Cloze.

In the free-style writing test groups B and D showed a similar level of improvement on a parallel with the M.T.E.L.P. Group C was the lower achiever as far as free-style writing was concerned, while group B exhibited the same low in the case of the interview test. We have no readily available explanation, other than possible psychological differences among members of the two groups.

One final consideration should be cited; group C was post-tested prior to their five-month practicum in the field. However the field of education at that time in Quebec was in a particularly perturbed situation: labour disputes, teacher strikes, union-supervised contracts; working conditions and lockouts were all part of an unpleasant situation for our teacher trainees of group C to return to. This may account for their dismal performance on the M.T.E.L.P. post test. Furthermore, on November 15, 1976, the "Parti Québecois" was elected in a landslide victory. This is the separatist party advocating French only for Quebec, an idea actively supported by Francophone high school students. No

great imagination is needed therefore to see another reason for group C to react in a dispirited way when faced with more testing.

8. Evaluation of subjective and long term results

On completion of the whole Plan DEL in January 1978, a questionnaire was sent to all our former trainees. To our great pleasure some 70% of them responded and offered their views, evaluation and recommendations. What will follow is a summary of all the opinions expressed.

In section A of the questionnaire, 10 questions were to be answered on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 indicating a little, and 5 a great deal. These ten questions were preceded by a statement bringing back to mind that the students had been in a state of immersion in the target language during their five-month stay at U. de M. and that all questions were to be answered from the standpoint of this immersion procedure.

8.1 Section A

Q 1   Has your control of English improved? 3.85
Q 2   Has your pronunciation become easier? 3.70
Q 3   Has your accent in English become more like the one of Quebec's Anglo-
        phones? 3.25
Q 4   Do you feel more at ease expressing yourself in English? 3.66
Q 5   Has the quality of English at your command improved through your exchanges
        in that language with your peers and your professors? 3.38
Q 6   As a teacher, have you acquired more assurance? 4.22
Q 7   As a teacher, are you more at ease? 3.95
Q 8   Can you be a model for your students? 3.82
Q 9   Are you more at ease teaching oral English to your pupils? 4.18
Q 10 Have you increased your communicative competence? 3.93

We feel that our former students when completely free to express their opinion, with regards to the immersion process have given it a high degree of approval.

8.2 Section B 1   In this section of the questionnaire the subjects were asked to tell us in their own words what the program brought to them as an overall undertaking. Regrouped under broad headings their answers are presented in order of recurrence frequency.

1 Assurance, confidence and ease
2 A better knowledge of the pedagogical methods available.
3 An improvement in the quality and/or the content of their courses.
4 An improved relationship with their students.
5 A better knowledge of the English language

8.3 Section B 2   This section is aimed at obtaining a rating for each of the courses, according to the preferences expressed by the individual respondent.

An alphabetically ordered list of the courses has previously been given. The following list elicits the courses in order of importance to the students:

1. Micro-Teaching
2. Measure and Evaluation (given in French)
3. Psycholinguistics
4. Didactics
5. Interaction Analysis
6. Written English
7. Spoken English
8. Practicum
9. Error Analysis
10. Descriptive Linguistics.

8.4 *Section C.* This section deals with the future outlook for the DEL program. The first question asked was: would you like to go through an immersion program again? Out of a total of 48 respondents, 47 answered yes and one did not answer the question. The second question asked was: should it be recommended that all teachers of ESL be given a chance to go through an improvement program. The answers were 45 yes, two no's, and one nil answer.

9. Discussion of the subjective results

From the answers given by our former students it is obvious that the immersion procedure has been most profitable to them where they needed it most. Since in many cases they were teachers of ESL who had never been offered a methods course, they felt that they had gained considerably more assurance in the teaching of their discipline, especially in the spoken aspect of the language. Also, as teachers, they were more at ease, having increased their communicative competence; because of an improved control of the target language, they could act as models for their students.

Reviewing and comparing the information obtained from section B.1 and B.2, we find confirmation by the students of our selection of the th... uses established as the main structure of the program. In section B.1 assurance, confidence and ease are given top priority just as in section B.2 micro-teaching is given the same privileged position. Next, in B.1 a better knowledge of the pedagogical methods available and an improvement in the quality and the content of their courses as a direct result of our other main focus, Second Language Didactics.

Once again in section B.1 it can be seen that our respondents gained an improved relationship with their students thanks to, in this case, both Interaction Analysis and Micro-Teaching. Finally, our former teacher trainees recognized that they now have a better knowledge of the English language. This can be traced back to the interaction of both written and spoken English, with the original trichotomy indicated as the core of our program structure.

Finally, section C approves overwhelmingly the idea of an immersion program for themselves again or for other teachers of ESL.

10. Recommendations

Both from the objective testing and from the subjective questionnaire we can draw some conclusions and some recommendations.

We feel justified in having established a very tightly knit inner core of courses, where feedback and exchange of information was a required procedure for the professors/lecturers responsible for the curriculum. The insistence on the use of the target language, to learn not only about it but also how to teach it, and how to bring about a change in pupils' attitudes towards their second language, are likely reasons for the increased confidence and assurance of these teachers when using the language of their new discipline. Extreme discretion in the use of information obtained from colleagues is of the utmost importance. This and a constructively critical approach to the performance of the students are absolute requirements if some measure of communicative competence is to be achieved. Among the recommendations we wish to make, there are three that could be carried out readily. First, teachers that have gone through the Plan DEL should be encouraged to spend some of their vacations in other provinces of Canada in order to benefit from cultural immersion. Such an endeavour could be funded if necessary by the M.E.Q. Second, the Plan DEL or some improved version should be reinstated for the benefit of all teachers not having reached a sufficient level of proficiency in ESL. Third, the M.E.Q. should attempt to reach some form of understanding between rival unions, in order to foster the exchange of teachers, who would be able to teach their native language as a second language, regardless of religious denomination.

Finally, as a subject for future research, we would like to suggest that an attempt be made to measure in the field the effects of our program on the attitudes of pupils towards their second language.

Considerations on the Inclusion of Translation Skill Development in EFL Programs

Diane E. Foltz
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The development of translation skills has received little serious attention as an instructional concern, in spite of the fact that translation represents one of the principal uses to which a knowledge of a foreign language can be put. Since translation, by definition, involves the use of two languages in relation to each other, it is obviously more complex than the use of either language by itself. The primary objective of commercial translation is the clear and complete transfer of information, and in this regard, words and structures must be viewed as *means* used to effect that transfer, rather than as *ends* in themselves. The nature of word-concept bonds, especially if these are connotative, requires that an abstract level of conceptualization be maintained; translation thus becoming a two-step process: $L_1 \longrightarrow$ Concept $\longrightarrow L_2$. If the conceptualization step is missing, certain forms cannot be adequately transferred. Among these are context specific (irregular, general usage within a determined field) and context-bound (irregular, restricted usage within a determined field) terminology, and rebounding (contra-suggestive) cognates. Specialized training, which many language programs do not include, should be developed in order to equip students with the skills required to handle these and similar transfer problems.

The development of translation skills has received very little serious attention as an instructional concern within the methodological framework of any of the popular modern approaches to language teaching. In part, this avoidance of such an important aspect of bilingual ability has come about as a result of the negative image that translation acquired in its role as a teaching activity—and not necessarily an objective—in the so-called Grammar-Translation school. The Direct Method and some subsequent approaches have considered that there should be no use of the students' mother tongue, and hence no translation, in the foreign language classroom, with the consequence that training in translation has been excluded from most programs. The rationale for this prohibition on the use of the students' native language has been that such activities would hinder the learners' achievement of an ability to communicate in the new language without first having to think in their native language about the message they wished to convey.

While we are by no means advocating a return to the methods of grammar-translation, and certainly cannot argue with the principle that realistic use of the target language in natural conversational situations is necessary in order to develop linguistic and communicative competence, we do not completely agree that all comparison between the native and target languages is necessarily detrimental to the acquisition of an active control of the new language. To the contrary, we believe it essential to reconsider the importance of helping students develop this very useful skill, in addition to basic communicative ability in the foreign language.

Is it not the ultimate objective of the language-teaching profession to help bridge the gaps in mutual understanding that exist between the peoples of the world? We must recognize that, unfortunately, only an extremely small percentage of a given population is going to learn a foreign language; and that even those who do know one or more foreign languages will be capable of direct communication with only a small percentage of the people with whom we might wish to share our thoughts and ideas, or from whom we might wish to learn. Thus, the only way that the majority is going to be able to participate in the flow of communication with other linguistic groups is through bilingual intermediaries—translators.

In the interest of the essential improvement and intensification of international and intercultural communication, we must design a way to incorporate translation skill development in programs of foreign language study. Many have mistakenly assumed that anyone who possessed proficiency in two languages could automatically fulfill the function of translator. But since the translation process, by definition, involves the use of two languages in relation to each other, it is obviously more complex than the use of either of the languages by itself, and requires special training. Translators have been known to produce awkward, even ungrammatical sentences in their own native language under the interfering pressure of the source language. The special problems that arise when dealing with two languages together surely deserve our attention.

Another very practical reason for recognizing translation skill development as a valid instructional objective derives from its potential usefulness for the students, especially for those who do not, and probably will not, live in a community where the language they are learning is spoken. Of those who do put their knowledge of the foreign language to some use, it is likely that at least as many will use it for some form of translation as for direct communication.

Incidentally, it would not be surprising to discover that, for many students, the attention to comparative analysis that would be involved in the kind of training we are proposing would actually prove to be beneficial in their efforts to gain an understanding and more complete mastery of the foreign language. Consideration of translation equivalents might be a valuable tool in bringing particularly difficult patterns to the students' attention, and in clarifying their use and meaning. Accepting the fact that the native language habits are present and are almost certain to be used, whether by design or not, we can attempt to capitalize on this linguistic base as a means of helping the students gain a better understanding of what is happening in the new language.

1. Language and translation

Before considering principles of translation or proposed methods for teaching translation skills, we should reach a basic understanding about language itself. Our working definition of language would have to be based on its function, which is to allow one person to communicate with another. Communication, of course, involves more than the purely linguistic forms; but for our purposes we will concentrate on the linguistic code that members of a speech community share. Such a code can be analyzed as being made up of meaningful speech units, or words, that speakers agree to use in reference to certain objects or concepts, and a formal system of putting these units together in utterances.

As we grow up, we are exposed to a set of objects, feelings, ideas, etc., the exact composition of which is to some extent determined by the culture to which we belong. For any element which is important to a given culture, there is a corresponding vocabulary available to talk about it. In the native speaker's mind, a bond is created between the word and the concept to which it refers. In any language, a given lexical word may be used to refer to a number of distinct referents; the English "plane" can mean a flying machine (clipped form of "airplane") or a flat surface. It is highly improbable that the translation of all possible meanings of a given word will be the same in another language.

In addition to the lexicon, languages possess systems for putting words together in acceptable (i.e., grammatical) ways—that is, there are morphological and syntactic components. Although it is theoretically conceivable that all such systems are related in a universal deep structure, we are confronted with widely varied surface structures with which we must deal.

2. The nature and objectives of translation

The term "translation" encompasses many types of communication, each of which has its own degree of flexibility or lack thereof, and each of which has a slightly different set of objectives.

Literary translation, for example, must take into account not only the subject matter, but also such considerations as style, mood, and tone. Whenever possible, it must seek to recreate specific literary techniques like alliteration or onomatapoeia. These considerations serve to limit the translator's choices of vocabulary, and to establish structural parameters within which he must confine his work.

Legal translation is perhaps the most restrictive in terms of both vocabulary and syntax. Specific traditional forms and conventions, often unused in normal conversational situations, must be observed in order for the document being produced to be valid and binding.

Realistically, however, the kind of translation with which most translators work can be classified as commercial/technical in nature. The objective of this kind of translation can be stated quite succinctly: the clear and complete transfer of information. In this kind of translation, the source word has no value whatsoever, except to the extent that it represents and conveys a concept; and the

target word has no value whatsoever, except to the extent that it succeeds in re-creating that concept. Accordingly, the commercial/technical translator must be prepared to occasionally sacrifice style in favor of a rendering which leaves nothing to doubt and virtually cannot be misunderstood. While the literary translator also serves, to some small degree, as editor, the commercial/technical translator must resist the impulse to abridge, condense, revise, or otherwise modify his original. And where the legal translator is constrained by the limitations of "acceptable" form and vocabulary, the commercial/technical translator must engage in extensive decision-making in order to achieve the clarity and completeness his work must have.

3. Translation awareness—The first step

In a generalized way, preparation for this decision-making process can begin at the earliest stages of foreign language learning. In fact, the *idea* of translation is more predominant in the beginning phases of language study than at any other time. The beginning student has a natural tendency to translate, in the sense that he will be acutely aware of similarities and differences between the target language and his own, and will instinctively seek to maximize the former and to find ways to bridge the latter. He is, in short, and almost inevitably, at what we may call the "translation awareness" stage; i.e., that point at which similarities and differences are obvious, relatively concrete, and usually identifiable by the student himself, without the necessity of the teacher's calling attention to them.

To some extent, the student's ability to identify and cope with differences depends on his communicative ability in his own language, and on the word-concept bonds he has already assimilated. If he encounters a word which would have no identifiable concept attached to it, even if expressed in his native language, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for him to assimilate the word in the new language. (For example, the term "sprocket wrench"—for this author at least—is linguistically recognizable, but conceptually vague, and would therefore be difficult to translate.) Conversely, if the student is shown a picture of some object which is new to him, the function of which is described to him adequately for him to conceptually comprehend it, but for which he has no known word in his own native language, he will also have great difficulty translating. If either element of the word-bond configuration is missing *in the mother language*, this gap will cause difficulties for the student.

Consequently, when the structure of the language program is such that it purposefully seeks to eradicate, or at least to deny the student the use of, that essential bond, it may be causing more problems than it solves.

In order to incorporate translation awareness into foreign language teaching, then, we must begin by admitting the existence of the mother-tongue bonds, and by allowing their *controlled* use in the classroom—not so much for the purpose of contrastive analysis as for their value as a linguistic base from which the individual student can work.

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Specific among the kinds of awareness which the student can acquire at this early stage is an understanding of the difference between connotative and denotative bonds, since the points at which these occur will almost certainly vary from one language to another. At this level, the difference can be explained very simply: does the word really "mean" what it says? When we say, for example, "I have to *run* to the store," do we really mean *run*? If so, we are dealing with a denotative bond; if not, with a connotative bond.

What is the purpose of making the student aware of such a differentiation? Quite simply, it is to make him aware of the fact that he will be wasting his time and effort if he searches for a literal equivalent for a *connotative* bond. He must learn to look, not for the word he needs, but rather for the kind of word he needs. And he must train himself to trust the concept the word represents in preference to reliance on the word itself.

At these early levels of foreign language study, then, much can be accomplished which will be of great value to the future translator. While specific translation skills cannot be introduced yet, awareness of linguistic similarities and differences between the two languages can certainly be a useful and natural part of early language training, and will provide the necessary base on which translation skills per se will be built.

4. Training at the intermediate and advanced levels

At the more advanced levels of foreign language instruction, as the students' mastery of the new language improves, more concentrated attention can be given to the development of translation skills. That is, exercises designed to give the students practice in dealing with the new language in relation to their native language can be introduced into the course plan. At intermediate levels, the material to be included in such translation exercises must be restricted to structures and vocabulary that have been learned previously.

The first kind of activity to be implemented could be the translation of sentences. Word-translation exercises might best be avoided, since our goal is to train students to translate meaningful material, and language becomes truly meaningful only at the sentence level. Furthermore, a given word in isolation could have a number of translation equivalents associated with different concepts to which the source word is bound. To ask students to merely list all such equivalents would not represent natural use of language.

If possible, translations in both directions should be included: from foreign to native language and from native to foreign language. We would probably begin with foreign language to native language, so that the student will gain an understanding of the translation process before being required to generate utterances in the foreign language. Special attention should be given to producing sentences that sound natural.

At this sentence-level stage of translation training, the students should be made aware of the fact that the most precise translation of a lexical item is determined by context. The student should develop the habit of conceptualizing the

entire sentence and considering its complete meaning before beginning to formulate the translation. This is in keeping with the principle that it is information, and not merely a string of words, that is being translated.

The exact content of the exercises used in this level of translation training can be designed to give practice on specific points of linguistic contrast between the two languages, including a mixture of structures: some that are basically similar to native language forms, and others that present greater contrast.

As the students progress to higher levels of proficiency in their acquisition of foreign language skills, it is important that they begin to work with translations of more extensive texts, in order to develop the ability to produce longer translations with a coherent and natural flow. Again, the primary goal is to convey the exact meaning and to stimulate the listener/reader response that the original author intended. In order to accomplish this, it is conceivable that the translator may have to add explanatory material or in some way expand upon the original development of the theme. As at the sentence-level stage of activity, it is essential that the entire text be read and understood in conceptual terms before the actual translation is begun. A useful classroom activity at this stage, where individual differences in translations will inevitably be found, would be a discussion of the various translations which have been produced, giving special attention to reasons why one translation might be preferable to another.

Eventually, the assignment of texts for translation would have to become more individualized, in accordance with each student's particular goals. While the bilingual secretarial student might choose to work with business correspondence, the future librarian might concentrate on the translation of abstracts and catalogue information, and those going into technical fields could work more extensively with material in their particular areas of interest.

At this stage, students would naturally have to be left on their own to some degree, and the teacher's role would be that of resource person and coordinator. Some functions included in this role would be to help students locate appropriate textual materials, in terms of both content and complexity, through trade journals and library collections available in their specific fields of interest; to assist them in pinpointing problem areas which they should concentrate on; to evaluate the translations they produce in terms of the qualities we have discussed above; and in general to guide them in translation procedures.

5. Problems and procedures: Some considerations

The awareness developed in the beginning levels of translation training, and the practical experience acquired at the intermediate and advanced levels, must be understood as forming part of a continuum which should include the development of certain basic perspectives about the nature and function of language, and exposure to specific processes which the translator will find useful in coping with problem situations.

The kinds of classroom activities mentioned here must be understood as forming part of a problem-solving process. They are designed to equip the stu-

dent with the skills needed to cope with specific problem situations. Which is to say, they are to be considered as means and not as ends within the structure of the program. And accordingly, we must be concerned not only with whether or not the student can produce the "right" answer, but also with the process he employed to arrive at that answer.

As has been pointed out earlier, some problem situations may be conceptual in nature. If the translator is asked to work with subject matter which is unfamiliar to him, he may find it necessary to confer with the author or with a specialist in that particular field in order to clarify certain terms or ideas.

However, most translation problems are linguistic, rather than conceptual, in nature; and the good translator should be able to handle these situations on his own.

With the exception of advertising material—"punch lines," "catch words," and "plays-on-words"—which present a very special and particularly difficult set of problems and which almost inevitably force the translator into an editorial position, the most common linguistic problem faced by the translator is poorly written original copy. Unclear antecedents, incomplete sentences, dangling participles—all of these represent flaws in the author's command of the source language. And the source language is where the translator must begin in order to solve the problems such flaws create.

The first step in the translation process, then, is the removal of ambiguities—both conceptual and linguistic—from the source language original.

When the translator encounters specific problem areas which appear to be linguistic in origin, he will most often fall back on the cardinal rule of translation: "Judge from the context." While this is certainly a valid and usually productive way of handling difficult situations, there are occasions which will require a more intensive analysis as to what the exact relationship between the linguistic and conceptual patterns really consists of.

For purposes of clarification, we have divided context-related situations into three basic types: context-dependent, context-specific, and context-bound.

The first of these is the easiest to deal with, and is usually the type referred to in the judge-from-the-context rule. This is the case in which there is more than one lexical possibility and the translator, guided by the context, must choose from among them. Once the context is clear, the word chosen is in standard usage, is usually denotative in nature, and accordingly should cause no further problems.

The second type is somewhat more complex, in the sense that the term is irregular, though still in standard usage throughout a contextually determined field or category. One such term is the word "run" as applied to machinery. In the sense that the meaning of the term in this context is not the first-choice dictionary definition, it is—at least to some modest degree—irregular. However, almost any machine can be said to "run;" so that this usage, although irregular, is standardized and applicable to an entire category of context-related situations.

The most complex of the context-related situations, and accordingly the one

which most often causes difficulty for the translator, is the type we shall refer to as
context-bound. These terms are both irregular and restricted; i.e., they are not
first-choice dictionary definitions, and they are not in standard usage throughout
the entire field. To continue the example of machine-related terminology, we
would offer the term "down." A computer can be said to be "down." A heavy
press can be "down." But a refrigerator (although it does "run") is not referred
to as being "down." When the translator gets that I-know-what-it-means,-but-
there's-no-way-to-say-it feeling, he is most often dealing with a context-bound
situation.

It is in these latter two situations where the objectives of commercial/
technical translation must be reiterated. In order to achieve the conceptual clarity
and completeness that this kind of translation requires, the translator may have
to reject the context-specific or context-bound terminology in favor of a denota-
tive bond which, though possibly less authentic or stylistic, will successfully re-
create the information.

A final lexical problem, which occurs with higher frequency in those
languages closest to English, but which must be considered a possibility in any
language, is a particular kind of interference which we shall refer to as the *re-
bounding cognate*. The rebounding cognate, briefly described, is a false cognate
which acquires contra-suggestive value because of its similarity to a word with
different meaning in the source language. For example, coming from Spanish in-
to English, we look up the word *piedad* in a bilingual dictionary, and we find *sym-
pathy*. This term then rebounds through the Spanish *simpatía*, which suggests a
different meaning in conflict with the concept the translator wishes to reproduce.
As a result, the translator hesitates to use what is, in reality, the correct word,
simply because it sounds wrong to him.

If the student is made aware of this kind of possible interference, he will
learn to use dictionaries, instead of depending on them. The use of the plural
here is quite significant. No good translator works with one dictionary, but with
several: a source language dictionary, for clarification of the concept itself; a bi-
lingual dictionary, which will lead him to (but not give him) the term he needs in
the target language; a target language dictionary, to differentiate between multi-
ple possibilities and/or to clarify the rebounding cognate; and—as needed—
special field-related dictionaries (medical, engineering, etc.).

6. Conclusions

Translation training must be viewed as a process which includes several
distinguishable stages. First, the student reaches language awareness; he trains
himself to notice the many kinds of similarities and differences which exist be-
tween his own language and the foreign language. He learns to use this
understanding as a means of furthering his active control of the new language.
He learns the points at which major differences are likely to occur, and how to
deal with them.

Next, the student practices transfer techniques. He learns the importance of

placing conceptual clarity above any and all other considerations. He learns to select the best equivalent from a variety of correct equivalents. And he learns the extent to which the product he generates is dependent on the process he uses to generate it.

Finally, the student will be exposed to certain specific problem situations in which the peculiarities of English can cause uniquely confusing transfer problems, and to the specialized vocabulary peculiar to his own area of interest.

And throughout the entire foreign language acquisition process, the student is made aware of the fact that his primary, if not his only, concern is to convey information, and that the words and structures he uses are essentially little more than vehicles used to facilitate that task.

The Shape They Are in Now and the Shape of Textbooks to Come

Fraida Dubin

Textbooks are a basic ingredient in language courses; they should reflect what is most current in language pedagogy. Although many suggestions have been made for expanding second language programs to include topics derived from sociolinguistics, as yet our texts have not incorporated much of this subject matter. Textbook authors need to find ways to fuse syllabuses based on functions or notions with sociolinguistic features: rules for appropriateness, strategies for talking, and awareness of registers. An important development in textbooks which present language for use will be to focus on activities for *doing* in place of the more familiar *drilling*. Furthermore, there are differences between the constraints on materials writers as contrasted with those on textbook authors. Textbook authors can draw on the suggestions of materials writers but their separate outputs are not judged by the same criteria.

"Open your books to page ____"

Few phrases give specialists more cause to grimace with disdain than does this schoolroom cliché. Hearing it reminds us that the field of RSOL has grown quite sophisticated in adapting and altering published materials to fit particular groups of students. It reminds us, too, that a great many experienced teachers do not rely solely on a classroom textbook. Teachers often use their own ideas for conducting language activities. But look around once more. Although there is lively interest in teacher-created materials, for reasons of economy of time and energy the backbone of most language courses is tied to a textbook. The teacher may modify and augment, but the textbook is still a basic ingredient.

Some may argue for teacher-prepared materials exclusively, but anyone who has slugged his/her way through a semester of relying on self-prepared handouts knows that at some point the teacher's good judgment must interrupt the whirl of the ditto machine to declare:

"I've had enough. I've purpled my fingers for the last time. It makes sense to produce something tailored for my group of students on special occasions. Certainly most quizzes or course tests should be written for a specific group. But given the array of commercial products available, there must be something on the market to keep my class going."

Students, too, particularly those from more conversative educational traditions, tend to see the textbook as the central element in the course. It is something to look at, to work from, to take home. For many ESL students the book spells knowledge. Somehow the teacher's smudged handouts do not carry the same air of authenticity, despite the hours of best intentions that were poured into them. The textbook gives individuals a link between themselves and other members of the class. It affords security to those who need it, both learners and teachers.

The purpose of this paper is to explore some of the current problems of writing textbooks for teaching second languages. During the late sixties and seventies the field of language pedagogy began to embrace a larger scope. As our insights into the nature of language have changed through the investigations of linguists and sociolinguists, the curricula for language courses have grown. Since language itself is now seen as being more complex, textbooks must deal with an expanded subject matter. Today, textbook writers are faced with making decisions about content, organization and range that they have never dealt with before.

At the same time, modes of teaching have shifted. There is a different atmosphere in many classrooms. A humanistic approach casts the teacher in a new role, that of facilitating someone's growth rather than telling a student what to do next. Because of new relationships which hold between teacher and students as well as between student themselves, textbooks must serve different functions in the language classroom.

Curiously enough, despite the prominence of the textbook in most language classrooms, little attention has been paid to its construction by the people who write journal articles and give papers at conferences. One could conjecture that the dearth of writings dealing specifically with textbooks is a sign that the topic is somehow taboo. Perhaps it is considered too commercially tainted to be acceptable. Instead the euphemistic terms "materials" and "materials preparers" or "materials writers" are employed. It is important to realize, however, that materials writers and their products—teaching materials—are not the same as textbooks.

Materials writers have the luxury of producing for a special group. Their focus can be extremely narrow. They know from first-hand experience the needs and goals of the students they are writing for. It has been said that the best classroom materials are those which are prepared for the most specific audience. This wisdom may, indeed, hold true for preparers of materials. But textbook writers can never expect to interest a commercial publisher in their work if the intended audience is highly limited.

More often than not, materials writers work hand in hand with syllabus planners. Or, they themselves are the syllabus planners. If the materials people do work in tandem with the syllabus writers their collaborative output is bounded by the same temporal framework. Because of this factor of chronology, the tasks of the materials writer and the syllabus planner are much closer to each other than is either one of them to those of the textbook writer.

While the materials person and the syllabus preparer are in control of the time framework which organizes the course, the textbook writer, on the other hand, must work without any time framework whatsoever. The textbook writer is bound instead by a spatial framework. The book will have so many pages, so many chapters, so many lessons. Perhaps the book will be expanded into a so-called course, or a set of books. Whether or not this inner, spatial organization fits well with the aims and constraints of the syllabus planner is a question which is dealt with much later, after the book is in print. At the outset, the only thing the textbook writer can do is to make some calculated guesses based on hunches and personal experience in the classroom.

The places where there are sufficient time and resources for producing original materials are few and far between. Even though we look to materials writers for showing us innovative techniques, most teachers must rely on commercially produced textbooks. If they are to meet the expectations of a lively, growing field of professional teachers, second language textbooks must begin to incorporate an expanded subject matter. In recent years, materials preparers have offered suggestions for presenting topics of language use: rules for appropriate language (e.g., telephone talk, the difference between "I'm sorry" and "Excuse me," using titles and first names); strategies for talking with people (e.g., making apologies, giving excuses, keeping conversations going, getting and giving advice); awareness of registers in language (e.g., formal and informal styles, talking with peers vs. others, men's and women's speech). But these and many other sociolinguistically derived topics are yet to turn up in comprehensive textbooks.

In a sense, the expansion of the content of language courses reflects growing specialization. It indicates that the traditional skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing, are taking on some new dimensions. In the area of reading, there has been a great deal of discussion of the need for students to be able to read particular types of material and to be able to understand the vocabulary in particular fields of knowledge. Scanning the lists of new titles, it is possible to find recent offerings for special purpose reading. The listening skill now encompasses far more than discriminating between sounds. It entails comprehending the whole stream of speech in natural contexts. It includes listening to and understanding specific types of spoken language: formal lectures, informal talks, radio and TV language, etc. Similarly, speaking embodies interactional skills as well. In the coming period, teachers and course planners will be looking for textbooks which span a more finely detailed index of language skills.

Looking back at the output of past decades, one is struck by the fact that, even though styles in language pedagogy shifted seriously, the turn from a grammar-translation to an audio-lingual approach did not produce any serious change in textbooks. A grammatical framework supplied the basic foundation for texts of both schools. Language structure was subdivided into units, chapters, and lessons. Books associated with both points of view basically followed the same internal design as well. They both set out tokens of language which the student

was expected to master. In the case of the grammar-translation book the tasks for the student were more likely to be analytical in nature, while the audio-lingual book depended on repetition of the text.

In the grammar-translation book a chapter usually began with a vocabulary list and then presented a narrative passage. Audio-lingual books turned around the format by introducing the narrative first, or that favorite of the period—the dialogue, and the listed "new vocabulary." The important innovation in the audio-lingual book was the inclusion of phonological information with the vocabulary list. Often employing a phonemic transcription, some texts marked intonation contours as well. Though they utilized different exercise types (grammar-translation liked to test for comprehension of meaning while audio-lingual tended to drill segments of the initial presentation), both genres stopped at the point where the student had committed the material of the lesson to memory.

In audio-lingual books particularly, memorization was aided by an array of oral drills. In was an implicit yet unstated guarantee that somehow audio-lingual textbooks would take the student from mechanical practice to spontaneous use of the new language. Although the grammar-translation warranty was for a different goal—understanding the text through the learner's native language—representative textbooks of the two schools had much in common considering the quite different types of classroom activities they fostered.

Grammar-translation and audio-lingual textbooks have a country cousin, the situation-based book. Quite without scholarly or linguistic pretensions, it depends not on a grammatical framework but simply on a table of contents made up of practical situations. The situation-based textbook consists of single words, short phrases or even whole sentences. Sometimes the situation-based book is organized under topics or themes of everyday events (arriving at the hotel, eating at a restaurant, etc.). Typically, the situation-based book is a survival manual for people intending to make short visits to foreign lands. Most situation-based language texts are usually devoid of pedagogic devices for either analyzing or practicing language.

Interestingly enough, the situation-based text is now re-emerging in a far more sophisticated form. For while American textbook authors have been concerned with recent years with producing specialized texts for specific needs—listening comprehension, study skills, reading for special purposes—British authors have taken the lead in utilizing the frame of reference provided by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Cooperation (van Ek 1975). Instead of a table of contents based on discrete grammatical items, the emphasis has turned to the semantic component of language. The basis of an English language course is now to be a taxonomy of notions or a list of the ideas, feelings, desires, needs, etc. which the learner requires to get on in the new language. In effect, textbooks are to be built on a thesaurus of ideas. The catalog is available to textbook writers to choose from, even while the experts are debating the merits of such an approach.

Merits aside, the proponents of a functional-notional syllabus have little to say about ways to organize textbooks either thematically or topically and they have given even less attention to pedagogic considerations. It is up to textbook writers to provide the props which will turn otherwise dull lists of ideas into interesting classroom experiences. Hopefully, we can look for imaginative textbooks that will do more than attach the hackneyed format of dialogue/vocabulary/drills to a table of contents built upon a notional syllabus.

It is exciting to anticipate the textbooks which will find ways of synthesizing a notional table of contents with classroom activities which emphasize *doing* in place of *drilling*, the style that has prevailed for so long. A drill has a static nature. It constrains learners to remain within a very limited range, both intellectually and physically. Intellectually, drills are restrictive. If useful at all, they belong at the earliest stages of language learning. Physically, drills are confining. They force students to sit in their seats. Doing, on the other hand, means that students gossip, converse, complain, ask each other questions, look for answers, and engage in a variety of other simulations of real language behavior.

Suggestions for classroom lessons built on doing have been offered and exemplified during recent years (Dubin and Margol 1977; Kettering 1975; Olsen 1977). Called communication exercises or communicative activities, the writers of texts and materials who have produced them often turned away from the model: mechanical drilling moving to controlled communication. Instead, they have chosen to plunge directly into freer communicative experiences. However, in effective communication activities there are still controls, although the controls are probably not grammatical ones. They can be *participation* controls: students interact in pairs, small groups, in front of the class, with native speakers in and out of the class; they can be *task* controls: telling others about personal experiences, interviewing, asking for information, creating stories, solving problems; they can be *topical* or *situational* controls: home and family life, the media, community and neighborhood services, national and world issues.

Along with a wide repertoire of communication activities, textbook writers can draw on another classroom activity which has been tried, tested, and certified effective in many settings. The role-play is a powerful classroom tool which can be utilized, among other things, for presenting sociolinguistically derived topics such as breaking into conversations, making introductions, offering to help, making requests, etc. In fact, role-play is really a cover term for a variety of types: directed responses, socio-dramas, situation role-plays, stagings, scenarios, simulations have all been mentioned by materials writers (Logan 1977; Paulston et al. 1975; Scarcella 1978). Yet these suggestive fragments by themselves do not make a textbook. They are like stuffing without a cover.

Some role-plays such as the directed response technique are more neutral in character. There is no inherent irony in the situation. But the directed response does take an important step beyond the dialogue by giving directions to students for re-enacting short 6-8 line interactions between two or three people in a line-by-line fashion. Other role-play are of an ironic or problematic nature. There

are situation role-plays between two antagonists: for example role-plays between renter and landlord, shopper and merchant, caller and telephone operator, policeman and driver, citizen and clerk; or the socio-drama which has richness of both plot and character development.

It remains, however, the job of the textbook writer to provide a shape for a myriad of role-play ideas. The job will consist of selecting appropriate role-plays to fit topics, providing variety, and most important, allowing for suitable preparation so that both students and teachers enter into the role-plays without hesitation.

If authors of textbooks of the future are to respond to all of the significant changes taking place in language pedagogy, they cannot overlook the social climate in which learning takes place. In humanistic classrooms—and there are more and more of them—people take responsibility for their own learning. It may even be the case that at some future time learners in second language courses will tell teachers what they want to be able to say in the new language, utilizing their teachers as native speaker sources of information.

A move in this direction is already evident in the increasing use of examples of natural language as part of second language programs. Students speak with native speakers outside of class; they listen to tapes of natural language in class. These activities can certainly be tied to a textbook if the book is designed to give instructions for doing. In this case, doing would take the form of field-work exercises such as "questions to ask a native speaker," and "points to listen for when you hear a conversation."

A textbook cast in a humanistic mold might be a place for students to set down their goals for their own learning, or for them to comment on their own learning. The textbook could guide students to comment on their own participation in the class and on their feelings toward what took place in class.

Writers of language textbooks, along with materials preparers, have always faced a vexing dilemma: textbooks, and materials, are finite, but language is not. The process of making choices, of selecting elements for inclusion, always results in omitting something which is vital. But writers of the textbooks to come also face other difficult problems. In order to produce books that reflect what is current in both language scholarship and language pedagogy, they will have to deal with the relationships between the form of meaning (semantic topics), the form of structure (grammatical topics), and the functional use of language (sociolinguistic topics or how to use language for communication). Moreover, they will have to make decisions regarding these issues at a time when theoreticians are only just formulating the questions.

Above all, designing any textbook should be a creative process, one that is both as complex and as satisfying as plotting a novel or a short story. The finished manuscript should have internal consistency. It could take on various shapes, depending on the author's taste, sensitivity and inventiveness. But ultimately there is an overriding criterion by which to judge its effectiveness: it must be sufficiently engaging to justify its users' buying it.

Part III
Classroom Considerations

Adapting ESL Teaching Materials

Harold S. Madsen

J. Donald Bowen

After briefly presenting the rationale for carrying out adaptation of ESL texts, this paper discusses and illustrates techniques of adaptation including modification for artistic realism and adjustments related to language deficiencies and variety. A summary of administrative matters concludes the article.

While every teacher is an adapter of the textbook he uses, the good ESL teacher strives for congruence among related variables such as teaching materials, course objectives and teaching style. Illustrations in the section on Artistic Realism point up ways in which language instruction can be improved by striving for more lifelike situations, believable language and native-like speech in ESL instruction. Paraphrased excerpts from ESL textbooks are cited in the section on Language Deficiencies to demonstrate how the teacher-adapter can improve his lessons in areas ranging from linguistic accuracy and cultural appropriateness to language variety and pedagogical efficiency.

A capable young ESL teacher recently observed to us that to date she hadn't been able to use any textbook without extensively modifying or complementing it. She wondered what our experience had been. We assured her that we too have had to adapt every text we have ever used. Every teacher is an adapter of the text he uses. The more experienced and sensitive the teacher, normally the greater the adaptation. A puzzled expression signals that a rephrasing or additional example is required. A restricted time limit suggests that we telescope an exercise by selecting only representative items from a drill. We're adapting even when we refer to an exercise covered earlier or when we complement the lesson with realia, music or unprescribed student activities.

1. Principles of adaptation

There seem to be three kinds of textbook adaptation that teachers need to perform. The first, we have already suggested: tailoring the text, personalizing it for our specific group of students, interpreting the meaning, providing an oral model. If the text is supplementary, it will need to be integrated into the course,

collated with our other materials. A second kind of modification is required when
we use a book in ways for which it was not initially intended. A balanced four-
skill language book may require supplementary exercises if used in a class con-
centrating on oral communication. A text for adolescents may require some
social modification if used in an adult education setting. Still a third form of
adaptation is needed when we encounter flaws in our book. These may range
from implausible situations to strained or unidiomatic language representation.

In dealing with these needs, we can marshal a variety of useful techniques:
we can supplement, edit, expand, individualize, simplify, modernize, localize or
modify the cultural-situational content. Some modifying and personalizing of the
text will take place while the lesson is being covered in class. But careful editing
and strategic supplementary aids will obviously need to be taken care of well
ahead of time.

Effective adaptation, we have found, results from achieving what we call
"congruence." This is in fact, a rather universal principle: a speaker adapts his
rate and volume to the size of his audience; a poet matches the meter of his poem
to his theme, the composer his lyrics and melody; the farmer plants a crop
"congruent with" his soil, climate and market; the industrialist develops a pro-
duct compatible with his physical plant and the public demand for the product.

The good ESL teacher likewise strives for congruence among the variables in
the teaching taxonomy: the text and instructional materials, methodology,
students, course objectives, the target language—English, as well as one's own
personality and teaching style. Our discussion will focus initially on textbook
congruence with bona fide cultural situations and convincing representation of
the language—or on what we might term artistic realism. Then we will examine
ways to rectify deficient linguistic presentations, and conclude with some ad-
ministrative ar pedagogical applications.

Implicit . . . approach to adaptation we recommend are two basic assump-
tions. One is that the teacher take a positive attitude towards the textbook he is
using, dealing constructively with needed modifications. Constant criticism of
the teaching materials tends to destroy student confidence in anything the author
has to say, without necessarily convincing him that the teacher has anything bet-
ter to offer. It doesn't require much more effort to enter into a type of teaching
partnership with the author. This cooperative venture concentrates on modifying
or enlarging rather than criticizing or downgrading.

The second assumption is that as teachers we will constantly evaluate the
text presentation relative to our students and what we need to accomplish. The
teacher who blindly follows the text largely abdicates his responsibility. In com-
mercial air transportation, the human pilot interacts with the automatic pilot or
electronic guidance systems and at crucial times such as when guiding the aircraft
to a safe landing he assumes full responsibility for coping with the local terrain in
order to deliver his valuable cargo. Ideally, the teacher's input begins with the
selection of the text and general decisions as to whether it will be used as basic or
supplementary teaching material. He then lays plans for whatever alterations and

additions may be needed. And finally, in the classroom the dynamics of the presentation dictate still further adjustments and fine tuning.

With these assumptions in mind, we will consider a few ways of adapting texts for classroom use. In doing so, we will examine a variety of examples paraphrased from contemporary ESL texts.

2. Artistic realism

A popular word is extensively used these days in discussions about the best way to teach a second language; that word is "contextualization." This is an idea that we readily accept, because it suggests real communication. "Context" is a word we inherited from Latin, referring to the process of "weaving together," so that threads become fabric, with both design and function. We want our speech to be similarly constructed, so that the words and morphemes are woven together to produce a fabric that has form and function, which together carry a message that is related to what precedes and to what follows.

"There is no difficulty because the form and meanings of X are without influence upon the schema and conversely, so that the surrogate X is all that is needed in the base position and its actual value can be dismissed."

The immediately preceding sentence probably makes no sense to the reader. Little wonder. It was taken at random from a book on the English verb. In its original context it communicated; transplanted here it is meaningless, since it is not articulated with what precedes or what follows. How often we feed such uncommunicative, disjointed language to students.

Language practice, just as language use, needs a context. Otherwise it is virtually impossible to produce a realistic example of speech communication. But providing a context proves to be anything but simple. One could say, collect and use real honest-to-goodness speech, caught and recorded as people actually talk. But unfortunately real speech samples can be inefficient and confusing. The sentence partials, thoughts switched or not completed, the filled and unfilled pauses, the fumble words, the shifts of formality or register, the nongrammatical sequences, etc. cannot tolerate the repetition and practice that language study requires.

No, we must have realistic samples, not real ones. The artistry necessary to provide realistic speech for teaching purposes is extremely difficult to provide. It requires writers of imagination and talent. Observe the following sample and judge its effectiveness:

Who is this man?—This is Farid. Farid is a student in this university.—
And who is this woman?—This is an employee (feminine) in this university.
This girl is a secretary (feminine) in this university.—Where is Mustafa?—
There he is, with Hassan.—And there is Layla, next to Samira.—What's this
(masculine)?—This is a chair. And this is a briefcase.—O.K., and what's
this?—This is a lamp.—Where is the ashtray?—There it is, under the lamp.—
Where is the door?—There it is, next to the window.—What is this,
Hassan?—This is a picture, Sir.

The only useful sentence in this artificial exchange is "Where is the door?" We want to use it as expeditiously as possible.

In our search for pedagogical realism, we can divide the area of concern into three parts, which we will call: situational realism, linguistic realism, and interpretational realism. Situational realism involves the selection of realistic people and events in a compatible setting.

In a recent text, we find a dialog involving a prank in a loan office, where a man attempts to frighten some women employees with a mechanical spider and is scolded by his superiors for his misconduct. The prank is hardly believeable, and the reprimand even less so, being reminiscent of a scolding by a humorless primary school principal. Another widely used contemporary esl text portrays an incident where a middle-aged man begins crying after missing an important appointment. Clearly, these need to be edited out or revised. If used, the characters could be recast as children—the first set interacting in a classroom, and the second at home, with a birthday party as the "missed appointment."

Situational realism may be difficult to achieve in dialogs, but it is even more difficult to arrange in drills and practice exercises. We remember one course that took the backward build-up too seriously, and the result was a practice exercise to learn the numbers. It went as follows.

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

five.

four, five.

three, four, five.

two, three, four, five.

one, two, three, four, five.

</div>

Rarely can the backward build-up be justified, under any circumstances. Using it in this number-practice exercise violates every principle of contextualization: *never* do these particular numbers occur in the order that this drill specifies, so the student is practicing a totally nonexistent sequence. This exercise completely loses all touch with reality.

Situational realism deals with appropriate settings, in which human interaction can take place. But having a realistic situation is not enough. The participants in the setting must use language that is compatible with the *dramatis personae* and the locale; in carrying out their roles they must select and use language that is natural, relevant, realistic. Consider the artificiality of these lines from a text published in the second half of this decade:

> My name's Frank Adams. My first name is Frank. My last name is
> Adams. I'm a professor. I'm Professor Adams.

In another text appearing a bit earlier in the decade, we have a dialog in which a person named Tom asks Nick five consecutive questions, with Nick then taking the initiative and firing a salvo of four consecutive questions at Tom. Between them, they force *how, when, where, why, how much,* and *who* into the conversation, but at the expense of linguistic realism. Yet another problem is full-sentence

answers, required by many teachers who want their students to learn sentence patterns rather than sentence fragments. The result is most unnatural:

"What is the name of that boy?"
"The name of that boy is Tom Baker."

Finally, note the following excerpt from a language lesson:

> The pupils could hardly wait for their teacher to tell them to get ready for another visit. Finally, Charles, unable to control himself longer, asked "When are we going to pay our other flower friends a visit, Miss Smith?"
> We don't need to do any visiting just now," answered Miss Smith.
> "Will our flower friends visit us instead?" Margie asked, with a light of hope in her eyes.
> "Oh, no, indeed. We shall neither visit them nor will they visit us," Miss Smith said. Then she waited expectantly to hear what the children might say.
> "Does that mean we shall not see our other flower friends at all?" a little girl asked, with a look of disappointment on her face.
> Miss Smith chuckled. She could just imagine   they felt at such news. "Well, well, my dears! You must love our flower friends a great deal or you wouldn't be so disappointed," she said with a smile.
> "I have a surprise for you, however," she continued.
> "What surprise do you have for us, Miss Smith?" the little twins asked eagerly.
> "Well, well, well. What curious little children," Miss Smith answered.
> "What is the big surprise?" the children begged again.
> "You'll meet our bush flower friends from a gardener's diary," Miss Smith answered. "Do you want to read it?"
> "Of course we do, Miss Smith," the children cried joyfully.

This sample from a lesson on flowers is as phony as a three-dollar bill. It comes from a goodie-goodie world—an unreal teacher talking to unreal children—seriously violating our criterion of linguistic realism.

In coping with dialog and exercises that violate expected norms of realistic language, we can edit, supplement and amend the original. The long "flower children" passage would best be deleted. But the others could be modified. For example, wh- questions can be answered in phrasal responses instead of full sentences. And long sequences of questions can easily be broken up by inserting replies that ask for clarification or elaboration.

With a satisfactory setting and a selection of utterances that appropriately and convincingly develop a lesson, the next requirement is a classroom performance that meets the standards of realistic oral interpretation. By remaining safely with standard orthographic representation, the text author can shift the major responsibility for appropriate oral interpretation to the teacher. The author can be helpful, however, by using contracted forms of words that normally contract. Nothing destroys the illusion of reality more quickly than hearing school children consistently using uncontracted forms. Here's an example from a

contemporary text: "Mary is a student. She is absent. Is she sick?" "She is sick."

But since oral interpretation is the special responsibility of the teacher, the more important it is for adequate teacher preparation and performance. Of special importance are such details as the reduction of unstressed vowels, the use of normal assimilation patterns and contractions, even such details as variant vowels in related word forms, such as the /ey/ and /ɛ/ in say, says, or the /aw/ and /ə/ in pronounce, pronunciation. The teacher should certainly present some of the patterns that are usually left out of a textbook. Very important among these is the pattern of vowel reduction. In a sentence like "Let's go for a walk," consisting of five syllables, the third and fourth are properly reduced to schwa. We say /fər ə/, not /fɔr ey/: "Let's go for ə walk" not "Let's go /fɔr ey/ walk." Consider the phonological problems introduced in this 1973 ESL text for Latin Americans in which English pronunciation is represented by applying Spanish orthography:

1. We had steak and black beans with rice.
   (Ui jad-steik and black bins uiz rais)
2. Yes, of course. My wife is a good cook.
   (Yes, of cors. Mai uaif is a gud cu-uk)

Another area of interpretation usually left to the teacher is contrastive stress, with all the clues for understanding an utterance that are carried by this special marker of prominence. Eastern Russia is known by the name "Siberia," and we normally pronounce this word with the middle syllable stressed: /sàybíryə/. But the syllable stress shifts to the syllable that needs differentiation, if the context includes a word which overlaps phonologically. For example:

"So Boris is going to Liberia?"
"No, no. I didn't say /làybíryə/, I said /sáybíryə/."

If these signals are ignored by the speaker, confusion will reign.

One other example: consider the following two sentences, made up of identical words, but expressing different meanings carried exclusively by the stress patterns:

1 The study was what one would expect from a mân of létters.

2 The study was what one would expect from a mân of létters.

In sentence (1) we are talking about a man of letters; however, in sentence (2) we refer to someone else, but compare him to an archetypal man of letters. These differences, as anyone who has endeavored to teach English as a second language well knows, do not teach themselves. Too often they don't get taught at all, because the teacher does not present them in a way that students are able to produce appropriate suprasegmentals, this area of perhaps the greatest complexity that English offers.

These, then, are samples of the problems associated with adapting in order to provide suitable realism in lesson presentations. But realism in its various

quises, though necessary, is not sufficient. Other areas of concern are language usage, language variety, and the principled modification of texts for special purposes.

3. Language deficiencies

Every teacher needs to be alert to possible linguistic deficiencies in his textbook. To the many who rely heavily on the text for grammatical explanations and presentations, this may seem an impossible and presumptuous task. Fortunately, grammatical misstatements are not frequent. The place they occur most often is in drills and exercises where not enough time has been taken to prepare vital, idiomatic language contexts. For example, even in practicing a phonological contrast we might not be satisfied with "Why do you seek the sick?" or "How did you pick that peak?" (found in a recent textbook) when we could easily have "He'll be here at six." This is not to say that one should be unalterably opposed to nonsense or to alliteration or rhyme. "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers" may have some utility, and it's fun. In addition, like a well-done farce or melodrama, it ' esn't pretend to be the real thing. Outlandish language, like some of Alexander Lipson's communicative situations, can instruct and delight simultaneously.

What we need to be on the watch for are dialogs with unidiomatic representations such as "Whom does she take after?" and "Whom is she fixing dinner for?" Evans and Evans claim that such sentences are "unnatural English and have been for at least five hundred years." They add that "to most of their countrymen, the unnatural *whom*'s sound priggish or pretentious" (Evans and Evans 1957:556). There are basically two alternatives here. One is to delete the unsatisfactory item; the other is to demonstrate how *whom* can be used on the formal level ("To whom did the ambassador address those remarks?") while recommending that *who* (as in "Who were they talking to?") be used generally. Level of formality would also need to be introduced if the exercise in a 1975 ESL text were retained:

1. Must you leave tomorrow?
2. Must we go now?
3. Must I tell him?

The occasional Alice-in-Wonderland language of exercises is sometimes the result of an author's stretching the language to fit some rule, real or imagined. For instance, subject-verb concord requires that "two or more singular subjects joined by *or* or *nor* take a singular verb, agreeing in person with the nearer subject." This rule results in virtually unheard of language such as "Either she or I am going." Native speakers avoid this construction with

"Either she's going or I am" (or)
"One of us is going."

The temptation for an author to follow a paradigm is often too great to resist. In a 1974 text we have:

"You're not going to be all right"
"Am I not going to be all right?"
"No, you're not."

The initial sentence is weak, though it is idiomatic. And the inquiry is clearly unacceptable. First, there is no context to generate its utterance. More important, it is wooden, stuffy, and unidiomatic. Fairly advanced students might be exposed to the colloquial alternative "Aren't I going to be all right?" But the more conservative teacher might prefer the rather neutral "Won't I be all right?" or "Don't you think I'll be all right?" True, the paradigm is disrupted, but it deserves to be, in favor of life-like utterances. We would do well to adopt as standard practice a careful advance proofreading of all drills and exercises that we plan to assign. Sentences containing strained or unnatural English can simply be eliminated without comment.

Occasionally even a basic presentation can be modified in order to prevent confusion. An immigrant from Germany once told us she seemed to be permanently handicapped in the use of "push" and "pull," having learned them at the same time. Sometimes temporarily postponing one will enable the other concept to become firmly established. One widely used ESL text presents two contrasting uses of "going to" at the same time: "Mr. Adams is going to work" (where going represents the present progressive—Mr. Adams walking to his place of employment). Juxtaposed with this is the statement, "He's going to get there at eight o'clock." Here, of course, going to is a future tense indicator. In this case, it would be simple to modify the first going to. The revised sentence would read, "Mr. Adams is walking to work" or "Mr. Adams is driving to work." This change also eliminates the possible ambiguity in the initial sentence. One does not have to subscribe to the audio-lingual requirement of a tightly sequenced grammar presentation to see the value of partitioning certain easily-confused grammar items.

Of course it would have been just as easy to alter the second sentence. "He's going to get there at 8:00" could read, "He'll get there at 8:00." But here a word of caution is in order. Several contemporary ESL texts suggest that *will* and *going to* can be freely interchanged. Actually their distribution resembles two overlapping circles. There are situations where *going to* cannot substitute for *will*: "Will you have some more potatoes?" (an offer) and where *will* cannot substitute for *going to*: "She's going to have a baby" (a pregnancy). To present these verb forms as equivalent can therefore be misleading.

3.1. *Modifying the presentation.* The creative teacher can sometimes assist students in assimilating what appears to be a wide variety of separate rules. One 1977 ESL text provides examples of individual nouns associated with *much* and *many* but does not enter into the count-noncount distinction which could help the student generalize this principle. Another situation is the *in/on* contrast in conjunction with transportation. Rather than simply providing a host of examples, it is possible to generalize. A colleague suggests that the use of *in* and *on* is a matter of routing. A conveyance such as a bus, a ship, or a commercial airliner (even a

milk truck) requires *on*, whereas nonrouted conveyances (such as a taxi, rowboat or small airplane) require *in*. We recommend a double rule for *on* and *in* with travel: the first rule is that we use *on* with a means of transportation which in no sense can contain a person (such as a bicycle, mule, or raft). If a vehicle can contain or surround a passenger, we apply the second rule, which specifies mobility. A vehicle where mobility is possible and normal will usually take the reference *on* (such as a train, airliner, bus, or ship). But where mobility is restricted, the reference will usually be made with *in* (as in a car, small plane, taxi, canoe, etc.).

Sometimes we encounter a presentation that is too compact. A prominent 1973 text introduces over 250 two-word verbs in a 20-page segment of the text, together with rules and exercises for separable and inseparable two-word verbs. The teacher adapter, having surveyed this feature before beginning to use the book, would undoubtedly select the most frequently used verbs from this list and then space them throughout the semester or school year. He would probably combine related two-word verbs in semantic clusters (such as *wake up, get up, put on one's clothes, set out for work*, etc.).

Difficulty is sometimes encountered with explanations and definitions, the author inadvertently providing complex explication. One contemporary text explains *to look at* as to 'direct the eyes toward;' *to sit down* as 'to take a sitting position after standing' *to put away* as 'to set aside, return something to its proper place.' Here we have "explanations" that are more difficult than the phrases needing clarification. A similar difficulty can be seen in this "explanation" for beginning students: " . . . answer in the affirmative. Use only pronouns in the answer. You will hear the correct response. Remember, use the subject and object pronouns in your answer." And the *first* lesson in another recent *beginning* ESL text uses phrases such as "to converse further," "to present," "executive," "background," etc. When teachers encounter low-frequency words and phrases used in directions and explanatory material, they have several options: they can paraphrase, pantomime or act out a phrase being introduced—provided it is not too abstract. Our first inclination would be to determine whether or not even one or two of the students knew the meaning; if some did, we would let them convey it. As far as directions are concerned, even during the heyday of the audiolingual era, it was permitted to use the vernacular to help facilitate some activity. Many of us today would feel quite comfortable with occasional judicious use of the student's native language.

3.2. *Cultural appropriateness.* We have considered needed modifications ranging from faulty or unidiomatic English to presentations that need synthesis, assimilation, or clarification. Another is the language presentation which needs ample contextualization, explanation, or caution regarding the circumstances under which the expression might be used. For example, one text introduces "Hold your horses" without any precaution. Another glosses "come off it" as 'to adopt or take a more humble or conciliatory tone,' but does not hint at the slangy rudeness of the expression. Still another introduces "What the dickens does he want here?'" along with "Where in the world" and other such expressions, but without any mention of the emotional attitude expressed. Similarly, a

prominent contemporary text presents the expression "Well, what is it?" as an
example of contrastive stress, but without teaching the full implication of an-
noyance associated with the phrase. Another teaches "Don't interrupt me" and
"Don't smoke in here" simply as negative requests, in contrast with the af-
firmative request "Please close the door." Introduced also is the request "Would
you mind not smoking in here?" Since the tone of voice is not taken into account,
it would naturally be possible for offense to be taken if these were not phrased
properly.

Sometimes the context that is provided may be somewhat misleading. For
example, in one text when Helen spoke to the saleslady about an imperfection in
a dress that had been sold to her, the clerk said, "That's not my baby. See the
Complaint Department." That such an expression is flippant and inappropriate
in this situation is not mentioned. For those of us interested in facilitating genu-
ine communicative competence—and that probably includes virtually all
teachers today—we cannot be satisfied with our students simply acquiring addi-
tional grammar, vocabulary, and idiomatic expressions. We must help sensitize
students to the social appropriateness of what they say.

3.3. *Language variety.* Fortunately the subject matter and language of
many contemporary ESL texts avoid the bland, inane characteristics of earlier
books, but sensitivity is required on the part of teachers in presenting some of this
material. For instance, some explanation would probably be needed on variant
norms for communicating with parents, when students encounter this dialogue:

"Watch it Here comes your old lady."
"Pete. I'm telling you the last time. Get in here and eat."
"A'right, a'right. I'm coming."
"It better be fast!"
"Yeah! Sure. Take it easy."

Appropriate adjustments will generally need to be made when using
overseas texts prepared by British or British-educated authors. In one such text,
for instance, we read "Are those ice creams?" where Americans would say, "Is
that ice cream?" and "Go play houses" for "Go and play house." If American
English is to be taught, then "Have you Mr. Bennett's address?" and "I haven't
any money" will become "Do you have (or Have you got) Mr. Bennett's ad-
dress?" and "I don't have (haven't got) any money." We can only teach effec-
tively, of course, that vocabulary, grammar, and punctuation which is already
part of our own linguistic repertoire.

Sometimes adaptation is temporal. A book published early this decade
reads, "We have packages of thirty-six air-mail stamps. They cost $3.60." Later
on we read, "Candy bars—three for a quarter." One can handle this easily by
simply inquiring about the cost of airmail stamps and candy bars today. In
another selection, we read about a girl named Susan who goes shopping for
groceries; she reads the list to the grocer, who gets everything together personally
and then has them delivered to her house. A more startling anachronism at the
beginning of the decade was a dialog in another ESL text representing the visit of a

physician to a patient in the patient's home! Without being disparaging, one could easily introduce a brief, interesting cultural note on trends away from family doctors, house visits, etc. to medical specialists and clinics where patients go for treatment.

There is likewise a need for the teacher adapter to help students cope with the increasing variety of language they are exposed to. This includes the sometimes salty slang of teenagers, which may need interpreting and which adult ESL learners may be cautioned to avoid. It also includes the slightly archaic and metaphorical language found in an occasional ESL reader: "But of the character of the things he would say at these periods in question, an example will best give the idea." The teacher will also need to be prepared to adapt brief selected excerpts in literature so that advanced ESL students can understand the nonstandard speech that can be encountered in a bestseller such as Alex Haley's *Roots*:

> "Keeps tryin' tell you it's some good white folks!" she exclaimed. "Fact of de matter, I've heared a whole heap of 'em was 'gainst de firs' ships ever bringin' any y'all African niggers here!" Kunta wondered where on earth Bell thought her own grandparents had come from, but she was so wound up that he let it pass." 'Co'se. anytime somethin' like dat he's in de paper," she went on. "de massas gits riled up, rantin' an' hollerin' 'bout enemies of de country an' sich as dat, but what's 'portant is de mo' of dem massas git to wonderin' in dey secret heart is dey right or not.". She stared at Kunta. "'Specially dem callin' devselves Christians." (Haley 1976:377)

And vital to the many who are about to take the giant step from simplified to unsimplified technical prose is the assistance of the teacher in bridging the gap.[1]

Whether in helping bridge the gap to unsimplified prose, proofreading exercises for unnatural English, or sensitizing the student to situations appropriate for the idioms that his students have been exposed to, the teacher plays an absolutely essential role as adapter-partner with the textbook author.

4. Administrative considerations

As indicated earlier, we have accepted as an organizing principle the concept of congruence. Through this concept we apply our theoretical assumptions as educators and language teachers. The result is a flowing together of streams from

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[1] Selinker and others in discussing techniques used in teaching English for science and technology (EST) remind us that students "often seem unable to comprehend the total meaning of EST discourse even when they understand all of the words in each sentence and all of the sentences that make up the discourse," for they fail to grasp clause relationships and the implicit nature of supporting information (Selinker, Trimble, and Trimble 1976:281-290) Honeyfield nevertheless, warns us from simplified English which can generate reading strategies inappropriate for coping with unsimplified prose (Honeyfield 1977 431-440). Elsewhere we recommend techniques for coping with unsimplified prose; these include varying levels of regularizing or simplifying depending on reader sophistication, the use when appropriate of illustrations or graphs, and focussing on key paragraphs rather than simplifying the entire text (Madsen and Bowen 1978).

theoretical and practical sources. We have examined a variety of instructional considerations in adapting ESL materials. And now we conclude with a brief survey of some administrative concerns which also require the application of congruence. Prior to amending or adapting comes the evaluation and selection of the proposed textbook. Some of the principles of adaptation may be employed in the analysis, but the process of evaluation has its own rationale.[2]

An intermediate step consists of planning and devising a curriculum that harmonizes teaching materials and instructional objectives.[3]

Then in achieving congruence between text and ESL course, adapters need answers to a variety of questions: How long is the course, in total length and in hours per week? What teaching methodology is predominant? Which mode is favored—spoken or written? Or will both be attempted? Is there a stress on pronunciation? On spelling? On vocabulary? On grammar? On meaning? Are all skills to be provided, with the student choosing and internalizing as his own wishes, interests, and experience dictate? Will the language material be presented in small graded steps, in situational chunks, or in notional syllabus form? Is the objective limited English or full English? Is the course linked to subsequent tests, or is communication to be stressed quite independent of examinations? Is it planned to make extensive use of graphics to complement the language presentation? Or is it felt that language study per se can produce its own abstract systems? Is colloquial usage to be taught, or is the emphasis on the more formal deliberative levels of speech and writing? Also, how wide a band of register and usage are students expected to master? Are there to be any real concessions to the realities of interlanguage, knowing some students will probably fossilize along the way? Is grammar to be taught as a subject apart? Will teacher performance be supervised, or will each teacher follow his own lights? Is this a transition program that anticipates the needs of a student with integrative goals, or will students' needs be satisfied by attention to the more limited needs of instrumental motivation?

While we may not be prepared to provide an answer to every question prior to initiating instruction, we certainly take a significant step in the right direction when we recognize them and strive for adaptation congruent with them. Until we know enough to move ahead confidently, we will proceed somewhat cautiously so we can retract more easily when we have selected the wrong step. And as effective adapters, we will need to monitor our progress carefully, in order to harmonize our instructional materials with the practical, pedagogical realities of our classroom.

2 Others have written on the subject of evaluating textbooks: we refer you specifically to Mary Newton Bruder and to C. Allen Tucker (Madsen and Bowen, 1978:Appendix)

3 For suggestions on ESL curriculum development, see the article by Ann Hilferty (Madsen and Bowen 1978:Appendix).

Verbal Strategies, Script Theory and Conversational Performances in ESL

Robert J. Di Pietro

Notions about what is to be acquired by ESL students have been heavily influ-enced by traditional interpretations of language as a formal grammatical sys-tem. Textbook writers arrange their coverage according to what they see as essential patterns of phonological and syntactic structure fleshed out by key vo-cabulary. While such an orientation to language has been productive, several matters of significance have either been ignored or treated offhandedly. The interplay between culture and language has been one of these slighted matters. Now the situation is changing, due to the attention paid to "communicative competence." This new-found dimension of speaker competence stems from the work of several sociolinguists and anthropologists. Among those applying it to ESL are Christina Paulston and Florence Stratton.

In this paper the notion of communicative competence is taken one step further, incorporating what must be learned by ESL students, beyond culturally constrained speech protocols, to the personally selected verbal strategies need-ed to shape English conversations to desired outcomes. Starting with the inter-pretation of the speech act as a dramatic episode and using elements of script theory, we can isolate conversational strategies and make them available to the various personalities of our students.

What does it mean to learn a second language? This question has been asked many times throughout history and many answers have been given. In recent years, the issue has been embodied in the term "linguistic competence." This term gained currency largely through the work of the theorist Noam Chomsky who used it initially to characterize what the idealized native speaker must know about a language (see discussion in Chomsky 1965). In Chomsky's application, linguistic competence was realized as the ability to generate any number of novel but correct sentences in a language and assign a structural explanation to them. Thanks to the pioneering work of Chomsky, language teachers came to interpret their task as helping students to acquire a similar ability with the grammar of the second language. The associations language/competence and competence/gram-mar became so persuasive that some practitioners of ESL methodology (Dulay and Burt [1978] for example) refuse to find any differences between learning the first

and the second language. The association of competence with grammar has also led to the flowering of an approach known as "error analysis" whereby the student's progress in L₂ is measured in terms of grammatical mistakes made at various points in time. Pit Corder, one of the most outspoken advocates of error analysis, adheres closely to the view of language as "rule-governed behavior." Only three years ago he stated that "language learning is no different in kind from any other sort of cognitive learning" (Corder 1975). Although this approach makes an admirable attempt to take into consideration actual student performances, its advocates' view of competence is severely limited to matters of language form.

With the articulation by sociolinguists (e.g. Hymes 1972a) of the many sociological and cultural constraints on language, the inadequacies of the original Chomskyan formulation of competence have become apparent to some ESL methodologists. When we realize that languages are spoken in societies by real people of different sexes, ages and socio-economic standing, the "idealized native speaker" could never be anything more than a grammar machine. Christina Bratt Paulston (1976) and Florence Stratton (1977) are two ESL specialists who have grasped the significance of expanding competence to include what people actually say to each other under various social conditions. There is no doubt that society dictates both the form and use of much of what we say. Even a simple dialog containing greetings such as "Good Morning!" or "How are you?" reflect the speaker's knowledge of the circumstances under which such salutations are transacted, the sequencing and societal function of the transaction and the age, sex and social standing of the individuals involved in the transaction. Due to differences in home culture, the ESL student may err in the use of greetings long after he or she has mastered their form. In exercises centered on the teaching of expressions like "Excuse me!" and "I beg your pardon!" it is important to point out that apologies lie along a spectrum of social indebtedness. At one end of this spectrum would be an expression like "Oops!" representing the acknowledgment of having committed a relatively minor infraction. Moving along to increasing degrees of verbal compensation for social infractions we find "Sorry!" and "Sorry about that!" (performed with various intonations). Somewhere near the heavy end of the indebtedness spectrum is "My God! Did I hurt you?" Greetings and apologies are only small parts of the full range of communicative competence. As Stratton (1977) reminds us, we are still groping for the best way to systematize our knowledge of language use so that it can be taught effectively. Even so, the little we now know can help us to create realistic instructional materials and innovative classroom activities.

The major portion of this paper will be devoted to the verbal means by which native speakers mould conversations to the ends they desire. These verbal means or *strategies* are basic components of a speaker's communicational competence. They are conditioned in their format by both culture and society but they also represent the extremely personal aspects of creativity with language.

To understand how verbal strategies work it is necessary to abandon the belief that language is only (or even primarily) for the transference of informa-

tion. Among the many other uses of language is the avoidance of confrontations which might be unpleasant. As Charlotte Olmsted Kursh (1971) has indicated, the so-called "white lie," among other verbal ploys, can be used very creatively and often with great social benefit. Included among useful verbal strategies are those devices employed to complain, seduce, flatter, bargain, criticize and apologize. Since people have different personalities, these devices are enacted in a variety of ways. Applying for a job, for example, may inspire one applicant to be forceful while another might be more reserved. This difference can be conveyed by comparing the following inquiries:

I'm applying for the position you have in programming.
I'd like to apply for your position in programming.

Opening the inquiry with "I'd like to . . ." can have a blunting or toning down effect on the personnel officer. Recognizing the strategic function of "I'd like to . . ." is not tantamount to suggesting that job-inquiries ought to be blunted, only that different strategies fit different personality types. Part of the ESL teacher's job is to learn as much as possible about each student's particular communicational style in order to provide the choice of strategies most suited to him or her. Since communicative competence also involves the ability to interpret the intentions of other speakers, the ESL teacher will also have to supply a range of strategical expressions which the student might not use personally but would have to recognize when they occur in the speech of others. Indeed, one of the major achievements in learning a second language is being able to discern the personality types of natives with whom one comes in contact. Obviously, the ESL teacher will need to adjust classroom techniques in order to bring out the various strategies.

If we teachers can manage to go beyond the informational and grammatical content of conversation, we might be able to develop a new "mind set" vis-a-vis dialogs. Rather than look upon dialogs as language philosophers who seek out their logical bases as "speech acts," we can think of them as conversational episodes in a continuing life drama. In this way, dialog participants emerge as role-players engaged in advancing the action of a script. A script in the sense employed here is a long-term plan involving preconceived intentions on the part of the players. Unlike stage plots, real-life scripts are designed by the participants themselves and reflect the personal desires of each. There are other differences between theatrical and real-life scripts. In the theater it is customary for actors to rehearse their parts several times. The playwright may even make changes as rehearsals continue. The collaborative effect of theatrical scripts does not always find a counterpart in real-life scripts. People with whom we come into contact are sometimes unwilling to play the roles we would like to assign to them. Interactional ambi-   abounds in real-life scripts. For example, the person who feels philanthropic in donating large sums of money to a university may be perceived as a crass materialist by authorities at the university who receive the donation with suspicions as to the motive.

The complementary nature of role pairs is evident in real-life scripts which have to do with buying and selling. A person cannot be a vendor if the intended buyer will not perform his complementary role. In American English we have verbal strategies like "Just looking" with which to fend off an overzealous sales clerk in a department store. Some roles become so institutionalized that we give them names. The person wandering about a store without the intention of buying anything is called a "window shopper." Playing the window shopper role changes from culture to culture. In Morocco, for example, window shoppers avoid becoming the recipients of ardent sales pitches by not expressing an interest in a specific item on display and not establishing eye-contact with the vendor.

Scripts, whether they are theatrical or real, have two levels of structure beneath the surface or "informational exchange" level: (1) the transactional level, on which are identified the various verbal strategies, and (2) the interactional level, which establishes the roles being played. In the following brief episode, the basic transaction is that of request followed by fulfillment of request and sign-off:

Customer Please give me a ticket for New York.
Agent   Here you are, Sir.
Customer Thank you.

The interaction in this exchange is conditioned strongly by the framework of society. The ticket agent and the customer are performing roles which are public-ly recognized and fully complementary. The ticket agent's services are available to all persons willing to play the customer. In the next illustration, below, the transaction is also one of request followed by fulfillment and sign-off. The players, however, are interacting as intimates and the services are not publicly available:

A Scratch my back
B Right here?
A Hmmm, feels good!

Both of these episodes are life-events. Each has its place and each is engaged in with its own degree of commitment. The surface structure in each can be varied considerably without affecting either the transactional or interactional levels. For example, in the first episode, the customer might say only "Ticket for New York," to which the ticket agent need not even make a verbal response. In such cases, the absence of verbalization does not impede the enactment of the script. Instead, the action of the plot is advanced through some other channel of communication (e.g., the ticket agent hands the customer the ticket or B simply scratches A's back without saying a word).

Not only can silence be very communicative but also body language, gestures and facial expressions can become the principal conveyors of transactional strategies. In fact, when the kinesic and verbal messages coming from an individual are contradictory, we are liable to place greater truth in what is being

conveyed kinesically. One who swears an oath of allegiance to a cause but winks while doing it cannot expect the verbal part of his performance to be believed.

Several factors affect the playing out of scripts. One of these factors is the information shared or thought to be shared by the players. The ESL student who has developed great fluency with English should be forewarned that he will also be expected to have the storehouse of cultural information shared by the native speakers. To show how the lack of such information can cause difficulty for the fluent speaker, I can cite the case of one of my students who was born to Dutch parents living in South America. This man grew up speaking fluent Dutch which he learned at home. However, when he first visited Holland (as an adult), he had very little knowledge of the country. As a result, he was rebuked or snubbed whenever he asked such "obvious" questions as the cost of bus fare, the starting times for movies   the location of well-known monuments. To defend himself, he decided to af   an accent in his speech. In this way he was able to signal that he was a foreigner and unfamiliar with Dutch society.

Other factors affecting the content of scripts derive from the nature of communication space. Young adult males in the United States sometimes engage in making what are called in Spanish "piropos" to young women. Although English-speaking women traveling in a Spanish-speaking country might think that Latin males are far more flirtatious than males in English-speaking lands, the major difference is to be found in the setting. The street commentary made by males toward females in the United States appears to require a physical barrier of some sort behind which the male may take psychological refuge. While Latin males may stand very close to the female and even follow her down the street as they make their comments, English-speaking males usually locate themselves at some distance—such as on a scaffold at a construction site or in the cab of a passing truck. These differences in physical space may account for the frequently great vulgarity of the English comments. Since many communicational episodes are enacted in the street, both males and females from Latin countries should be prepared for these differences when they come to the United States. Di Pietro (1976) takes up other factors which affect conversational performances.

How can we utilize strategies, roles and conversational scripts in the classroom? Modeling an ESL application on what Bosco and Di Pietro (1976) have suggested for teachers of Italian, we must recognize first that our students are not necessarily interested in playing out roles assigned to them in pre-determined dialogs. Since few people seem interested in reciting language which is not meaningful to them, we might search for a theme which is likely to involve our learners in real life. For example, we might choose from the inevitable cultural clashes which come with food choices and meals. An invitation to dinner at the home of an American friend carries with it a great potential for realistic script-writing and role-playing. Suppose, for example, that one of our young Spanish-speaking students has been invited to the home of a Texan friend for a holiday dinner. Since the occasion is a special one, the mother of the Texan has gone to great

pains in preparing a delicacy from her home region. When our student arrives, he (or she) discovers that this delicacy is rattlesnake meat. It is not difficult to imagine that such a dish would evoke less than great enthusiasm in someone who is not accustomed to it. The conversation that ensues between the host's mother who proffers the food and guest who tries to demur could go in several directions, depending on the personalities of both participants, the verbal strategies they pick, and the style with which they play out their respective roles. The first reaction of the student-guest in such a situation might well be panic. What do I do? How can I save my friendship with this well-intentioned but misdirected Texan? I can't eat this food but how can I avoid insulting his family? A major step in the educational process has been achieved in the classroom—the creation of competence drive—if the teacher can simulate panic in the students by projecting them into such a situation.

Assured of the students' eagerness to participate in the learning process, the teacher may launch into several routines. As a start, the students can be guided to explore the options that would be open to them. These options could be then sketched out in the form of a multiply-branched diagram (see p. 155). The diagram picks up the episode at the point where the student-guest has realized what is being served. The teacher can ask the questions that lead to the various branches, e.g., do you like the food? If you do, will you eat it with enthusiasm? The actual decisions are left to the students. Once they decide what they would do themselves, the teacher can supply the appropriate verbalization. For example, if one of the students decides to eat it, he or she might make one of the following remarks:

My compliments to you, Mrs. Warm. You are a fine cook.

or

Just a small piece, please. I'm not very hungry.

Of course the second verbalization is far less enthusiastic than the first. While the cultural implications of each strategy can be explained, it is important not to influence the students' choice. Otherwise, the important bridge between personal style and its expression in English will not be established. We must remember that the ESL teacher is not in the business of personality-shaping. Helping students express their attitudes and feelings through the medium of a second language is the main task of all language teachers.

The most productive aspect of building a conversation around strategies and roles in the classroom comes when the players choose to write scripts which are not compatible. Suppose the student-guest in the above episode decides to avoid eating the rattlesnake meat and the hostess insists that she will not take "no" for an answer. The student-guest will have to pick an avoidance strategy which will be most convincing to the hostess who, in turn, will try to counter with a ploy of her own. If the student-guest alludes to a medical reason, the hostess might counter with a remark that her way of preparing snake meat takes all the harmful agents out of it. A rebuttal of the religious excuse might involve a suggestion that

What should I do?

- I like it
  - I'll eat it
    - With gusto.
      - How good! You must tell me how you prepared it
    - With somewhat less enthusiasm
      - Mrs Wurm, this is very good
- I don't like it
  - I'll eat it anyway
    - With gusto
      - My compliments to you, Mrs Wurm You are a fine cook
    - Without showing my emotions
      - Thank you, Mrs Wurm
    - Not enthusiastically
      - Just a small piece, please I'm not very hungry
  - I'll try to avoid eating it by making some excuse.
    - Excuse no. 1 (medical)
      - My doctor tells me that I should not eat reptile meat.
    - Excuse no. 2 (religious)
      - In my faith we believe that snakes are like real people.
    - Excuse no. 3 (personal preference)
   - Actually, I've had rattlesnake before and I don't care for it.

DIAGRAM OF STRATEGIC OPTIONS

the rattlesnake is exempt from any association with real persons. To a claim that the student-guest has already had it and does not care for it the hostess might respond that her recipe is a very special one that everybody likes. This last-mentioned ploy tends to place the student-guest in the unenviable position of challenging the hostess's reputation as a cook and therefore heaping a serious insult on her.

Another pedagogical routine is to explain the scenario and then assign the roles of hostess and guest to different students for the next day's class. The students can be instructed not to discuss the strategies they would employ with any of the other students. After the dialog is played out the next day, its transactional and interactional structures can be discussed by the entire class. How successful were the players in their roles? How would the other students play these roles?

There might be some question as to what level of instruction would be appropriate for this kind of classroom activity. Of course, the more English the students know, the easier it is for them to create scripts and perform them in the classroom. However, we should not rule out trying brief and strategically simple scripts even in the first year of instruction. ESL students, especially those who find themselves located in an English-speaking country, encounter communicational situations for which a minimum of verbalization is needed, such as the following:

First ESL student.	Is this History 302?
Second ESL student:	No, it's English for foreign students 101.
First ESL student	Good, this is what I want.
Second ESL student	Why did you ask about History 302?
First ESL student	Because I can't say, "English for foreign students."

The strategy of phrasing a question so that the difficult part is placed in someone else's mouth is a useful one for the beginning student to learn. In fact, all good second language learners know that if they cannot say what they want to say, they can get someone else to say it. The above dialog is grammatically simple. It contains only five sentences, three of them simple declaratives and two, interrogatives. One of the interrogatives is a *yes/no* type question and the other a *wh*-type. All of these matters are touched upon at one time or another in a typical first-year text in ESL. With just a little more effort, the teacher can address the strategical significance of putting them together in a conversation.

There is no doubt that a course in ESL should do many things. To achieve an adequate degree of competence—grammatical, transactional and interactional—the student needs to engage in a vast assortment of learning activities. What remains at question is how these activities should be sequenced. As far as this author is concerned, scripting and role playing through communicational strategies should stand at the very core of the ESL curriculum.

When You're Outnumbered 100 to 1: Effective Teaching in Large Classes *

Betty K. Taska

One problem facing teachers in the EFL classes which are burgeoning throughout the developing world is the sheer number of students per class they are required to teach. These teachers are often afraid to experiment with group work or other techniques which they think might result in loss of control in the classroom. The problem is particularly acute for teachers who are non-native speakers of English. As a result, students, especially at the lower levels where class size tends to be largest, rarely have the opportunity for any meaningful practice of the language. Rather, they are restricted to regimented oral drilling, rote memorization, and tedious copying of material written on the blackboard.

Because lack of space limits movement and lack of materials limits work activities, the predominant pattern is a teacher-centered classroom. Nevertheless, a number of possibilities exist for varying the status quo. Following an analysis of the size problem as observed in a number of African classrooms, this article considers certain of these possibilities. Adaptations of some of the approaches used in individualizing the language classroom are discussed, along with procedures which will allow for a more flexible approach to the problem of large classes.

Throughout the developing world EFL classes are burgeoning. In many schools the number of students per class has increased to a point where effective teaching is being seriously impaired. Put yourself for a moment, for example, in this hapless teacher's shoes.

It was nearing eight o'clock. The new teacher smiled nervously as for the final time she ran over in her head the little introductory speech she had prepared for her first class meeting. She shuffled the papers on her table, looked expectantly at her watch, and stared, first in awe and then in mounting horror, as the students filed into the classroom. They kept coming, like a never-ending

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stream Soon every available space was filled, and still they came. The noise as
they scraped benches and desks to crowd themselves closer and chatted
animatedly among themselves seemed to engulf her Then they were looking
expectantly at her. 80 pairs of eyes focused with interest on this representative
of the English-speaking world who would now unlock for them the mysteries of
that language which promised access to all the wonders of modern life. Her
hands felt clammy. What could she say? What could she do? Fainting would
accomplish nothing Summoning her courage, she cleared her throat and . . .

Woke up? No, for this nightmare vision is real and actually happened to me as a
novice EFL teacher over ten years ago in Africa. It is still all too real in parts of the
developing world where school attendance and the expansion of the curriculum
have far surpassed the number of teachers available to do the job or the facilities
to accommodate the classes.

My own experience was in a teacher training college and was, I confess, a
disaster. But it provided the background for a continuing preoccupation with the
problem of large classes which many teachers face abroad. In most of the nations
of West and Central Africa where French is the official language, for example,
English is a required subject throughout the six or seven years of the secondary
school curriculum. At the lowest levels, before the high dropout rate takes its toll,
classes of 60, 70, 80, 90, even 100 pupils, are common. What's a poor teacher to
do? Many teachers resign themselves to being effective drill masters at best and
rigid disciplinarians at worst. There is little latitude for meaningful practice of the
language, largely out of fear of the chaos that might develop if complete teacher
control were relaxed.

1. Condit.   s

Some of you have visited, as I have, classes in Africa or other parts of the
world where the student/teacher ratio is such as I describe. Some of you have
taught in such classes and will be only too familiar with the conditions. But for
those of you who have had no experience of this sort, let me catalogue some of the
problems:

1. School population is outgrowing the capacity of existing facilities to
   accommodate pupils Factors contributing to this problem are
   a. In the countries with which I am concerned, 50% or more of the total
      population is 16 years old or younger.
   b. 25 to 30% of a poor nation's annual budget is being spent on educa-
      tion
   c. Building costs have skyrocketed, and maintenance costs have always
      been high.
2. Teacher training institutions are unable to supply qualified teachers in
   sufficient numbers. Factors contributing to this problem are
   a. Teacher pay is low.
   b. Many teachers look on teaching as only a step to a higher paid, more
      prestigious civil service job, so teacher turnover is rapid.

    c. Expatriates (Peace Corps Volunteers, etc.) still teach a large percentage of the country's English classes.

    d. Para-professionals, teaching assistants, mechanical teaching aids and machines do not exist.

3. The physical aspect of the classroom is not supportive of the program. Among the conditions are

    a. Bad lighting.

    b. Dust.

    c. Benches and desks in poor condition and often fixed to the floor.

    d. Students three to a bench and frequently three to a book (when there are books).

    e. Poor quality blackboards.

    f. No fixed English classroom. The teacher moves to the students, so no maps, pictures, colorful aids or charts (if available) can be permanently fixed to walls to give some illusion of an English-speaking environment.

4. At certain levels English is not weighted—does not have the same coefficient—as other core subjects. Students may actually refuse to study, since a failing grade does not necessarily mean they won't pass overall if grades in the more heavily weighted subjects are high.

5. Classes are homogeneous and lockstep. There is no possibility for self-pacing or individualizing instruction.

Conditions such as these are already enough for a teacher to cope with, without also being hit with four or more classes that number sixty or more pupils each. I chose the title of this article to dramatize the situation. Let me say that classes of 100 or more, while they exist, are the exception rather than the rule. However, 60 or 70 pupils in a class is usual and there is very little difference, really, between singlehandedly managing 60 or 100 thirteen-year-olds. What's another 40 more or less?

2. Solutions

In a few schools in Africa a partial solution was found by dividing classes into two sections. This doubles the teacher's work load, but still only one preparation per class is necessary. However, scheduling the use of classrooms was a problem. Another even less satisfactory solution observed in Africa had half of the pupils coming for half of the class period. The half that wasn't in class loitered around the school yard until their turn came.

One of the most effective ways to handle large classes, as Ann Barker (1977:11) has suggested, is through a well-paced and varied series of oral drills done independently of a textbook. A large class can be controlled through choral drill and such drills are essential in the teaching and fixation phases of learning new language material. Continued choral practice from 60 or 80 small but strong voices might, however, draw protests from Mr. Math Teacher next door, and even masterful orchestration by the teacher in part choral or row-by-row repeti-

tion will not alleviate the noise that much. I have heard a suggestion that drills might be whispered or even just mouthed. We subvocalize and "say things over in our heads" all the time when learning material independently, so perhaps entire classes could be conducted this way. I have nothing to prove the contrary. But drills, if well-defined, can also be done independently, in small groups, with student leaders taking turns. The normal configuration of a classroom is something like that in Figure 1. If row one turns and faces row two, row three turns to row four, and so forth, groups of six are formed automatically. Drills to be practiced can be mimeographed, with only the group leader having the paper. Repetition, substitution, transformation, and question/answer drills and dialogues can be practiced. Students may prompt each other, correct pronunciation, demand clarification as they move through the drills. If a question arises, the group leader puts up his or her hand for teacher attention.

FIGURE 1

blackboard

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1.
    X X X   X X X   X X X   X X X   X X X

2.
    X X X   X X X   X X X   X X X   X X X

3.   etc
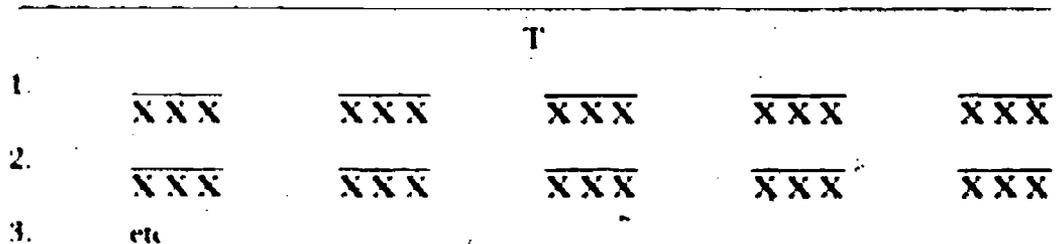
More significant practice and reinforcement beyond drills can be achieved also through variations on the group work approach. Michael H. Long (1976, 1977) has pointed out the advantages of group work in engaging students simultaneously in language activities that will increase not only the quantity and variety of language produced, but also improve its quality. Group work breaks the traditional pattern of a lockstep, teacher-centered classroom, and paves the way for more individualized attention, more communicative use of language in personalized peer-centered exchanges. If the teacher has carefully tailored the language items to the level of the class, successful performance can have an exhilarating effect on the students.

Here are a few techniques used by some of the more inventive (ar... ring) teachers in Africa with whom I have worked, along with other ideas sug   by colleagues in the field. The teacher who tries these will have to keep in .   that it frequently takes time to get a class, used to having the teacher as the arbiter of all activity and the focus of all attention, accustomed to the dynamics of group work. If the arrangement into groups involves any movement other than that of turning to face one's neighbors, it will take a period of trial and error before a smooth flow can be established. Begin with the easiest arrangement at first and have all groups working on the same task. You may experiment with varying group size and membership and with assigning a multiplicity of tasks later.

All of the language skills can provide activities for group work; for example:

2.1. *Listening/Spelling*

a) Students work with lists of minimal pair words provided by the teacher. The group leader says each pair in this sentence:

I said "cat" not "caught."

I said "boe" not "who." .

. . . etc.

Other students in the group write down the two words. When the list is complete, students compare their spellings. The student with the most words spelled correctly "wins."

b) Spelling bee. The group leader gives a word from the list to each student in turn who must spell it and use it in a sentence. The other students in the group listen for errors.

2.2. *Speaking*

a) Dialogue work in beginning classes. A teacher in the Ivory Coast has her students work in pairs, though this could also be done in groups. Three or four topics are written on the board, along with the vocabulary and structures needed for them. Each pair writes an original dialogue which the teacher corrects. Students then present their dialogue orally before the teacher only (all other students are working on their own dialogues, not listening). The teacher gives two grades, one for the written work and one for oral presentation, to each pair.

b) For her advanced classes, the same teacher has devised a discussion approach in groups of six. Students are given a choice of topics from a list on the blackboard, and the teacher conducts a full class discussion on what discussion is. Each group chooses a chairman and then there is a week's preparation, both in and out of class time. When each group's turn comes, the chairman gives the opening exposé and then guides the discussion during which each member of the group sets forth his opinions. These may be his own or may be set by an assigned role which the student is to play. Each of the rest of the students of the class is given a grading sheet (see Figure 2) on which they record grades for the members of the group giving the discussion. They are graded individually on grammar, vocabulary, oral presentation,

Figure 2

Categories	Names of students						Final average
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Vocabulary							
Grammar							
Participation							
Oral presentation							Group grade

group participation, coherence of ideas, etc. An average is taken of all six members at the end, and a group grade is assigned.

c) In Upper Volta, one teacher groups his class by fours. The pupils are told to compose another dialogue related to the one they have studied in their lesson. Then they act out what they have created. Each group of pupils presents its dialogue to the class, who watch, listen, and correct performance. The teacher marks on the way the dialogue is played, not on how it is written.

d) From Senegal comes the idea of using the interview in group form. Each student asks two questions of every other member. The answers are taken down in note form and assembled to make a "biography."

e) Students can work in groups of three in a variation of the interview used in Senegal which involves translating and interpreting. Student A is supposed to speak only English, B speaks both English and the native language (in this case, the official language, French), and C speaks only the native language. Various situations and roles are practiced: at the hotel, the supermarket, the airport, the hospital, a business meeting, etc. B acts as interpreter, translating A's English into French (or the native language) for C, and C's French into English for A. Roles can be exchanged to give all students practice in playing the interpreter.

2.3. *Reading*

Group reading is effective only if students are reading at approximately the same level. Occasionally it may be useful to assign a strong reader to a weak group to monitor and guide the weaker readers. But generally it is better to divide the class into groups according to ability, with the poor students together. Then tasks can be assigned within the range of each group's ability. For example, in an eight paragraph passage

> Groups 1 and 2 (weak)—read first two paragraphs and answer two to five questions
> Groups 3, 4, 5, 6 (average)—read paragraphs one to five and write five questions and answers.
> Groups 7 and 8 (strong)—read all paragraphs, discuss, and write a short summary

Ability grouping should never be rigid, and the teacher should be constantly alert to signs that indicate a student should be moved to a higher (or lower) group. For more heterogeneous general work with reading, Kohn and Vajda (1975) have suggested that the class can be directed to read a passage in a specified length of time and then divided into groups where they will mediate each other's work on exercises related to it.

2.4. *Writing*

a) In Sierra Leone, where an ESL rather than an EFL situation prevails, English is a service activity for all other academic subjects, and com-

position skills are especially important. One teacher uses a guided approach to enable students to write correctly. A topic is chosen in class discussion. An outline of ideas is prepared on the board, and some vocabulary and useful structures given. Then the students work in groups to prepare a first draft. Each group's composition is read aloud and commented on by the entire class. The best elements from each group composition are retained and combined, and written on the blackboard. Students copy this final version which is the result of total class effort.

b) A related approach involving group rewriting of group composition was derived from Witbeck's ideas (1976) on peer correction procedures in composition. The class is divided into groups of five to six students each. Each group writes an essay on a different topic. They must first discuss the topic, outline ideas, and organize the paragraph. Then the groups exchange paragraphs and try to find and correct errors of grammar and vocabulary, improve construction, rhetoric and style, etc., and rewrite the essay. The rewritten version is returned to the original group which then discusses the changes and may challenge any.

2.5. *Oral and Written Work*

a) I have had considerable success in large teacher training seminars for non-native speakers in Africa with the "Strip Story" developed by Robert E. Gibson (1975). The procedure involves the oral organization of a paragraph from individual sentences memorized by each member of the group. The experience of taking dictation from each other, which comes as a last step in organizing the material of the paragraph, was especially lively. Teachers demanded of each other that they speak up, spell dubious words, and otherwise clarify the language they were using.

b) Picture comp. I saw an idea mentioned by Darlene Larson (1977) used successfully in Cameroon three years ago with a class of low intermediate level high school students. Each group of students was given five or six completely unrelated pictures and asked to create a story that would incorporate each of the pictures in some way. Each picture had to illustrate some aspect of the story. The students were fascinated by their task, and they came up with some surprisingly original notions. The story was written down as a group composition and then presented orally to the class complete with illustrations.

3. Other work

The more you do, the more it occurs to you that you can do. Numerous other ideas suggest themselves. Among them let me mention peer-group correction of homework exercises, conversation groups of the supportive CLL type suggested by L. Forge (1977:376) where "the whole class, including the teacher, is

divided into pairs for brief, time-limited periods of English conversation," and the drama techniques of Richard Via (1976). Via suggests the use of group improvisations and "talk and listen" cards as well as plays and skits. For these latter, in large classes, he says, you can do four instead of one, selecting a "director" for each group, and you can do double or even triple casting of the roles.

Mobility and flexibility are two neglected features of successful teaching in large classes. It goes without saying that the teacher must move, but it would also be useful to move the students around, to rotate them periodically so that the back row comes forward and the rest of the class moves back one. For some reason this suggestion is greeted with cries of horror in African school systems where fixed seat assignments are as holy writ and some students spend their entire lives in the back of the class. Also, I have nowhere seen an attempt to have students from upper level classes assigned to help lower ones or to serve as teaching aides in group drill work, dialogue or reading practice. Some old assumptions about what can and cannot be done need to be discarded.

The teacher who attempts any kind of change from the status quo needs to bear in mind these things:

1) Can groups be formed efficiently with a minimum of time lost?
2) Is the task clear? Do students understand what they are expected to do?
3) Can the students work effectively without a lot of supplementary materials?
4) Can the teacher control the activities if necessary and move from group to group?
5) Is the task meaningful? Does it relate to other classroom activities and contribute to overall learning? Students can be ferocious in refusing to do any work they consider frivolous, demeaning, or childish.

One need not be terrified of large classes if student cooperation is gained from the outset. Students detest boredom and inactivity so they become unmanageable chiefly out of sheer resentment toward a system that has them locked into an unproductive situation. The teacher who tries to break this pattern will experience much frustration, but when it can be done, the rewards are great. For then the English class comes alive.

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Aiding Second Language Reading Comprehension

Howard R. Selekman
Howard H. Kleinmann

The participation of second language learners in communicative interaction activities has been recognized as a necessary step in developing learner communicative or sociolinguistic competence in speaking a second language (Paulston 1974) Few suggestions, however, have been offered as to how second language learners can effectively deal with the socio-cultural content of reading material, which oftentimes is the source and cause of misunderstanding and misinterpretation

The present paper describes a technique for facilitating reading comprehension in a second language at the intermediate and advanced levels. Rooted in the theoretical framework of Goodman (1971) and F. Smith (1971), who emphasize the importance of categorial organization and prior experience in reading comprehension, the present paper suggests the inclusion of a communicative interaction activity in which the crucial underlying socio-cultural patterns of the reading passage are actively experienced by students prior to the reading activity. The paper also reports on the application of this technique in an ESL class comprised of native speakers of Russian.

In this paper we review much of the thinking that has been expressed in the literature on second-language reading comprehension in the 20th century. We argue that while much has been said and written about the comprehension of reading material on the word and sentence level, the problem of how intermediate and advanced second language learners can effectively deal with the socio-cultural content of reading material, which oftentimes is the source and cause of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, has generally been overlooked. Our thesis, which draws on insights gleaned from some of the psycholinguistic literature on reading, is that learner participation in a pre-reading communicative interaction activity, in which the crucial underlying socio-cultural patterns of the reading passage are actively experienced, can facilitate learner comprehension of the reading material. This paper describes the proposed technique and reports on its application in an ESL class comprised of native speakers of Russian.

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Reading material which not only demands the student's ability to comprehend factual material, but also the ability to draw inferences, opinions, and understand intentions, is by definition not readily identifiable by a perusal of the text material alone. Material containing socio-cultural information falls into this category of reading requiring inferential comprehension, the very area in which many teachers note a breakdown in the success of their reading students.

Scholars in the first half of the 20th century oftentimes equated inferential and suppositional comprehension in reading with word identification, as evidenced by the techniques they suggested for facilitating comprehension. These techniques depended almost exclusively on word recognition. This is apparent in Hagboldt (1926), whose nine-fold classification of inference is primarily vocabulary oriented, as well as in later authors such as Elliot (1972) and in Burling (1968), who called for dictionary exercises, the use of context clues, and grammar practice to aid reading comprehension. Reichmann (1962) suggested that reading comprehension could be facilitated by exercises in paraphrasing, substitution of synonyms, and simplification of complex sentences. West (1931) too emphasized word meaning identification, with even class discussion directed toward student hypotheses as to word meanings in a reading passage after it was completed. In his proposed lesson to improve comprehension in silent reading, Blayne (1945) suggested that students be introduced to an "enabling vocabulary," again the emphasis in the pre-reading activity being on vocabulary.

In the literature that attempts to make suggestions for improving comprehension not just at the word and sentence level but at the level of the entire passage, oral reading or a question and answer session followed by a preview of the reading has been recommended. Mueller (1974) suggested that students first be presented with a summary of the reading passage in skeleton sentences, followed by more embellished versions until the original was reached. Not unlike the previous studies cited above, the difficulty perceived by Mueller is again at the word and sentence level, the idea being that by holding these elements in control through successive stages of increased complexity, students would have an easier time grasping the full meaning of the reading passage. Saville-Troike suggested guidelines "including questions to be answered and points to look for" (1973 405) prior to the reading, and Young (1969) proposed reading aloud in class, as well as oral discussions following the reading passage. Norris (1972) proposed a pre-reading preparation stage geared toward the introduction of new vocabulary, syntax, and unfamiliar cultural meaning. He also listed five types of questions that should follow the reading, the last two types requiring inference, evaluation, or judgment in the answer.

A body of literature that needs to have more attention paid by foreign language and ESL methodologists is that which deals with the psycholinguistic nature of the reading process, for within it are cues for building better reading comprehension. As has been already stated, where there are suggestions for pre-reading activities, oral reading, questions and answers, and guidelines have usually been the techniques offered. An understanding of some of the cognitive

aspects of learning, however, sheds light on possible ways of aiding reading comprehension, especially regarding material containing socio-cultural information.

Smith (1971) suggested that the cognitive aspects of learning involve the employment of two kinds of rules: those that deal with allocating information to categories, and those that deal with relations among categories. Reminiscent of linguistic relativists such as Whorf (1956), Smith stated, "The way in which we organize our categories clearly reflects our personal interests and experience as well as the way in which the world is constructed" (1971:73). Our experience plays a crucial role in determining our network of categories. In terms of reading comprehension, those passages which deal with experienced and filed categories will be understood more readily, while those offering information and cultural patterns with which the student has had no experience and has had no chance to file a category will provide a stumbling block to comprehension. This is also true if the information has no significant features relatable to a previously established category. Goodman (1970), too, emphasized the importance of prior experience to reading comprehension, stating, "At any point in time, of course, the reader has available to him and brings to his reading the sum total of his experience and his language and thought development . . . Skill in reading involves not greater precision, but more accurate first guesses based in better sampling techniques, greater control over language structure, broadened experiences, and increased conceptual development" (p. 111).

The importance of experience development or enhancement has been recognized by sociolinguists in the area of listening and speaking skills. This has stemmed in part from the important and increasing awareness that lack of comprehension can result from underlying socio-cultural patterns that may be conflicting or just incomprehensible to the student. Paulston (1974) argued for the overt teaching of sociolinguistic patterns in all areas of foreign language instruction, stressing that, unless these underlying social patterns were dealt with, the student would develop linguistic competence only, rather than a flexible communicative competence.

Davies and Widdowson (1974) noted that suppositional information is going to be difficult for the second language reader to extract because "writers do not always say exactly and fully what they mean. Most writers are not fully explicit, and to understand what a passage really means, the reader has often to supply what is left to be 'understood' from his own knowledge of the world, or his knowledge of the conventions of communication which the writer is using." They go on to point out exactly what we have found to be the case in our own reading classrooms namely that "the foreign learner often finds himself in difficulties because such knowledge is very often culture dependent" (p. 174). What is said overtly may be well-understood; the underlying intention may not be.

How then can we help second language learners come to grips with socio-cultural contents of reading material? Transcending such techniques as explanation and post reading discussion, our proposal is to allow students to actively experience the crucial underlying socio-cultural patterns of the material prior to its

reading by allowing them to participate in an appropriate communicative inter-
action activity.

In the discussion of our proposed technique it is worthwhile to keep in mind
a number of key points discussed in Goodman's "Psycholinguistic Universals in
the Reading Process." First, the focus in the reading class should be on com-
prehension strategies. Second, the more semantic input the student has, the
greater the ease of acquiring comprehension competencies. This semantic input
is the crucial variable in Goodman's discussion, for in his analysis of comprehen-
sion strategies "the key question is how much background the reader brings to
the specific reading" (1971: 140).

The concept of communicative-interaction has been much discussed of late
in numerous articles attempting to clarify the difference, at the technique level,
between appropriate teaching-learning behaviors for "skill-getting," and those
for "skill-using," to use Rivers' (1973) terminology. Interestingly, though, such
discussions have typically placed communicative-interaction activities in the con-
text of grammar and speaking skill classes. It is our contention that such activities
are also properly placed in the reading class. What we are suggesting is that sec-
ond language readers become involved in a peer interaction situation typically
through role play, so that foreign and/or contrasting socio-cultural patterns
covertly present, but importantly part of the writer's message, are dealt with
overtly before the student is asked to read. We are focusing on the intermediate-
advanced reader, since it may not be fair to burden the beginning second
language reader with assignments laden with new socio-cultural information at a
time when grammatical and lexical cue focus should be paramount.

General procedures for implementing the technique are as follows.

1) The instructor should inspect the new reading assignment to determine
   what if any underlying socio-cultural patterns are pre-supposed by the
   writer in a way fundamental for grasping his message or intent.
2) The instructor should map out an interaction happening whose purpose
   is to have students overtly confront the new and/or conflicting socio-
   cultural patterns extracted in Step 1.
3) The instructor should work out the dynamics of the interaction activity so
   that it can take place in a relatively short period of time, and with
   minimal preparation on the students' parts. We are, after all, talking
   about a pre-reading activity, and thus, only one portion of, say, a typical
   fifty-minute reading class.
4) The instructor should allow time for student feedback and discussion of
   the socio-cultural information following the interaction activity itself.
5) Before this portion of the reading class terminates, the instructor should
   make sure that the new socio-cultural information has emerged clearly
   and without distortion.

For concreteness we will use two reading selections designed for intermediate-
advanced students learning English as a Second Language as the springboards

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for possible interaction activities. The interaction activities suggested for the second selection have actually been tried out with a group of Russian immigrants.

Dale and Sheeler (1974) in the intermediate portion of their *Reading and Exercise Series* spin a futuristic tale of a group of American astronauts living on the moon. The story is ultimately one of loneliness and alienation, as each astronaut recounts those aspects of the United States that he yearns for most. One of the astronauts in fact has been on the moon longer than the others having been a member of the preceding party. Ironically, he is the one formally requested to stay yet a third term on the moon. Money, prestige, and other material benefits are used to cajole the officer into remaining. He is not moved until he is presented with a Dear John letter from his fiancée. The bitterness of the incident is heightened by the revelation that the fiancée has been pressured into writing the letter by the space project director who has told her that the good of the country depends upon her sacrifice.

The story is potentially rich with unknown or conflicting socio-cultural information for the second language reader. For example, the particular remembrances of the astronauts are obviously highly culture dependent: Christmas shopping in a bustling New York department store and memories of typical Western landscapes to name but two. In addition, the idiosyncratic procedure for persuasion may be significantly different from persuasion tactics in the reader's home culture. Comprehension of such information is assumed by the writer, and the absence of such comprehension on the part of the reader may impede his recognition of the writer's psychological mood painting. In other words, the author never writes directly X is lonely, or Y is depressed. In fact, those features which define loneliness, frustration, and depression for human beings will be in part culturally determined. In Smith's terms the story may require the reader to establish new psychological categories or establish new defining features for already established categories. The possibilities for pre-reading interaction activities are many, and we offer only two examples

Interaction One

1) Ask two students from the same country to role play the following situation Two friends learning English as a second language in the United States sit down and talk about all the things they miss most about their home country.

2) Following this, ask the same two students to "become" American students learning some foreign language in some foreign country. Now, the players, having to put themselves in the shoes of Americans, are asked to discuss those things that the American students would probably miss most being away from their home country. It is entirely reasonable for the teacher to give the players a list of such items to ponder over a few seconds before this part of the role play begins. It is not our intention that these role plays be lengthy problem-solving activities; rather, they are designed to vibrantly bring potentially new cultural information, critical

to the understanding of the new story, to the conscious attention of the second language reader while at the same time not sacrificing efficient use of time.

3) Following both role plays, a brief discussion can be opened in which the audience can participate by adding other items that Americans might miss when they are away from their home country.

4) At this point, the instructor puts closure on the activity by previewing how the role play will relate to the new reading.

Here is another possibility focusing on persuasion tactics:

Interaction Two

1) Two students are respectively given the roles of an employer and an employee. The employee has become dissatisfied with his job because it requires much traveling and therefore much time away from his wife. The employee communicates this to his employer who tries to persuade the former to remain on the job. The employer tries to convince the employee to stay on the job, although he will not change the nature and responsibilities of the job. Again, it is entirely reasonable that the instructor give the "employer" a list of enticements: more money, a new and bigger car equipped with the latest accessories for shorter trips, first class air passage for longer trips, bookings in luxury hotels, a new job title, and so forth

2) The "employee" is given a choice. He can change his mind on the basis of the new material benefits, and this ends the role play, or he can refuse. If he refuses, the employer is directed to allow the employee to take his wife on any business assignment requiring travel, all expenses paid. This is acceptable to the employer.

3) Following the role plays, there is a brief discussion where the audience can also communicate its reactions to the persuasion tactics observed.

4) Closure can now be put on the activity with the instructor relating the point of the role play to the new reading.

Again, what we are trying to do is operationalize at the technique level Goodman's key variable in second language reading comprehension—"how much background the reader brings to the specific reading." Our assumption is that the communicative-interaction activity is one means of bolstering that background, and that such an activity may make suppositionally dependent meanings more readily accessible to the student.

This technique was field tested on a group of Russian immigrants studying ESL two evenings per week, two hours per session, in the summer of 1977. The target article for the reading lesson was "The Role of Women in American Life" by Gladys Doty and Janet Ross (1973). The nonfiction article's informative style makes it quite different from the imaginative Dale and Sheeler material. Consequently, it is not as laden with suppositional information. Nevertheless we felt

that the overt content itself might be sufficiently conflicting or just plain unfamiliar to the students, and thus decided to use a pre-reading communicative-interaction activity.

Two related role plays were enacted by the Russian students. In the first a woman is being interviewed for a job as an accountant by a male interviewer. He tells the applicant that although her qualifications are quite good, the job has been typically filled by a male. However, since the applicant's resume and recommendations are exemplary the firm will hire her if she is still interested, but at a lower salary. The applicant has been primed to respond in anger, informing the interviewer that the decision should not be resolved on the basis of sex, and further that the salary scale should not be determined on that basis either. The two players have been told to argue back and forth, each maintaining his position. The following is an edited transcript of the role play:

Female   I am hard experienced in the field
Male   I would prefer a man
F   I'm surprised
M: Probably you have a family and a husband and you can't afford to spend all the time on your job
F.   My husband has a job, my children are at day school; I have enough time to work
M   OK I'll change my mind, but if I hire you, you'll have to work for less money
F   Why a lower salary? I'm proficient in my field. I want a salary commensurate with my experience
M   My previous experience with a woman accountant was not so good for the company
F   That sad situation won't be with me. I feel that my experience is close to your position, and I can't agree with your salary. You can call my chief and ask him about me. I have a good reputation on my job
M   OK, as I said I would like to have a man in this position. If you want to, I can try you, but I can only pay you—
F   It's impossible! It's really discrimination. Can you say why you prefer a man to a woman and second, why do you want to pay me less money? Can you tell me if my qualifications and experience are suitable for you?
M   Yes
F   Is my experience good enough for the duties of your job?
M   Yes, but I told you that you might have to interview salesmen, and this is not work for women
F   But I would be an accountant. Would I have to interview as an accountant?
M   Yes.
F   Well, I would be able to deal with this position
M   For one month I'll give you a job for less money. If you show me you're OK, I'll give you more the next month
F   It's impossible! It's impossible! I work in a big company which deals with accounting problems in a wide field. May I ask you who will get this position?
M   A man! A man who has worked here before

F   Well, I know this man, and I have seen his qualifications. He is not so
     proficient

M   He has a very good character, and doesn't speak so much!

F   Well, you said this position requires a good talker'

M   We'll call you about our decision.

While we were aware that our role play was really not representative of a
typical interview situation, since we had forced the issue of discrimination, we
controlled the ensuing discussion to allow for clarification. In this post role-play
phase, the student who had played the part of job applicant labeled the inter-
viewer's tactics as "impolite" and "illegal," and made the point that bias is not
ordinarily expressed even if it is genuine. If sexual discrimination is a reality in
the Soviet Union, it apparently does not surface as overtly as it did in the role
play, but instead is realized in a much more subtle manner. The instructor noted
the similar case in American society. The class agreed that it would be highly
unusual for an employer to conduct himself in this manner in the Soviet Union,
but there was heated disagreement over whether job discrimination on the basis
of sex exists there, the males generally denying it does and the females angrily in-
sisting just the opposite. Commenting further on the role-play's reflection of
Soviet society, several students pointed out that the job interview, as Americans
know it, is not the usual mechanism for obtaining employment in the Soviet
Union. A phone call to the employer recommending an individual is frequently
enough to secure a job for him/her.

The details of this role play aside, what we believed is a significant result of
this activity is the tremendous amount of excitement and interaction it generated.
The emotional involvement of the students through communicative interaction
was an important objective of the activity, and it was accomplished, as evidenced
by the intense discussion of the enactment.

The second pre-reading interaction activity assigned a male to be inter-
viewed by a female for consideration for a position as a postal worker. In this role
play the female interviewer tells the male candidate that his qualifications are not
as good as those of other applicants, and that the decision has been made to offer
the position to a more qualified, female applicant. The following edited excerpts
reflect the respective positions of the players.

F   Our position is a little different from the duties you are used to. I chose a
     woman who has hard and concrete experience. Your experience is a little dif-
     ferent, as I see in your resumé. Your experience is not quite enough for this
     position It requires a person to communicate with people, and this is a new
     duty for you, and we want an experienced person. So we chose a woman
     which corresponds to all our requirements.

M   I think maybe my experience is a little different from what you want, but I
     have my head and I think I will be able to do the job. In time maybe I'll be
     able to speak with people I understand them and like them.

F   It's to the interest of our company to hire people who don't require training.
     This woman is, unfortunately for you, better than you are. She already has

M   this experience in communication with people and we don't have the possi-
bilits to train you I'm sorry

M   A woman has her family, maybe some children, and maybe she couldn't
come to work if something happens. This will be bad for you and your com-
pany. I, as a man, have a family and have to work and bring money home. I
think I will work good enough. I don't see why you should accept a woman
over a man.

F   That's true you must support a family. But place your wife in this situation
(of applying for a job). Everyone of us can be sick. It's not a (legitimate) rea-
son to refuse a woman a job. There are other openings and you should try
there. But this position, I prefer to give to this woman.

M   I don't believe a woman can do a/the job better than a man. Man has a family
and he must work. A woman takes care of her family. A man must support his
family.

F   We are not interested in other reasons. We want good workers. The best I can
do for you is keep your resume and if we have an opening according to your
experience and background we will call you.

The argument that a woman cannot be depended upon because of family
obligations, such as taking care of children, was repeated by some of the male
students in the discussion that followed the role play. This generated a good deal
of debate, the men and women taking opposite positions. The point was made
again that the interview, as enacted in the role play, is not the customary
mechanism for hiring job applicants in the Soviet Union.

Several of the students commented that a male's losing the competition for a
job in favor of a woman would not disturb him. According to the students, he
would only feel bad about not getting the job, not that a woman was selected in-
stead of him. At the same time, however, some of these students made serious
references to the natural superiority of men, and the greater importance of
employing men as opposed to women, which generated another round of debate.

The female students were asked to evaluate the women's movement in the
U.S., and in particular, give their opinion of the public protesting for equal op-
portunity and pay. Although general comments supporting the principle of equal
rights for women were made, students seemed to be avoiding the issue of public
protest. One might infer that this reflects on the sensitive issue of public protest in
Soviet society. In view of the fact that most of the students had only been in the
U.S. less than a year, this reaction is not surprising.

Following the interaction activities, students were assigned to read at home
"The Role of Women in American Life" and come to the next class prepared to
answer questions on the selection. In preparing for the lesson, the instructor com-
posed three types of questions: those that could be answered by repeating ver-
batim material from the selection (type 1); those that required the student to draw
inferences from the selection (type 2); and those that required the student to
relate information in the text to his/her own experience (type 3). The question
types were presented in this order. Of interest to us was how students were able to
deal with these last two types of questions.

For example, a successful response to the first type 2 question depended upon making the appropriate inference from the first four paragraphs of the selection. The paragraphs tell about an American exchange professor and his wife who are living in Europe. For reasons of convenience the professor's wife gives him a bundle of washing to take to the laundromat on his way to work. The wife is approached by one of her European neighbors, who tells her that other neighbors are talking about what they consider is her inconsiderate behavior: "When he is going to a hard day of work, he shouldn't have to carry the washing first. That's your job" (Doty and Ross 1973:92).

When presented with the type 2 question, "What does the opening of the story say about the role of women in the U.S.," one of the students responded as follows (edited):

> Student   Women have equal rights in the house. Why does the woman have to take
>   clothes to the laundry? Why does this have to be the woman's job? It can
>   be done by the man.

This answer clearly shows that the student has been able to extract implied meaning from the selection. Furthermore, it is quite plausible that the decisiveness and clarity of the answer was facilitated by the student's involvement in the pre-reading discussions of the interaction activities, which were related to the reading selection.

There is additional evidence to indicate that the interaction activities had more than an incidental effect on the students' reaction to the selection. On more than one occasion students reaffirmed points they had made in the role plays (and ensuing discussions) in the post-reading activity. This occurred even when the instructor posed a type 1 question. Seeing an opportunity to editorialize on some of the factual information in the selection dealing with the rang of jobs women hold in the U.S., one student adroitly manipulated the instructor as follows:

> Yakov   Are there women in the U.S., for example, who are sheriffs?
> Instructor   I don't ... if there are any, and if there are, only a few. Do you mean
>   p... en?
> Yakov   Yes, policemen who do something.
> Instructor   Yes, there are some. The statistics are small. What are you trying to
>   say?
> Yakov   It proves women can't do the same thing (job) as men.

Another student promptly challenged Yakov, rekindling an exchange they had in one of the role plays.

> Mike   Vaccine against flu in Russia was made by a woman at the Leningrad
>   Neurological Institute.
> Yakov   I know. But she is not a woman, she is only a female.

At this point, two of the women entered the discussion when the instructor noted that if Yakov had made such a remark to a group of American women, they would be very angry.

Instructor: How do you (women) feel (about what Yakov just said)?
Victoria: Let him talk. To me it depends on how a woman feels about herself. I am sure of myself, and what he says doesn't bother me.
Helen: We are tired of arguing with men.

The relationship of comprehension question responses to points raised during the interaction activities is striking, and we believe can be interpreted as a non-accidental reflex of the interaction activities themselves. This is again noticeable in the student responses to the following type 3 question:

Instructor We have seen that American women hold many different kinds of jobs. Based on your experience and our discussion, what evidence can you give to agree or disagree with the idea that women can do as well at a job as men?

Mark (Relates personal experience of going to school with a woman who was a better student than he. When they both received a job at the same company, he was promoted instead of her because he did better at the job. Concludes that "Men usually do the job better than women."

Mike I disagree. I worked with many women anesthesiologists, including intensive care, and a lot of women were excellent. And this specialty requires quick decision, control of respiration, a lot of things. Seventy-five percent of these doctors are women, and many of them are chiefs of departments.

Similar responses and references to the role plays surfaced in the discussion of other type 2 and 3 questions.

This paper has attempted to relate the concept of communicative interaction to second language reading, specifically the kind of reading requiring recognition of underlying sociolinguistic information. We recognize that the results reported here cannot be attributed unquestionably to our technique in the absence of a rigorous testing design. Nevertheless, we maintain that the use of such a technique with material containing underlying sociolinguistic information can facilitate learner comprehension of such material.

We look forward to further investigations of this technique by researchers and practitioners in order that a greater understanding can be gained of its effect on the ability of second language learners to deal with underlying socio-cultural patterns in reading material.

Sorting Out Writing Problems*

Barbara Kroll

This paper attempts to stimulate more of a dialogue between contemporary rhetoricians and applied linguists who are concerned with the teaching of writing inasmuch as both L₁ and L₂ students appear to need some kind of training in writing to achieve effective performance. A major feature of current practices in teaching writing to L₁ adults is an emphasis on a *process* approach to replace earlier approaches which emphasized the *product*. This switch from algorithms (which stipulate how the product should appear) to heuristics (which help the process) appears to have gone unnoticed by those producing materials for teaching L₂ writing. In the meantime, unnoticed by writing researchers has been Krashen's monitor model (Krashen 1977a), which provides some important insights into the mental processes of the learner/writer and which help sort out many concerns regarding what could or should be going on in the writing classroom.

Though it might be convincingly argued that Chomsky's ideal speaker-hearer does not exist, it is the case that adult native speakers of a language have a competence which is not open to question. If we consider writing, however, no one has demonstrated the validity of an equivalent distinction for the written mode to parallel the competence-performance distinction in speaking. In fact, the performance of native speakers is vastly more variable in writing than in speaking. Such variability in output by competent, indeed fluent speakers of the language is one of the factors demonstrating that standard written English in many ways constitutes a second dialect for native speakers: some have mastered the dialect and some haven't.

While L₂ students frequently work towards a performance capability in speech which native speakers acquire without any teaching, it appears that both L₁ and L₂ students need to undergo some kind of training to achieve effective per-

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formance in writing. Research on written composition and the teaching of com-
position, however, only serves to reveal that no method of training has been iden-
tified as a fail-safe way to produce good writers. As any ESL writing teacher
knows, the fullest range of individual variation in second language performance
is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the compositions of advanced level
foreign students already engaged in full academic programs in English at
American universities. The fact is that the standard freshman composition class
for American students exhibits no less a potpourri of proficiency levels.

In this paper I present an overview of some of the ways in which contem-
porary rhetoric examines writing problems as well as outlining dominant
pedagogical approaches to composition. Then I suggest the usefulness of the
distinction drawn between acquisition and learning by Krashen' monitor model
(Krashen 1977a) as an organizing framework to provide some cogent explana-
tions to account for the differing performance of individual students. The profu-
sion of articles in both the popular and professional press on the "writing crisis"
in our schools underscores the fact that foreign students are not alone in finding
writing a particularly difficult task. I believe that rhetoricians and linguists have
much to learn from each other's research pursuits, even if they are ultimately
concerned with rather different issues in writing. What follows is an effort to
stimulate the dialogue.

1. The goals of rhetoric

The sorting out of writing problems is not made any easier by the variety of
ways in which theoreticians and empirical researchers address themselves to the
issues. Yet I think that a schematization of the kinds of studies being undertaken
helps us to place any specific concern within the larger conceptual framework
outlining what rhetoric is. In Figure 1 I have identified four major rhetorically-
based ways of thinking about writing which include both very abstract and very
concrete schools. (I would like to stress that there are other ways to "slice the
rhetoric pie," but this will illustrate the range.)

FIGURE 1
Rhetorical Views of Writing

Abstract Theoreticians[*]	Synthesizing Theoreticians[*]	Problem Identifiers[*]	Solution Offerers[*]
Booth	Christensen	Dieterich	Sternglass
Burke	D'Angelo	Smith	Wiener
Perelman	Winterowd		
		see also most any issue of College Composition and Communication or College English	

[*] Lists are not intended to suggest a full inventory nor are the works cited the work each author in the bibliography.

For the first category, under "abstract theoreticians," I would include those
rhetoricians who attempt to account for all possible aspects of the written code.

considering the holistic and dynamic interaction of such factors as writing, message, purpose, mode of discourse, audience, context—to list some of the commonly used terms. Next, I would list rhetoricians whose concern is more in the realm of applied theory. The label "synthesizing theorist" identifies those who are concerned with using portions of the holistic frameworks provided by abstract thinkers as the basis for dealing with student writing. For example, in this category we would find the names of those who have written textbooks as well as theoretical articles and/or books, whereas it would be hard to imagine an abstract theoretician producing a textbook. In the third grouping ("problem identifiers"), we find research which attempts to identify and label the aspects of writing which contribute to success or failure, either for the purposes of discussion or for the purposes of setting out prescriptive norms. For example, most standard handbooks on English rhetoric are based on this point of view. Last is a related category ("solution offerers") where the rhetorician's concern is primarily a practical one. Given a particular problem, the goal of a researcher in this category is to suggest ways of solving that problem. Here we would place such statements as, "Susie/Johnny can't write because Susie/Johnny can't read. Teach her/him to read first and that will solve part of the problem."

These categories can be viewed as forming a continuum rather than four neat boxes, as it is not always possible to assign only one label to every piece of research. Nonetheless, what becomes apparent from this kind of classification scheme is that different approaches address rather different questions, and not every approach is equally useful for giving us the specific information we may be concerned with at any particular point in time. Teachers are sometimes accused of falling into the trap of thinking that someone outside their field will provide easy or pat solutions to long-term problems, and what we need is a combination of the experience of both rhetoric and linguistics to work out the issues in writing. I think it is important for composition teachers to have a grounding in conceptual theory, but I grant that it is not the most immediately fruitful avenue for a teacher to explore. Rather the discussion of student writing itself is more immediately germane to a consideration of how to raise performance levels.

2. Pedagogies of writing

For many years, an emphasis on the *product* of writing fostered a rule and guideline approach to students and the heavily corrected composition. The teacher's main concern was to examine the student's weekly theme for adherence to handbook principles (Squire and Applebee [1968]: "For most teachers, correcting papers is synonymous with teaching writing.") However, even a concern for performance accuracy is complicated by the many levels on which writing can be judged. On the face of it, it would seem that the analysis of a written composition can be oriented to accuracy in language on the one hand, and appropriateness of organization on the other. However, this simple distinction overlooks a third and even more crucial consideration in writing, namely whether or not the composition or essay says anything, whether the writer is

transmitting something to the reader, whether, in short, it is a successful piece of communication for the purpose at hand. Nor is the two or three-way distinction all that easy to assess. If we consider organization, for example, we find that this concept applies to two levels of an essay—what we might call the macro level and the micro level. Many students seem quite capable of macro level control when they write a solid introduction and use an explicitly stated thesis sentence, but they still might show no ability to handle micro level organization by producing incoherent paragraphs and no logical progression from one idea to the next. (The inverse is also possible, of course.)

While it seems reasonable enough to judge performance on the basis of actual performance, the teaching of writing and the judging of writing surely are not the same thing. A model of performance—the product approach—ignores the psycholinguistic reality of the human mind beyond the page. A major turnabout occurred with the publication of Janet Emig's monograph (1971) on the composing process of twelfth graders. Her interest in considering that a process is at work before and during the actual composing of a paper started a trend which has influenced both the teaching profession and the orientation of many textbooks. While product methods emphasize conforming to specified algorithms, process methods place more emphasis on such Aristotelian considerations as discovery and invention (see Koch and Brazil 1978). "Heuristics" has become the word of the hour to emphasize the kind of mental creativity presumed to underlie writing. To the best of my knowledge, there is no real call for a process approach in any currently used textbook on L₂ writing. The closest reflection in second language teaching of a process ori   ion is the problem/solution approach to writing (e.g. Arapoff 1967) which tries to focus the student's attention on writing as a means rather than an end. The aim is to create an interactive awareness of the purpose of writing rather than a concern to "do what the teacher says."

The kind of creativity heuristic approaches attempt to foster is not to be confused with an abstract grammar's ability to generate unique sentences, for examining the varied performance of native speakers reveals that even the combination of the ability to generate unique sentences ("creative construction") and correct standard written English is not a sufficient guarantee to produce that amorphous entity "good prose," which also requires mastery over discourse level principles (rhetoric). How the student is to learn to successfully piece together all of these many components of the writing situation simultaneously is as much a concern for psycholinguistics as it is for rhetoric. The "treatment" of writing problems may be a standard classroom procedure, but the most viable methodology ought to stem from an understanding of the mental processes of the learner/writer.

3. Learning vs. acquisition

A psycholinguistic approach that seems particularly useful in identifying the mental processes of the learner/writer is the monitor model (Krashen 1977a). A

major feature of the model is the distinction drawn between possible paths of in-
ternalizing certain language skills. One path is termed "acquisition" and refers
to the natural internalizing of linguistic abilities when there is no conscious focus-
ing on form. The primary example of acquisition is the way children gain
knowledge of their first language. In contrast to acquisition is "learning," the
second path, which is viewed as a conscious process. Learning occurs in formal
language learning situations in which feedback or error correction focuses the
student on isolated rules which capture the systematicity of the language.

The monitor model proposes that language performers have in their linguistic
data bank a theoretical device which can examine an utterance for grammaticali-
ty and appropriateness. Krashen (1977a) posits that in second language produc-
tion the acquired system initiates production, and, when conditions permit, the
consciously learned system can intrude and alter the shape of an utterance, often
before it is actually uttered. Thus one cannot correct what one doesn't "know"
on some level, whether such "knowing" be the result of rule storage or un-
conscious feel.

In schematizing the writing process in terms consistent with the monitor
model, the obligatory first stage (which initiates production) is the process of
learning to make marks on a page in a particular code. This stage is often pro-
longed in second language writing courses where the students spend a lot of time
copying over written passages for the purpose of making some change in a syn-
tactic feature, such as changing the narrative point of view from the third person
to the first person. At the next stage, when the writer produces sentences of his or
her own construction, these sentences will approximate standard written English
in direct proportion to the writer's mastery over the morphosyntactic rules of the
language. It is important to stress that such mastery can be conscious or un-
conscious, that is, mastery can stem from an acquired proficiency or a learned
one. What I have found as a teacher to be the case is that when students think
their writing is going to be judged primarily for its adherence to form (as in pro-
duct approaches), they are quite likely to rely heavily on what they see as their
learned systems, trying to follow "rules" of discourse which they may have in-
correctly or incompletely learned. Many more errors may occur than might be
the case if their acquired mastery were being called upon. This interpretation can
account for the results of Brière's study (1966) on quantity vs. quality, as well as
explain the effectiveness of methodologies which stress a lot of freewriting (e.g.
Elbow 1973) or daily journal keeping—methods which appear to reduce rather
than increase the percentage of morphosyntactic errors even given the increased
amount of writing. Yet, because teachers frequently feel more comfortable
teaching morphosyntactic rules which lend themselves to discrete rule isolation,
classrooms frequently are arenas for monitor-building rather than acquisition
building. Not every student, however, is able to use the sorts of things tradition-
ally taught in classrooms in the same way.

Various case studies of second language learners seem to support the
hypothesis that there are three types of monitor users: overusers, underusers, and

optimal users (Krashen 1976b). Overusers are characterized by hesitancy in their speech and attention to form. For native speakers, the reflection of monitor overuse in writing is rigid, stilted English which tries to imitate a textbook, and often represents the student's attempt to match all of his/her output to a learned system and not rely on acquired mastery at all. At the other extreme of L_2 monitor users are underusers, who seem to have an aggressive personality type, and whose focus in speaking is on content and communication. Among native speakers, we can assume, for example, that writers whose written style appears rather close to spoken English are not utilizing any kind of monitor system to oversee the appropriate choice of form. Lastly, the L_2 optimal monitor users seem to appeal to a learned system when this does not ~~interfere~~ with communication, so that different types and numbers of errors occur under different conditions. For writing, we might say that the optimal user is an efficient editor or reviser who knows when and where and how to use the full resources of learned and acquired systems.

4. Pedagogical implications

The psycholinguistic model we have been discussing suggests that language performance results from a combination of learned and acquired systems. The composition teacher has traditionally followed the approach of devoting his or her attentions to what appeared most teachable—resulting in an emphasis on mechanical skills and on algorithms for form. But too many of the skills required for writing are not "skills" at all—they are creative processes which must be acquired if they are to be truly in the students' control. Classrooms need to stimulate acquisition through such devices as peer group interaction, the workshop approach, and increased exposure to reading.

Fortunately, it is not the case that only children can acquire. Studies have shown at least a minimal adult acquisition capability in some L_2 situations (see Krashen 1976b for a brief review of the literature). For L_1, a somewhat amusing case in point is discussed by Degnan (1976) who is disturbed by what he calls "straight-A illiterates" who populate graduate schools. After citing some examples of the typical academic jargon which he calls "gibberish," Degnan goes on to say

> the major cause of such illiteracy is the stuff—the textbooks and professional journals—the straight-A illiterate is forced to read during his years of higher education. He learns to write gibberish by reading it. (Degnan 1976 38)

To develop effective pedagogical materials and devices for increasing student mastery over written language, several research studies in empirical rhetoric suggest themselves. Let me cite just two:

1. A controlled experiment in massive reading. Will massive exposure to reading interesting material in the absence of having to write eventually lead to improved writing? (Or: Is input sufficient?)

2. Isolating discourse level strategies in such a way as to allow teaching, so that these strategies can enter the monitor through learning where acquisition is arrested or absent

Whatever the outcome of these and other studies, the writer in the process of writing will never have access to more than these two paths to production: learning and acquisition. As teachers of composition, we must do all we can to place students in the position of maximally utilizing both these channels.

18ɔ

Future Shock: A Pedagogical
Analysis of *Will* and *Be Going To* *

Marilyn Martin

One of the most misunderstood areas of English is the so-called *future* in its
many manifestations. Pedagogical materials in current use are virtually unani-
mous in sowing confusion among learners, and consequently actually "build
in" errors—errors which are not grammatically incorrect but rather context-
ually inappropriate.

An understanding of the many semantic categories involved in the choice
of verb form serves to explain why learners so often produce utterances which
follow the rules but which nevertheless stand out as anomalous. Analysis re-
veals the semantic concepts which must be understood by the materials writer
and the teacher: volition, prior decision or knowledge; sudden resolve; and the
important concept of *performa ity*. Contextual factors also influence verb
form: the previous establishment of a future context and the presence of an
adverb of possibility or probability.

In some respects, a grammar text for English as a Second Language is
similar to a cookbook. Like a cookbook, the grammar text offers rules and pro-
cedures which, if followed accurately, yield a desired result. On the one hand, the
cookbook produces palatable edibles; on the other, the grammar text guides the
consumer to the production of what have come to be known as well-formed ut-
terances. Moreover, the well-formed utterances which are thus turned out have a
further requirement: they must be appropriate for the contexts in which they are
uttered or written (Hymes 1972b).

Few if any existing pedagogical materials offer a foolproof recipe for the pro-
duction of the various futures in English. As a result, the rules which do appear in
texts, particularly in regard to *will* and *be going to*, actually induce errors in both
speech and writing—utterances which, though grammatically well-formed, are

nonetheless contextually inappropriate. By bringing to bear a more thorough syntactic and semantic analysis on this area of the grammar, we can aspire to produce materials which will yield desired outcomes rather than unwelcome surprises

A typical rule for the formation of the so-called future¹ in English reads something like. "The future is formed with either *will* or *be going to* plus the base form of the verb, as in *Flight 527 will be an hour late* or *I'm going to move to a larger apartment*." A frequent type of exercise consists of the conversion of sentences with *will* to sentences with *be going to* The few texts which recognize other functions for *will*, i e volition, usually give vague descriptions and no explanations.²

The experienced teacher knows that there are various ways besides *will* and *be going to* to express a future concept in English. In certain circumstances, the simple present may be used, as in

   (1) We have lunch at 1 30 today

An utterance such as this would be natural coming from, for example, a tour guide, but would be out of place coming from a wife to her husband at home on the weekend. For the same reason, it would sound strange to hear something like

   (2) I watch TV after dinner tonight

coming from a friend. With some effort we could create a context for this utterance, for instance, a penitentiary inmate describing his current regimen to a

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1 Most linguists agree that there is no true future tense in English in the same sense that there is a past and a present tense. As in many languages, future concepts tend to be expressed more as modalities or attitudes of the speaker toward the ideas he is expressing. Lyons (1977 816-817) states that "Throughout the history of the Indo-European languages what are traditionally described as future tenses have invariably been created, independently in different languages, from word-forms or phrases that were originally used to express, not futurity as such, but various kinds of non-factivity ... There is a demonstrable historical connection between reference to the future and non-factivity in too many languages for it to be regarded as a matter of accident that languages should rarely, if ever, distinguish systematically between statements of fact about the future and subjectively modalized predictions."

2 Before proceeding further, the question of *shall* must be faced. In American English (and increasingly in British English *shall* in statements is restricted to formal register, occurring in academic, scientific, technical, and legal writing as well as in sermons, speeches, and other formal varieties of spoken language. In contrast, all other spoken uses of *shall* are in question form, as in
   a Shall we dance?
   b Where shall we have dinner tonight?
   c Shall I wait for you (or go home)?
   d What time shall I pick you up?
In all these uses the speaker is granting to the hearer a measure of authority either to accept a suggestion or help shape a course of action. *Shall* will therefore not be considered in the array of verbal forms which enter into expressions of the future.

visitor. But the key to the use of the simple present to express the future is the "unalterable" (Wekker 1976:115) nature of the action. It is restricted to actions which are scheduled, as in

(3) Classes begin Sept 9
(4) We play Harvard two weeks from today.

A form of much wider applicability in expressing the future is the present progressive, as in

(5) Our team is playing Yale this Saturday.

In general, with this form, a future adverb such as *this Saturday*, *next week* or *soon* must also be used, although when the action is clearly not being performed at the moment of speaking and consequently must refer to the future, the present progressive may stand alone, as in

(6) Guess what! I'm getting married (quitting my job, leaving you).

Moreover, the future action must not depend on chance or luck; hence this construction cannot serve as the vehicle of a prediction, as in

*(7) We're beating Yale next Saturday.

The verb phrase, therefore, must be amenable to planning in order to be expressible in the present progressive.

We now come to the two major carriers of future concepts: *will* and *be going to*. It is the application of the textbook rules governing these constructions that has such unpredictable consequences for the learner and that leads to the production of grammatical but contextually ill-fitting utterances.

To be sure, in many cases, application of the textbook rules does produce an acceptable utterance, as in

(8) I'm going to graduate in June
(9) I'll graduate in June.

Equally acceptable as futures are

(10) I'm going to know the results of the tests soon.
(11) I'll know the results of the tests soon.

Even with these two verbs, however, one can perceive a slight difference in meaning, but they nevertheless do refer to the future and do express some kind of expectation.

But let us consider the difference between the following two conversational exchanges:

(12) A: What about your mother's birthday?
      B: I'm going to get her a new mop.

(13) A. What about your mother's birthday?
    B. I'll get her a new mop.

In (12), speaker B is reporting a prior decision, while in (13), he is making what seems to be a spur-of-the-moment decision as he speaks. In order to test this intuitive judgment, however, let us consider the conversation one could have with oneself, as in

(14) What can I get my mother for her birthday? Oh, I know! I'll get her a new mop.
    Oh, I know! I'm going to get her a new mop.

There emerges here the impression that the *be going to* future carries a sense of prior decision that is lacking in *will*. In this regard Wekker (1976:127) states that "The difference between *I will* and *I'm going to* amounts to the differences between sudden resolve and premeditation."

The same distinction holds for the third person, as in

(15) a. Don't give up. Your ship will come in.
     b. Don't give up. Your ship is going to come in.

In (15a) the speaker is expressing an inner conviction based on simple faith, while in (15b) he seems to have read a shipping notice in the local newspaper. Again consulting Wekker (1976:127), we find that "Sentences containing *be going to* always carry the implication that all conditions for the future event have been met."

It is important then for the learner of English to become aware that the *be going to*-future works for concepts of which the speaker has some objective evidence; and in the first person represents a previously taken decision and not a sudden resolve.

Now, what about *will*? The functioning of *will* cannot be fully understood unless we turn to the ordinary-language philosophers, and in particular to J. L. Austin. It was Austin in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) who provided the major clue to the mysteries of *will*. According to Austin, the utterance

(16) I'll be there at three o'clock

may be any number of things, including a promise. If the context in which it is uttered is appropriate for a promise to be made, it then can count as a promise and is called by Austin a *primary performative*, as contrasted with an *explicit performative*, as in

(17) I *promise* to be there at three o'clock.

A *performative*, says Austin, is an utterance that does not *assert* that something is so, but that *does* something—performs an act. If (16) was uttered in the ap-

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3 Charles E. Elliott is responsible for this striking example.

propriate circumstances, and if the speaker subsequently fails to appear at three
o'clock, the hearer can reasonably remonstrate with him, saying, "But you pro-
mised to be there at three o'clock." In other words, given the proper cir-
cumstances, the use of *will* (or *'ll*) in *I'll be there at three o'clock* makes the utterance
a promise.

In a similar vein, the utterances in (18) constitute various kinds of primary
performatives:

    (18) a. I'll get you a doctor.
        b. I'll take you up on your offer.
        c. I'll break every bone in your body.

(18a) is an offer: the speaker is volunteering his services; (18b) is an acceptance;
and (18c) is a vow or perhaps a threat. In each case it should be noted that the ut-
terances are in the first person, and that the verbs involve the speaker as agent of
the action represented in the verb.[4] Now let us contrast these with the verbs in
(19):

    (19) a. I'll hear from them soon.
        b. I'll know the results of the tests tomorrow.
        c. I'll have a miserable time at their house.

Here the speaker is not promising, offering, accepting, vowing or threaten-
ing. Why not? Because these are verbs over which one does not have control.
They are verbs of experiencing, not of doing, and are not subject to the speaker's
will. Hence they may occur with *will* in the first person with the force of a predic-
tion or expectation; they cannot be interpreted as performatives. Whereas the
verbs used in performatives are volitional those used in non-performatives (with
will) are non-volitional.

It is tempting to conclude that the volitional/non-volitional distinction is
nothing more than the traditional dichotomy between stative and non-stative
verbs. That this is not so is evident from the utterances in (20), all of which con-
tain stative verbs and which are nevertheless performative utterances:

    (20) a. I'll be ready at eight o'clock.
        b. I'll have the money for you tomorrow.
        c. I'll know the material by next week.

These are, or can be, performatives by virtue of the fact that *I promise* can be
appended to each of them:

    (21) a. I'll be ready at eight o'clock, I promise.
        b. I'll have the money for you tomorrow, I promise.
        c. I'll know the material by next week, I promise.

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4. Insofar as a speaker can commit himself to the actions of a third person, we can
consider as performatives utterances such as *My chauffeur will call for you at three o'clock* In
general, however, third-person utterances with *will* are not performatives.

It can be seen that *know* in (21c) is volitional, while *know* in (19b) is non-volitional. One cannot decide or promise to know the results of some tests, but can decide or promise to know certain material, perhaps in preparation for an examination. It is thus not merely the verb which is involved in the volitional/non-volitional contrast but rather the verb phrase as a whole.

The absence of this same feature of volition leads to anomalies, as in

> (22) A: Hello, Philippe, is Rafael there?
>   B: Yes, he is. I'm going to call him to the telephone.

What was called for in B's response was an expression of volition—a volunteering expressed with *will*:

> (23) Yes, he is. I'll call him to the telephone.

Conversely, this same feature of volition in *will* causes utterances commonly produced by non-native speakers, to sound strange:

> (24) a. I'll visit Niagara Falls (this weekend).
>   b. I'll sell my car (next week).
>   c. I'll get a job in the library (this summer).

The native speaker notices something odd in these, but can't put his finger on what it is. We can now see from the foregoing discussion of performatives that these sound like promises or agreements rather than simple expressions of expectation.

By the same token, a non-native attempting to express a negative expectation may say

> (25) a. I won't visit Niagara Falls (this weekend).
>   b. I won't sell my car (next week).
>   c. I won't get a job in the library (this summer).

Though the speaker does not realize it, he is performing an act—a refusal. To be sure, many texts recognize the "refusal-coloring" of *won't*, but their coverage is skimpy at best and generally no active practice in refusing is given.[5]

The question now arises whether the volitional/non-volitional distinction holds in the second person. Let us look at another example:

(26) Clergyman:	Will you take this man/woman to be your lawful wedded husband/wife?
Prospective spouse:	I will.
	*I will tomorrow.
	*Yes, I'm going to.
	*Yes, I fully expect to.

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5. Two welcome exceptions to this statement are Linda A. Ferreira's *Verbs in Action* (Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, 1978) and Polly Davis, *English Structure in Focus* (Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, 1977). Both texts give practice in various performatives with *will*.

Again we see that in second-person questions the auxiliary *will* carries a voli-tional meaning when the verb phrase is volitional. This is why the English teacher smiles when an anxious student approaches to ask, "Will you give us an exam tomorrow?" The temptation is strong to say, "All right, if you really want me to."

In the third person, utterances with *will* are not subject to a connotation of willingness except with animate subjects. For example, there is no ambiguity in

(27) Flight 327 will be an hour late.

But there are two possible interpretations for

(28) Amalgamated Fuels will accept your offer.

In the one reading, the utterance is a prediction, while in the other, it is a report of the company's acceptance (hence volition) of the offer. The non-native must be aware of the potential for error here as well.

At this point it should be evident that following the traditional grammar rules for the formation of the future can have unforeseen and unintended conse-quences. The learner of English needs to learn that *will* is sensitive to features of its environment, and should be used with caution. But, since most texts teach the formation of the future with *will*, what is the teacher to do? There is, fortunately, a simple and obvious answer.

In American and even in British English, there is a growing use of the so-called future progressive, i.e. *I'll be working at home this evening*. Any news broad-cast or talk show will confirm the ubiquitousness of this form, as in

(29) The President will be leaving tomorrow for a seventeen-day visit to nine countries. He will be stopping in Brussels for two days for con-ferences with NATO staff. He will be holding top-level meetings with the heads of state of each of the nine countries on his itinerary.

Leech (1971:62) speculates that "this usage has grown up through the need to have a way of referring to the future uncontaminated by factors of volition, plan, and intention which enter into the future meanings of *will/shall* + Infinitive, the Present Progressive, and *be going to* + Infinitive." Put another way, the pro-gressive form neutralizes the verb phrase, so that the utterances express a "pure" future, as in

(30) a I'll be visiting Niagara Falls this weekend.
    b. I'll be selling my car soon.
    c. I'll be getting a job in the library this summer.

Now, of course, the restrictions we have just finished putting on *will* are too severe. In certain cases and contexts it can do no harm. The first and most im-mediately apparent case is with stative (non-volitional) verbs such as *need*, *want*, and *must*, as well as with non-stative, experiencer verbs such as *graduate*, *hear from*, *receive*, and *see* (in the sense of *perceive*).

Another "safe" use of *will* is with adverbs of possibility or probability:

(31) a. I'll probably visit Niagara Falls this weekend
     b. I'll most likely sell my car soon.
     c. I'll possibly get a job in the library this summer.

Here the adverbs of possibility or probability do the job of making it perfectly clear that the utterance is not to be taken as a performative. Interestingly enough, with the adverb, the verb phrase can even have an experiencer reading—describing something which may happen to the speaker rather than something he may do. This reading may be seen if each of the utterances in (31) is prefaced by "With a little luck, . . . "

Finally, the learner should know that he may use *will* with a relative degree of impunity if a future context has already been established, as in

(32) Guess what! My old roommate Leslie is going to come to my wedding! He'll stay at my parents' house for two nights, and then he'll drive home the next day.

Notice that the future context is established with *be going to* rather than *will*, the use of which would suggest agreement or capitulation (e.g. "after all"). After the establishment of the future context, the speaker is free to use *will* without volition-coloring.

We have now seen that the semantics of *will* are sensitive to three things in the environment: the person of the subject noun phrase; the nature of the verb phrase—whether volitional or non-volitional; and to the presence of an adverb of possibility or probability. In addition, we see that once a future context is established, the volitional force of *will* is attenuated.

In an ideal syllabus, the teaching of *will* as a future would be delayed until late in the course. Its uses as a carrier of performative meaning, on the other hand, would be taught systematically. Learners would practice using *will* to agree, promise, offer, threaten, and so on; *won't* would be practiced for refusal. Such practice would have to be contextualized in order for the learner to realize not only what he is saying but why he is saying it.

With more careful attention to the semantic subtleties of the expressions of the future, we will be able to shape instruction in such a way that learners will make the choices they need to make for the meanings they wish to express.

Strategies For Solving Lexical Problems Through Discourse and Context

Guillermo Alcalá Rivero
Margaret Best

Recently ESP has become an interesting and challenging field in ELT. Many researchers in the field of theoretical and applied linguistics have devoted long hours to the planning and designing of programs related to this subject.

Reading is one of the skills which has been most highlighted, as far as teaching English for academic purposes to university students is concerned. However, observation has shown that university students, in spite of the fact that they have finished the remedial introductory English course and are well advanced in the further course for reading, still have serious problems whenever they come across an unknown lexical item. They tend to either ask the teacher or use a dictionary, often regardless of the obviousness of its meaning which can often be grasped through context.

This paper is intended to help teachers by demonstrating a series of strategies we have been using to help our students to understand lexis through discourse and context

One might think that for any given reader a particular word would be just as easy or difficult to read in whatever circumstances it occurred (provided such factors as type size and lighting are unchanged of course). But this is not the case. Ease in identifying a word depends very much on the words around it and on our prior knowledge.

Frank Smith
Understanding Reading

At the Xochimilco campus of the Autonomous Metropolitan University in Mexico City, the undergraduate students follow an interdisciplinary modular system of teaching-learning instead of the traditional discipline by discipline system. Therefore, the students in this institution are seen as active participants in the learning process rather than passive receivers of the teaching process. Furthermore, they do a great deal of fieldwork, so teaching must be oriented towards developing cognitive strategies for the solution of problems rather than the transmission of knowledge in the abstract in the hope that at some point in the future students will be able to apply this kind of knowledge to practical situations.

In order to fulfill the requirements of their research projects, the students have to read an extensive bibliography. In some areas a high percentage of this is in English, as much as 70% in the case of the biological sciences.

Given this situation it was decided that the specific goal of the language courses to be offered within the university should be to enable the students to get to the information contained in their English bibliography. Accordingly the courses were developed along notional/functional lines rather than structural/behaviourist ones. They were intended to help the students develop certain reading strategies so that they could extract information from texts in English rather than merely learning the structures of English.

The initial course all the students follow is called *Basic English for Academic Studies*, designed to enable the students to deal with the rhetorical functions of English in academic written discourse. Once they can do this, usually after 120 hours of class, they move on to the second level course called *Reading Skills in English* for their specialized area. Authentic texts are included throughout this course, which consists of eight advanced units of functionally-based material in their area.

Because authentic texts were used in this second level course, the vocabulary content was not controlled and the students frequently came across unknown lexical items. Their first reaction was one of panic; they immediately felt the need to have the direct translation of the word. This was usually obtained by asking the teachers, one of their classmates, or consulting a dictionary. Initially, traditional devices were used to help students understand unknown lexical items e.g. synonyms, translation, and paralanguage devices. The result was that the flow of information which the student had been abstracting from the text was stopped and as everything came from the teacher, students were not encouraged to develop an active attitude towards solving this kind of problem. The outcome was even worse when the students were encouraged to rely solely on the dictionary because it was, on the one hand such a time-consuming activity and on the other hand, it often did not help them since they did not have the linguistic expertise to deal with the information they found there. Some kind of working solution to this problem had, therefore, to be devised.

The traditional approaches to the problem of unknown vocabulary had often involved, for example, the memorization of word lists through rote learning, repetition and drilling, with the student providing inert responses to the stimulus of the teacher-selected environment. This might have helped the student with a specific word on a specific occasion but it did not help him develop ways of attacking the problem by himself. This approach is, of course, totally out of line with the way the students at this institution carry out their professional studies so the purpose of this project was to give them tools for dealing with the problem so that they could rely on themselves without the necessity of an outside source. The project was based on the following postulates of the cognitive approach: i) the need for experience as a pre-requisite for learning, and ii) assimilation and accommodation which according to Piaget are two-way, i.e. the organism *assimilates*

information and then *accommodates* itself to new kinds of experience. In other words, accommodation involves making available information previously not understood. It was hoped to get the students to induce ways/strategies of getting to the meaning of unknown lexical items through certain developmental stages. The explanations given are intended, then, to help the students organize their knowledge of the world by directing their observations.

Student reaction to this approach is varied and, at present a research project is being carried out to test a hypothesis as to why this is so. The authors' theory is that because of traditional academic formation which measures academic success by the quantity of data stored, i.e. student output should equalize teacher input, any thinking process which students might have wanted to develop has been crushed by the type of examination they have been confronted with. Since the amount of knowledge to be stored is constantly increasing they have to devote most of their time to mechanical learning of data. They are also indoctrinated into asking immediately if they do not understand something, and are considered "good" students if they do this, even though this means by-passing completely any kind of thinking process on the part of the students. They thus become dependent on an outside source for all interpretation and explanation of material. The student who responds positively to this kind of situation and sees the educational process as a series of examinations to be passed, is often the student who has problems adapting not only to our way of dealing with lexical problems but also to the modular system. However, the student who wants to obtain tools that will eventually help him to successfully solve real problems is the one most receptive to our approach.

Figure 1 shows in a schematic manner what has been done with the students and the chart is therefore intended for teachers and not students. *Discourse* as used here has to do with "the ability to recognize how sentences are used in the performance of acts of communication and the ability to understand the rhetorical functioning of language in use" (Widdowson 1978:58). *Context* here is used in its widest sense and includes the students' knowledge of the world.

The first column refers to the forms the unknown item can take. Here neither connectors nor structural words are dealt with as the students have mastered the majority of these in their basic course. The remaining columns refer to the strategies to be developed for guessing the unknown item. In the first column of this second section the role of the discourse with regard to the unknown item is discussed. The next column shows general exercise types which are intended to give overall orientation for the students, and within which the specific exercise types can be used. The next two columns refer very broadly to the functions, exercise types and cognitive processes to be developed which might provide the students with clues as to the meaning of the unknown item. This part of the chart refers mainly to what has been called *discourse*. The final columns refer to what has been considered in this project, in very general terms, the *context* since it necessarily involves the students' knowledge of the world. It also includes specific exercise types and cognitive processes to be developed.

FIGURE 1

Strategies for Solving Lexical Problems through Discourse and Context

			GUESSING UNKNOWN ITEM			
				Specific exercise types for functions		Specific exercise types for previous knowledge
Unknown item	Role of discourse in unknown item.	General exercise types	Functions	Exercise types and cognitive process to be developed	Previous knowledge	Exercise types and cognitive process to be developed
A. NOUNS	a. Connotation (meaning of unknown item given implicitly by context)	1 Spanish context (unknown item remains in English, i.e. Production of noise around unknown item, ii) verification of understanding of context, iii) the first step in developing student awareness of context)	Process 1 Manner	· How questions · Developing an awareness of how a process develops	i) Cognates	The equivalent of this word (unknown item) is very similar in Spanish · Developing an awareness of lexical similarities between L₁ and L₂
			2 Purpose	· What is the purpose of the process? Why did it happen? · Developing an awareness of the aim of a process	ii) Cultural	· What information do you already have on this subject? How can you apply this knowledge to help grasp the unknown item? · Developing an awareness of how a student can apply his own background knowledge.
			3 Condition-resultant	· Conditionals. Can you see any cause/effect, condition/resultant relationship in this information? · Developing an awareness of the roles of two concurrent actions		

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B MODIFIERS (adverbs and adjectives)		II English para phrase (blank instead of the unknown item) is making students aware of the communicative functions of the context so that they can develop on their own strategies for guessing the unknown item	4 Definition	What does the context refer to? What are the unknown item's distinctive characteristics? Developing an awareness of the distinctive characteristics of the unknown item	iii) Breaking up compound words	Are any elements of this word (unknown item) familiar to you? Developing an awareness of the grammatical and morphological features of lexical items
	5 Denotation meaning of an known item given explicitly by the context		5 Hyponyms	Which word refers semantically to the unknown item? Developing an awareness of how a word may be substituted by a more general/specific word in a certain context	iv) Variability of meaning	Do you remember having seen this word in another context? Can you extend its meaning to this context? Developing an awareness of semantic association
			6 Synonyms	This word means the same as this one in this context Developing an awareness of words which can be interchanged in most contexts		
C VERBS			7 Contrast	What is the opposite of the word which the context appears to be contrasting with the unknown item? Developing an awareness of contrasting information		

The first two columns are self-explanatory. However something should be added about the information in the third column, particularly the part called Spanish context which is used in the earliest stages of the students' training in the solving of lexical problems. Apart from the reasons given on the chart, Spanish context is used because the teacher should be prepared to accept that these processes are carried out in Spanish in the students' mind. It is felt that advantage is being taken of the students' situation because one of the basic principles of ESP is that what should be exploited is what the student knows and not what he does not know. As Ron Mackay says:

> The assumed disadvantages of using the student's L₁ as a teaching aid in English language teaching are constantly being pointed out. It is argued that it interferes with the processes of achieving fluency in English and encourages a continued dependency upon the L₁ as the mediator between the mental encoding or decoding of messages and the target language. However it is true that where the role of English is that of auxiliary to specialist/studies, particularly in tertiary education and in an EFL situation, the information the student gains from reading English texts is required to be at his disposal in his L₁ only. That is, although the information presented to him is in English when he is required to recall or produce it, he does so in his mother tongue. In EFL situations, tutorials, discussions, examination questions and dissertations are written, not in English, but in the student's L₁. (Mackay 1978:12-13)

There is a great deal of overlap both of exercise types and functions, and there is no one-to-one correspondence between the meaning of a word and the strategy a student might use to arrive at this meaning. The intention is to orient each student towards finding for himself which parts of the information provide him with clues that could help him understand the semantics of the unknown item. Initially students were told which parts of the information to use but this was later found to be disadvantageous as the student was merely responding to a teacher-given stimulus. He was not therefore developing strategies, so needed the stimulus in order to be able to get at the meaning of the unknown item. This was confusing for the students because it was impossible to predict which elements in the information each individual student was going to use. If a student was told, for example, that there was an apparent cause/effect relationship, through which he could get to the meaning of the word causing him problems when, in fact, for the student the more apparent relationship was one of manner, then this would be confusing because his own strategies were being distorted. Also, it was not always possible to predict which words the students would have difficulties with. It even happened that words the teacher thought would provide clues, were, in fact words which presented difficulties for the student. For example, in the one article the students came across the word "goad" in the sentence:

(1) The *goad* of some insects is used to inject toxic substances into its victim's body.

Some students arrived at the meaning of *goad* because they saw a manner rela-

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tionship i.e. how the insects inject the toxic substances; others by purpose i.e., what is the purpose of the goad; others by definition i.e., an implicit definition of goad is given in the sentence. Different strategies were also applied in the following instance:

> (2) Vegetation reduces solar radiation, minimizes temperature extremes and *moistens* the atmosphere by transferring humidity from the soil and the leaves of plants through transpiration.

Besides the obvious manner and purpose relationships seen by some students, some of them felt that *moistens* had been defined by the information in the second part of the sentence. Others said that they had used their previous knowledge of the subject matter. And finally some said that *moistens* was included in the broader concept of humidity (hyponymy).

The above are examples of the kind of responses the students give when they have been trained to deal with lexical problems. Of course the type of strategy (rhetorical function or application of previous knowledge) is inferred by the teacher according to the response given by the student. Perhaps here it should be pointed out that the overall approach to the text is a global one. Students are required to read all of the text being dealt with, initially underlining words they do not understand; they are not allowed to ask their classmates the meaning of unknown items, nor can students volunteer explanations. Once the text has been read, students having lexical problems have to deal with them by referring their teacher and classmates to the context of the unknown item, never the word in isolation.

In the following paragraph one of the words the students had problems with was *tools*.

> (3)   Many ills are perceived only by the person himself, as a sense of "not feeling well," they cannot be objectively determined by the physician even with his modern diagnostic *tools*, nor can they be labeled as "diseases" with classical physiological, metabolic, structural or pathologic symptoms. Other ills, of course, can be diagnosed as well-known and well-described diseases or syndromes, or as new or newly recognized disease states.

Because the students are still in the early stages of this kind of training, *tools* was placed in a Spanish context which is not intended to be the exact translation of the text. Rather it aims at the transfer of the idea in L_2 to a similar context in the L_1. It should be stressed that, at this point, this is a teaching and not a testing situation. The Spanish context is used therefore to:

> i) focus the student's attention on the semantics of the context around the unknown item by having the students deal only with the information and not with L_2;
> ii) help the student realize that it is in fact the context which gives the word its meaning. It is the authors' belief that it is easier for the student to come to this realization at this early stage through L_1 rather than L_2. This is considered as a preparatory stage to enable the student to understand the importance of context

through L_2 once he is comfortable dealing with context through L_1. An example of Spanish context in this case could be: "Los doctores frecuentemente tienen problema para diagnosticar ciertas enfermedades a pesar de sus modernas *tools*." Care should be taken so that the unknown item comes at the end of the information when dealing with Spanish context. The student's suggestions in both L_1 and L_2 included methods, técnicas, and herramientas. For the information the students were required to extract from this paragraph, these semantic interpretations were quite adequate. In later stages the students are the ones who give the context, in L_1 or L_2, whichever they feel more comfortable with, and they are required to offer a meaning for the unknown item.

Obviously this is not intended as a total solution for all the lexical problems the students might meet. There will be cases when the student will have to ask or consult a dictionary. This has most often been the case when the unknown word occurs in lists of characteristics, properties, etc. In a survey done on several scientific articles and chapters from biology books which the students are required to read, it was found that this occurs only once or twice in an average of ten pages. In all other cases students work on the semantic level and are made aware of what Charles Alderson calls "a tolerance of vagueness." He states that "Most of the time . . . we are happy to operate only with the vaguest notion of the meaning of many words, simply because greater precision is not necessary for the understanding of a particular text" (Alderson 1978:5-6).

Evaluating Students' Progress

Caleb Gattegno

In the book *The Common Sense of Teaching Foreign Languages* a whole chapter is devoted to evaluation of students' progress by an approach that is equivalent to continuous feedback. Rather than using existing tests or examination papers, the suggested approach can give teachers an immediate grasp of where their students are and what their needs are. In this way the feedback from the situation in the classroom can guide a teacher in what steps to take next, and how long to work on a skill, a structure or an activity to generate the required mastery and understanding.

The question I want to look into in this paper is one that I consider far from being answered. In fact, I feel that we still have all to do in order to be able to say that we are concerned with its content.

Let me begin by examining how many components are part of the situation we find in our classes. Of course there are the students but there is also myself as the teacher, the language we are working on, the curriculum I (or someone else) have selected and the approach I shall be using. Can we really assess people's progress without finding out what weight all these factors have upon the evaluation of our students?

Another important consideration is that we rarely focus upon our students' actual progress and instead measure their distance from a pre-established end where they "should be" presumably because of our means and approaches. This measure is useless objectively since it relates our students' work not to their own difficulties, the actual demands of a language or what we do for them and how, but only to an abstract level of achievement constructed using work of students other than ours.

It is difficult to give up views held for a long time and so many of us believe, through standardized testing, we can meet an objective assessment of our students when in fact they do something very different. Can we do a better job, if needed, and find out what our students do actually do up to the point they have reached in their studies of the new language? We should also find out whether

this assessment is not better done at all times rather than at a specific time chosen by the examiners.

In chapter 10 of my text *The Common Sense of Teaching Foreign Languages* I looked at both aspects of the theme raised in the lines above. Because of the techniques and materials of The Silent Way, it is now possible to really know where each of our students is on his road to progress.

Indeed, in my classes I say nothing; all the sounds heard are sounds made by my students. Therefore, if the sounds are correct it is because the students make them so. They have therefore acquired the discipline which permits them to take responsibility for their utterances. Since such responsibility is a necessary and sufficient condition for freedom in the use of the oral language, it counts first among the components describing progress of the students. It is therefore very easy to evaluate students' progress in this area, let them hear themselves and work on their utterances rather than hear their teacher and attempt to produce what they hear without knowing how to. In our experience not only does this represent the only way of being close to our students when they are working on their utterances, but it also shows exactly what they have mastered and on what to spend the time of the lesson.

In The Silent Way we work on utterances so as to produce a conscious acquaintance with the sounds: their duration and the energy distribution on each word and on each group of words which leads to correct phrasing and stressing. Then we work on the melody and the intonation, another overall energy distribution along a longish statement so that it sounds as close as what natives would do. This allows us to know the students' progress in that basic activity of sound production needed all through one's use of the spoken language.

To give practice on that we invite the students to assimilate the system of numeration as it appears in that language. There too we can be silent and let the students utter the name of each of the basic numerals which together allow one to read and write any string of figures. Progress in this area can be easily measured since any random string of figures read aloud with proper sounds, pauses, run-on utterances, and breathing must be made into one integrated flow of words as good for testing as any other. As a bonus students own a very important chunk of the language they are studying, which has a number of applications.

Continuing in our systematic approach as our students progress we avoid demanding memorization by carefully inserting only one new word at a time, integrating it with previously mastered utterances and extending the field by selecting functional words needed at all times. We introduce action verbs by using the imperative that will lead to an action which everyone in the class can witness and control and therefore test at all times. Because of our use of the rods to form linguistic situations and the restricted vocabulary that is on every chart, we can blend perception of meaning with combinations of a small number of words displaying grammatical structures to be practiced. We therefore remain in contact with our students' progress and know all the time how much they have mastered and on what we have to work to lead to further mastery. Our silence

here too allows us to say that what is heard has its source in the students and that what their utterances display tells which structures are spontaneously used and where they are on the road to mastery, needing more work, or a move forward.

We know retention takes place because the words return and are used spontaneously in different but related situations. We know that functional mastery is available by the transfers done on new challenges of material studied. These transfers are the best measure we have of mastery and we do not need to measure whether students remember this or that. It is obvious that memory is working in the new language as it does in one's previous ones, in that it automatically offers what is needed to express what one intends to.

For a good number of lessons we add functional words and introduce new structures, one at a time, perceptively, because of the rods, and clearly, because of the pointer on colored words on the charts that remain available for some time on the classroom walls. Having avoided confusing the students and having given them in the beginning the material strictly needed to make correct statements in the new language (not more than say 400 words), we can make sure that the students' progress is in how they use the functional vocabulary of the new language. This we can measure precisely by letting them produce as complex statements as these words and structures permit with a close relation to situations that illustrate them unequivocally and unambiguously.

Because we deliberately remain in contact with what the students consciously do, we never concern ourselves with what is being forgotten and measure all they have retained. Generally this yields the positive, true content of their minds, indeed their progress. It so happens that working in that way the triggers of things past function well, automatically indicating a much greater retention than can be expected a priori.

The three layers we work with in that way concern themselves with 1) pronunciation and smooth flow of words, 2) grammatical correctness, and 3) comprehension of the vocabulary and structures that can be exemplified with the very versatile set of colored rods. The content of these three layers is what all teachers wish to secure for their students. In The Silent Way this is not only possible but also assessable pinpointedly all the time. For us, this is called continuous feedback, the backbone of correct assessment and evaluation.

The expansion of vocabulary beyond the functional is also done systematically in The Silent Way and allows continuous evaluation. The instrument of work sheets that go with the pictures carefully measure progress in vocabulary retention. They also measure the involvement of students in the formation of sentences conceived and inspired by the content of the picture. But in addition, worksheets allow the assessment of the sense of assimilation of the new language as a tool for imaginative expression integrating the backdrop of the dynamic functional vocabulary on the charts and the set of special words dictated by the situation objectified in the pictures.

Clearly we are concerned with specific aspects of our students' progress and we can say with precision what they can do and to what extent it approximates

what natives would have done in the same circumstances. Because the material produced by the students is their own and displays all they have learned it measures their progress. A teacher may see in the remaining signs of weakness what there is to do to reach mastery and work on that, thus serving the students' progress rather than estimate only that it is still this far from perfection and count it against the student.

We thus restore fairness to the student. What he produces is looked at for what it is, not what it should have been. What it is counts for the work done and tells what work remains to be done which is now the teacher's proyince and responsibility.

This short summary may suggest that every teacher has the personal job of learning to be fair to one's students by counting in their column what has actually been achieved, and putting in his own column the exercises that need to be gone through in the next lesson to confirm progress, to further it, and to lead to mastery.

Part IV
Experimental Research

Approaching Native Speaker Proficiency from Two Different Directions

Teresa E. Kounin
Stephen D. Krashen

This paper is a report of two advanced esl students, "K" and "M," who represent an interesting minimal pair with respect to Monitor use. Their study confirms and extends previous work in individual variation in Monitor use (Krashen 1978), and has important implications for teaching. "K" is a Monitor under-user, he attributes his English fluency to practice "on the streets" and shows no interest in the study of grammar. K studies Business Administration at USC and, after only two years in Los Angeles, has opened his own business. "M," a music student, is an over-user of the Monitor. He has a profound knowledge of the grammar of his first language as well as English, and has only been in the United States for a short time. K and M appear similar in overall accuracy in English, but there are interesting differences in their language behavior K appears to be more fluent and more informal, while M is more formal and hesitant While M gives the impression of being more educated, he is, in a sense, more difficult to listen to. M is also far more aware of his errors

K desires to acquire formal English. Our approach has been through a combination of subconscious acquisition (reading and classroom input) and learning (encouraging some Monitor use in certain situations). M, seeks greater fluency Our approach with him has been to provide interesting intake and to inform him of the legitimacy of more informal speech styles.

This paper describes the characteristics of two students of English as a second language, who from one point of view appear to have very similar abilities in English—they make about the same number of mistakes in their spoken output, and they can both be classified as "advanced." In fact, "M" and "K" were placed together in a tutorial for advanced esl students at the University of Southern California. After working with M and K for a semester, however, it is clear to us that they are quite different. They use different underlying mechanisms for producing English and consequently need somewhat different kinds of treatment.

Our paper is divided into three parts. First, we briefly describe one facet of individual variation in adult second language performance, how performers vary with respect to the use of the conscious grammar, the Monitor. Second, we give

case histories of our two subjects, M and K, and describe how they fit into the categories given in the first section. Finally, we discuss what happened to M and K in the course of the semester, and suggest how acquisition and learning can be utilized so that individuals like M and K can approach native speaker competence from their current level.

1. Individual variation in monitor use

According to Krashen (1977a, 1978), adult second language performers have two independent means for "internalizing" rules of a second language. Language *acquisition* is a subconscious process, similar to child language acquisition. When performers acquire rules, they do not necessarily have a conscious idea of what the generalization is, but develop a "feel" for correctness. Conscious language *learning*, on the other hand, is "knowing about" language, having explicit knowledge of the rules of a second language. It has been hypothesized that conscious rules are available only as a Monitor: performers can use conscious rules to inspect and alter the output of the acquired system. Thus, the acquired system is responsible for fluency, while the Monitor "edits" output.

At least three conditions need to be met in order for the Monitor to work: performers need to have enough time, they need to be concerned with form (Dulay and Burt 1977), and they need to know the rule.

Krashen (1977b) has also suggested that when adult second language performers are asked to produce utterances in a second language when they have not yet acquired enough to do so, they fall back on the first language as a substitute utterance initiator—this is the cause of first language influence, an idea first considered by Newmark (1966).

One of the many advantages of these theoretical constructs is that they successfully describe one aspect of individual variation in adult second language performance, individual variation in the use of the Monitor. There seem to be at least three clear types: Monitor over-users, Monitor under-users, and optimal Monitor users (Krashen 1978).

The monitor over-user refers to his conscious grammar all the time when using his second language. This may be due to an over-concern with correctness. "S," an over-user described by Stafford and Covitt (1978), who admitted that "I feel bad when I put words together and I don't know nothing about the rules," is clearly this sort. Mr. J., described by Nida (1965), also seems to be an over-user of this type. Mr. J., a missionary, became an expert in the grammar of his target language but never spoke it. Nida suggests that this may have stemmed from his early use of a non-prestige dialect of English and his efforts to learn the prestige form ("he felt he could not dare for a minute to make a 'mistake,' thus exposing his background and running the risk of losing the position he had sought so hard to win," p. 53).

Over-use of the Monitor can also stem from a simple lack of acquisition. Those trained only in foreign language classrooms, where the emphasis was on conscious grammar, may develop extensive formal knowledge of the target

language, with very little acquisition, and consequently have no choice but to be over-users. Such performers may utilize the first language as an utterance in-itiator when forced to speak, since they lack acquired competence in the second language.

Over-users, regardless of type, will typically self-correct "by rule," that is, when correcting errors, they will often be consciously aware of the rule that was broken and be able to verbalize it. (Such reactions are documented in the literature; Cohen and Robbins 1976; Krashen 1978; Krashen and Pon 1975; Krashen, Robertson, Loop, and Rietmann 1977.)

Over-users also typically have a hesitant, over-careful style of speaking, thanks to their over-concern with correctness and constant rule-searching and lack of acquisition.

The Monitor under-user does not seem to use the conscious grammar at all. The under-user typically judges grammaticality "by feel," that is, he uses his subconsciously acquired system, rather than a conscious grammar. Several per-formers described in the literature appear to be under-users, such as Hung, described by Cohen and Robbins. Hung was quoted as saying:

> I never taught any grammars. I guess I just never learned the rules that well. I know that every time I speak it's pretty correct, so I never think about gram-mars. I just write down whatever I feel like it. Everytime I write something I just stop thinking. I don't know which (rule) to apply . . . (p. 59).

The under-user may be living in the country where the target language is spoken or may be exposed to frequent use of the second language in his own country. Many immigrants who haphazardly attend adult second language classes are typical of this type. It is interesting to note that under-users may con-trol impressive amounts of the target language without the benefit of conscious rules.

Perhaps the best performer is the one who has both systems available, and who uses the Monitor when it is appropriate, when it does not get in the way of communication, as in writing or prepared speech. Krashen and Pon's subject "P" (Krashen and Pon 1975) is an example of such an optimal user of the Monitor. Her written output was nearly error-free, while her casual speech con-tained some errors. Krashen and Pon hypothesized that P was able to achieve the illusion of native-like performance in writing in the domain of syntax when she was able to use her Monitor, which supplemented her acquired competence in English.

The case histories of M and K fit neatly into this schema: K is an under-user and M an over-user of the Monitor. They are both "advanced" ESL students, and were both excused from the USC ESL requirement. Both were interested in further improvement and both signed up voluntarily for an advanced ESL tutorial. Analysis of their behavior, however, reveals that these two use somewhat different mechanisms, different proportions of acquisition and learn-ing, producing English.

2. K: The under-user of the monitor

K, a Saudi Arabian business student at USC, had already been studying in the United States for two years prior to this study and had previously completed an intensive ESL course at USC. A former syntax teacher of his reported that K's attitude in class was uninterested and his grammatical performance was careless. K had recently opened a small boutique in Los Angeles and hoped to maintain his business with frequent trips home to purchase merchandise for his store.

What was at first most striking about his second language performance was his obliviousness to the fact that he even made spoken errors. When this was shown to be the case, he confessed that he never paid attention to what he said. Although he had been exposed to English grammar in class, he professed no familiarity with the nomenclature, commenting: "I hear it, I speak it. I used to take some schooling. I don't know much about rules."

K's spoken sentence structure was simple and his sentences were short. When asked why, he responded, "The more you talk, the more mistakes you make." Unlike M, K spoke rapidly and fluently, and rarely self-corrected. When at a loss for a word, K chose the quickest word which came to his mind and on he went, with no further concern as to the word's appropriateness. His casual, contracted style was easy to listen to, and communicated his messages effectively. However, due to morphological errors and deletions, K gave the impression of being uneducated. His reawakened interest in English seemed to have been motivated by his business interests. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), such motivation is termed "instrumental."

3. M: The over-user of the monitor

M, a German graduate student of Music, had just arrived in Los Angeles to study piano performance at USC. He had studied Medicine in Germany, and, as a result, had done extensive technical reading in English. He had studied English for many years in Germany by a grammar-translation method. His speech flow was hesitant, due to obvious pauses for translation. His word choice and syntax gave his speech a stilted, overly formal tone. He was extremely concerned with correctness, and his constant self-correction attempts were often accompanied by quoted rules. When his knowledge of English grammar failed him, he employed his knowledge of German grammar. He sought a rule-governed explanation for all aspects of language, self-studied a TOEFL preparatory book, and criticized himself for not thinking before he spoke. When presented with a sample sentence which contained an error that he had made, M commented:

> I did not reflect upon the whole question when I asked it. Now, when I know the whole sentence I have all the words and I could put them in the right position. But, when I asked this question I think I had not the organization of the sentence, of the words

M knew no one when he arrived in the United States, but sought American

companionship, and viewed his immersion in American culture as exciting and challenging. According to Gardner and Lambert, his motivation was at least in part "integrative."

4. Procedure

One of us (T.K.) had responsibility for tutoring both M and K for one semester and it is the results gained in this experience that this report is based on.

Both students were enrolled in an advanced tutorial in conversational English, and for convenience they were placed together. What was extraordinary was that each appeared to possess what the other lacked in ability in English.

The "treatment" was a combination of interview and intensive correction of spoken errors, presented in writing. The students met twice weekly for 14 weeks, for one or two hours per session. Topics for conversation varied from individually prepared reports to planned debates and free discourse. Many of the conversations and debates were lively and even heated, as K and M often disagreed with each other. This guaranteed a focus on content rather than on form. Several sessions were tape-recorded and errors were transcribed by the teacher and presented to the students at the next session. M and K were given copies of their own and each other's transcripts, and they attempted to correct their errors in class. For many errors, they were asked to explain whether the recognition and correction of the error was made "by rule," that is, whether they violated a known rule that they could state, or "by feel," when the correction "felt better." Each student was also permitted to attempt to correct the other's errors should he be unable to do so. If neither student could discover the error or correct it, this information was supplied by the teacher. These sessions were also tape-recorded so that data collection would not interfere with the lesson.

5. Error analysis

M and K's self-correction behavior for the errors they made during the sessions conforms to what one would expect from a Monitor over- and under-user respectively. M reported that he never relied on "feel" in self-correction, and of his 26 self-corrections, 23 were in fact done "by rule." Of K's 45 successful self-corrections, only six involved a conscious rule, or 13%, the rest involving his feel for grammaticality. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1
Error Analysis for M and K

successful correction	M	K
by rule	23/26 (88%)	6/45 (13%)
by feel	3/26 (12%)	39/45 (87%)
reported source of error is		
first language	16/53 (31%)	4/58 (7%)

One would also predict greater use of the first language for M. Since M has less "acquisition," Krashen's position predicts that he will show more first

language influence, that is, he will use the first language to substitute for English competence to initiate his utterances. Our error corpus was not large enough for a detailed contrastive analysis; nevertheless there are indications that this was in fact the case. When asked whether the source of his errors was due to the use of the first language, M answered "yes" for 31% of his errors, while K said that the first language was the source for only 7% of his 58 errors. The hypothesis that M, the over-user, will use the first language more than K finds clearer support, however, in the statements of the two performers. When asked if Arabic caused interference in his English production, K responded, "Not any of these mistakes· from my native tongue. I think in English and say it in English." In answer to the same question, M said "I don't reflect in English. I always translate what I want to say."

Examining some of the actual errors made gives further confirmation of the differences between M and K. Approximately 25% of K's errors were deletions of various sorts (e.g. omissions of grammatical morphemes, as well as occasional omissions of subjects, objects, and complementizers). When made, these errors gave K's speech a telegraphic flavor. M made practically no errors of this sort. M made few errors in domains that appear to be easily monitored, such as simple bound morphology. The third person singular ending is an instructive example: it is relatively easy to consciously learn, but is acquired late. One would expect an over-user to get this morpheme right more often than an under-user. Of K's 58 errors, eight involved this late-acquired morpheme, while only one of M's errors was of this sort. M's errors, rather, seemed to be in those parts of language where rules are not easily statable, such as word choice and choice of preposition.

6. M and K's progress

We turn now to how it all turned out, what the teacher's reactions to M and K were, how they reacted to each other, and what progress they made. From the beginning, T.K. found herself reacting quite differently to M and to K reactions based on her developing assessment of their styles of language performance as well as their needs. T.K. reported that she gave M more casual input, and provided him with the means of filling in gaps in his casual speech style. This included not only vocabulary, idioms, and routines but information as to their usage. K, on the other hand, was given more formal input, as well as explicit information about formal speech, the mirror image of what was provided for M. This was done without pre-planning, and T.K.'s assessment of her own behavior led to the insight that K and M had different needs.

At first, M and K were put off by each other. M constantly questioned K's idiomatic usage and K appeared to regard M as excessively formal. They did help each other in several ways, however. First, they provided each other with in-, put that fell in domains where the other had gaps. Also, there was an exchange of information about language, all of which was in the domain of vocabulary and usage (e.g. K's explaining the use of an idiom to M). There was little or no error correction in the conversation/debate sessions from one student to the other (in agreement with Wagner and Porter 1978).

We have no pre- and post-test data on which to base serious claims of pro-
gress for K and M. Nevertheless, both students seemed to progress. K developed
a sense of linguistic meta-awareness; he became aware of some of the errors he
made through the error correction sessions. He understood that this knowledge
was to be used when it was appropriate, not necessarily in casual speech, but in
writing and prepared speech, or whenever it was to his advantage. K also gained
in knowledge of vocabulary and expressions that helped to make his English
sound more educated.

M appeared to use both acquisition and learning to add another register.
There was undoubtedly some acquisition from the "outside world," from T.K.,
and from K. There was also some conscious learning of the casual speech style,
e.g. how and when to use contractions. M's speech in casual conversation
definitely appeared to be more fluent and less hesitant at the end of the semester.

7. Implications and conclusions

Our experience with M and K has led us to certain conclusions about how
over- and under-users might be treated in general, the goal being to encourage
the development of optimal users, second language performers who use the con-
scious grammar when it supplements acquisition and does not impede com-
munication. These are *post-hoc* suggestions: we did not follow all of them with M
and K. The suggestions cover out-of-class as well as in-class activities.

For the over-user like M, the student with a great deal of foreign language
learning but little experience with acquisition, the ESL program might take the in-
itiative suggesting and encouraging participation in environments outside the
classroom that will promote language acquisition (see e.g. Hale and Budar 1970).
The classroom can also be a valuable source of input for language acquisition
(Gaies 1977; Krashen 1976a), as provided by the teacher and other students, es-
pecially when communicative activities are emphasized. For the foreign language
student, the beginner who is not ready for native speaker input, and for the shy it
may be the only place.

As we have seen with M, the over-user may have another problem. While
there is no necessary theoretical connection between over-use of the Monitor and
a limited range of styles, our guess is that many over-users need to add the casual
style for use in appropriate situations. At least some classroom language from
teachers and students will provide intake for the acquisition of a more casual style
for performers like M. Role-playing, films, tapes, plays, etc. could aid in the ac-
quisition of the ability to use each style appropriately.

The over-user may also profit from some explicit information. First is the
fact that language acquisition is a reality, and one can often trust one's intuitions
about a second language without constant checking against a conscious rule.
Also, many over-users, such as M, need to be told that register differences exist,
and that there is a place for casual styles even among educated people.

As for the under-user, the classroom has the obvious role of providing a
grammatical Monitor that can be used in certain situations. Under-users will
vary with respect to the amount of learning that can be tolerated, and with

respect to the difficulty of the items that can be learned. A goal of Applied Linguistics might be to determine empirically just what aspects of language are most learnable—in the meantime, we suggest that late-acquired bound morphology, clear punctuation rules (e.g. *it's* versus *its*), and spelling might be most learnable by many under-users and may help to boost performance in writing.

Our impression is that many under-users have register problems as well: K, for example, needed to add a more formal code to his repertoire. Learning may help, as those items that are learnable, while perhaps adding little to communicative effectiveness, may help a great deal in projecting the image of an educated person. Acquisition may also be harnessed to help solve this problem. Formal input in the form of guest speakers, lectures, tapes, film clips, plays etc., may be made available to encourage the acquisition of the formal code and its appropriate use. Outside the classroom, we might suggest extensive reading in areas of interest to the student. In the case of K, this might include business magazines and journals.

M and K indeed appear to be approaching native speaker proficiency from two different directions. The ESL profession can offer some help to both kinds of performers. For the under-user like K, who desires to acquire formal English, the approach can be through acquisition (in the form of reading and formal input in the classroom) and learning (the optimal use of some conscious rules). For the over-user like M, who needs to add a more informal style and greater fluency, both the "outside world" and the classroom can provide the intake necessary for acquisition.

ESL and EFL Learning: Similar or Dissimilar?

Ann K. Fathman

ESL ('informal') and EFL ('formal') learning environments, learner attitudes and goals are described in this paper. Various aspects of the English oral proficiency of ESL and EFL students are compared to determine how second language oral ability is affected by different settings and learner variables.

The English oral ability of approximately 50 ESL students learning English in the U.S. in an 'informal' setting and 50 EFL students learning English in a 'formal' classroom setting in Germany was examined. The oral ability of these learners, 12-14 years, was assessed by the administration of the SLOPE (Second Language Oral Production English) Test and by the analysis of speech samples collected during conversation. The order difficulty and kinds of errors made, as well as differences in conversation ratings and test scores, were compared for the two groups. The results suggest that there are some similarities between ESL and EFL learners in the kinds of errors they make and the difficulty they have in producing certain grammatical structures, but that certain oral competencies and strategies used in communicating differ.

The identification of similarities and differences in formal EFL learning and informal ESL learning will provide further information on the second language acquisition process and a better understanding of the possible applications of current research for the classroom.

The terms English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) have been used to refer to many different kinds of language programs and learning environments. An exact definition of either is difficult to give, for there are so many student, teacher, and setting variables involved. Frequently when teaching methods, curricula, or applications of research are discussed, there is no distinction made between these two types of English learning.

Robinett (1972) has outlined differences between ESL and EFL in defining the domains of TESOL. She has suggested a continuum where EFL is for "those whose purpose in learning English is cultural and their native language remains dominant," while ESL is for "those who have a functional purpose in learning English or the need to join an English-speaking community."

In this study, those learning English as a foreign language (EFL) were study-

ing English "formally" in the classroom in Germany; while those learning English as a second language (ESL) were learning English "informally" through exposure and use in daily life in the United States. Thus EFL is used synonymously with "formal" language learning and ESL with "informal" language learning.

The examination of differences and similarities in formal and informal language learning seems particularly relevant for the teaching of English to non-native speakers for two reasons:

1) Many aspects of the informal language learning setting (e.g. emphasis on meaningful communication within specific contexts and situations) are being incorporated into classroom teaching, but still very little is known about how second language proficiency is affected when the setting, teaching emphasis or learner goals are varied.

2) Much current research has studied second language acquisition in the informal or naturalistic setting, and it is unclear what kinds of applications can be made from the results of this research to formal classroom teaching.

Few studies exist which have compared the second language abilities of students who have learned English formally and informally. In studying adults, Upshur (1968) and Mason (1971) found that second language formal instruction may not be as effective a means for increasing proficiency as language use in informal settings. The results of a series of studies of adult language learning (Krashen and Seliger 1976; Krashen, Seliger and Hartnett 1974; Krashen, Jones, Zelinski and Usprich 1978) suggest, however, that formal instruction is, in general, of more benefit for adults learning a second language than is exposure to the language in informal settings. Krashen (1976a) has suggested that informal and formal environments may contribute to different aspects of second language competence: that informal exposure affects language acquisition, while formal exposure affects primarily language learning.

Politzer (1977) found persistent errors remaining in the speech of children who had learned a second language primarily in informal settings. He suggested that if a balance of formal instruction and informal learning is used in a program, these types of problems might be overcome. However, it has been noted that formal instruction does not always insure correct usage (Fathman 1976; Turner 1978).

Since it is unclear what the relationship is between language proficiency and language learning setting, in this study informal (ESL) and formal (EFL) learning environments are described, and differences in the learners' attitudes and goals in these environments discussed.

The English oral proficiency of these ESL and EFL students is examined to determine how second language oral ability is affected when setting and learner variables are very different.

This examination of ESL and EFL learning is based upon: 1) observation of the students approximately 3 times during the year in their schools and classes, 2) informal conversations with teachers and students, 3) scores received by students on the SLOPE Test (Second Language Oral Production English Test), and 4) ratings given to students based upon an oral interview and picture description.

1. ESL and EFL learning environments

The observation of ESL and EFL students in their schools revealed many differences between the kind of linguistic input available to the students. The ESL (informal) learners (12–14 years) were students attending U.S. public schools where no or very minimal special English instruction was offered. The ESL students within the five schools studied came from many different language backgrounds and had to communicate among themselves in English. Thus their models for English were teachers in various subject-matter classes, native English-speaking peers and other non-native speakers. The ESL students were exposed continually to English used in meaningful communication, whether in class, in the cafeteria or on the playground, and rarely heard or spoke their native languages during school. The English they heard was often colloquial and rarely simplified in any grammatical sense. When a native speaker realized he was not being understood, he would most often raise his voice, speak more slowly and after two or three attempts give up. Thus, the English input available to these ESL students was unsimplified, constant, meaningful and varied.

The EFL (formal) learners (12–14 years) were students in four different Hduptschule in southern Germany, who were studying English for one hour each day in English classes. The methodology used in the classes consisted of the presentation of grammatical structures in controlled dialogues or readings, oral pattern practice drills, written grammatical exercises and careful adherence to the texts.

The students' English practice was limited primarily to answering short questions, usually concerning a story, doing grammar exercises, reading aloud and repeating phrases in unison. The EFL students' models for English included the English teachers (all of whom were native German speakers highly proficient in English), the taped voices of native speakers, and fellow students. An analysis of classroom speech showed that teachers spoke English to the students approximately 90% of the time during class, and only 10% of the time outside of class. The content of teacher speech in English focused primarily on short instructions, grammar explanations, and modeling for exercises. During English class, the students almost always spoke German between themselves, and teachers resorted to German when there were time constraints on getting information across or when students obviously did not understand an English explanation. Thus, the English input provided for these EFL students was, in general, formal, structured, grammatically simplified, and limited in both content and context.

2. ESL and EFL learner attitudes and goals

Classroom observations of student behavior and informal conversations with students and teachers provided information on student attitudes towards learning English. Some of the responses given by the ESL and EFL learners during conversations are summarized in Table 1.

The ESL students were, in general, more highly motivated to learn English than the EFL students, but seem to have had a lower opinion of themselves and

TABLE 1

Percentage of ESL and EFL Students Giving Similar Answers to Questions Concerning Attitude towards English

Question	ESL Response	%	EFL Response	%
Do you want to learn English?	yes	95%	yes	50%
			don't care	30%
Why are you learning/ studying English?	to understand in school	65%	required in school/ by parents	80%
	to make friends	25%	to travel	10%
	to get a job	5%	to understand songs/movies	10%
Do you like to speak English? Why?	no, people can't understand, laugh, etc	40%	no, it's too difficult	40%
	yes, to make, friends	20%	yes, to talk so my friends can't understand	10%
	yes, to get good grades	20%		
Are you good at speaking English?	no	60%	no	40%
	I don't know	20%	I don't know	25%

their English abilities. The ESL students were concerned at not being able to speak fluent English and, in many cases, threatened at being alone and not accepted by peers. Among the EFL students, it was often more acceptable by peers *not* to attempt to speak English in English class. The study of English was regarded as a game by some or purely an academic discipline by others, but not as a necessity for survival or acceptance, as among the ESL learners.

3. English oral proficiency of ESL and EFL learners

With so many obvious differences between the formal and informal learning settings and the attitudes and goals of ESL and EFL learners, differences in English abilities might also be expected. To examine the oral ability of students in the two settings, the SLOPE (Second Language Oral Production English) Test (Fathman, in press), an oral interview and a picture description task were given. The SLOPE Test measures a student's ability to produce certain grammatical structures and has been shown to be a valid indication of oral proficiency (Fathman 1976). The test consists of 20 subtests, each representing a different grammatical category, such as articles, prepositions, pronouns, and questions. There are three items within each subtest which represent variants of the structure being tested; for example, the Pronoun subtest tests masculine, feminine and plural forms; while the *Wh-* question subtest tests the production of "what," "why" and "where" questions. Most items contain two pictures; the examiner gives a description of the

first picture, and the student is required to complete a description of the second picture. (For example, "Here the cat is *by the table*," "Here the cat is___," and the student should complete the description with "on the table.") Each item is scored correct (1) or incorrect (0), with a total possible score of 60 points.

The oral interview and description of a picture were given to individuals when the test was administered. The interview consisted of approximately 12 questions, such as: "How long have you lived here? How old are you? What do you like to do after school? What did you do last night? What would you do if it were Saturday?" The picture of the members of a family working and playing was then shown, and each student was asked to describe it or tell a story about it. The interview and description were recorded and ratings later given by two trained linguists on fluency, grammar, and pronunciation.

These data were used to analyze the following aspects of each individual's oral proficiency: 1) the relationship between oral proficiency and years of exposure to English, 2) the order difficulty of certain grammatical structures, 3) the kinds of errors made in the production of certain structures and 4) the ability to speak fluently and grammatically.

4. Relationship between oral proficiency and years exposure to English

The mean SLOPE Test scores for students who had been learning English for one, two, three, and four years were computed. These scores are reported for the ESL and EFL groups in Table 2. There are no mean scores available for fourth year ESL students nor for first year EFL students; the former were considered too proficient and the latter of too low ability to make testing worthwhile. Students who had been exposed to English for longer periods of time scored higher on the SLOPE Test, as might be expected. The ESL students did obtain higher scores after three years than the EFL students after four years which is undoubtedly related to amount of exposure and differences in kinds of exposure to English during that time.

TABLE 2
Mean SLOPE Test Scores for ESL and EFL Students Exposed to English for 1-4 Years

Years	ESL			EFL		
	n	m	s d	n	m	s d
1	40	29 0	10 3			
2	15	44 0	10 1	19	27 7	7 7
3	12	52 0	7 4	11	35 2	7 2
4				18	43 7	7 7

To further examine the relationship between English oral ability and years of formal and informal learning, correlation coefficients were calculated for: SLOPE Test scores and years studied; fluency ratings and years studied; grammar ratings and years studied.

There is a strong relationship between oral ability and years of informal or

formal learning. However, as shown in Table 3, the number of years that one has studied a language formally in the classroom is a better predictor of English oral proficiency than time spent in an informal learning environment. There was more variation in English oral proficiency among the informal ESL learners after one year than among those who had studied English only in the classroom, suggesting that some were very successful at learning informally, while others had difficulty. These results are consistent with the results of Krashen et al. (1974, 1976) in studying adults who had learned English in formal and informal environments.

TABLE 3
Correlation between Years of English Exposure and Oral Proficiency Scores

Measure	ESL	EFL
SLOPE Test score	.36	.61
Fluency in conversation rating	.46	.73
Grammatical correctness in conversation rating	.43	.65

5. English structure difficulties for ESL and EFL learners

The SLOPE Test subtests were ordered according to mean score for the ESL and EFL groups to determine which grammatical structures were the easiest and which were the most difficult for each group. In Figure 1 the mean subtest scores are reported for the ESL and EFL learners. A Spearman Rank Order correlation showed ordering to be similar for the two groups (r = .62, p < .05). The Imperative, Affirmative-Declarative, Plural-reg., and Subject Pronouns were easy for both groups, while the Present-3rd reg., and Past-irreg. were the most difficult.

The EFL students did have less difficulty than the ESL students in producing correctly Articles, the Comparative, Superlative, Prepositions and Past Participle-regular. These differences may be related to teaching emphasis or background differences in the populations. A pilot study done examining German and non-German students studying in the U.S. showed similar differences in the production of Articles, Comparative and Superlative, suggesting that these differences were due to language background, rather than setting differences.

The EFL students had more difficulty than the ESL students with the Negative, Wh questions, Present-irreg. The negative and question items required the production of entire utterances, which seemed to be more difficult for the EFL learners. However, in spite of these isolated differences, the overall order difficulty of the 20 structures tested was very similar.

It might have been expected that the structures that had already been taught formally in the EFL classes would be those on which the EFL students scored highest. This was not always the case. The Present-3rd reg. and Plural-irreg. forms had been presented during the first and second year of study and were
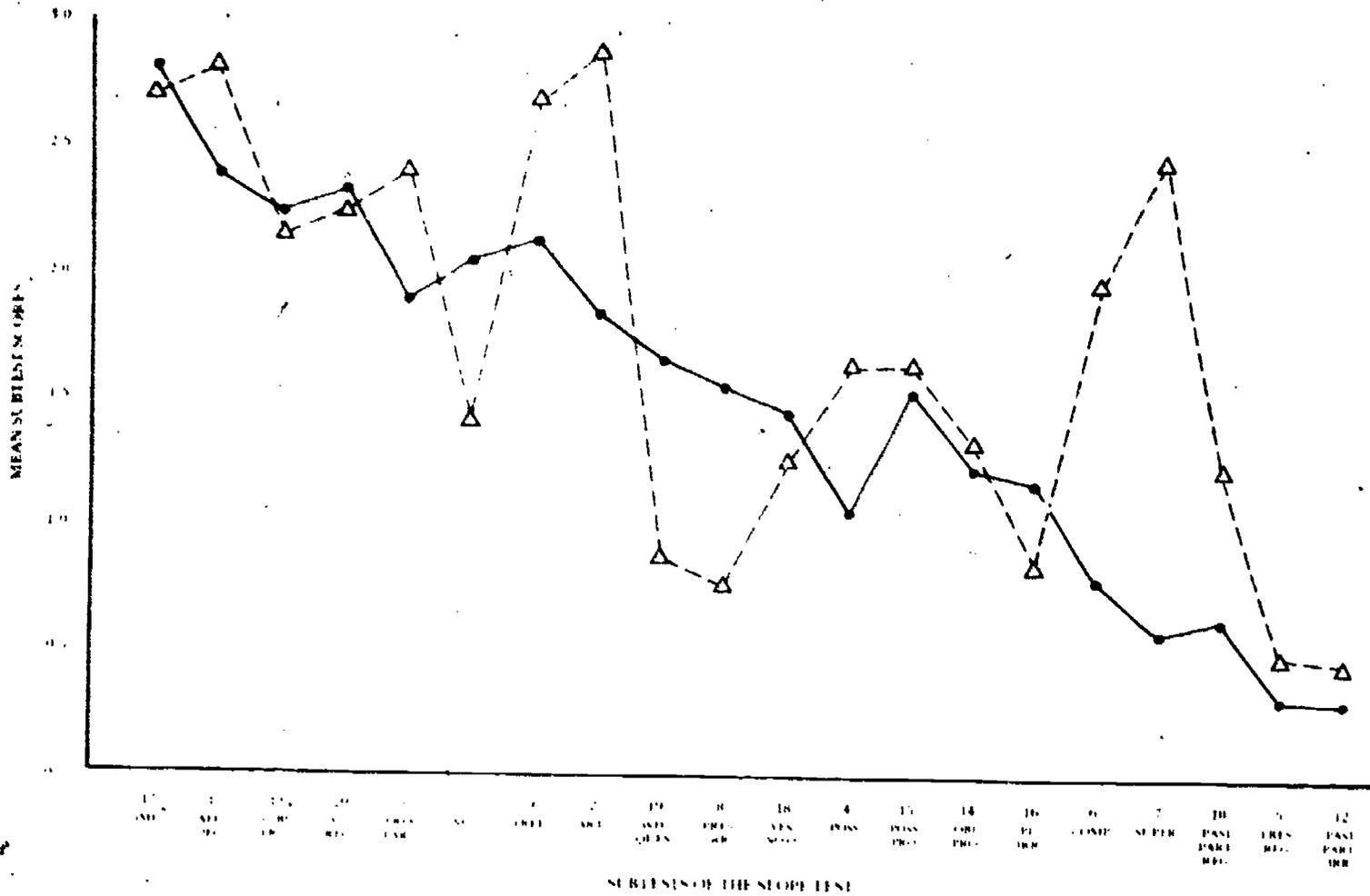
FIGURE 1

Mean Scores on Subtests of the SLOPE Test for FSL *and* EFL *Learners*

drilled frequently in class, but they continued to cause difficulty for the EFL students. There appear to be certain English structures which are inherently more difficult, and even formal instruction does not insure correct usage.

Items within subtests also tended to have similar difficulty for the ESL and EFL students. Some of the structures for which order difficulty was very much alike are listed in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Difficulty of Items within Certain SLOPE Test Grammatical Categories for ESL and EFL Learners

Category	Easy	Difficult
Affirmative/Declarative	subject + verb	subject + verb + object + indirect object
Pronoun	he, she him, her	they, them
Preposition	on, in	under
Present & Plural. reg	/s/ /z/	/iz/
Past. reg	/d/ /t/	/id/
Wh-questions	where-Q	what, why-Q

6. The kinds of errors made by ESL and EFL learners

The incorrect responses given on the SLOPE Test were categorized as omission, substitution, addition, and word order errors. The number of individuals making a specific kind of error and the number making other errors were counted. Only those categories were examined where errors had been made by at least fifteen individuals. A Chi Square Test was used to determine if the number of ESL and EFL subjects making a specific kind of error varied significantly. The results are reported in Table 5.

Significant differences were found in the kinds of errors made in the production of the Past-irreg., Plural-irreg. and *Wh*- question structures. The EFL students appear to overgeneralize rules to a greater extent than ESL learners: they frequently added the regular plural and past morphemes to irregular forms (e.g.: "childs," "gived") and inserted "do" when unnecessary in questions (e.g. "what do you writing?"). The fact that the EFL students had learned grammar rules formally may have influenced the extent to which they overgeneralized the rules.

7. The ability of ESL and EFL learners to speak fluently and grammatically

The fluency and grammar ratings given to each student based upon the oral interview and picture description were compared. A significant difference ($t = 3.8$, $p < .01$) was found between the grammar and fluency ratings received by the ESL students. Among these students, the fluency scores were consistently higher than grammar scores. However, among the EFL students the grammar

TABLE 5
Comparison of the Kinds of Errors Made by ESL and EFL Learners on the SLOPE Test

Subtest	Error	No. of Errors of a given type	Number of students		X^2
			ESL	EFL	
Superlative	omission	0	20	11	
	-affix(-est)	1-3	14	5	13
	substitution	0	12	6	
	-word	1-3	22	10	.03
Present, 3rd irreg.	omission -pres morpheme	0	7	14	
		1-3	31	25	2.15
Negative	word order -incorrect placement of negative	0	20	5	
		1-3	36	19	1.11
Past Part. irreg.	addition -ing	0	26	16	
		1-3	14	30	6.66*
	substitution -reg past. (-ed)	0	29	17	
		1-3	11	29	9.48*
Possessive Pronoun	substitution -pronoun	0	18	9	
		1-3	21	21	1.24
	addition -'s' to pronoun	0	19	23	
		1-3	10	7	.43
Plural -irreg	omission -plural morpheme	0	16	31	
		1-3	17	9	5.43*
	substitution reg plural (s)	0	8	5	
		1-3	15	35	3.17
Wh-Question	word order -no inversion	0	11	24	
		1-3	24	13	6.76*
	addition -'do'	0	28	14	
		1-3	8	23	10.3*

*$p < .01$

scores were consistently higher than the fluency ratings. These ratings were also found to be significantly different ($t = 1.7$, $p < .05$). Thus, a learner's fluency and grammar in English does seem to be influenced by whether he learns the language formally or informally. Fluency skills seem to be better developed among informal learners, while formal classroom learners speak more grammatically.

8. Impressions of ESL and EFL learners during interviewing and testing

A number of differences were noted between the ESL and EFL learners as they were interviewed and tested. The ESL learners were, in general, at ease in conver-

sation and seemed less inhibited by the fact that they might make errors. They
frequently attempted to answer questions not completely understood, and seldom
made self-corrections. They were either less aware of errors they had made or
were not as concerned in correctness as in getting the message across. When
presented with something unknown, they attempted re-wording or re-phrasing to
avoid the unknown structure. Rarely did they not respond to an answer or at-
tempt to speak their native language.

The EFL students talked less and seemed more reserved in speaking to a
native English speaker. They rarely used avoidance strategies, but rather were
silent or answered in their native language when uncertain of an answer. In
general they seemed hesitant to answer questions unless they were totally certain
of the meaning. They were more at ease when focus was upon the test booklet,
than during conversations and interviews.

9. Discussion

This examination of ESL and EFL learning settings and the analysis of the
English oral proficiency of learners in these settings revealed both similarities and
differences between learners. Similarities were found primarily in the kinds of
linguistic forms produced: the structures that caused difficulty for learners and
the kinds of errors that were made in the production of certain grammatical struc-
tures. Differences were most often noted when general oral proficiency or
abilities and strategies within the context of communication were examined. The
following observed differences between ESL and EFL learners are most likely
related to differences in attitudes, goals and learning settings:

1) The ESL (informal) learners' oral proficiency tended to be higher than the
EFL (formal) students' proficiency during the first four years of learning.

2) The relationship between the number of years of formal instruction and
proficiency was stronger than between the number of years of informal exposure
and proficiency. There was not as much variation in oral ability among EFL
students who had studied English for similar periods of time as among ESL
students who had similar amounts of exposure to English.

3) In the production of some grammatical structures, the EFL students, who
had had formal instruction in English grammar, made more addition and
substitution errors (apparently caused by rule overgeneralizations) than ESL
learners.

4) The ESL learners' speech was rated more fluent than grammatical, while
the EFL students' speech was rated higher in grammaticality than in fluency.

5) The ESL learners tended to be more productive and use avoidance
strategies in English more frequently than the EFL students, who were more
reserved, less spontaneous and resorted to their native language during conversa-
tions.

Since similarities do exist in the linguistic output of learners in both formal
and informal environments, results of naturalistic research may be generalizable
to the classroom setting when purely linguistic analyses of structural difficulties

or errors have been made. However, generalizations concerning oral proficiency or communicative competencies and strategies should be made with caution since many differences appear to exist between formal and informal learners in these respects. To insure that results are correctly interpreted, researchers are encouraged to describe very carefully the populations they have studied in terms of the many variables involved. Teachers are recommended to critically examine naturalistic second language studies and consider those studies which have been replicated in formal learning environments as having the greatest potential for classroom application.

There seems to be merit in both formal and informal learning, although certain second language competencies may vary depending upon how the language is learned. Aspects of both environments should be able to be incorporated effectively into a language teaching program (see Krashen 1976a). Informal language use in meaningful communication might be used to develop fluency skills and help students focus on the content of a message; formal presentation of rules may help students develop a better conscious knowledge of English grammar, although teachers should be aware that formal presentation does not always insure correct usage. If a language program balances the formal and informal aspects effectively, the result may be better-rounded English speakers, able to communicate in different environments and under varying conditions.

Language Skills and the Learner:
The Classroom Perspective

Ellen Bialystok

The main findings of a study investigating the relationship between learner characteristics and second language achievement for high school students learning French are reported. The results indicated that achievement was primarily influenced by language learning aptitude and the use of the language for communication outside the classroom. Different measures of achievement, however, were not differentially constrained by these factors but showed similar patterns of behaviour regardless of the language skill being tested.

The non-differentiation of language skills according to the predictor variables is interpreted in terms of a discussion of the pragmatic uses of language in the classroom. The implications for language learning both inside and outside of classrooms are discussed.

A perennial problem in second language learning research has been to identify the relevant factors of language mastery which determine to some extent the degree of success that will be attained by the language learner. The search for these decisive variables has explored factors both inside and outside the classroom (Krashen and Seliger 1976; Macnamara 1975), aspects of program and methodology (Scherer and Wertheimer 1964), and characteristics of the learner himself (Naiman et al., in press; Bialystok and Fröhlich 1977a). Similarly, proficiency has been assessed by appealing to a variety of skills developed by second language learners. Researchers have examined productive competence, written ability, comprehension, and so on, although it is not clear how any specific test relates to general language competence. Larsen-Freeman and Strom (1977) in fact describe the difficulty in producing a reliable measure of general proficiency and report an attempt to develop such an index. The problem in interpreting the findings of studies exploring predicting variables, then, is that it is sometimes unclear which aspects of the set of factors under examination are responsible for particular types of achievement. Large sets of factors may be related to vague measures of proficiency, but specific contingencies may not be obvious. Local relationships between discrete factors and analytically-defined criterion measures need to be examined. Different patterns of variables should be maximally effective for the development of different language skills.

A study which attempted to examine precise relationships between predictor

variables and achievement measures in a particular context (Bialystok and Fröhlich 1977b; Bialystok and Fröhlich, submitted) did provide information about some of the relevant variables, but led as well to a series of implications concerning classroom language which may undermine the enterprise of discovering such relationships in that context.

The study was conducted in high schools in middle-class neighborhoods in Toronto where students were examined who were studying French as a second language in a 40-minute-a-day program. There were 157 students in the study; of these 82 were in grade 10 and 75 in grade 12. These grades correspond to the fourth and sixth years of French study.

The factors selected for study were those which had been found in the literature to be reliable contributors to second language mastery. Four such variables were examined—the extent to which students used certain learning strategies (Rubin 1975; Stern 1975; Bialystok and Fröhlich 1977a), language learning aptitude (Carroll 1962, 1966; Smythe, Stennett and Feenstra 1972; Wesche 1977), attitude and motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner and Smythe 1974), and field dependence/independence (Tucker et al. 1976; Naiman et al., in press).

For the purposes of the study, language learning strategies were defined as the conscious attempts made by language learners to improve proficiency through a variety of means (Bialystok, in press; Bialystok, submitted). Four distinct strategies were identified for assessment—formal practising, functional practising, monitoring, and inferencing.

Formal practising and functional practising are the attempts by the learner to increase his exposure to the language for the purpose of either increasing his awareness of forms (formal) or ability to use the language communicatively (functional). Thus, practising would involve reading grammar books for the former and novels for the latter. Novels, of course, may also be used for formal purposes if the learner so intends.

The monitoring strategy is derived from monitor theory (Krashen 1976a) and describes the conscious attempts of second language learners to improve, modify, or correct a response by directing attention to form.

Finally, inferencing is the strategy described by Carton (1971) in which language learners exploit available information to arrive at hypotheses about unknown linguistic material. The information used in inferencing may be taken from the situation, from other languages, or from other features of the target language itself.

Thus the first learner variable examined in the study was the extent to which individual second language learners use these four strategies. Different degrees of implementation may be associated with different levels of overall or specific achievement. Assessment for this study was achieved by a self-report questionnaire (described in Bialystok submitted).

Language learning aptitude, traditionally shown to relate to achievement on a variety of language tasks, was measured by the short form of MLAT (Carroll and Sapon 1958).

2

The measure of attitude, the third individual factor examined in the study, was provided by the test developed by Gardner and Smythe (1975).

Finally, although the role of field independence in second language learning has been somewhat elusive and inconsistent, it was included among the predictors in the present study in order to better understand its effects and assessed by the Hidden Figures Test (1962).

Two related considerations may be addressed to classify these factors into two groups. First, the factors may be described as belonging to domains which, are essentially cognitive or affective. In this case, the cognitive variables are aptitude and field independence—both provide measures of a relatively fixed learner ability. Attitude and strategy use describe an affective aspect of the learner and are reflected in factors such as motivational intensity. Gardner et al. (1976) have argued attitude will determine the extent to which language learners engage in particular supplementary activities; for our purposes, these activities are represented by the degree to which the learning strategies are employed. Further, Gardner and Lambert (1972) claim that intellectual and motivational learner factors (cognitive and affective) are independent.

The second discriminating feature of these sets of factors is their relative trainability. While cognitive variables are assumed to be generally unmodifiable by instructional intervention, affective variables are considered to be more amenable to pedagogical modification.

Achievement was tested on four types of tasks described as formal/aural, functional/aural, formal/written, and functional/written. Differences between tasks in terms of their formal/functional and aural/written demands should be reflected in the learner skills which best facilitate their performance. The functional/aural task was an adaptation of the I.E.A. Listening Test (1970) which included only the longer, contextual passages and required students to answer comprehension questions. Similarly, the functional/written task was accommodated by the sections of the I.E.A. Reading Test which contained long, cohesive passages. The formal/written task was created by adopting the formal discrete point items from the I.E.A. Writing Test. Finally, in the absence of a standardized test of formal/aural proficiency, a test was developed by the researchers (Bialystok and Fröhlich 1978). The test presents students with isolated sentences, some of which contain a grammatical error; the task is to locate and identify these errors

All the students in the study were given all four criterion tasks and similarly provided information for all four independent learner characteristics.

Two hypotheses motivated the examination of the data. First, the individual learner characteristics could be described in some systematic way; that is, they do not operate as four independent factors but interact with each other in predictable relationships. The primary expectation was that the cognitive variables (aptitude, field independence) would act conjunctively and the affective variables (attitude, strategies) would exert different patterns of influence.

The second hypothesis concerned the effects of these characteristics, or pat-

terns of characteristics, on achievement. The groups of factors identified by the examination of Hypothesis One were expected to differentially facilitate performance on various language tasks. Specifically, the aptitude factors were expected to be important for formal achievement tasks and the attitude factors crucial for more functional tasks. The second hypothesis examined this possibility.

The data analyses examined relationships between independent variables for particular students in order to test Hypothesis One, as well as the relationships between these variables and achievement, in accordance with Hypothesis Two. The former data were derived from multiple correlational analyses and the latter from stepwise multiple regression analyses.

A summary of the results is presented in Figure 1. Significant relationships are represented by solid lines joining the relevant factors.

The results from the multiple correlational analyses of the independent learner characteristics identified two pairs of factors—aptitude/field independence ($r = 0.43$, $p < .01$) and strategy use/attitude ($r = 0.66$, $p < .01$). Correlations across these pairs were not significant. These groupings are consistent with Hypothesis One and may be explained by the superordinate categories of cognitive and affective variables.

The regression analyses showed that only one member of each pair significantly contributed to performance on achievement tests. For the cognitive variables, aptitude accounted for 15% to 32% of the variance on the criterion

FIGURE 1
Relationships between Factors and Achievement
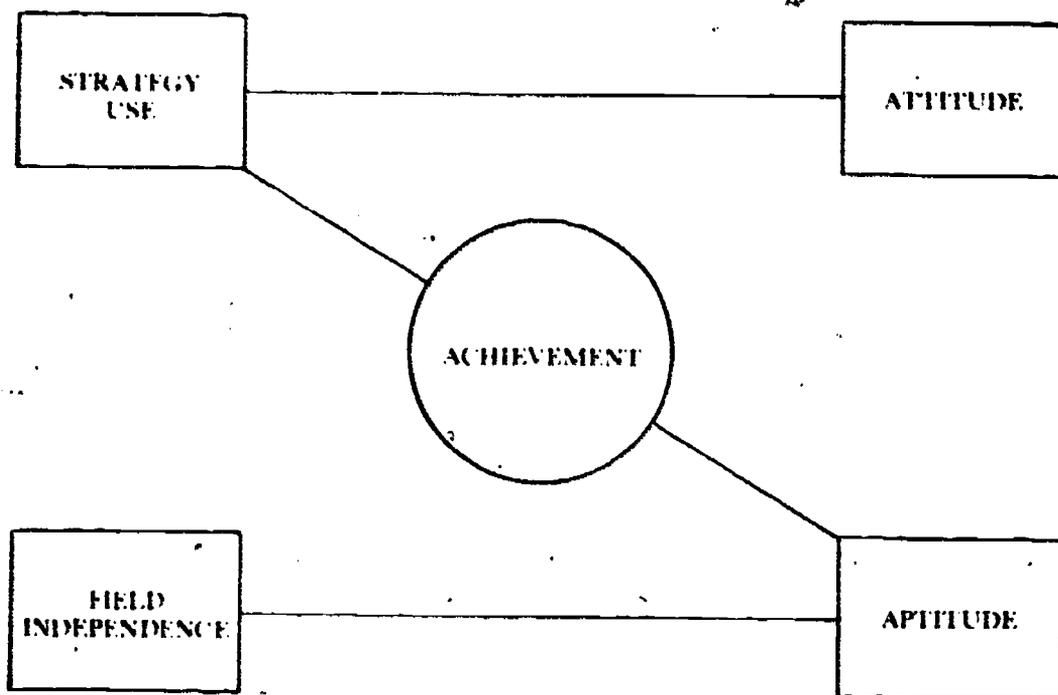
measures and was always a significant predictor of success (p < .01). Similarly, strategy use explained 5% to 6% of the variance and it, too, was significant (p < .05). Attitude and field independence, although they correlated with these factors, added nothing to the explanation of the variance. That is to say, although both factors in the cognitive pair and both factors in the affective pair measure a common ability, only one of the pair uniquely contributes to achievement.

While the two major hypotheses of the study were confirmed by the data, the underlying assumption was not. The factors found to be relevant for achievement displayed similar trends across all criterion measures. Language learning aptitude and use of strategies, particularly functional practice, consistently accounted for students' performance. What does this consistency reveal about the nature of the language learning that is being tested by these measures?

The lack of differentiation among tasks according to the predictor variables allows one of two interpretations. First, it is possible that the assumption was wrong; learner variables are not differentially associated with different tasks but are equally relevant for all language learning experiences. In this case, high aptitude learners for example would consistently have an advantage over lower aptitude learners regardless of the learning circumstances. For low aptitude learners language learning in even ideal conditions would be constrained by an ability limitation. The second possibility is that the structure of the tasks did not adequately reflect the formal/functional distinction. This explanation is more plausible and conveys more optimistic pedagogical implications.

Let us, then, examine the language of the formal classroom and the language being tested in these tasks. The context for this examination will be provided by current research trends in two traditions. First is the study of first language acquisition which has recently come to acknowledge the importance of pragmatic function in child first language learning. Some studies have demonstrated the preverbal existence of these functions in the child's earliest communications (Bates 1977) and others have traced the development of their verbal representation (Bruner 1978; Carnicka 1978). These studies are important in their insistence on a prerequisite role for communicative intention in first language acquisition.

Second language acquisition has recently undergone similar analysis (Barnes 1976; Wilkins 1976) The pragmatic force of an utterance is recognized as an essential aspect of the language and consequently an important determinant in mastery of the language

What is significant about most classroom language is that its use is essentially restricted to only one purpose—to learn the language. While structural and semantic features may be identical to those used in language outside the classroom, the pragmatic forces reflected in behaviours such as requesting, indicating, denying (Austin 1962), are not. This stripping from language of its functional intentions may have profound consequences both for the nature of the language learned and the contingencies which facilitate that learning. It is possibly not sufficient to construct functional language paradigms in the

classroom; functional use may require that the language naturally encompass a pragmatic intention expressed by the speaker.

To illustrate, consider an identical utterance which is spoken under two conditions—natural and classroom. A visitor to France getting ready to go out for the day may need to know about the weather in order to dress appropriately and so ask, "Quel temps fait-il aujourd'hui?" Similarly, a student in a classroom instructed to formulate a question regarding the weather may also ask, "Quel temps fait-il aujourd'hui?" The two utterances, although structurally identical, are motivated by different intentions and possibly require different abilities and imply different consequences for learning. These relationships are not entirely clear and no evidence directly addresses the relevant distinctions, but intuitively the similarity between the two utterances ends at the surface level.

To return to the results of the experimental study, it may not have been possible to provide an assessment of functional language use by means of a paper and pencil classroom test. While correct responses were determined in these cases primarily by meaning rather than linguistic form, the test nevertheless tapped into the same underlying knowledge of language that is reflected in classroom situtations. The correct response is provided by certain cues in the sentence and the detection of these is the means by which the problem is solved. The difference between the formal and functional tasks used in this study may simply indicate a difference between which cues are relevant; syntactic cues lead to correct responses in the first case and semantic ones to correct responses in the second. In no test was the language placed in a pragmatic context, and assessments of the syntactic and semantic functions alone fail to satisfactorily approximate natural language. The implication is that a test of functional language is not possible in a usual classroom situation because only one function motivates the use of the language, that is, to learn the language.

The conclusion from this line of argument is that the non-differentiation of criterion tasks according to predictor variables occurred because all tasks shared an essential commonality reflecting classroom language. What do the findings from the regression analysis tell us about the nature of that language and the learners who are most likely to master it? That is, how do we interpret the contribution of aptitude and functional practice to achievement on the four criterion tasks?

It appears intuitively contradictory that the two factors predictive of classroom achievement are formal language learning aptitude and functional strategy use. If language in the classroom is strictly formal, as has been argued above, then language learning aptitude should have a primary and possibly exclusive role in achievement. Further, practice of any type but particularly formal practice would contribute to achievement. Formal practice, however, had almost no role in accounting for success and in fact exhibited a negative relationship with proficiency The important role for functional practice found in the data appears to be anomalous; the communicative use of the langauge should not, according to this argument, improve performance with the formal aspects of the language.

The role of functional practice in classroom performance may be explained by appealing again to the pragmatic functions of language. It may be that when language is used communicatively, proficiency with even the formal aspects of language improves and is consequently reflected in increased performance on classroom tasks. To divorce language from its functional component is to reduce it to an arbitrary system of symbols and rules. Language must consist of a syntactic structure, a semantic reference, and a pragmatic intention. When only the first two are involved, as in some classroom situations, greater ability is needed to learn the system. Placing the language in a context, as is done during functional practice, facilitates learning. Hamayan, Genesee and Tucker (1977) similarly report an important role for experience in using the language outside the classroom as a predictor of classroom achievement of various kinds.

The argument may be further elaborated to assign a compensatory role for language learning aptitude when language is removed from a natural communicative environment and becomes instead an object of formal study. Whereas experience with communicative language, that is, functional practice, consistently contributes to mastery of the language because it taps into an integral aspect, that is, its pragmatic function, language learning aptitude may be necessary only when the language is deprived of this communicational force. Stated as an empirical hypothesis, language learning aptitude is relevant for situations only in which the language is not used for communication; functional practice is always essential.

A laboratory in which formal language study is coupled with purposeful communication is provided by second language immersion classrooms. The test of the hypothesis would be to assess the role of language learning aptitude and functional practice on proficiency in these immersion situations. The prediction is that the effect of aptitude would be minimal but that functional practice would continue to be important. Some evidence in this direction showing the greater effect of attitude factors than ability for French immersion students is represented by Tucker, Hamayan and Genesee (1976). Further, they demonstrated as well the importance of outside language exposure for proficiency, although the effect was far less salient for immersion students than for regular program students (Hamayan, Genesee, and Tucker 1977). They argue, nonetheless, that such exposure remains critical even for these immersion students.

Although others have argued that language learning aptitude should be more important for formal learning than for functional use of a second language (Gardner et al. 1976; Krashen 1976a), the relationship being postulated here is more specific. Language is distinguished not only by the surface formal or functional use, but also by the underlying pragmatic intention. Usually, these are congruent; functional language exploits the range of pragmatic functions while formal language restricts them to only one. It is sometimes the case, however, such as in language classrooms, that the formal/functional distinction does not adequately distinguish the types of language in that language which may be described as "pseudo-functional" may be used. In this case, functional language

is devoid of pragmatic intention; the argument here is that real intention must be involved.

What are the implications of this distinction for language learning in other settings or for other types of language learners? Two contrasts which are often examined for their differences are adult versus child second language learners and second language learning that occurs either in or outside of the community in which that language is spoken. According to the present analysis, these distinctions could be explained by the same parameter—the presence or absence of the pragmatic function. Child language is nearly always associated with intention; the desire to express intention is a primary reason children learn their first language at all (Macnamara 1972). Similarly, children learning a second language usually do so in a context in which they are required to express meaning or intention in the second language. Thus the pragmatic force is inextricably tied to the language structure.

Adult second language learning may proceed for a variety of purposes and the relationship with function is not entirely predictable or consistent. Adults may learn a language to gain reading knowledge only, to become fluently bilingual, to receive a course credit, and so on. In each case, a different set of pragmatic functions is implied, and the hypothesis is that the role of factors such as language learning aptitude and functional practice, and probably the nature of the language learned, will vary as a function of these pragmatic relationships.

The difference between learning a language inside or outside of the relevant community may be described in the same terms; language learned in the context of its use would provide the means for representing all pragmatic functions in the language while language learned in an insular environment would not necessarily do so. Thus aptitude should be involved to a greater extent in the latter case than in the former.

The implications concerning the role of language learning aptitude and functional practice to situations other than the language learning classroom from which the data were originally derived are highly speculative. But the empirical facts remain that some people learn languages more successfully than do others, that some situations induce greater mastery of a second language than do others, and that differences exist between child and adult mastery of a second language. The suggestion is that all these differences may be partly attributable to a single dimension of language—the degree to which a range of pragmatic functions is involved. This postulation points to a a field of study which second language researchers should explore

The Given-New Strategy: Testing Presupposition and Assertion in L_1 and L_2

Patricia L. Carrell[*]

The theoretical linguistic distinction between presupposition and assertion was empirically tested with two groups of subjects—adult native speakers of English and adults acquiring English as a second language. The distinction was tested as an instance of the given-new strategy of Clark and Haviland (1977); specifically, it was measured in terms of subjects' judgments of the appropriateness of answers to questions they purport to answer. The task was for subjects to choose one of two possible answers to a given question as being more appropriate. Results indicated that on a statistically significant basis, subjects chose as more appropriate those answers whose presuppositions and assertions, or given and new information, matched those of the question. These findings of the distinction between presupposition and assertion, or given-new information, constitute not only linguistic evidence for a theory of linguistic competence, but also important psychological evidence for theories of first and second language processing

Research in second language acquisition has focused primarily on the acquisition of structure. Relatively little attention has been paid thus far to the acquisition of pragmatic or communicative competence—that is, to the process by which the learner comes to know how to appropriately use the structures being acquired This paper reports the findings of a research study investigating the acquisition of one area of pragmatic competence: the distinction between presupposed or "given" information, on the one hand, and asserted or "new" information, on the other.

Conversations are a cooperative enterprise. Speakers and listeners engaged in them must adhere to certain conventions to ensure the smooth give and take of

information. The important question is, then, what precisely are these conven
tions? According to Grice (1975), the overriding convention is what he calls the
Cooperative Principle, which consists of the following simple precept to the
speaker: "Be cooperative." A speaker may be cooperative by following four
general maxims, which Grice calls the maxims of *quantity* (make your contribu-
tion no more and no less informative than is required), *quality* (say only what you
believe and have adequate evidence for), *relation* (be relevant), and *manner* (make
your contribution easy to understand—avoid ambiguity, obscurity and prolixity)
(Grice 1975:45-46). The cooperative principle, together with these four maxims,
constitutes a type of social contract. The speaker agrees to follow these maxims;
the listener agrees to assume they have been followed.

In Grice's scheme, the four maxims are not merely guidelines for well-
mannered speakers; they influence the very interpretations the listener makes of
what the speaker has said. The maxims are normative, attendant rules, but do
not themselves constitute the cooperative principle. Under special circumstances
a speaker can intentionally violate a maxim without violating the cooperative
principle—however, the listener must be aware of the speaker's intent to violate
the maxim. In these cases, the listener assumes that the speaker is still being
cooperative and that the speaker meant for the listener to draw a conversational
implicature by violating the maxim. For example, assume it is clear to both
speaker and listener that a party they are both attending is a crashing bore, yet
the speaker says "This is such a fun party." The listener would assume the
speaker was still being cooperative, and that her intentional violation of the max-
im of quality was meant to have the listener draw a conversational implicature,
namely that the utterance should be taken as an ironic comment on the party and
not as a purely informative communication. On the other hand, covert or
unintentional violations of the maxims can lead to a breakdown of communica-
tion.

Clark and Haviland (1977) have described the distinction between presup-
posed or "given" information, on the one hand, and asserted or "new" in-
formation, on the other, in terms of Grice's schema. "As part of the cooperative
principle, speakers and listeners have an implicit agreement about how (a) in-
formation that is known to the listener, and (b) information that is novel to the
listener are to appear in sentences." (Clark and Haviland 1977:3) This they call
the *given-new contract*. That is, the given-new contract concerns, among other
things, syntactic distinctions the speaker is obliged to make between given and
new information. To ensure reasonably efficient communication, the speaker
and listener adhere to this contract; the speaker tries to make the structures of her
utterances agree with her knowledge of the listener's mental world—she agrees to
structure information she thinks the listener already knows as given information,
and to structure the information she thinks the listener does not yet know as new
information. The listener, in turn, makes use of this tacit contract by using a
given-new strategy in interpreting the sentences he hears. Therefore, the given-
new contract, or presupposed-asserted distinction, is claimed to be present in

language to serve a mutually beneficial communicative function between speaker and listener

Like its parent, Grice's cooperative principle, the given-new contract consists of a normative maxim—a precept to the speaker of what she should ideally do. The central maxim of the given-new contract is the maxim of *antecedence*: "Be sure the listener actually knows the information being conveyed as given" (Clark and Haviland 1977:4) Violations of the maxim, like violations of Grice's maxims, can lead to differing consequences, ranging all the way from the listener having to draw inferences or implicatures, to the listener judging the sentences as being unacceptable, awkward or inappropriate in context, to a total breakdown in communication.

Judgments about the appropriateness of answers to the questions they purport to answer can provide empirical evidence for the given-new strategy or the presupposition-assertion distinction. *Wh*- questions provide both the presupposed or given information and a request for new information. Their appropriate answers share the presupposed or given information as well as assert the new information. For example, the question "Who kissed Oscar?" presupposes that someone kissed Oscar and requests the new information in place of its *wh*- word "who." An appropriate answer would be "It was Olivia who kissed Oscar," which shares the given information of the question, and asserts the identity of the who: who = Olivia Any other answer which also structured the presupposed information as "given" and which asserted the new information would be appropriate (e.g. "Olivia kissed Oscar"). However, an answer that did not structure the presupposed information as given and the asserted information as new would be inappropriate, e g. "It was Oscar who Olivia kissed," or "Olivia kissed Oscar."

Therefore, one way of testing the psychological reality of the presupposition-assertion distinction via the given-new strategy is by constructing sets of questions and purported answers and seeking listener judgments about the appropriateness of the answers.

Earlier studies (Hornby 1974 and Carrell 1977) have shown the presupposition-assertion distinction to be empirically measurable in the competence/performance of adult native speakers of English, of young children acquiring English as their first language, and of adults acquiring English as a second language However, none of these studies have investigated the distinction in terms of the given-new contract and strategy and none have tested for it via measurement of metalinguistic judgments of acceptability and appropriateness. As Clark and Haviland argue:

> Linguistic intuitions of acceptability and appropriateness have always been a legitimate source of evidence for theories of linguistic competence. But they are also a potentially important source of evidence for theories of language processing People come to their judgments of acceptability and appropriateness through a mental process that is part of comprehension It is quite natural, then, for theories of comprehension to predict which sentences are acceptable

and which are not. The theory of interest here, the given-new strategy, happens to make such predictions; and so we have appealed, quite legitimately, to judgments of appropriateness. The point is, a judgment of appropriateness is just as much psychological evidence as it is linguistic evidence. (Clark and Haviland 1977:16)

1. Method

1.1. *Subjects.* The L_1 subjects tested in this study were forty-six undergraduate students at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, primarily freshmen and sophomores. The L_2 subjects were 145 foreign students on the SIU-C campus. The L_2 subjects fell into two sub-groups. Forty-six of them were intermediate and advanced students enrolled in the intensive Center for English as a Second Language (CESL). These students had not yet reached a level of English proficiency sufficient to allow them admission into the university. Ninety-nine of the L_2 subjects were undergraduate foreign students who had been admitted to the university (TOEFL minimum: 525). All of these foreign students came from all parts of the world and from a variety of native language backgrounds; they were predominantly from the Middle East, the Far East, and South America.

1.2. *Procedure.* The subjects were presented with a twenty-eight item questionnaire. Each item consisted of a *Wh-* question and two answers which conveyed the same factual information and both of which were cooperative responses in terms of their relevance to the question. In fact, the only difference between the answers was the difference between their given and new information. The given-new information was exactly reversed in the two purported answers. In one answer the given-new information matched that of the question, in the other answer the given-new information reversed that of the question. Subjects were asked ·· choose the response which better answered the question, the more appro᠈.   answer.

᠊ ɪ.ᴀɴ of the 28-item questionnaire involved questions whose answer-choices consisted of cleft structures, the other half involved pseudo-cleft structures. In addition, the test items were systematically varied so that half of the questions interrogated the agent or subject noun phrase, half the object noun phrase. The interrelationships among these two types of cleft and pseudo-cleft structures make them an ideal paradigm for testing the difference between given and new information. First, the difference between given and new information is clearly, structurally signalled. If, for example, a speaker describes a simple action, like a bird eating a worm, with a cleft or pseudo-cleft structure, she is clearly signalling what she is presupposing and what she is asserting:

Cleft:
(1) It is a bird that is eating the worm.
    Presupp: X is eating the worm
    Assert: X = a bird
(2) It is a worm that the bird is eating.
    Presupp: the bird is eating X
    Assert: X = a worm

Pseudo-cleft:
(3) What is eating the worm is a bird.
    Presupp: X is eating the worm
    Assert: X = a bird
(4) What the bird is eating is a worm.
    Presupp: the bird is eating X
    Assert: X = a worm

Second, it is easy to re⸱ ⸱se the given and new information, keeping everything else constant. The NP which is asserted in (1) is presupposed in (2) and reverse, the NP which is presupposed in (1) is asserted in (2); the same is true for (3) and (4). Third, one can presuppose either the agent or object noun phrase while asserting the other. Finally, in the cleft structures the asserted noun phrase is the first noun phrase (the presupposed noun phrase is second), while in the pseudo-cleft structures the asserted noun phrase is the second noun phrase (the presupposed noun phrase is first).

Examples of each type of item follow:

(5) What is the cat chasing?   (Given: the cat is chasing X,
                                      Interrog: X = what? object.)
    a. It is the rat that   (Given: the cat is chasing X,
       the cat is chasing.   New: X = the rat.)
    b. It is the cat that   (Given: X is chasing the rat,
       is chasing the rat.   New: X = the cat.)

Given-new strategy predicts a. as the more appropriate response.

(6) What is chasing the rat?   (Given: X is chasing the rat,
                                       Interrog: X = what? agent.)
    a. It is the rat that   (Given: the cat is chasing X,
       the cat is chasing.   New: X = the rat.)
    b. It is the cat that   (Given: X is chasing the rat,
       is chasing the rat.   New: X = the cat.)

Given-new strategy predicts b. as the more appropriate response.

(7) What is the cow eating?   (Given: the cow is eating X,
                                       Interrog: X = what? object.)
    a. What the cow is   (Given: the cow is eating X,
       eating is grass.   New: X = grass.)
    b. What is eating   (Given: X is eating grass,
       grass is the cow.   New: X = the cow.)

Given-new strategy predicts a. as the more appropriate response.

(8) What is eating grass?   (Given: X is eating grass,
                                       Interrog: X = what? agent.)
    a. What the cow is   (Given: the cow is eating X,
       eating is grass.   New: X = grass.)

b. What is eating   (Given: X is eating grass,
    grass is the cow   New: X = the cow.)

Given-new strategy predicts b. as the more appropriate response.,

2. Hypotheses

2.1. *Null Hypothesis.* There is no significant difference between given and new information; subjects do not interpret the appropriateness of answers to questions in terms of the given-new strategy. If the null hypothesis is true, subjects' responses on the questionnaire would be totally random, there being no other differences between the choices. Subjects would be equally likely to choose either answer as appropriate; they would be no more likely to choose one answer as more appropriate.

2.2. *Research Hypothesis.* There is a significant difference between given and new information; subjects do interpret the appropriateness of answers to questions in terms of the given-new strategy. If the research hypothesis is true, subjects' responses on the questionnaire would not be totally random. The subjects would choose more often than chance that answer which shares the presupposed or given information of the question, the response predicted by the given-new strategy.

3. Results

The principle measure was the number of times each subject chose as the more appropriate answer the one predicted by the given-new strategy. The results are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics
Responses to 28 Question-Answer Items

	L_1 Subjects $N = 46$	L_2 Subjects		
		CESL $N = 46$	Ug ESL $N = 99$	Combined $N = 145$
Mean	25.39	23.50	24.71	24.32
st error	514	643	404	.345
st dev	3.486	4.360	4.024	4.156
var	12.155	19.011	16.189	17.276
range	12-28	15-28	7-28	7-28

Results indicated that all groups of subjects chose as the more appropriate answer the one predicted by the given-new strategy. Of a maximum possible score of 28, the mean for each group is well above chance: 25.39 for the L_1 subjects, 23.5 for the intensive CESL subjects, and 24.7 for the undergraduate ESL subjects. It is highly improbable that these high mean scores could have resulted if the subjects had been randomly choosing the more appropriate answer. If that

had been the case, we would have predicted mean scores closer to 14. Comparing the actual mean of each group of subjects with the hypothesized mean of 14 via one-sample t-tests provides us with a way of statistically measuring the improbability of the obtained means by chance. The t-values obtained are reported in Table 2.

TABLE 2

One-sample t-tests

Comparing Calculated Means of Each Group with Hypothesized Mean

	L_1 Subjects N = 46	L_2 Subjects		
		CESL N = 46	Ug ESL N = 99	Combined N = 145
t-values	22.16	14.78	26.50	29.92
df	45	45	98	144
significance	$p < .0001$	$p < .0001$	$p < .0001$	$p < .0001$

As can be seen from Table 'iances of obtaining these high mean scores, if the population mean were really 14, would be $p < .0001$. In other words, the subjects were behaving as the given-new strategy predicted—they chose as appropriate the answers whose given information matched the given information of the question. We may, therefore, reject the null hypothesis and are left with our preferred alternative, the research hypothesis.

A second result of this study is the similar behavior of the L_2 subjects compared to the L_1 subjects. T-tests comparing the mean of the L_1 subjects with the means of the two sub-groups of L_2 subjects, as well as with the combined group of all L_2 subjects yielded the results shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

t-tests for Independent Samples

Comparisons of L_1 Subjects with L_2 Subjects

	L_1 with L_2-CESL	L_1 with L_2-Ug ESL	L_1 with L_2-Combined
t-value	2.297	.993	1.575
df	90	143	189
significance	$p = .011$ one-tailed test*	$p = .161$ one-tailed test*	$p = .058$ one-tailed test*

(*One-tailed tests of significance are appropriate because one would expect any difference to be in one direction, namely the L_1 subjects would be expected to perform better than the L_2 subjects.)

The only one of these t-values that even begins to approach significance, indicating a possible difference between the two groups compared, is the L_1 with L_2-CESL comparison. In the other two comparisons, the groups are so alike, the t-values so small, that we must retain the hypothesis of no difference between the groups.

4. Discussion

These results demonstrate that the given-new strategy, and the presup-
position-assertion distinction upon which it is based, are psychologically real in
the competence/performance of both the L_1 and L_2 subjects. The results provide
empirical psycholinguistic evidence for such an interpretive strategy. The given-
new strategy is apparently a significant interpretive strategy employed in the in-
terpretive competence/performance of both native speakers of English and for-
eign learners of English in the mental processing of language input.

In conclusion I'd like to comment on the relevance as I see it of this kind of
research to the teaching of English as a second language. If the goal of TESL/TEFL
is to produce speaker/listeners who are truly competent, this competency must
include mastery of the pragmatic, communicative aspects of meaning—the abili-
ty to appropriately use the structures being acquired, the ability to correctly en-
code and to interpret presuppositions, draw implications and make inferences.
Conversations are a cooperative enterprise. Speakers and listeners engaged in
them must adhere to certain conventions to ensure the smooth give and take of
information. The important question, then, is what precisely are those conven-
tions? A listener trying to understand a sentence does more than determine its
propositional content; his fundamental goal, rather, is to try to figure out what
the speaker intended him to understand by the sentence, and this may require all
sorts of higher-level conventions or contracts and their derivative interpretive
strategies, like the given-new strategy. In order to teach these strategies, if they
need to be taught, or in order to effectively utilize these strategies and build on
them if they are universal, we must first understand more about what these
strategies are and the extent to which they are present in native and ESL speakers.
This study is a step toward that understanding.

Fossilization in Interlanguage Learning

Larry Selinker
John T. Lamendella

Since the permanent fossilization of non-Target Language forms became a recognized aspect of *adult* (Selinker 1972) and also, under certain conditions, *child* interlanguage learning (Selinker, Swain, and Dumas 1975), several competing claims have been made regarding the nature and major source of fossilization. For example, Vigil and Oller (1976) claim that the general stabilization of both correct and incorrect rules in second language learning results pragmatically at the point when the learner begins to receive a predominance of "expected feedback on the cognitive dimension." Adjemian (1976) views fossilization in terms of a system-wide loss of the "permeability" he identifies as a unique property of interlanguages. Schumann (1975b, 1976) has claimed that the point at which an interlanguage system fossilizes is directly controlled by socio-cultural variables. Scovel (1977) stresses the need to look for an explanation of fossilization in maturational factors internal to the learner.

Arguing that each of these positions addresses a different facet of a complex phenomenon, this paper begins a reformulation of the original notion of fossilization presented in Selinker (1972) within the context of both a *neurofunc-..onal* and a *macrobehavioral* perspective (Selinker and Lamendella, to appear).

This paper is one in a series in which we begin to reformulate the Interlanguage (IL) Hypothesis of Selinker (1972). We attempt this reformulation from two perspectives:

1) what we will call a *Macrobehavioral Perspective*, a theoretical approach which characterizes the systematicity attributable to publicly observable second language speech data.

2) what we will call a *Neurofunctional Perspective*, an account of interlanguage (IL) learning based on a characterization of the systematicity attributable to neurolinguistic information processing systems (cf. Lamendella 1977a, 1977b; Selinker and Lamendella 1978).

The present paper focusses on *fossilization* in IL learning, where we define fossilization in a general fashion as a "cessation of further systematic development in the IL." We feel that if a learner's first exposure to a second language occurs as an adult, there is a strong likelihood that he or she will fossilize at some

point in the attempt to master a second language. If this supposition is correct, then language teachers should be aware of the implications of this phenomenon for their classroom experiences with learners. They should also be aware of the nature and sources of fossilization as they are understood at this point in time.

Our starting point is the statement of the concept of fossilization as it appeared in Selinker (1972); this is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Summary of "Fossilization" as Originally Presented in Selinker (1972)

I. HYPOTHESIZED CONSTRUCT

   A *Data Orientation* "Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL." (p. 215)

   B *Explanatory Attempt* Fossilization is "a mechanism which is assumed . . . to exist in the latent psychological structure described above." (p. 215) "We assume that there is such a psychological structure . . . (within which we assume 'interlingual identifications' exist) . . . and that it is latent in the brain . . . (that it is a) . . . genetically determined structure . . . (and that it is) . . . activated . . . whenever . . . (learners) . . . attempt to produce a sentence in the second language, that is whenever they attempt to express meanings, which they already have, in a language which they are in the process of learning" (pp. 211 and 212)

   C *"Backsliding"* "Fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, reemerging in the productive performance of an IL even when seemingly eradicated." (p. 215) "Whatever the cause, the well-observed phenomenon of 'backsliding' by second language learners from a TL norm is not, as has been generally believed, either random or toward the speaker's NL, but toward an IL norm" (pp. 215 and 216). "A crucial fact, perhaps the most crucial fact, which any adequate theory of second language learning will have to explain is this regular reappearance or reemergence in IL productive performance of linguistic structures which were thought to be eradicated. This behavioral reappearance is what has led me to postulate the reality of fossilization and IL's" (p. 216) (Several phonological and grammatical examples of backsliding phenomena are presented on pp. 215 and 216.) "It should be made clear that the reappearance of such behavior is not limited to the phonetic level" (p. 216)

   D *Fossilization and "Errors"* "This connection . . . (between fossilization and errors) . . . is not intended since it turns out that 'correct' things can also reemerge when thought to be eradicated, especially if they are caused by processes other than language transfer" (p. 216)

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS PROPOSED

   A "How can we systematize the notion *fossilization* so that from the basis of theoretical constructs, we can predict which items in which interlingual situations will be fossilized?" (p. 222)

   B "How do I recognize fossilizable structures in advance?" (p. 222)

   C "Why do some things fossilize and others do not?" (p. 222)

   (An example is given of the "non-reversability of fossilization effects for no apparent reason" (p. 222).)

Since the original formulation of the IL hypothesis was completed in 1970, several important proposals have been made concerning fossilization. We now briefly review some of these proposals, hoping that we neither neglect nor misrepresent the views of any of our colleagues.

A.) Vigil and Oller (1976) have made explicit claims regarding the source of fossilization, as well as the point at which fossilization is likely to arise. In their

paper, an emphasis is placed on external interaction factors that serve to either "reinforce" or "destabilize" the current rule structures employed by the learner to exchange information (i.e., what they call the "cognitive" dimension) and to express a notion of self in relation to "valued" others (i.e., what they call the "affective" dimension):

> It is argued that expected negative feedback on the cognitive dimension of language usage is the principal de-stabilizing factor in the development of learner grammars. When the configuration of feedback to the learner becomes predominantly expected positive feedback on the cognitive dimension it is predicted that the learner's level of proficiency will tend to fossilize. Thus, the tendency toward fossilization of either correct or incorrect forms is governed by feedback principally on the cognitive dimension. However, if feedback on the affective dimension is not predominantly as expected, and predominantly positive, the feedback on the cognitive dimension will lose much of its force.
> (op. cit., p. 281)

B.) Schumann (1975b), as an aspect of the "Pidginization Hypothesis," argues that a pidgin-type system with a simplified grammar will tend to arise whenever the only function served by the pidgin-type system is "communication":[1]

> Pidginization occurs when a language is restricted to the communication of denotative referential information and is not used for integrative and expressive functions. Restriction to the communicative function results from the learner's social and/or psychological distance from the target language group.
> (1975, p. viii)

Schumann has proposed that for second-language learners, the point at which their IL systems fossilize is directly controlled by the cessation of the learner's *acculturation* into the target society. Regarding the source of fossilization, he has also suggested:

> Within this framework, pidginization in second language acquisition can be viewed as initially resulting from cognitive constraints and then persisting due to social and psychological constraints. Hence, early second language acquisition would be characterized by the temporary use of a non-marked, simple code resembling a pidgin. This code would be the product of cognitive constraints engendered by lack of knowledge of the target language. The code may reflect a regression to a set of universal primitive linguistic categories that were

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1 The term "communication function" is used by Schumann in accordance with the distinction proposed by Smith (1972) of three main functions served by a language: the *communicative* function, the *expressive* function, and the *integrative* function. Vigil and Oller (1976) use the term "cognitive dimension" in a manner most closely related to Smith's communication function. Their term "affective dimension" seems to approximate Smith's notion of expression function. Schumann's term "psychological distance" seems to also relate to the affective-expressive domain, but also encompasses certain other personality and attitudinal factors.

realized in early first language acquisition. Then, under conditions of social and/or psychological distance, this pidginized form of speech would persist. (1976:406).

Central to Schumann's approach seems to be the belief that fossilization is a temporary plateau in IL learning which may be surmounted by the establishment of higher degrees of integrative social motivation and/or by a decrease in the psychological distance between the learner and the target society.

C.) Adjemian (1976) in discussing the nature of fossilization views this phenomenon in terms of a system-wide loss of what he calls *permeability*, stating:

> Perhaps *the* salient characteristic of ILs is that they are linguistic systems which by nature are somehow incomplete and in a state of flux . . . The penetration into an IL system of rules foreign to its internal systematicity, or the overgeneralization or distortion of an IL rule, is one of the characteristics which defined ILs as being different from all other natural language systems. The property of ILs which allows this penetration or generalization I will call the *permeability* of ILs. (op. cit. 308)

Adjemian's view (as well as the original position of Selinker [1972]) seems to entail a belief in the virtual inevitability of the adult learner's failure to achieve TL norms and the probable persistence of fossilized linguistic features as a permanent condition.

D.) Scovel (1969, 1976, 1977) has focussed on the source of fossilization and has argued in favor of the view that, in those individuals who begin to learn the TL after the time of puberty, permanent fossilization far from TL norms is in fact inevitable. Scovel believes the basic cause to be a loss of brain plasticity associated with advancing age such that, after the time of puberty, it becomes increasingly more difficult to attain TL norms, particularly in phonology Scovel stresses the inability on the part of all adult learners to overcome a foreign accent, and convincingly argues the need to consider more than external variables:

> . . the basic problem with environmental explanations is that they do not account for the fact that the very best adult learners exhibit few, if any, syntactic errors, while no adult learners, even the very best, escape without an accent. In other words, why do sociocultural or psychological variables intervene at the phonological level but not at the level of syntax, which, in terms of linguistic theory, is much more complex and abstract? For this reason, we must abandon explanation founded on nurture and look to those grounded on nature (1977:39)

We can agree with Scovel that any adequate explanation of fossilization must encompass inherent learner characteristics. It must also confront the issue of whether there is in fact a span of time during which attainment of TL norms is facilitated and after which complete learning is difficult or impossible. In our work, we follow the distinction of Lamedella (1977a) between a neuromaturationally based *critical period* relevant only to primary language acquisition, and a

multi-faceted *sensitive period* during which the potential for successful second language acquisition is enhanced, and after which fossilization far from TL norms is highly probable.

E.) Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975) have suggested that some salient properties of IL learning in adults may apply to child second language acquisition as well. Their data suggest that under certain conditions the child's progress in a second language may be as susceptible to the effects of fossilization as an adult's.[2] They state that certain rules may fossilize

> When the second language acquisition is *non-simultaneous* [with the acquisition
> of the child's first language] and also when it occurs *in the absence of native speak-*
> *ing peers of the target language* (op cit 140)

Also drawing from the Toronto French Immersion data, Tarone, Frauenfelder, and Selinker (1976) appear to address the source of fossilization, attempting to relate it to patterns of stability and instability over time for certain types of errors and other surface forms in child second language learning.

It seems clear to many researchers that children learning second languages constitute a pivotal condition for gathering data which could help resolve many important theoretical questions. We believe that this is particularly true for the issue of fossilization if it is in fact the case that (all?) adults fossilize at some (great?) distance from TL norms, and that some children do while others do not fossilize before attaining native-like TL competence. The difference between the two groups of children may arise from the interplay of variables which may be productively studied in a particular piece of research on fossilization in child second language learning.

We feel that some of the seemingly contradictory claims discussed in this section regarding fossilization should not be considered to be in competition, but actually address different facets of a very complex phenomenon. Some of these proposals are primarily directed at the source of fossilization and some at the point at which fossilization can be expected to arise. None of the authors listed are totally clear on this issue. Vigil and Oller as well as Schumann seem to be primarily concerned with the source of fossilization, as well as with the point at which fossilization is likely to arise. Scovel's interest (as well as that of Tarone, Frauenfelder, and Selinker) appears to be primarily the source, with Adjemian's primarily the nature of fossilization. None of the authors, it is important to note, address more than limited aspects of a very complex phenomenon.

In the remainder of this paper we will outline some important factors which should be considered in the study of fossilization by listing some possibly relevant research problem areas. Table 2 presents our first attempt at such a listing.

_ Swain (personal communication) states that some predictions made in Selinker, Swain & Dumas (1975) about the fossilization of these children for grade one seem to be holding for grade five, specifically some recent data have shown that the same kinds of errors show up

TABLE 2
A Set of Research Problem Areas concerning Fossilization

How can we systematize our theoretical understanding of nonprimary language acquisition and apply this understanding to future empirical investigations so as to answer the following questions?

A. NATURE OF FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Is fossilization a phenomenon peculiar to nonprimary language acquisition, or is it a more general condition also relevant to primary language acquisition, or perhaps also to more general cognitive learning phenomena?

    (2) Is stability over time of a linguistic feature all that is at issue in understanding fossilization, or is there a sense in which fossilization involves more than this?

    (3) Is fossilization a positive *process* which acts to halt further development of the IL, or is it a way of looking at the absence of some positive force which when lost would tend to result in the cessation of further learning?

B. SOURCE OF FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Will the basic explanatory domain in terms of which fossilization can be described most appropriately be (a) factors external to the individual learner? (b) factors internal to the individual? (c) external factors filtered through the current information processing systems of the individual? (d) some combination?

    (2) For a given individual, what are the relative contributions of *cognitive, affective, social, communicative, neuromaturational,* and *genetic* factors in determining what will be fossilized, when fossilization will occur, how it will occur, how long it will last, and under which conditions it might be surmounted and progress in IL learning resumed?

C. OBJECTS OF FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Which aspects of a learner's IL are susceptible to fossilization? Single surface items? Particular rules? Subsystems? The entire IL?

    (2) Are some linguistic features more susceptible to premature stabilization than others? In particular, is phonology in adults especially liable to fossilize before TL norms are attained?

    (3) Is it reasonable to view linguistic features which are "correct" (relative to the TL) as being susceptible to fossilization, or is it only "incorrect" features which should be considered fossilizable?

    (4) Can communicative competence in TL interactions fossilize independently of the linguistic form of the IL? Can linguistic form fossilize independently of communicative competence?

D. MANNER OF FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Are there particular sequences in which given linguistic features fossilize? Which of any such sequences are universal, language specific versus learner specific?

    (2) Is fossilization an abrupt event which happens suddenly? Is it a gradual process occurring over a span of weeks, months, or years?

    (3) Does fossilization occur differentially for Foreign Language Learning in classroom settings versus Secondary Language Acquisition in naturalistic settings?

E. POINT AT WHICH FOSSILIZATION BEGINS

    (1) When, along the learning process, will fossilization 'set in' for a given aspect of the learner's IL?

    (2) Is there any absolute *lower bound* on when fossilization could possibly first occur?

    (3) Is there an absolute *upper bound* by which fossilization necessarily occurs (e.g., attainment of TL norms), or does the learner's interlanguage continue to be indefinitely permeable?

F. PERSISTENCE OF FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Can it be determined for a given learner whether fossilization is merely a temporary plateau or a permanent condition?

    (2) What conditions before, during, and after the period of fossilization would be necessary for a given individual to 'de-fossilize' at some point?

    (3) If there is a de-fossilization attempt made, or if the general conditions under which the learner operates change drastically, does it matter how long the learner had remained fossilized? Does it matter how old the learner was at the time fossilization occurred? Does the learner's age at the time of the de-fossilization attempt matter?

G. CANDIDATES FOR FOSSILIZATION

    (1) Which learners may be identified in advance as likely candidates for premature fossilization at some great distance from TL norms?

    (2) Why do some child second language learners appear to fossilize and others do not? Why do some adults fossilize at a greater distance from TL norms than others?

    (3) What are the relative contributions of variables such as age, sex, motivation, intelligence, "foreign language aptitude," opportunity to learn and to practice in determining which learners will fossilize when?

The practicing teacher, by perusing this list, will see that we are still at the primitive stage of formulating adequate ques.ions. Moreover, it is not entirely clear which perspectives on the problem would be the most productive for which purposes.

In general, as one goes about studying second language acquisition, one could look at macrobehavior, that is publicly observable second language speech or writing data; or, one could look at microbehavior, that is, covert neurophysiological behavior which is known through experimental or clinicopathological investigations in neurolinguistics and neuropsychology; also, one could look at both macrobehavior and microbehavior in a neurofunctional framework, a framework which attempts to characterize the neurolinguistic information processing systems which interrelate both sets of behavior. A detailed discussion of these three perspectives is impossible here; this we will attempt to do in Selinker and Lamendella (to appear).

In considering the source of fossilization (Table 2, section A) we have to state categorically that it is our belief that no *single ontological factor*[3]—neither feedback on communicative success, nor acculturation into the target society, nor maturational stage—in and of itself could possibly account for more than very limited aspects of fossilization in attempted target language (TL) learning.

Obviously classroom teachers have a vested interest in the types of theoretical results that will come out of second language acquisition research. In particular, it is unlikely that teachers would discover, from everyday classroom observation, the nature and source of fossilization. However we feel that, for others of those research problem areas listed in Table 2, teachers are in an excellent position to develop insights into major facets of fossilization in second language acquisition. For example, a very important problem from the point of view of the teacher is "What type of student is a likely candidate for fossilization before attaining TL norms?" We believe that it is precisely this sort of question which teachers should become sensitive to in their observations of their own students. Teachers could consider from their own experience whether certain types or levels of linguistic features are mor~ prone to persist in students' perfor-

3 Following Scovel and Lamendella (in preparation), we wish to make a firm terminolor: al and conceptual distinction between two distinct phenomena: *research variables* and *ontological factors*. Research variables are those parameters encompassed by a particular observational or experimental research paradigm which may be correlated with each other and with particular other data in order to account for some percentage of the variance in behavior across different subjects or for the same subjects over time. Ontological factors are of two main types: (a) *individual characteristics*, those inherent properties attributable to given individuals which directly explain overt behavior, being not just correlatable, but causally connected with particular behaviors and with each other; (b) *contextual conditions* are those circumstantial features of the environment (internal or external) causally connected to aspects of overt or covert behavior. Depending on one's perspective and goals, research variables may be viewed either as ends in themselves, or merely as methodological tools used to construct hypotheses about ontological factors.

mance even in the presence of ample practice, or the ability to produce correct
TL language forms under conscious direction. Particularly, teachers should be
aware that among second language researchers there are strong differences of
opinion as to whether there are only temporary learning plateaus which may be
overcome by the application of appropriate pedagogical methods, or changes in
the internal or other external circumstances of the learner.

There are many reasons to believe that it is the interactive needs of par-
ticular learners (both the need to communicate conceptual messages and the
sociocultural need to identify with and acculturate to the target society) that may
play a determining role in the point at which fossilization is likely to occur.
Teachers could become sensitive to the interactive needs of the students they deal
with, perhaps by asking themselves and other teachers in their surroundings if
*fossilization in particular learners appears to take place within well-defined con-
texts. Is time a crucial variable for some learners, with some learners requiring
more time than others to accomplish the same learning task? Does good pronun-
ciation on the part of particular sorts of learners facilitate or inhibit the acquisi-
tion of correct TL syntax? Just how does adequate TL syntax appear to correlate
with fossilized pronunciations for particular sorts of learners?

Schumann (1976) has stressed the psychological distance of the learner from
the target society and many other researchers have shown that motivation, and
other variables play an important role in the level of success achieved in the
classroom. Does the highly motivated student, in fact, appear to fossilize less than
other students?

It is important also to pay attention to the same learner in different contexts
and situations. Are some students hardly indistinguishable from native speakers
of the TL when concentrating on highly stylized topics, seemingly relying heavily
on formulas[4]. Whereas, in discussing or writing about highly emotional or, in-
deed, highly abstract topics do these same learners appear to produce more
fossilized forms?

If Table 2 proves to be unambiguous, it could serve as a possible checklist
for those teachers who may wish to observe their students from this point of view.
However, it is important to realize that there are complexes of variables which
cut across the categories we have set up in Table 2, such as the opportunity to
learn. In the remainder of this paper we will briefly investigate this one set of
variables to see how it can help with our understanding of the fossilization
phenomena.

Obviously a great many circumstances could interfere with the actualization
of an individual's genotypically-determined capacity to continue progress in an
IL. Someone with minimal, nonexistent, or negative motivation to learn will
most likely never come to communicate successfully in a second language, even
given a modest degree of incidental learning. Furthermore, Bickerton (1975:173)

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4. See L. Fillmore (1976) for a discussion of the role of formulas in second language
acquisition and their relation to social strategies.

is quite right to wonder if a major source of what has been called fossilization is simply the fact that the individuals in question did not have sufficient opportunity to learn, and arrived at a learning plateau principally for that reason. In fact, as the U.S. immigrant situation has shown, it is possible to exist for even 50 years on the fringes of a target society, with resulting minimal occasion to use the TL, and a concomitant lack of opportunity to continue learning in one's IL. To complicate matters, there are surely idiosyncratic inherent differences between learners such that some need more practice than others to accomplish the same learning task. Regretfully, there has been no method established to determine in advance how much a given individual would ideally need to practice in order to fully master given TL linguistic features and adopt them into his or her IL, although perhaps such measures might be developed.

The attempt described in Bruzzese (1977) to test the limits and persistence of long-standing fossilization; that is, the conscious attempts to de-fossilize second-language learners should prove highly interesting. It is not obvious, however, how from such attempts one could go about drawing valid conclusions leading to predictions for other individuals encountered. Increasing the number of such individuals studied could at best provide only a group average and/or the standard deviation from the mean, both of which would still constitute inadequate bases for making realistic predictions about particular other individuals in advance. Without some prior estimate of how much practice would constitute a sufficient amount for a given individual to de-fossilize, it is also not clear how one can draw inferences from an unsuccessful de-fossilization attempt for that individual regarding whether fossilization is a permanent condition in some adults. Successful de-fossilization attempts, should they occur, would *post hoc* indicate that enough practice has been achieved and that, for that individual in those circumstances, fossilizatio.   as not permanent. Be that as it may, it is most important to note that there appear to be many cases when individual learners have clearly had sufficient opportunity to use and practice the TL in communicative interactions and nevertheless have persisted with an IL fossilized far from the TL norms. For this reason if for no other, fossilization cannot be disposed of as a theoretical issue as a mere lack of opportunity to learn, as Bickerton appears to want to do.

A further complication in establishing whether an individual did actually have adequate opportunity to learn is the inadequacy of merely counting the number of second language interactions that individual had had with TL natives, with non-TL natives, the number of hours spent conversing, the quantity of corrective feedback directed at the learner, etc. More important in our view is the actual use to which the neural information processing systems responsible for IL learning put those interactions. Whether the learner actively uses the verbal and nonverbal responses of native speaker interlocuters as reflections of the (in)adequacy of the current IL grammatical rules cannot be automatically assumed to occur for all learners under all circumstances. Moreover, not just any type of interaction in the TL is a fruitful basis for Secondary Language Acquisition, as against the usually less desirable Foreign Language Learning (see Lamendella

[1977a] for the distinction). If there is one lesson that has been learned by the second language teaching profession, it is that in order for most students to succeed in learning to communicate in the TL, there must be some real-world significance for a student in saying things one way rather than another.

It is our view that feedback presented by opportunities to learn cannot in itself be responsible for the degree of IL learning which takes place nor for the nature nor persistence of the fossilization phenomena which we discover in actual learners. It is our belief that feedback presented by opportunities to learn are relevant vis-à-vis the existence of particular sorts of inherent learner characteristics which we are only beginning to investigate.

Finally, it is important for teachers involved in the difficult task of daily language teaching to remember that there is nothing to suggest that one cannot achieve full communicative success in specific discourse domains. The existence of fossilized IL's for some learners in some circumstances should in no way prompt a pessimistic attitude on the part of classroom teachers. As we develop our understanding of fossilization with respect to all the factors listed in Table 2, it should become increasingly easier for classroom teachers to compensate for the reality of fossilization. This should be especially true if we are able to integrate this understanding with such tools as a realistic needs analysis.

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