13

TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

SELECTION 2

KHUSUS UNTUK FKSS-IKIP
MALANG

CONTENTS

27. EVALUATING AND ADAPTING LANGUAGE MATERIALS

INTRODUCTION

With the growing shortage of time and money for writing new textbooks, particularly in the seldom-taught languages, there is a premium on making effective use of what already exists. We have sometimes acted as though, for any given set of materials, the choice was only between using them and rejecting them. Adaptation, as a third alternative, has received very little in terms of time or of money or of prestige. Rewriting, a fourth possibility, is often viewed both as unjustifiably troublesome for the rewriter, and as an affront to the original author.

Yet among the many dozens of language teachers who have been consulted in the preparation of this book, there has been scarcely one who does not claim that he or she makes some changes or additions to the printed textbook, even if it is supposedly of the programmed self-instructional variety. Many of those interviewed described major changes. A few operate with a minimum outline and a few props, and recreate the course every time they teach it. Under these circumstances, two points need emphasis: first, the various degrees of adaptation, augmentation, and rewriting form a continuum, at the far end of which stands the preparation of original materials; second, before one can begin to adapt or augment or write or rewrite, and before one can even decide which of these four to undertake, it is necessary to evaluate what is available. This chapter offers guidelines for evaluation, and outlines a general procedure for adaptation.

EVALUATION

More than courses in French, Spanish, German, or English, a course in a seldom-taught language is likely to be the brain child of one author, conceived in desperation, brought forth in obscurity, and destined to be despised and rejected by all other men. Sometimes rejection is inevitable, but often it is the result of hasty, or unperceptive, or unappreciative examination of the existing book. The following guidelines for evaluation may be applied to the efforts of others, but also to one's own handiwork both before and after it is completed. The guidelines are stated in terms of three qualities, three dimensions, and four components.

EVALUATION: THREE QUALITIES

Every lesson, every part of every lesson, and even every line may be judged on three qualities, which we shall call strength, lightness, and transparency. As we shall use these terms, their opposites weakness, heaviness, and opacity are usually undesirable. There are however situations in which a certain amount of heaviness and opacity can be useful, and the same may even be true for weakness. ... It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that strength, lightness, and transparency are absolute virtues, or that an increase in one of these values necessarily means an improvement in the lesson. Nevertheless, weakness, heaviness, and opacity are in general warning signs, and their presence calls for special justification in terms of the lesson or the textbook as a whole.

STRENGTH

Does it carry its own weight by means of the rewards that it makes available? ... Rewards may be of at least five different kinds; they must be valid in terms of the values of the learner, and not of the materials writer only.

In the evaluation of an entire course, concern about strength will lead to such questions as:

Is the content relevant to the present and likely future needs of the trainees?

Does the textbook provide for the tools, both in vocabulary and in structure, that students will need in order to reach whatever goal has been set?

Are the materials authentic both linguistically and culturally?

Looking at a single lesson from the same point of view, one may ask:

Will the students derive from this lesson satisfactions that go beyond the mere feeling of having mastered one more lesson, and being ready for the next? ...

In particular, to what extent will the students be able to use the content of this lesson immediately, in a lifelike way?

On the smallest scale, a sentence like "Your horse had been old" (cited by Jespersen, 1904) is weak to the point of being feeble, because there is no situation in which anyone can use it. The cliché "The book is on the table" is stronger, because the situations in which it can be used fairly frequent. But we must distinguish between the ease with which a situation can be created in the classroom, and the frequency with which it actually gets commented on in real life. In this latter respect, "The book is on the table" is still relatively weak. A sentence like "I need a taxi" (Taylor, p.50) is potentially stronger because most people are more concerned about being able to verbalize this need than they are about being able to describe the most obvious location of a book. In the same way, "I need a taxi" is stronger for most students than "I need a hinge." But other things being equal, strength is always relative to the needs and interests of the students: some people talk about hinges every day and never see a taxi. For this reason, we cannot build strength as a permanent and absolute quality into any fixed set of materials.

It is impossible to give simple directions for determining what would make materials strong for any given class. Questionnaires may help, and being psychically 'with' one's students may help. Certainly it is necessary to be more than a purveyor of words and a master of drill techniques. (See pp. 108-109, following.)

LIGHTNESS

Is a single "unit" so long that the student wearies of it before it is finished, and loses any sense of its unity? Does an individual line weigh heavily on the student's tongue, either because of the number of difficult sounds or because of its sheer length? Insofar as new words or structures, by virtue of their newness alone, make a line or a lesson tiring, they may be said to contribute to its weight, lightness is intended here to refer primarily to sheer physical characteristics. With respect to lightness, "Your horse had been old" and "I need a taxi" are approximately equal. Heaviness in this sense may vary with the language background of the learner: many would find "I need a hinge" to be noticeably heavier than "I need a label," depending on whether the native language has initial /h/ (German has, French and Spanish have not), or final voiced stops (French has, German and Spanish have not).

In general, of course, we try to make early lessons rather light. But Alex Lipson is one authority who advocates putting some heavy items into the very first sessions of a new class, while the students are in their freshest and most open state. This is one example of how none of the three qualities has absolute positive value and temporary lack of one of these qualities is not necessarily bad.

TRANSPARENCY

Transparency is primarily a cognitive problem; how readily can the user of the materials see the units and their relationships? Looking at a textbook as a whole, we may ask:

Do these materials make clear at least one way in which the teacher may use them in class?

Is it easy to find where a given point of grammar has been covered?

With regard to single lessons, we may ask:

To what extent does the student know what he is doing and why?
How easily can a teacher or adapter find places where he can make changes or additions without destroying the lesson?

With regard to single lines, we may ask:

Can the meaning be put across without translation?
Can the student see the structure of this sentence clearly enough so that he will be able to use it as a help in composing or comprehending new ones?

nce again, transparency is not an absolute value. One good aspect of nductive teaching of grammar, for example, is the fun of working one's ay out of a temporary structural fog.

Needless to say, opacity is to be calculated from the point of iew of the learner. If the writer or adapter knows the language too ll he may forget that what seems obvious to him may be perplexing r students from a very different language background. On the other nd, writers sometimes spend much effort in elaborate explanation of point that really causes the students no trouble.

SUMMARY COMMENTS ON THE THREE QUALITIES

The differences among the three qualities may perhaps be clarified by looking at the following sentences:

Weak, light, transparent: The book is on the table.

Weak, heavy, transparent: The big red book is on the little table by the open window.

Weak, heavy, opaque: The seldom commented-upon but frequently observed location for a book is that in which we now find this one.

(Potentially) strong, heavy, opaque: The repast which the cook, for our enjoyment and his own self-satisfaction has (in a manner of speaking) prepared for our lunch today is pizza.

(Potentially) strong, light, opaque: I paid half the then going rate.

(Potentially) strong, heavy, transparent: We're going to have pizza with mush-rooms, anchovies and peperoni.

(Potentially) strong, light, transparent: We're going to have pizza for lunch!

Obviously, in even the best of lessons some lines will be stronger than others, every line has some heaviness, and many will be partly opaque. Furthermore, the three criteria will often conflict with one another: a line may be very strong but also heavy, or transparent but also weak. Even so, they may be worth the attention of anyone who is writing or evaluating language lessons. Lightness and transparency can conceivably be made permanent attributes of permanent lessons, but only constant adaptation will keep strength from deteriorating.

EVALUATION: THREE DIMENSIONS

The content of a textbook, or a lesson, or a drill, or a single line may be plotted in each of three dimensions: linguistic, social, and topical.

THE LINGUISTIC DIMENSION: How well must they speak?

In a course as a whole, the linguistic **content** that is needed is relatively independent of the age, occupation or special interests of

the prospective students. This content consists mainly of phonological patterns and structural devices. Because this aspect of content is so dependable, text writers have too often accorded the linguistic dimension absolute primacy: social and topical content need not be absorbing, but only plausible and appropriate for illustrating a series of linguistic points. This is particularly likely to happen when the materials developer is also a trained linguist, intent on sharing with the readers his enjoyment of the intricacies and symmetries of linguistic structure. Even before the ascendancy of linguistic science, of course, one type of textbook subordinated everything else to the purpose of conveying patterns. (That must surely have been the purpose behind "Your horse had been old.") But in the absence of resolute and meticulous planning for other sources of reward, strength is drawn primarily from the social and topical dimensions. This is one reason why some linguistically brilliant textbooks have been pedagogical flops.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION: Who is talking with whom?

It is therefore a good idea, before starting to adapt existing lessons, to draw up a simple two-dimensional matrix. The social dimension lists the kinds of people with whom the student most urgently needs to interact, by occupation of course, but also according to their social status with reference to the communication event. The choice of interlocutors determines not only the content of what one says, but also the style in which one says it. If the training site is a junior high school in an entirely English-speaking town, the original list might include only the teacher and the other students. The reality to which the matrix refers may be prospective as well as immediate, however. Many teachers prefer to operate on the principle of 'now now and later later:' stick to present realities while the students are coping with the rudiments of the language, and begin to use more distant ones in the intermediate stage. Policemen, taxi drivers, landlords, and many others may thus be added to the matrix. But they may only be added if the prospect of encountering them is psychologically real to the students themselves. To add them at the whim of the teacher or for the convenience of the materials writer would result in a spurious matrix, invalid from the point of view of the student, and a source of weakness rather than strength.

The same principle applies to the training of adults who expect to go immediately to jobs where they will use the language. The roles

that make up the social dimension will be more numerous, and the prospects will be more clearly defined, but care in selecting and definir the roles can still make the difference between strength and weakness.

Most writers give some attention to the social dimension when they are writing dialog material, although there have been some exception Drill materials, on the other hand, are usually treated as socially neutral. They are not always completely so, of course. Any German, French, Russian, or Spanish sentence in the second person must necessaril imply choice as to level of respect, and the same is even more true for many other language. Some drills may in fact concentrate on the contrast between tu-forms and vous-forms. This is fine as far as it goes, but it is not enough. Even the lowliest substitution drill can be checked for its social implications ("Who might say things to whom?". Thus, "Have you received an invitation?" and "Have you met the ambassador?" are compatibe with each other, but not with "Have you brushed your teeth?" Any internal inconsistencies should have some clear justification.

THE TOPICAL DIMENSION: What are they talking about?

At right angles to the social dimension, the topical dimension lists the things that the trainee is most likely to want to talk about: greetings and general phrases for getting a conversation started, expressions needed in conducting a class, street directions, diagnoses of poultry disease, and so forth. Some topics are of interest to trainees of almost all kind, while other are highly specialized. The problem, for the writer who wants to produce strong materials, is that the trainess' most specialized interests are often the very ones that are most vivid for them. Even for a generally useful topic like street and road directions, the actual locales that excite will vary from one class to another.

THE SOCIO-TOPICAL MATRIX

The intersection of the social and topical dimensions produces a set of boxes. For some situations, the boxes might be labeled as follows:

	Greetings, etc.	Street directions	Food	Work schedule	etc.
Adult stranger					
Small child					
Policeman					
Colleaque					
Host					
etc.					

Note that not all the boxes will be equally plausible: one will not expect to praise the policeman's cooking or ask directions of a four-year-old child.

This kind of matrix[1] is useful both for making an inventory of what is in an existing book, and also for plotting the needs of a particular group of students. With the addition of a linguistic dimension, ... such a matrix may serve in planning entire courses. For the adapter's needs, however, this two-dimensional grid is easier to manage, and almost as effective.

Ted Plaister (private communication)has suggested how selected boxes from such a matrix might be placed on individual cards or sheets of paper and made into starting points for adaptations or for complete lessons.

EVALUATION: FOUR COMPONENTS

Earlier drafts of this chapter ventured the guess that a successful lesson needs components of four——and only four——kinds. Subsequent experiments, and discussions with many dozens of language teachers, have turned this hunch into a belief. The four essential components, whether for speech or for writing or for both, are: occasions for use, a sample of the language in use, exploration of vocabulary, and exploration of (phonetic, orthographic, or grammatical) form. To make this assertion is not, however, to prescribe a method or a format.

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[1] A matrix with a social dimension was suggested to me by Dr. Albert R. Wight (private communication).

Each of the four components may take any of countless shapes, and the student may meet them in any of several orders. It should also be pointed out that the order in which the components are written are written need not be that in which they are placed before the student.

COMPONENT 1: OCCASIONS FOR USE

Every lesson should contain a number of clear suggestions for using the language. Each of these suggestions should embody a purpose outside of the language itself, which is valid in terms of the student's needs and interests. Insofar as these purposes relate to the external world ..., most of them will fall under one or more of the following rubrics:

1. Establishing or further developing real social relationships with real people, including classmates. Simple examples are greetings, introductions, autobiographical matters including personal anecdotes, participation in games, exploration of likes and dislikes.

2. Eliciting or imparting desired information. What is the climate like at various times of year in Sarkhan? How does the currency system work?. How is a certain dish prepared? How does the electrical system of an automobile work?

3. Learning or imparting useful skills: sewing, dancing, playing soccer, thatching a roof.

4. Learning to make culturally relevant judgments: distinguishing ripe from unripe fruit, candling eggs, predicting the weather, estimating water depth.

5. Doing things for fun: humor, games, singing, relaxation.

Some of the occasions for use should involve muscular activity: playing, pointing handling, writing, etc.

As many occasions for use as possible should be written in the form of behavioral objectives: what students are to do should be described so clearly that there can be no question as to whether any one student's performance meets the requirements. There should be some overt way in which each student can know (a) that he has performed, and (b) how well he has performed. For example:

> "Tell your instructor the names of the people in the family with whom you are living, and how they are related to one another."

is better than:

> "Find out the names of the people in the family with whom you are living, and how they are related to one another."

Even the latter is better than:

"Try to use this vocabulary (i.e., kinship terminology) outside of class."

Occasions for use, then, should be both useful and specific. But they should also be stimulating and open-ended. ....Rehg (private correspondence) comments on some of these examples as follows:

> An important aspect of Ponapean culture is the title system. Each adult, unless he is something of an outcast, is assigned a title, and is subsequently known by that title in all formal and many informal situations. However, most foreigners do not know these alternate 'names.' A student who has learned the relevant structures and vocabulary can be assigned a task of the following kind:
> (a) Elicit the titles of the adult members of the family you are staying with. Record this information, and bring it back to your instructor.
> (b) What are the literal meanings of these titles?
> (c) Within the Ponapean title system, how important are these titles?
> Completion of these tasks accomplishes a number of objectives. Part (a) gives the trainee an opportunity to use the language that he has learned in a manner that is useful following an assignment that is specific. Part (b) provides him with the basis for countless hours of interesting discussion on a topic that fascinates most Ponapeans; therefore, the task is open-ended. Part (c) brings the student to grips with the power structure of the community. Foreigners seem to be very curious about the matter of titles, and so the task is also stimulating. Students very quickly recognize busy work, so a useful, specific, open-ended but non-stimulating task will probably be non-productive.

We have discussed occasions for use before the other three components because writers and teachers so often slight them, or ignore them altogether. It is true that the student normally performs them at the end of a lesson, if at all but a writer or adapter would be wise to begin thinking about them as soon as he has chosen a lesson. Even the student's book, he planned occasions for use might be listed at the head of the lesson, so that the student can form a clear idea of its potential strength of the rest of the lesson. Occasions for use should certainty affect the writing or revision of every the component

COMPONENT 2: A SAMPLE OF LANGUAGE USE

Every lesson should contain a sample of how the language is used. The sample should be:

1. long enough to be viable. (Two-line dialogs, no matter how timely or realistic, have proved not to meet this requirement.)

2. short enough to be covered, with the rest of the lesson, in 1-4 hours of class time.

3. related to a socio-topical matrix that the students accept as expressing their needs and interests.

The sample may take any of several forms. Many courses in the past twenty-five years have used the basic dialog to fulfill this role, but other kinds of sample are more useful for some purposes. The most concrete is probably the action chain (or action script), which lists a series of activities that normally occur together. The most familiar example is "I get up. I bathe. I get dressed...," but the same format may accommodate discussion of technical processes, negotiation with a landlord, public ceremonies, and many other topics. Another kind of sample, particularly suitable after the first fifty to one hundred hours of instruction, is a short passage of expository or narrative prose....

Whatever form the sample takes, it should contain at least one or two lines that lend themselves to lexical and/or structural exploration of the kinds that will be discussed in the next two sections of this chapter. If the sample does not contain such lines, then it will become an isolated compartment within the lesson, rather than a productive part of it....

Language in use of course implies language as one part of a communication event, and spoken language is always accompanied by other bodily activity, including gestures, facial expressions, posture, nearness to other people, and so forth. These aspects of communication ought to receive attention also. See Appendix B for examples.

COMPONENT 3: LEXICAL EXPLORATION

In this and the following section, we have made frequent use of the word exploration. This word is perhaps confusing, and hence ill-chosen. We have used it in order to emphasisze the active, creative, partially unprescribed role of the learner, and to avoid an image of

the learner as one whose every footstep is to be guided by a pedagogue. Exploration in this sense stands in contrast to inculcation.

Lexical exploration, then, refers to those aspects of a lesson through which the student expands his ability to come up with, or to recognize, the right word at the right time. The simplest kind of lexical exploration uses lists of words, sometimes with a sentence or two illustrating the use of each. In a well-constructed lesson, there may be a number of sub-lists, each related to some part of the basic sample. Thus, the basic dialog for Unit 2 of French Basic Course (Desberg et al., 1960) contains the line:

C'est ça, et reveillez-moi demain à sept heures.	Fine, and wake me tomorrow at seven.

and the section devoted to Useful Words provides the expressions for "one o'clock" through "eleven o'clock," plus "noon" and "midnight." The dialog for Unit 5 includes the words for "autumn" and "winter," and the Useful Words add "springs" and "summer."

For a more coherent lesson, it would be desirable to relate lexical exploration not only to the basic sample, but also to the projected occasions for use. One way of approaching this goal is through use of Cummings devices. ... In a Cummings device, a question of some other line from the sample may be presented along with a number of sentences which are alternative answers or other rejoinders. The device may also include other questions that are very similar to the first. Both questions and answers should be chosen with careful attention to how the student can use them for more than mere linguistic drill. For example, in one set of lessons in Mauritian Creole... a narrative sample of the language describes a woman going to market. It contains the sentence:

Zaklin aste rasyō komā too le semen.	Jacqueline buys groceries as (she does) every week.

A Cummings device that focuses on the lexical exploration of this sentence is:

Questions:

Lil Moris, eski zot aste dipë too le zoor?	In Mauritius, do they buy bread every day?
Lil Moris, eski zot aste doori le zoor?	In Mauritius, do they buy rice every day?
. etc.	etc.

Rejoinders:

Zot aste dipe too le zoor.	They buy bread every day.
Zot aste doori too le semen.	They buy rice every week.
etc.	etc.

Students first learn to pronounce, understand and manipulate these sentences, and then go on immediately to use them in the form of two-line conversations. Note that these conversations remain in touch with reality, for this Cummings device contains accurate information about the frequency with which various items are bought. Because of differences in marketing practices and refrigeration facilities, the student will find certain differences between Mauritius and his home. A factually inaccurate answer to one of these questions is just as wrong as a linguistically incorrect one. Thus, as the student practices a new construction ("too le zoor/semen"), he is also learning some down-to-earth facts about the place where he expects to live.

COMPONENT 4: EXPLORATION OF STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

The final essential component of a language lesson guides the student in exploring such matters as the relationship in both form and meaning between the third person singular present subjunctive of a verb and the corresponding third person singular present indicative; or between two different ways of embedding one sentence in another; or between the definite and the indefinite article. These relationships are the subject matter of what is usually called "the study of grammar." Bosco (1970) (Article no.40 in this collection. Eds.) distinguishes among three modes of representation. Following his analysis, the exploration of structural relationships may take the form of drills (enactive mode), charts and diagrams (iconic mode), or grammar notes (symbolic mode). Much past and present controversy among language teachers turns on the relative prominence to be assigned to each of these modes, and the order in which they should occupy the student's attention. Learners' synopses...are principally symbolic presentations of major structural relationships.

Lado (1958) may have been right in speculating that "it is possible to learn a language without ever repeating the same sentence twice." To do so, however, would require extraordinary materials,

extraordinary teachers, and probably extraordinary students as well. For some structural relationships, adequate exploration may require a certain amount of retracing one's steps, both within and between lessons. This may involve one, two, or all three of the modes. What we usually call drills may in this sense be regarded as reiterated enactive exploration, to use a phrase which is as monstrous as it is descriptive. Looking at them in this play is probably better than inflicting them as necessary neuromuscular inculcation.

Because the sentences in any one Cummings device are often grammatically similar to one another, the device has advantages in structural, as well as lexical, exploration.

A FINAL WORD ON EVALUATION

Instructional materials do not consist of qualities, dimensions, and components. Nor do the descriptions of the qualities, dimensions, and components provide a blueprint for writing or adapting. Rather, the three terms stand for ways of looking at materials, and these ways are not merely restatements of one another. We have said that strength is often derived from appropriate socio-topical resources in a lesson, but a socio-topically relevant lesson that is poorly organized may still be weak, and some teachers know how to make lessons amply rewarding and strong with almost no relation to external reality. Similarly, occasions for use contribute to but do not guarantee strength.

ADAPTION

Throughout recorded history, and probably longer than that, language teachers have been reminding one another of the necessity for bridging the gap between manipulator and communication, or between the classroom and life. One of the ways in which they quite properly attempt to do so is through adapting old textbooks to fit new needs. Most, however, tend to place the center of gravity of their bridges on one side of the gap or another. To put the same thing in another way, they focus their attention either on the original textbook or on the rewards and relevancies of the project at hand, and slight the other. In the original sense of the word "focus," the first kind of adapter seems to be working his way out from the warmth and comfort of a hearth (the printed lesson) toward a perimeter (the end of the lesson) beyond which lies darkness. He sees his task as providing additional activities

(dialogs, drills, games, or whatever) that lie not too far beyond the perimeter, and which may help to extend it. If this adapter were a plant, he would be a morning glory vine in the springtime, putting out its ten-drils in search of anything at all to which it can attach itself. The second kind of adapter warms himself by a portable hearth wherever the interests of the students seem to lie, and may forget where home was; botanically he would be a dandelion whose seeds are scattered by the wind.

... we suggest that a prospective adapter begin by making a careful survey of both sides of the gap he is trying to bridge. Once he has done so, he can connect the two sides by using whatever devices he is most comfortable with. The point is that he is working with two basic documents and not just one. Certainly he must take account of the lessons that he has set out to adapt, but just as certainly he must exploit the socio-topical matrix that summarizes his students' interests. He must satisfy the demands of the textbook, but in ways that will be satisfying to those who learn from it. He works around two foci, and not just one. Depending on the nature of the original materials, he may find himself preparing Cummings devices to go with dialogs, or dialogs to go with Cummings devices, or drills to go with either or both, or all of these to flesh out an existing set of grammar notes. In all cases, his most creative contribution will probably lie in suggesting how the learners can make early and convincing use of what they have just learned to manipulate.

Obviously, in view of the great variety both of original textbooks and of student objectives, adaption is and will remain an art. We cannot here offer a mechanical procedure for accomplishing it. Nevertheless, on the basis of the principles outlined earlier in this chapter, we may venture to suggest an overall strategy:

1. Predict what the students will need and respond to in each of the three dimensions: linguistic, social and topical.

2. Make an inventory of the material at hand, in the same three dimensions.

3. Compare the results of the first two steps, in order to form a clear picture of what you need to add or subtract.

4. Draw up a list of ways in which the students may use the material. This is the most delicate step in adaptation because the list should be as heterogeneous as possible, yet stated in terms of actual behavior that the students are to engage in. It is also the most important step, however, because it opens up such valuable sources of motive power.

5. Supply whatever is necessary (dialogs, drills, Cummings devices, etc.) in order to bring the students from mastery of the existing materials to the uses which you have listed in Step 4. Politzer (1971) has pointed out that changes may be in rate of progress, or in the means employed, or in the goals themselves. Adaptation of rate may take the form of added materials to make more gradual the transition from one part of the existing materials and another. It may also take the form of more complete instructions for the teacher, or detailed check lists to show the student what he should get out of each part of the lesson. Changes in the means employed will depend on what the adapter and the prospective users find mutually congenial. Changes in goals should take account of one fact that some teachers seem not to be aware of: <u>any topic may be treated at any degree of linguistic difficulty</u>, from the simplicity of "What is this? It is a (papilla, colony, Petri dish, centrifuge, etc.)" to the complexity of "The never before published volume lying at an angle of approximately thirty-seven degrees to the edge of the table is wholly supported by it."

APPENDIX: ADAPTING A PATTERN-PRACTICE COURSE (ENGLISH)

One of the most pregnant sentences in history of language teaching was Fries's dictum that "a person has learned" a foreign language when he has...mastered the sound system...and...made the structural devices... matters of automatic habit."(1947, p.3). Even though the person who has done these things may not be a fluent speaker, "he can have laid a good, accurate foundation upon which to build" through the acquisition of "content vocabulary" (<u>ibid</u>). Since its publication, the last half of this formulation has determined the strategy of much "scientific" language teaching, just as the first half has determined the tactics. The priority, both logical and chronological, of the basic structural habits goes unchallenged in many circles, and we sometimes act as though we think the best way to internalize the structures is to concentrate on them to the virtual exclusion of everything else.

A relatively recent and sophisticated representative of this tradition is the series <u>Contemporary Spoken English</u>, by John Kane and Mary Kirkland (Thomas Y.Crowell, 1967). The first lesson of Volume 1 contains two short dialogs (total) approximately 2 pages), pronunciation, rhythm and intonation drills (7 pages), and grammar drills (10 pages). The dialogs, which consist of simple introductions and greetings, have no integral relation to the drills, which concentrate on present affirmative statements with <u>be</u>. Most of the substitution drills may be

summarized in three tables:

I	'm	in class
you	're	at church
he	's	in bed
she		etc.
Sue		
John		
we		
they		

I	'm	a farmer
Dick	's	a lawyer
		etd.

I	'm	hungry
we	're	married
		tired
		etc.

In addition, the rhythm and intonation drills include:

this		a pen
that	's	a coat
it		etc.

In keeping with one interpretation of the Friesian emphasis on structure, there is nowhere in the book any indication as to when or how the teacher is to put across the meanings. (Many would be easy to picture or dramatize, but "lawyer," and the difference between "in school" and "in class," might pose problems.) The nearest reference to meaning is a statement (p.viii) that the vocabulary has been drawn from "basic semantic fields." Echoing Fries, the authors state that their goal is to teach "with a limited vocabulary of high-frequency words, those features of English phonology and syntax which students should be able to comprehend and manipulate before proceeding beyond the intermediate level" (p.vii).

Teachers who are philosophically in communion with the authors will welcome their work and will probably adopt it. Those who reject the philosophy will also reject the book. In the field of English as a Second Language it makes little difference, for if one book is cast aside, there are still dozens of others waiting to be examined.

The same is not true for seldom-taught languages, where the available courses usually number between one and five. All too easily, a new teacher or language coordinator despairs of all that is in print and decides to set out on his own. But such a decision is expensive in money and time, and dubious in result. A Swahili proverb tells us that "there is no bad beginning," and so the newcomer, encouraged by the ease with which he has pleased himself with his first few lessons, launches yet another material-writing project.

This appendix, then, is not a review of Kane and Kirkland's Contemporary Spoken English. It is primarily addressed, not to practioners of TESOL, but to prospective teachers and lesson writers in the so-called "neglected languages." Its purpose is to demonstrate how, by following a particular set of principles, one may adapt and supplement existing materials instead of rejecting them. English has been chosen for this illustration only because examples are easier to follow in a widely known language. To this end, we shall pretend that Contemporary Spoken English is one of only or three ESOL courses in print.

The first step toward adaptation is to form a clear picture of the students, their needs and interests. This picture may take the form of a simple socio-topical matrix. Let us assume that we are adapting for an evening class of adults who live in one major part of a metropolitan area, and who speak a number of different languages but little or no English. In general, the matrix can be more specific and more accurate in smaller groups, but even the largest and most diverse class has in common its classroom or training site, and current events both local and worldwide. The matrix will also be more effective if the students feel that they have had a hand in designing it or at least adding to it. For the purposes of this illustration, however, we shall have to be content with guessing that a partial matrix might look something like this:

	getting from place to place	greetings and courtesy formulas	meetings and appointments	shopping	role as guest or host
neighbors	2	1			
clerks in stores					
English teacher		1			
fellow students		1			
people on street	2				

The next step is to analyze the existing lesson for its content in all three dimensions: linguistic, social, and topical.

LINGUISTIC CONTECT:

Dialogs: Eleven sentences, invariable except for substitution of personal names, suitable for use in introducing oneself and exchanging morning greetings. Intonation contours are marked.

Pronunciation sections: Lists of monosyllabic words containing the diphthongs which the Trager-Smith transcription writes /iy, ey, oy, ay, aw, ow, uw/, and short phrases or sentences that include these words. (The authors do not assume that these words and phrases will be intelligible to beginning students.) Lists of phrases and sentences with the common 231 ' statement intonation pattern, realized in short utterances that have various stress patterns. Stress and intonation are portrayed "iconically," with an effective system of lines and geometrical figures.

Grammar sections: The sentence patterns represented on pp.114-115 above, requiring the student to produce person-number agreement between a subject and the present tense of "be," followed by three kinds of complements. Nouns standing for locations follow prepositions, with no intervening article; all other nouns have the indefinite article.

SOCIAL CONTENT:

Dialogs: Generally suitable for adults who don't know each other, or who are not close friends. May be used "for real" among members of the class.

Pronunciation sections: Strictly speaking, no social content at all, since they are intended only for practice in repetition.

Grammatical sections: Quite non-specific. Even the teacher and the student can hardly be said to be playing genuine social role in a substitution drill of the type:

	Dick's in school.
in class	Dick's at class.
at home	Dick's at home.
at church	Dick's at church.
	etc.

TOPICAL CONTENT:

Dialogs: As stated above, introductions and morning greeting.

Pronunciation sections: None. (see above)

Grammatical sections: Statements about locations, occupations, states, classification (see substitution frames on pp. 114-115). The content words in the grammatical sections are either common nouns, personal names, or adjectives. Except for the personal names, none of the content words that appear in one type of statement ever appear in another. Each list of nouns refers to several different real-life contexts, e.g., class, church, bed.

In summary, the linguistic content of this lesson is delineated with unusual clarity; the topical content is clear enough, but is unified only in terms of a grammatical criterion; the social content is almost entirely concentrated in the dialogs, which have no close relationship to the rest of the lesson.

The third step in preparing to adapt a lesson is to check its components: Does it include 1) a convincing sample of language use? Does it provide for both 2) lexical and 3) grammatical exploration beyond the sample? Does it suggest 4) ways in which the students can put their new linguistic skills to work for non-linguistic purposes that they can accept as their own?

The lesson under consideration does contain two short samples of genuine use, in the form of the dialogs. The lists of words in the drills provide for lexical exploration, and the grammar drills themselves lead the student to explore a bit of English structure. The fourth component is not overtly represented in the lesson itself, and is only hinted at in the introduction.

Finally, one may look at the individual lines of the various components and judge them according to their lightness, transparency, and strength. (See pp. 102-105, above)

The sentences of this lesson, with an average of three syllables apiece, show up very favorably with respect to the first of these three qualities. Most of the meanings could be put across easily without translation, and the structures are lucidly presented; accordingly, the lesson also rates well on average transparency of sentences.

Where this lesson leaves most to be desired is in what we have called strength. Here is a striking demonstration that high-frequency vocabulary may still produce sentences that are relatively weak. As the lesson now stands, the students can do very little at the end of Lesson 1 except introduce themselves, greet one another, and go on to Lesson 2.

As we have seen, the dominant dimension in this course and the one according to which the lessons are sequenced, is the linguistic. The goal of an adaptation will therefore be to enable the students, in relation to the existing linguistic framework as much as possible, to use the language in a connected and communicative way in one or more contexts that are meaningful to them. We shall aim at non-linguistic occasions for use that have the students getting acquainted with each other and with the immediate area in which they live.

The most obvious and also the simplest first step is to change "good morning" in the second dialog to "good evening," since our students go to night school. A much larger step, also in the lexical realm, is to introduce the names of local destinations: "grade school, high school, gas station, restaurant, parking lot" etc. alongside or instead of the non-specific "work, class, bed" etc. There are four advantages in doing so: 1) The destinations may be readily and cheaply brought into the classroom by means of locally produced color slides. At the same time, the slides themselves are stronger in our sense because they portray places that the students have actually seen and will be seeing in real life. 2) The same list of nouns can now appear in two different substitution frames: "This is a___" and

"We're at a___." (pp. 114-115). This helps to unify the lesson in the topical dimension. 3) These words and slides will be useful in later lessons, and thus strengthen the continuity of the whole book. 4) They will help clarify the grammatical facts in Lesson 1. We have noted that as the lesson now stands, nouns that follow a preposition do not have an indefinite article, while all the other nouns do. In talking about local destinations, nouns have the article both without a preposition ("This is a___.") and with it ("We're at a___.")

The suggestion that an adaptation should introduce pictures and new vocabulary should not be taken as a criticism of the original lesson for lacking them. What will be most live and real in the night schools of Arlington County, Virginia, will necessarily fall flat everywhere else. On the other hand, expertly chosen vocabulary and technically excellent pictures would have been specific for nowhere, and would only have added to the cost of publication.

Having (as we hope) livened the lesson up topically by bringing in new words and color slides to illustrate them, we should like to do the same in the social dimension. The simplest way to do so is to convert at least three of the substitution frames (pp.114-115) to Cummings devices. We can do so by teaching the questions "What is this? Where are (we)? What are (you)?" Where formerly we had only repetition and substitution drills, we now have some two-line embryonic conversations.

There is of course a price to be paid for the Cummings devices, because they introduce wh-questions. The authors of the original, who introduced yes-no questions only in Lesson 4 and wh-questions in Lesson 6, might object that this price is in fact prohibitive, since it disrupts their carefully planned sequenced of structures. But each of the new question patterns is closely related to one of the statement patterns that are already in the lesson, and the mechanical aspect of changing from an interrogative sentence to its corresponding statement is the same throughout. This is then a much less serious change in the structural sequence than, say, the introduction of present tense of content verbs. The question is whether the extra weight of the new engine is more than compensated for by the gain in power. My guess is that it is.

Another slight addition in the linguistic dimension would open up further opportunities for interesting conversation. The construction with "this" plus a noun would enable the student to handle a Cummings device like:

Where is this (gas..station)?
It's (near here, on Fairfax Drive, at Parkington, etc.).

Going still further, if one is willing to introduce yes-no questions at this stage, then the students could use questions like "Is this a parking lot? Are we at the library?" and also learn each other's marital status and inquire about such states as fatigue and hunger. But this too is a question of balancing new communicative potential against increased length and complexity of the lesson. Would such an extension be justifiable? The most important fact about this kind of question is not whether the answer is yes or no, but rather who is qualified to answer it. We sometimes forget that a worthwhile answer can only come from a classroom teacher who understands its implications, and that even he or she can answer it for only one class at a time. Someone writing a case study like this one can only guess at the answer, but the same is true for the textbook writer himself. This is one reason why published textbooks are so often rejected by prospective users. It is also one reason why we must give to adaptation much more thought, time, and prestige than we have been accustomed to doing.

The final proof of the lessons, as we have said, is in what the students can now do that they recognize as immediately useful or enjoyable in its own right, or potentially so in the immediate future. Greetings and introductions, market 1) in the matrix on p. 116, are certainly socio-topical behavioral objectives in this sense, and these were in the lesson from the beginning. New objectives relate to the boxes marked 2) in the matrix. Although the student is still unable to carry out sustained conversation with neighbors on the subject of getting around in Arlington, he at least has some of the most crucial sentence patterns and vocabulary items. In the meantime, he can demonstrate his new ability to ask and answer questions about (pictures of) places in his immediate vicinity. This activity may be varied by reducing the time each picture is on the screen, or by putting slides in backward, upside down, or sideways.

Referring once more to Fries's famous definition, we may question whether, in fact "to have learned a foreign language" is in itself a serious goal for any adults except a few professional linguists and other language nuts. Certainly in addition to extrinsic motivations like fulfilling a requirement or preparing for residence abroad, one needs the intrinsic rewards of esthetically agreeable activities with frequent rewards of various kinds. But the work of Lambert and others indicates that even the extrinsic motivations vary dramatically in their driving

power, according to the breadth and depth of their integration with the total personality of the learner. The principle must be both the adapter's raison d'être and his guiding star.

28. SOME TYPES OF ORAL STRUCTURE DRILLS

V.J. Cook

This article does not set out to evaluate the usefulness of the types of structure drill but solely to describe them. The present scheme was worked out to account for drills in English; there seems no reason why it cannot be adapted for use with other languages.

The question of medium will not be considered at length. Unless otherwise indicated, these are purely oral drills in which the learner hears something spoken and responds orally. For a classification of the ways in which the different media of reading, writing, vision, and gesture can be combined, readers are referred to the analysis by St.P. Kaczmarski.[1]

The basic premise behind this article is that, regardless of their differing linguistic or psychological justification, all structure drills have one objective in common: that the learner should produce a number of utterances consisting of the same grammatical structure. From this it follows that, in the terms of a particular drill, there is only one "right" grammatical answer. The information that directs the learner to produce this right answer must, then, be given in such a way that it is unambiguous and cannot lead to more than one answer. A drill has two parts: what the student hears and what he has to say. The usual terms for these two parts are stimulus and response. However, these terms are associated closely with one learning theory and it seems undesirable to use more neutral terms. A convenient pair of substitutes are input and output and these terms will be used throughout this article. Input (I.P.) refers to the information supplied to the learner, whether orally or visually; output (O.P.) what the learner has to produce himself.

There are, perhaps, two basically differs at says

drill.[2] [illegible]
much longer drill [illegible]

I.P. Is Bill playing [illegible] tonight?
O.P. No, he's not going to play.
I.P. Is Susan helping her mother this evening?
O.P. No, she's not going to help.
I.P. Are Mr. and Mrs. Green paying the bill tomorrow?
O.P. . . . .

Here one could say that the learner has to perform six activities:

i. Change question to statement,
ii. make the sentence negative,
iii. change the present continuous to going to,
iv. substitute a personal pronoun for a proper name,
v. delete a prepositional phrase,
vi. delete the object.

In the second approach, one considers not the input/output pairs, but the successive outputs. The same drill consists of a master output No, he's not going to play which is varied at three points: No X Y not going to Z. The learner has to do three things:

i. At X he selects a personal pronoun according to the sex and person of the input.
ii. At Y he selects either 's, 're, or 'm according to his choice at X.
iii. At Z he inserts the verb provided in the input.

This approach treats the output as a master sentence into which successive items are inserted according to information selected from the input, rather than as a process of changing the whole input into an output.

A crucial issue in drill design that has great bearing on one's teaching method is the extent to which context or situation plays a part in the drill. (Context is here used for the linguistic environment, situation for the non-linguistic environmen.) One can recognise four broad divisions.

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[2] Cf. F.L. Marty, "Language Laboratory Learning," (Wellesley, Massachusetts: Audiovisual Publications, 1960).

1. NON-CONTEXTUALISED

Here the structure drill does not pretend to be more than an artificial game similar to a pianist's practising of scales. The learner may hear inputs that are not possible utterances of the language; he may be asked to perform activities that have no relation to what speakers do in actual speech.

I.P. 1. John's going to Paris.
O.P. 1. John's going to Paris.
I.P. 2. He
O.P. 2. He's going to Paris.
I.P. 3. She
O.P. 3. . . . .

II. SEMI-CONTEXTUALIZED

Here the relationship between input and output is always one possible in speech, and both input and output are natural utterances of the language.

I.P. 1. Fred's going to change his job.
O.P. 1. Fred? Changing his job? I don't believe it!
I.P. 2. Jane's going to clean the car.
O.P. 2. Jane? Cleaning the car? I don't believe it!
I.P. 3. Susan's going to paint the bedroom.
O.P. 3. . . . .

III. CONTEXTUALISED

Not only does each pair of input and output have a conversational relationship but the consecutive pairs are linked to form a conversation.

or students may perform various actions; the teacher asks What is he doing? and the class has to reply using the right grammatical structure.

The degree of contextuallisation is particularly important in English because of the problem of personal pronouns. If the learner does not know that the drill is contextualised, he will often produce an output that is perfectly acceptable grammatically but wrong in the terms of the drill. For instance, let us suppose the required output is I'm French. In a non-contextualised drill this output might be elicited thus:

I.P. 1. You.
O.P. 1. You're French.
I.P. 2. I
O.P. 2. I'm French.

In a semi-contextualised drill this output might be elicited thus:

I.P. 1. What am I?
O.P. 1. You're French.
I.P. 2. What are you?
O.P. 2. I'm French.

If the learner has confused the drill type, he will produce exactly the wrong answer and will become unnecessarily alarmed by his mistake. He must, then, always know whether he is practicing the structure mechanically or is engaged in a pseudo-conversation before he knows what to answer. Simple as this point may be, it is surprisingly easy to overlook and very confusing to the learner.

Closely connected with contextualisation is the question of whether the input and output have frames. A frame is a setting for the input or output that has nothing to do directly with the particular grammatical structure being taught. First an example of a drill without any frame:

I.P. Tennis
O.P. She plays tennis.
I.P. Golf
O.P. She plays golf.

Here the input is non-contextualised and there is nothing redundant: it has to be incorporated into the output in its entirety. Now the same drill with frames:

I.P. Does she play tennis?
O.P. Oh yes, she plays tennis all right.
I.P. Does she play golf?
O.P. Oh yes, she plays golf all right.

Both input and output are more contextualised, because of the redundant language now include: only a part of the input is incorporated in the output; only a part of the output now practices the relevant structure. The frame is an expansion of the minimal input and output necessary for a particular drill. They can be expanded either by including more deletable parts of the sentence (Does she always play tennis in the park on Sundays?) or by the use of conversational phrases (What I mean to say is, does she play tennis?). The frame, then, leads itself to contextualising the drill and to practising forms like Good Heavens, I'm terribly sorry, and you know that are difficult to teach in any other manner. As we shall see below, it can also be used to divert the learner's conscious attention away from the grammatical point he is practising.

Bearing in mind that the previous classifications will be operating at the same time, let us now consider the basic operations in a structure drill. These can be seen essentially as variations of substitution, mutation, repetition, and addition. In actual practice, a drill may utilise more than one of these techniques; it is, however, convenient to separate them theoretically.

A. Substitution

Under this heading come those drills that can most simply be described by the master sentence approach mentioned above. Inevitably there will be some overlap with mutation, where the other approach will be adopted. In most disputable cases the master sentence approach yields a simpler description. A substitution drill, then, has a master output into which items are inserted according to information supplied in the input; all the outputs are variations of the original master (or masters) if sufficient examples are given to the learner.

1. Plain

This is the basic type of substitution drill. A number of examples have already been given. It may or may not have frames and it can function in two ways. In the first the substituted item, which may consist of a word, phrase, or clause, always replaces the same grammatical constituent of the out

I.P. Do you like whisky?
O.P. I love whisky.
I.P. Do you like tea?
O.P. I love tea.

In the second the substituted item replaces any constituent of the output.

I.P. Whisky
O.P. I love whisky.
I.P. Hate
O.P. I hate whisky.
I.P. He
O.P. He loves whisky.

It is also possible to change the master output cumulatively rather than returning to it each time. The last output would then read He hates whisky.

2. Sequence

Here the learner chooses the item to substitute because of its position in a list in the input. This type will invariably have a frame.

I.P. I can't decide whether I like swimming or skating best.
O.P. Oh, I prefer skating.
I.P. I can't decide whether I like dancing or walking best.
O.P. Oh, I prefer walking.

Another advantage of the frame is here apparent in that it elucidates and provides a synonym for prefer.

3. Lexical drills

Unlike the two preceding types, the item to be substituted is not present in the input. The learner has instead to select an item to fit the input according to the principle established in the input. It must not be thought that this type of drill is teaching vocabulary; rather it is using lexis to guide the learner's choice of the item to substitute.

There are a number of relationships within lexis that can be used in drills. The following are examples only.

(i) Lexical pairs

These are pairs that occur naturally in the language (tall/short,

aunt/uncle, lend/borrow). The input has one member of the pair, the output the other. If the pairs are sufficiently common, then they need not all be illustrated to the learner; the rarer the pairs, the fewer there should be.

I.P. Is Bill young?
O.P. No, he's old.
I.P. Is John rich?
O.P. No, he's poor.

One should also mention here a type of drill similar to this, but in which the pairs are linked purely for the drill. Obviously these have to be much more limited than natural pairs, but they serve the same purpose of limiting the output to one particular utterance. In the following drill all women are fascinating, whereas all men are boring.

I.P. Mike's a doctor.
O.P. Oh, I think doctors are boring.
I.P. Susan's an actress.
O.P. Oh, I think actresses are fascinating.

(ii) Lexical sets

Some well defined lexical sets such as days of the week and months can be exploited by using a regular progression between input and output.

I.P. I'm seeing him on Tuesday.
O.P. Couldn't you see him on Wednesday instead?
I.P. He's meeting her on Saturday.
O.P. Couldn't he meet her on Sunday instead?

(iii) Collocation

The learner has to select the appropriate collocation to fit the input.

I.P. When did you get to London?
O.P. I arrived in London about ten.

(iv) Lexical meaning

Out of a limited number of choices, the learner has to select the right reaction according to the meaning of the input.

I.P. It's raining!
O.P. How annoying!
I.P. The sun's come out!
O.P. How nice!
I.P. It's pouring!
O.P. How annoying!

This type would probably most often occur as the frame of another drill rather than by itself.

4. Pronoun Substitution

Using the master output approach, we can regard this type as one of choosing an item to substitute from the limited set of pronouns in accordance with the input. This very common drill technique has already been used above without comment. As was mentioned, drills using pronouns must have their degree of contextualisation specified as the correct choice of person will depend on this. In English, also, confusion can arise from the inclusive and exclusive uses of we. The only way of making the student choose between Yes, we can and Yes, you can as answers to Can we go? is by a carefully framed input.

It is also possible to exploit this relationship in reverse.

I.P. I suppose he was there.
O.P. Oh, yes, John was there.
I.P. I suppose she was there.
O.P. Oh yes, Mary was there.

5. Knowledge drills

In this case, as with lexical drills, the item to substitute is not in the input but has to be supplied by the student from his own knowledge.

I.P. Who wrote "Hamlet"?
O.P. Shakespeare did.
I.P. Who was Queen Victoria's husband?
O.P. Albert was.

These can be based either on information given to him in other parts of the course, or be pure general knowledge, arithmetic, and so on. The distinction between this type and a quiz is that the outputs always conform to a given grammatical structure and that the student merely inserts one item from his background knowledge into this structure.

B. Mutation

Mutation drills are those where the successive outputs have nothing in common apart from the grammatical structure being drilled. Substitution is, then, basically paradigmatic: the learner selects from a real or arbitrary set of items the one to use in the output. Mutation is basically syntagmatic: the learner changes the grammatical structure of the input to produce the output. In the majority of drills, the two operations happen simultaneously (as in the concord of subject and verb in pronoun substitution). In most cases of dispute, the master output approach describes the learner doing a lesser number of things; for this reason it has been used up to now.

The possible types of mutation are limited only by the possible grammatical relationships of the language. The following reported speech example is chosen because it shows a clear case where description by the master output approach would imply the learner was performing an impossibly large number of substitutions:

I.P. Open the door!
O.P. He told me to open the door.
I.P. Would you like some tea?
O.P. He asked me if I'd like some tea.

One other type of mutation drill that is common is the combination drill. Here the input has two distinct parts, sometimes said by different speakers, parts which the learner has to combine into one output. (This should be distinguished from Addition below where the learner has to add successive outputs together, rather than two parts of one input.)

I.P. I met Mr. Brown yesterday. What's he? A teacher?
O.P. Oh yes, it was the Mr. Brown who's a teacher.
I.P. I met Mr. and Mrs. Stevens yesterday. What are they? Teachers?
O.P. Oh yes, they're the Mr. and Mrs. Stevens who are teachers.

C. Repetition

The learner merely repeats the input; input and output are identic Though this may play an incidental part in other types of drill, does not seem very useful as a drill technique by itself for drilling grammatical structure.

D. Addition

The successive inputs are added together, gradually building up to the required final output. This addition can take place either at the beginning or end of the output. The following drill is then an addition drill building up at the beginning.

IIP.1.	to the cinema
O.P.1.	to the cinema
I.P.2.	goes
O.P.2.	goes to the cinema
I.P.3.	Charles
O.P.3.	Charles goes to the cinema.

Like repetition, addition does not possess much variation but can be used as part of the frame.

The discussion so far has been restricked to drills with spoken inputs so the question of medium has not arisen. Most of the preceding types could have written or visual inputs just as well. There are, however, some features which are specific to a given medium that lend themselves to drills. In a spoken drill, for instance, the frame can depend on the sex, age, or role of the speaker as revealed by his voice (Good morning madam/sir, Would ypu like a whisky/ice-cream?) or use can be made of sound effects.

This article has dealt with some of the methods of drill design. It has left untouched such areas as the phases of a drill, the length of a drill, the number of examples, and recognition drills in which the student distinguishes between grammatical structures but does not use them. I attempts to provide a tentative conceptual framework for the discussion of drills.

One point that does emerge from this framework is extremely limited number of operations that the learner has to perform in a structure drill. In previous discussions, there appeared to be a multitude of drill types, but, if one accepts the master output approach, this is shown to be an illusion due to considering the input-output pairs rather than the successive outputs. It does appear that what is happening in a drill is much more limited than had been previously thought. This limitation is particularly apparent when one applies the distinction between deep and surface structure to drills. All the operations we have described appear to deal solely with the manipulation of surface structure. Whether this is due to the inadequacy of the present treatment or to the inadequacy of structure drills for teaching deep structure is not yet clear.-

29. FROM PATTERN PRACTICE TO COMMUNICATION

Desmond P. Cosgrave

BASIC to the theory on which the structural oral approach to language teaching rests is the idea of language as patterned behavior: a skill that is acquired not so much by cognitive processess as by analogical habit formation. The application of this idea to the methodology of language teaching has brought about great changes in traditional classroom procedures. Grammar, for instance, is to be learned no longer through the memorization of rules but through intensive oral practice on specific patterns, which have been determined and described by linguistic analysis.

Furthermore, the way in which these patterns are presented, the order in which they are taught, and the amount of practice required to master them are determined by comparison of the language to be learned with the learner's native language. For, if language learning is considered to be the formation of a new set of habits, the habits of the mother tongue will interfere wherever the two languages differ structurally. The aim of the structural approach is, therefore, to establish in the learner automatic control of the patterns of the second language, so that these newly acquired habits can exist side by side with the habits of the native language and without interference from them.

PATTERN PRACTICE AND BEYOND

The classroom methodology by which this goal of automatic habit formation is to be attained has now become pretty well standardized, and in the field of English as a second language much material has been prepared for speakers of various language backgrounds. In implementing this methodology, the teacher, following a pre-arranged plan, introduces the patterns in basic sentences typical of authentic speech. He then has the students memorize the basic sentences, usually in dialogue form. Next, he drills the students in variations of the patterns that have been illustrated, using such techniques as substitution, transformation, expansion, and combination, all of which can be summarized under the general heading of pattern practice. In this process, various visual and audio-lingual aids, such as charts and pictures, recorded tapes, films, and closed-circuit television, can

often be used to advantage. It is also customary for the teacher to provide grammar notes to help the student generalize what he has learned.

It is pattern practice, however, that plays the key role, and it is this technique that the teacher primarily relies on to establish automatic habits powerful enough to overcome interference from the student's native language.

(In this sketchy outline of the theory and practice of the structural oral approach, I make no mention of the teaching of phonology or of the skills of reading and w r i t i n g . I do not mean to imply, however, that these are to be neglected---in fact, the linguistic analyses upon which this approach is founded have revolutionized the teaching of phonology and, by placing in perspective the proper functions of reading and writing, have greatly contributed to more effective teaching of these skills. But such matters are simply beyond the scope of this brief discussion.)

Pattern practice rightly administered

An important aspect of pattern practice that is too often overlooked is this: the drills must be so presented that the student's attention is gradually drawn away from the particular structure being practiced. If his attention is continually focused on the problem, we cannot truly say that he is acquiring an automatic habit. It is necessary, therefore, to begin with drills in which the student is consciously aware of the problem structure and then progress to exercises in which that structure is consistently and correctly elicited while the student is focusing his attention on something else---a series of pictures in a chart, for example.

Pattern practice, understood in this way and supported by suitable materials, can be a powerful and effective tool in the hands of a skilled teacher. For in each class session the student is not only presented with a model to imitate but is also required to produce orally hundreds of variations of a given pattern, either in chorus or individually. Also, there is little chance of his persisting in an error, as his responses are constantly being reinforced by repetition of the correct sentences. Properly conducted pattern practice thus insures that the student is actively engaged in hearing and producing correct speech throughout an entire class period.

From what I have said so far, it might seem that the language teacher's problems have all been solved and that after a prescribed course of pattern practice suitably introduced by memorization of dialogues, the students will emerge with automatic control of the basic patterns of English, ready to engage foreigners in fluent conversation within a specific range of vocabulary. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Even though the students may have performed beautifully in the classroom and give every indication of having mastered the patterns, they do not usually perform well when faced with a real-life situation. In fact, many students immediately tend to lapse into mental translation---with the most painful results. Not unnaturally, this is discouraging not only to the student but also to the teacher, who may begin to question the efficacy of the approach he has been using.

The challenge of transformational grammar

The teacher's unease may be intensified by reports of yet another new approach to language learning---an approach based on transformational grammar, which, according to many of its proponents, has shown the generally accepted concept of patterning in language to be inadequate. The teacher may even be tempted to abandon the oral approach altogether and return to the grammar-translation method. In my opinion, however, that would be a great mistake. There is no doubt that transformational theory has thrown much new light on the theory of language and its acquisition. But it has not yet placed in the hands of the average teacher a comprehensive set of materials that can be used to give better results than the oral structural method based on patterning can give---and it is doubtful that it ever will.

At the present time, we can recognize that some of the earlier statements about the efficacy of the structural approach were exaggerated or extended beyond their proper limits. When Fries said that the average adult learner could, in a three-month intensive course, gain oral control over the basic patterns of a second language and (presumably) be able to use them in everyday speech, he was (again presumably) referring to Spanish speakers learning English in an English-speaking environment and not to Japanese speakers learning English in a Japanese-speaking environment.

Again, the structural approach has perhaps placed too much stress on the mere surface structure of patterns, neglecting the deeper layers of meaning that may underlie them. An often-quoted example is:

John is eager to teach.
John is easy tp teach.

On a superficial level, these two sentences illustrate the same pattern. But this identity of pattern (word order) gives no clue to the wide difference in meaning that exists between the two sentences.

The fact that some of our theories about the patterning of language may have to be revised is, however, no justification for abandoning the technique of pattern practice. It has been abundantly demonstrated that intensive and systematic drill-work on specific patterns is the most efficient and fastest method of instilling a facility for understanding and speaking English. It is also clear that, despite the claims of the partisans of transformational grammar, this facility is still largely based on habit formation. No doubt the relationship between structural patterning and meaning is sometimes obscure, and there are many gaps in our knowledge of the psychology of second-language acquisition. Nevertheless, a methodology based on the principle that language is a habitual activity cannot be abandoned solely on the grounds of an incomplete hypothesis that has yet to prove itself in the crucial test of classroom applicability.

We can, it is true, make effective use of transformational grammar in describing more deeply the points of similarity and contrast between various grammatical structures in terms of underlying component structures. But this can be only the first step. If the student is to master these structures he must practice them, and the proper aim of practice is habit formation. I stress this point because the linguistic oral approach is only now coming into its own at the grass-roots level in Japan and in many other countries, and it would be a great pity if incorrectly assimilated ideas on transformational grammar were to turn back the tide, so to speak.

Habituation and communication practice

Pattern practice, then, must still be considered as an essential feature of language teaching and learning. But if we are to defend pattern practice effectively, we must come to grips with the problem already touched on: the wide gap between performance in the classroom

and authentic communication in real life. If language learning is to be something more than a mere academic exercise, it must have as its goal the use of the second language in the myriad situations and encounters of everyday life---and the success of any method can only be judged on how well it enables the student to achieve this goal. The fundamental question, then, is: How shall we train the student to use in a real-life situation the patterns that he has learned so well in the classroom that they seem to be established as automatic habit?

When we look at the average classroom in which the student is being taught English by oral methods, we can see why he has this problem of transferring his classroom abilities to real communication situations. True enough, the student is mastering the patterns and is probably performing quite fluently. But the conditions under which he achieves this mastery and exercises this fluency are highly artificial and quite unlike the conditions of normal conversation. The technique of pattern practice is designed to establish habits---and, in fact, it does. But can we expect these habits to operate in an environment totally different from that in which they have been acquired? Can we expect a student, when cut off from the security of the pattern-practice classroom and facing the vastly different stresses of social communication, to use fluently and effectively what he has been taught in school? Experience readily provides the answers to this question.

We must also take into account the fact that in a real situation what a person says is determined by that situation. In the pattern-practice session, the student is not saying what he might want to say but what the teacher requires him to say---and this may be remote from his own personal experience. There is therefore a danger that the student will unconsciously dissociate the practice material from reality, even though he understands its meaning and performs effortlessly. The classroom work could then easily develop into a meaningless routine bearing no relationship to the use of English as a means of communication.

If, however, communication with all that it implies is regarded as a separate skill not developed automatically from the habits acquired through pattern practice, it becomes obvious that habits in communication must also be developed--- parallel with the habits stemming from dialogue memorization and pattern practice. It is equally obvious that the establishment of communication habits will entail the use of a situational approach involving language relevant to the students' daily life and experience. Since this may vary greatly from

one group of students to another, the teacher must be prepared to adapt his textbook material to meet the communication needs of the group he is teaching.

The classroom work should thus consist mainly of two types of activity: habituation practice (which corresponds to the dialogue memorization and pattern-practice stage) and communication practice. As soon as the students have attained automatic control over a given pattern by means of the habituation process, they should be required to use that pattern for communicating their own ideas in carefully controlled exercises. This procedure will inevitably cut down on the amount of new material that can be covered in a classroom session (as compared with the amount that could be covered in an equivalent session devoted mainly to habituation through pattern practice). However, on the practical level of the students' ability to use in authentic conversation what they have learned, such communication practice can lead to real progress.

Habituation practice aims at giving the student facility in using the patterns in tightly controlled situations through a variety of drill techniques, all of which can be summed up under the heading of pattern practice. The goal of pattern practice is the establishment of automatic habits. This means that, within the limitations imposed by the particular drill technique being used, the student can reach the stage of being able to react spontaneously to cues provided by the teacher: he can produce sentences illustrating a predetermined pattern or combination of patterns. The cues can be auditory (words, phrases, and sentences), visual (pictures, gestures, etc.), or combinations of both. They should usually be preceded by the repetition of example sentences, so that the students will know what is expected of them.

Communication practice, on the other hand, aims at bringing the students to the point where they can use in less controlled situations the patterns they have learned at the habituation stage—the final goal being a more or less effortless exchange of ideas in real-life conversation.

It is obvious, however, that habituation practice and communication practice cannot be treated as two completely distinct activities. They tend to merge into each other at all stages of the learning process, so that it may be difficult to tell in practice where habituation leaves off and communication begins, especially in pattern practice involving question-answer interchanges. The distinction, however, is real enough to warrant separate treatment, as

too much emphasis on one at the expense of the other almost always produces inferior results.

At the end of the scale is the so-called free conversation course devoid of all habituation practice, which, unless the students are at a very advanced level, is a most frustrating experience for all concerned. At the other extreme would be a course comprised of purely mechanical pattern drill providing not outlet for the expression of the students' own ideas. The ideal English course could therefore be described as one in which each new pattern or set of patterns is first established as an automatic reflex habit by means of pattern practice at the mechanical level, and then used as a means of communication between teacher and student, or student and student, in exercises designed to permit the class members to express their own interests and ideas. It is the purpose of this article to describe and to illustrate with examples some typical communication exercises of this nature.

The technique of communication drills

The most effective communication practice is that which is built around the people, places, and things with which the students are familiar. As far as possible, it should take into account their age level, individual interests, hobbies, the work they do or the other subjects they study, the locality in which they live, and as many other details relevant to their daily lives as possible. This, of course, requires the teacher to spend a fair amount of time getting to know the students personally, so that he may guide the practice into those areas in which they would be most eager to express themselves in real-life communication. It also requires each student to familiarize himself with his classmates' backgrounds and interests in those cases where there is little opportunity for social contact outside of the classroom.

There is no doubt that all this puts a considerable burden on the teacher with a large number of classes. But if the work is systematized (with the aid of notes in the class records, for example), the problem can certainly be [illegible]

Humor, and even a certain amount of teasing (provided there is no unpleasantness and the students involved can take it), should also be encouraged, as it contributes greatly to a relaxed atmosphere well suited to the give-and-take of natural conversation. This can sometimes be achieved by having a student imagine himself in some extraordinary or ridiculous situation, which forms the basis for the communication practice. Even though such a situation may be far removed from ordinary life, it is worthwhile making an exception here to the general rule of creating "real life" situations, because the very fact of its being so incongruous means that the patterns associated with the situation are more likely to be remembered.

Classroom objects are convenient and familiar things to talk about, and they certainly have a part to play in habituation and communication at elementary levels. However, they cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called interesting objects. Also, since their usefulness in confined to the classroom, and since the purpose of the communication practice is precisely to escape from the classroom setting, it is not advisable to dwell too long on such items as blackboards, erasers, red pencils, blue notebooks, my textbook, your pencil box, and other classroom paraphernalia, which people simply do not talk about in real life.

It is also important to make the situations as concrete as possible. Persons, places, and things should be named rather than referred to as generic concepts. Rather than saying that he went to the movies with "my friend" (which, by the way, should usually be corrected to "one of my friends" or "a friend of mine") a student should be encouraged to say "with Noriko," with Tanaka kun," etc. Instead of buying something in "the department store" he should buy it in Daimaru or Takashimaya (or any other local name). For specific articles, brand names should be used. The textbook naturally has to refer to things in a more general way, but in real life people usually talk about specific persons, places, and things, and this fact should be reflected in the communication practice. Being specific also enables the members of the class to share with each other in building up a whole list of familiar characters and definite places and things---all of which adds greater reality to the practice.

SOME EXAMPLES OF COMMUNICATION DRILLS

The examples given below have been adapted from Modern English:

An Oral Approach, a textbook for speakers of Japanese.[1] Since this text makes considerable use of chart drills for habituation practice, the first six pictures of Chart 5 are reproduced here, together with the basic phrases associated with each picture frame. They will be referred to in all examples involving chart drills.

As you can see, two actions are represented in each picture frame. (In the actual text, they are differentiated by the use of color.) There are thus two series of pictures: series A consists of the pictures at the bottom left of each frame, and series B the pictures at the upper right. The basic phrases to described these actions are:

	Series A	Series B
1.	go swimming	go to school (by bus)
2.	go sightseeing.....	go to church (on foot)[2]

3.	go skiing.....	go to the park (by bicycle)
4.	go bowling.....	go home (by taxi)
5.	go hiking.....	go downtown (by subway)
6.	go shopping.....	go to the office (by car)

The members of each pair of pictures can be used singly or in combination with the other member of the pair. Since there are elements of both similarity and difference between the two actions presented in each frame, a chart of this type can be used to practice a great number of complex patterns involving sentence-connecting words.

The examples shown below are given as a series of numbered drills. Under each drill number you will find the initial two or three items of a typical habituation drill, followed by a few sentences indicating how that drill could be developed into an exercise in communication. (I should point out, however, that not every habituation drill need be used as a basis for communication.)

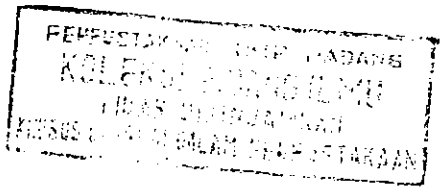
In actual practice, the habituation process whereby the mechanics of a given pattern are established as habit (within the limitations already mentioned) may involved a large number of drills arranged in an ascending scale of difficulty. The communication exercises would not usually begin until after the students had already practiced several simple drills designed to give them confidence in handling the pattern. You must therefore assume that the illustrative habituation drills have been preceded by several others, some of which may have also been used for communication practice.

For convenience of classification, I present the various types of communication drills under these general headings:

A. Questions by the Teacher Eliciting Specific Patterns
B. Student Questions Based on Habituation Drills
C. The "Surprise Question" Technique
D. Questions Forcing a Choice from a Number of Set Expressions
E. Question-Answer Exchanges among the Students
F. Pattern Dialogues

A. Questions by the Teacher Eliciting Specific Patterns

The required pattern may or may not be contained in the question. If it is not, the question provides an even better test of the students' ability to use the pattern. The examples below illustrate both cases.



Drill 1 Habituation practice on 'd rather (chart)

1. Louise is going to school, but she'd rather go swimming.
2. The Johnsons are going to church, but they'd rather go sightseeing.

etc.

Communication based on Drill 1

a) Teacher: Which would you rather buy, Mr. Ito---a Toyopet or a Cedric?
Ito: I'd rather buy a Cedric.
Teacher: Where would you rather have your summer training camp, Miss Sato---in Kyushu or in Hokkaido?
Sato: I'd rather have it in Hokkaido.

b) Teacher: Are you going to study English tonight, Mr. Ito?
Ito: Yes, but I'd rather play mahjong.
Teacher: Are you going to go home by bus, Miss Sato?
Sato: Yes, but I'd rather take a taxi (or go by taxi).

etc.

Drill 2 Habituation practice on too and enough

Teacher: Mr. LeRoy is going to Europe on his vacation. He's wealthy.
Student 1: Mr. LeRoy is wealthy enough to go to Europe on his vacation.
(followed by choral repetition)
Teacher: Mr. Rice can't buy a suit. He's poor.
Student 2: Mr. Rice is too poor to buy a suit.
(followed by choral repetition)

etc.

Drill 3 Habituation practice on too and enough (chart, series A)

Teacher :
Student 1:
Teacher
Student 2:

Communication based on Drills 2 and 3

Teacher : Are you going to play mahjong tonight, Mr. Ito?
Ito: No, I'm to tired to play mahjong.
Teacher : Would you like to get married, Miss Sato?
Sato: No, I'm too young to get married.
Teacher: Did your uncle give you any money, Mr. Ueda?
Ueda: Yes, he was kind enough to give me ¥ 10.000.

etc.

Drill 4 Habituation practice on so as a connecting word (chart)

Teacher : now
Student 1: Louise has to go to school now, so she can't go swimming.
Teacher : last Sunday
Student 2: The Johnsons had to go to church last Sunday, so they couldn't go sightseeing.

etc.

Communication

Teacher : Did you play mahjong last night, Mr. Ito?
Ito; No, I had to study English, so I couldn't play mahjong.
Teacher: Did you go to the hairdresser's last week, Miss Sato?
Sato: No, I went two weeks ago, so I didn't (have to) go last week.

etc.

Drill 5 Habituation practice on before and after (chart)

Teacher : before.....yesterday
Student 1: Did Ron and Fred go to school yesterday?
Student 2: Yes, They went to school before going swimming.
Teacher : after....next Sunday
Student 3: Are the Johnsons going to go sightseeing next Sunday?
Student 4: Yes, They're going to go sightseeing after going to church.

etc.

Communication

Teacher : Did you play mahjong last week, Mr. Ito?
Ito: Yes, I played mahjong on Wednesday after leaving the office.

Teacher: Are you going to take a part-time job this summer, Miss Sato?

Sato: Yes, I'm going to work in a department store before going to summer camp.

etc.

Questions of the type shown above represent a fairly closely controlled situation. Although the students are giving free answers related to concrete facts of their individual circumstances, they are still dependent on the teacher for instructions on what patterns to use. Such exercises, nevertheless, provide excellent practice of a sort far removed from mechanical drill. They help the students acquire confidence and prepare them for conversation in uncontrolled situation.

The questions should not, of course, require answers involving patterns not yet practiced at the habituation stage. For example, in part b of the communication exercise based on Drill 1, the teacher should not ask questions in the past tense unless the students have practiced perfect-tense forms in sentences such as I'd rather have taken a taxi.

On the other hand, the structures contained in the questions themselves need not always conform strictly to patterns already practiced, since the students' ability to understand is usually ahead of their ability to speak.

B. Student Sentences Based on Habituation Drills

After completing one or more habituation drills, the students are required to express their own ideas, using as models the formats of the drills just practiced.

Drill 6 Habituation pratice on connected sentences using be able (chart)

1. Louise wasn't able to go swimming, so she decided to go to school.
2. The Johnsons weren't able to go sightseeing, so they decided to go to church.

etc.

Communication

Ito: I wasn't able to play mahjong last night, so I decided to go to bed early.

Sato: I wasn't able to attend the training camp last summer, so I decided to take a part-time job.

etc.

Drill 7 Habituation practice on to denoting purpose

Teacher: the Housing Office...rooms

Student 1: You'll have to go to the Housing Office to ask about rooms.

Teacher: the Travel Agency...reservations

Student 2: You'll have to go to the Travel Agency to ask about reservations.

etc.

Communication (varying the second verb)

Ueda: You'll have to go the American Cultural Center to ask about Fulbright scholarships.

Ono: You'll have to go to Kyoto to understand Japanese culture.

etc.

Drill 8 Habituation practice on until + verbal phrase

Teacher: tighten the screw...screwdriver

Student 1: I won't be able to tighten the screw until I get a screwdriver.

Teacher: dry my hands...towel

Student 2: I won't be able to dry my hands until I get a towel.

etc.

Communication (varying the verbs as much as possible)

Sato: I won't be able to go to Hokkaido until I get more money.

Ito: I won't be able to play mahjong until this class is over.

etc.

Drill 9 (Habituation practice on turn out to be

Teacher: English...easy

Student 1: I thought English would be easy, but it turned out to be very difficult.

Teacher: this tape recorder....expensive

Student 2: I thought this tape recorder would be expensive, but it turned out to be very cheap.

etc.

Communication

Tanaka: I thought the pollution control program would be useless, but it turned out to be very effective.
(Tanaka is an exceptional student.)

Ueda: I thought our teacher would be easy (on us), but he/she turned out to be very strict.

etc.

Drill 10 Habituation practice on connected sentences in reported speech (chart)

1. Louise said she couldn't go swimming, because she had to go to school.
2. The Johnsons said they couldn't go sightseeing, because they had to go to church.

etc.

Communication

Ito: I can't play mahjong, because I have to work overtime.

Ueda: Mr. Ito said he couldn't play mahjong because he had to work overtime.

Sato: I can't go to the movies with Mr. Ueda, because I have to help my mother.

Miki: Miss Sato said she couldn't go to the movies with Mr. Ueda, because she had to help her mother.

etc.

Drill 11 Habituation practice on past conditioned forms (chart)

1. Louise would have gone swimming if she hadn't had to go to school.
2. The Johnsons would have gone sightseeing if they hadn't had to go to church.

etc.

Communication

Sato: I'd have gone to to the movies with Mr. Ueda if I hadn't had to help my mother.

Ito: I'd have played mahjong last night if I hadn't had to work overtime.

etc.

The preceding examples give only some idea of the great variety of habituation drills that can be meaningfully situationalized for conversation practiced within a specific structural framework. The method is well suited to drills based on charts. At intermediate and advanced stages of a course, it may often be more effective to go through only a few pictures of the chart and then have the students proceed on their own, the teacher making the required corrections in structure, pronunciation, stress, rhythm,, and intonation. I will discuss later the problems presented by students who have difficulty in thinking of suitable ideas, but it is worthwhile pointing out here that this is a type of exercise at which even indifferent students can soon become quite proficient.

C. The "Surprise Question" Technique

The types of communication exercises so far considered have been structurally controlled by the teacher, so that the students always know beforehand the patterns they are required to illustrate. In order to take the students a step further on the road to truly free communication, the teacher should devise exercises in which the structural controls are progresssively relaxed. One way of doing this is to catch the students unawares, so to speak, by suddenly asking questions that normally would elicit a pattern already studied but upon which attention is not being focused. The student is then faced with a situation that closely approximates real life, and if he comes up with the expected pattern, it can be taken as a good indication that he has established it as a habit at the communication level. This technique, however, requires careful preparation, and the timing of the questions is important.

The "surprise question" technique can be used effectively in a short warm-up session at the start of each class. The teacher should come prepared with a list of questions designed to elicit patterns practiced in recent lessons. Without any preamble he should start asking the questions at random as he enters the classroom. He can also

ask such questions throughout the remainder of the class period at times when they are least expected. To give a limited example (involvin only the patterns of reported speech), the teacher might suddenly addres individual students at random, asking questions such as:

What did Mr. Ito say just now?
(To another student) Is that what Mr. Ito said?
Where did Miss Sato say she was going to go?
What did I ask Mr. Ueda to do?
Tell me what Mr, Miki said about....
etc.

The basic purpose here is not to catch out those students who haven't been paying attention (though this may be a useful side effect of the technique) but to give all of the students practice in reacting to situations similar to those encountered in normal conversational settings.

D. Questions Forcing a Choice

A certain expression---not necessarily an idiomatic expression---can often be used as a response to several questions (or statements) of different structural content. The teacher instructs the students to choose one of a limited number of such sentences as a response to each of a larger number of prepared questions or statements. Usually the responses will have been memorized as part of a set dialogue assigned for acting out in class. To illustrate, let us suppose that one of the memorized responses is:

Not at all. I'm glad to help you out.

This expression could be used in response to such sentences as:

I'm afraid I'm causing you a lot of trouble.
Would you mind giving me a hand?
You've been very kind.
Thank you for everything.
I'm in a hurry. Do you mind if I use your car?

A complete exercise might involve four or five responses and from 20 to 30 questions or statements.

E. Question-Answer Exchanges among the Students

The techniques I have described so far have dealt with student responses to questions asked by the teacher. True communication, how-

ever, is a two-way process, and the students must practice asking questions as well as answering them. Also, since interrogative patterns in English contain many structural problems that are especially difficult for most students, their use cannot be confined to the habituation stage only but must be thoroughly practiced at the communication level. Question-answer practice between individual students is therefore the most valuable form of communication exercise and should be allotted the largest percentage of time. Almost any habituation drill can be developed into a question-answer exercise suitable for communication practice, and the following examples could be added to indefinitely.

Drill 12 Habituation practice on shall and let's (chart)

1. Student 1 : Shall we go to school?
   Student 2 : No, let's go swimming.
2. Student 3 : Shall we go to church?
   Student 4 : No, let's go sightseeing.

etc.

Communication

Miki: Shall we go to the movies?
Ito: No. let's play mahjong.
Ueda: Shall we watch TV?
Sato: No, let's listen to records.

etc.

Drill 13 Habituation

Teacher: Louise Cullen isn't a nurse. She's a teacher.
Student 1: I didn't know Louise Cullen was a teacher. I thought she was a nurse.

Teacher: John Bishop isn't an engineer. He's a doctor.
Student 2: I didn't know John Bishop was a doctor. I thought he was an engineer.

etc.

Communication (humorous situations)

Ito: I'm a fashion model.
Go: Is that right! I didn't know you were a fashion model. I thought you were a typist.

practicing their own ideas, using tag questions with suitable answers, and encouraging them to vary the patterns and verb forms. As long as a specific pattern has been sufficiently established by means of habituation drill, any appropriate means can be used to initiate question-answer practice at the communication level.

When introducing new verb patterns, you can provide valuable and necessary practice by having the students give short answers to questions: Yes, I do. No, I don't. Yes, I will. etc. Such answers often seem abrupt and artificial. It is therefore advisable to train the students to form the habit of always adding some comment after giving the short answer. These comments result in more natural and realistic speech, as the following examples show:

Student 1: Do you like mahjong, Mr. Tanaka?
Student 2: No, I don't. I think it's a waste of time.

Student 3: Will you be going swimming tomorrow, Miss Ono?
Student 4: No, I won't. I have to work.

Student 5: Did you hear about the accident, Mr. Miki?
Student 6: Yes, I did. It was terrible, wasn't it?

Student 7: Can you play tennis, Miss Sato?
Student 8: Yes, I can. I belong to the ... Tennis Club.

As the examples illustrate, it is also good practice to have the students use each other's names as much as possible. This makes the situation less impersonal and more realistic. It is generally more natural to put the name at the end of the question than at the beginning.

F. Pattern Dialogues

This type of practice is simply an extension of the question-answer exercises described above. A pattern dialogue may be defined as a conversation of more than two lines based on a predetermined model. It contains both fixed and variable parts, so that the students can fit their own ideas into the structural framework provided. Pattern dialogues can be developed from parts of previously memorized dialogues or from habituation drills, or the teacher can construct origihal dialogues for this purpose. Such dialogues, of course, should contain only those patterns already drilled at the habituation level. The students must memorize the basic dialogues each time before doing the drill exercises, but this is not a major problem, since it can usually

be accomplished in one or two minutes of intensive "mim-mem" repetition practice. The following examples, in which the variable parts are italicized, are self-explanatory.

Drill 16 Developed from a previously memorized dialogue (elementary level)

Student 1: Excuse me. Is *Osaka* the next station?
Student 2: No, I'm getting off at *Kobe*.

The students continue on their own, selecting pairs of railroad stations.

Drill 17 Same type as Drill 16

Student 1: Did you go to *Kyushu* last summer?
Student 2: Yes. I visited *Mount Aso*.
Student 1: How was your trip?
Student 2: It was very *enjoyable*. *Kyushu* certainly is a *beautiful place*.

The students select different places and vary the adjectives accordingly.

Drill 18 Developed from a previously memorized dialogue (intermediate level)

The relevant lines in the memorized dialogue are:

Mr. Jones: I thought you'd be here sooner.
Ken: So did I. But I couldn't find the way at first.

Teacher: *get up . . . ten o'clock*
Student 1: *What time* did you get up?
Student 2: *At ten o'clock*, I'm afraid.

Student 1: I thought you'd *get up earlier* than that.
Student 2: So did I. But *I felt very sleepy*.

Note that, although this type of pattern dialogue must be cued by the teacher, it still requires free selection on the part of the students. Examples of other cues are: *study....not hard enough to pass*; *jump ...one meter*; *stay...five minutes*.
The first lines corresponding to these cues are:

How hard did you study?
How high did you jump?
How long did you stay?

Drill 19 Developed from chart (intermediate level)

Student 1: May Ron and Fred go swimming?
Student 2: Yes, of course they may.
Student 1: What about Louise?
Student 2: No, I'm afraid Louise can't.
Student 1: Why not?
Student 2: Well, you see, she has to go to school.
Student 1: That's a pity.
Student 2: I know it is. But I'm afraid it can't be helped.

The students continue with other pictures from the chart or by using their own ideas.

Drill 20 Constructed for practice on the fact that ... (advanced level)

Student 1: Can you teach English?
Student 2: I think so. I know how to speak English, so I ought to be able to teach it.
Student 1: I disagree. The fact that you can speak English doesn't mean you can teach it.
Student 2: It doesn't? Well, I must say I never realized that.

The above example is cued by the words:

teach English . . . speak English.

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS

I have attempted to describe and illustrate as concretely as possible a number of techniques whereby we can teach students to communicate in English (despite the limitations imposed by the classroom) by using the patterns mastered through pattern practice at the habituation level. It is, of course, one thing to make recommendations and quite another to carry them out. Giving the students regular and consistent practice in communication certainly makes demands on the teacher in terms of skill, ingenuity, enthusiasm, and preparation that are required.

I have already mentioned the necessary preparatory work of getting to know the students. On top of that, the teacher must prepare a separate set of communication exercises for each lesson--exercises suited to the students in that particular class. For habituation drill, he can follow the textbook itself fairly closely, but it is -

obviously impossible to write a textbook that could take into account the varying backgrounds and interests of every group of students. Preparation, therefore, is essential to the successful integration of communication exercises with habituation material contained in the textbook. In some respects, however, the teacher's work will lessen over a period of time, for he will find that a number of his students share many areas of common experience and interest. The notes he makes of these common features he can use over again in successive courses.

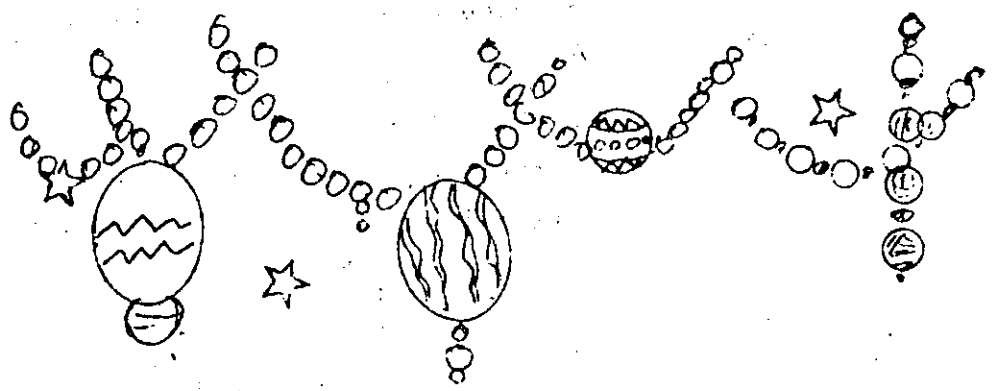
A second problem is getting the class members to perform actively in the sessions devoted to communication practice. Some students may be inhibited by shyness, in which case it is up to the teacher to develop the type of classroom atmosphere that encourages even the shy students to express themselves freely. The main difficulty however is that in many cases a student will not be able to think of anything to say---his mind will go blank and silence will ensue. The teacher must always be ready for this situation and immediately prompt the student, supplying a word or an idea that will elicit the required utterance. This point is of vital importance. The exercises must be done at a lively pace. Long pauses in which a student casts about desperately for something appropriate to say will not only cause embarrassment but will tend to kill the interest of the other members of the class, who must passively wait their turn.

Another point to remember is that the students will improve with experience. In their first encounters with communication exercises they will probably flounder quite a lot; but with the encouragement and patient prompting of the teacher they will gradually gain confidence and become increasingly adept at fitting their own ideas into the situation provided.

The final problem to be considered is the matter of large classes. This is the perennial bugbear of many teachers, and there is no truly satisfactory answer. We must ultimately face the fact that large classes and oral language teaching are really incompatible. As the saying goes, "If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain": the classes must be [illegible] actively.

60 students. This is because the goals of habituation practice can, to a great extent, be achieved through choral work, and the teacher can divide a large class into groups of manageable size while still insuring that each student gets many chances to speak.

Communication practice, on the other hand, must operate at the level of the individual student, who must have sufficient opportunity to speak in every class. In groups of more than 20 to 25 students, it seems doubtful whether the limited time available for individual expression really makes communication practice worthwhile. In such cases the time might be more profitably spent on habituation practice in the hope that the students might, at a later date, find opportunities for real communication practice.



30. DEVELOPMENT OF A MANIPULATION-COMMUNICATION SCALE

Clifford H. Prator

To what extent does Prator's criticism of the influence of of structural linguistics on second-language teaching parallel that of transformational linguists as described by Bolinger (Art. 3)?

Do you agree with Prator's statement that the recitation of freshly memorized dialogue ... cannot be said to involve any considerable element of communication as that term is defined in this article? Why?

Choose some discrete phonological, syntactic, or lexical problem, and develop a sequence of exercises exemplifying each of Prator's four steps from manipulation to communication.

To judge by the topics of papers read at scholarly meetings, teachers have been increasingly worried for a decade or more about the effectiveness of the instruction in English as a second language that goes on in the United States at the intermediate and advanced levels. We are comparatively satisfied with our elementary classes and have produced a respectable number of successful texts for beginners or near-beginners. But at more advanced levels we are bedeviled by uncertainties as to our aims, lack of conviction in our choice of classroom activities, and a persistent shortage of good teaching materials.

The purpose of this article is to investigate briefly the causes of this situation and to suggest a theoretical guideline that may be of help in remedying our deficiencies.

In the opening sentence of his Gallic War, Julius Caesar notes the fact that "all Gaul is divided into three parts." The most notable fact about most language departments is somewhat similar. All, or almost all, are divided into two quite distinct, often antagonistic, parts: language and literature. The language courses, which are usually assigned to the youngest and most defenseless members of the staff, tend today to be devoted to

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drill work of a rather mechanical sort and are likely to have little intellectual content. On the other hand most courses in literature, typically reserved for senior personnel, are either taught largely in the mother tongue of the student or, if conducted in the second language, make no deliberate systematic attempt to help the student improve his practical command of that language. In the two sets of courses, aims, methods, and subject matter are utterly dissimilar. If another paraphrase is permissible, language is language, and literature is literature, and never the twain shall meet.

Sources of Difficulty

It is just such a meeting—of language and literature—that is called for in the intermediate or advanced class in English as a second language. The unfortunate dichotomy prevailing in our language departments means that we have little precedent for the kind of course that makes a gradual and orderly transition from activities that emphasize the development of basic linguistic skills to activities designed to encourage the free communication of thought. It is apparent, then, that some of the difficulty we experience in pushing on beyond the beginning level stems directly from the prevalent concept of departmental organization and the consequent separation of language and literature.

An even more important source of our difficulty may lie in our current excessive dependence on the structural linguists as the fountainhead of our attitudes toward language teaching. There is no gainsaying the fact that we teachers of English as a second language owe the linguists a tremendous, debt. One can no more deny the idea that language teaching must be grounded on linguistics—that is to say, on the body of knowledge we possess about the nature of language and of specific languages—than one can deny virtue, home, and mother. But it should be equally obvious that our discipline should rest on other foundations as well, particularly on that branch of psychology that deals with the nature of the learner and of the language-learning process.

Furthermore, American linguists have been notably uninterested in certain aspects of language with which the teacher must concern himself, especially in advanced classes. Since Bloomfield, the focus of attention in linguistic research has been the spoken language, with little attention paid to writing above the level of graphemics. Grammatical analysis has developed almost exclusively

within the limits of the individual sentence, and there has been little study of the relation-ships between sentences in larger units such as the paragraph. Yet, the advanced student of English as a second language must be taught composition.

The Importance of Meaning

In their effort to develop more rigorous methods of linguistic analysis, the Bloomfieldians have tended to downgrade the importance of meaning as an element of language. However healthy this de-emphasis of meaning may have been in analytical work, it should never have been extended to the practical activities of the language classroom. In following the linguists too trustingly on this point, we language teachers have often fallen into grievous error: extended drills on nonsense syllables, failure to make sure that our students understand the sentences they are so assideously repeating, the use of language that bears no relationship to the realities of the situation, exercises made up of totally disconnected sentences.

Perhaps most serious of all as a cause of the difficulties we are now experiencing in advanced instruction, we seem to have largely lost sight of the role of communication in language teaching. If meaning is not important, then neither is communication. Yet, even on the theoretical level, it should be easy to convince ourselves that communication is an essential component of language—that language bereft of its communicative function is not language at all but mere parroting.

The teacher who underestimates the importance of communication is likely to attach correspondingly greater weight to another element of language that has a clear methodological significance—its systematic nature. One of the greatest services the linguists have rendered is to insist that a language is basically a system of structural signals by means of which a speaker indicates the relationship between content words. It follows that a primary aim of instruction must be to practice these arrangements of signals, until they can behandled automatically as a matter of habit. Hence, our fully justified fondness for pattern practice.

We must realize, however, that pattern practice and communication are to a considerable degree antithetical. If our students are to form correct speech habits through pattern practice, we must not allow them to practice errors. Therefore, we must exercise

strict controls, and must supply the proper words and structures in the form of an external model that we require the students to imitate. On the other hand, the beginning and essence of communication is the presence of a thought that the speaker wishes to share with a hearer, followed by that mysterious process whereby he produces from within himself the words and patterns that express thought. True communication implies the absence of external controls.

Two Types of Classroom Activities

For the purposes of this article, then, we may define communicative classroom activities as those that allow the student himself to find the words and structures he uses. The other type of activity, in which he receives the words and structures from teacher, tape, or book, may be called—for want of a better word—a manipulative activity. In this sense, an example of pure manipulation would be a drill in which the students merely repeat sentences after the teacher. An example of pure communication would be a free conversation among the members of a class.

When we begin to analyze activities from this point of view, however, we soon discover that most of them do not fall entirely within either category but are mixtures of communication and manipulation in various proportions. Thus, a teacher can frame a question in such a way as to control the form of the student's answer to a considerable degree but still leave him some freedom in the choice of words: Before you came to school this morning, what had you already done at home? That one seems to involve a rather larger element of communication than of manipulation.

What all this has to do with the problems of advanced English instruction begins to become apparent when we reflect that the principal methodological change that should characterize the progression from the lower to the upper levels of language teaching is precisely the increased freedom of expression given students in the higher classes. In the beginning stages, the teacher exerts such rigorous control as to reduce the possibility of error to a minimum: at least, this is what happens in classes taught by the methods most widely approved today. At some later stage the time must inevitably come when these controls disappear, when oral pattern practice gives way to the discussion of ideas, and dictation is superseded by free composition. We may regard the whole process as a prolonged and gradual shift from manipulation to communication,

accomplished through progressive decontrol. We determine the speed of the transition by allowing the student the possibility of making certain errors only when we are reasonably sure that he will no longer be likely to make them.

It is fortunate that the movement from manipulation to communication does not have to be made abruptly, and it is probable that the shift should never be total, even in the most advanced classes. Therein lies the importance of analyzing all the great range of possible language-teaching techniques from the point of view of their manipulation-communication content, and of arranging them in our minds along a sort of scale extending from the most manipulative to the most communicative types.

A Four-Way Scale

In the development of a manipulation-communication scale, it may be helpful to divide classroom activities into at least four major groups: 1) completely manipulative, 2) predominantly manipulative, 3) predominantly communicative, and 4) completely communicative. For ease of reference, we can label these as groups one, two, three, and four. Obviously, the dimensions of this article will not permit an attempt at a complete classification of this sort, but a number of specific examples may be useful.

One of the currently most popular activities in language classes is the single slot substitution drill: The teacher gives a model sentence, such as My father is a doctor, and asks the students to construct similar sentences by substituting for doctor a series of nouns of profession--salesman, farmer, fisherman, etc.--which the teacher also supplies orally. In this form the exercise is certainly completely manipulative and hence belongs in our group one. But by any of a number of slight changes we can turn it into a group-two activity and thus--even in an elementary class--come slightly closer to our ultimate goal of using language for communication. For instance, the students could individually substitute the name of their father's real profession. Such a change would, incidentally, avoid the element of silliness inherent in having the son of a professor chorusing that his father is a janitor. Another change that would permit a short step toward communication would be to cue the exercise visually, by means of a series of pictures, instead of cuing it orally. In this situation, though the structure is determined by the teacher, the student

supplies at least a single word in each sentence. (It is to be hoped that this argument may have some weight with those too numerous instructors who are deeply fearful of losing dignity if they use visual aids with adult students).

As I have already pointed out, the most typical group-one activity is probably the repetition of sentences by the students in immediate imitation of the teacher. Yet, the teacher can introduce an element of communication into even this type of exercise by allowing a significant period of time to elapse between the hearing of the model and the attempt at imitation. In a beginning class, this might take the form of returning to a repetition drill after having moved on to some other type of exercise; except that, the second time around, the teacher would ask the students to reproduce such sentences as they could remember without benefit of model. Clearly, in this delayed repetition the possibility of error and the need for the student to draw upon his own inner linguistic resources would be greater than in the original version of the activity. In an advanced class the teacher could apply the same principle by asking students to retell an anecdote quite some time after he had told it to them.

This would seem to be a good place to consider memorization, especially the memorization of material in dialogue form. The recitation of freshly memorized dialogue, whether it be redited with full comprehension by both participants or not, whether it be in perfectly authentic conversational form or not, cannot be said to involve any considerable element of communication as that term is defined in this paper. It is almost pure manipulation, since the opportunity for the speakers to supply all or part of the language is practically nil. On the other hand, if the teacher encourages students to paraphrase all or portions of a dialogue, then they can certainly move into the area of communication. One wonders why our textbooks so seldom contain versions of dialogues that leave blank some portions of sentences, to be filled in by student improvisation.

Reading and Writing

In advanced classes, though the teacher may occasionally need to use a groupone exercise, he should probably place greater emphasis on activities that fall into groups two and three. Since reading plays a prominent role in most advanced classes, it is interesting to apply our scale to various activities usually connected with

reading. Following our definitions, we would be forced to classify silent reading, in which no overt linguistic activity of any sort is demanded of the student, as belonging to group one—completely manipulative, hence not often desirable for use in class at the advanced level. Reading aloud in direct imitation of teacher would also, of course, fall into group one. But reading aloud without an immediate oral model to follow would require the student to supply the appropriate sounds and sound sequences, and would be classified as a group-two activity, and should therefore probably have a place in advanced instruction.

Various types of questioning ordinarily follow reading. In measuring different types against our manipulation-communication scale, we can make good use of Gurrey's well-known classification of questions as step-one, step-two, and step-three. He labels as step-one a question the answer to which can be found in the exact words of the text. Since the student has only to locate and read the appropriate words, questioning of this sort would appear to be a predominantly manipulative activity, suitable as a starting point in advance classes provided that the teacher then moves on to questioning of a predominantly communicative type, such as step-two and step-three questions. In Gurrey's thinking, a step-two question is one the student can answer by remembering information supplied by the text but not by using the exact words of the text. A step-three question relates to the student's own experience, with its content merely suggested by the text.[1] Obviously, this latter type approaches pure communication; the only remaining control lies in the form of the question itself.

Students in advanced classes are usually asked to write compositions. If these are assigned without advance preparation of any kind, the writing of them is a group-four activity, completely communicative. It is surely preferable to lead up to composition through a series of related group-two or -three activities. Consulting our scale, we might decide to begin the series with a dictation dealing with the content of the eventual essay to be written, then to move on to another dictation on the same subject but one in which sentences are left incomplete, to be filled

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[1] Cf. Stevick, Art. 9, for further discussion of questions of these types. (Eds.)

in by the student, before finally assigning the related composition. Or we might prefer to base the composition on a text that has been read, and to prepare for it through a graded series of questions of a progressively more communicative sort.

Perhaps I have said enough to permit us to judge whether or not the kind of manipulation-communication scale here described can serve effectively as a theoretical guideline in our organization of classes and textbooks. It seems to be a way of reconfirming, through a new logical approach, quite a few of our established ideas and convictions. On other points, however, it brings us to certain conclusions that we may find upsetting, and therefore challenging.

From the point of view developed in this article, a typical class would be seen as made up of several cycles of activities, with each cycle related to the teaching of a corresponding small unit of subject matter. Within each cycle the activities would be so arranged as to constitute a gradual progression from manipulation to communication. The same progression would characterize the whole movement from elementary to advanced English courses—though at the point where manipulative activities disappear altogether it might be well to stop thinking of the work as teaching English as a second language.

One result of the application of the scale might be a blurring of the sharp line that now separates language courses from literature courses. We might be encouraged to push through more often to communication in elementary language courses. We might realize the naivete we now frequently display in trusting that our beginners will somehow find adequate occasion outside the class for using communicatively the structures that we have taught them but that they have never so used in class. We might be helped to realize that we simply cannot be sure that our students have mastered a given structure until we have heard them produce it in a communication situation free of all controls. We might even come to consent to the supreme heresy of including in early literature courses a solid element of manipulation, so that they could make a more direct contribution to the development of language skills.

31. ADJECTIVES OF TEMPERATURE

Clifford H. Prator

A fuller title for this study would be "Some Temperature Words in English and in Several Other Languages." It deals with the four adjectives which we ordinarily use to describe temperature, their relationships to one another, and the way in which their meanings combine to cover a given area of experience. It then points out that certain other languages cover the same area of experience in quite different ways. Even so limited an exercise in contrastive linguistic analysis gives evidence in support of certain conclusions regarding language instruction, conclusions which have often been formulated but which have by no means been universally accepted.

The four adjectives in question are cold, cool, warm, and hot. In an article recently published in Language Learning,[1] Yao Shen argues that the meanings of all four are essentially parallel, that in any particular season and locality cool represents a higher range of temperature than cold, warm a higher one than cool, and hot one still higher. "In Ann Arbor, warm can be said to have a higher temperature than cool. Between the two poles of hot and cold, warm is closer to hot and cool is closer to cold, regardless of ... whether the temperature is moving from hot toward cold (getting cooler or colder) or from cold toward hot (getting warm)."[2]

She contrasts the use of the four items in English with that of the four terms which cover the same total area of meaning in Chinese: rè, nwan-hwo, lyangkwai, and lěng. When one speaks of the weather in Chinese, the two intermediate terms are experienced differently. "From rè (hot) to lěng (cold), the state of warm = cooler is lyangkwai. From lěng (cold) to rè (hot), the state of cool = warmer is nwanhwo."[3] If we are to accept this analysis, then, the four English terms are simply successive points in a reversible sequence, whereas in Chinese there are two separate sequences, one for rising temperatures and one for falling, each of which includes only three of the four terms.

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1) Vol.X, Nos. 1 and 2, 1960, pp. 1-13.

2) Ibid. p.2.

3) Ibid. pp.2-3.

When a large number of examples are studied, little evidence can be found to support this classification of English temperature words, whether the speaker is referring to the weather, to inanimate objects, or to living creatures. We might state on a day when the thermometer stood high, "It's *hot*." As the temperature fell, however, we would hardly say: "Now it's *warm*," "Now it's *cool*," "Now it's *cold*." Conversely, on a winter day, though we might declare that we ourselves were cold, we would surely not consider it a logical progression to say as the thermometer rose: "I'm *cold*," "I'm *warm*," "I'm *hot*." Instead, a normal falling sequence would be: "It's (or I'm) *hot*," "It's getting *cool*," "It's *cold*"—omitting *warm*. And a natural rising progression would be: "I'm (or it's) *cold*," "I'm *warming* up," "I'm *hot*"—leaving out *cool*.

It would seem, then, that Yao Shen's arrangement of the four Chinese words into two separate sequences of three words each applies equally well to English. *Warm* is a term that we use on the way from *cold* to *hot*, and *cool* fits into a series which begins with *hot* and moves toward *cold*. "It's getting *warm*" always indicates a rising temperature, and "It's getting *cool*" always means that the thermometer is falling. *Warm* and *cool* are alike in that they indicate a change from a generally opposite temperature. The two-word verb we use to describe a rise or fall in temperature are *warm up* and *cool off*, and no comparable verbs are formed with *hot* and *cold*.

The entire picture, however, is certainly much more complicated than that. Each of the four English adjectives of temperature may be used with the verb *to be* to describe the weather, an inanimate object, or a living creature. We can say "It's *cold* today," "The iron is *cold*," or "I'm *cold*"; and *cool*, *warm*, or *hot* can be substituted for *cold* in any of the three sentences. But in describing living creatures English is ambiguous. Even if we leave aside possible figurative meanings, "You're *cold*" may signify either that you are externally cold when someone else touches you—cold in the sense that an inanimate object is cold—or that you feel cold to yourself internally. There appears to be no way to remove the ambiguity short of using an explanatory phrase; "You *feel cold*" still has two possible literal meanings. As we shall see, some other languages are not ambiguous on this point.

Under most circumstances *cold* and *hot* have disagreeable connotations in English, but *cool* and *warm* are agreeable. In so

far as cold is a disagreeable term, then, its antonym is warm, not hot. And in a situation where hot is disagreeable its opposite is cool rather than cold. Looking out through the window on a wintry day, we would never turn to our companion in the room and say: "My, it's cold outside! Are you cool enough?", or "Are you hot enough?" It would aways be, "Are you warm enough ?" After strenuous exercise outside on a hot summer's day, we might declare: "It's too hot out here; let's go inside where it's cool," but never, "Let's go inside where it's cold," or "Let's go inside where it's warm." Warm means pleasantly comfortable against a cold background, whereas cool means pleasantly comfortable against a hot background.

This partial analysis omits consideration of the various figurative and idiomatic uses of hot, warm, cool, cold (for example, "a hot-blooded man" but a "warm-blooded animal"). Even so, it is obvious that the problem of a foreign student of English is much more complex than merely to learn to use the four adjectives to indicate appropriate ranges in a single temperature scale.

Our insight into the nature of that student's difficulties can, of course, be increased by a knowledge of the way in which his mother tongue expresses the area of meaning covered by cold, cool, etc., in English.

Even a language as closely related to English as French provides a very substantial amount of interference in this area. In French there appear to be only three commonly used adjectives whose central meaning has to do with temperature: froid, frais, and chaud-two words for the lower temperatures, one for the higher. One is inevitably tempted, in passing, to wonder if there is any connection between the rather cool French climate and the fact that the vocabulary, when compared with that of English, seems unbalanced in the direction of coolness. To be sure, there is another word, doux, which might be equated with the English warm, but doux is used much less frequently to describe temperature than the other three terms and [illegible]

ring to either the weather, inanimate objects, or living creatures. French requires an entirely different construction for each of the three type of reference.

In speaking of the weather, froid, frais, doux, and chaud are all used with the verb faire (to make or to do): "Il fait froid" (It's cold), etc. In this construction the four words are invariable in form and would traditionally be labelled as nouns rather than adjectives. To indicate a rising temperature, the progression would be from froid, through doux (or perhaps more commonly moins froid (less cold), to chaud, omitting frais. In the opposite direction the series would be chaud, frais, froid, with doux omitted.

Referring to inanimate objects, doux is never employed to indicate temperature, but only froid, chaud, and--with certain nouns--frais. In this type of reference the verb être, equivalent to the English to be, is used, and the three descriptive terms are certainly adjectives marked by appropriate endings for gender and number: "Le fer est froid" (The iron is cold), "Les assiettes sont froides" (The plates are cold).

The same construction is occasionally heard in reference to living creatures: "Vous êtes chaud" (You are hot). In this case the meaning would be that you are externally hot to the touch rather than you feel hot to yourself internally. In order to express the latter meaning, it would be necessary to use the verb avoir (to have) and the nominal form of the descriptive term: "Vous avez chaud" (You are hot). French can thus avoid the ambiguity of the English "You are hot." Neither doux nor frais is applicable to living creatures as an indication of temperature, which leaves only froid and chaud, the terms at the two ends of the scale. The student of English with a French background will thus have to learn, in speaking of persons, to split his single concept, chaud, into two concepts, warm and hot, and the same will be true of froid in relation to cool and cold.

As we might expect, the agreeable or disagreeable connotation of the French temperature word depends on the general background and on what is being described. Chaud in particular may be unlike its nearest English counterpart, hot, in connotation. On a cold day it may be pleasant for a person to be chaud, though it is certainly not agreeable for him to be hot. On the other

hand, weather described as chaud or hot is always unpleasant.

It is perhaps worthy of note, in passing, that there is another fairly common French word which would usually be translated as warm: chaleureux. The latter, however, seems to be restricted to figurative uses: une recommendation chaleureuse (a warm recommendation). The learner's difficulty here would be in moving from English to French, splitting a meaning, rather than in moving from French to English, in which case the two meanings are coalesced.

The native speaker of Spanish would share most of the Frenchman's problems in learning to describe temperature reactions in English, since the two Romance languages use mostly cognate terms and constructions in covering this particular area of meaning. Spanish even has a special word, caluroso, which corresponds to chaleureux in that it is employed only in cases when the warmth is figurative. There is one quite striking difference, however. From the point of view of the Spanish speaker, both French and English are ambiguous in describing inanimate objects. By his choice of verb, ser or estar, the speaker of Spanish indicates whether the coldness or warmth is an inherent, permanent quality of the object or merely a temporary state: "El hielo es frio" (Ice is cold), "El agua está fría" (The water is cold). In French or English this type of distinction would often necessitate a periphrasis.

In order to round out this brief analysis of temperature terms, it is instructive to examine a non-Indo-European language. Yaou Shen mentions the national language of the Philippines, Tagalog, in her study. However, she merely lists the two terms maginaw and mainit, equating the former with cold and cool, the latter with warm and hot.[4] The implication is that Tagalog covers this area of meaning in a very simple fashion, without complications of the sort noted in English and Chinese. As might be expected, upon closer examination such does not turn out to be the case.

There are in Tagalog at least three temperature terms which one very commonly employs in speaking of the weather: maginaw, mainit, and also malamig. Like maginaw means cold, and both indicate coldness to approximately the same degree. The only difference in meaning between the two appears to be that malamig is somewhat more objective, a word which one might use upon reading

[4] Ibid. p.3, fn.

the thermometer. On the other hand, maginaw, even when used in reference to the weather, indicates that the speaker is also feeling the coldness. Maginaw is not used in describing inanimate objects, but only malamig and mainit. In the Philippines, then, in a climate which is distinctly and characteristically hot, we find the vocabulary unbalanced in the direction of coldness, just as was the case in France; the temptation to try to associate climate with the way in which temperature words are used vanishes.

In Tagalog the temperature words enter into constructions which differ greatly from those of English or French, and the interference which thus arises is certainly a major source of difficulty for the Filipino student of either Indo-European language. The construction used in speaking of the weather includes neither verb nor subject pronoun: "Mainit ngayon" (literally, "Hot now"). To describe an inanimate object, one can place either adjective or noun first, but the two must be linked by a particle which varies in shape: "Mainit na palantsa" or "Palantsang mainit" (hot iron). People may be described as though they were innanimate objects: "Mainit ka" (You are hot). The meaning is then that the person is externally hot to the touch. To indicate that the person feels internally hot, a verbal affix is substituted for the adjectival affix ma-: "Naiinitan ka" (You are hot).

In Tagalog the matter of pleasant and unpleasant connotations is handled by the use of very typical Malayo-Polynesian linguistic devices, repetition and reduplication. If the temperature adjective is repeated and the particle na is interposed, the connotation is generally unpleasant: "mainit na mainit" (very, very hot). If the root is reduplicated, the connotation is pleasant: "mainit-init" (nicely warm).

By using these derivative forms of the adjectives, one can obtain two separate sequences of expressions, similar to those in English, for indicating temperature changes. The rising sequence is malamig, mainit-init, mainit, mainit namainit. The falling sequence is mainit, malamig-lamig, malamig, malamig na malamig.

The writer realizes that in the course of these comments he has mixed linguistic levels--lexical and grammatical--in a manner which would be inexcusable in a serious analytical study of a single language. The fact seems to be, however, that what is vocabulary in one language may be grammar in another. As

linguists try to extend their contrastive analyses into the lexical area--something which has rarely been attempted up to now--they will almost certainly find that it is impossible to treat vocabulary and grammar as discrete entities, just as it is usually impossible to compare the grammatical structures of two languages while keeping morphology and syntax in strictly separate compartments.

It is hoped that this study will serve to underscore and to illustrate once again certain facts about the teaching of English as a second language. The latter is a job which can be done with full effectiveness only by one who has a considerable analytical knowledge of English and insights into the way the student's native tongue interferes with his learning of the new language. The usual freshman composition instructor is simply no equipped to do the work, to say nothing of the person whose only qualification is that he speaks English as his mother tongue.

The teaching of English as a second language is a perfectly respectable academic field which offers immense opportunities for serious research. It is a discipline which desperately needs more practitioners who will devote their entire career to it and not regard it as a mere temporary way of winning one's bread while preparing to teach courses in linguistics or literature. It is definitely not a job which some university departments of English can continue with impunity to wish off on the most recently hired and most defenceless members of the teaching staff.

32."COMPOUNDS" AND THE PRACTICAL TEACHER

L.A. Hill

Compounds are of importance to the practical teacher of English to foreign students because they present problems of stress and pro lems of meaning: for instance an 'English 'teacher is not neces-sarily the same person as an 'English, teacher. The 'English 'teacher is a teacher who is English by nationality, but he may teach some other subject, but the 'English, teacher teaches English but may be of any nationality. A ('ho:s'lʌvə) is a lover who is hoarse, but a ('ho:s, lvʌə)is a person who likes horses. A 'blue 'stocking is which is blue; a 'blue-, stocking is an intellectual ^a stocking
woman. And so on.

The question: What is a compound? has not yet been satis-factorily answered as far as the teacher of English to foreign students is concerned. The American linguists usually follow Bloomfield in defining a compound according to its form, while European linguists mostly prefer to base their definition on mean-ing. The Americans say that a compound is distinguished from a phrase by its stress-pattern, by phonemic modification and by juncture, while the Europeans say that the two are distinguished by having different meanings.

Bloomfield, for instance, say,[1] "we cannot gauge meanings accurately enough [for distinguishing compounds from phrases]; moreover many a phrase is as specialized in meaning as any compound"; and "wherever we hear lesser or least stress upon a word which would always show stress in a phrase, we describe it as a compound-member: ice-cream ['ajs-,krijm] is a phrase, although there is no denotative difference of meanings."

Bloch and Trager say,[2] "In English, compounds differ from phrases in the phonemic modification of their components, in the kind of juncture between them, in the stress pattern, or in a combination of these features." They give gentleman as an example of phonemic modification: [dʒentl] plus [mæn] becomes [dʒentlmən]: the change from the phoneme [æ] to the phoneme [ə] is an example of phonemic modification. As an example of juncture,

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[1] L. Bloomfield: "Language," pp.227 f.

[2] B.Bloch and G.L. Trager: "An Outline of Linguistic Analysis," p.66.

they give altogether /ɔ:ltagɛ ə/ and all together /ɔ:l-tagɛðə/, where the hyphen indicates open juncture and the absence of a hyphen close juncture (see my article Some Notes on Juncture in Le Maître Phonétique, No. 105, of January-June, 1956).

Jespersen, an opponent of Bloomfield's stress theory of compounds, points out drawbacks to it and says,[3] "we may perhaps say that we have a compound if the meaning of the whole cannot be logically deduced from the meaning of the elements separately, see e.g. bedroom, -clothes, -post, -time".

In what ways do these definitions help the foreign student? As far as phonemic modification is concerned, this phenomenon occurs so relatively rarely that it is not of much help. Where it does occur, it provides the student with a very good sign of a compound, but in the very many cases where it does not, it is useless.

As for juncture, I have found that it is not a satisfactory basis for teaching foreign students to distinguish compounds from phrases, because differences in juncture are very difficult to detect when people are speaking at normal speed, so that it takes a long course of ear-training to make students capable of doing so. Furthermore, differences in juncture are often optional and therefore not significant.[4]

Passing on to stress, it is first necessary to point out that the stress pattern '___ '___ and '___ ,___ are not sufficient. There is also, ___ '___ which occurs very commonly. It is possible to say 'ice-'cream, 'ice-,cream or ,ice-'cream. All three can be heard in England.

Secondly, one should realize that the differences between these three stress patterns are, at any rate in R.P.,[5] considerably more important for intonation than for stress. I shall take as an example a sick nurse, which can either mean a nurse who is sick (in which case the stress pattern is normally a 'sick 'nurse, or a ,sick 'nurse, the latter when it is desired to make nurse particularly prominent); or a nurse for the sick (in which case it is normally a 'sick-,nurse)

and the intonation glide is on nurse); or I'met a ,sick 'nurse (in which sick is at the same pitch level as met a, and the glide is again on nurse); or I'met a 'sick-,nurse (in which the glide is on sick, and nurse is on a low level tone). These differences are much more stricking to the ear than differences in stress, and therefore be of considerable help to the teacher.

Thirdly, it is important to notice that stress can shift for emphasis or contrast: for instance, even if sick nurse means a nurse who is sick, it can have the pattern '___,___ in such a case as No, send only the 'sick,nurse home, not all of them. And a nurse for the sick may be stressed 'sick-'nurse or even ,sick-'nurse for special emphasis: e.g. I said ,sick-'nurse, not ,sick-'room. Are you deaf?

Fourthly, stress may shift for rhythmical reasons: e.g. some people say He's a 'church'warden, but He had a 'church, warden 'pipe, the latter to avoid having three strong stresses very close together.

These facts mean that Bloomfield's remark about stress quoted above is not very helpful to the foreign learner: any word in phrase can have "lesser" stress when some other word in the phrase needs extra emphasis, or when rhythm requires it: therefore "lesser" stress cannot be used as a criterion for a compound. Furthermore, Bloomfield's distictions between such cases as 'ice-'cream and 'ice-,cream, 'fountain-'pen and 'fountain-,pen, 'Brompton 'Road and 'Oxford,Street[6] are not helpful to the foreign learner. If the first of each of these pairs is not a compound and the second is, the word "compound" is of little practical value to him.

As for Jespersen's definition quoted above, it means that such groups as of course, How do you do? meat and drink (where meat means food in general) and queer fish (e.g. in He's a queer fish, which means that he is a queer fellow) are compounds, since in each case "the meaning of the whole cannot logically be deduced from the meaning of the elements separately."

None of these definitions of compounds seems to lead to conclusions which are of much help to the foreign teacher or student. For them, it is of no practical use to know whether to give the technical name "compound" to this thing or to that; the important questions are how to stress certain groups of morphemes

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[6] The stress patterns given are those normally used in R.P.

(whether one calls them "compounds" or not), and how to recognize when such groups have unusual meanings. I recently heard an otherwise excellent announcer in the English programme of a foreign radio station make repeated mistakes owing to trouble with the stressing of "compounds." She announced a conference of 'rubber 'farmers (which would mean farmers made of rubber) and later mentioned the formation of a 'rubber associ'ation (which would mean an association made of rubber). Such mistakes make the listener with a quick brain laugh, but they may seriously confuse those who are slower, or who are unaccustomed to hearing foreigners speak English.

Sometimes the listener can correct his first wrong impression by using his common-sense (for instance, as 'rubber 'farmers would not hold conferences, he would realize that the speaker meant 'rubber ,farmers, i.e. people who farm rubber); but there are other cases, such as those given in the first paragraph of this article, where real ambiguity can arise, and where it cannot be corrected without asking questions.

What can the foreign student and his teacher (whether he is an 'English 'teacher or not) do to solve these problems? They can approach them deductively (i.e. through "rules") or inductively (i.e. by collecting the examples they come across and seeing if any "rules" or "guides" can be worked out from them to help the student when he meets other cases later).

Whichever way is chosen, the teacher should have a good knowledge of the "rules": if he teaches deductively, he must be able to give them to his students himself; and if he teaches inductively, he must be able to help and direct the students in their search for them.

In making his preparations, the teacher should firstly realize that there is no simple help to be obtained from spelling; for instance, ice cream/ice-cream can be spelt with or without a hyphen and can be pronounced with any of the three stress patterns given above. Only a pedant would insist that ice-cream must correspon to the '___,___ pattern, and ice cream to the other two. Jones[7] gives ice-cream with '___'___; Kenyon and Knott[8] give both

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[7] D. Jones: "An English Pronouncing Dictionary."

[8] J.S.Kenyon and T.A. Knott: "A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English."

ice cream and ice-cream with the '___'___ pattern. Jones spells walkingstick and gives it with '___,___; Hornby, &c.[9] give walking-stick. presumably with the same pattern; while finishing school and manufacturing district, which, like walking-stick, consist of Verb + -ing + Noun and have the same stress pattern, have no hyphen in West's "General Service List of English Words."[10]

Secondly, the teacher should not expect a clear relationship between stress and meaning. For instance, a wall made of snow is a 'snow 'wall, but a ball made of snow is not a 'snow 'ball, but a 'snow-,ball. The stress of the 'Foreign 'Secretary (the name for the British Minister for Foreign Affairs) differs from that of the 'Foreign,Office (the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs), but that does not mean that the 'Foreign 'Secretary is a 'foreign 'secretary (i.e. a secretary who is foreign). We have 'printed matter, but 'printed 'circulars, 'postal, matter, but 'postal 'orders. And so on. It would be very hard to give foreign students "rules" covering such stress distinctions,

Thirdly, the teacher should not think that a particular phrase or compound, in a particular context, is pronounced with the same stress pattern in all parts of the English-speaking world, or even in all parts of one particular English-speaking country: I have frequently observed that Americans use the '___,___ pattern considerably more than the British do in "compounds"; and an examination of the pronouncing dictionaries I quote from above[11] will show that even within British or American usage, there are many cases of regional or personal variation. For instance, Jones gives '___'___ and '___ ___ (the latter corresponding to our '___,___) for churchyard, as well as other possibilities which vary according to sentence-stress.

What I suggest the careful teacher should do is to go through the phrases and compounds in the book he is teaching from, make an analysis of the problems of stress and meaning they raise, and then grade the results of his analysis so that he can present them (preferably inductively) to his students step by step, at suitable points in his course. Any "rules" or "guides" he works out should be based on the material being taught and should be adapted to the level of the students. The teacher should be ready to give temporary "guides" at one stage, and then to abandon or modify

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[9] A.S. Hornby, E.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield: "A Learner's Dictionary of Current English."

[10] M. West: "A General Service List of English Words with Semantic Frequencies."

them at a later stage when new material requires this: there is nothing sacred about "rules"; they are man-made, and should be used merely as tools to help the student.

One thing the teacher should avoid is filling his students' brains with a large number of "rules" at the same time: experience has shown time and time again that the student remembers little of what he is taught if it is presented to him in large chunks at a time. Small, carefully chosen doses, each followed by plenty of time for digestion before the next one, is a more satisfactory plan.

To give an idea of the sort of analysis and grading that could be made, here are twenty-three possible steps. It is not claimed that they are complete, or that the order of presentation is ideal: completeness has to come to a compromise with utility, and order of presentation has to be adapted to the course used and to local needs.

(1) Adjective + Noun, Possessive Noun + Noun, and Adverb + Adjective[12] normally have the pattern '____ '____: e.g. 'good 'tea, 'John's 'book, 'quite 'small.

(2) The stress pattern '____ ,____ can be used in the types of phrase given in (1) above when the speaker wants to give special prominence to the qualifier, as sometimes happens in classroom situations even in the early stages: e.g. I 'want some 'good ,tea, 'No, it's 'that 'girls, book, It was 'very ,good.

(3) The pattern ,____ '____ can be used in the types of phrases in (1) when the thing qualified needs particular emphasis, or when the qualifier is not important: e.g. There's a ,little 'boy at the 'door, ,Mary's 'watch is 'lost, It was ,rather 'small. The intonation pattern needs particular attention here. The weakening of the stress could be linked up with the weak stress[13] on the qualifiers in such cases as a 'house, the 'sun, as 'easy (as ...).

(4) In the pattern Noun + Noun in the cases where the meaning is: "Noun B is made of the material of Noun A" (e.g. a

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[11] See Notes 7 and 8.

[12] These three syntactical patterns all consist of Qualifier + Thing Qualified.

[13] "Weak stress" is preferable to "no stress" as a linguistic term. In a 'house, for example, a has some stress (i.e. some breath-force), otherwise it would not be pronounced at all: to say it is unstressed is therefore misleading.

'stone 'wall, an 'iron 'ring) the stress is usually as for Adjective + Noun (see (1) above), i.e. '___'___, except where special emphasis requires '___,___ or ,___'___, as explained in (2) and (3) above.

These four steps cover the majority of cases which the student is likely to meet in the earliest stages of a properly graded course. Exceptions such as 'black,board can be taught as "idioms" or "formulas", if they are introduced during these stages.

(5) Cases of Noun + Noun in which the first qualifies the second, as in (4) above, but in which the meaning is: "Noun B is for Noun A" (e.g. 'horse-,race = a race for horses, 'race-,horse = a horse for races, 'bath-,room, 'shop,keeper) usually have '___, ___.

(6) For special emphasis on the first part, the pattern given in (5) above may appear with '___'___, or even ,___'___: e.g. It's called a 'post'card, not a 'post'cart.

(7) Stress may vary on certain "compounds" for rhythmical reasons: e.g. contrast She's 'twenty-'one and She's ,twenty-'one with 'twenty-,one 'guns. It should be pointed out that this happens only in a relatively small number of cases, and that if you do not use '___,___ where it is rhythmically desirable, this is neither absurd nor difficult to understand.

(8) Cases of Noun + Noun in which both nouns are different descriptions of the same person (i.e. Noun A = Noun B) usually have '___'___. Examples are the 'Queen-'Mother, a 'baby 'boy, a 'boy-'actor, 'fellow-'workers.

(9) Cases of Noun + and + Noun + Noun + Noun (e.g. 'foot and 'mouth dis,ease, 'Profit and 'Loss ac,count, 'brick and 'plaster 'wall) normally have the pattern '___'___,___ if the corresponding Noun + Noun pattern has '___,___ (cf. 'Profit ac,count); and '__ __'__'__ if the corresponding pattern is '__'__ (cf. a 'brick 'wall).

(10) Cases of Noun + Preposition + Noun have '__ __'__ in most of the common cases likely to be found in the early stages (for such cases as 'mother-in-,law, see (23) below). Examples are 'sugar in 'tea, 'girls with 'shoes.

(11) Cases of Noun + Verb (e.g. 'sun,bathe, 'house,keep) usually have '___,__ when the Noun is not simply the subject of the verb.

(12) Cases of Verb + Noun (e.g. 'wash,stand, 'draw,bridge, 'grind-,stone) usually have '___,___ when the noun is not simply the object of the verb.

(13) In cases of Adjectives + adjective in which the meaning is: "Having Quality A + Quality B" (e.g. 'bitter-,sweet, 'blue-, black) the usual pattern (at least for use in the early stages) is '___,___.

(14) Cases of Pronoun + Noun (e.g. 'he-,rabbit, 'she-,cat) usually have '___,___.

(15) Cases of Noun + Noun in which the meaning is: "Noun A + Noun B" (e.g. 'Alsace-Lor'raine, 'Austria-'Hungary) usually have '__'__.

(16) Cases of Noun + Noun in which the meaning is not "B is made of the material of A," nor "B is for A," nor "A = B," nor "A + B" usually have '___'___ (e.g. 'Oxford 'Circus, 'Cambridge 'Road, North'umberland 'Avenue, 'Waterloo 'Station, 'Leicester 'Square, 'Clapham 'Junction, 'Carlton 'Club, 'district 'judge, 'college 'pudding, 'arm'chair, 'school 'cap).

(17) Cases of Adjective + Noun + Noun (e.g. a 'first 'class 'passenger, a 'four 'course 'dinner, a 'fancy 'dress (ball) usually have '__'__'__ or '__,__'__ (the choice between these two is free).

(18) Cases of Adverb + Verb usually have ,___'___ if the adverb is one of the particles (e.g. ,under'line, ,over'flow, ,out'do), and '__'__ if it is not (e.g. 'ill-'treat).

So far, the aim has been to find cases where syntactical and semantic patterns correspond "regularly" to stress patterns. Now we go on to "irregular" cases and "exceptions." It should be made quite clear here that "regular" and "irregular" are separated in these suggestions only for practical purposes: there is no suggestion that a language makes and breaks its own rules. Saying that there is a "regular" correspondence between two things means that there are enough occurrences in the material which the student has met at a given stage in his studies for it to be profitable to treat them together instead of teaching each one separately. If there are not enough occurrences for profitable treatment together, or if the correspondence cannot be put into simple language which will help the student to make a quick decision when faced by a new case, the occurrences are best treated as "irre-

gular," or as "exceptions," i.e. as items which have to be learnt by heart one by one, like "idioms" or "formulas." The difference is mainly a statistical one, just as it is in the case of the child learning its own language unconsciously: once the child has heard enough cases of the type 'stone 'wall, 'brass 'tray, 'gold 'ring, &c., &c., he will be able to stress marble plinth correctly when he has learnt what marble is and what plinth is; but he will be unable to stress 'snow,ball, 'snow,man and 'snow,drift correctly unless he has heard these particular words before: the large number of "regular" cases have produced unconscious "rules" in the child's mind, and "exceptions" have to be learnt one by one.

(19) Cases of Noun + Adjective are divided between '___,___ (e.g. 'sea,sick, 'blame,worthy, 'water,proof) and '___ ___ (sometimes with '___,___ as a rhythmical alternative) (e.g. 'stone-'cold, 'top-'heavy, 'letter-'perfect).

(20) There are many cases of Adjective + Noun with '___,___ (e.g. 'black,bird, 'blue,jacket, 'printed ,matter, 'flat,race, 'grand,son, Co'lonial Office, 'long ,jump, 'Blue ,Book, 'sweet ,heart). Contrast (1) above.

(21) There are also many exceptions to (4), (5) and (16) among cases of Noun + Noun. In fact, at this stage, the temporary "rule" given under (16), which is useful in the early stages, could be replaced by the statement that cases of Noun + Noun of the type dealt with there are divided between '___,___ and '___ ___. Examples of exceptions to (4) are 'snow,ball, 'ice-,field and many others. Exceptions to (5) include 'camp 'bed, ,evening 'dress, 'kitchen 'chair. Exceptions to (16) are, for example, 'Oxford ,Street, 'sea,side, 'motor-,car and 'foot,step.

(22) There are some cases of Possessive Noun + Noun with '___,___ in place of the common '___'___: e.g. a 'dog's, life, a 'cat's ,paw, a 'hair's ,breadth (contrast (1) above).

(23) There are some cases of Noun + Preposition + Noun with '___ ___, ___ (contrast (10) above), especially among words not likely to appear in the very early stages of a course. Examples are 'mother-in-,law and 'chest-of-,drawers. Note that not all cases with hyphens have '___ ___,___: e.g. 'man-at-'arms, 'mother-of-'pearl, 'lady-in-'waiting.

In connection with (1) and (5) above, the use of adjectives as nouns may be pointed out: e.g. a 'sick 'man is a man who is sick, but a 'sick-,room is a room for the sick; and a 'finishing ,s ,school is a school for finishing (a young lady's education).

By following some such plan as the above, the teacher should be able to train his students not only to stress phrases and compounds correctly, but also to respond to clues provided by the stress used by other speakers: for instance, they should be able to understand that a 'singing ,bird is not a bird which is singing, but a bird which is kept for singing, or whose characteristic is its ability to sing; and they should be able to feel that a 'leather-,jacket (a type of insect) is not a 'leather 'jacket, nor a 'damp-,course (a damp-proof layer in a wall) the same as a 'damp 'course, even if they have never met these expressions before.

A good course in English for foreign students should help the teacher and the student with stress and meanings just as it should help them with everything else. It should have an index in which the stress of each word used in the course is given (as well, of course, as its pronunciation); it should, in some place (e.g. in a morphological and syntactical appendix) give a brief survey and classification of those compounds and phrases in the course that present problems of stress and meaning; and it should try to help the teacher by introducing different types of correspondence between stress patterns and semantic patterns in as systematic a way as possible, with notes in the teacher's handbook on all occurences of types which have not yet been treated in previous lessons, and advice in the same handbook on the presentation of each new type in such a way that it will be of the greatest help to the student. It should no longer be necessary for teachers and students to have to muddle through a mass of uncoordinated detail, trusting to luck and hoping for the best.

33. THE BATTLE FOR BETTER READING

George R. Carroll

What is your evaluation of Carroll's experiment? Can you think of additional ways of choosing the reading material for a group of students known to you?

Do you agree with Carroll's assumptions regarding the learning of vocabulary?

This article might well be subtitled "From a Young Teacher," not only to distinguish it from the ELT's section entitled "For the Young Teacher," but because it is an account of a problem faced by myself as a young teacher in teaching English as a second language to secondary school pupils in Zambia. Since it is a common problem —finding which books are suitable for any given pupils and discovering how to make the pupils read them—other teachers may be interested in my attempts to solve it.

The size of the problem was shown by an initial examination ot the pupils' reading habits, which revealed that

(i) in class, they each had a copy of a "class reader," chosen for them by the teacher, and this was read aloud paragraph by paragraph round the class. In this way they read two or three books a term (10-12-weeks);

(ii) out of class, despite the existence of a fairly good library, they read very few books indeed, but numerous comics and picture-story magazines;

(iii) what few books they did read were their own unguided choice and either cheap gangster/sex stories which they found exciting and which they could read without much mental effort, or classics, especially nineteenth-century classics such as Dickens. This latter choice was dictated by a feeling among the more conscientious that they ought to read the classics, since the classics would be good for them, even if very difficult;

(iv) they took great pains to note down or score under and mark for future attention any unfamiliar word. Thus the reading book was usually attended by a dictionary; the reading was considerably slowed down; and in the long run, despite all the effort, the meaning of the word was wrongly or ineffectively learnt!

In addition, it soon became clear that their reading, or lack of it, was reflected in both the form and the content of their composition work. Indeed, it was the poor quality of their composition work indicating in its turn a lack of imagination and experience and ideas, that first caused my anxiety about their reading habits.

Composition, after all, carries fifty per cent of the marks in their Cambridge School Certificate English Language examination— a strong motivating factor.

The first offensive in the battle for better reading was, therefore, to demonstrate to the students that, although their favourite comics and gangster/sex stories were exciting and easy to read, they had a harmful influence on their compositions. I was able to show this harmful influence in many of their own compositions, and in one in particular, written by a student at the beginning of his pre-School-Certificate year and entitled An Amusing Adventure. The following extract is typical of the whole composition:

> The boss was seated on a comfortable chair. The house was well furnished. The windows were expensively curtained. The room was filled with a good scent from flowers.
>
> "Hello Alex," he said in a hard tone. "I hope you haven't forgotten what you're here for!"
>
> "No, I haven't. Never in my life do I forget or have forgotten anything. The only thing is I am not giving you the money because you're a liar, a blackmailer and a hoodlum. People who want money work for it not in the way you do. By the way where's my Kay? If you have already hurt her I'm wanna gush your head in with one blow and your face's gonna run with puple blood and prepare for interminable slumber."
>
> "Kill him men," shouted the boss, "he's mad."
>
> A blow on the head finished me to be out of the way.

The cheap gangster/sex story characteristics are, of course, obvious: the short simple sentences; the slang and the tough talk; the untruthfulness to life; the poverty of ideas. Fortunately, they were also obvious to the pupils. Even the dullest of them could see that the mind of their fellow-pupil had been influenced for the worse, unbeknown to him, by his reading.

On the other hand, I had to admit to the pupils that, although I could show them in the above way that bad books had a harmful influence, I was unable to show them in a similar way that good books had a good influence. This is a point which still intrigues me and which, I think, deserves the attention of research students. In 1960, Dr. K. Lovell wrote in Educational Psychology and Children (p. 180): "Surprisingly enough, little direct evidence has been reported of the desirable effects of good reading matter, although in the writer's opinion it is hardly possible to deny that good literature may be beneficial to children. There are, however, many who stress the evil effects of bad literature." Later in this article, I shall submit some evidence of what I consider to be the desirable effects of good reading matter, and shall suggest

that such evidence is to be found chiefly in the reactions, and experiences of the readers and is, therefore, less tangible than the glaringly obvious harmful effects of bad books

Another line of attack in the battle for better reading was to persuade them to read as quickly as possible (at least two books a week) without stopping to look up unfamiliar words in a dictionary. Here it was helpful to point out to them the difference between intensive and extensive reading, between, for example, the comprehension passages in their textbooks, which they <u>should</u> read slowly and thoroughly, finding out the meaning of each word, and novels and other books which they <u>should not</u> read slowly, but rather, quickly for enjoyment. There was general agreement that stopping to look up words did spoil the enjoyment of a good story, but it was apparent that many seemed to suffer from a sense of guilt if they read merely for enjoyment. If they did not make a conscious effort to learn new words, they could not feel that they were working hard. It was helpful to explain how the meanings of words could be learned from the context, and how the mind, after meeting the same word often enough in different contexts, would unconsciously come to know the meaning of the word. A personal anecdote also helped. I recalled that in my own schooldays I was an avid reader of the Hornblower novels by C.S.Forester, and that I was able to enjoy them, and no doubt profit from them, even though I did not know (and still do not) the meaning of many of the technical terms about the sea and ships.

The pupils were by now quite eager to stop listening to me and to get on with the reading. It was clear that the high claims that I had made for reading good books quickly would stand or fall by the actual books that I was going to offer them. I had brought with me to the class forty different books that I thought would be suitable, although I was not too happy about my selection, since my choice had been confined to the local booksellers' stocks. It is important to note here that I had brought forty <u>different</u> books. When ordering books, the teacher of English has a choice between ordering forty copies of one particular book or forty different books. If the volumes cost five shillings each, there will be no difference in the total cost. The differences lies in the fact that if he orders forty different books, his pupils have the chance to read forty books, whereas if he orders <u>forty</u> copies of one book, his pupils have the chance to read only <u>one</u> book.

Anyway, the question now was: would the books that I had chosen be really suitable for these Form 3 students of English as a second language? Would they like the books or not? To help me find out the answers to these questions, I asked them to regard their reading as an experiment and to fill in an assessment form for each book they read. They seemed quite excited and flattered to be asked to take part in such an experiment, and therefore did not regard the filling-in of numerous forms as a chore which detracted from any enjoyment they might have had from a book.

The assessment form included the following questions and instructions (there were other questions to test whether or not the book was in fact read):

Put a tick after the answer you agree with.

1. Had you read this book before? Yes ..... No .....
2. Did you finish reading it? Yes ..... No .....
3. How did you like it? Very much .....
   Quite well .....
   A little .....
   Not at all .....
4. (a) Did you think this book was suitable for Form 3 students? Yes ..... No .....
   (b) If your answer is 'No,' which form, if any, do you think it would be suitable for? Form 1 .....
   Form 2 .....
   Form 3 .....
   Form 4 .....
   Form 5 .....

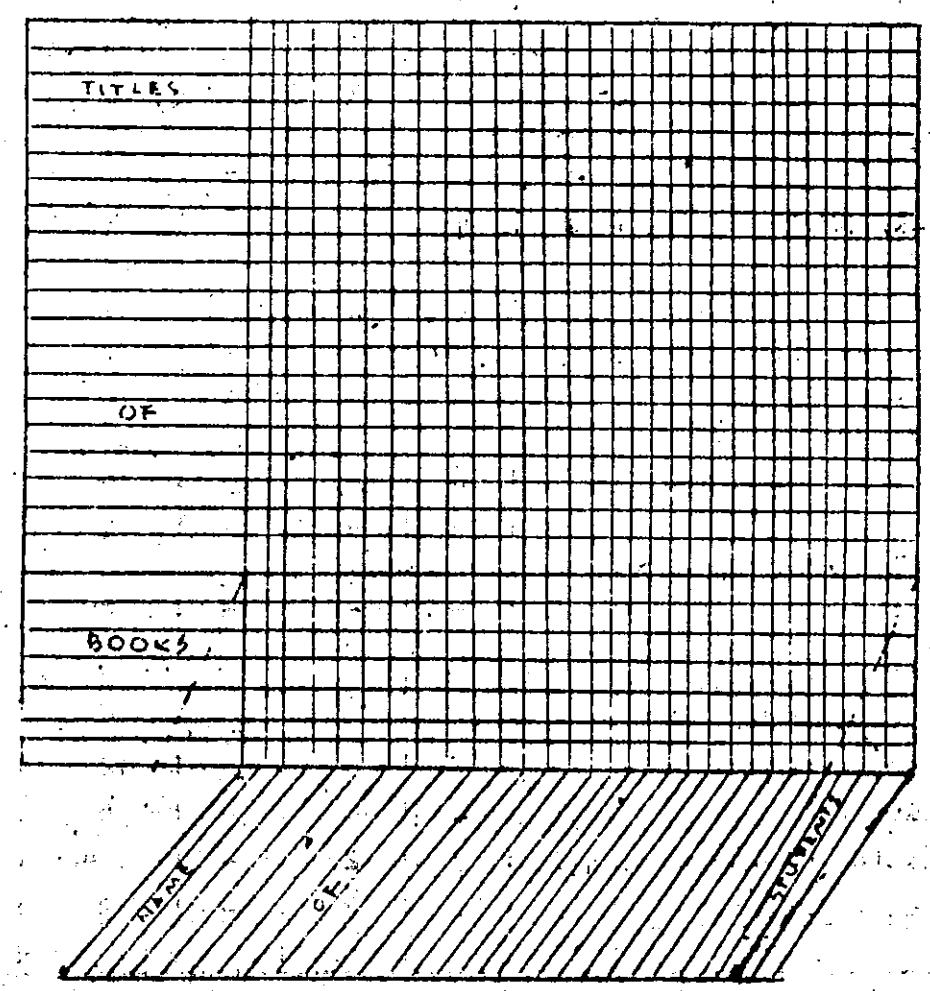
At the end of term, an analysis of pupils' opinions was made by grouping together all the assessment forms a particular title and finding out how many readers had liked the book very much, quite well, a little, or not at all. Some of the results are shown in the following table:

Title (simplified edition in some cases	very much	Quite well	A little	Not at all	Suitable for Form 3	Un-suitable	More suitable for Higher/Lower Forms
The Moonstone	4	2	6	-	8	4	Higher
Salifu the Detective	7	1	-	-	6	2	Lower
The Silver Sword	7	2	2	-	7	4	Lower
Born Free	4	4	1	-	8	1	Lower
The Insect Man	2	1	3	1	4	3	Lower
The New Noah	5	4	-	-	7	2	Higher
A Pattern of Islands	4	5	3	5	9	8	Higher
The Kraken Wakes	4	6	2	-	8	4	Higher
The Island of Adventure	6	2	-	-	4	4	Lower
Strangers at Snowfell	7	-	-	-	6	1	Lower
The Otterbury Incident	3	3	3	-	6	6	Lower
People of the City	10	2	-	-	12	-	-
Mine Boy	6	2	1	-	6	3	Lower
Doctor at Large	3	3	2	-	4	4	Higher
The Thirty-Nine	13	2	2	-	9	8	Lower

The popularity of the two books published in Heinemann's African Writers Series is evident and significant, and all in all the results contain no surprises. Unfortunately this is as far as the experiment has gone at the moment, and one would like to base one's conclusions on several terms' reading with a greater number of pupils, but even on these results, one would, I think, be justified in stating that People of the City, Strangers at Snowfell, and Born Free are suitable books for extensive reading in, at least, Form 3 in Zambia. One's eventual aim would be to build up in this way a list of about forty books of proven suitability for each form from Form 1 to Form 5, so that the pupil can be encouraged to read at least two hundred books during his secondary school career.

With such a large number of different books being needed to enable pupils to read different books at their own individual pace, it was necessary to devise an efficient system for distributing and controlling the books. This was done by ruling a large piece of white cartridge paper as shown in the diagram, and displaying it in

the classroom.



The titles of books were listed in the left-hand column of the chart, and the names of pupils at the bottom. When a pupil took out a particular book a diagonal line was placed in the appropriate square i.e. ☐ and when he returned it, this line was crossed by another diagonal i.e. ☒ It was thus easy to see at a glance who was reading what, and how many books any student had read. This chart can also be used as an assessment record by getting the pupils to put in the appropriate squares various symbols indicating whether the book was enjoyed or not.

In these ways the battle for better reading was largely won. The pupils were in general keen to read out of class and seemed to appreciate the efforts which were made to give them individual attention. To encourage the less keen and to keep up the impetus of the others, the one or two periods a week that had previously been used for reading one book aloud in class, were given over to silent reading with pupils reading their own particular books. In a nine-week term, a couple of pupils read as many as twenty-three books

each. Pupils claimed that they would not have read as many books as they did read if there had been no reading experiment, and they wanted it to be continued in the following term.

As far as the desirable effects of good reading-matter are concerned, I know that were desireble effects, although, as I mentioned earlier, I find it difficult to prove. As evidence of some sort, however, I submit the following extracts taken from three compositions on 'What's the Use of Reading Novels?'

> (i) The real advantages (of reading novels) are found in their conciseness on things which we vaguely learn through geography and history. In the case of history an extract from The Silver Sword explains vividly what happened to civilians in Europe ... This story tells of the suffering of people in the Second World War.
>
> By reading novels of exploration we learn geography. Before I read The Ascent of Everest I had thought of Mountain Everest simply. I had never realized that it was so high that the top of it was covered with ice. I had never come to my senses to imagine its height.
>
> On the whole novels are the most thrilling books one can find. They are in other words great entertainers. Much more they widen our knowledge to a greater extent. On novel may deal with detectivity and one may learn something about that ...
>
> (ii) If the story is very interesting a reader imagines the story as a real one. By doing so he is increasing his power of imagination whereby he can write his own story using his imagination.
>
> (iii) Foreigners get the idea of the way the English act or do things in their own country ... By reading more novels one can chose which are good or bad novels to read! This can be achieved by looking at the model of English used in a particular novel. If the novel uses a colloquial type of English then that book can spoil your English debatable of course! ....! Novels refresh our brains when they are tired. They also entertain our minds when we are lonely without anyone to talk with.

I suggest that it is in such insights and reactions and experiences that one can see the desirable effects of good reading-matter. This evidence would seem to support, and be supported by, "results of the Birmingham experiment in library-centred English, where two matched groups of children were systematically compared over a year, the one taught by traditional textbook methods and the other by library-centred reading, discussion, and writing. The results showed that there was little difference between the two groups when tested with exercises in vocabulary, grammar, and usage, but the library-centred group was significantly better in reading skill, in spelling, and in composition work."[1]

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[1] Esmor Jones: 'New Trends in the Teaching of English,' Teachers World, 20 May 1966.

The reading experiment also gave me the opportunity to correct some very confused ideas about reading, which discussion and written work revealed and which I had never suspected existed. Some students were unaware of the difference between a book and a novel, and between fiction and fact—some refused to believe that James Bond was not a real person! Also, there was the idea that fiction is "lies" and, therefore, that to read novels is a rather undesirable activity. And again, the idea that "some novels contain good stories but in poor English—the American English. The American English is poor because it shows the signs of laziness by shortening words, for instance because written 'cos in American English."

Several conclusions are worth drawing. Firstly, an effort should be made, certainly in Zambia and probably in other countries, to draw up lists of books of proven suitability for particular forms in secondary schools. It is important that these lists should consist of actual titles of specific books, and not be merely a list of publishers' series. Often, if one askes an outside agency to recommend books, one tends to get a list stating that books in Longmans' Bridge Series, the O.U.P. English-Reader's Library, Heinemann's New Windmill Series, etc., are suitable, the implication being that all the titles in a particular series are equally suitable. This is, unfortunately, not always the case. What is needed therefore, is a list of titles, not a list of series. Some time ago, the Cambridge Conference on the Teaching of English Literature Overseas recommended that "the British Council should draw up comprehensive lists of texts suitable for use in schools where English literature is taught. These lists should include books in English by overseas writers. The lists should be annotated so as to indicate which books are suitable (and at what levels) for enjoyable reading and for dramatization, and which texts are also suitable for language teaching. The lists would need to be periodically revised with the help of teachers working overseas."[1] This recommendation was made some time ago, but the need is just as pressing today.

Secondly, once such lists have been drawn up, an effort should be made to persuade local booksellers to stock "package deals" of forty different titles, and also, of course, to persuade teachers to buy books in this way rather than a "set" of forty copies of the

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[1] The Teaching of English Literature Overseas, ed. John Press (Methuen), p. 165.

same title. Extensive reading out of class should become a more accepted and recognized part of the English teacher's responsibility than it is at present. If a school has a library, it should not be assumed that reading will take care of itself.

Finally, such experiments as Birmingham's library-centred English course and some of the new C.S.E. syllabuses involving extensive reading should be examined in order to evaluate their relevance to the teaching of English as a second language.

34. LITERATURE IN TESL PROGRAMS: THE LANGUAGE AND THE CULTURE

John F. Povey

In some piece of American literature available to you, try to isolate concrete examples of material that might satisfy the first two of Povey's aims in the teaching of literature.

Do you agree with Povey's four general aims for teaching literature in ESL classes? Would you wish to extend them in any way?

An interesting study would be to analyzed certain episodes in a piece of American literature in terms of how they would be interpreted by people in other cultures.

As we begin to plan a course which offers an introduction to English literature to non-native speakers, we find that the need for a fresh approach makes us first begin to reconsider our justifications for teaching literature at all. Usually our presuppositions remain unquestioned because of the long tradition of such courses for native speakers. Even to pose the question of purpose may cause shocked responses, for is not the value of literature so self evident as to be beyond discussion? Yet for ESL students we must at least define our assumptions, the more so in that a sad amount of literature teaching (and dare I add literary scholarship) seems to maintain only a remote connection with that enobling of the human spirit which is supposed to be the justification of our early assaults on the fortress of Chaucer's medieval style, for examples.

There is a basic dichotomy in English studies in this country (as in England). We learn "grammar" until some ill-defined point of competence is reached. (Freshman composition classes are certain to be the last formal English language training a native speaker could receive.) Language studies are gradually phased out in favor of literary studies which finally become the only "English" taught at all. At any age level above about seven year, the division between language and literature is deliberately engineered into the planning of the general syllabus.

Originally read at the TESOL convention, April, 1967, this paper is reprinted from the TESOL Quarterly, 1 (June 1967), 40-46. The writer is professor of English as well as associate director of the African Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The fact that in the earliest levels of English learning educationalists perceive the advantage derived from the interaction of language and literature may be suggestive of the direction into which we should lead the ESL student, but this thought would make the theme of another paper and is only observed in passing here. The more significant point is that we have inherited from the format of English studies in this country a division from which we derive most of the extra difficulties which confront us we plan English courses for the non-native speakers. In educational terms English has become two "subjects," and an "A" for grammar and a "C" for literature or vice versa does not strike us as extraordinary, so accustomed are we to the attitude it exemplifies. We have exported this system with lamentable results. Professor Donald Bowen's recent study visit to India confirmed my own African experience that students are being required to study English "classics" without the least attempt being paid to the inadequate language skills they bring to such a study. Even foreign teachers, forgetting their own student days of despair, have inherited much of this attitude about literature. As one student patiently explained in answer to a class enquiry I had assumed was merely rhetorical, "Why should we teach literature?": "If you didn't have literature what would you teach in the classes when you didn't teach grammar?" I was polite, but I mildly resented the not unique attitude that literature fills up the class programs when there isn't any more grammar to teach. We might recognize that this would give us a very long wait.

Where we have classes of native speakers, many of the difficulties that ought to intrude from the unsuitable division we are making in our classes are kept out of sight. There are signs of the problem in the whimpers that come from freshmen who spend their first class morning of the inevitable survery course approaching the mysteries of Beowulf because academics have only a spatial concept of time, even if such planning means that a student flounders into the deep end of the most difficult works first. (Such chronological order does have one advantage. In the face of some revolutionary protest from the dragooned engineering students who always demand, "Why do we have to read Chaucer?" you can always answer firmly, "Because it comes next.") Rapidly such students take refuge in "ponies" which are wretchedly written originally and gain little by being dimly comprehended and garbled in the transition through memory to the "D" blue-book. But these native

speakers, for all their problems that we blinkered professors are refusing to see, do have the all important qualification that the English which they use suffuses all their learning. Homelife, play, school, all reinforce their English to such a degree that the fact that literature is an awkwardly isolated part of language learning for them may be overlooked.

The same cannot be said of the unfortunate foreign student struggling with inadequate English to handle the survey courses for freshmen. Hindered by language, denied the short cuts of common cultural assumptions, the non-native speaker flounders. What method can we devise that may help him to learn English in that fullest sense which must surely include an acquaintance with the literature of our language?

This problem necessitates an examination of our defined aims even though they may in themselves contain contradictory elements. This need was brought home to me when I began planning the course which I had been asked to initiate in the TESL section of the English Department at UCLA. Since I was given a completely free hand in planning such a course, I had to take considerable time in deciding my intentions. When you have only yourself to blame, you cannot indulge in that luxury of inertia that permits you to blame some externally imposed syllabus or text for the inadequacies of the result. I was dealing, I might explain, with advanced non-native speakers only. They usually had first degrees from universities in their own countries. Since most of them were destined to teach English when they left the States, I was the more determined to treat them to a first acquintance with some of the major authors in the language. I felt that the following were a reasonable series of general aims in the teaching of literature.

1. Literature will increase all language skills because literature will extend linguistic knowledge by giving evidence of extensive and subtle vocabulary usage, and complex and exact syntax. It will often represent in a general way the style that can properly stand as a modal for students. (One would have to qualify here what one assumed was a suitable model. Hemingway's would seem a safer style for a student's emulation than Faulkner's, though both may be admirable for the artists' purpose.)

2. Literature is a link towards that culture which sustains the expression of any language. American literature will open up the culture of this country to the foreign student in a manner analogous to the extension of the native speaker's own awareness of his own

culture. We must consider, however, whether we wish in our choice of material to seek for the universal elements in order that the students will find familiarity with the human experience or whether we wish to select the most American of cultural incident. The latter will obviously be more difficult to comprehend but will be guiding the students towards the culture of their target language.

3. We must acknowledge the indefinable, though all-important, concept that literature gives one awareness and human insight. In this respect great literature can be justified as one could assert the value of listening to a major symphony.

4. Literature may guide a few more giffted students towards their own creativity by example derived from their reading of successfull writers. There is already fascinating evidence of a second-language literature in English from several countries across the world, especially India and Nigeria.

Although each of these four elements is relevant to the foreign student, the first and second will be of most immediate and specific concern to the ESL teacher. This is because the issues listed as three and four have the clearest analogies with the students' first-language culture. Many of the foreign students in our universities come to us with an intelligent and broad perception of their own literatures, and some are no doubt beginning to experiment with writing in their own language.

We may ask ourselves despairingly whether it is possible for any piece of writing to combine a suitability for teaching the student all these elements appropriately. It is clear that we must, in fact, weigh the varied and sometimes conflicting elements in the function of literature in the classroom. My own concern has been that in our estimate of relevant importance of those aspects upon which we must base our selection of text material, we have, to date, placed far too heavy a premium upon the issue of language. Language has been so stressed that it has been elevated to the totality of expression, whereas it is rather the technique by which expression and ideas are conveyed. I wish to argue that language difficulty for the ESL student may have been exaggerated as a greater dragon than it really is. Obviously language must come first-there can be no other basis for comprehension at all. This is even more obvious in the case of the non-native speaker, for his limitation of comprehension will be more sharply defined since he will not be able to draw upon that common pool of instinctive language recognition which is available to the native speakers.

Yet if we have to accept the primacy of language, we cannot make this our only concern, otherwise the most effective ESL reading material would be those items we created ourselves to the specific linguistic architecture of levels of difficulty. Such works more often become readers without any element of literature in them. The simplified stories from the classics are justified by a similar appeal to language necessity, but they are usually only a thin reminder of what was once a significant book. My basic belief is t that we have exaggerated the significance of the element of linguistic difficulty in ESL reading by assuming that reading requires that same total comprehension that comes with understanding speech in our aural/oral methods. The fact that the great impetus to TESL has come from linguistic science may also account for this attitude. The existence of a "recognition" vocabulary is well known, and there is, I believe (though I freely admit this to be an entirely unscientific and subjective impression), a similar partial perception of syntax and style. There can be a general comprehension even when there has not been a precise understanding of a certain syntactic structure. Perception may be general as well as literal. My students saw this when we found Rip Van Winkle sitting under a sycamore tree and one worried individual lamented that he could not understand because he did not know what a sycamore was. I discovered with some embarrassment that I didn't know what a sycamore was either--at least in any botanical sense. We then agreed that if we got as far as "tree," as the context dictated, we would have got as far towards comprehension as that detail needed.

One especial aspect of language difficulty we are inclined to exaggerate is the dialog parts. One is instinctively doubtful about the accents and colloquial idioms of such sections in a piece. I prepared very anxiously for the introduction of the regional accents in Willa Cather's story "The Sculptor's Funeral." In spite of the apparent lexical problems, I had wanted to use this story to initiate some discussion about the American attitude towards artists and intellectuals. To my surprise they had no difficulty at all in comprehending the dialog because they said (with some exaggeration surely) that it was "like the speech we hear every day on television." I am not always happy with the priority given to the TV experience. Introducing some ESL students to a section of The Grapes of Wrath, I elicited the following response: "I see a lot of TV, and this story reminds me of the

Beverly Hillbillies, so the characters were stuck in my mind before I knew who John Steinbeck was." It is a clear comment on our newer language-teaching method, with its emphasis upon the heard rather than the read, that dialog appears to offer little difficulty. On the other hand when I tried the students on the introduction to USA by Dos Passos, I had a reaction opposite to my expectation. I had chosen this piece because I had wished to discuss the common vision of the American man, the lone hero, enviable in his aloofness. The language looked direct enough in its vocabulary and syntax so that I anticipated no serious difficulties. The students found it inordinately hard to appreciate because of its rhetorical and mannered style. As one student remarked indignantly, "I had to read the story twice in order to understand what Dos Passos meant." Where I had seen simple enough underlying structures, they saw the occasional inversions and repetitions, and their recognition broke down at once.

Clearly our assessment of the difficulty that will be encountered in reading needs rethinking in the light of the fact that our present students have not learned English as I learned French, through a reading of texts and translation. They have learned English through speech. The omnipresence of TV (shades of Marshall McLuhan) has "massaged" the areas of their easier comprehension. This argument was summed up unexpectedly by a Japanese girl who wrote modestly, "My English is poor. For instance when I hear President Johnson speaking, I don't understand well. But on TV shows I understand quite well in spite of my poor English. This is because most shows concern affairs which I experienced in Japan." (I should like to have pursued this assertion further, but unfortunately the section is culled from a terminal blue-book).

It has been my experience that the whole area of cultural comprehension is more likely than language problems to cause difficulty. This is aggravated by the fact that confusion shows up in such unexpected ways. In preparing for the difficulties one will encounter it is necessary to strike a balance, as I observed earlier, between writing which stresses cultural universality, the generality of human emotions, and those cultural elements which are most specifically and individually American. Discovery of American attitudes through such a presentation will aid the student's awareness of this country and his adjustment to it.

As an example of my attempts in this direction I would like to describe my experiences in teaching that famous American story

"Rip van Winkle." This story proved very difficult in its language, but the readers persevered. We talked generally about folk tales and the reason that Washington Irving felt it necessary to initial that form in the Eastern States. In subsequent discussion students told me several tales from their own traditions which concerned the same situation, the man who sleeps for a generation without recognizing the passing time. Several countries seem to have such a tale. Then with the similarities established it was time to stress the American element. "If this story were told in your country, would it come out roughly the same in its characters and motivation?" I questioned. "No", said the Latin Americans. "Our women are satisfied with their position at home, and we have no stories of this henpecking." (That last word caused great delight for its expressiveness) The Japanese were in general agreement with this view, though they expressed it a little more cautiously. "There is a Japanese word for this. It is kakadena which means 'petticoat government,' but I have never read a story about it." There were several other responses from students in the same tone." A Chinese wife is obedient to her husband. Wives in Taiwan don't take part in social activities at all." The Africans responded more firmly. "It is foolish to put the blame on the wife, for a man's friends would say 'Why don't you marry another one?'" "Our people would blame the wife's bad temper on the wrath of the unappeased spirit of his dead grandfather." (I admit by the time I got to that latter remark I began to wonder whether I was merely having my leg pulled as I sought for cultural anthropology.)

At this point with the differences clearly established I tried to lead them into the specifically American elements by appealing first to their personal experience here. "Is Rip a typical American man?" I asked. Opinion in the class divided in a way that revealingly exposed the accepted stereaotypes. "Yes, Rip is typical because all men are henpecked by their wives in this country." One student felt so strongly about this that he went so unreasonably far as to insist, "And his dog is an American dog, for it too is frightened of a women." Others thought that Rip was hardly the conventional American since by definition all Americans work hard to gain the material comforts of this society and Rip is indifferent to keeping up with the Joneses.

This division of attitude exposes the nature of the prejudice which is established when the American scene is observed from the viewpoint derived from films and magazines. The possibility of

using such comments as the link into a more rational class discusison of American culture is clear. In every piece which we read, we make many cultural presuppositions with unthinking confidence, most of which are going to be quite literally foreign to the non-native speaker. This introduction to a nation's literary culture has got to be undertaken with some concessions to general interest, too. half-term bluebook produced this disconsolate assessment: "Nothing happens, nothing changes, I think that these writings can be appreciated only by a certain group of people who are interested in things like this and understand them." Include me out, detected there. But that remark did make me question whether my own "literary" standards had been pitched too high. I therefore fell back upon one of the Hyman Kaplan stories. I had considerable doubts about this. The language is difficult because of its errors and the attempt to record idiosyncratic pronunciation. I wondered, too, whether the tone did not indicate a certain kind of mockery in the characterization for all its general affection: "Foreigners speak funny." Surprisingly it was a great success. My concern that I was proving myself unable to estimate what was a suitable piece for the students' enjoyment was offset by my pleasure in the very warm response they had to Kaplan's predicament. "The characters are all foreign as we are, and so we see ourselves through the story. Kaplan could be one of us." "It shows students having the same problems that we had when we came to this country, and it gives us a good feeling that we can already laugh at them."

It is a common enough truism of linguistic studies that an accurate contrastive analysis between the language of the learner and the target language will facilitate the recognition of likely areas of difficulty. What an overwhelming task it is going to be if we are also going to require a similar contrastive analysis between the cultures. Perhaps this is too strong a view, yet the response of a particularly able Japanese student remains in my mind. We had been reading through Nathaniel Hawthorne's Ethan Brand in class. We had discussed the universality of certain human fears—of darkness and madness. "But how would Ethan have behaved if he had not had that puritanical conscience?" asked this student. "What can an unforgivable sin be to a Buddhist or a believer in Shinto?" Such an enquiry pierced my parochial outlook and opened up to me evidence of the yawning gulfs of misunderstanding of ideas and motivations that may make virtually all a foreign student's reactions distorted by the difference between his intellectual and cultural presuppositions and ours.

We know now roughly how to control difficulties so that items may be presented in an ascending hierarchy of difficulty. Can we begin to plan a similar control of the degree of cultural difficulty by leading the student more gently from the most familia the most readily comprehensible, ideas into those elements of our own culture which will be most foreign to him? Those beliefs most difficult for him to appreciate will be those which are in greatest contrast with his own national and racial assumptions.

If we cannot yet do this in a broad, theoretical way, we can only plead for more general and wider individual experiment with materials in the classrooms. Some pieces seem to have an immediate appeal; others unwarrantably seem a dreary flop. Which are which, and why? The linguists have established a very successful basis for the teaching of language at the elementary levels. Perhaps we can be equally successful at this more advanced level of language study in bringing to the foreign student the beginning steps in his acquaintance with our extensive range of literature. It seems a challenge to the humanist as teacher to show others successfully the delights of his own discipline.

35. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

J.R. Gladstone

How does Gladstone account for cultural accent?

Give additional examples of cultural accent that you have observed.

List the examples you have collected in the order of most important to least important. On what basis did you decide their relative importance?

What vehicles are available to language teachers to reduce the amount of cultural accent a student might have?

Language and culture are inexorably intertwined. Language is at once an outcome or a result of the culture as a whole and also a vehicle by which the other facets of the culture are shaped and communicated. The language we learn as a child gives us not only a system for communication, but, more importantly, it dictates the type and the form of the communications we make. The universe is ordered in accordance with the way we name it. An Eskimo would think us extremely vague if we told him it was snowing. His language provides him with a universe that encompasses dozens of types of 'snowing'. In the same way we would consider the Eskimo vague if he made an appointment with us for 'some time later.' To the North American time is a real commodity. He can waste time, spend time, charge for time, kill time, pass time, sell time, and be on time or in time. Our language reflects and reinforces our cultural patterns and value system.

The sounds and patterns that we learn as our first language cause what have been described as linguistic blind spots. While learning our native language we are trained not only to produce certain sounds, which are rewarded, but we are also rewarded not to produce other sounds. We are trained to ignore and ultimately not to hear many sounds that naturally occur in other languages. The tones in the Chinese language are an excellent example of a linguistic blind spot for native English speakers. A Spanish speaker, on the other hand, when first learning English cannot usually hear the difference between the two English words beat and bit.

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Since language and culture are intimately bound together, it is not surprising that there are also cultural blind spots. As linguistic blind spots are developed as responses to our early language training, cultural blind spots are developed as responses to responses to our environment. Our culture rewards us for producing certain behaviour patterns and for ignoring others. This training develops in us a cultural perspective by which we judge all acts: a cultural sieve through which we pour all we perceive. Usually this cultural filter performs below the conscious level, producing in us cultural blind spots.

The South American who breaks into the middle of a line-up (queue) in an American city sees himself as an individual breaking the institution's hold over him. The Americans in the queue see an unmannered foreigner, breaking the "first come, first served" tradition. Rudeness or individuality? The same act seen through different cultural filters. We are taught that cleanliness is not only good, but that it is next to godliness. We accept this as a fundamental fact of life and are quite shocked to discover other cultures that do not. Bargaining in our culture is not an acceptable way of conducting business, except in very specific cases, such as buying a house or a car. It bewilders, amuses, or even repels us when we are exposed, in reality or vicariously, to a Persian market-place.

When a linguistic blind spot is revealed we gain insight into our own and the target language. We accept this as part of the learning process. When a cultural blind spot is revealed, we recoil. For most of us the cultural fabric of our lives is so binding that a break from ethnocentrism is extremely painful. It is the severity of the cultural change that causes many immigrants to experience cultural shock.

There is a stronger drive for the foreign student to superimpose his own cultural patterns on the new environment than his linguistic habits on the new culture's language. This causes a cultural accent.

Many of you will have experienced the feeling that a person you have only seen from a distance was a foreigner. If asked why, you would have been hard pressed to answer. Probably you would have replied in vague terms about his mannerisms, his way of standing, his hand motions, the distance he keeps from his listener, his head movements, his listening posture, and hundreds of other small details that you could not put your finger on, but which would produce an overall impression of strangeness. You would have

been attempting to describe his cultural accent.

A culture and the language used by it are inseparable. Most of the cultural attitudes which a native speaker has built into him are reflected in his speech patterns. The reader is invited to consider the numerous expressions we have in North American English for talking about success. We even differentiate between material success, meaning money, and other forms of success, such as artistic or moral. The native speaker also brings with him to his language a background of knowledge that is culturally based. We approach the words 'raw flesh' with a built-in abhorrence. Expressions such as the 'revolution', 'the Indian wars,' 'the Great Plains,' and 'New York City' all have a significance to the native American speaker that the foreign student will not automatically understand or appreciate.

Language and culture are connected in several other intricate and dynamic ways. The language is a product of the culture, but simultaneously the culture is shaped by how the language allows us to view it. In English we must view things in some time-oriented manner. Nothing can exist outside of time, no two activities can take place in the same place at the same time. The backgrounds of most inhabitants of a culture are similar. A majority of us hear similar stories when we are young. When we encounter such descriptions as "as capricious as the Queen of Hearts" or "Like Long John Silver" we understand the intended character. The language and the culture reinforce each other. The culture begins by giving a viewpoint. Language gives this idea oral expression, which in turn gives validity and habit response to the viewpoint.

A cultural pattern is one of these forms that is extremely difficult to delineate. We have far less trouble in deciding whether or not a specific act belongs to our culture than we do in setting down the criteria that we use in making such a decision. Given the social context and the specific act, a native speaker seldom has difficulty in naming the cultural pattern. A man eating bacon and eggs at nine in the morning we would label as a man eating breakfast, but if asked to describe the cultural concept "breakfast" we would probably say 'It depends."

That would be correct, it does depend. It depends upon the time of day, the type of food being eaten, how many meals had been eaten before, where the meal is being eaten, and many more cultural considerations built into the linguistic form. Certainly a wedding breakfast is not the same as a regular breakfast; a coffee

grabbed on the way to the office is a different breakfast from steak and eggs eaten after one has worked from four.a.m. to eight a.m.

The cultural concept is the underlying pattern, not the specific act, but the specific act usually contains and reflects all of the major elements of the basic pattern. By expanding a specific incident and drawing upon the pupils' experience, you will be able to bring into sharp focus many important areas of our society that often are only on the periphery of the students' understanding.

It would be futile to attempt to teach your class what breakfast consists of for a North American, but using some specific episode you can teach the class the important underlying assumptions. It is really not difficult to decide what aspects of an act are important and worth teaching and which are not. Ask yourself these two questions:

1. Is this information needed by the students for the proper understanding of the habit and/or concept?

2. Am I, as a native speaker, sure about this detail?

If the answer to either question is No, do not bother about teaching or discussing that aspect of the cultural pattern. In the second question, we are not assuming that you can judge every aspect of our culture. Rather we feel that the students have so many new things to learn, and that if you got on without that particular knowledge then surely your pupils will be able to also.

We feel that materials in a language programme should take cognisance of the relationship between culture and language. Using materials that do, the teacher will be able to effectively teach the linguistic items within their cultural context, thus providing not only the patterns of the language but also the trappings that make them meaningful.

36. TRENDS IN THE TEACHING OF READING

Virginia French Allen

Some 30 years have passed since Michael West developed his New Method Readers, primarily for schoolboys in India. For many years thereafter, the main thrust of reading instruction was toward smoothing the road for non-English-speaking students, first by limiting the vocabulary and then by controlling the grammatical constructions used in the materials. The aim was to enable learners to read English without discouraging difficulties.

shift in emphasis

Today this effort persists, and it is still needed--in order to encourage students and give them the satisfaction of readily grasping ideas through the medium of print. In recent times, however, teachers have become increasingly aware of the need to train students to cope with unsimplified prose--the kind of prose found in materials for native speakers.

There are several reasons for this shift in emphasis. One reason is related to contemporary recognition of the fact that the reading of written English requires special skills beyond the skills needed for understanding the spoken language, because most conversational speech is different from most written prose.

In the history of TESOL, there used to be a time when it was assumed that writing was simply talk written down--give or take a few features of intonation and punctuation used by one medium and not by the other. It was further assumed that any second-language learner who had mastered the rudiments of oral English could easily learn to read English, since writing was merely a "record" of what is spoken. One seldom hears such claims nowadays.

David Eskey pointed out in a recent issue of TESOL Quarterly: "Anything that can be written can in theory be said, but the kinds of sentences that actually get said and the kinds that actually get written are by no means identical." Consequently, there has been a significant shift of attention toward sentence types and grammatical constructions commonly written and read, but seldom heard. Some types of constructions that are never learned by

TESOL students for conversational purposes have to be taught for reading. These include patterns with transposed elements--for example, adverbial clauses in initial position (Although most people deplore it, pollution is widespread) and prepositional phrases in initial position--often accompanied by inversion of subject and verb (Of special interest to teachers is the Language Methodology Center). Participial constructions of various kinds also present great difficulties, since they are rarely taught for oral communication yet frequently occur in written English. Furthermore yet frequently occur in written English. Furthermore, they may turn up anywhere in the sentence. Examples:

Funded by the Office of Education, the project will begin on March 1

It occured at a meeting called by the district superintendet.

Included in the discussion were comments by teachers planning to attend the meeting scheduled for January 3.

Since such patterns occur repeatedly in written discourse there is currently much stress on these patterns in classes for intermediate and advanced TESOL students.

grammar in expository prose

For more precise identification of grammatical constructions commonly found in expository prose, teachers are indebted to a number of linguistic studies. Jean McConochie, in a computer study of engineering textbooks, discovered many instances of postponed subjects after It and There. She also found and extensive use of nominalization, as well as many prepositional phrases used as noun modifiers. Most of all, she found much use of passive constructions.

An interesting sidelight on this last point is provided by an article by Lackstrom, Selinker, and Trimble in the ENGLISH TEACHING FORUM for September-Ocktober 1972. The article maintains that "it is inaccurate to say that passive constructions occur more frequently in technical writing than elsewhere," because many of the so-called passive constructions found in scientific prose are actually stative constructions. A stative constructions, like a passive, consists of a form of BE plus the past participle form of a verb, but statives differ from passives in at least three ways.

First, they express states or conditions rather than actions or processes; second, they may not occur with an optional agent or instrument; and third, they may not co-occur with adverbs like slowly. Hence the following is an example of a stative construction:

The wells are located near the perimeter.

Though this distinction between passive and stative constructions should doubtless be made, the implications of the study by McConochie for the teaching of reading remain valid. She concluded that TESOL students need not only to learn how to form the passive but also to attach meaning to many irregular past participle forms that are often touched very lightly in TESOL classes. All too frequently, students are sent off to memorize long lists of irregular past participle forms, without much chance to master them.

What advanced students need is guided practice in reading material comparable in difficulty to what is read by their English-speaking counterparts. If the reading component of the course deals exclusively with simplified material from which troublesome patterns have been eliminated, students will forever find textbooks outside the TESOL class almost impossible to read.

Another recent study designed to help teachers train students to cope with unsimplified prose is a Ph.D. dissertation by Mary Eleanor Pierce, who was teaching in Egypt when she first perceived the special problems TESOL students encounter while reading textbooks intended for native speakers of English.

Gradually she came to realize that TESOL students need to be trained to make speedy predictions about what to expect from each succeeding sentence in a passage of connected discourse. Without reading the entire sentence, students need to decide instantly whether or not the sentence advances the theme to any significant degree, whether the sentence merely offers illustrative detail, whether in fact the sentence just restates an idea previously presented--in which case it can safely be left unread.

The Pierce study stresses the need for teaching TESOL students how to "take advantage of the high redundancy in written English by following procedures which the native speaker uses automatically." In particular, as the writer points out, students need help in (a) distinguishing between main ideas and supporting details, (b) recognizing repetitive statements, (c) identifying

the subject of a complex sentence, and (d) developing expectancy for the type of prediction such a subject might require.

In a related vein, Thomas Buckingham (addressing the 1971 TESOL Conference) urged teachers to give students practice in "guessing what might come next."

In effect, both statements emphasize the importance of increasing the student's awareness of the specific roles played by individual sentences within a passage of prose. Both also call attention to the able reader's habit of predicting from the subject of a sentence how the rest of a sentence will probably go.

What classroom activities might be suggested by these observations? To illustrate, let us look at a passage constructed by Mary Eleanor Pierce, and then decide how it might be used.

(1) A college is not just a place for studying. (2) Most colleges offer many other things. (3) Students can meet people from different places. (4) They can learn from these people as well as from classwork. (5) A student's most valuable and useful information is sometimes gained from such informal conversations. (6) Many opportunities for cultural activities are also present on the campus. (7) The theater workshop, or drama group, is always popular. (8) Students who are interested in music can join the band or the orchestra. (9) Those wishing to develop their ability in painting can joint art classes. (10) There are many additional pursuits for those who are interested. (11) It is possible to find something for every taste.

If a passage like the Pierce paragraph is used, students might:

1. Identify the subject of each sentence (separating it from the predicate by a slash).

2. Discuss the kind of predication which they would expect to find for subject.

3. Discuss the degree to which each sentence either introduces a main idea or repeats an idea previously presented.

4. Discover the words that link one idea to another (for example, other, they, these, as well as, such, also, additional).

In short, exercises related to such a passage ought to train students to react to written discourse as experienced English-speaking readers do.

trends in reading

Now that we have looked at some reading material and considered some procedures for using it in class, we might ask how these procedures relate to current trends in reading. One of the most obvious is the emphasis on expectancy. TESOL specialists are devising techniques that specifically train second-language students to form expectations about forthcoming sentences on the basis of specifically identified linguistic clues.

A second, related trend has to do with redudancy. Students are being trained to make use of the redudancy found in language. Their natural tendency is to treat each sentence as though it imparted an important new idea.

Larger units

A third emphasis today is the emphasis on connected discourse--on paragraphs and whole essays. While isolated sentences are, and perhaps always will be, the subject of much analysis, there is now a growing concern with the problems that arise when sentences are woven together into the fabric of a paragraph.

Hence we find evidence of a fourth development in TESOL reading obviously related to expectancy and redundancy. This is the current concern with sequence signals. Special attention is being paid to sequence signals like moreover, however, nevertheless, under such circumstances, then, too, and so on. These are elements that do not enter into the construction of a sentence uttered in isolation; each of them presupposes the existence of other sentences in an utterance larger than a single sentence.

learning reading by writing

A fifth emphasis in present-day reading instruction is clearly related to all of the foregoing. It has to do with a means of developing expectancy, a means of interpreting the grammatical constructions commonly found in written prose. I refer to an instructional ploicy that is not new but which has taken on added significance in recent years. This is the policy of having students practice writing the kinds of English prose that they will need to read.

In composition courses for native speakers of English, most teachers have traditionally stressed the "reader-writer contract"

and the close relationship between the way something is written and the way it is to be read. But it seems to me that today we are finding renewed emphasis on composition as training for reading. This may be due in part to the generative grammarian's concern with deep structure vis-a-vis surface structure. It may also arise out of the fact that, in many schools today, TESOL is taught by elementary school teachers for whom the "experience chart" has long been a standard instructional device.

Such teachers have commonly encouraged students to compose a story or essay orally. Then they write the story down and edit it into a form appropriate to connected discourse. It is during the "editing" stage that students learn to apply processes of deletion, embedding, and transposition. In the process, students become engaged in what H. Douglas Brown calls "creatively struggling with the language."

Through such cooperative ventures in constructing written prose, students may note how constructions like participial modifiers relate to simpler constructions. They also learn to recognize synonymous sentences, to detect potential ambiguities, to appreciate the function and force of various sequence signals. We might say, then, that a fifth trend in present-day TESOL reading instruction is toward increased attention to writing as training for reading.

Ventures in cooperative composition writing can begin well before the advanced stage of instruction, and the students may be either children or adults. For younger learners, the exercise in prose writing may evolve from something as simple as a passage of "Tarzan Talk". The teacher may write the following on the chalkboard:

Big crocodile swim river. Pretty girl swim river. Girl see crocodile. Crocodile see girl. Crocodile hungry. Crocodile open mouth. Eat girl?

Using this as raw material for a story, the class decides what to do about the first sentence. What other words should be added in order to convert this "Tarzan Talk" into the kind of writing normally found in books? Someone may suggest: A big crocodile is swimming in a river. Another may propose: A big crocodile was swimming in the river. A third may choose to combine the first two sentences: A big crocodile and a pretty girl were swimming in the river. A fourth may think the story would be improved by writing.

While a pretty girl was swimming in a river, a big crocodile was swimming there, too.

Guided by the teacher, the class discusses the possibilities and considers the effects of the various arrangements. Thus the students learn that they can express a single idea in two or more different ways, and that they can produce various effects by choosing from among various grammatical constructions. Teachers who engage their students in such exercises avoid the misuse of linguistics that Dwight Bolinger must have had in mind when he deplored the fact that, in his view, "Both structuralism and transformationalism concentrate on the form of sentences and their parts, and neglect meaning, which is the part of language that most eludes the student's grasp."

The group-composition session, in which students work from idea to surface structure, can show them how writers arrive at the form of sentences found in written prose.

versatility in surface structures

Another exercise leading to a meaningful grasp of surface structures is suitable for junior or senior high school. The teacher distributes among the students classified ads clipped from a newspaper, and each student interprets his ad to the class. For instance, a student may interpret LOST: Child's glasses, brown rims as "Some child has lost his glasses. They have brown rims," or "Glasses with brown rims have been lost by a child," or "A pair of child's glasses with brown rims has been lost." The student is encouraged to explain the ad in as many different ways as possible.

This sort of exercise develops versatility with regard to surface structures. It prepares the student to recognize synonymous sentences when he meets them in his reading. Practice in comparing various types of sentences is excellent preparation for the reading of textbooks in the subject-matter fields.

All too often, teachers have left the development of skill in recognizing synonymous sentences to chance. They have traditionally called attention to synonyms for individual words, but they have done less with alternative ways of handling larger units. Hence, in many classes, students need practice in deciding which two sentences from a set of three have appropriately the same meaning. They may consider and discuss sets like the following:

1a. The boys did not mention their suspicions to the mechanic.
1b. The boys did not say anything to the suspicious mechanic.
1c. The boys did not tell the mechanic that they were suspicious.

2a. Reaching out desperately, Frank grasped Ken's shirt.
2b. Desperately, Frank reached out and grasped Ken's shirt.
2c. Frank reached Ken, who desperately grasped his shirt.

3a. Ed had to stop running long enough to catch his breath.
3b. Although Ed longed to stop and catch his breath, he had to keep running.
3c. Ed longed to stop and catch his breath, but he had to keep running.

acknowledging complexity

Another, sixth tendency in present-day reading instruction is suggested by the foregoing five. Today there appears to be a trend away from simplifying the language-learning process, a trend toward acknowledging its complexity. In an earlier day, the emphasis was on streamlining the process, on identifying the smallest number of language features and elements essential to the expression of ideas. Teachers in my generation were brought up on the Fries dictum that "Language is learned when within a limited vocabulary the student has mastered the sound system and the basic structural devices." In those days--and even today in elementary courses --the stress was on supplying a limited set of signaling devices for the student's use in production of English sentences. Today, attention has shifted--particularly in more advanced classes--to comprehension of a vastly expanded repertory of patterns.

Thus we might sum up this sixth trend by noting that there is growing emphasis on the comprehension of the very complex network of linguistic features found in written discourse.

All of these efforts and emphases are related to a seventh over-arching phenomenon in TESOL, which becomes apparent as we move forward through the 1970s. I have saved it for last, since it is in many ways the most significant of all those mentioned. Furthermore, it is implicit in most of the other tendencies I have touched on. This is the move to restore reading to a position of high priority in the process of learning a second language. In the not-too-distant past, it was fashionable to assume that reading instructions could and should be postponed until after several more

important matters had been attended to. In many programs, in fact, there was an attempt to "protect" students from the damaging effects of contact with the written language. It was often said that an oral command of the language was a necessary prerequisite of reading, and that even if reading skills were the aim of the program, oral/aural work provided the only defensible means of reaching that goal.

After three decades in which reading was thus downgraded, I find impressive significance in the title of a 1972 article by Robert Lado in the Foreign Language Annals: "Evidence for an Expanded Role for Reading in Foreign Language Learning." Lado cites data derived from several studies, one of which involved Japanese junior high school students studying English at the beginning level. The Experimental group had no contact with the written language until after the first month of instruction. The control group learned the written form along with spoken form, beginning with the first lesson. The control group demonstrated superior skill in tests of aural perception, and also in comprehension and integrative tests.

On the basis of findings from such experiments, Lado arrived at the following conclusion: "Although it is possible to learn to speak without reading, it seems a more effective strategy to learn to read simultaneously with learning to speak."

back in style

Thus we find that reading instuction is back in style. Reading is even to be given an expanded role in beginners' classes. How much more vital, then, is efficient reading instruction in courses for intermediate and advanced students, many of whom are forced to cope with textbook prose during their non-TESOL hours, every school day.

I hope that ESL teachers will never lose sight of the need for oral practice, especially at the elementary levels. But the recently renewed appreciation of the role played by reading bodes well. It should improve our teaching of the more advanced classes.

Luckily this trend toward a greater sense of responsibility for the teaching of reading coincides with other current developments, as we have seen. It comes at a time when teachers are gaining new insights into the reading process, into the uses of redundancy, into the features that distinguish written connected discourse from conversation. Many of today's new insights are proving useful in helping TESOL students learn to read.

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37. MAKING THE MOST OF READING

Julia Dobson.

Reading can bring exciting dimensions into classes where English is taught as a foreign or second language. (1) It gives students access to information written in English. (2) It combines with and reinforces other English-language learning activities, providing fruitful practice of these activities.

To make the most of reading, we should recognize the difference between these two dimensions and delineate practical pedagogical techniques that apply to one dimension or the other, experimenting constantly with these techniques and adapting them to fit the individual needs of the students.

This article makes the distinction between these major dimensions of EFL/ESL reading. Along with the discussion of each dimension, it outlines appropriate pedagogical procedures--procedures that contribute to making reading in English more satisfying and rewarding.

DIMENSION ONE
DECODING WRITTEN ENGLISH

By helping students read in English we put the vast world of English printed matter within their reach. The wealth of technical books and journals that are written in English, the great work from English and American literature--all of these riches and more can become part of the student's life through our tutelage, for the written form of the language often presents a depth and complexity of structure that does not occur in dialogue.

With few exceptions, our students already know how to read in their native language. That is, they recognize the shape of letters in their native alphabet; they move their eyes in the prescribed direction; they make associations between the printed symbols and oral forms, attaching meaning to the written ones; they are alert to words that clarify the function of neighboring words or to words that connect segments of sentences and groups of sentences; and they are familiar with punctuation marks and paragraph divisions.

It might seem that the native reading skill that students already possess would make reading in English a simple task. Unfortunately, it does not work that way. As Wilga Rivers points out in her book Teaching Foreign Language Skills, about all that students can transfer from training in native-language reading is an understanding of the reading process and of the importance of letter and word combinations.

When a student can associate a simple English utterance he has learned in oral practice sessions with its written counterpart, he is beginning to read in English. This decoding process involves identifying the letters and knowing how they are pronounced individually and in combination with other letters. In so doing, the reader attaches meaning to the groupings of letters and extracts information from them. The student accomplishes the entire process in his own individual time frame, and this determines his speed of reading. In the early stage the decoding process may be painfully slow, but with practice, the reading speed will improve.

We isolate, then, three major elements in the decoding of written English: recognition of alphabetic symbols, interpretation of these symbols, and the speed with which these actions are accomplished. For pedagogic purposes, we will consider each of these elements at some length, since they are the keys to making students good readers of English.

Recognizing alphabetic symbols

If the students are not familiar with the English (Roman) alphabet or the direction in which it is read, the teacher must spend considerable time helping them adopt a left-to-right horizontal eye movement and to recognize the shapes of English letters. There are many ways he can do this, but the following techniques are particularly effective:

1. Immediately introduce the idea that English materials are to be observed and perceived in a left-to-right sequence and in a horizontal fashion. Have students do exercises like marking X's on the blackboard or arranging a series of pictures in the English fashion.

2. Have the students trace English letters to become familiar with the shapes. Later on, call out a letter and ask students to reproduce the letter on paper or on the blackboard from memory.

3. Make or buy English alphabet sets. Call out combinations of letters and have the students arrange these by choosing the correct letters and placing them in the proper sequence.

4. Test recognition of similar letters by showing students three letters, two of which are the same, as in: c e c Ask students to identify the letter that differs from the other two.

5. Show students five words. Ask them to study the shape of the letters carefully in the first word and then find the word with the same general configuration among the remaining four words, as in this example:

pet car bee god jam

The correct choice is the word god, because it most closely resembles the configuration of the word pet: the initial letter in each word descends below the line and the final letter in each word extends above the line.

6. Have students identify the same beginnings, endings, or middles of words by underlining these elements or by arranging the words in short lists.

Interpreting alphabetic symbols

Once a student recognizes English letters and knows how to pronounce the letters in various combinations, the teacher must guide him in the interpretation of these clumps of symbols. In the earliest stage, the student learns English vocabulary orally by associating the English words with concepts he is already familiar with in his native language. He also learns that English organizes these words according to rules of syntax that may or may not resemble those of his native language. When previously learned English words appear in written form, the student can carry over his knowledge of vocabulary and syntax and assign meaning to the graphic symbols. Hopefully, he will find correct meanings for the symbols. If he does, he has good reading comprehension, if not, his comprehension is poor.

Vocabulary, syntax, and comprehension--these are the focal points in the interpretation of alphabetic symbols. Each of the points is worthy of a book-length discussion and many methodology books already explore these topics in depth, but the following remarks and suggestions are designed to give a quick overview of the most efficient means of dealing with these vital elements.

Vocabulary. It goes without saying that a sizable vocabulary is crucial to success in reading. The average educated native speaker of English has a passive vocabulary of about 80,000 basic and derived words--a vocabulary that enables him to comprehend all but highly technical material. The EFL/ESL student will rarely acquire such a large passive English vocabulary, but he builds his vocabulary, but he builds his vocabulary in much the same way that the native speaker does--by learning words in context. A new word set among words already known often becomes meaningful simply because the other words make its meaning unmistakable.

There are, of course, many special techniques to help the EFL/ESL student enlarge his English vocabulary quickly. Here is a sampling of those techniques that are especially helpful:

1. Make the meaning of a new vocabulary word clear through definitions, synonyms, antonyms, analysis of the parts of the word (prefix, stem, suffix), realia, dramatizations, pictures, or other devices.

2. After teaching a new word, briefly describe related vocabulary words. For instance, if you have taught the word envy, list and explain other words describing emotions, such as jealousy, melancholy, and so on.

3. Have the students memorize up to 10 new words a day. Some teachers may think that this technique, a favorite in the classic grammar-translation method, has no place in the modern classroom. Recent studies have shown, however, that it remains one of the most effective devices for vocabulary building--as long as the number of new words does not exceed 10 per day.

4. Choose a newly taught word from a reading selection. Compose a sentence that contains the word. Ask a student to change the sentence to a question and another student to answer the question. Continue with other newly taught words.

5. Ask a student to make up an original sentence, using a given vocabulary word. The sentence should relate to some aspect of the student's life. This usually reveals whether or not he understands the word and gives him additional practice in using it.

6. Write sentences leaving blank spaces in place of some words. Have the students fill in the blanks with appropriate words. Then have the students read their versions aloud so that you can check on the suitability of the words selected.

7. At the intermediate and advanced levels, where a reading selection may contain many new words, have the students read the material at home and look up each new word in a simplified English dictionary. The students should examine the various meanings listed for the word and determine which of these best fits the context in the reading material. Go over the reading selection in class the next day and when a new word appears, call on a student to define orally the word as it is used in the reading passage.

8. Give vocabulary quizzes or tests frequently to determine student progress in mastering vocabulary items.

Syntax. "Grammar, which knows how to control even kings" (Moliere), is the means by which strings of words acquire meaning beyond that of each individual word. There are definite rules that dictate how words are linked in English to produce phrases and sentences, and the only way that the EFL/ESL student can really understand spoken or written English is to be familiar with these rules. Initially, most students learn the rules of English grammar by memorizing phrases and sentences in oral pattern practice and by doing various types of structural drills. Later on, the teacher may give brief explanations of grammar to help the students internalize the syntactical design of English.

In written English, words are often combined in much more elaborate syntactical ways than in spoken English. David Eskey, in his article "Advanced Reading: The Structural Problem," says that written English is characterized by (1) complex noun phrases, (2) complex verb phrases, (3) free modifiers, and (4) a miscellaneous set of structures common to the written but not the spoken language. Obviously, the teacher must give special attention to these structures.

As a general approach to dealing with syntax in reading exercises, I recommend the following techniques:

1. At the elementary stage, pull important grammar patterns out of the reading selection and create suitable drills for these patterns. Suggested types of drills are substitution drills, transformation drills, and substitution-transformation drills.

2. On the elementary and intermediate levels, choose sentences from the students' reading material that you feel have syntactic configurations common to both spoken and written English. Ask each student to compose orally an original sentence using as a model the sentence you have selected.

3. At the advanced level, focus on the complex syntactical forms that characterize written English. Have students identify these forms in their reading selections by underlining in pencil. Then discuss the forms in class. After this, you may want to ask everyone to write original sentences based on the patterns. Be sure to correct the papers after the students complete the assignment.

Comprehension. When your students read in English, do they really understand what they read? In other words, do they have good reading comprehension? If you give them printed material that is in step with their knowledge of oral English, they should not have much difficulty understanding it. Sooner or later, however, they will have to deal with material whose vocabulary and syntax is beyond the spoken English forms they know. Unless they can derive correct meanings through inference, their reading comprehension will be limited.

It is imperative that the teacher check a student's reading comprehension at all stages. When the student does not understand what he reads, the teacher must help him improve his comprehension. He can do this through vocabulary and grammar exercises. Checking reading comprehension usually involves asking questions about what the student has read or using objective tests such as multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blank tests. Here are suggested techniques along these lines:

1. Ask a question that requires a single factual answer according to information contained in the reading. The following are useful types of questions:

a) Simple question answerable by Yes or No
   Ex.: Was he in Rome in 1942?

b) Tag question answerable by Yes or No
   Ex.: He didn't study engineering, did he?

c) Question phrased with OR and answerable by one alternative
   Ex.: Was Mary his aunt or his cousin?

d) Question listing several alternatives and answered by one of these
   Ex.: Was the dress she bought made of silk, wool, or cotton?

e) Question-word question
   Ex.: Why did he write her a letter?

2. Ask a question requiring a series of actual answers according to information contained in the reading passage.

a) Question-word question

EX.: What preparations did he make for the trip?

b) Two question-word questions joined by "and"

EX.: What did he tell her and how did she react?

3. Give a variety of objective tests that reveal how well the students understand reading passages. Multiple-choice tests and fill-in-the blank tests are especially useful, as are "cloze" tests. The cloze test consists of a reading passage in which a word is deleted at regular intervals, such as every 5th word or every 10th word. The student must fill in the blanks with the words he considers appropriate, thereby demonstrating his grasp of the meaning. Example:

Many new teaching methods_____used in the United_____these days. Most notable_____these is educational television.

It has been determined that students at the advanced level find it difficult to understand certain reading passages because they fail to identify the main subject in a complex sentence. Or they may not yet have absorbed how logical relationships are expressed English writing. In her article "Advanced Reading: Teaching Logical Relationships," Vivian Horn suggests that students should be aware of various kinds of "meaning relationships" that occur in English rhetoric: alternative, amplification, comparison, restatement, and so on. Once the teacher has explained these relationships, he should give the students exercises in which they identify the meaning relationships that appear in the reading material.

Reading Speed: Reading quickly and efficiently without sacrificing comprehension is a goal that EFL/ESL students must work toward. There are many ways that the teacher can help students improve reading speed without resorting to tachistoscopes (machines that give brief, accurately timed exposure to visual objects) or other expensive equipment often used in speed-reading courses for native English speakers. Although we cannot go into an exhaustive study of these techniques, I outline below some of the major ones:

1. At the elementary reading level, use flashcards with increasingly shorter exposure time. A flashcard may contain a single word, a phrase, or a whole sentence. Hold up the flashcard and have the class or a single individual read it aloud. Build up speed in exposing the cards as the drill progresses.

2. Compose a series of timed drills in which students must recognize words that fit certain specifications. For instance, you may ask the students to examine a "test word" followed by five other words. One of these five words is the same as the test word and the students should identify the word by underlining it example:

noon none moon name noon nine

(David Harris illustrates a number of these types of drills in his book Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English as a Second Language.)

3. Prepare elementary and intermediate-level material for speed-reading exercises by breaking sentences into smaller syntactic units. Place a black dot above the center of the unit, to indicate where the eye should focus for each word cluster, as in:

The current world trends in population growth

mean less food for more people

Bernard Seward, in an article entitled "Developing Reading Speed in EFL," recommends the use of a metronome (an instrument for indicating exact tempo in music by a regular series of audible clicks) to serve as a stimulus for students to move their eyes at regular intervals from one word cluster to another. Conduct the first exercise with the metronome set at a slow tempo and check comprehension as soon as the students have finished reading the material. If it is good, give students new syntactic units to read at a faster tempo. Continue speeding up the exercises as long as students maintain adequate comprehension.

4. Ask the students to read a paragraph silently. Specify a reasonable amount of time in which they are to accomplish this--two minutes, for example. When the specified time has elapsed, ask comprehension questions. If comprehension is good, have the students read another paragraph of comparable length in a shorter period of time. Repeat the exercise until the point is reached where comprehension diminishes.

5. Give timed reading tests frequently--always checking comprehension, since rapid reading without comprehension is useless. Keep in mind the distinction between scanning and close reading. In scanning, the reader rapidly skips over a number of words at a time, trying to get as much information as possible without attempting to understand the complete line of thought that the writer wishes to communicate. Efficient scanning is a valuable

skill which should be taught through special exercises— having students scan a large amount of material and report on the important points, for instance--but it should not be confused with developing speed in close - reading, which is the purpose of the above techniques.

Now that we have surveyed a number of techniques designed to help the student decode written English, let's consider the student's toward reading. Serious and well-motivated students are likely to view reading in English as something beneficial to them,either as a means of improving educational opportunities and/or job potential or as an entertaining adventure in getting acquaninted with the English-speaking world.

Whatever the motivation,the teacher should attempt to enhance it. Nothing is more damaging to the foreign reader than dull and badly written materials that have little pertinence for him.Reading material should be appropriate to the age of the student,clearly written,useful in terms of his career goals, and interesting to him personally.

Exactly what makes something interesting is difficult to define,but it often has to do with individual curiousity. For instance if a student sees a photograph in an English magazine that interests him, he will be curious about what is said in the caption below. He will try to read it even when his command of English is quite elementary, using a dictionary or asking the teacher.

Not only is the selection of materials important in influencing the students attitude toward reading. How the materials are presented is vital. The reading assignments should be progressively more difficult.They should not be so easy as to present no challenge,nor so difficult as to be discouraging.

Furthermore, because the teacher must give numerous comprehension tests, vocabulary and grammar exercises,speed checks,and so on, he should strive to keep the students from feeling that reading is drudgery. If the student can chart his reading progress himself,using the results of tests the teacher has given, he will develop a positive attitude toward the tests. And, of cpurse, the test may inspire him to improve his skills in those - areas where his charts reveal weakness.

In short, the student should enjoy reading English even though it requires some hard work on his part. He should remember that the rewards of reading are abundant. As Henry Thoreau has said,"Many a man has dated a new era is his life from the reading of a book ".

DIMENSION TWO
LINKING READING WITH OTHER LANGUAGE-LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Reading stimulates other activities in the EFL/ESL classroom. It can lead into pronunciation, conversation, and writting exercises. It can promote cultural understanding and appreciation of the artistic use of English is novels, stories, plays, and poetry. Although a detailed discussion of thes reading links is beyond the scope of this article, here are some techniques along with practical suggestions for their use.

Reading and pronunciation

Man invented spoken language thousands of years before he devised ways of representing words with written symbols. Since writting was an outgrowth of the spoken word, we can infer that for a long time literate people must not have known how to read silently. Even today, some people find it difficult to read without at least moving their lips.

An important step in abstraction occurred when men realized they could read without using voices. The ability to read without prononoucing words aloud is now commonplace, and teachers should encourage studdnts to become - silent readers.

Reading aloud in any foreign language is, nevertheless, an excellent way for a student to improve his pronunciation. The teacher should capitalize on this aspect of reading, using reading as a basis for practice in pronunciation, stress, intonation, and juncture. The Following procedures have proved especially helpful :

1. At the elementary and intermadiate levels, select a short reading passage containing vocabulary and grammar with which the students are already familiar. Read each sentence (breaking long sentences into units) and have the class repeat in unison with their books open. Check on pronunciation, stress, intonation, and juncture. If there are serious errors, drill the points causing difficulty. As the exercise continues, occasionally call on one individual or a small group to respond instead of the entire class. After you have read the selection aloud and the students have practised orally in this manner, have the students read it silently.

2. At all levels, ask one student to read aloud a few sentences or a paragraph in a reading selection. Note any errors in pronunciation and review these after the student has finished reading. Have the entire class repeat the corrected form. Vary this activity with other types or reading exercises. For instance, after one or two students have followed the procedure mentioned above, have the class read a few sentences in unison, or ask students to read a paragraph silently and then you ask comprehension questions.

3. If the reading selection is a short story involving a cast of characters and much dialogue, assign roles to student, including a "narrator" role. The students can then read the story as a play. Note any errors in

pronunciation and review these at the conclusion of the reading,with the class repeating the corrected form in unison. The same procedure can, of course, be followed with actual plays.

Reading and conversation

The possibilities of using reading material for conversation practice are almost endless.Once students have completed a given reading assignment they have a new fund of information which can serve as a departure point for allkinds of discussion. Here are just a few of the ways to get students started in talking about their reading:

1.Ask a question that requires the student to infer information from the reading passage.For example : " How do you suppose ... ? "

2.Ask a question that requires the student to judge the material according to his own attitudes and experience. For example :

Do you think ....?

Are you sure that .... ?

Do you like (dislike) ..... ?

Do you agree (disagree) with ... ?

What would you have done if .....?

3.Have students read a paragraph silently and then ask them what they think central idea is.

4.Have students read a paragraph silently and ask them to summarize the paragraph in their own words.

5.Have a student retell an entire reading passage in his own words. Encourage other students to ask questions after he completes his presentation.

6.If a reading passage presents a controversial point of view,such as "the younger generation knows best" have students discuss the statement and tell how they personally feel about the issue.

Reading and writting.

Most teachers like to make a reading assignment a springboard to written exercises such as dictation, outlinning, and composition, Such an approach can be very useful,especially when the following procedures are used:

1.At the elementary and intermediate levels,give students a short reading selection with one or two paragraphs only.After they have read it several times with total comprehension, ask them to close their books.Dictate the material at normal conversational speed,repeating each phrase or sentence twice (one time only, if students are very proficient). Correct the students papers immediately after they are raise.

2.At the intermediate level, when students have had considerable

writing practice, have them read a paragraph aloud or silently. Check reading comprehension. Then ask each student to paragraphrase every sentence in the paragraph as a written exercise to be turned in to you for correction. Selected students can read their paragraphs aloud for correction if you do not have time to grade the papers.

3. Have students read two or three paragraphs aloud or silently. After you have checked reading comprehension, ask each student to summarize into one paragraphs or to condense the paragraphs into one paragraph. Handle correction of papers as suggested in item 1.

4. At the intermediate and advanced levels, choose a short reading passage describing a beautiful sunset, an unusual person, a football stadium, or anything else that the students can relate to. After the students have read and understood the passage, have each one write a similar description of something he considers significant in his own life. Correct the compositions and select some to be read aloud to the class.

5. Have students read a passage. Ask them to write one or two paragraphs describing their reaction to the passage (whether they liked it and why, if they disagreed with the author, etc.). Correct the papers and choose the ones you think should be read to the class.

Reading and cultutal understanding

No discussion of EFL/ESL reading is complete without mention of how reading can help students understanding the culture--be it American, Canadian British, New Zealand, or South African--that underlies the written word in nontechnical texts. Even in those reading selections that do not specifically describe or explain features of an English speaking culture, much cultural information may be unconscinusly woven into the material by the writer, who can hardly transcend his own cultural orientation and the values it embodies. Consider, for example, this passage (something that might appear in a short story or novel) :

The New York traffic was slow, but he managed to arrive at Mr.Brown's office at five to three. His appointment was scheduled for three o'clock. A young secretary with gray eyes and blond hair looked up from her typewriter and smiled, saying, "Hi! Are you Richard Wilson ? "

He noddes, cleared his throat, and said, "Yes. I believe Mr.Brown is expecting me ".

"Mr.Brown will be with you in a few minutes", she replied--and resumed her rapid typing with the diligence required by company rules.

Even in such a short selection, a number of cultural points surfase:

1. The American considered punctuality very important.

2.The company employed an attractive young girl as a secretary.

3.The secretary greeted the man in informal English.

4.The man showed agreement by nodding his head.

5.Although polite, the secretary was impersonal and returned to work immediately.

6.The secretary typed rapidly.

For anyone raised in a different culture, all or some of the points listed above may seem peculiar or even bizarre.It is important that the teacher anticipate the student's reactions to any reading selection and provide helpful explanations.Frequently,fruitful class discussion develops when the teacher asks students to contrast the world as represented in the reading with their own lives and ways of doing things.

In this and all classroom situations, the teacher should encourage digressions that stimulate general conversation and discussion.Although the teacher should always be in control, the spontaneous interaction among students should not be inhibited for the sake of the classroom order or of maintaining a formal lesson format. A lively and interesting English lesson cannot be a one-person show.The teacher must encourage the students to contribute with personal observations and questions.Occasional anecdotes and some humor are important ingredients in creating a stimulating classroom atmosphere.

Reading and art

If a non-native speaker of English learns the language so well that he can savor the works of the best English writers, he has gained personal access to the riches the language offers. Walter Pater, a 19th-century English essayist, said : " Art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass" Many fine moments come from exposure to English literature in its original form (simplified versions are all too often mereghosts of what was once a work of art)

Of course, some students never acquire the degree of proficiency necessary for a genuine appreciation of English literature.And among the students who learn to read English extremely well, there are some whose interests exclude literature.In such cases, the teacher does not need to stress literary appreciation-unless, of course, literary appreciation is the subject of study.

But for those students who are fluent in English and who are responsive to the beauty and fascination of English literature, the teacher can do much to help them discover less obvious aspects of the author's style and mesage.The teacher can then share with the students the profound intuitions and beauty that all great writers bestow on the reader.

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38. ADVANCED READING: GOALS, TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURES

William E. Norris

Hearing before speaking, speaking before reading, reading before writing. This prescription has dominated contemporary foreign-language teaching in the United States at least since 1941, the year that marked the end of our "linguistic isolation," as Moulton remarks in his excellent survey of language teaching in the 1940s and 50s.[1] Since that time linguists have been at work analyzing previously unfamiliar languages and designing course material guided by such linguistic principles as these--principles that have become, as Moulton puts it, language-teaching slogans of the day--"Language is speech, not writing." "A language is a set of habit." "Teach the language, not about the language."

Thus it was the "Oral approach" (or "audio-lingual method") got its start with adult students. Quite clearly the emphasis was on spoken language.

Influential publications of the period in which linguists set forth more fully these "linguistic principles of language teaching" were these: L. Bloomfield, Outline Guide to the Practical Study of Foreign Languages (1942); C.C. Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language (1945); E.A. Nida, Learning a Foreign Language (1950); and E.T. Cornelius, Jr., Language Teaching: A Guide for Teachers of Foreign Languages (1953).

The sources of this oral-language influence can also, of course, be traced back much farther than 1941 to the "phonetic method" introduced in Europe and elsewhere in the late 19th century, which ultimately evolved into the "direct method." But the direct method had relatively limited success in the United States, and by the 1930s the emphasis in the school was on memorizing grammatical rules and reading by translation. Nevertheless, the direct method did influence intensive language programs. Its heritage is reflected, for example, in the characterization of one method as a "direct-structural-oral approach."

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[1] William G. Moulton, "Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States, 1940-1960," in Trends in European and American Linguistics, 1930-1960, ed. Christine Mohrmann (Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum, 1961).

READING AND THE ORAL APPROACH

The basic view of most linguists toward the teaching of reading in a foreign language during the 40s and 50s was summarized by Fries in this widely quoted remark: "Even if one wishes to learn the foreign language solely for reading, the most economical and most effective way of beginning is the oral approach." Nida put it even more strongly: "Listening, speaking, reading, then writing constitute the fundamental order in language learning.... The scientifically valid procedure in language learning involves listening first, to be followed by speaking. Then comes reading and, finally, the writing of the language." Although the actual "scientific validation" of this premise may not be easy to substantiate, its pedagogical effectiveness is now generally accepted in foreign-language courses for children and adults alike. At the beginning and intermediate stages of second-language teaching, the modern approach places emphasis primarily--and almost exclusively--on the spoken language.

Unfortunately, in many English-as-a-second-or-foreign-language programs, especially intensive courses for adult students, the written language has been de-emphasized almost to the point of extinction. Some students seem never to be taught how to read English at all. Apparently they are expected to pick up reading skills "automatically" along the way to oral mastery, or to develop them independently after completing oral language instruction. To be sure, many courses do not claim to go beyond the beginning or low-intermediate stages of instruction, but the neglect of reading seems not to be due simply to the fact that beginners outnumber advanced-level students. Witness, for example, the first two "principles of foreign-language teaching" listed by Cornelius in his Language Teaching (a book that, along with Fries's Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language, was one of the two most influential teacher guides in the early application of the oral approach to the teaching of English as a foreign language): "(1) The objective of a teacher of a foreign language is to expose students to the language as it is spoken. (2) The ability to read and write a language may come as a by-product of the process of learning the spoken language" (italics added).

Not all language teachers agreed, of course. Brooks, writing later, fixed the class time for teaching reading and writing skills in proportion to teaching oral skills at approximately 20% at the beginning level and 50% to 60% at the intermediate levels in the

elementary and secondary school.[2] But by and large there has been little attention to the systematic teaching of reading in beginning and intermediate classes, especially the sort of preparation that might be expected to facilitate the student's acquisition of reading fluency at the advanced level of instruction.

Practical considerations have also contributed to the de-emphasis on learning the written language. Many adult students, in particular, have an immediate need for spoken-language skills. Therefore, many beginning and intermediate courses have as a primary objective the development of aural comprehension and speaking ability, giving little attention to the written language.

Nevertheless, a careful consideration of the middle-range and long-range needs even of such students as these will usually reveal that an ability to read English is going to be very important. For many such students, in fact, reading skills will eventually be much more important than oral skills.

Goals in teaching advanced reading

How do we define the specific tasks of a program for teaching reading for information? In focusing on the advanced level we will assume that our students have already, in the beginning and intermediate phases of their instruction, learned something about reading English--at least as a by-product of their oral language study. They know the English alphabet and the regular conventions and common irregularities of the spelling system. We also assume that the students are literate in their native language, although we cannot be sure that they are efficient readers in it. By the way, it would be interesting and useful to know whether reading efficiency in the native language has a bearing on acquiring reading efficiency in a foreign language. In any event, since our students are literate, it is not the process of reading as such that they must learn, but rather skills for reading a foreign language, English.

At the opposite extreme, we need not concern ourselves primarily with teaching appreciation or evaluation of literature. In most adult reading situations in English as a foreign language, literary worth is not relevant. Even among native speakers, after all, most purposeful reading is for information rather than enjoyment.

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2. Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1960.

A third point: Our goals will not include the teaching of "speed reading" as that term is popularly employed today; however, reading rate is not unimportant for the student of English as a foreign language. As a matter of fact, the student who reads so slowly and laboriously that he can focus on just one word at a time --reading word by word--is not really reading at all. He will usually be unable to put the words together to understand the sense of the sentence, and he will certainly be unable to unite sentences into a full understanding of paragraph meaning. Ask him "What was the paragraph about?" and his only honest answer will be "About 75 words." Improving the student's reading rate in conjunction with, and in part as a result of, improving his other reading skills is an important goal. Harris says: "It has been our experience that even 'advanced' learners of English as a second language tend to be slow readers and that their slow reading speed constitutes a serious handicap when they commence their studies at our universities."[3]

Our goal, then, in the advanced reading course is to teach the student (who already has at least an "intermediate" mastery of spoken English) how to get information from the printed page efficiently, rapidly, and with full understanding. A more complete understanding of our task can be gained by listing the specific reading skills our students must develop or improve in order to achieve this goal.

Five areas of skill

Advanced ability in reading English as a foreign language requires improvement in reading speed, vocabulary recognition, and the comprehension of sentences, paragraphs, and complete reading selections. These are not exclusive needs of the foreign learner of English, of course; they are the skills that native speakers must also develop in order to become efficient readers. We might delineate these five areas of skill as follows:

1. Speed of recognition and comprehension

   a) Word-recognition speed: improving eye movement, visual discrimination
   b) Word-comprehension speed: symbol-sound-meaning association
   c) Sentence-structure recognition: eye sweep, reading by structure

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3. David P. Harris, Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English as a Second Language (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

2. Vocabulary recognition and comprehension

   a) Word formation: derivation and compounding
   b) Lexical range: choices and restrictions
   b) Vocabulary in context: using context clues to meaning

3. Sentence structure and sentence comprehension

   a) Sentence structures: understanding advanced-level conjunction, nominalization, embedding, etc., and grasping the "main idea"
   b) Sentence comprehension: understanding the full meaning

4. Paragraph structure and paragraph comprehension

   a) Paragraph organization: the "central idea," paragraph development
   b) Scanning for specific information
   c) Full understanding: paragraph analysis

5. Comprehension of the complete selection

   a) Surveying for the main ideas
   b) Scanning for specific information
   c) Reading for full understanding

In a later section of this article, I give examples of techniques and exercises for the student of English as a second or foreign language in each of these five areas of reading skill.

READING COMPREHENSION VERSUS ORAL COMPREHENSION.

Teachers know that reading ability does not develop simply as a by-product of training in the spoken language. It is not easy for the foreign learner to transfer to visual symbols the comprehension he has already gained of auditory symbols. After all not even native speakers of English find it easy to learn to read. Commonly, the difficulties of both native and foreigner have been attributed to the almost universally deplored "poor fit" between English pronunciation and orthography. English, it is complained, is not spelled "phonetically" (or "phonemically"), and that is quite true; but it is at the same time an unfair charge, since the English spelling system was probably never intended to be more than superficially phonemic. Contemporary linguistic investigation suggests that, all things considered, the present system may be

hard to improve on for its intended users: competent speakers and readers of English. On the other hand, the system certainly was not designed to make things easy for the learner, whether native or foreign.

Aside from English orthography, there is another major problem in learning to read: written English differs considerably from spoken English in many features of structure and style. Thus, we cannot assume that the student who has been taught authentic oral English will be able to cope automatically with authentic written English. Yet neither should we assume that all difference between speech and writing will make for learning difficulties. In fact, reading is in some respects easier for the student than oral comprehension, as the second of the two comparisons that follow will illustrate.

Features of difficulty in reading as compared to speech

1. Words and phrases known orally may not be recognized in print (/maǰol/--module, /kænt/--cannot), or may be confused with homographs (bow, read) or words spelled similarly (strap--strip, through--thorough).

2. Vocabulary and usage not commonly heard in speech are encountered often in reading (manifest; ambivalence. This fact is nowhere better illustrated than in the...).

3. Writing uses word order, lexical variation, and other signals to make distinctions signaled in speech by sentence stress, pause, and intonation.

4. Writing uses long complete sentences--sentences that employ complex embedding, nominalization, and other syntactical devices. (The executive turns to the party for personnel to man the top jobs in the administrative agencies, and a further relationship is established through which the party makes a contribution to the organization and action of government.)

5. Contextual clues to meaning are necessarily limited to the written text; unlike speech, clues cannot be derived from the non-verbal situation.

Features of ease in reading as compared to speech

1. Written forms often differentiate homophones (seed--cede), inflections (miss time--missed time), and word junctures (a nice house--an ice house) that are obscured in speech.

2. Dialectal variations in spelling (labor--la' syntax (does not have--has not got) are few and minor. necessary for the reader to know the pronunciation in order to understand a new word through analysis or association with known words (fragmentation, avionic).

3. Expository writing makes use of a more limited range of sentence types than speech. Statements predominate; questions are rarer, especially the Yes-No type; and short answers and reduced forms are uncommon. Further, the sentence fragments, redundancies, false starts, gaps, and hesitations so common in informal speech are almost entirely lacking. In other words, edited written English is more regular and "correct," employs complete and well-formed sentences, and is free of grammatical errors and misspellings.

4. Writing is permanent, not transient in time. Hence the reader can proceed at his own pace, pausing to puzzle out word formations and syntactical constructions, to consult his dictionary, to re-scan and reread.

5. Written English provides more background information than does informal speech; good expository writing, especially technical writing, does not require that we "read between the lines" to find the meaning.

6. Finally, in contrast to oral dialogue, writing does not distract the reader by requiring him to formulate a verbal response. He can devote all his efforts to understanding what he reads.

TEACHING ADVANCED-LEVEL READING

The principal methods of reading improvement, for both the native language and a foreign language, have been known and in use for some time. Teachers of reading and authors of textbooks for English as a foreign language have borrowed many ideas from materials for native-language reading improvement, revising and adapting them to the needs of the non-native speaker. To these they have added a few other devices particularly suited to foreign-language teaching.

We have learned something about the teaching of reading, mainly from the three disciplines of education, psychology, and linguistics; but there appear to be almost no new developments with special reference to second- or foreign-language reading except for some influence from current theories of transformational grammar. A check on current research by reading specialists and projects by TESOL specialists does not turn up any work concerned specifically with second-language reading for adult students. The main sources to which we must look for new and improved ideas are recent reading textbooks in English as a foreign language.

Techniques and exercises to improve reading skills

The types of exercises in widest use are not new or novel, nor are they unique to the teaching of reading. They employ the well-known techniques of matching, multiple choice, true/false, same/different or same/opposite, filling blanks, rearrangement, transformation, summary, outline, and paraphrase. The examples I present below, illustrating typical improvement techniques and exercises for each of the five areas of reading skill described, are drawn from seven college-level reading tests.

1. IMPROVING SPEED

Timed reading puts pressure on the student to read faster. In some courses all reading is timed, even directions and exercises. Students convert their time to word-per-minute rates and keep a record of progress. Some textbooks give the word count for each selection and provide words-per-minute conversion tables. None of the texts I examined suggested using mechanical pacing devices, but one recent article recommends the use of a metronome. To what extent do students transfer their ability to read faster under pressure to normal, untimed reading situations? This is a crucial but unresolved question.

a) Speed in Recognizing Words

Word Matching. Underline the word that is the same as the given word:

1.	got	get	pot	hot	god	got
2.	home	whom	home	hum	home	some

Word Pairs. Indicate whether the members of the pair are the same or different by underlining S or D:

1.	doesn't know	doesn't show	Same	Different
2.	have time	have time	S	D
3.	poor day	poor pay	S	D

b) Speed in Understanding Words

One-Word Definitions. Underline the word that has the same meaning as the given word:

1.	shut	watch	close	sleep	need
2.	speak	point	talk	hope	see
3.	purchase	step	buy	listen	dream

Sames and Opposites. Indicate whether the members of the pair are the same or opposite by underlining S or O:

			Same	Opposite
1.	stop	go		
2.	speak	talk	S	O
3.	dirty	clean	S	O

c) Recognizing Sentence Structure

Reading by Structures

People in the United States
are always talking
about the weather.
It's a kind of habit
with them.
When they...

2. IMPROVING VOCABULARY

a) Word Formation

Negative Prefixes. Use the correct prefix (dis-, im-, in-, mis-, un-) to make negative forms of the following words from the essay:

1. appear:_____
2. just:_____
3. personal:_____

Fill the blank with the proper negative prefix:

1. He always_____connects the wires.
2. He always_____pronounces the words.
3. His work is completely_____satisfactory.

Derived Words. Fill the blanks with a noun (plural form) related to the underlined noun in the sentence:

1. Our interest was in art and (artists).
2. Our interest was in crime and_____.
3. Our interest was in music and_____.

Complete the following table:

	ADJECTIVE	NOUN	ADVERB	VERB
1.	original	(originality)	(originally)	(originate)
2.	_____	evolution	XXX	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	brighten

b) Lexical Range

Which sentence illustrates the same use of the word (or idiomatic or figurative expression) as in the reading selection?

1. There are bound to be regional differences.
   a) The book is bound in leather.
   b) Children are bound to have some accidents as they grow up.
   c) The prisoner's hands were bound.

c) Vocabulary in Context

Using Context Clues. A dynamic person can keep Washington affairs from becoming boring. Often, through his activity, he can become well known in a short time.

The best synonym for dynamic is:

_____powerless _____forceful
_____athletic _____cheerfull

Paired Responses Using Semantic Equivalents. The instructor gives the cue orally; the student reads aloud, recites, or writes his response:

Cue: They are trying to fire MacDonald as president.
Response: They are trying to get rid of MacDonald as president.

d) Other Techniques to Improve Vocabulary

Recalling Words from Their Definitions. Fill in the missing letters in words from the reading selection:

1. Able to be depended on: re--- le
2. Too many to be counted: inn----able

Using Words in Sentences (orally or in writing). Use in one sentence each pair or group of words from the reading listed together:

1. anthropologist, cultures

Examples An anthropologist is a person who studies different cultures.

2. borrow, inventions
3. technology, slow, past

Vanishing Cues and Alternative Word Glosses. From a partially obliterated version of a previously read selection the student reconstructs the original, first using glosses and then without them:

wonderful
Less thXn twenty XXXXX XXX, a XXXXXXXX "new period

XXX" XX medXcine---or so XX was supXoXed to XX--was introduced XXXXXXX XX by the "wonder XXXXX," the germ-XXXXXXs extrXXrdinary. Here, XX seemed, were the...[4]

3. SENTENCE STRUCTURE AND COMPREHENSION

a) Sentence Structure and the Main Idea

Grammatical Details. Supply the appropriate preposition for each blank in these sentences from the essay:

1. All cultures seem to be___a continuous state ____change.

Supply the structure words that have been omitted:

1. Two women meet___the first time often do___shake hands unless one is____especially honored guest.

Complext Sentence Structures. Combine each group of statements into a single coherent sentence:

1. All cultures change. Some cultures change at a slower rate than others.

Drill on embedded relative clauses and prenominal modifiers:

Cue : The arbitration settled the issue.
The arbitration was compulsory.

Response: a) The arbitration, which was compulsory, settled the issue.
b) The compulsory arbitration settled the issue.

General Syntactical Meaning: the Main Idea. Put a check mark before each statement that suggests approval. Put a circle before each statement that seems to show disapproval:

_____1. It is difficult to see how anyone could find Professor Baker's latest book anything but completely satisfying.

_____2. Although I have the highest personal regard for Professor Baker, I must confess that I find few major points in this book on which he and I agree.

b) Sentence Comprehension: Getting the Full Meaning

Logical Completion. Complete the sentence in a logical way, using one of the four words:

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[4]The original version, which the student is to reconstruct, reads as follows: Less than twenty years ago, a fabulous "new era" of medicine--or so it was supposed to be--was ushered in by the "wonder drugs," the germ-killers extraordinary. Here, it seemed, were the...

1. You can trust Henry to take good care of your money, for he is very_____.

(honest, angry, evil, distant)

2. We had hoped that Robert would agree to help us, but he has_____to.

(desired, promised, refused, intended)

Comprehension Questions. See "Types of Comprehension Question," below.

4. PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE AND COMPREHENSION

a) Paragraph Organization

Reading for the Central Idea

What single word expresses the central idea of paragraph 16?

Read the paragraph quickly to determine the central idea. Then turn the page and choose one statement that best expressed the central idea. Do not look back at the paragraph.

Paragraph Development

Paragraph 9 uses examples. Find another paragraph in the reading developed in this same way.

Paragraph 10 explains a reason for a condition. What other paragraph uses this same method of development?

Create a coherent paragraph by placing the sentences below in logical order. (Five sentences from the reading are given.)

b) Scanning for Specific Information

Scan the following paragraph to answer this question: How did the college get its name?

c) Reading for Full Understanding: Paraphrase and Analysis

Paraphrasing. Fill the blanks on the basis of the selection just read:

Most instructional material...is "busy work." Generally, such materials_____comprehension; they do not_____it. With practice on them we learn to _____ the examiner.

Paragraph Analysis. Use the following strategy to determine what a paragraph is about:

> (a) Gather evidence: Read the first sentence. (b) Establish a hypothesis: That the first sentence is the main idea. (c) Check the hypothesis: Read the second sentence. (d) Revise the hypothesis if necessary to include new ideas. Continue.

Comprehension questions. See "Types of Comprehension Questions," below.

5. COMPREHENSION OF COMPLETE SELECTION

a) Surveying for Main Ideas and Organizational Pattern

Outlining. The main ideas are given below in mixed-up order. Arrange them in the order in which the author discusses them: (a) early settlers, (b) need for water, (c) major industries...

Outline the thesis and main supporting ideas in conventional outline form. (A preceding exercise has identified the central ideas of the separate paragraphs.)

Paraphrasing and Summarizing the Main Ideas (orally or in writing).

Organizational Pattern. Check whichever of the following statements best expresses the organizational pattern of this essay. (Some editors make general or specific comments on the organizational pattern and style of the essay. These appear either before or after the selection, or in the exercises.)

b) Scanning for Specific Information

Skim quickly to find the number of the paragraph in which each of the following topics is mentioned or discussed.

c) Reading for Full Understanding

Discussion or Summary of the Reading (oral or written)

Comprehension Questions. See "Types of Comprehension Questions," below.

Types of comprehension questions

Questioning for comprehension deserves further description, because it is a technique of wide usefulness for teaching other language skill besides reading and because it is used extensively in almost all reading texts. (In some materials well over half of the exercises are comprehension questions of various kinds.)

Five types of questions for comprehension can be described and graded according to (a) the linguistic form of the required response, and (b) the relation between the information that is needed to answer correctly and the information provided in the read-

ing selection.[5] I list the five types here in order of increasing difficulty for the student.

Type I: Information from the reading sufficient for the answer is contained in the question itself.

a) Answerable simply Yes/No or True/False

Before Frank left for town, did his wife hand him an umbrella?

Before Frank left for town, his wife handed him an umbrella?

Before Frank left for town, his wife handed him an umbrella. (True or False)

b) Multiple choice of answers is given with the question.

What did Frank's wife hand him before he left?

____an umbrella, ____ a piece of cloth,____ a letter

Type 2: Answerable with information quoted directly from the reading selection. (Wh- questions— who, when, where, what— usually not why or how questions.)

What did Frank's wife hand him before he left for town?
Answer: (She handed him) a piece of cloth (before he left for town).

Type 3: Answerable with information acquired from the reading selection, but not by quotation from a single sentence. (Usually why or how questions.)

How did Frank explain his difficulties to his wife?
Answer: First, Frank told her... Then he said...

Type 4: Answerable from inference or implication from the reading; the information is not stated explicitly in the selection.

How do you suppose Frank's wife felt about his explanation?
Answer: Well, since she looked cross, I suppose that she...

Type 5: The answer requires evaluation or judgment relating the reading selection to additional information or experience of the reader.

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[5] These types of questions are suggested in part by Fe Dacanay in Techniques and Procedures in Second Language Teaching (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1963). The illustrative examples are adapted from Kenneth Croft's Reading and Word Study for Students of English as a Second Language (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960).

What would you have done in Frank's place?

The five types of questions described above are used in reading comprehension tests at various levels of difficulty. The construction of tests is ably surveyed by Paul Pimsleur in his article "Testing Foreign Language Learning" (in Albert Valdman, ed., Trends in Language Teaching, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966). A more detailed analysis of the problems of testing reading comprehension will be found in Robert Lado's Language Testing (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). Pimsleur points out various pitfalls to avoid in test construction--pitfalls which the exercise writer should also be wary of--and warns in conclusion that "tests are the truest reflections of the teacher's pedagogical aims: he should beware of his tests, for they tell the truth about his objectives as a teacher." This statement is equally true if we substitute the word exercises for tests.

Analysis of word formation

It is a commonplace to say that words derive their meanings from the context in which they occur. In the case of complex words, the derivational processes by which they are formed also contribute meaning. One feature of reading-improvement courses for native speakers of English is training in the use of context clues and the use of word analysis as an aid to determining meaning. Word analysis is also introduced in some reading texts for English as a second language (see sample exercises under "Vocabulary Improvement," above). These usually focus on the most frequent and productive prefixes and suffixes, in contrast to texts for native speakers, which concentrate on detailed analysis (that is, definition) of less common Greek and Latin affixes and bound bases. The difference in emphasis is understandable; native speakers do not usually have difficulties with more productive forms, but non-native students do.

On the other hand, some non-native students find Greek and Latin components relatively easy to understand because they are common in the student's native language. Word-analysis exercises for native speakers of English deal with roots and affixes such as those in capital letters in the following sentence, but in teaching English as a second or foreign language we need to develop the student's ability to recognize and understand such derivational elements as are illustrated by the italicized forms. There is some overlap, as, for example, in the prefix CON-, the overlap being indicated

here by the use of italic capitals (capitals for root and affix, italics for derivational element):

> There are abundant examples of this institution to be observed in CONTEMPORary societies, yet certain values of our own culture PRECLUDE its acceptance.

Neither native-language nor foreign-language reading improvement texts give direct instruction in the analysis of word compounds, although words such as network, outlying, underlie, and headlong are frequent in all types of writing. Analyzing them is probably unnecessary for native speakers, but the student of English as a foreign language might well benefit from systematically organized exercises.

Word compounds can be understood in part by analyzing syntactically the underlying constructions from which they are derived, but such an analysis frequently reveals only a "literal" meaning, and context clues or other information must still be used to gain full understanding. Andvanced students will have little difficulty with, for example, compounds of the types Adjectives + Noun (highbrow) or Noun + Noun (network), which reflect the syntax of basic modification patterns in English. But the syntactical analysis of other types may be beyond the student's English competence, or in any event may result in an ambiguous, misleading, or non-sensical interpretation. For example, the student may consider such possibilities as:

stronghold	the hold is strong/it holds strongly
withhold	with a hold/it holds with X
headlong	his head is long/with a long head/he longs in his head

Verb + Adverbial constructions are particularly troublesome because no predictable order of compounding is apparent: layout--outlying, breakup--upswing, runaway--outran, handout--offhand. Exercises for teaching the most productive types of compounds, based on accurate classification and description, are presently lacking in reading texts for English as a foreign language. (An exception is Croft and Brown, 1966--see Bibliography.)

At best, word analysis can only be partly effective: the meaning of the base itself cannot be determined through internal examination.

Context clues to vocabulary meaning

A more direct means t han word analysis for determining the meaning of a word is to look for clues to the meaning elsewhere in the sentence or in adjacent sentences. Five types of context clues can be described: definition, experience, comparison and contrast, synonym, and summary. The examples of each type that follow were carefully selected (from English as-a-foreign-language texts) to illustrate a single type of clue, but clear-cut example are not very common. For any given word in context, there may be more than one type of clue present—or there may be none at all.

1. Definition. The word is defined or explained by the writer:

> A number of languages of South Africa have clicks, a variety of popping sounds made by forming vacuums between the tongue and the hard or soft palate.
>
> ... result of natural turnover—the departure of workers through death, retirement, or voluntary decision to seek a job somewhere else, without any forced layoffs.

2. Experience. The meaning is clarified from direct or indirect experience of the reader; the situation is familiar to him or he can imagine it:

> The sweat rolled down his face. His entire body was wet, as if he had fallen into a spring... The heat was terrible.

3. Comparison and Contrast. The context compares the word with a familiar word or, negatively, tells what it does not mean:

> Although he was accustomed to life in the desert, he could not endure the heat of this valley very long ... Two more hours of such heat would finish him.

4. Synonym. The same ideas are expressed by two or more different words or phrases, one of which may be familiar to the reader:

> When it comes to manufactured goods there is actually more diversity in this country than Europe has ever known. The variety of goods carried by our stores is the first thing that impresses any visitor from abroad.

5. Summary. An idea or situation expressed in different ways is summed up in one word or expression:

> The Spanish word ni means "nor," but the closest equivalent

> combination of sounds in English is knee. In Congo Swahili ni is a prefix to affirmative verbs and means "I," while in Navajo it is a suffix to verbs and indicates completed action.... It is entirely ARBITRARY which sounds are employed to express particular ideas.

The student who learns how to determine the meaning of an unknown word by means of word analysis or context clues whenever the situation permits can minimize his dependence on the dictionary and at the same time gain a more precise understanding of the word's meaning in the particular sentence. Training in the use of context clues does not appear to have been developed in an organized way in texts presently available. The trend in recent materials for native speakers has been toward programed texts using the familiar fill-the-blank and multiple-choice devices. Some of these texts have been used with adult students of English as a foreign language.

PROCEDURES FOR CONDUCTING THE LESSON

Most advanced reading lessons are developed around a reading selection varying in length from a short paragraph to several pages of text. Three stages in teaching the lesson are: (1) pre-reading preparation, (2) reading the selection, and (3) follow-up activities based on the selection. Stage 1 focuses the student's attention on the main objectives of the assignment. It may also provide information designed to minimize incidental problems that might otherwise be an obstacle to the main objectives. Stage 3 provides the drill necessary to achieve the objectives of the lesson.

Stage 1: Pre-reading preparation

In choosing items for pre-reading preparation the teacher must consider the purpose of the lesson. For example, if the objective of a particular lesson is training the student to use context clues, the teacher should not at stage 1 give definitions of the words the student will encounter in the lesson. He might, rather, start out the lesson with a warm-up practice in the use of context clues. At another time, however, he may wish to define new vocabulary in advance if its lack would be a barrier to the aim of reading quickly for the central idea. Sometimes the only preparation needed will be a brief instruction: "Try to read this selection faster than the last one," or "Read the next paragraph to find the central idea." But at other times fuller development will be needed in order to motivate the student and prepare him for linguistic problems.

Preparing for Vocabulary, Syntax, and/or Other Difficulties.

(1) List new or difficult vocabulary items or idioms, with or without definitions, and give sentences from the reading plus additional sentences that show the meaning in context. (2) Present new or difficult grammatical structures. Give examples from the selection, supplemented by other examples if necessary, illustrating the meaning of the construction. (3) Explain items which may be difficult because the cultural or technical meaning is unfamiliar.

Motivating the Reading. (1) Give purpose to the reading. Tell the students that they are to read, for example, in order to summarize the main ideas, or find specific information, or do a vocabulary exercise. (2) Outline or paraphrase the selection for the students. (3) Relate the selection to the students' own experience, interests, or needs by means of questioning and discussion.

Stage 2: Reading the selection

Two suggested procedures for conducting this stage are outlined below, the second more "intensive" than the first. They are merely examples of how classroom reading of a selection might be carried on at a relatively early level of the course. At the later, more advanced, levels of the course most classroom reading will be done silently.

Suggested Procedure A. The teacher reads each sentence or phrase ("thought group")--the class repeats orally in chorus, books open--individuals repeat the same sentence. The teacher checks for pronunciation, rhythm, and intonation. After the entire selection has been read aloud, the class reads it silently for comprehension. The silent reading may be timed.

Suggested Procedure B. The teacher reads each sentence aloud--the class or individuals repeat. Each sentence is immediately followed by one or more comprehensive questions of types 1, 2, or 3 (described above), depending on the students' language ability. Each paragraph may also be followed by comprehension questions. Next, the teacher, class, or individuals read the whole selection through again orally. Silent reading may follow.

Stage 3: Follow-up activities

In the Classroom. The teacher selects, according to the

aims of the lesson, exercises of the types described in "Techniques and Exercises," above. He may conduct the session orally or in writing, or may use a combination of oral and written procedure: the teacher asks questions orally--the class responds in writing--individuals are called on to read answers orally.

As Homework. The teacher may assign written exercises developed out of the day's classroom work. For example: Write out full answers to comprehension questions done orally in class. Or write a paraphrase, summary, or outline of the reading selection. Or use the new vocabulary in additional sentences.

Homework assignments also carry the student into the preparation stage of the next lesson. He may be instructed to study new vocabulary in context, or to survey the selection for main ideas, or to scan it for specific information. At the earlier levels of instruction, however, reading for full understanding will be done only in the classroom under the teacher's supervision. At the most advanced levels, on the other hand, much of the reading might be done outside the class, with the class period devoted to follow-up exercises and preparation for the next selection.

Out-of-class reading

Out-of-class extensive reading for expansion of reading skills, in contrast to intensive in-class drill in these same skills, should make use of relatively easier reading materials. Completely new vocabulary and grammatical patterns should be minimized if not avoided altogether--since the purpose is to provide a wide range of use and meaning contexts for known vocabulary and patterns. The student thus develops his skills in deducing meanings of new words and in extending the lexical range of known items.

Even though there may be no specific exercises correlated with the out-of-class reading selections, student motivation and follow-up are still important. Reading matter that appeals to student interests or needs, and which is somewhat less difficult than the classroom readings, helps encourage students to read on their own. Additional motivation can be provided by having the student read with the aim of using the information gained for some purpose, such as solving a problem, forming a judgment or opinion, or making an evaluation, etc., all of which can be reported to the teacher or the class orally or in writing.

A note on mechanical aids to reading improvement

The common classroom aids--chalkboard, pictures, charts---

may be supplemented in reading instruction by greater use of duplicated handouts than is usual in the oral-language class. Examples of vocabulary in context and collections of sentences illustrating structural patterns can be presented orally, but in a reading class they also ought to be read, and duplicating them is much more efficient and less fatiguing than writing examples on the chalkboard.

The overhead projector can also be used effectively to present examples, and it has the advantage of limiting student attention to the particular items the teacher wants him to read; pointer, mask, or marker is used to pin-point the problem. A student with his nose in a book or handout may or may not be looking at the appropriate example--a teacher never knows for sure. A further use of the projector is for pacing reading speed: a selection or exercise is flashed on the screen for a limited time only.

Special mechanical aids have been developed for teaching reading improvement to native speakers--principally the various pacer devices and the tachistoscope. Pacers are designed to increase reading speed by forcing the student to read faster under pressure. Tachiscopes and reading films are used to improve eye span and eye movement and thus increase reading efficiency. There are no reports I know of that such devices have been employed to any extent in foreign-language teaching, and in fact, their value in native-language situations has been questioned. Certain individual students do show improvement as a result of such external pressure, and the use of machines may encourage more effort from some students. But machine-induced skills must be transfered to reading that is not machine-assisted if they are to be of any real value to the reader.

S U M M A R Y

There are many more aspects of the teaching of reading than have been discussed here--including such topics as the selection of reading materials, adaptation and construction of texts and exercises, the relationship between reading and composition, teaching reading to special groups for particular purposes, and underlying linguistic factors in second language reading. This article has concentrated on matters of immediate and practical classroom application by focusing on three primary aspects of the teaching task: (1) definition of advanced-level reading goals, (2) varied techniques and exercises for achieving improvement in five reading skill areas, and (3) suggested classroom procedures

for conducting the reading lesson. The material gathered together here represents a compilation of goal definitions, exercise techniques, and suggested teaching procedures drawn from a wide variety of sources. I have tried to present it in a context broad enough so as not to obscure its relevance and applicability in the majority of teaching situations.

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39. ADVANCED READING: THE STRUCTURAL PROBLEM

David E. Eskey

CONSIDERING the objectives of many of our best students, we may think it strange indeed that specialists in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language have had so little to say about the teaching of reading. For the student in a non-English-speaking environment, the only practical reason for studying English is to gain the ability to read journals and books in that language. The fact that English is the key to much of the world's knowledge—knowledge that is mainly to be found in print--has, after all, become an international cliché. An ability to speak English may be of great importance to the student who plans to study abroad. But even this student--especially if he plans to bring a degree home--must develop an ability to read English fluently. It has always seemed strange to me that the intensive courses for foreign students offered at so many American universities consist almost entirely of aural-oral work.

I do not mean to downgrade the spoken language, but simply to suggest more reasonable priorities. It is true that most people learn to speak their own language before they learn to read and write it. But why should literate adults be forced to learn a foreign language this way? It is also true (at least historically) that every written language is to some extent based on the spoken form. Therefore, in an ideal language-learning world every reader of a language would also speak that language perfectly. But who lives in this ideal world? Many people have, in fact, learned to read languages that they do not speak perfectly, or even well. A consideration of the real needs of university students, and of many others, suggests that a near-exclusive emphasis on speech is inappropriate.

Source of the problem

The modern bias toward teaching the spoken language is the product of a theory of language learning that has dominated the field for the last 20 years, but which has recently been attacked by

both linguists and psychologists.[1] According to this theory, language is speech (of which any kind of writing is merely a rough copy), and speech in turn is a set of habits, best acquired by means of frequent repetition. It should not surprise us that the major contribution to the teaching of reading made by linguists under the influence of this theory was to demonstrate how English sounds are related to English spelling--the one aspect of reading that really must be learned as a set of new habits.[2]

The many programs for teaching English as a foreign that have been developed within this theory tend to treat reading as a means of reinforcing the learning of the spoken language. At the primary level this approach is not only sensible; it is a welcome relief from the older grammar-translation approach in which beginners were often saddled with the frustrating task of trying to read works intended for educated native speakers.

The situation at the intermediate level is not so satisfactory. There are several good textbooks available at this level[3] and a wide variety of simplified materials--from paragraphs to full-length books --that may still be regarded, with a little imagination, as mere "secondary representations" of speech. Unfortunately, however, many programs fail to take advantage of the fact that the students have already learned to read one language. And since most adult learners find it easier to read a new language than to speak it, there is no good reason to limit the student's reading to the level of his more slowly developing speech skills. Why not make the most of what the student can do?

Written versus spoken English

Whatever the situation at the lower levels, the inadequacies of the reading-as-reinforcement approach become painfully apparent at the advanced level, where the spoken and written languages are so

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[1] The best and most complete criticism of this theory is Wilga M. Rivers's The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). For a sharp attack on the basic assumptions of the behaviorist approach to language learning, see Noam Chomsky's review of B.F.Skinner's Verbal Behavior in Language, 35, No.1 (1959), 26-58 (also reprinted in Jerry A. Fodor and Jerrold J. Katz, eds., The Structure of Language, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp. 547-78).

clearly different dialects. Sooner or later the student will find himself reading a kind of English that no one speaks. Many a native speaker--who can hardly be accused of not speaking his own language --does not read well at this level. And even the most dedicated aural-oral enthusiast surely does not believe that anyone speaks in the language of, say, one of Chomsky's essays or Samuel-son's Economics. At this level there are clearly important differences between the spoken and written forms of English--differences we must try to identify and explain in teaching advanced reading.

The advanced reader faces three major kinds of problems:

1. Vocabulary problems
2. Content (especially cultural) problems
3. Structural problems

The first type of problem has received a good deal of attention, but too many teachers still de-emphasize vocabulary well beyond the point where such de-emphasis makes sense. Here again a sound strategy for teaching beginners is inappropriate for higher-level students.

The second type of problem--which, of course, varies from one kind of reading material to another--often involves a cultural difference between reader and writer. This cultural difference ranges, in ascending order of complexity, from differences in kinds and quantities of information (Will the Latin American reader correctly interpret the reference to the Alamo or to the Scopes monkey trial?) to differences in kinds of rhetoric (Will the Arab reader react as expected to the stroke of Western irony or under-statement?) to conceptual differences in ways of thinking about the world (Will the Asian reader follow the syllogistic argument?).

Since teachers generally like to lecture on cultural differences, many reading courses do give some time to these matters, but the truth is that we know very little about such problems. There is a crying need for more and better research in this area.

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[2]See, for example, Charles C. Fries's Linguistics and Reading (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

[3]Kenneth Croft's Reading and Word Study (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), for example, or more recently, David P. Harris' Reading Improvement Exercises for Students of English as a Second Language (same publisher, 1966).

It is the third area of difficulty-- structural problems-- that has received the least attention, and that I shall attempt to define here. These structural problems are a product of the complex syntax that so often characterizes un-simplified English writing. They are harder (for both teachers and students) to identify than are problems of vocabulary or content, because, while adults are still accustomed to learning new words and concepts in their own language, they have long since lost the habit of learning new syntactic structures. The student who cannot understand a passage of English will usually ascribe his difficulty to the fact that he does not know the words. But he probably does not know all the structures either, and he may be disappointed to find that after looking up the words he still cannot understand the passage. No one can make sense of a list of English words without the right set of structural frames to put them in, since meaning is partly a function of such frames. Consider, for example, the possible meanings of such words as object and tired. Does object mean "a goal," as in She is the object of my affections, or does it mean "protest," as in I object? Does tired mean "fatigued," as in She is tired, or does it mean "became fatigued," as in She tired easily, or "caused fatigue," as in Swimming tired her? Just as the meanings of the individual words of a sentence partly determine the meaning of the sentence, so also the meaning of the sentence, so also the meaning of the sentence as a syntactic structure partly determines the meanings of the words.

Teachers of advanced reading should therefore develop a conscious awareness of the syntax of written English. Although linguists have described English syntax un some detail, they have concentrated on the spoken language and have said little about the critical differences between the structures of the spoken and written languages. Since these differences have not been officially recognized or described, language teachers have made no attempt to teach them. For the reader of unsimplified English, however, these differences are important and must be learned.

To the average adult reader, a sentence in his own or any other language is simply a string of words that happens to make sense. Common sense may suggest that reading such a string is simply a matter of adding up the meanings of the words as the eye (moving, in the case of English, from left to right) takes them in. "Common sense," however, also suggests that the world is flat. The student who attempts to read a foreign language by translating

each of the words in turn and adding its meaning to a previous total will soon find himself, like a traveler in search of the edge of the world, going around in circles.

The fact is that we do not read words but constituents. In reading a page of English a skillful reader performs dozens of complex syntactical operations of which he is largely unaware. Constituents may, of course, be as small as one word (or even smaller: one morpheme), but they may also run to long and complex constructions involving substitutions, deletions, and permutations. Such complex constituents are typical of educated writing and may constitute a problem for even advanced students who have mastered the basic patterns of the language orally. Since there is no accepted list of these structures, I shall offer my own tentative summary.

Complex nominals

The structures we should logically begin with, I think, are the several kinds of embedded sentences--sentence constituents that embody all of the relationships that full sentences can signal. The best examples, for my purpose, of this kind of construction are the many kinds of complex nominals so typical of textbook prose and of technical and scholarly writing in general. These include at least four types of nominalized sentences: (1) question nominals, (2) factive nominals, (3) infinitival nominals, and (4) gerundive nominals.[4]

Question nominals are simply nominalized questions. For example, from the question Was Michelangelo a painter? We may derive the question nominal that is the italicized part of the following sentence:

The question is whether Michelangelo was a painter.

Again, from the question What did Michelangelo do? we may derive the question nominal in:

What Michelangelo did amazed the whole world.

Factive nominals reduce sentences to facts (about which other sentences can then be written). From the sentences Michelangelo

[4]The best description of these constructions is Robert B. Lee's difficult but rewarding monograph The Grammar of English Nominalizations (The Hague: Mouton, 1960). During the past ten years, the theory of transformational grammar has undergone a number of important changes and Lees' study is therefore somewhat out of date theoretically, but it is still the best study of its kind for any reader willing to take the trouble to work through it.

was a sculptor and He sculptured the beautiful Pietà we may derive the factive nominals that are italicized in the following sentences:

That Michelangelo was a sculptor is another well-known fact.

We know (that) he sculptured the beautiful Pietà.

Question nominals and factive nominals are, syntactically, the simplest kinds of nominalized sentences. They retain the full set of verbal categories--tense, mood, aspect, and voice--in their regular forms. And they are signaled, in each case, quite simply: question nominals, by substituting the required question word and moving it to the front of the string; factive nominals, by adding that (or, optionally, nothing, after certain words).

Infinitival nominals and gerundive nominals deviate more radically from normal sentence form. From the set of verbal categories they retain only (a) voice--which all embedded sentences include--and (b) the "earlier than" relationship signaled by the perfective marker have:

For Michelangelo to come to Rome was the earnest desire of the Pope...

What the Pope arranged for was for Michelangelo to come to Rome....

The Pope arranged for the Sistine ceiling to be painted by him. (Infinitival nominals.)[5]

His having worked so tirelessly in Rome did not prevent his accepting another commission in Florence. (Gerundive nominals.)

Infinitival and gerundive nominals may also occur as nominalized verb phrases--more specifically, as the nominalized predicate of a sentence with a generalized subject (one or you if the referent is human) which is, then, usually deleted. It is the state of action itself, and not a particular instance of it, which is nominalized:

Painting is good for one's peace of mind. To paint your own portrait can be a kind of challenge.

For the less ambitious, Owen Thomas provides a brief summary of Lees's system in Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), pp.106-14.

[5]The basic form of these infinitival nominals is for NP to VP, as illustrated by the first two sentences of the example, in which an infinitival nominal appears, respectively, as subject and complement of its sentence. When an infinitival nominal is used as object of a sentence, the "for" is usually deleted: The Pope wanted Michelangelo to come to Rome...The Pope arranged for Michelangelo to come to Rome. In this latter sentence, as in the third

To meet the writer's needs, any sentence in English may be nominalized in any of the four ways described above and then embedded as a subject, object, or complement in a new, more complex sentence. Certain forms of each of the four kinds of constructions may complement the pro-noun phrase it:

1) It is well known that Michelangelo sculptured the beautiful Pietà.
2) It is a question whether he was a better sculptor or painter.
3) It was arranged for him to visit Rome.
4) It is pleasant painting in such a beautiful place.

Such nominalizations are sometimes called noun-phrase complements.

Closely related to these constructions, but limited to sentences with verbs that express action (that is, verbs other than be, have, seem, etc.) are action nominals and abstract nominals. Syntactically, these are rather odd: they conform to a normal pattern for noun phrases (article + adjective + noun + prepositional phrase), but the parts signal, with respect to one another, such essentially verbal relationships as subject, object, and manner:[6]

The rapid painting of the Italians surprised us all. (Action nominal)
We were puzzled by the sudden disappearance of our guide. (Abstract nominal)

For both types the concluding prepositional phrase may, oddly enough, signal either the logical subject or the logical object of the verb. The painting of the Italians, for example, may mean that the Italians paint someone or something, or it may mean that someone paints the Italians. Since gerunds (which are true nouns with none of the syntactical features of verbs) and gerundive nominals also employ the -ing ending, a sentence like the following may have three different meanings according to its syntactic interpretation:

Michelangelo's painting was unusual.

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sentence of the example in the text, the for is part of the verb arranged for rather than the sign of the nominal (which has been deleted).

[6] Lees describes these as nominalizations (in transformational terms, as transforms of full sentences). Chomsky has recently argued that they are not nominalizations ("Remarks on Nominalizations," in Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, Readings in English Transformational Grammar, Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell, forthcoming). I think Chomsky is closer to the truth; but his analysis has not, alas, made such structures any easier for foreign students to read.

The nominal Michelangelo's painting may refer to: (1) the fact that Michelangelo painted--a gerundive nominal; (2) the way he painted--an action nominal; or (3) the product of his painting, the thing itself--a true gerund. A context of some kind will usually resolve the ambiguity at once:

Michelangelo's painting was unusual, as he normally rested at that hour. (Gerundive nominal)

Michelangelo's painting was unusual, and a great many people wanted to buy it. (Gerund)

Certain complex verb phrases may include infinitives, just as infinitival nominals do. But the infinitives in these verb phrases do not function as nominals. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:[7]

1) The Pope expected Michelangelo to talk to the Cardinals.
2) The Pope persuaded Michelangelo to talk to the Cardinals.

These two sentences may appear to be syntactically identical, but if we convert the embedded sentences to the passive, a critical difference immediately emerges:

1a) The Pope expected the Cardinals to be talked to by Michelangelo.
2a) The Pope persuaded the Cardinals to be talked to by Michelangelo.

In sentence 1a the Pope's expectation is the same as it was in sentence 1. But sentence 2a differs from sentence 2 in that the Pope now seems to have persuaded not Michelangelo but the Cardinals. The syntactic difference between the sentence with expect and the sentence with persuade can be made even clearer by applying the so-called cleft-sentence test for nominals:

1b) What the Pope expected was for Michelangelo to talk to the Cardinals.

No such form of the sentence exists with persuaded (* What the Pope persuaded was for Michelangelo to talk to the Cardinals). This suggests that the infinitive following persuaded is not the object of the verb (as the infinitive following expected is).

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[7] See Chomsky's Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1965), pp.18-27, for a discussion (from which I have, with superficial changes, cribbed my examples shamefully) of this contrast. For a recent introduction to the grammar of noun and verb phrase complements, see Jacobs and Rosenbaum's English Transformational Grammar (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell, 1968). This book (a pedagogical, not a scholarly, grammar) is, in general, an excellent introduction to its subject. A late-model transformational grammar, it is written in plain English for the unitiated as well as the specialist.

It is rather a kind of complement construction that forms an integral part of the verb phrase itself--that is, a kind of verb-phrase complement.

The prevalence in certain kinds of writing of both complex nominals and complex verb phrases is strikingly attested to by these excerpts from a single page of an article in the May 1970 Encounter:[8]

"It is quite true that the future is not determined and that men, by their consciousness, by their will, help to shape it. But they have more chance of shaping a future that corresponds to their aspirations if they distinguish precisely what depends on them and what does not depend on them. ...

"Personally, at least in our time, I prefer, and it is my second argument, to teach an active pessimism, though I am not unaware that a teaching of this kind disappoints many of the very persons who share my preferences. If the development is necessary and foreseeable rather than the regime, then an objective, systematic comparison of various economic, political, and social regimes becomes necessary."

We must assume that advanced students have a reasonable understanding of relative clauses, but we cannot assume that they really understand the differences in meaning between the restrictive and non-restrictive types--which, to name them more accurately, we may call restrictive relative clauses and appositives. (I believe it is best to apply the name "relative clause" only to restrictive, or limiting, relative clauses.) Despite a superficial formal similarity, these two are very different kinds of constituents. Sentences like the following, for example, deal, literally, with quite different subjects:

The tourists who spend too much money should leave.
The tourists, who spend too much money, should leave.

The restrictive relative clause of the first sentence limits the subject to one segment of the tourists: those who spend too much money. The subject of the second sentence is all the tourists, and the appositive (or non-restrictive, or descriptive, clause) who spend too much money simply describes the subject. Un-like relative clauses, appositives do not form a part of preceding noun phrases but are simply (as the name implies) set alongside of them as

[8] Raymond Aron, "Of Passions and Polemics," p.54. I have not singled out every complex nominal but only one example of each of the six types mentioned here and one verb-phrase complement.

separate though related constituents. Since they commonly occur between subjects and verbs and thereby produce discontinuous constituents, long appositives pose a frequent reading hazard for students with a shaky grasp of English syntax.

Free modifiers

Certain participials, like appositives, seem to be members of a class of relatively "free modifiers"--that is, modifiers that are not embedded in noun or verb phrases but are embedded more loosely in the sentence as a whole. These two types of free modifiers (participials and appositives) may look very alike in certain contexts. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

Jones, a grammarian, was hanged first.

This sentence is ambiguous in that a grammarian may be a reduced form of either (1) the appositive, who was a grammarian, or (2) the participial, being a grammarian. If it is the former, then the main and embedded sentences simply stand in the basic relationship of conjunction (Jones was hanged first and Jones was a grammarian--two essentially unrelated facts). But the participial, being a grammarian, signals a cause-and-effect relationship, and so in this case the sentence would mean that Jones was hanged first because he was a grammarian.

Unlike appositives, these participial constructions may occur in several positions:

Being a grammarian, Jones was hanged first.
Jones, being a grammarian, was hanged first.
Jones was hanged first, being a grammarian.

There are at least three types of participials. Besides the being-type illustrated above, there is a passive type:

Despised by all, Jones knew better than to ask for mercy.

Then there is an "absolute" type, in which the subject--which may be different from the subject of the main sentence--appears:

Jones having been hanged, everyone breathed easier.

Since all three types can take the perfective all three types can take the perfective marker having (having been a grammarian, having been despised by all, etc.), and since the passive type can be said to be derived from a fuller form with be (despised by all, for

example, from being despised by all), the three types of participials are evidently variations on a single theme.

Certain kinds of writing in which many ideas or events, or both, must be presented and interrelated tend to make frequent use of these free modifiers. Here, for example, is part of a paragraph from a standard history of South-east Asia containing an appositive and two participials:[9]

"Uncolonised, but most concerned about its Chinese community, Thailand found it easiest to come to terms with external powers.... In independent Burma--which, of course, had only a small Chinese community, but a long border with China--the Americans were faced with idealism of a rather different source that came to affect other regimes as their independence was perfected."

Inversion

There remains a formidable miscellany of structures more common to the written than to the spoken language, which must be learned individually or at best in small clusters. These are not so much extensions of the grammar as, simply, rhetorical variants of more familiar spoken patterns. The majority of them can, in fact, be attributed to a single grammatical device: inversion.

By inversion I mean the rearranging of the usual order of constituents in a sentence. For many sentences the possibilities of arrangement are depressingly extensive--the longer the sentence, the greater, usually, are the possibilities--and this constitutes, I think, the single most important structural problem that readers of advanced written English must deal with. When we native speakers speak English, most of us stick to shorter sentences and to the basic patterns that foreign students learn; but in writing we attempt to order our thoughts and therefore our sentences in more precise, but less familiar, ways. For this purpose English syntax is surprisingly well-suited. The importance of word order in the English sentence has, I think, been greatly exaggerated. It is true, of course, that the order of words within constituents is relatively rigid in English, but constituents is relatively rigid in English, but constituents themselves may be moved around with considerable, and sometimes confusing, freedom. Inversions thus provide the native-speaking writer with an indispensable stylistic device, but the sentences that result may prove extremely difficult for the foreign reader to understand.

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[9] Nicholas Tarling, A Concise History of South-east Asia (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 245.

I witnessed recently a striking example of the difficulty that inversion can cause, in a class of Thai teachers of English, many of whom spoke the language fluently. As part of an exercise meant to contrast restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers, one student had composed the following pair of sentences:

The girl I saw was Mary.
The girl, I saw, was Mary.

The class unanimously accepted the first sentence but rejected the second as un-grammatical. The instructor, a native speaker, then pointed out that both of the sentences are grammatical, although they have different meanings. Granted that the context was originally misleading, this should surely have been enough to direct the students' thinking toward the right interpretation of so simple a sentence. Yet not one member of this class of teachers was able to identify the second sentence as a variant of the sentence I saw (that) the girl was Mary. How can such students avoid getting lost among the many inversions of English prose?

Then, too, there are constructions that in themselves entail unpredictable inversions:

Seldom has John made such a mess of an exam.
Had she studied a little longer, Mary might have done better.

The inverted clause in the second sentence is one of several formal variants of the simple cause-and-effect relationship usually signaled by an if clause in speech. Compare, for example, If John worked harder, Mary would too to the following alternatives:

If John were to work harder, Mary would too.
Should John work harder, Mary would too.

The list of such variants can, of course, be considerably expanded at any of the points where the spoken and written dialects diverge. It may even include certain single words, like thereby, albeit, and notwithstanding, or more familiar terms put to potentially misleading new uses:

However hard he tried, John could never please Mary.

Obviously, such examples can be multiplied indefinitely, but these few should suffice to show that the structures of speech and writing sometimes differ, and that some of these differences may have to be taught in advanced reading programs.

For a sample of written usage, and the written style in general, we need go no further than the first few sentences of a recent best seller, Robert Ardrey's African Genesis:[10]

"Not in innocence, and not in Asia, was mankind born. The home of our fathers was that African highland reaching north from the Cape to the Lakes of the Nile. Here we came about--slowly, ever so slowly--on a sky-swept savannah glowing with menace."

I doubt that Mr. Ardrey talks this way, nor do I talk as I am writing now.

Summary

All of these potentially confusing structures that we have considered--confusing, that is, to new readers of the written dialect --may be conveniently assigned to one of four major categories: (1) complex noun phrases; (2) complex verb phrases; (3) free modifiers; and (4) a miscellaneous set of structures common to the written but not the spoken language. Most of them will not, of course, be wholly new to the advanced student of English as a foreign language. Such a student will have had some experience with them. But unless he has done considerable reading, his experience will have been fragmentary and limited. He will not have acquired a conscious knowledge (one alternative to the native speaker's unconscious but gradual acquisition of this same knowledge) of the way the structures really work within the complex sentences of advanced written English; and the new and longer forms in unexpected new contexts that he will inevitably encounter in his reading may frustrate even the most fluent speaker of the language.

Part of our responsibility as teachers of advanced reading must thus be, first, to identify the problem structures, and, second, to find some effective means of teaching our students to read them with understanding. □

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10. New York: Atheneum, 1961.

40. ADVANCED READING: TEACHING LOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Vivian Horn

WHEN THE MAIN emphasis in teaching English as a second or foreign language was on reading (in the heyday of the Michael West readers), attention focused on vocabulary control. The selection and rate of introduction of vocabulary were main concerns; that is, the approach was strongly word-centered. With the development of audio-lingual methods, the emphasis shifted to the teaching of phonology and structure, and the approach became sentence-centered. Now reading is getting more attention than it has in recent years, and there seems to be a trend toward an approach that might be called discourse-centered. Far too little is known, however, about ways to deal with the reading problems of non-native speakers of English.

Factors in comprehension

The comprehension of written language involves a large number of factors: lexical, grammatical, and cultural meanings; connections between sentences; paragraph structure; the organization of longer selections; and many other elements. Connected discourse calls for reading skills in addition to those required for the reading of individual sentences. Just as a student who reads word-for-word may end up by failing to comprehend the meaning of the sentence in which the words occur, a student may read sentence-by-sentence and fail to grasp the meaning of a paragraph because he does not sense the relationships between sentences.

The necessary skills, particularly in the reading of expository discourse, involve the recognition of logical as well as lexical and structural relationships, for the three are inextricable. I feel that in trying to help non-native speakers with reading we should pay more attention to logical relationships than we usually have done, for our students may be accustomed to conventions of reasoning and rhetoric quite different from those they will encounter in their reading of English. These differences in logical relationships may, in fact, be so great as to cause as much interference from the student's own language habits as do the phonology and syntax of English. Nevertheless, it is common for English textbooks for foreign students to mention logical relationships only in an exercise or two on the use of connectives such as however, moreover, therefore, etc.

The ways in which native speakers of English express ideas in expository writing are a heritage of the oral rhetoric of their Greek and Roman cultural forebears. But these conventions and habits are by no means universal--they are notthe ways in which peoples from other cultural backgrounds think and reason and order their ideas in written form. As Robert Kaplan has pointed out, we need to consider these cultural aspects of logic and rhetoric in the teaching of English as a foreign language and learn more about "contrastive rhetoric."

If we are to give more attention to logical relationships, we must teach them in a systematic way. This immediately brings up the question of just what we shall teach. When textbooks deal with methods of paragraph development, whether from the point of view of writing or of reading, they ordinarily cite a limited number of devices, such as example, definition, comparison and contrast, cause and effect, and combinations of these methods. The textbooks authors frequently state that while they are mentioning only a few--the "most useful" or the "most common"--of these methods or relationships, the actual number is unlimited. It seems more accurate to say that there is a limited number of such logical devices but that they can be combined or manipulated so as to achieve an unlimited number of variations.

This matter of limitation has an important bearing on the teachability of logical relationships. It would presumably be reassuring to the student to know that the logical relationships he encounters in his reading recur constantly and are limited in number, and that consequently while he is reading expository, or "study-type," material, he is dealing with a distinguishable "set" and not just working out a puzzle with endless variations. In other words, if he learns to recognize a definite list of logical relationships, he is likely to be able to cope with the relationships he will find in all his information reading.

Categories of relationships

In an attempt to find out whether the number of basic logical relationships could be contained in a fairly limited list, I examined paragraphs of expository material published for use in the teaching of reading to foreign students. As the basis for the examination I used a list of "meaning relationships" presented in a composition textbook by Jones and Faulkner.[1] Their list is as follows:

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[1] Alexander E. Jones and Claude W. Faulkner, Writing Good Prose (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961, 1968). A similar list is presented by Richard L. Larson, "Sentences in Action: A Technique for Analyzing Paragraphs," College Composition and Communication, XVIII (1967), 16-22.

Alternative	Example
Amplification	Generalization
Answer	Inference
Cause	Parallel Idea
Comparison	Question
Contrast	Related Action
Definition	Restatement
Evaluation	Result
Evidence	Summary

In examining the paragraphs I tried to identify, in terms of these 18 categories, the relationship of each sentence to the preceding it. It proved possible to classify all the sentence pairs, although in some cases, for the sake of practicality, I made modifications in the content of the individual categories as described by Jones and Faulkner. The Amplification category, for example, I made rather flexible and inclusive, simply for convenience. The purpose of my analysis was not to make a minutely detailed classification but to arrive at a set of "workable" categories into which the sentences could be fitted without too great a degree of problem-solving on the part of the reader. Logicians undoubtedly could find much to quibble about in the classifying that I did, but my goal was to avoid technicalities as far as possible.

An example, with the sentences numbered for easy reference, may show how the classification works:[2]

A

For thousands of years men had to depend on sails to catch the wind and move their ships. But these early sailing ships had certain disadvantages. They were slow and clumsy, and they could not carry much cargo. If the trip was long, the cargo spoiled. And worst of all, there was real danger in depending on the wind alone. A calm sea could trap sailors for many days without water to drink, while a heavy storm might tear the sails so badly that they were useless.

In this paragraph, the relationship of sentence 2 to sentence 1 is that of Contrast, signaled by But. Sentences 3, 4, and 5 are classified as Amplification, because they amplify the word disadvantages in sentence 2. Sentence 6 is also Amplification, because it amplifies the word danger in sentence 5. (It is thus a case of sub-amplification-- that is, amplification of Amplification.)

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[2] National Council of Teachers of English, Our Changing World (Book 4, English for Today). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Comp., 1966. p. 10.

Another example:[3]

B

Regional rather than national differences often characterize the people of certain areas and add another element of diversity to the population of America. The works of American poets, authors, musicians, and artists often reflect their ancestral background or portray typical features of the region where they live. Exaggeration of regional differences forms the basis of much American humor. The New Englanders have lived for generations on rocky soil and have had to labor hard to gain a living from their farms. They have a reputation, not wholly correct, for being silent and stern and careful with their money. Texas is so big that Texans think of everything connected with the state as being equally large: all ranches are as big as counties and every man is at least eight feet tall and lights his cigar with a thousand-dollar bill. It is true that Texas is favored in natural resources, but neither the state nor the people are quite as big as the native would have you think.

Here both sentence 2 and sentence 3 are related to sentence 1, in each case by Amplification. The other relationships are classified as: sentence 4 to sentence 3, Example; sentence 5 to sentence 4, Amplification; sentence 6 to sentence 5, Example; sentence 7 to sentence 6, Evaluation.

While making the classification, I found it convenient to arrange the sentences of each paragraph in vertical order and to use a marginal system of notation to indicate the relationship of each sentence to the one preceding it. The notations consisted of abbreviations of the terms listed above: Al for Alternative, Amp for Amplification, Ctr for Contrast, etc. With this arrangement, example A would look like this:

C

For thousands of years men had to depend on sails to catch
the wind and move their ships.

Ctr But these early sailing ships had certain disadvantages.

Amp They were slow and clumsy, and they could not carry much cargo.

Amp If the trip was long, the cargo spoiled.

Amp And worst of all, there was real danger in depending on the wind alone.

Amp A calm sea could trap sailors for may days without water to drink, while a heavy storm might tear the sails so badly that they were useless.

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3. Gladys G. Doty and Janet Ross, Language and Life in the USA Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson and Company, 1960, p.216.

But is underlined to identify it as the signal that determines Contrast. The broken underlining of disadvantages and danger indicate that they are amplified in the sentences following.

Another example (in which Ca stands for Cause, Def for Definition, Re for Result, Evl for Evaluation):

The other reason for the small number of amendments is that there has not been much need for them.

Amp The fact is that the Constitution keeps changing through the years even without amendments.

Ca This is because our Constitution is flexible.

Amp It can be "stretched" to fit new situations without changing its basic principles or ideas.

Def The United States Constitution is really no more than a simple statement of principles, plus an outline for the organization of our national government.

Def The details of how the government is to work are left to the President, Congress, and other officials.

Re The Constitution can, therefore, be interpreted or used in such a way that it adapts itself to changing times and changing needs.

Evl This is the great strength of the Constitution of the United States.

Evl It is a living document which remains firm and strong at the same time that it changes and grows with the growth of the nation.[4]

Relationships sometimes fall into more than one category, and we must make arbitrary judgments. Even without this overlapping, two persons may not categorize relationships in exactly the same way. Nevertheless, I found the fitting of all sentences into the classification scheme to be entirely workable.

Steps in teaching

I suggest that the procedure described has possibilities as a useful device for teaching the logical relationships.[5] The first step would be presenting pairs of sentences illustrating each of the

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4. Dora F. Pantell and Angelica W. Case, We Americans, New York: Oxford Book Company, 1959.

5. I also use the marginal marking system to indicate subordination and coordination of sentences, but here I omit this part of the procedure. I am indebted to Professor Robert L. Allen, Teachers College, Columbia University, for suggesting this marginal marking device.

relationships listed. (Jones and Faulkner have excellent examples of such sentence pairs in their book.) When students prove able to identify the relationships in this form, they can go to identifying the relationships as they occur in paragraphs. With the sentences presented in vertical order, students can mark them in the margin. This kind of practice, of course, should begin with easy paragraphs and progress to the more difficult. Students must not only be alert to signals like but, for example, also, therefore, etc., but must also learn to recognize relationships not indicated by such obvious signposts. When they have acquired facility in identifying relationships in this vertical arrangement, they can advance to marking paragraphs in which the sentences appear in conventional format.

As an example of how this last step might work, I give an excerpt from a textbook on psychology, marked as a student might mark it after practicing with paragraphs arranged as illustrated above. (New abbreviations in this selection are: PI, Parallel Idea, Inf, Imference; Ev, Evidence; Ex, Example.)

Since the very earliest studies of adolescence, stress has been placed upon the characteristic intellectual development of the period. There is such an increase of mental power that subject matter too difficult for freshmen in high school or in college is easily learned by the same pupils when they become seniors. A high school Amp
teacher notes also marked increases in judgment, reasoning, com- PI
prehension, and memory. Some of the observed development in mental Ca
power comes from neutral growth, but part of it is doubtless due to the piling up of experience and knowledge. By the end of the eighth grade a child has accumulated a considerable store of basic infor- Amp
mation and has reduced many simple skills to such an automatic level that he can use them in his thinking. He has, for instance, acquired meanings for about ten thousand words, and therefore has Ex
a vocabulary with which to think. Several mathematical skills are now habitual, many elementary scientific facts have been thoroughly Ex
absorbed, and there has been considerable experience with cause and effect relationships. The childhood years may thus represent a gradual development of sufficient experience to serve as a basis If
for more complicated thinking. In many curves of learning one Ev
finds long plateaus covering the periods during which basic skills are being acquired. At the end of such plateaus there is usually Ev
a sudden and marked rise in learning rate.[6]

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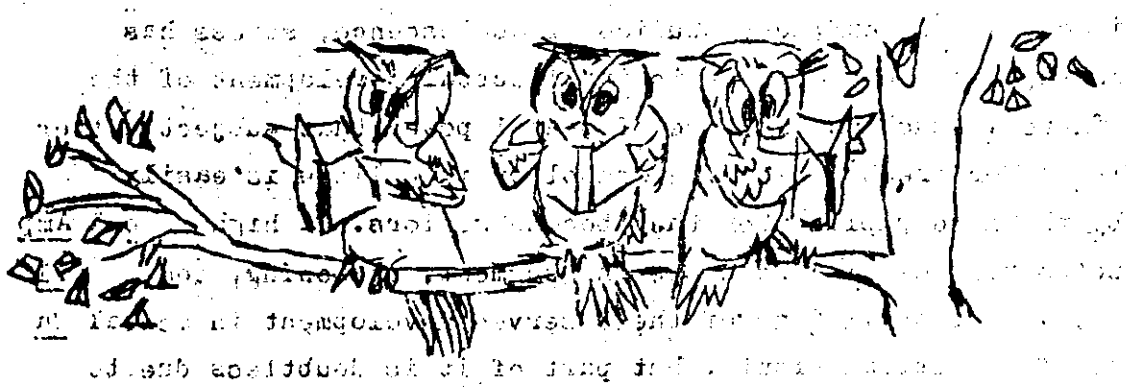
[6]Luella Cole and Irma Nelson Hall, Psychology of Adolescence, 6th ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964.

My principal aim in this article has been to point out that the logical relationships can be contained in a fairly limited list and to suggest an approach for using this list as a teaching aid in the comprehension of written exposition. Only a trial of the suggested devices, of course, will show whether they are effective for you.



41. WRITING: A THINKING PROCESS

Nancy Arapoff

Suspicions

What is Arapoff's basis for insisting that writing is a thinking process?

Do you agree with Arapoff that reading is a passive process?

Restate briefly the explicit differences, as supplied by this article as well as from your own experience, between writing and speaking.

Choose a dialogue similar to the one Arapoff presents on page 203. Using her model, prepare samples of the various types of writing that follow her dialogue. What specific skills are required for each type that could constitute a problem in teaching writing?

WHY TEACHING WRITING IS DIFFERENT
FROM TEACHING OTHER LANGUAGE SKILLS

For some years linguists have been writing textbooks designed to teach foreign students spoken English. But only recently, as teachers have found that many students want and need to learn how to write English as well as to speak it, have linguistically-oriented textbooks designed to teach written English appeared. These textbooks have a number of approaches, from variations on the "copybook" method at one end of the spectrum to the "free composition" method at the other end. No doubt most of you have tried some of these approaches, and, I suspect, found all of them lacking in some way. In my experience, this lack has always been in efficiency. None of the textbooks so far published seems to teach anything that cannot be learned from other ESOL courses: from courses in oral production, grammar, or reading.

Obviously, grammar, aural comprehension, reading, and even oral production are to varying degrees involved in writing. Certainly we cannot teach a writing course which never touches on these areas. But at the same time teaching a writing course which covers only these areas is redundant. Given the limited time most of us have to teach students as much as we can about English, we ought to, if purely for efficiency's sake, use a method which teaches the students something they will not learn in their other courses; something they cannot learn from conscientiously translat-

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ing vocal symbols into orthographic ones, from oral or written pattern practice, or from reading; i.e., a method which emphasizes that which is unique to writing.

Writing is much more than an orthographic symbolization of speech; it is, most importantly, a purposeful selection and organization of experience. By experience I mean all thoughts-facts, opinions, or ideas-whether acquired first-hand (through direct perception and/or actions) or second-hand (through reading or hearsay). This includes all kinds of writing from the poem to the scientific experiment, for all have a purpose and an organized body of selected facts, opinions, or ideas. How clear the purpose, and how relevant and well-organized the facts, determines the effectiveness of the writing.

Since, then, learning to write does not just involve learning to use orthographic symbols, but primarily how to select and organize experience according to a certain purpose, it follows that teaching our students to write is different in a very important way from teaching them to speak or teaching them to use grammar. A purposeful selection and organization of experience requires active thought. When writing, the students must keep in mind their purpose, think about the facts they will need to select which are relevant to that purpose, and think about how to organize those facts in a coherent fashion. The process of learning to write is largely a process of learning to think more clearly.

On the other hand, learning to speak and learning grammar essentially involve learning not to think. The goal is to form habits; the procedure is to drill the students on pronunciation or grammar to the point where they will no longer have to think about what they are saying. It is more than likely that the habit-forming process which students of oral English and grammar must go through interferes with the process of learning to write well.

And the students don't learn to write via a reading course, either. Although, unlike pronunciation and grammatical production, the process of reading requires thought, it does not, as does writing, also require activity. Reading is a passive process while writing is active. Although they can learn through reading how various writers have selected and organized facts in order to carry out a specific purpose, the students themselves must ultimately be forced to undergo the intense mental activity involved in working out their own problems of selection and organization if they are ever really going to learn to write. This is why the copybook approach, which requires that the students copy or emulate certain writings, doesn't work very well, for while it does require that the students memorize struc-

tures, thereby increasing their grammatical ability, and perhaps even teaching them something about style, it does not require them to do much thinking.

Because the combination of thought and activity are unique to writing, we must in planning a writing curriculum devise exercise which necessitate intense concentration. While grammar and reading are both certainly indispensable to such a curriculum, they must be presented in such a way that students will learn to use them as tools. For example, one of the first things they will have to learn is that writing has certain structural differences from speech. One difference is that writing generally has longer sentences-what might be two or three sentences in speech is often only one sentence in writing. So the students should learn how to combine the short sentences of spoken English by modification, or by using sentence connectors of various kinds (conjunctions, words like however, therefore, phrases like in the first place, etc.). This involves learning grammar, but the students should learn to consciously select and use various grammatical devices with which to combine sentences as the problems arise in a writing situation: e.g., when they convert a dialog or narration into a paraphrase.

Of course, one of the biggest problems in teaching writing is that the students must have facts and ideas in order to write and that these must be manifested in the form of grammatical English sentences. But if we allow them to use the facts and ideas gained from their first-hand experiences, they will think of these in their own language and then try to translate them word-for-word into English, often with most ungrammatical results. This is why the free composition approach to teaching writing is just as unsatisfactory as the copybook method, but in a different way. The students make so many grammatical errors that their composition loses much of the original meaning.

We can, however, avoid the problems caused by the students' limited knowledge of grammar and of the idioms of English by requiring that instead of using the facts of first-hand experience, they use second-hand facts gained through the vicarious experience of reading. Since what is unique in learning to write is not so much learning to state facts they will be required to use in the form of reading assignments. By using sentences gleaned from reading they can avoid making grammatical errors and actively concentrate on the purposeful selection and organization of these sentences; i.e., they can concentrate on thinking.

A NEW METHOD FOR TEACHING WRITING

Contending, then, that learning to write is a process whereby students learn to use grammar and facts as tools in carrying out a particular purpose, we are confronted with the question of precisely how we are going to teach them

do this. Obviously, just as writing is a process, so too is the teaching of writing. We must proceed by stages from simple to complex. Because we cannot expect students to learn all there is to learn about writing at once, or even in a short time, we must in some way control the complexity of the writing they will be expected to do at various learning stages.

We can do this by controling the purpose of the writing, for it is largely the purpose the writer must implement which determines the complexity of the selecting and organizing process. While a purpose of some sort is inherent in any kind of writing, it is the writing with an explicit rather than an implicit purpose that we shouldteach: i.e., expository prose. This kind of writing, because it "exposes" its purpose, lends itself much more easily to analysis than does writing with an implicit purpose (i.e., "fiction" or " literature " or "creative writing"), and therefore it is easier to teach. Too, expository prose is the only kind of writing that the students will need to use in their school work (except for assignments given in certain specialized English courses). Finally, the students will learn a great deal about all kinds of writing from learning to write good expository prose.

There are roughly three types of expository prose that students regularly use in school: these are lecture and reading notes, answers to examination questions, and research or critical papers. Each type has a different general purpose: note-taking is intended to report the facts, an answering exam questions to explain them, and paper writing to evaluate them. Each purpose-reporting, explaining, and evaluating-requires a selecting and organizing task of differing complexity.

For example, a student whose assignment is to summarize an essay has a purpose of the first type: reporting. His summary might begin with an assertion like: "The essay 'We shall Overcome' says that the Negro is slowly making gains in status." This assertion tells us that the writer will use facts selected from the essay which exemplify the Negro's gain in status and that he will organize them in much the same order as they appeared in the essay.

But a student asked in an essay exam to write on, say, the types of gains in status the Negro has made must go through a more complicated process of selection and organization. His beginning statement might read: "The essay, 'We shall Overcome' lists gains in status the Negro is making which can be classified as either material or spiritual," and he will have to explain the facts he selects by organizing them into two categories-a more complex process than reporting, requiring deeper thought.

An assignment which requires that the student write a paper giving his opinion of an essay necessitates a still more complicated selecting and organizing process. He will have to begin with an assertion like: "The essay 'We shall Overcome' is a realistic appraisal of the Negro's gain in status," and then he will have to cite evidence making a case for his opinion; i.e., he will have to evaluate the facts.

The curriculum for writing, then, should be planned in accordance with the three general types of explository prose the students will need to use in school: prose which reports, prose which expalins, and prose which evaluates. Of course, such a task isn't simple, Teaching beginners or near beginners in English how to summarize, for example, is not a one-step process. Before they can do this successfully, they must learn to recognize structural and semantic clues which identify the important ideas within a given piece of prose. And the most efficient way for them to learn to do this (if we remember that writing involves the unique combination of thought and activity) is by having them use such clues in their own writing. Similarly, teaching reasonably sophisticated students how to write essays involves the complex process of teaching them how to find topics and sub-topics, how to recognize relevant similarities or differences between facts, and how to make assertion about their findings. Finally, teaching even advanced students how to judge various written pieces on a logical basis is a very involved process which includes teaching them to recognize the two parts of an argument, how to look for fallacies in these, and how to compose their own logically sound argument.

So, although there may be only three general types of expository prose, teaching these is a long process which takes the students through several stages of writing, beginning with a form very close to speech-direct address-and ending with a form very different-a footnoted thesis. Naturally, as the purpose of the writing becomes more complex, the facts that the students are given to use must become more complex also. However, the teaching process can be most clearly illustrated by showing how the facts from one simple six-line dialog could be used in all stages of writing, from simple to complex :

Bill: Hi, Mary.
Mary: Hi.
Bill: Where are going?
Mary: To the beach. Why don't you come along?
Bill: I think it's going to rain. Look at those clouds.
Mary: It <u>can't</u> rain again today! It's rained every day this week.

Direct address

"Hi, Mary," said Bill.
"Hi," the girl answered.
"Where are you going?" he asked.
"To the beach," Mary replied. "Why don't you come along?"
"I think it's going to rain." Bill pointed "Look at those clouds."
"It can't rain again today!" his friend exclaimed. "It's rained every day this week."

Narration

Bill greeted Mary.
Mary greeted Bill.
He asked her where she was going.
She said that she was going to the beach. She asked Bill to go along.
He answered that he thought it was going to rain. He told Mary to look at the clouds.
Mary said that it couldn't rain again that day. It had rain every day that week.

Paraphrase

Exchanging greetings with Mary, Bill asked her where she was going. She said that she was going to the beach, and asked Bill to go along; however, he said that he thought it was going to rain, and told Mary to look at the blouds. But Mary said that it couldn't rain again that day because it had rained every day that week.

Summary

When Mary asked Bill to go to the beach with her, he said that he thought it was going to rain, and told her to look at the clouds. However, she said that it couldn't rain again that day since it had rained every day that week.

Factual analysis

Topic # 1: Mary

1. Mary asked Bill to go to the beach with her.
2. She said that it couldn't rain again that day since it had rained every day that week.

Topic # 2: Bill.

1. Bill thought it was going to rain.
2. He told Mary to look at the clouds.

Assertion

Bill and Mary had opposite ideas about the weather: he was a pessimist and she was an optimist.

Essay

"The Pessimist vs. The Optimist"

Bill and Mary had opposite ideas about the weather: he was a pessimist and she was an optimist.

When Mary asked Bill to go to the beach with her one day, he was very pessimistic, telling her that he thought it was going to rain, and to look at the clouds. On the other hand, Mary was optimistic. She said that it couldn't rain again that day since it had rained every day that week.

People like Bill, who notice in the sky, are pessimists, while people like Mary, who don't notice them, are optimists.

Argumentative analysis

Argument 1) : premise-there are clouds in the sky; conclusion-it is going to rain.

Argument 2) : premise-it has rained every day this week; conclusion-it can't rain again today.

Evaluation of the arguments

Argument 1) is reasonably sound: the evidence is both verifiable and relevant although the conclusion may be somewhat hasty. Argument 1) is fallacious: the evidence is forifiable but irrelevant, or, if relevant, leads to an opposite conclusion.

Critical review

In the essay "The Pessimist vs. The Optimist" by _____ in _____, Bill argued that it was going to rain because there were clouds in the sky, while Mary disagreed saying that it couldn't rain again that day because it had rained every day that week. Bill's argument was stronger than Mary's.

Bill's evidence was both verifiable and relevant. He said that there were clouds, which anyone could immediately verify by looking toward the sky. Since rain occurs only when there are clouds, certainly the evidence-clouds in the sky-was relevant to the conclusion that it was going to rain. However, the conclusion may have been somewhat hasty; it does not always rain when there are clouds. But Bill's argument was reasonably sound.

On the other hand, Mary's arguemnt was fallacious. Her evidence, like Bill's was verifiable: one could check with the Weather Bureau. But from the fact that it had rained every day that week it did not follow that it therefore could not rain again that day;

the evidence was irrelevant. In fact, a stronger logical case could have been made for the opposite conclusion: that because it had rained every other day that week, it would also rain that day, since in some areas there is a rainy season during which it rains almost everyday.

Therefore, Bill's argument was soundor than Mary's, and from the evidence given in the essay, the chances for rain that day were higher than the chances for a good beach day.

Term paper

Contrasting Opinions About Weather.

People were often either pessimists or optimists about the weather. Evidence of this is widespread. One example is the case of Bill and Mary in the essay "The Pessimist vs, the Optimist" ...

Each of the above examples of writing is, of course, the product of several lessons and "practices," Even learning to convert a dialog into what appears to be a simple form-direct address-involves learning a number of concepts about punctuation, about speaker identification, about stylistic variety. Learning to write a narration involves learning to change verbs to other tenses. to change first and second person pronouns to third person, to change words like now and here to then and there and so forth. A given lesson; then, is designed to teach just a few of many concepts that the students need to learn at a certain stage of the writing process.

The following two lessons appear in the mimeographed text-REPORTING THE FACTS-which we are now using at the University of Hawaii, and they illustrate how learning to write can be a step-by-step process, but at the same

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Compare the two models below.

Narration:

Liz called Mary. She told her that it was almost nine o'clock. They had better drive to school.

Mary told Liz that her car had a flat tire. They would have to walk. They would probably be late.

Liz said that she didn't mind being late. They needed the exercise. It would be good for them to walk.

Paraphrase:

Liz called Mary, and told her that it was almost nine o'clock, so they had better drive to school. Mary told Liz that her car had a flat tire; therefore they would have to walk. They would probably be late as a result. Liz said that she didn't mind being late; besides, they needed the exercise, so it would be good for them to walk.

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2. In what ways are so, therefore, and as a result similar in grammatical usage to and, in addition, and besides?

3. Therefore and as a result occur in the same position and have the same punctuation. How does so compare with them in this?

4. What are some other sentences that can be connected by so, therefore, and as a result?

5. Make a paraphrase out of the narration below. Use so/therefore/as a result as well as and/in addition/besides where appropriate.

Liz asked Mary how she liked French I. She asked her if she was planning to take French II the following semester.

Mary said that the teacher gave them a lot of homework. She had to stay up late doing it. It was difficult. They also had to memorize a long list of words for each lesson. She didn't like French I. She wasn't going to take French II.

Liz said that she had been thinking of taking French. She was glad Mary had warned her about it. She thought she would take Spanish instead.

LESSON II

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1. Compare the two models below :

Paraphrase 1) :

Liz called Mary, and told her that it was almost nine o'clock, so they had better drive to school. Mary told Liz that her car had a flat tire; therefore they would have to walk. They would probably be late as a result, Liz said that she didn't mind being late; besides, they needed the exercise, so it would be good for them to walk.

Paraphrase 2) :

Liz called Mary, and told her that they had better drive to school, for it was almost nine o'clock. Mary told Liz that because her car had a flat tire, and since they would have to walk, they would pro-

bably be late. Liz said that she didn't mind being late; besides, it would be good for them to walk because they needed the exercise.

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2. What are the differences in the grammatical usage of <u>therefore/as a result</u> and <u>because/since</u>?
3. In what ways are <u>and</u>, <u>so</u>, and <u>for</u> similar?
4. <u>For/because/since</u> and so/therefore/as a result indicate a cause-effect relationship between two sentences or clauses. Which words occur within a sentence stating the cause? The effect?
5. What is the time relationship of a cause to an effect?
6. Which of the following three sentences states a cause? An effect? Both a cause and an effect? <u>Mary told Liz that her car had a flat tire</u>. <u>They would have to walk</u>. <u>They would probably be late</u>.
7. What are some ways of writing the above three sentences using one or more of the six cause-effect sentence connectors?
8. <u>For/because/since</u> and <u>so/therefore/as a result</u> do not occur in the same cause-effect relationship, but they can occur in the same sentence. Why? Give an example.
9. Rewrite the paraphrase you did for Lesson 10. Use <u>for/because/since</u> instead of <u>so/therefore/as a result</u>. Make all of the necessary changes in punctuation and word order.

Lessons like these, then, are designed to teach only a small amount of the writing process at a time, but to teach it in such a way that the students learn to think more and more actively as they progress. They learn to read more carefully than they have in the past, for they must compare two similar but slightly different models, noting the grammatical and semantic differences between them. And they learn to discover reasons for these differences as they answer the questions following the readings. They learn to review constantly in order to compare and contrast previous lessons with the current one. Finally, they learn to make analogies as they work with an entirely different model, deciding whether their changes in the new model are justifiable on the basis of changes made in the old model.

As they go through the lesson, then, the students learn that grammar and semantics are interrelated, and that they are important tools for them to use consciously in order to make coherent pieces of prose out of different sets of English sentences. In short, they learn, first and foremost, that writing is a thinking process.

42. GUIDED COMPOSITION

Gerald Dykstra

and

Christina Bratt Paulston

What advantages for the teacher and for the students are claimed by the authors if the composition techniques described in this article are used?

Choose a reading passage that would be suitable for a group of students known to you; then, draw up a number of steps similar to the examples given on page 210 and rewrite the passage following your steps. What difficulties do you encounter? How may these be eliminated?

Where would the composition techniques suggested in this article fit on Prator's manipulation-communication scale?

Teachers of English as a foreign language make extensive use of control in the oral-aural reading aspects of language learning. The claim is being made that there is far too much use of control. But this claim does not extend to the writing aspect, simply because control has been minimal in this area. Without directly entering the dispute about the value of control, we suggest it would be nice if the profession had available a range of tools which permitted control in writing, so that teachers would have available to them the choice of use or rejection.

In teaching written English, the concept of control has taken longer to become established. Recently, however, several articles and texts have appeared dealing with this topic. In the texts, the control is regularly of the kind which employs several composition exercises to cover one grammatical feature, the first composition rigidly controlled while the last is almost a free composition. The next grammatical feature to be covered is again highlighted in several composition exercises, the first of which is rigidly controlled and the last almost free writing. There is thus in this type of control a constant change in the rigidly of the language control.

Ideally it would seem that the nature of the language control should be such that it would permit a gradual elaxation throughout the programme, without returning at all to closer control.

We have experimented with such a programme and think we have found what promises to be a solution to some of the ills that befall the composition class for foreign students.

Reprinted by permission from English Language Teaching, 21, January, 1967, 135-141. Professor Dykstra is a member of the department of speech, University of Hawaii; Professor Paulston directs the English Language Institute at the University of Pittsburgh.

By the application of graded and structured language manipulations to model passages, the students' compositions can be taken from nearly full control to free composition with steadily diminishing controls. The programme allows enforcement of correct writing procedure; it gives the students a sense of progress and improvement which (a) builds confidence in their own ability to write, and (b) motivates them to further improve their writing ability. This improvement can be plotted graphically. The programme provides the students with maximum writing opportunity; they learn writing by writing, not primarily by discussing writing, nor by learning the old or the new grammar, nor primarily by reading the products of others' successful writing (watching the process would probably be more helpful anyway), nor by being taught to think. It is quite possible, however, that some, possibly all of these factors, are present to some degree in the programme. Each student is able to proceed at his own rate of speed at his own level or ability, and in so doing he covers the main grammatical features of the language. The language the student is asked to deal with is always correct; he is not asked to correct deliberate errors. The writing consists of language in context, not isolated sentences. And for overburdened teachers, one of the more notable features of the programme is that the compositions take no more than seconds to correct; rarely do they take more than a minute.

This approach is being applied to materials for grade 2 up through college composition. So fat a text for grades 8-10 and one for the college level are in existence, with the others under preparation.

The texts consist of model passages, written especially for the purpose or adapted from existing literature or selected from the writing of American and British authors. The higher the level, the longer and less controled the passages; in the text for the college level they run to about 150 words in general. With the models there are a series of steps or instructions for the student to follow in rewriting the models. Each step covers a specific language pattern. The composition, i.e., the modification of the model which the student produces, is controlled and graduated through the application of the step. A student is never asked to proceed beyond any step he can execute correctly. Each student is thus able to proceed at his own pace, independently of his classmates.

The following is a sample of a model passage from the college text. It will give an idea of the format and may serve to suggest something of the steps. Note, however, that a student is never asked to rewrite a model after the first time; the teacher will have selected only one step for him to apply to the model.

Edmund Wilson, The Wound and the Bow.

(1) In Bleak House, the masterpiece of this middle period, Dickens discovers a new use of plot, which makes possible a tighter organization: (2) And we must remember that he is always working against the difficulties, of which he often complains, of writing for monthly installments, where everything has to be planned beforehand and it is impossible, as he says, to 'tryback' and change anything, once it has been printed.) (3) he creates the detective story which is also a social fable. It is a genre which has lapsed since Dickens. The continuators of the social novel have dropped the detective story.

14-15.	Situation :	Most of the present tenses here are what is called historical present. You could just as well tell about Dickens's new use of plot in the past.
	Assignment:	Rewrite the entire passage in the past tense, beginning In Bleak House, Dickens discovered . . . See directions for rewriting the tenses.
18.	Situation:	Retell about Dickens's new use of plot.
	Assignment:	Rewrite the entire passage in the present perfect tense, beginning In 'Bleak House', Dickens has discovered . . .' See directions for rewriting the tenses.
35-38	Situation:	Write and describe Dickens's literary innovations.
	Assignment:	Sentence No. 2 contains two verb clusters in passive voice. Change them to active voice, supplying a subject for each, and rewrite the entire passage.
102.	Situation:	Pretend that you are Dickens himself, reminiscing about his writing.
	Assignment:	Rewrite the entire passage as if Dickens himself were writing. Begin In 'Bleak House', I discovered . . . You will have to make changes in the original sentence structure. Omit the last two sentences.[1]

The procedure for using the texts in this programme is the following First, the teacher estimate the number of compositions to be written during the course. For instance, during a fifteen-week course, sixty compositions will provide four a week, to as homework and two written in class. The instructor then selects from the catalogue of steps- a list of all the steps; the grammatical features they cover, and the passages they appear in-those to be covered by the class.

All students are then assigned the first step on the instructor's selected list. Each student rewrites the model in his notebook, incorpo-

[1]From Christina Bratt Paulston and Gerald Dykstra, Controlled Composition (New York: Simon Schuster, 1971).

rating the assigned changes, which he may be asked to underline. As soon as a student has finished, he brings his composition to the instructor who, familiar with the materials and the assignment, need only glance at the underlined changes to correct the composition, a procedure which should take no more than a minute. It may be added here in parentheses that if a possible copying error should escape the teacher's attention, this does not result in any serious loss of the effectiveness of the materials. A dropped article, a forgotten third person -s, soon reoccurs correctly and repeatedlyin subsequent work.

If the student's composition is correct, he proceeds to the next step on the teacher's list. If the composition is not correct, the student is asked to repeat the step but with another model, after the teacher has either explained his error or directed him to a reference grammar. The instructor does not make his list of selected steps available to the students, since each step a student writes depends on his mastery of the preceeding step and, if allowed, the students tend to charge ahead on their own, defeating to some extend the control.

After some weeks there is a noticeable range in the steps the students are working on, and the slower students are encouraged to spend some extra time in writing compositions. This is accomplished through extra homework assignments or through special conference hours or through informal 'tutorials' with a friendly neighbour, usually a native speaker of English.

The common first objection to this type of writing is that is too mechanical to have any meaning to the student. The fact is that most of the language manipulations result in an incorrect reponse if the student is not fully aware and cognizant of what he is doing. The passage quoted from The Wound and The Bow, for instance, is written in the narrative present except for the last sentences. Step 14 asks the student to rewrite the passage in the past. Unless he understands what he is writing, that is, unless the writing is meaningful to him, he will also rewrite the general present by substituting the past, and this will result in an incorrect composition. In classroom use, however, with ten groups of students, their continued satisfaction with their work and their sense of achievement and purpose give us the best answer so far to this objection. Evidently the satisfaction in producing correct even through intricate compositions[2] compensates for the loss of freedom and it results in a class

[2] At a spot check in one class, out of 280 compositions written during the semester 231 were without error.

morale which has surprised the teacher accustomed to the frustration of so many of the composition classes for foreign students. The discussion of morale by a biased investigator may seem a tenuous undertaking, but even though morale may be an unmeasurable quantity, many of its symptoms are less so, and some anecdotal evidence may not be out of place.

During a recent experiment a composition class was divided into two groups, A and B, with only Group A using the approach suggested here. Both groups were taught by the same instructor.

Group A, after the first two weeks, handed in their assignments on time; they never omitted an assignment. Group B had considerable difficulty with their essays-they wrote only free compositions. One or two essays were always late each week and a variety of excuses was offered, including frequently the protestation that the student just could not write anything correct that day and had given it up. Group B, especially in the first half of the term, often expressed feelings of discouragement, something Group A rarely did. Group B could not be said to go eager for extra assignments, while Group A throughout the term hurried to complete a composition during class so they could be assigned another for homework. There developed a sense of competition among some members of the class. On their own initiative several students in Group A made intricate charts to plot their progress, and establishing their progress graphically seemed to lend further encouragement.

Probably the clearest difference in behaviour between Group A and Group B lay in their attendance at the extra conference hour, presided over by student teachers. In the control group (Group B) only one student attended regularly while three-fourths of the students in Group A regularly attended.

There seemed to be less hesitation in asking questions in Group A. There are probably several reasons for this. The students could ask the questions privately, while the rest of the class was writing. Furthermore, they were <u>forced</u> to ask questions as well, since without the correct answer they could not proceed to the next step, and this seemed to develop the habit of asking questions. Probably the most important reason was that by the nature of the control, the students knew what questions to ask before making mistakes. These students became accustomed to writing good and correct compositions and did all possible to avoid a slowing of their steady progress; the control group never expected to write a perfect essay and the members passively accepted the red markings as their meet due.

Another conclusion from the same experiment emerged from the teaching of the student teachers assigned to the classes. Within a week, these teachers were perfectly capable of managing an extra hour of class completely on their own, using the controlled composition texts, although in oral classroom teaching they showed all the signs of the inexperienced teacher. The conclusion seems to be that the control extends both ways, toward the teacher as well as the student. The significance of this in a time of shortage of fully qualified teachers could be important. It could allow the integration of voluntary workers, student teachers, or another category of insufficiently trained teachers into a programme under a master teacher, where larger numbers of students might be efficiently taught.

Guided composition is not a panacea for all the problems of teaching composition to foreign students. There is still much that needs further exploration and experimentation. In the meantime, it will provide the profession with a substantial step toward the goal of developing a teaching tool which will permit frequent assignment of writing exercises even in large classes, at the same time assuring that the work will be substantially acceptable while permitting the student to work at a level commensurate with his ability, whether that be at a very low level or a very high one.

43. A FOCUSED, EFFICIENT METHOD TO RELATE COMPOSITION CORRECTION TO TEACHING AIMS

Donald Knapp

What are the advantages of Knapp's Method for the teacher? For the student?

Which items on the composition check-list would you modify or delete? What additions would you make? Why?

I think you will agree that the title of this paper sounds formal and safe enough, but I start reading it to you with some uneasiness. The check-list system I am going to recommend rests on at least four assumptions that most of you have probably already rejected in your composition teaching, and I don't expect that you will be easily won over. The assumptions are:

1. That composition teachers aren't proofreaders and shouldn't be.

2. That it is a mistake in itself to mark all the mistakes in a student composition.

3. That the correction of grammatical errors is only a subsidiary aim in teaching composition.

4. That giving a composition a grade is unnecessary and undesirable.

I expect to begin rather formally in setting out what we might agree on as desirable qualities in a system of composition correction, looking at the subject both from the point of view of the student and of the teacher. Then I hope to show the check-list you have in your hands can be used to meet a good many of these requirements in an effective system of composition correction. I hope you will agree that a perfect system is too much to expect, so in the last part of the paper I will try to suggest additional techniques that will compensate for its imperfections and blend with the check-list to make a workable system, one that can be recommended to you as "a focused, efficient method to relate composition correction to teaching aims."

THE SYSTEM WE SEARCH FOR

The value of any new system for teaching or correcting composition has to be determined in the last analysis by how well it does what we want done, and at what cost. A method that achieves amzing results but demands a

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Printed by permission of the author, who read this paper at the Conference on the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Tucson, Ariz., May 9, 1964. Professor Knapp is a member of the department of the teaching of English, Teachers College, Columbia University.

half-hour a day per pupil in corrections would have to be reluctantly set aside until we could retire from classroom teaching and tutor in some ignore-the-cost crash program. Even speaking 15 minutes per student per week amounts to 25 hours a week of teacher corrections if the teacher has four classes of 25 students each; no wonder early-in-the-semester hopes of a composition a week come to naught. Likewise, a method that could do wonders in stimulating expressive, imaginative writing with great sentence variety and wide-ranging vocabulary is not much use to us unless we are teaching very advanced students in a creative writing section. The problem is to find a system that recognizes the time limits within which we teachers work, but that clearly helps the students expand the use of their present patterns in clear expository writing. It has tobe a sytem that teaches the kind of writing which satisfies the student that he is expressing what he meansand which satifies his readers and instructors that his ideas are written in academically acceptable English.

QUALITIES OF A DESIRABLE SYSTEM OF COMPOSITION CORRECTION

Allow me to suggest some teaching aims and assumptions that may fit the kind of composition teaching we have been called on to do. Later I will try to relate them as far as I can to the check-list system of composition correction this paper proposes.

First, looking at composition, especially composition correction, from the student's point of view, the corrections and grades ought to be fair; they ought to represent what the student has achieved in <u>this</u> course based on the material taught by <u>this</u> teacher, rather than be a penalty for what the student didn't learn or wasn't taught in previous classes. There ought to be a feeling that the course is going somewhere, that there is a body of knowledge or a set of skills that can reasonably be learned with syllabus (as outlined in the check-list) in the time allowed. The teacher and the student should both be able to state quite definitely at any particular time what more is to do done in order to reach the course goals. There ought to be no chance for the student to feel that the writing he is expected to do represent an art, something demanding a mysterious quality that non-authors couldn't be expected to have. In a creative writing class this transmutation of writing into art might be a reasonable expectation, but not in a required basic course in composition for the non-native speaker.

Corrections ought to set reasonable tasks that the student can perform without much chance of error and with the expectation of learning something. The student, when he is making an attempt at rewriting a section marked "awkward," changing the tenses in a "condition contrary to fact"

clause, changing a comma whether these changes are indicated by a correction symbol or by the teacher supplying the correct form-cannot in most instances be considered to be learning, even if the student knows why the old form was wrong and why the new one is necessary. We only have to think back to the repetition necessary in teaching pronunciation and patterns to realize that recopying a sentence or correcting a word as a student response to teacher proofreading is only a single feeble step toward real learning.

To the teacher, there are additional considerations that a desirable system of composition teaching and correcting should reflect. Let's assume that pro-grammers are right and that learning is done in discrete units; if that is so, then a good system for composition teaching and correction ought to help break the complex of composition skills down into learnable units. At very least, a good system of composition correction should isolate specific skills as units for focus so they can be taught efficiently. This is what we do when we teach one structure at a time in pattern drill or when we isolate one phoneme or contrast of phonemes in teaching pronunciation; the same kind of focus ought to be used in teaching topic sentences, specific transitional devices, kinds of parallel structure, and other aspects of good composition.

Related to this is another assumption supported by recent research in the psychology of learning, namely that people are more apt to learn from their successes than their failures, that positive reinforcement of right choices is most apt to increase learning efficiency. Would you agree, then, that this suggests that composition assignments ought to be stuctured so as to insure right choices in what is being taught, and correction should involve the teacher's search for successes rather than proffreading for mistakes?" "Fine improvement" on a composition covered with red marks is not very likely to reinforce those right choices the student did make, and the considerable effort of the teacher to find all the mistakes in the composition may be almost totally wasted considering how efficient people are in forgetting or ignoring what they don't want to recognize. An almost ideal system would be one in which the teacher was free of the alienating role of the error-hunter or penalizing judge and instead was able to assume a cooperating, praising role, especially with those weaker students who need reassurance and encouragement most.

At the same time, though, a desirable system should be honest; it should not mislead a student into thinking that he has mastered more than in fact he had. Grades should reflect achievement against some absolute

standard; they shouldn't be mixed up with encouragement and thus be rendered meaningless. Ideally each returned composition should show what the student had done well against a background of what he still needed to learn in order to complete the course satisfactorily.

There are clearly more criteria that we should set up for a desirable system of composition correction-and I am sure you are aware that I have chosen for mention some of those criteria I feel a check-list is most successful in fulfilling-but allow me, if you will, to go on directly to an explanation of the use of the check-list you have in front of you, one that has grown out of previous work with check-list at Teachers College by Gerald Dykstra, Emma Rutherford, and others.

THE CHECK-LIST AS USED IN TEACHING

This check-list has been used with intermediate and advanced students, most of whom had written few compositions before taking a course in composition in this country. They had mastered most of the basic structures of English, but almost all of these students retained serious troublespots that reflected their native language backgrounds; articles for Orientals, perfect tenses for Middle-Eastern, and statement-word-order clauses introduced by question words (for example, I don't know when did he go), for almost everybody. Most were not aware of topic sentences, supporting statements focusing on the central idea of the paragraph, transitional elements, and the like, even in their own languages; in their introductory compositions they generally paid little attention to formal requirements or mechanics.

This composition check-list acts as the syllabus for the course; were you to adopt it for your own course, it would certainly need revision to fit your own particular teaching aims. In operation copies of it are distributed to each of the students at the beginning of the course with an explanation that the final evaluation of the student's work at the end of the course will be based on how well he is able to show evidence in class compositions of having mastered all the items. It is made clear, though, that the first compositions will focus on only the four following items on the check-list: "A clear thesis statement that can be supported or proved" which is the first item under Rough Outline, and the items that deal with margins, indentations and clear writing that come under the heading Mechanic give a clean, orderly impression. In class the students would be shown examples of well-done thesis statements and compositions with adequate margins, clear paragraph indentation and easy-to-read handwriting or clean typing; then they could practice recognizing the items-or the lack

of them-in written work supplied to the class for examination (perhaps from last year's compositions). And finally, before they were assigned thesis statements and paragraphs for home-work the students would practice writing and critizing thesis statements and copying paragraphs with good mechanics until they were clear as to what was expected of the. They would be asked to make checks on the Composition Check-List next to those items which had been taught in that class session (in this case the thesis statement and the margins, indentation and neatness) to remind themselves that those were the items they would be expected to show mastery in when they turned in the next class session.

THE CHECK-LIST AS USED BY THE TEACHER IN CORRECTION

In correcting the composition, the teacher has three goals. The first is to see that the student has been able to use successfully those items which were singled out in the classroom teaching (and in later corrections, also those items which the teacher had previously covered in class). If the student has done well-and the teacher is probably trying to go too fast or is giving inadequate preparation if almost all the students don't do well on those items taught-the teacher marks a red plus in front of the item on the Composition Check-List to indicate that it was well done. A particularly fine job might rate a double plus, but there are no negative marks and there is no general grade given the paper. In each succeeding class session, more items are taught, and since the process is cumulative, by mid-term probably all the items on the top half of the check-list, together with those listed under Corrections and a few under Imaginative, precise use of language should regularly be receiving red pluses. Usually the student-and the teacher-enjoy a solid sense of achievement as the number of red pluses grows from week to week. Besides this, the student is always conscious of how much of the syllabus has been covered and thus how much he has achieved, over against how much is expected of him.

I am sure it will surprise most teachers that never in my experience with the use of these check-list, even with students with very grade-conscious backgrounds, has there been a request for a letter grade. Something more meaningful has been substituted in its stead. Another gratifying result is frequent student initiative in asking for help on a specific point if one of the items the student is responsible for remains without a red plus after two or three tries. You can imagine how much more fruitful this makes the student-teacher conference than when a student, anxious to defend his work and worried about his poor grades, comes to ask if there is any chance of getting a "C" in the course.

When asking the students to use some of the aspects of composition listed under the heading Imaginative, precise use of language in their homework compositions. I have found it helpful to have them use the numbers in parentheses following the items on the Composition Check-List, placing the corresponding number in their composition where they feel they have shown mastery of the item. Artful phrasing or parallel structure, for example, ca, hardly be expected in every sentence, but if parallel structure were the concern of that lesson, the student would be asked to put a (6) next to his uses of parallel construction in his composition. The teacher can identify what the student hoped he was doing, and with no uncertain, time-consuming search through the composition.

PROCEDURES FOR REMEDYING MISTAKES ON ITEMS NOT ON THE CHECK-LIST

I am sure some teachers will want to ask, What is done about mistakes? Are they just left unmarked and uncorrected with no indication to the student that there may be serious flaws in his writing? No, this would hardly be fair or honest. Often it is not the strictly compositional aspects of writing such as those listed on the check-list that make foreign student writing unacceptable; it is errors in pattern or spelling or punctuation. Together with the check-list and perhaps some short note or comment on what the composition communicated-something to acknowledge the the writer's personality and his ideas as well as to establish a communicating relationship between the teacher and the student-there are two other procedures which have been helpful, both of them concerned with outright mistakes.

CARELESS, "RED-MARK" MISTAKES

The first is a "Red-mark List" of items which the class, during the first few sessions, agrees could only be careless mistakes indicating sloppy work rather than lack of knowledge or practice. Forgotten terminal punctuation, capitals, or -s ending for present tense third person singular verbs are the kind of mistakes I mean. The teacher underlines them as a reminder of carelessness and no further issue is made of them except in extreme cases when the student may be asked to count the number of red-mark mistakes and put it in the upper righthand corner as a confession of sloppiness. Probably you will agree that continued stringent punishment on these irritating and detracting details, although it may be intended to make the student proofread more carefully, seldom does more than add to teacher and student frustration, and deflect attention away from more important things that really merit attention. A caution is

necessary, though: the teacher needs to be sure that red-mark items are on a level that truly reflect carelessness only. If the same error is made consistently, it may be that elementary as this mistake is, it has been overlooked or unlearned at an earlier state of English language learning and will have to be treated now as a new pattern to be learned.

FOCUSED DRILL ON PATTERN MISTAKES

A second procedure for dealing with pattern mistakes and others of a non-compositional nature is to revert to individual written pattern drill. Here it is important that the teacher mark only as many mistaken patterns as the student can truly master independently in the interval between compositions; then the teacher need to set up the kind of written drill that could be effective in helping the student remove this mistake from his writing. (What value would more red marks have, except to discourage the student and remind him how bad his writing is?) In most cases this focused correction would involve underlining a mistaken pattern-perhaps with the mistaken word or ending crossed out-and then writing the correct pattern in the margin with a star to identify it.

In practice, two or three of these starred correction items are about as much as most students can master by themselves in a week. Often in the case of a confusion between two patterns, or in something as confusing as the use of definite articles, it is most helpful to single out only one pattern or one of the uses to be mastered before drilling the two as contrasts. Thus, when a student mistakenly uses <u>few</u> for <u>a few</u>, there might be a note to describe the particular use and patterning of <u>few</u> and then some example sentences to use as models, but not yet a conscious contrasting with <u>a few</u>. Teaching through contrasts seem to work best when one of the contrasted items is firmly in hand, and that cannot be assumed in this case. The student is expected to write an additional 10 to perhaps 30 or 40 <u>true</u> sentences using the corrected "starred" pattern until he feels sure that he has mastered it. To make this drill homework easier for the teacher to check, the sentences are written on a separate sheet of paper headed with the correct pattern. In this way the checking can be done quickly, but it should be done only to see <u>that</u> pattern is used correctly, not to check on all the other possibilities mistakes.

This practice in writing meaningful sentences using the new-correct pattern is admittedly only a single, beginning pattern drill, so the student is also asked to copy the correct pattern on a patterns-to-be-learned list. Each week he can be asked to write sentences, each of which uses a pattern from the patterns-to-be-learned-list. A requirement

that each sentence be meaningful and verifiable will make the sentences more interesting both in the writing and in the correcting, and will help avoid useless nonsense like "I have few lions; I have few tigers," etc. This course-long review is essential for intermediate students; without it, a student often sinks back into the original mistake in just a few weeks.

That only two or three mistakes are treated this way in each composition means, however, that there are still many mistakes that are not corrected. Because of this, it is made clear to the students from the start that even their corrected compositions cannot be thought of as models; instead, the compositions have been focused exercises in writing with perhaps the added interests of communicating with the teacher and practicing the use of English in the form in which they ultimately will need to use it.

There is an additional important advantage to the teacher in being able to focus on only a few mistakes rather than cataloging them all: he can choose his own ground when teaching the use of difficult constructions. In cases where the use of the construction is only questionable, or where the pattern mistake seems almost impossible to unravel from a whole confused paragraph, the mistake can be passed over until it appears in a context that makes it a clear teaching example. Rather unhelpful comments like "awkward" or "rewrite" can be abandoned, also the long explanatory notes we sometimes feel we need to write in order to help the student understand our corrections. This focus on what is best teachable in its most self-evident context in a composition, not only makes for better teaching, but speed correction. I think you will agree that, besides the agonizing time we spend trying to settle on an honest but not too discouraging grade, it is in the marking of questionable, unclear passages that the teacher invests a disproportionate amount of time-and gets very little return from it.

SUMMARY

To sum up, this check-list method of composition tries for efficiency and focus in the following ways:

1. It eliminates proofreading, in favor of marking only those items that have teaching significance.

2. It provides for sufficient teaching and drill on the points to be learned so that they are learned, not just introduced or acknowledged.

3. It means that even grammar points and punctuation can be taught

when the teacher is ready to teach them, and in the clearest, most favorable contexts.

4. It is structured to reinforce what the students want to remember and practice-their successes-instead of trying to force them to remember and learn from their failures. (And what do we usually learn from out failures but to give the attempt up entirely?)

5. It makes basic composition into a course with knowable, achievable goals; it takes it out of the art mystique.

6. It offers both the student and the teacher specific evidence that progress is being made-and how much.

7. It lets the student feel he is being judged on his present achievement, not on his misspent past.

8. It eliminates the need for grading, and in its stead gives more precise evaluation of achievement in the separate composition skills.

9. The evaluation is direct and honest in terms of composition skills; it can be easily supported by the teacher, and accepted and respected by the students.

10. It changes the teacher's correction attitude from one of looking for errors and failures to one of looking for successes-and the students feel it.

There may be more advantages that could be claimed, but I will leave them up to those of you whose interest has been won and who look foward to experimenting in your own classrooms with composition check-list revised and tailored to your own particular needs. If your experience parallels mine, this system will not save you much time in the first year-perhaps never-but the difference in student response and in what your time accomplishes will be astonishing.

Name _____ Date _____

Subject _____

COMPOSITION CHECK-LIST

Rough Outline

A clear thesis statement that can be supported or proved

Three or more useful supporting points

Rough Draft

Shows examples of thoughtful editing

Final Draft

Mechanics give a clean, orderly impression

The title-is correctly capitalized

shows imagination in phrasing
indicates the subject clearly

Adequate margins-sides, top, bottom
Clear indentation for paragraphs
Clear, easy-to-read handwriting or typing

Logical development of one idea in a paragraph

A topic sentence that gives the idea of the paragraph
A clear controlling idea in the topic sentence
Supporting statements that focus on the controlling idea
Clear relationship or transition between sentences

Imaginative, precise use of language

Connectives used with precision to show relationship (1)
Careful, correct use of expanded vocabulary (2)
Examples of artful phrasing (3)
Correct spelling and hyphenating (4)
Correct punctuation to develop the meaning of sentences (5)
Good use of parallel structure in series (6)
Good use of phrases or clauses to modify or to tighten the expression of an idea (7)
Good selection of detail to suggest larger meaning (8)
A good conclusion that draws the paragraph together (9)

Good idea content

A clearly expressed idea, easy for the reader to understand
An interesting idea, worthy of adult communication
Challenging, original thinking

Corrections-with adequate practice to insure mastery

Corrections under all "Red Marks"
Spelling: 5 times + used in five sentences. Listed.
Focus items used in at least 10 true sentences. Listed.

44. THE SOCIAL BASIS OF LANGUAGE

David Abercrombie

In what way, if any, should language courses include instruction in phatic communion?

If an individual's language is an index to his personality, as Abercrombie suggests, in what way is that a concern of the language teacher?

Prepare yourself to discuss whether language teachers should include slang, jargon, and cant as a part of a language course.

Can you give additional examples of differences in semantic structures found in two languages? What are the implications of different semantic structures for the teaching of vocabulary? (Also, see Lado's and Prator's articles (32 and 33) for additional discussion of vocabulary).

Under what circumstances, if any, should a language course teach only literary language?

Detailed knowledge of particular languages is a necessity for the language teacher; he must have full command of the language he is teaching, and at least a descriptive acquaintance with the language of those being taught. Knowledge of the nature of language in general is not a necessity, but it is certainly a very useful adjunct to his equipment. Although general linguistics is a highly theoretical study, important practical consequences for teaching can follow from its speculations;

General linguistics is partly concerned with the problem of what language does, that is, with the functions of any and every language. It is also concerned with what languages are, how they may best be analysed, described, and classified. In other words, with the form of different languages. It is what language does, however, that the teacher would do well to consider first. An exhaustive survey would be well beyond the scope of this article, but I should like to suggest five aspects from which language, in its relation to man, society, and the world, can be considered.

1

First, language makes it possible for individuals to live in a society. It is characteristic of, indeed fundamental to, the modern point of view in linguistics to regard language as a social activity rather than as a

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means of individual self-expression. "Speech is the instrument of society," as Ben Jonson said; there is a very close connection between the two facts that man is a speaking animal, and that he is the social animal par excel lence. The definition of language as "a means of communicating thoughts" is nowadays commonly held to be, as a partial truth, more misleading than illuminating; a more fruitful definition is that language is a means of social control.

It is true, of course, that language does communicate thought, but many-perhaps most-of its use cannot really be said to involve this. When an order is given to a squal of soldiers by an officer, no thought has first to be interlight when a switch is pressed. This is a simple example of a normally more complicatedprocess; the use of language to co-ordinate activities. Any cooperative effort carried out by a number of people skilled in that operation depends entirely for its unity and success on language though that language will not be communicating thought. Anybody who, with this aspect of language in mind, has watched a team of piano movers negatitinga tricky staircase with a grand piano, has received an object lesson on speech-in-action.

There are other uses of language which are not concerned with the communication of thoughts. The conversation which English people hold about the weather, for example, do not as a rule leave the participants any the wiser; only on rare occasions can information be said to have been exchanged. As far as communicationg thought is concerned, they get nowhere, are they rhemquite pointless? No; a little reflection will show that this kind of use of language also has great social value.

Most peoples have a feeling that a silent man is a dangerous man. Even if there is nothing to say, one must talk, and conversation puts people at their ease and in harmony with one another. This sociable use of language has been given the name phatic communion. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski invented the term, "actuated" he said, "by the demon of terminologicql invention"; and although he was half in joke, the name has stuck. Malinowski defined it as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words." It enters the everyday experience of everybody, from the most highly civilised to the most primitive, and, far from being useless, this small-talk is essential to human beings getting along together at all.

The actual sense of the words used in phatic communion matters little; it is facial expression and intonation that are probably the im-

portant things. It is said that Dorothy Parker, alone and rather bored at a party, was asked "How are you? What have you been doing?" by a succession of distant acquaintances. To each she replied, "I've just killed my husband with an axe, and I feel fine". Her intonation and expression were appropriate to party small-talk, and with a smile and a nod each acquaintance, unastonished, drifted on.

Although the sense matters little, however, certain subjects only are reserved for use in phatic communion, and these chosen subjects differ widely among different peoples. Each of the following questions is, in some part of the world, good form when meeting a person:

How are you?
Where are you from?
How much money do you earn?
What is your name?
What do you know?

Some of them, however, would cause deep offence when used in other parts of the world, though in each case the replies required, and expected, are purely formal.

A knowledge of the spoken form of any language must include knowledge of its conventions of phatic communion. Conversation is impossible unless one is equipped with meaningless phrases for use when there is nothing to say, and the teacher dealing with advanced students will take care to give them command of the necessary formulas and the rules governing their use.

Grace de Laguna, in her excellent book Speech: Its Function and Development, said, " men do not speak simply to relieve their feelings or to air their views, but to awaken a response in their fellows and to influence their attitudes and acts". The profoundly social character of language should constantly be borne in mind by the language teacher.

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But language has a very individual side also: "language" (to quote Ben Jonson once again) "most shews a man; speak, that I may see thee."

When a person speaks, a listener interprets what he says as, simultaneously two quite different and separate systems of signs. An utterance consists of symbols refering to whatever is being talked about; but it is also at the same time an index to various things about the speaker, particularly his personality. These two systems of signs are quite independent of each other. In a similar way things such as gait,

or the wearing of clothes, can in addition to their main function, reveal personality; but probably no aspect of human behaviour does this so constantly or so subtly as speech. It is especially the least conscious parts of talking-pronunciation, general handling of the voice, gesture-which are the vehicle of these clues to personality. Almost everyone, when meeting a stranger, bases an immediate judgment on the way he or she talks, and we can often infer from their speech, when meeting people known to us whether they are in a bad temper, or feeling well-disposed

It is not always easy to say how present to consciousness these interpretations are. Sometimes it is only on careful reflection that an attitude taken up towards someone can be traced to his voice and pronunciation; at other times, we are full conscious of the effect of someone's voice on us. It is not always easy to say, either, to what extent the speaker intends that certain judgments should be made. There may be completely conscious control, as when an Egyptian hopes to arouse feeling of respect towards himself by introducing into his speech consonants such as (q,), which do not normally occur in the spoken Arabic of Egypt. At the other extreme is the epileptic who betrays this fact to the skilled ear by his intonation, but it as unable to get rid of the features which give him away as the malingerer is to assume them.

Judgments concerning a person made on the basis of his speech, or may not, of course, be correct. Wrong judgements are particularly apt to be made on foreigners. It is likely, for example, that English assertions concerning the excitability of Frenchman are founded on the fact that certain features of the speech of normal Frenchman are closely similar to features of exitable Englishmen's speech. Americans, again, often accuse Englishmen of superciliousness: normal English intonation closely resembles the intonation adopted by suppercilious Americans. However, speech is often an astonishingly sure guide to personality, and one, moreover, which requires very remarkable delicacy of perception, of which most people seem to be capible

Not only are certain features of speech an index to personality; they may sometimes be very strongly felt as a part of personality, and the language teacher should be prepared to encounter this. The inability of an intelligent pupil to acquire a reasonable pronunciation may not be due to a bad ear; the pupil may be resisting the attack on his personality which he (unconsciously) feels is involved in any attempt to change his pronunciation habits. The wise teacher will handle such a situation with care.

P Possibly something similar lies behind the conviction in some countries that the presence of foreign words in the language is a menace to the national consciousness. Such a feeling has never, fortunately, been effective in this country, but elsewhere it has on more than one occasion given rise to legislation. There is little chance that the English will ever substitute "folkwan" for "omnibus," but the Germans have been persuaded to say Fernsprecher for "telephone." "Man lebt in seiner Sprache," said a Nazi poet.

iii

Thirdly, forms of speech delimit social groupings, or classes, within a language community. When people congregate in a group they tend to behave in a similar way, and this similarity in behaviour, in so far as it is different from the behaviours of other, then becomes one of the factors which characterize, and so preserve, the group. Speech behaviour is deeply affected in this way: "one may wonder" wrote Edward Sapir, "if there is any set of social habits that is more cohesive or more disrupting than language habits."

Pronunciation is perhaps the most obvious point where speech behaviour is influenced by social groupings, but any feature of language may be involved. We have probably all been misleadingly taught in school that the French word tu is distinguished from vous by being employed only when the person addressed is intimately known, or is decidedly inferior—a dog or child. Tu is, certainly, employed on these occasions; but that is not the real clue to its use, and does not explain how, for example, one Frenchman could say to another on being introduced "Enchante de faire ta connaissance." The fact is that tu is regularly used, not as a sign of personal familiarity, but between members of certain social groups, political parties, and so on; and may often be used, therefore, between complete strangers.

The role of language in social differentiation helps explain an otherwise puzzling phenomenon—the existence of slang. Slang is a matter almost entirely of vocabulary. It is to be distinguished from jargon, the technical terminology of occupations and sports: the cricketer's inswinger, yorker, wrong'un, late cut; the B.B.C. engineer's mike, top, level, fade. These are practically necessities, which it would be most awkward to do without. Slang is to be distinguished also from cant, concealed or secret language. Used mainly by the cardsharp, the confidence trickster, the pickpocket, to escape conflict with the law, cant too is a necessity. But slang is puzzling because it merely duplicates the conventional vocabulary, does

not seem to be in any way necessary; and can cover almost any topic.

One powerful impulse to the creation of slang is boredom with outworn locutions, and the desire to be expressive and vivid; which is why it is nearly always picturesque and sometimes in doubtful taste. But its real explanation lies in the fact that it is always the property of a group; its use proclaims membership of that group and distinction from other groups. As a competitor in a New Statesman and Nation competition put it:

> The chief use of slang
> Is to show that you're one of the gang.

Slang is fascinating to foreigners, and acquirement of it seems to promise admission to the real intimacies of communication. As a learner of languages I have felt the fascination myself, and have often observed it in my students. Learning how, or rather when, to use slang is, however, a tricky business. Foreign students have on several occasions confided to me that they have met with signs of discomfort-even hostility-when they a have introduced their proudly acquired slang into their conversation with English students. The reaction seemed inexplicable to them. The explanation however, probably was that they had unwittingly claimed a social intimacy to which they were not entitled, producing an effect like that of misplaced jocosity or possibly they had given the appearence of flauting the slang of a hostile group. It may, moreover, be the case that no type of slang is compatible.

A certain amount of slang usually appears in courses of "colloquial" English, and some people have recommended teaching, even in the early stages of a language, a few chosen expression. These are, of course, gratifying to learners-"they use them with roguish aptness" says one author-and therefore useful pedagogically. Nevertheless, ut is a dubious expedient. Not only are complex social problems involved, but there is another difficulty: slang is ephermeral. The very impulses which give rise to it ensure that it will be short-lived. The new vivid expression will itself become as worn out and boring as those it has replaced. It may also spread outside the group and cease therefore to be a badge of membership, particularly if the group has considerable prestige (a common fate of R.A.F. slang). A very few slang words attain respectibility, as have English mob, queer, German Kopf, but most old slang is distasteful:

> When it dates,
> It grates,

as the "ow "tatesman and "ation competitor continued. "othing can be more embarassing than roguish inaptness.

Language not only brings human being into relationship with each t other, it also brings them into relationship with the external world. Language mediates between man and his environment.

The naive, or common-sense, view is that language reflects the world and our thinking about it, that to the categories of language corr respond categories of the real world. Modern linguistics, however, inclines practical approach to, the world-a sorting out of the purpose of acting on it. Experience is dissected, split up, along lines laid down by language, not necessarily along lies laid down by nature.

The way in which the vocabulary of a language is organized to deal with the outside world may conveniently be called its <u>semantic structure</u>. If it is not imposed by nature, there is no reason to expect that languages will be identical in semantic structure. We are all inclined to look on the categories of our own language as inevitable, but a comparison of even closely related languages reveals surprising differences, and wide divergencies appear between languages of very distant families.

For examples, the words of a language can be arranged at various levels of generality: The difference between <u>table</u>, <u>chair</u>, cushion is not the same as the difference between table, furniture, objedt: the first three are clearly at the same level, the second three at diferrentlevels. Perhaps the most obvious variations in semantic structure occur here. An urban Englishman is content with they fair general word weed; there are tribes of AmericanIndians, however, for whom the medicinal properties of all plants are most important , who possess no such general term but will always refer to any specimen by its specific name. The Englisg word <u>snow</u> in various states which are, to him, sensuously and operationally different.

It is often thought that the possession of words at the specific level enables a language to be more precise, but this is not necessarily so. Since we have in English the word <u>tail</u>, we gain nothing inprecision from the word <u>scut</u>. <u>Scut</u> may be more <u>concise</u> than <u>tail of a rabbit</u>, but it is not more <u>precise</u>.

The distribution at different levels of the vocabulary of a given language has to some extent, probably, been governed by chance; it is difficult to think of any reason why the English finger, thumb, toe can all be called in Greek. A considerable influences, however,

is exercised by the practical interest of a people in the elements of their environment. The more necessary it is, for their way of life, to make distinctions within a range of phenomena, the less likely they are to possess a general term covering the range as a whole; the more indifferent culturally the range, the more probably an all-embracing term. A highly developed language such as English, used all over the world by peoples of widely different cultural interest, can provide if necessary both general and specific than wood, he has only to look the word up. Similarly a Greek, if he must specify thumb, can resort to the literary

Nevertheless, the semantic structure of the highly developed languages of the world is capricious in certain places. English lacks an equivalent for the German Geschwister (though the recently introduced sibling will now fill the gap when it is necessary to do so). We can talk about our cousins without specifying their sex, though the French can not.

In addition to differences in the organisation of vocabulary into levels, languages may vary in the isolation, or delimitation of the elements of environment. Colour names provide a striking example of this. Every language, apparently, divides the spectrum differently, however, close superficial correspondence may seem. There are dialects of English in which the word foot includes all of the leg below the knee. The Greek word covers the arm from elbow to finger-tips, though it is usually translated "hand".

Language enables man to live in society, but the kind of society in which he lives will profoundly affect his language. Semantic structure and social structure are intimately connected, and it is here that the most serious difficulties for the language learner are probably to be found. A language is not only part of the cultural achievement of a people; it also transmits the rest of their culture system, and English words such as gentleman, respectable, genteel, shy, whimsical, sophisticated, self-conscious, highbrow are only intelligible in their social setting. They must be explained, if this is unfamiliar, by long and involved descriptions of social facts; apparent equivalents in other languages are almost always misleading.

Here again it may be noted that semantic structure does not merely reflect the psychological environment resulting from social structure. "In acquiring the vocabulary of his day," writes Grace de Laguna, "each adolescent youth is being fitted with a set of variously coloured spectacles, through which he is to look at the world about him, and with whose tints it must inevitably be coloured." Heinz Paechter, in his book Nazi-Deutsch, points out how the new and extensive terminology introduced by

the Nazis provided people with a stock of accepted ways of talking, and eventually transformed the categories of Nazi moral, social, and political thought into the folklore of the community.

The late B.L. Whorf, and American student of linguistics, coined the expression "linguistic relativity" to express the view that the same physical evidence will not lead people to the same picture of the universe unless their linguistic background are similar. Investigation of American Indian languages has revealed that even the grand generalisations of the Western world-time, velocity, matter-are not essential to the construction of a consistent picture of the universe. This does not mean that the psychic experiences classed under these headings are destroyed, but that in certain languages categories derived from other kinds of experiences become the grand generalisations, and seem to function just as well. Hopi is an example of a language which lacks expression, grammatical or other, for concepts of time. Whorf has indulged in a fascinating speculation concerning how, within this linguistic structure, it would be possible to construct a science of physics; he has demonstrated that, by using for example the concepts <u>intensity</u> and <u>variation</u> in place of time, such a feat could have been accomplished, supposing the Hopi had ever reached a stage of development where it became necessary.

The dependence of thought on language has not been generally recognised owing perhaps to exclusive preoccupation of scholars with lan of the Indo-European and Semitic families. Growing knowledge of very different language families in Africa and America is now making clear great dependence is, and the popular "semantics" is now being put forward by many people as the panacea for all the ills of the world.

v

Fifthly, language is the medium of literature, and its use in artistic creation is nearly always associated with a "literary language," more or less different from the language of everyday life. A literary language is not necessarily a written language, neither is it a prerogative of civilised peoples. It is reported that the Saramaccaner Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana, descended from escaped slaves and normally speaking the <u>lingua franca</u> known as Talkee-Talkee, have a special noble language appropriately called Deepee-Talkee. This is reserved for their religious ceremonies and songs, and is unintelligible to other inhabitants of the country.

A literary language, however, is usually a written language, and usually derived from some particular dialect, to which chance given

prestige, of the spoken language of the people (only rarely is it, like Deepee-Talkee or Latin a foreign language). It requires to be learnt, to at least some extent, by the native, since in the course of time all literary languages diverge from their spoken origins; the differences may be small, as in the case of English, or very considerable, as the case of Greek, Arabic, or Chinese. A literary language, though primarily the language of literature, usually becomes the accepted norm for written communication for any purpose; and moreover always exercises some degree of influence over the spoken language. Its standards of correctness become the standards for all uses of the language, spoken or written, and departures from the accepted literary norm-"solecisms"-are strongly reprobated.

In the teaching of foreign languages the literary language has, until recently, been supreme. Even today books are published which purport to deal with spoken English, but which inform the learner that English nouns have three cases. Examination papers in "English for foreigners" show how strong is the tendency to concentrate on those mistakes which are "solecisms" for the native speaker, but which the foreigner would seldom be tempted to commit. However, the effort of Victor, Jesperson, Passy, and o others have not been in vain, and a sane approach to the spoken language is becoming more and more widespread. In fact reaction from the old tradition may, in some quarters, be going too far, and the claim is sometimes heard that the spoken form is the only possible first step to learning a language in any form for any purpose.

It is not, the use of special language, but a special way of using language, that produces the highest forms of literature. Many writers, and most notably Ogden and Richards in The Meaning of Meaning, have drawn the distinction between the referential or scientific, and the emotive or lyrical uses of language. The first is not, of course, confined to science, nor the second to poetry. Even though certain words are commoner in one than the other, the difference between them does not depend on vocabulary; the use of scientific terminology is no guarantee of a scientific use of language.

Language in its "lyrical" use is characterised by the fact that it cannot be paraphrased, or translated into another language, without loss; it cannot be summarised; and phonetic features, particularly rhythm, are of the greatest importance to it. The opposite of each of these point is true of the scientific use (which, therefore, is all that an international auxiliary language can hope to cover). Moreover, a phrase from the scientific use has one single fixed sense, which if not clear can be made so;

that this is not true of the lyrical use has been well demonstrated by William Empson in his Seven Types of Ambiguity.

Misunderstandings often arise through one use of language being taken for the other. When D.H. Lawrence insisted that "whatever the sun may be, it is certainly not a ball of burning gas," he was interpreting a scientific statement as if it was a lyrical one. H.L. Mencken, on the other hand, does the opposite when he maintains that all poetry consists in the flouting of what every reflective adult knows to be the truth. Shelley certainly said "bird thou never wert", but he was not denying that the skylark belongs to the class aves.