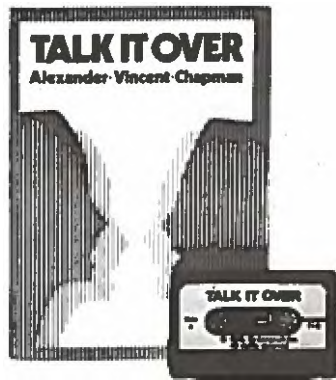


CONTEMPORARY DISCUSSION MATERIALS FROM LONGMAN



(11X IT OVER)

L.G. Alexander, Monica C. Vincent
and John Chapman

Discussion Topics for intermediate Students

This book consists of 30 lessons, each dealing with a different topic selected for its relevance to contemporary life. The material is presented through text, photographs, dialogs, cartoons and other interesting means of sparking conversation in even the most unresponsive classes.

A cassette recording of the discussion passages is available. This multivoiced recording can be used for drill presentation, listening comprehension, intonation and pronunciation practice.

Book 0 582 797195
cassette 582 797209

(FAKE A STAND)

L.G. Alexander, Roy Kingsbury
and John Chapman

Discussion Topics for Intermediate Adults

In a format similar to TALK IT OVER TAKE A STAND focuses on even more controversial topics of interest to the adult learner. The 30 topics are pretested through debate notes, editorial letters, known comic strips and so forth. The material is flexible and the teacher will be able to manipulate it according to the needs of his or her students.

A cassette recording of the discussion passages is available.

Book 0 582 797217
Cassette 0 582 797225

TAKE A STAND

MMAMMIUM

: r

For more information contact

LONGMAN AMERICAN ENGLISH 1.15F1
19 W. 44th ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

THE ORTESOL JOURNAL

EDITOR

JOE E. PIERCE

EDITORIAL BOARD

Edwin Cornelius James Nattinger

Maurine Phelps

JOURNAL OF THE OREGON TEACHERS OF ENGLISH TO
SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

ISBN 0-913244-21-X

Copyright: The Oregon Teachers of English
to Speakers of Other Languages
1979

Printed by THE HAPI PRESS
512 SW Maplecrest Drive
Portland, Oregon
97219

ORTESOL STYLE SHEET

All manuscripts should be typed on regular 8 by eleven inch typing paper and double spaced. Punctuate in such a way as to help your reader in his attempt to read what you have written. Excessive punctuation adds to the cost of typesetting, so do try to keep it to a minimum. Margins should be at least one inch on all sides and somewhat more on the lefthand margin. Footnotes should come at the end of the article, preferably on a separate sheet of paper. In typing the footnotes, type first the author's name as it would appear on the title page of the work, i.e., NOT last name first. Immediately following the name should be comma, and ed. if he is the editor as opposed to being the author of the work. Follow this with a comma and the title of the work. If this is an article in a journal or collection, enclose it in quotes. Place a comma inside the quotation mark and follow this with the name of the publication in which the article is to be found. Underline the title of the basic source whether this is a book or journal. This should also be followed with a comma and the volume and number of the journal, each followed by a comma. Optionally, the location of the publisher. After the location of the publisher, if included, put a comma followed by the publishers name and the date of publication. These should be separated by commas. Finally, after one more comma, place the page numbers for the reference. Some authors will normally want to include additional bibliography. Label this as "other sources consulted," and draw up the references just as for the footnotes. These should be listed alphabetically by author's last name.

THOUGHTS ON LANGUAGE ACQUISITION**Joe E. Pierce****Portland State University**

Philosophically, the controversy over whether language acquisition is basically a process of learning through positive and negative conditioning or one of development will probably never be settled, because the beliefs of the various scholars are rooted deep in philosophical convictions which verge on being religious dogmatism. Certain things do, however, appear to be almost irrefutable in terms of the observable evidence revealed in the study of language learners. Some would say that even this is part religious dogma, and perhaps it is, but it is worthwhile to look at some of the new "facts" about language learning that have been uncovered in the past decade and a half.

Basically, the problem revolves around what Chomsky calls "deep structure." This is the basic structure of the human brain, often referred to as the natural wiring within the human intelligence. This question is often put as if one group "believed" in deep structure and the other did not, but this is not really the case. I know of no serious linguist who would

question the existence of deep structure, when this is considered to be the hereditary equipment provided the human organism through evolution. On the other side of the fence, however, there are a great number of professional linguists who violently disagree with Chomsky about the exact nature of this "deep structure." In other words, everyone seriously concerned with the study of linguistic systems agrees that the human being at birth is equipped with the natural requirements for acquiring a language. This is true for one's first language and equally true when one attempts to learn a second language. The strong disagreement centers around the exact nature of this hereditary equipment.

Instead of engaging in futile arguments, let us look at a few things about language which might be of help in setting up a program for language teaching. To begin with, there has been a great deal said at various places in the linguistic literature about the way languages are learned. Sometimes these things are said to be true for first language learning only, and then again some scholars contend that first and second language learning is essentially the same. In all cases, these statements have been made on the basis of very little, or no, actual observations of the process of language learning or acquisition.

Gleason, a representative of one school of linguistics, says essentially that children produce an infinite range of sounds.¹ Is this actually true? On what basis does he make such a statement? Gleason is not being singled

out as a bad example here but rather as expressing a generalization which has been repeated hundreds of times in the linguistic literature. In a careful study of the development of a phonological system in the speech of 200 children less than one year old, a study conducted at the University of Oregon Medical School² found that at three months of age virtually all of the vowel sounds produced by the children studied were in an oval-shaped pattern covering the sounds usually transcribed phonetically as [e], [a?], and [a]. These are the vowels in the English words *bet* and *but*. Hence, while it can be said, mathematically, that an infinite number of vowel sounds are possible in that small range, it is misleading to the language teacher, who is likely to think that the child makes a very wide range of vocalic sounds, and that is absolutely not true. Many of the children made a fairly large range of vowels, but virtually all were in this small area of the vowel chart. It can be safely assumed that the few sounds that occurred outside this range, considering the small number of such sounds produced by the children, were the result of accident or produced by children of exceptional language learning ability. So far as consonant sounds are concerned, the average child produced five such sounds; three of these were [h-], [and [w], that is, the initial sound in *he*, the medial sound in *bottle* in certain dialects, and the initial sound in *we*. The study did not center around relating the sounds to adult English phonemes. The examples are presented only to be sure that we

are all thinking about the same sounds. The other two consonants were idiosyncratic, that is, each child made two additional consonant-like sounds, but there was no consistency from child to child in the sample as to what sounds were produced.

The children did not produce an infinite range of sounds, either vowels or consonants. Interestingly enough, for the average child, the number of consonants and the range of vowel sounds just about doubled every three months, until at twelve months the children were producing virtually all of the phonetic qualities needed to produce adult English and virtually none that were not utilized in adult English.³

This does not mean that the children were utilizing English phonemes. It means that they were manipulating their articulators in such a manner that they were capable of producing a recognizable sound which would be heard by an adult as an English phoneme. Further, practically no non-English sound types were produced.

The information presented above seems clearly to indicate that during the first year considerable physiological development is going on. Further, the fact that each child produced drastically different sounds and sound types indicates that once the ability to produce the sounds had developed, the child learned those noises that were heard around him.

It is also interesting that no child in this particular sample gave any hint (either reported by the parents or observed by the researchers) that a single word was comprehended to any

degree at all until after the tenth month of age. Even at twelve months less than 40% of the sample knew a single word. This means, of course, that 60% of the children had not yet stumbled on to, or learned, the concept that these streams of noise could be utilized as a part of some sort of symbolic system.

Now, a great deal has been made by some scholars about the fact that many grammatical sequences are meaningless and other meaningful sequences are ungrammatical. We can see from internal evidence concerning English that a given individual can attach an almost endless variety of meanings to any sequence of noise he wishes. Identical words mean different things in different dialects, that is, "cock" means male genitalia in one dialect and female genitalia in another, "hoi polloi" means the common man in one dialect and the wealthy or distinctive class in another, and so on. Hundreds of studies have been carried out wherein people were asked to give the meanings of words or sequences of words, and in almost every case they give idiosyncratic answers. If, indeed, each person defines a word or sequence of words in his own sweet way, then obviously any type of linguistic analysis based on meaning is futile. From the anthropological literature and a number of research papers, some of which have been published and some of which have not, even the concept of grammaticality is idiosyncratic.

At Indiana University the Linguistic Club asked a number of college students whether certain sentences were grammatical or not,

and the answers differ greatly from informant to informant. This means that while there is a deep structure, this deep structure is much more flexible and less constraining on the individual than some linguists seem to think, that is, we do not think in a certain pattern and then convert it into "surface structure." A person can, it seems from the evidence, attach any meaning he wishes to a given sequence of noise. Also, what is grammatical to one speaker is not to another. This means, clearly, that language learners will accept any sequence they hear regularly as grammatical, for example, "you was" and "he do" are considered to be grammatical by many native speakers of English. These are not errors in that they violate the natural structure of the language. They are grammatical errors only in the sense that they violate what a small group of scholars have set up as an arbitrary standard. In fact, "you was," when the subject is singular, is much more logical than "you were." Concerning the logic of language, think of the paradigm; my, your, his, etc. Now look at the sequences: myself, yourself, and himself. Clearly, himself violates the natural logic of the language structure, but because a certain culturally dominant group, because of the history of their dialect, utilize this sequence, it becomes the correct one. The meaning any individual attaches to any sequence of sound in any language can be related only to his experiences with that sequence of noise, not to any type of logic, and this has very definite implications for the teaching of languages,

both first and second. In simple English, attempts to explain the fact that people use the burned bush but not the killed man in any terms other than that they had heard the first constantly as they grew up and learned the language, but did not hear the second, is absolutely futile. The latter sequence is most probably never heard because we have a single word dead, and the sequence the dead man means what would be expressed by the killed man but note that if one wished to make a distinction between a man who was just dead as opposed to one who had just been killed it would be possible to do so in the language. Why do we have dead in the language? A historical accident and that alone.

Let us take a very brief look at how the children in the Oregon Medical School study appeared to acquire their first language. First, every child in the sample, but one, learned at least one word before he was 18 months old. At twelve months these words were: daddy (a variety of sound s, e. g., dm and dm di), kitty, mommy, bye, hi doll baby, and pretty. Only three of the words were recognized by more than one child, and even these are represented by different sound sequences for different children, for example, baby for one child was [bebi] and for another was [bee bm].

One very interesting feature of this learning process was that the children first utilized the single word for a single item. Then shortly thereafter they would generalize, quite idiosyncratically, to a very broad range of objects. Some examples are, baby was used for any

small human, d all, monkey, etc.; daddy was used for all adults by one child and for all adult males by another. The importance of this study appears to be that the generalizations are completely idiosyncratic. At eighteen months, every child but one knew at least a single word, and only six percent of the sample could put two words or more together into a meaningful sequence. In this sample, the range of extrapolation for the meaning of words is even more clear. One child used the word cake for anything edible. Another child used cookie for any solid food and coke for any liquid. Still another child used milk for anything edible.

What is the common feature in all this, which could be related to the inherited ability to learn languages, that is, the deep structure. First, the child appears to recognize the fact that a stream of noise can be used to symbolize something. Second, he quickly recognizes that this symbol stands for a variety of objects in the real world and extrapolates it. Hence one of the basic elements in the deep structure is the ability to generalize. However, from looking at the kinds of generalizations made, it is equally clear that each child generalizes in a unique way, that is, one extrapolates cake to all foods and another extrapolates a different word, cookie, to include all solid foods but not liquids. At a somewhat older level, one child, which was observed at a different time, extrapolated the word doggie to include cows. When told that a cow was a cow and not a doggie, the child extrapolated cows to include horses, until she was told that this was not correct, at which

point she learned the word horsie. All of this seems to indicate a very simple process, that of learning a stream of noise as a symbol, generalizing on the basis of something that the child observes which he thinks is important and then, through experience (that is, he gets what he wants when he asks for it or he fails to be understood) he reduces his overgeneralization until it approximates the range of items symbolized by his associates. In all probability this goes on throughout our lives and all of the vocabulary that we learn is learned following this pattern.

Now, to grammar: how does a child learn grammar, and is grammar merely something that a linguist has "created" or does it exist in the mind of the child? It would appear that children learn fairly early in the game, at about 18 through 24 months, that these "words" that they have been using can be put in sequences to mean different things. All children utilized their single words as complete utterances, and this preceded any sequencing in the language of all children. This has been verified in more recent research by other scholars. Again, we find that the creation of a grammatical structure was highly individualistic. One child's grammatical structure appeared to form as he learned to use words in three ways. He could put certain words only in initial position in an utterance, such as bring ball. Other words could come only in final position, as in get doll. and a few words he would put into both positions, as in ELD get and get, ball. Another child developed a system by

eighteen months which included only a group which we will call operators, because they have been called that in the literature on language development, and the others could be called noun-verbs. The child created such sentences as *me R0*, for I want to *go*, and *me ball* for *my ball*. The classes were quite different from child to child, and the words included in each class were different. For example, one child had such things as *me daddy, kitty*, in his class which we call operator, whereas another child had such things as *this that and want* in that category. Sentences in the language of the first child were, *me drink, daddy mo, kitty eat*, etc. Sentences in the speech of the second child were, *this ball, that cake, want milk*, etc. None of these categories had anything to do with adult parts of speech, that is, *me daddy and want* belong to the same category for this child, but to different parts of speech in adult English. The child had sorted his words into classes, and he created new sentences by putting members of one class in one position and members of the other class into other positions.

The next step was to learn to put three words together into meaningful utterances, and only a single child did this at eighteen months. Some other researchers have reported in recently published work that children do not pass through a three-word phase, but at least some do and most certainly did. Generally, three-word utterances were found by putting one of the words that the child had been using with a two-word sequence that he had also been using.

There is no evidence here to support any controlling deep structure, only evidence that the child was learning to sequence the symbols that he knew, probably in the way he had heard them sequenced by adults in the area. Each child used these with his own personal meanings too. It is precisely the self-centered nature of each tract toward adult grammar which makes different people accept different things as grammatical. It is also the fact that people with a PhD have a long shared educational experience that gradually brings their concept of grammaticalness into a very similar focus. Though even here the concept of grammaticalness differs more than most people would want to admit. If, indeed, this is what happens, and I have seen no better explanation of the observed data, the idea of competency rests solely on an intuitive judgement by those who have followed a certain educational track that a person does or does not follow their arbitrary norm, and this seems a little too much like playing God.

Now, we come to the interesting part. Why do we say so often that a person who has learned a language directly through experience is more fluent than one who has learned his language in a classroom? There appear to be at least two possible explanations for this. First, there can be some inherent part of language acquisition which the teaching profession has not recognized which accounts for the difference. Second, the grammatical structure which we teach is incorrect or misleading. It is this latter possibility which I think needs to be addressed at the present time.

First, where did our grammatical description of English come from? It came indirectly from a Latin grammar book which was written nearly 1000 years ago, and which was never intended to be a grammar of English. Then when people started talking about English, they never asked the proper questions. Instead of saying, "What are the parts of speech for this language?" they asked, "What are the nouns, verbs, etc., in this language?" Hence, the analysis was already prejudged. This is comparable to the astronomers who asked, "How does this planet circle earth?" instead of asking, "What is this planet going around?" Astronomers were completely mixed up until they asked the proper questions, that is, until Galileo suggested that things went around the sun and not the earth. That is where we are in linguistics at the present time.

Over the past two decades an enormous amount of time and energy have gone into studies of method, teacher preparation and new teaching materials, but few have seriously asked, "What about the basic description of English?" Is it adequate, or is it inaccurate in ways which will mislead the learner? It seems to me that this is clearly the case, and that the classroom situation is one in which the real nature of English is obscured. The student is then forced to learn some things about the language which are not true. Then when he starts to really use the language, he finds it necessary to unlearn these and learn, through the natural process, how the language really works.⁴ Our basic view of English structure

is so rooted in our western type logical systems, i. e., the logic of the excluded middle, that it is almost impossible for a native teacher of English to question the fundamental basis of these points.

First, is there a distinction in English between nouns and verbs? The answer to that question has to be a resounding "no!" There are what could be called "nominal" functions in English sentences, but even this concept is misleading, because it also, to a certain extent, prejudices the analysis. English words or morphemes can function as the objects of prepositions, as the subjects of utterances, as the predicates of utterances, as the complements to predicates, to name only a few, but to say that some of these are nominal functions and some are verbal functions is already to close off certain avenues of investigation into the real nature of the language.⁵ In languages generally, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the classification of morphemes and syntactic function. The nature of a class is determined by the functions that it can perform. Hence, if a list of words function both as the subject and as the predicate of sentences and those on another list function only as the subjects and objects of sentences, then these two lists of words belong to different word-classes and should be treated as different parts of speech. Is this done in our presentation of English grammar? Absolutely not!

Take a very simple thing like nouns vs verbs. Ask yourself what earthly good it does for a learner to learn that there is a difference be-

tween nouns and verbs in English. The confounding problem may well be that in his native language, there really is a difference. Think for a minute of almost any noun you want to name: nose, eye, mouth, head, arm, back, sound corner, roof, wall, floor, etc. All of these can be used equally easily as nouns and verbs, and this is true for approximately 92% of the verbs and nouns that I found in a sample of 30,000 words of English text. You are confusing a student when you teach him that roof is a noun and that walk is a verb, because both are both. If he speaks Turkish, those two classes are meaningful. By meaningful, I mean that as soon as you know that a certain word belongs to the class noun, you know that you can do certain things with it syntactically that you cannot do with a verb, and this bit of information is almost lost in English, because both roof and walk function in English in exactly the same way.

But, you say, "I don't teach grammar." But you do, unless you are extremely unusual. Do you use a text book? If you do, avoiding grammar is almost impossible, because the drills, or whatever the lessons are, are organized around grammatical features, as a rule. How do children learn the classes of a language when they learn it the natural way? They discover, through experience, that certain words are used in different ways. If they are learning Turkish, they learn very quickly that words like baş (head), el (hand), etc., never occur at the end of sentences with person marking affixes on them. They may not be able to verbal-

ize this, but they know, and it is stored in their brain somewhere. Grammatically speaking, this means that they have learned that nouns are never used as predicates of sentences in Turkish. Then when they wish to learn English, they are told that the difference between nouns and verbs is important, but when they try to use the language, they cannot possibly imagine why. In Turkish one simply cannot use the word baş, head, as the predicate of a sentence, but in English we can "head a committee." In Turkish, what you have to do is derive a verb from the noun by the addition of a suffix, -al- to form başlamak, a verb. As you can easily see, statements such as all languages have nouns, obscure some extremely important differences between languages, especially from a teaching point of view. One of the first things a Turk has to learn, if he hopes to use English properly, is that there is not the kind of difference in English between nouns and verbs that exists in Turkish, and, indeed, there does not seem to be any difference at all for about 92% of all so-called nouns and verbs. Why don't we call these things noun-verbs or simply "labels?" This would obviate the problem of students connecting the difference in their own languages with the lack of difference in English. The basis of analysis then becomes what it should be, the syntactic functions, such as, predicate or subject function, that a word can fulfill.

Does a child or adult learner ask himself, is this thing I am learning a noun or a verb? Of course not! By the time a child is five in

Turkey, he knows that if he hears a word with the pluralizer **-ler** suffixed to it, it is a noun, unless there is another suffix, such as, **-iyor-**, or **-ti-** between **-ler** and the stem. If there is such a suffix, one lumps this word with those that he knows can be inflected for tense, mode, etc., if not, one lumps it with those that can be possessed, inflected for case, etc. In English when children hear a word such as eat with the 3rd person suffix affixed to it, they automatically lump this in with such things as **hand, arm, head, foot, back, walk, etc.**, so they come up with the spontaneous sentence, the eats were **good**, because their experience tells them that over 90% of the items in this class can function as the predicates of sentences, as the subjects of sentences, as the objects of prepositions and as the objects of predicates. They later learn that there is a word in English, food, which substitutes for eats. This is an exception to the basic rule that all so-called verbs and nouns follow the same syntactic patterns, and adults often use eats too, but usually in playful intimacy.

Is that the end of our problems with traditional grammar? Of course not, again! Consider the so-called past tense forms of English verbs (?). I did a study in Singapore and discovered that noun-verb stems with **-ed** suffixed to them could be related to past time less than 40% of the time. This suffix is actually a derivative suffix not an inflection, which creates a new kind of word in English. It is added to a word which normally belongs to the class verb-noun. After it is added one can do some inter-

esting things to the word that could not be done before. Take walk as an example. Without the **-ed** suffixed, one can take a **walk**, walk **home**, or describe walks that one has taken. This word fills all of the normal verbal and nominal functions. But with **-ed** suffixed, it can no longer function as a noun. It functions as a verb still, but now it can be inflected for comparative and superlative, the domain of the adjective, so now we have an adjectival-verb. One can see a **burned** man and he can be the more **burned** of the two or the most **burned** of the lot. Are you really helping your students by associating this form with the past tense of verbs? I think not! What has actually happened is that when we affix **-ed** we derive a special kind of word, i. e. , a **participle** which indicates past time ONLY when the newly created word is functioning as the predicate word in an independent clause or full sentence. In other syntactic positions the **-ed** forms are time-free, as in "those who are badly burned will be hospitalized," when referring to something expected to happen in the future.

Do you know why we have to have the form "is" in the sentence, he is **going**? Because **-ing** forms cannot function as a predicate word. This is true because here we have derived a special type of adjectival-noun, i. e. , a gerund, a word which performs three functions in English sentences, that of a pure noun, in constructions such as, **falling** was **disastrous**, as a modifier in, the **falling** tree hit **my** house, and in a situation such as, **falling** over the stove. he was **burned** badly. The one thing that

-ing forms cannot do is function as predicates. The word "verb" has no meaning at all when related to English. It is the "predicate" function that is relevant, that is the work which fills the syntactic slot which is inflected to show tense, person and number. The form "is" then is inserted in the sentence, he is going, because English sentences have to have a predicate on which to hang the person marker (3rd person only) and the tense. There is no other reason for its being there. It means absolutely nothing. If you teach students that going is a verb and that verbs function as the predicates of sentences, then you have actually taught them to make the error, he going. The problem is that the overwhelming bulk of traditional English grammar teaches the student to do more things wrong than to make correct English sentences. C. C. Fries was the first to note this back in the thirties. He started his researches into English because he said that he was teaching traditional grammatical rules. His students were following the rules explicitly, and the sentences that they produced were not acceptable English utterances. Transformational grammar is no improvement, because it fails to tackle this basic problem. Transformational grammar stays with the basic classifications of English morphemes into nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., and these basic classes are not a valid classification of English words or morphemes. My experience in Turkey back in the late 1950's was exactly the same as that of Dr. Fries. I taught rules that I had learned so thoroughly as

a student that if they had to be gospel, and the students followed those rules. However, the sentences they came out with were not English. No significant improvement can be made in the teaching of English, especially as a second language, until we go back to the drawing board and ask the proper, scientific questions. What are the parts of speech in this language, that is, how does this language work in contrast with other linguistic systems? This will not be achieved by the piecemeal reshuffling of present classes. We must begin at the beginning.

What can be seen quickly and easily about the nature of the structure of the system utilized by English speakers? Just a brief outline here will suffice to show you how teaching must be revolutionized, if we are to really improve the performance of our students. First, English has three classes of major morphemes. These are: pure nouns (about 4% of the nouns), pure verbs (about 3% of the verbs), and a huge class noun-verb. In addition to these, there is the class, modifier, that is, those words that can be inflected for comparative and superlative degree, whether by suffixation or with more and most. These are the classes of stem morphemes. However, in addition there are some classes of derived words, that is, words which are sequences of morphemes, such as government (pure noun), governing (gerund, redefined to be any verb or verb-noun stem with -ing suffixed), governed (participle, redefined to be any noun-verb stem with -ed affixed) and perhaps some others, but these are essential.

What happened to such things as pronouns,

forms of to be, to do etc.? They are not stems or major morphemes. They are grammatical forms, which are generally suffixes in most languages. Hence, they cannot be treated in the same way, from a grammatical point of view, as the stem forms. One error which actually causes an endless amount of confusion for ESL students is lumping forms of to be, to do and to have in with a class "verbs." Saying that they are then not verbs when they function as auxiliaries only confuses the issue. What we have done when we talk about "verbs" is to lump into one class many different types of things, actually any form which can perform a predicate function is called by grammarians a "verb," yet these are such different things as can could, has ha do, did and forms such as o. Anyone can tell even at first glance that all of these things are different kinds of items in the structure of English. The instant we talk about something as broad as "verb" we confuse students, because any rule given for verbs then cannot hope to be accurate and true for more than a very small percentage of the things that we have called verbs. The way the grammar has to be presented is to set up the modals as a paradigm of grammatical morphemes, the forms of to be as a different paradigm, the forms of to have as still a different paradigm, and so on, and under no circumstances mix the se with verbs. Only then can we give accurate grammatical rules, because the rules governing each of these sets are clear, regular and fairly easily stated. The problem is that by throwing forms of to be

to have: and to RE, not to mention the modals, into one class, we have set up a description which provides rules that are accurate only 15% to 25% of the time. Of course, the other side of this coin is that a student following *rules* for the use of "verbs" will be incorrect about 75% of the time because of the way the language has been described, not because grammar is unimportant. Grammar is extremely important and when we get an accurate description of English, in terms of the way the language actually works, we can teach English correctly with considerably less effort.

In this brief paper, there is not time to go into all of the aspects of English grammar, but, believe me, all of the traditional aspects of English description are just as inaccurate as those given above. There is an added advantage to such descriptions of classes as a gerund is a pure verb or verb-noun stem with -ing affi., 1, because the student can immediately identify these the instant he hears them with about 98% accuracy, the way de does when he acquires language through use. No foreigner can figure out what a gerund is from the textbook descriptions given today. Further, -ing forms follow fairly regular and easily defined syntactic patterns, but these have to be ferreted out and described in terms of a totally new concept of syntax.

Can we make a grammatical analysis based on such things as the meaning, that is, the cultural relationship that exists between a sequence of morphemes and something in reality. To disprove that, consider only the forms given

e a rli e r, the dead man and the killed man. I will accept your criticism that the killed man is not grammatically acceptable. In fact it really is, but for sake of argument I will allow you that misconception. However, let us then go to the examples, the fallen tree and the felled tree. which I think you will have to admit are good English. The former, of course, means a tree that has not been cut down by man. It fell due to gravity, rain, wind o r something else. A felled tree usually refers to one that has been cut. Can we say that this kind of meaning distinction c an be extrapolated to other such verb forms? Consider then, the rung bell. which is comparable with the fallen tree from a grammatical point of view. However, it ha s the meaning of the felled tree. which is not grammatically equivalent, because felled is equivalent with rang, not rung. This illustrates that the meaning attached to a given sequence of morphemes cannot b e derived from any kind of logic. The s e meanings are derived from experience, as one is enculturated growing up, and are totally illogical. This follows the same pattern observed in the development of a linguistic structure in children. Each child gave his own class of items in the real world to his s et of words. Then through experience, he gradually worked his classification system into line with those of his parents and playmates.

THE REASON THAT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THROUGH EXPERIENCE APPEARS TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN REAL SITUATIONS IS THAT THE STUDENT IS NOT PRESENTED THE STRUCTURE IN A DISTORTED FASHION.

One hears real s ent ences in connection with real situations. He or she abstracts what appears to be the critical factors and generalizes, idiosyncratically, until he finally begins to understand the system in English which is vastly different from that presented in classes teaching English.

This brings us back to a question raised early in the p a p e r, and that i s, "second language learning fundamentally d i f f e r e n t from first language learning?" Obviously there are similarities between the two because we are dealing with human beings in both cases, and whatever deep structure or native wiring they ha v e at age two, t h e y still have as an adult. However, there are a few fundamental differences. We see as we observe children that they are developing and learning at the same time. Learning cannot precede the emergence of whatever natural abilities are needed for a certain facet of I ang uag e, for example, on e cannot produce an /i/ phoneme before the tongue is flexible enough to produce very high front vowel sounds. As an adult, all of these facilities are fully developed. This is true even if the students are in high school or grade school. Hence we should expect that an older child could l e a r n or acquire a language more quickly, since all of his facilities are fully developed and his acquisition is not slowed down waiting for something to mature. We all know, however, that this is not the case. There is a further very disturbing point in second language learning and that is the interference from the system of the student' s first language. When

one is learning a first language, one knows no language system and is free to digest and process the new materials as they come in. Once a system has been acquired, i. e. , a first language, then every perception is distorted by the nature of that first language. This, of course, slows down the learning process considerably. However, on the plus side again, the adult has the ability to consciously process data much more rapidly than has the child. This should speed up the process. Also, to some extent one should be able to transfer knowledge about learning a second.

Now, a second-language teaching program should take maximum advantage of all the abilities of the adult and be so designed as to reduce to a minimum the retarding effects of his first language. The adult's ability to handle consciously generalizations about a language means that grammatical rules, if they are true and accurately stated, should help the student learn more quickly. The greatest problem with teaching English is that we state our rules in such broad generalizations as "verb" or "noun," and we can easily see by examining just a little bit of English structure that rules stated in such terms can only confuse a student. However, if the classification system into morpheme classes is refined so that when we are talking about something like a gerund, we define the item, that is, gerund, in a precise and rigorous manner, such as a noun-verb stem plus -Li& so that students can instantly recognize it, and then give them rules that apply only

to gerunds, this should aid them in learning quickly. Many people in the past have given up teaching through grammar because they thought grammar interfered with teaching. It does only when it is not correctly stated and scientifically accurate. A grammatical program presenting the structure of the new language should build on any structure that is very similar in the two languages. For example, in teaching English to Turks, we utilized the so-called present progressive or continuous tense first, because the usage of this tense in both languages means essentially the same thing, and if a person would say, geliyorum, in Turkish, which means I am coming, he can say the English meaning for that sentence. There are a few exceptions, for example, a Turk does not say, I want an apple, he says, I am wanting an apple, so he has to learn about a dozen exceptions. However, this is relatively easy, the mechanics of forming the present progressive is simple, and once the student has mastered this form, he is ready to say any number of English sentences, if he knows the English equivalent for a Turkish verb. Hence, all he needs to acquire are the so-called verbs, actually noun-verbs in most cases.

The program described above, which was running in Turkey between 1955 and 1960, was so effective that we were able to take people who knew no English at all and send them to the US to graduate schools where they successfully completed MA programs after only 360 hours of English instruction. This instruction was on a 30 hour a week, intensive basis, taught by

completely untrained teachers under the direction of a linguist or linguistically trained English teacher. The program would probably have been much more effective had the 360 hours been spread out over 24 or even 36 weeks, but the program was controlled by the Turkish Ministry of Education, and 30 hours a week was their decision.

To summarize briefly, then, the one part of English teaching which has not been looked at carefully is the grammatical description of the language. Second-language learning has some advantages and disadvantages over first-language learning. A good second-language program should use those abilities that an older learner has, both by virtue of growing older and the fact that he knows one linguistic system, and should not be an attempt to duplicate the first-language learning situation. Grammar, that is, systemized teaching of grammatical rules, should speed up the learning program for older people because they know how to consciously manipulate systems, which small children cannot do. The problem with teaching most second languages is that they are described in a manner inherited from the Greeks through the Romans in the form of a Latin grammar. The grammatical concepts utilized in describing Latin are not applicable to any Germanic language, and are especially not applicable to English. Deep structure in no way appears to control the nature of language learning or the nature of the linguistic systems that we use, or at least such restrictions are much less stringent than they are thought to be in

most linguistic literature. This is true, because the deep structure is so loose and flexible that about all one needs to postulate as basic to language learning is the ability to symbolize and the ability to generalize. From this, all linguistic systems come about. Children or adults first learn symbols, generalize on them based on their experience, both linguistic and non-linguistic, and then learn the rules which govern the sequencing of the grammatical forms. Once these rules are learned, through experience again, they learn what meanings they can and cannot attach to each sequence of meaningful units. For a second-language learner this usually means associating its meaning with a similar sequence in his native language, which is often wrong. It seems probable that what people learn first is vocabulary, no matter what method or materials are used in teaching. Then they learn two, three, and so on until they eventually learn to create long sentences or even paragraphs in the language. Language acquisition in a real situation is often faster than in class, because we often speak to foreigners in single words, and these he can comprehend. Perhaps if we taught first single vocabulary items, for example, the 700 basic English words, then taught the students to put two of these together, then three and so on, we would have much more effective teaching programs. I was able to do this once in Turkey with an experimental group, with absolutely astounding results, but later I was forced to stop, because this method did not agree with the

dogma of the times. Should we let theoretical dogma control our teaching, or should we teach the best way we can find?

¹ H. A. Gleason, An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961, p. 258

2 Joe E. Pierce and Inga Vanwardenburg Hanna, The Development of a Phonological System in English Speaking American Children Volume 1, The HaPi Press, 1974.

3 Joe E. Pierce and Inga Vanwardenburg Hanna, The Development of a Linguistic System in English Speaking American Children The HaPi Press, 1978.

4 Joe E. Pierce, How English Really Works, The HaPi Press, 1979.

5 Joe E. Pierce, The Nature of Natural Languages, The HaPi Press, 1979.

Some Additional Related Bibliography

Noam Chomsky, "Some Methodological Remarks on Generative Grammar," Word, Volume 17, pp. 219-39, 1969.

Noam Chomsky, review of Verbal Behavior by B. F. Skinner, Language, Volume 35, pp. 43-44, 1959.

D. B. Fry, "The Development of the Phonological System," in The Normal and the Deaf a Book, Frank Smith and George A. Millar (eds.), MIT Press, 1966.

Charles E. Osgood, "A Behavioristic Analysis," in Contemporary Approaches to Cognition, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957.

Charles E. Osgood, "Motivational Dynamics of Language Behavior," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, University of Nebraska Press, 1957.

Elizabeth F. Shipley, Carlota S. Smith, and Lila R. Gleitman, "A Study in the Acquisition of Language," Language, Volume 45, Number 2, pp. 322-42, 1969.

B. F. Skinner, Verbal Behavior, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

Arthur W. Staats, Learning, Language, and Cognition, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

MOTIVATION IN
SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING*

Kathleen LaPiana

Oregon State University

A very basic problem that has bothered teachers of English as a second language has been the question, why are some students able to master the language with relative ease and speed while others never seem to make any progress. Much research has been undertaken which examines the role of the method employed, i. e., audio-lingual vs. the grammar vs. cognitive approach. Many educators have felt in recent years that the problem must also be attacked from the opposite direction, i. e., the role of student input on ability to learn a foreign language must also be examined.

Gardner and Lambert in a number of studies have shown that one of the most important motivational factors is that of the attitude of the learner toward the second language and its r,,,,,L.-ec These authors have distinguished

reasons for learning the language. Integrative motivation refers to the desire of the learner to become part of the linguistic community speaking the second language.¹ Gardner and Lambert arrived at a measure of type of motivation by using an open-ended multiple choice questionnaire asking the students why they were studying the language in question. In the Montreal Study, students of French were considered to possess integrative motivation if they answered that they were studying French because they wanted to better understand French Canadians, or because it would allow them to converse with more people. Reasons which indicated instrumental motivation were that the language was for job purposes, to fulfill an educational requirement or to read material in the language.²

Spolsky conducted further studies on the importance of integrative motivation. He used a direct questionnaire similar to that of Lambert and Gardner and an indirect questionnaire. The indirect questionnaire consisted of four lists of thirty adjectives such as "busy," "stubborn" and "sincere." In the first list the student was asked how well the adjectives described him; in the second, how well they described the way he would like to be; in the third, how well they described people whose native language was the same as his; and in the fourth, how well they described native speakers of English.³ Spolsky's results, contrary to

the direct questionnaire. However, he found that there was a high degree of correlation between language proficiency and integrative motivation as measured by the indirect questionnaire. He accounted for these results by noting that he had questioned students recently arrived in the U.S., and these students "will not, so soon after their arrival admit to motives which suggest they wish to leave their own country permanently, but will tend to insist on instrumental motives." ⁴

Elizabeth Hoadley-Maidment attempted to apply Lambert's ideas to a group of students studying EFL in London, using culturally-oriented materials for one group and not for the other. Her results were inconclusive due to a small sample size (n 30) and operation of the Hawthorne Effect, but she felt qualitatively that the group using the culturally-oriented materials was more cohesive and worked harder than the other group. She concluded her article with the remark that "there is also a need for a much wider measurement of attitude components in language learners." ⁵

Because the results of Gardner and Lambert's studies have not been conclusively replicated it was felt that an application of their instrument to two groups of students at the English Language Institute would be of value. One group of students is studying scientific English while the other is using more culturally-oriented materials, such as readings in Amer-

which integrative motivation, and what degree of correlation, if any, exists between the type of motivation and language proficiency as measured by scores received on either of two standardized tests, the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP).

In addition, it was felt that it would be interesting to note if any correlation exists between type of motivation and native language spoken. As Gardner and Lambert note, "The learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the members of the other group are believed to determine how successful he will be, relatively, in learning the new language." ⁵ They theorized that those students with strong ethnocentric attitudes are unlikely to have an integrative outlook when approaching the language learning task. It might be supposed that different cultures would vary in the amount of ethnocentrism they encourage in their members. Related to this concept is that of anomie, which refers to the successful language learner's feelings of regret or anxiety as he assumes membership in a new linguistic group and loosens his ties with the former group. Thus Gardner and Lambert found that the proficient language learner was characterized by low ethnocentrism and high anomie as well as by integrative motivation.

The Measuring Instruments

special program for Saudi science teachers, were given a questionnaire which requested information as to their sex, age, marital status, father's job, and place of residence in their countries. The last two questions were an attempt to elicit information on the socioeconomic class of the informant.

The questionnaire itself consisted of twenty-five statements using a Likert scale rating of intensity. The statements were of three types (See Appendix A).

1. **Ethnocentrism.** Four items were adapted from the E scale of Adorno et al (1950)⁷ and were reworded to make them more comprehensible and applicable to foreign students. Items 5 and 6 were added because it was felt that strong positive feelings about one's native language are also indicative of ethnocentrism. This scale is meant to measure ethnocentrism and suspicion of foreign peoples and ideas.

2. **Anomie.** Eleven items were adapted from Srole's (1951) and Lambert's scales. The scales purport to measure personal anxiety and dissatisfaction with one's place in society.

3. **Rating of integrative and instrumental orientation.** The students were given eight statements of reasons for language study and asked to rate, using the six-point Likert scale, how much the reason applied to their own lan-

become a member of the second language group, e. g., "Studying English will help me understand better the American people and their way of life." Four items emphasized instrumental reasons for studying English, e. g. "It will be useful to me in my work when I return home." All were adapted from Gardner and Lambert's scales.⁹

English Language Achievement Measures

The most recent TOEFL or MTELP score of the student was used as a measure of his English language proficiency. Because these tests have high degrees of reliability (.97) and correlation (.97), one could be converted into the other for comparison.¹⁰ The fact that all of the students were placed in upper levels (level 5 and 6 of the ELI and upper group of the Saudis) implied that all were judged, on the basis of previous performance and test scores, to be at a somewhat similar stage of language proficiency before undertaking the eight-week period of language training. The standardized tests were administered near the end of this period,

Results

^{illb} The students questioned were from five different language groups: Telagu (1), Spanish (3), Japanese (2), Persian (4) and Ara_

their fathers' occupations. Eight *were* married. The age range was 19 to 32 and the average age was 25. (See Appendix B for complete results and procedure).

Within each group Gardner and Lambert's correlation of higher language proficiency with integrative motivation seemed to be borne out, with the exception of the Saudi students. The students professing integrative motivation in every other group exhibited higher test scores than other students in their groups. Overall the highest scores were received by the Spanish speakers and the lowest by the Saudi speakers of Arabic. The Saudi science students in general exhibited lower scores than the Arab students in the regular ELI program. The relation between test scores and type of motivation was reversed for the Saudis, that is, those professing instrumental motivation performed better on the tests than those indicating integrative motivation.

With regard to ethnocentrism, Gardner and Lambert's correlation between low ethnocentrism and high integrative motivation was not discovered within each group but was seen when the Arab students were compared with the other groups. The Arab students were the most highly ethnocentric, with four of them exhibiting a high degree, eight of them a medium amount and none a low degree of ethnocentrism. On the other hand, only one Spanish and one Persian speaker were highly ethnocentric, and one

dents were female.

The findings on anomie were that most of the students (19) exhibited a medium amount. Gardner and Lambert's correlation between high anomie and integrative motivation was found for the two students (one Telagu and one Persian) who had a high degree of anomie. The one student (an Arab) who exhibited low anomie was correspondingly highly ethnocentric, as might be predicted, and also obtained one of the lower proficiency scores in his language group.

Discussion

It was found that the group of students in the scientific English program received lower scores on the standardized tests, but the results cannot be traced conclusively to the material used because of the small sample size. The finding that among the Saudis the more successful learners exhibited instrumental rather than integrative motivation might be due to the fact that they are here to pursue Master's degrees in science (they are scheduled to enter OSU in January as regular students) and therefore it might be expected that a strong work and study-oriented approach might be taken by the more serious students in the group, who feel that they are under great pressure to learn English to further their studies. This result is similar to the findings of Gardner and Lambert

eluded: "Apparently when there is a vital need to master a second language, the instrumental approach is very effective, perhaps more so than the integrative." ¹¹

It was rather surprising to find that so many of the informants exhibited medium amounts of anomie, even some who were highly ethnocentric, although this might be explained by the fact that all are living in a foreign culture, expect to stay for a relatively long period of time, and are under the pressure which this entails. This factor thus did not seem to have great correlation with language proficiency.

The highly ethnocentric attitude of the Arab students when compared with that of other students might be explained in part by their relatively recent economic elevation, but chiefly by the special attitude towards their language held by its speakers. The majority of Arabs agreed strongly with the statements "My native language is the most perfect in the world" and "All people should be made to study Arabic is the language of the Koran and as such is held in a highly revered position. Charles Ferguson, in his article "Myths About Arabic," notes that a belief in the superiority of Arabic is held by virtually all members of the Arab speech community.¹² Reasons for this belief are related to their feeling that Arabic is beautiful and that it has great grammatical symmetry and logical structure (it can be proved, for example, that this latter belief is unfounded).

of the truth of Islam.

It was especially informative to note that many Arabs felt strongly that other peoples should be made to study their language. Another belief to add to those mentioned by Ferguson seems to be that Arabic will become one of the international languages of the future.

-Thus it might be concluded that culturally influenced attitudes toward one's own language and toward other languages and cultures have a decisive influence on the language learner's success in mastering a second language. Language teaching might be improved by an attempt to take into account and perhaps alter or revise some of these social and psychological orientations on the part of the learner.

APPENDIX A

Procedures Used

The following instructions were given to the students: "Please read the following statements and then circle the letter that best shows your feelings about the statements. A= strongly agree with statement, B = moderately agree with statement, C = slightly agree with statement, D= slightly disagree with statement, E= moderately disagree with statement, F= strongly disagree with statement."

degree of ethnocentrism. Circling of letter A was considered to indicate strong ethnocentric tendencies.

1. The worst danger to my country in the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas.

2. Foreigners are all right in their place but they should not become too friendly with native families of my country when they are staying in my country.

3. My country may not be perfect but the way of life in my country has brought my people as close as possible to the perfect society.

4. It is natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other family.

5. My native language is the most perfect in the world.

6. All people should be made to study my language.

Anomie

Items 7 through 17 were meant to measure the amount of anomie. Items 8 and 14 are reversed, that is, their content is the opposite of that measured by the scale.

7. In my country today, the leaders of the government are not really very interested in the problems of the average person.

8. My country is definitely the best country to live in.

9. Because of the condition of the world it is very difficult for a student to plan for the work he will do in life.

10. The life of the average man is getting worse, not better.

11. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can trust.

12. It isn't a good idea to have children because the future doesn't seem very safe.

13. I don't do very well in school although I work very hard.

14. The opportunities for young people in my country are much greater than in any other country.

15. I lived for a long time in my culture and I am happier living in a new culture now.

16. In my country if you have important friends you will succeed.

17. Sometimes I don't see any reason to spend so much time on education and studying.

Motivation

Items 18, 21, 24, and 25 were considered to be instrumental reasons for studying English. Items 19, 20, 22, and 23 were integrative reasons.

18. I am studying English because it will be useful to me in getting a good job.

19. I am studying English because it will help me to understand better the American people and their way of life.

20. I am studying English because it will help me make friends more easily with Americans.

21. I am studying English because it will be useful to me in my work when I return to my Country.

22. I am studying English because it will allow me to meet and talk with more people.

23. I am studying English because it will help me to think and act as Americans think and act.

24. I am studying English because everyone needs to know at least one foreign language to be really well-educated.

25. I am studying English because no one is really educated if he is not fluent in English.

APPENDIX B

Procedure

For each group of statements, a score of from 1 to 6 was given for each statement and then tallied and averaged to find the resulting degree of ethnocentrism or anomie. The lower the score, the higher degree of ethnocentrism or anomie (the reversed items were counted the opposite way). A score of from 1 to 2.5 was considered to indicate a high degree of the quality, 2.6 to 4.5 a medium amount, and 4.6 to 6 a low amount.

For the type of motivation, the students were rated on their answers and the scores tallied and averaged. The lower score of the two was considered to indicate the higher motivational factor. Any difference in scores was considered significant.

RESULTS

Lat	Ma	TOEFL/ MTELP	Ethno- cen- trism	Anomie	Inte- grative	Instru- mental
Telagu		454	4.8	2.45	2.5	2.7
Spanish		430	4.6	4.4	3.5	2.5
		416	3.8	3.3	3.5	2.5
		(546) 83	2.3	3.2	2.25	3
Persian		392	2.3	2.8	3.5	2.5
		428	3	2.8	4	3.7
		(428) 65	4.3	2.8	1.5	3
		(421) 64	4	2	3	2.75
Japanese		460	3.5	3.3	1.75	4.5
		408	5	2.7	4	1.75
Arabic		428	3.8	2.6	1.5	1
		424	2.3	4.2	2.25	3
		(408) 62	2.3	4.6	2.5	2.5
		448 68	3.6	3.6	2.25	4
		392	3	3.5	1.25	1.25
		(421) 64	2.8	4.4	3.75	2.5
Saudi		296 45	2.1	3.8	2.5	3.5
		270 41	1.8	3.2	2.75	5
		433 49	3.2	2.7	2.25	1.5
		500 71	2.6	4	4	2.75
		(336) 51	3.2	4.2	2.5	2.5
		(270) 41	3.1	4	2.25	3.25

,Presented at the Oregon Academy of Science annual meeting, Linguistics Section; February 24, 1979; held at Mt. Hood Community College; Gresham, Oregon.

¹ R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning, Newbury House: Rowley, Mass., 1972, p. 229.

² Ibid., p. 148.

³ Bernard Spolsky, "Attitudinal Aspects of Second Language Learning," Language Learning, Research Club in Language Learning, 1969, vol. 19, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 271-283.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 276.

⁵ Elizabeth Hoadley-Maidment, "The Motivation of Students Studying EFL in London," English Language Teaching Journal, Oxford University Press: London, Vol. 31, no. 3, April 1977, p. 207.

⁶ Gardner, Op. Cit., p. 3.

⁷ T. W. Adorno, et al, The Authoritarian Personality, Harper: New York, 1950.

⁸ L. Srole, "Social Dysfunction, Personality and Social Distance Attitudes." Paper read before the American Sociological Society, 1951, National Meeting, Chicago, Ill., mimeo.

⁹ Gardner, Op. Cit., pp. 147-148.

¹⁰ Henry Dizeny, Educational and Psychological Measurements, vol. 25, no. 4, Winter 1965, pp. 1129-31.

¹¹ Gardner, Op. Cit., p. 130.

¹² Charles Ferguson, "Myths about Arabic," Readings in the Sociology of Language, Meuten: The Hague, 1968, pp. 375-381.

Bibliography

T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality, New York: Harper, 1950.

Henry Dizeny, Educational and Psychological Measurements, Vol. 25, no. 4, 1965.

Joshua Fishman, ed., Readings in the Sociology of Language, The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, Attitudes and Motivation in Second- Language Learning, Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1972.

Hoadley-Maidment, "The Motivation of Students Studying EFL in London," English Language Teaching Journal, London: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Bernard Spolsky, "Attitudinal Aspects of Second Language Learning, " *Language Learning* vol. 19, nos. 3 and 4, 1969.

L. Srole, "Social Dysfunction, Personality and Social Distance Attitudes. " Paper read before the American Sociological Society, 1951, National Meeting, Chicago, Ill. , mimeo.

Some books of interest to Oregonians from

THE HAPI PRESS

- THE TARBELLS OF YANKTON (OREGON) Egbert S. Oliver, paper, 450pp, 1978, \$8.95.
- THE SHAPING OF A FAMILY, Egbert S. Oliver, paper, 450pp, 1979, \$8.95.
- HOW ENGLISH REALLY WORKS, Joe E. Pierce, 235pp, paper, 1979, \$9.95.
- THE NATURE OF NATURAL LANGUAGES, Joe E. Pierce, paper, 165pp, 1979, \$8.95.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM IN ENGLISH SPEAKING AMERICAN CHILDREN, Joe E. Pierce^{4th} Inga Hanna, paper, 120pp, 1974, \$6.95.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LINGUISTIC SYSTEM IN ENGLISH SPEAKING AMERICAN CHILDREN, Joe E. Pierce^{with} Inga Hanna, paper, 247pp, 1978, \$7.95.

Order directly or through your bookstore,

512 SW' Maplecrest Drive, Portland, OR 97219

OUTLINE OF THE ENGLISH SPELLING SYSTEM

Joseph Dunford

Teachers of English often despair over the possibility of teaching English spelling since it is so "irregular. " Many deal with spelling as little as possible. Others refer to it occasionally to teach by rote the spelling or pronunciation of an individual word.

There are many good reasons for this. The English spelling system is a real problem for the teacher and the student. For example, some students try to say /knok/ when looking at the word "knock, " and this frustrates both the student and the teacher. Other students write "stik" when they are trying to spell "stick. "

Because of this, teachers avoid spelling in teaching pronunciation and avoid pronunciation in dealing with spelling. In so doing, they are reacting to the basic problem in English spelling: that there is more than one pronunciation for one spelling pattern, and that there is more than one spelling pattern for one pronunciation. It can be confusing to teach the relationship of one to the other.

But teachers are neglecting the needs of their students when they neglect to teach this

relationship. Most native speakers of English have no trouble pronouncing new words when they see them written out on the page. And when they hear a word, they can usually spell it. But that is not true for ESL students, who often make strange mistakes in spelling or pronunciation. If these mistakes result from a lack of familiarity with the English spelling system, the teacher has a duty to teach the students about this system.

The teacher, however, might encounter problems in trying to learn more about English spelling. Books on "spelling rules" written for native English speakers are little help. Usually they are filled with rules for spelling endings such as "-able" and "-ible," etc. These are far from what the teacher needs if he or she wants to help the student who says /knok/ or writes "stile." If the teacher turns to work written by linguists, he or she may also have difficulty. Some of it is difficult to read, and much of it is scattered around in various places.

There is one source where the teacher can find a lot of useful information about the system of English spelling: Richard L. Venezky's The Structure of English Orthography. Other good sources are articles by Kreidler and Dickerson and Finney which have appeared in the TESOL Quarterly.

The following description of the English spelling system is based on these sources. It is not intended to replace them, but simply to introduce their work to a larger audience.

To describe the English spelling system, otherwise known as the orthography, Venezky

begins with the letters of the alphabet, from a to z. He uses single letters, and he combines other letters that are usually combined, and he makes from them a list of the building blocks of the spelling system. He calls these relational units. They are usually linked to one pronunciation, or sometimes to two pronunciations. For example, the unit b = /b/, the unit ch = /tʃ/ (with exceptions), the unit sh = /ʃ/, ai = /e/, ck = /k/, o = /a/ or /ɒ/. He combines letters to form a unit only when they cannot be broken down into their parts, while still keeping the pronunciation as when combined. For example, sh /ʃ/, but this /s/ is not s (/s/) or h (/h/).

The relational units can be divided into two groups, consonants and vowels. Each of these two groups is in turn subdivided, and moreover is classified into major and minor units.

Major Relational Units

<u>Consonants</u>		<u>Vowels</u>	
	Corn- atlai.d	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
b g h n r h u	ck	a	ai / ay he
c h p s-	dg		au/aw oa
ch j ph sh w tch			ea oe
d k q t x	wh		ee of boy
f l r th y			ei / ey oo
g m		y	eu/ ew ou/ ow
			ue
			ui

Minor Relational Units

<u>Consonants</u>		<u>Vowels</u>	
<u>Simple</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
kh	gn		ae

All of the letters of the alphabet appear as relational units, and some letters appear again as part of other units. For example, u appears as a simple consonant (e. g®, suave), a primary vowel (cut cute), and as parts of secondary vowel units (taut. couch)

Some letters of the alphabet also appear not as relational units but as markers® A marker cannot be linked directly to a pronunciation; it serves instead to show how other letters (relational units) should be pronounced® The well-known "silent e" at the end of many words (like hope) is an example of a marker. - Playing the same role as a marker is the "doubling" of letters that makes words like latter and later have a different pronunciation® More will be said about markers below.

Another look at the chart above, meanwhile, will show that the consonants are divided into simple consonant units and compound consonant units® The vowels are divided into primary vowel units and secondary vowel units. The following discussion will concern primary vowel units.

The pronunciation of stressed vowels (i, etc.) is controlled by the consonants that follow the primary vowel--by whether these

consonants are simple or compound (or doubled), and by the positions of the consonants within the word® These consonants and their position determine whether the preceding primary vowel is 'free' (long) or 'checked' (short) . See the chart below:

<u>Primary Vowel Letter</u>	<u>Pronunciations</u>	
	<u>Free</u> (long)	<u>Checked</u> (short)
a	/e/ <u>made</u> , able / i/ <u>these</u> /ai/ <u>time</u> /o/ <u>note</u> / (3) u/ Cuba, <u>super</u>	/ / <u>mad</u> , <u>rabble</u> /e/ <u>men</u> i/ him /a/ not /G/ <u>much</u> , funnel

A primary vowel, when followed by a simple consonant, is given its free pronunciation if this simple consonant is followed by another vowel letter in spelling (evil cumin) . The second vowel, of course, can be the marker e (made, these) . Also, when a primary vowel is followed by a simple consonant, then the consonants l or r then another vowel, it is given its free pronunciation (able ogre, idle)

The checked pronunciation of a primary vowel appears when no vowel letter follows the simple consonant. That means that when the vowel is followed by a simple consonant at the end of a word, the vowel is checked (hat hot pin)® Also, when the vowel is followed by a compound consonant, it is checked (vixen,

badger). Finally, when the vowel is followed by doubled consonants or by a group of consonants, whether they form one unit or more, the vowel is checked (funnel, rabble, clutch basket).⁵

The fact that primary vowels have two pronunciations, which are controlled by the following vowels, is the most important fact to be grasped about English spelling. This is what makes it different from the writing systems of other languages (especially from the systems used in languages spoken by students often found in ESL classrooms)

Another unusual feature is the marker system, which has been described above. Another, the use of doubled consonants as a marker to affect pronunciation of primary vowels, was shown above. Sometimes, however, consonants are doubled at the end of a word, where this doubling has no effect on pronunciation. Nevertheless, the letters are written double by force of convention. So, we usually double the l in still, hill, the f in fluff, the s in toss, mass. This is done even though the vowel in all of these words would still be checked if the last consonant were single, according to the rules given above.⁶

Another feature involves the letters u and v. If you think about it, you rarely see a word which ends in u or v. These letters are avoided at the end of a word; the marker e is written to avoid having this happen (glue, true love). Similarly, e is used as a marker to avoid having words end in !? since that letter is used for the plural in nouns and for the third person singular in verbs. For this reason, there is

an e at the end of words like collapse and goose.⁷

What has been discussed so far can be called for convenience sake the primary vowel system. Now that the main parts have been mentioned, some of the problems that it causes can be discussed. The biggest of these problems are: that the system begins to break down as the words become longer, and that certain consonants cannot be doubled to show checked pronunciation, according to the rules of the primary vowel system.

In a word like subliminal, for an example of the first problem, none of the vowels are free, though at least one of the s looks as if it should be pronounced that way. That is, the stressed letter i is followed by only one simple consonant, and it is not at the end of the word.

Of course, Venezky's system doesn't deal with unstressed vowels, so the other i is not a problem here). This sort of thing happens quite commonly, and might be considered the biggest single drawback in the spelling system as described here. There are, of course, numbers of words containing pronunciations that "do not fit the rule," but the s e are too numerous to list in a short article.

Sometimes, the breakdown in the system is due to limitations on the doubling of letters to show a previous checked primary vowel spelling. This is what happens in the case of the words devil and evil. In these two words, the letters following the primary vowel e are exactly the same, but the pronunciations are different. Why? The answer lies in the fact that

the letter *v* cannot usually be doubled, as other simple consonants can, and so the checked pronunciation is not shown as it is when other consonants follow. If one could double the *v* the difference between evil and *devvil would cause no problems in pronunciation.

The letter *v* brings us to another problem. Because of the fact that, in the English of Chaucer's day, the *u*, *m* and *n* looked alike, the custom developed of avoiding putting them next to one another. This has resulted in spelling words like *love*, rather than **luv*, and done in addition to **dun*. Here the *e* marker is used as part of this special spelling pattern.⁸

There are other areas where no satisfactory explanation for the spelling system can be given. For example, why does the *e* in lemon differ from the *e* in demon?² However, there are explanations now being developed which help to explain some pronunciation patterns that the primary vowel system, as described above, has not been able to handle. Among checked primary vowel spellings in the middle of a word there are more "exceptions" than words which follow the "rule." That is, there are words which have the pronunciation of checked vowels in the middle of words, where the following simple consonant spelling should indicate a free vowel. For example, how can the difference between debatable and palatable, both words having a primary vowel followed by a single consonant, be explained? It can't, according to the system Venezky outlines. But, according to new research done in the field of spelling and

pronunciation, it can be explained on the basis of the sound system of English.

An article in the TESOL Quarterly by Wayne B. Dickerson¹⁰ pointed out that pronunciation teachers have spent a lot of time trying to teach students how to make the various sounds of English, but have spent very little time trying to show the student when to expect some of these sounds to show up in English words. His response to that situation has been to try to bring forth a set of rules which predict sound patterns. In so doing he has set up a system which would allow the foreign learner of English to figure out the pronunciation of words on the printed page. This set of rules relies on two factors: the spelling of the word and the stress pattern of the word. One of these two is useless without the other.

Figuring out the stress pattern is the main problem with such an approach, but Dickerson and Finn¹¹ have gone a long way towards solving it. Their work rests on the foundation established by Chomsky and Halle's famous *The Sound Pattern of English*¹² but they have made the concepts much more easy to understand. Also, they have not been afraid to modify the concepts when necessary. According to their work, three main stress rules are needed to give the student what he needs to predict the stress of words (with primary vowel spellings) that he will meet on the printed page. These are:

1. The Weak Stress Rule
2. The Strong Stress Rule
3. The General Stress Rule

The first two of these rules are described in their 1978 article.

The Weak Stress Rule will predict the stress of verbs that have no endings, and, of words with "weak endings": like able, ed, es, ing., al, en, ours ure, ary, ory. The rule is this: If the "key syllable" of a word is a vowel or a combination of vowel and consonant, stress the syllable that precedes it, unless it is a prefix. Otherwise stress the "key syllable." Now, what is the "key syllable?" It is the last spelling pattern of the remainder of a word after the ending has been taken away. If there is no ending, it is the last spelling pattern of the word. Here is an example: The word palatable has the ending able. What is the stress pattern of this word? First, take off the ending. The "key syllable" is the at in palat-. Since this word does not have a prefix, stress the previous syllable (or, in the words of Dickerson and Finney, "Stress Left")

Here is another example: The word debatable also has the ending able. To find the stress pattern, take off the ending. The "key syllable" is the at in debat-. This word does have a prefix, de-, so stress the "key syllable."

Once the stress pattern has been found, the differences in pronunciation of the stressed primary vowel can be shown: A vowel which is stressed as a result of "Stress Left," that is, stressing the syllable preceding the "key syllable," is pronounced checked (short) except for u, which is pronounced free (long). A vowel stressed on the "key syllable" is pronounced free (long).¹³ Unstressed vowels are

pronounced as reduced vowels /⁰/. This accounts for the difference in pronunciation between palatable /pəˈleɪtəbəl/ and debatable /dɪˈbætəbəl/. Other words subject to this rule are: critical, municipal, frivolous, generous, excitable, veritable, derisive, primary, repel, etc.

The second stress rule, the Strong Stress Rule, reflects the fact observed by Venezky, Chomsky and Halle¹⁵ that certain endings cause the stress to be placed on the syllable preceding the ending. According to Dickerson and Finney, these endings are of four types. One type consists of i plus a consonant: ical, ible, iquible, ity, ify, ish (in verbs) is and id (in adjectives). Another type consists of i plus a vowel: ion, ial, ious, Ian, ia, iar, io, ior, ium, ius, sate, lentiant, iary, fable. The two types of ending s, as well as two other types, mean that the word will be stressed according to the Strong Stress Rule.

The Strong Stress Rule is simply this: if the ending is a strong ending, stress the "key syllable." According to the rule, words with all of the strong endings listed above would receive the stress on the syllable before the ending. However, the pronunciation of that stressed vowel will be different in the two groups. The stressed vowels before the plys, j, c?, wonant endings will be pronounced (ta-rkg). Examples of the words would be: conic, mimic, eligible, vanity, vanish, timid, fanatical, unify, impunity, etc. The stressed vowels before the i plus vowel ending are pronounced free (long),

except for which is pronounced checked (short). Examples of the words would be: nation. depletion, facial, spacious, ration, quotient, petition, vicious, etc. (exceptions: special, discretion, companion).

The set of rules described above, though only partially complete, can already provide an answer to the problem of the word subliminal, which was mentioned earlier in this paper. A quick glance at the ending shows that the word is subject to the weak stress rule. Take off the ending and stress the syllable preceding the "key syllable." Since it is not a prefix, the stress is on that syllable, which will be pronounced checked according to the rule. Unstressed syllables will be reduced, pronounced /a/. So, subliminal

Remember that there are other parts to English spelling than the primary vowel system, which refers only to stressed single vowel spellings. First of all there are the consonant units themselves. When doubled in their function as part of the marking system for primary vowels, they are not doubled in pronunciation. This is caused by the fact that the English sound system does not permit doubled consonants to be pronounced, though they are in other languages. Second, there are the secondary vowel units like au, ou, ai, ea etc. (or variants found at the end of words and before vowels aw and ow, ay, etc.). These are not followed by doubled consonant letters. Also, they have in some cases a fairly large number of possible pronunciations.

This brief outline of the English spelling

system cannot be considered complete, but should prove helpful to the TESOL teacher.

Note: The author prepared an extensive appendix containing innumerable additional examples, but this had to be edited out for economic, not academic, consideration. Ed.

¹ Richard L. Venezky, The Structure of English Orthography. The Hague: Mouton, 1970,

² Ibid., p. 50.

³ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

⁶ Ibid., 107.

Ibid., p. 55-57.

⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁹ Charles W. Kreidler, "Teaching English Spelling and Pronunciation," TESOL Quarterly, 1972, p. 9.

¹⁰ Wayne B. Dickerson, "The WH Question of Pronunciation: An Answer from Spelling and Generative Phonology," TESOL Quarterly, 1975, pp. 299-309

- ¹¹ Wayne B. Dickerson, and Rebecca Hs Finney, "Spelling in TESL: Stress Cues to Vowel Quality, " TESOL Quarterly, 1978, pp. 163-175
- ¹² Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968.
- ¹³ Wayne B. Dickerson and Rebecca H. Finney, "Spelling in TESL: Stress Cues to Vowel Quality, " TESOL Quarterly, 1978, pp. 167-9.
- ¹⁴ Richard L. Venezky, The Structure of English Orthography, The Hague: Mouton, 1970, pp. 108-9.
- ¹⁵ Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968, p. 81.
- ¹⁶ Wayne B. Dickerson and Rebecca H. Finney, "Spelling in TESL: Stress Cues to Vowel Quality, " TESOL Quarterly, 1978, pp.160-70.

Bibliography

Muhammad Ali Al- Khuli, "The TESL Teacher and English Prefixes, " TESL Reporter, 1977, 10 (4) : 8-9, 15.

A useful listing of English prefixes.

Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound

Pattern of English, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968.

Difficult for the non-specialist to read. The footnotes contain useful material which benefit from the author's wide acquaintance with earlier grammar works.

Wayne B. Dickerson, "The WH Question of Pronunciation: An Answer from Spelling and Generative Phonology, " TESOL Quarterly, 1975, 9: 229-309.

Shows how knowledge of the spelling pattern can allow students to know when to use sounds that they have learned how to make in pronunciation class.

Wayne B. Dickerson and Rebecca H. Finney, "Spelling in TESL: Stress Cues to Vowel Quality, " TESOL Quarterly, 1978, 12: 163-175.

A presentation of two of the three main rules for determining stress of the word printed on the page. Sample from lessons they have developed to teach students how to use these rules. Very useful,

William D. Drake, The Way to Spell: A Guide for the Hesitant Speller, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1967. Distributed by Science Research Associates, Chicago.

Written by a linguist. A very good descrip-

Lion of many aspects of English spelling. Intended for native speakers of English, but useful for non-native learners of English as well. Very good material on the spelling of unstressed prefixes and suffixes.

Caleb Gattegno, Comparative Phonetic Kit #1 (American Silent Way). Also known as "Miniaturized Phonic Code Chart" for English, and accompanying pronunciation/spelling chart. 1976, Educational Solutions: 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

A small version of his larger chart. Shows various ways that a word of a given pronunciation can be spelled.

John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott. A Pronouncing Dictionary of the American Language, Springfield, Conn: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1953.

Source for pronunciations used in this presentation. However, the symbols for representing sounds come from Venezky, p. 14.

Charles W. Kreidler, "English Orthography: A Generative Approach," James E. Alatis, ed. Studies in Honor of Albert H. Marckwardt, Washington, D.C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1972, pp. 81-91.

A thorough discussion of the spelling system,

related to pronunciation and stress pattern. Informative.

Charles W. Kreidler, "Teaching English Spelling and Pronunciation," TESOL Quarterly, 1972, 6: 3-12.

Introduces the spelling system in a rational way. Points out its major features.

Leonard R. Morelli (American Language Institute, New York University), American English: Pronunciation and Dictation. A Didier International Edition. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1971.

A pronunciation textbook which has useful material on unstressed prefixes and suffixes.

Robert L. Oswalt, "English Orthography as a Morphophonemic System: Stressed Vowels," 1973, 102: 5.40.

Contains an easily read description of stressed vowels. Much useful information about words of two or more syllables taken from Latin and Greek.

Ted Plaister, A Minimal Pair Locator List for English as a Second Language, Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1965.

A listing of one syllable words by sound (not spelling). Useful for noting the usual and

exceptional spellings of vowel sounds, consonant clusters, etc.

Clifford H. Prator and Betty Wallace Robinett, Manual of American English Pronunciation 3rd ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972.

Useful material about unstressed vowels in "Lesson. 3. " Information about the primary vowel system in "Lesson 15. "

Richard L. Venezky, The Structure of English Orthography, The Hague: Mouton, 1970®

Very useful. The principal source for the material used in this presentation.

Axel Wijk, Rules of Pronunciation for the English Language: An Account of the Relationship between English Spelling and Pronunciation London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

An exhaustive description of the relationship of spelling to sound in English. Primarily British. Includes material on proper names.

Teaching Materials

Katherine M. Day and Patricia C. Lightbody, Words and Patterns: A Spelling Series, Levels: Readiness, A through E. Word Study. Books: I and II The SR.A Spelling Series, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972,

Available from Northwest Schoolbook Depository Company, 17970 S. W. Lower Boones Ferry Road, Portland, Oregon 97223, (503) 639-3193. Texts available in either cloth or paper. Teacher's edition available for each level.

Richard L. Venezky was the consultant for this series of spelling texts which follow his principle of "Designed for native-English-speaking child learning to spell. A major disadvantage of the series for the adult foreign learner is presented by the large numbers of one-syllable words describing animals, animal noises, and other vocabulary items of interest more to children than adults. It is often necessary to spend a lot of time teaching these items of limited usefulness in order to use the series. The series A-E is designed to be used K-6. The word study I and II in 7th and 8th grades,

Dorothy Danielson and Rebecca Hayden, Using English: Your Second Language, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

A standard adult-level ESL grammar text, Has material on spelling pp. 70-71 (verb suffixes) pp. 114-115 (plural nouns) .

Caleb Gattegno, Word Charts (English) in color 16" x 22" (set of 12) ; also Phonic Code Charts in color 16" x 22" (set of 8) . Educational Solutions, Inc., 80 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011 (212) 924-1744.

Useful, large sized charts indicating the various ways a word of a given pronunciation can be spelled. A disadvantage of the charts is that no indication is given as to whether the spelling is common, exceptional, unusual or rare, etc. Many words listed are of limited usefulness for the non-native speaker of English.

Theodore Glim and Frank Manchester, Basic Spelling. Two editions available, 1973 or 1977 New York: J. B. Lippincott. Books A-J (1 and J available only in 1973 edition) Both editions available from Northwest Textbook Depository Company, 17970 S.W. Lower Boones Ferry Road, Portland, Oregon 97223 (503) 639-3193.

A spelling textbook designed for use with native speakers in grade schools. Well presented. Used currently to teach spelling to college-bound ESL students at Lewis and Clark College because of simple but effective format. Sometimes suffers from inadequate analysis of the spelling system. Books C and D are used for lower intermediate levels at Lewis and Clark. F and G are used for upper intermediate,

Mary S. Lawrence, Reading, Thinking, Writing: A Text for Students of English as a Second Language.

A standard adult-level ESL writing text. Drills on spelling key vocabulary words at

end of each unit: pp. 16, 36, 65, 94, 142, 167, 203, 234.

Joan Morley, Improving Aural Comprehension. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1972.

A standard adult-level ESL listening skill s text. Has material dealing with spelling on pp. 61-63. Deals with homonyms and rhyming; family names and given names; spelling "rules;" spelling checked (short) vowels

William E. Rutherford, Modern English. 2nd ed., 2 vols., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.

A standard adult-level ESL grammar text@ Spread through the two volumes are exercises on free and checked vowels, word ending s, stressed and unstressed vowels, etc. Volume I: 2-3, 15, sound system; 85, 97 adding endings; 105-117 free (long) and checked (short) vowels; 149, 163-4 endings -are -or -er and before -ity; 280, 296-7 endings -ence, -ance. Volume II,: 46-47 checked (short) and free (long) vowels; 75, 91-2 endings; 137, 151 word formation prefixes; 197-213 doubled letters; 227, 245 c vs 1₂ palatalization, et c. ; 261-3 stress (longer words)

Richard C. Yorkey, Study Skills for Students of English as a Second Language. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

A standard adult-level ESL study skills text. On pages 13-16 are presented some "rules" for adding endings. Other spelling "rules" such as i before e except after c) , etc® also presented.

Jack Yourman, A Phonics Chart for Decoding English. 23" x 29" chart (color) ® College Skills Center: 1250 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10001, (212) 244-1620.

Printed on plastic-covered stock that can be folded and refolded® Shows the spellings of 44 basic sounds of English. Organizes the spellings b y sounds, includes cartoon illustrations of some words listed,. Also includes a list of 40 exceptional s p elling s. Can be used by non-native learners of English, children or adults,

OUTSIDE LINGUISTICS:
ESP AS HISTORICAL NECESSITY

Karl Drobnic

Oregon State University

This paper develops a view of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as an o ut grow th of large scale, international political, economic and intellectual processes rather than an ex-tension of various linguistics-generated English language teaching approaches that have been dominant in the field in the recent past® This distinction is viewed as crucial to the assess-ment and evaluation of that which ESP attempts.

From this distinction we feel that there emerges also real implications for the ELT classroom, not the least of which may be a change in the professional self-concept of t h e ELT practitioner which results from accepting, as a legitimate and worthwhile domain, the role of providing services to other disciplines and interests.

Theories of linguistics and learning psy-chology have so thoroughly dominated ELT in the recent past that it is common practice with-in the profession to turn immediately to tho s e disciplines when called upon t o supply a ratio-

nale for the methodologies, techniques and curricula we employ. At its worst, this stranglehold of other disciplines on our profession resulted in insistence that mastery of the English sentence led inexorably to mastery of the language, and those who failed were subjected to remedial doses of repetitive pattern drills® A whole era of ELT was dominated by the structure-oriented syllabus.

In the period of eclecticism following this era there have been many attempts to improve the old ways, find new ways, and synthesize old and new. Far too often, however, whether one has engaged in any or all of the above, assessment and evaluation have been made according to the standards and guideposts of the previous era. There appear to be certain covert biases within the profession that carry considerable weight, and when invoked, they are difficult to refute. To illustrate, if a language teaching program is deemed to be a failure and a set of mediocre structure scores from one of the standard tests is presented as evidence of that failure, one must either acquiesce or undertake the weary task of challenging the frequently encountered prejudice that equates successful language learning with the mastery of English grammar. A clear perception of a historical framework for ESP eases the job considerably.

The first requirement of this approach is to view ESP not as a doctrine, a methodology or a technique, but as a response reflecting the shifts and changes in the world's balance of power in this century. With the independence that followed the dissolution of the major colo-

nial empires in the 1950's and 60's came the formation of national language policies for many countries.

Powerful economic, political, and intellectual forces were at work in the world, and what needs to be noted is a fundamental shift in attitude towards the English language on the part of many of our clients. English, a language that once symbolized conquerors, masters, and the ruling elite, has become a language of service in the post-colonial era, a tool for the education, industrialization, and ambitious nation-building programs of our times.

In nation after nation, the realization was made that English is a tool, not an end in itself. English as an end rather than a means is a luxury few nations have been able to afford. It is from this view of English as a tool that ESP has developed.

In the past, English was the vehicle of Western culture, and the English teacher was as much a missionary of the West as those who ventured into dark heartlands with Bibles in their hands and the Lord's Prayer on their lips. We were justly proud of English culture, one rich in literature, and eventually there developed the attitude that true proficiency in the language meant the ability to comprehend our greatest writers.

The literary-cultural-linguistic orientation to language teaching evolved into a form of telling clients what was good for them. ESP turns that around and asks our clients what they need.

The first language program I taught in was based on painstaking contrastive analysis. Dis-

crete English language items had been identified and ordered according to their degree of difficulty for the native speaker of Amharic, and six long years of language, lessons were carefully sequenced on the assumption that point by point we would conquer the evil of first language interference. No language but English was permitted in the classroom, and despite the fact that our students were daily using English to study math, physics, chemistry, history, and assorted other subjects, we spent countless hours drilling to perfection structural items that had little, if anything, to do with competent classroom communication. We were sincere and well-intentioned, and the results we obtained are predictable. Our students could manipulate grammatical patterns in the classroom and they were excellent at guessing the answers to comprehension questions, results that are too well-documented in the literature of ELT to need reviewing here.

The really important point is that ESP asks, "What portion of the English language is important to this particular class?" and then attempts to teach English from that assessment. In ESP, we keep in mind Louis Trimble's statement as to the reason some students are learning English: "Our students are learning a foreign language primarily in order to manipulate difficult intellectual material." That is, their primary goal is not the appreciation of American culture. It is not the formation of intercommunications. These may of course be secondary goals, and quite important to the well-being of students studying outside their

homelands, but the primary goal is still the manipulation of difficult intellectual material.

I have quickly sketched, with the help of simplification and generalization, the political and economic matrix from which ESP has emerged. I have argued that emphasis on linguistic competence in English language teaching has been tinged with cultural bias. Developing nations, however, have been quick to perceive English as a tool of self-betterment, and it is not accident that in nation after nation around the world, ESP has received far more attention than it has here in the U.S. Where our clients have been in control of the institutions of education--their home countries--they have opted for language teaching that addresses their needs, even though it has meant years of nursing an infant with a theoretical base sketchy at best.

have also stated that besides being political and economic, ESP is an intellectual response. I have already touched on the failures of the era of linguistic competence. Currently, linguistic competence is finding itself supplanted by communicative competence; that is, providing the student with language skills adequate to cope with actual situations, and we have mentioned that the ultimate actual situation in ESP is frequently the manipulation of difficult intellectual material (I wish to point out that following a technical manual for small motor repair, for example, can be quite as complex as the academic classroom). The ESP approach is not dogmatic about particular methods and techniques used in ESP. It stresses the use of what

has proved useful. However, the ESP approach does focus attention on certain points which play a crucial role in ESP programming.

The ESP programmer must take as his starting point real communication needs stemming from real life situations. A systematic analysis of student needs, and not the linguistic analysis of English grammar, determines the shape and content of the language teaching curriculum. It may be vitally important in some programs that a student comprehend immediately a pattern such as, "If the red light goes on, throw the switch to the off position." He may never have to master the verb "to be" to any substantial degree. Thus, the program in this instance should take into account the nil tolerance for error for the conditional, and the quite large tolerance for the "to be" constructions, and this should be specified at the outset. Quite the opposite could be true for a subsequent program, and it becomes obvious that institutions offering ESP curricula must be flexible, willing to examine and change program components according to the needs of the incoming clients.

The analysis of student needs, however, yields only the program objectives (desired terminal language behavior). It does not produce a syllabus. Factors such as budget, administrative support, teacher ability, and student attitudes (e.g. maturity) will have marked effect on the content of the syllabus.² Considerable care and attention must go into the planning of content appropriate to the decided terminal language behavior, and it is not

automatic that content will always directly reflect the terminal objectives;³ the "direct path" is not always the best path®

Quite often in ESP programs, as the planning of course content progresses, it becomes apparent that available commercial textbooks do not satisfy various requirements of the course. Though there have been quantum leaps in the number of ESP textbooks available in the past few years, the materials development team has become an established feature of many ESP programs. Materials development involves considerably more than fleshing out lesson plans and whether there is a need for it should be clearly established during the budget formulation for the program. A number of effective materials development procedures have been developed at various institutions, including the noteworthy effort at GTE-Iran described by David Litwack which

"permitted the development of 220 lessons in three course streams supporting two skill areas with 20 man-months (4 designers for 5 months) of effort." ⁴

The program planner must also make a realistic assessment of the institution's teacher resources. To correctly assess the student's real communication needs and organize learning accordingly is a difficult task; to teach bound by a subject matter that is alien to the interests and training of the traditionally humanities-oriented English language teacher is threatening at the least® Pitfalls and traps

await the language teacher who tries to assume the role of an expert in the subject matter (of engineering, for example) and loses sight of the fact that the job is to teach English. Teacher failure is a very real problem in ESP at the present moment, and at present there are very few teacher-training programs for ESP.

This problem of language teachers being unfamiliar with the subject matter of a particular ESP program can be further magnified by a group of students with considerable expertise in the subject (e.g., a group of nurses). That the student already knows should not be underestimated or ignored; on the other hand, to over what the student already knows may lead to a situation in which the student must struggle not only with a strange language, but with alien concepts as well.

The problems mentioned in these last few paragraphs are all being addressed with increasing frequency in the literature of ESP, and they have in common a particular feature. They fall, by and large, outside linguistics. Since they are not generated by linguistics, this should come as no surprise¹ it is my feeling that the answers lie outside linguistics, also, and it is for this reason that I have sketched an extra-linguistic framework for ESP. To exemplify, in the problem of materials development, Litwack turned not to linguistics to find an effective method, but to the techniques of industrial management.

From this framework, it makes sense to caution the linguistics-oriented language teacher proposing failure or remediation for a stu-

dent who consistently botches (e.g.) subordination to first examine the degree of need and the tolerance for error concerning subordination in the student's real life situation. Alternatives such as this for the assessment and evaluation of language programs are hardly revolutionary, but they do meet with considerable entrenched resistance.

My argument is not to abandon the insights into language and language proficiency that we have gained from linguistics, but to adjust our professional self-concept as language teachers to changes in the international equilibrium, Times change, and the majority of our students today learn English in order to apply it to specific situations; it is in recognition of this fact that we as teachers cannot assume the very valuable role of service to the emerging world order.

- 1 Louis Trimble: quoted in J. A. Barnett, Keynote address: "ESP in ELT," in H. L. B. Moody and J. D. Moore (eds.), English for Specific Purposes, The British Council, 1977.
- 2 Karl Drobnic, "Mistakes and Modification in Course Design: An EST Case History," in Todd Trimble, Mary Louis Trimble and Karl Drobnic (eds.) English for Specific Purposes—Science and Technology, Oregon State University, 1978, See also: Gladys Hirayama-Grant and Mark Sedgwick: "English for Air Traffic Controllers in Retrospect," *Idem*²

- ³ H. G. Widdowson: "The Communicative Approach and Its Application," in L. L. Moody and J. D. Moore (eds.), English for Specific Purposes, The British Council, 1977.
- ⁴ David Litwack: "Procedure: The Key to Developing an ESP Curriculum," in Karl Drobic (ed.), English for Science and Technology Newsletter, #15, Oregon State University, 1978.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

ESL AND BILINGUAL
TEACHER. CERTIFICATION

The need for certifying teachers in the fields of Bilingual Education and ESL is being recognized by a growing number of states. On October 9, 1978, I mailed out a request for information to the State Departments of Education of each state and U.S. territory, and at this date have received replies from 76% (42 of 55). The request was so worded as to encourage attitudinal comments as well as specific certification information. According to the replies, 16 states or territories (less than a third of the respondents) have some form of bilingual certification; 8 have ESL certification; 10 have bilingual certification only, and 2 ESL only. These figures need comment. Excluding the South, where the NELB (Non-English-Language-Background) population is smallest, and where not a single state has bilingual or ESL certification, fully half of the states have come to it, about equally spread throughout the East, Midwest, and West. It may be worth mentioning that 7 states and 2 territories indicate they are "working on it," "studying it," or expect a report soon: Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New York, Virginia, Guam and the Trust Territories®

The breakdown as of December 1978, assuming no changes among the 13 non-respondents, is as follows: Bilingual Certification: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, ESL Certification: Delaware, Hawaii, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Rhode Island, Utah, Wisconsin.

There have been a few other interesting gleanings from letters of respondents. Colorado claims that many of its teacher training institutions now require work in ESL. In Montana local boards with sizeable Native American populations in their schools establish their own requirements in bilingual and ESL. Kansas and Tennessee make a point of having no laws against instruction in a language other than English. Pennsylvania recognizes that foreign language teachers do better than English teachers in ESL situations. The territories, Guam, Samoa and the Trust Territories, all indicate that special training is required, short of certification. One significant negative comment: one state with 16% NELB, well above the national average, sees no need.

Most, but not all, replies from the Departments of Education show increasing awareness of existing needs and concern for the people to be assisted. The need for certifying teachers in the two specialties is based upon both an existing legal obligation (the LAU Decision) and the size of the NELB population in the U.S. (9% of the national population). Approximately two and a half million U.S. residents speak no

English at all.

Obviously the number of states that have established a certification policy for bilingual and ESL teachers is not large enough; several states are in the process of developing certification or trying to reach a decision. The issue is a difficult one, a politically sensitive one, involving ideological differences and power struggles beyond the realm of classroom practices. One misunderstanding held in several places and expressed to me in personal communication is that the bilingual teacher is often ill-prepared as a teacher, and substitutes his knowledge of another language and his membership in a minority for sound academic qualifications. Although there may have been some instances of such abuses, it is precisely the function of certification and of the establishment of professional standards to prevent such a possibility. A properly trained bilingual teacher is not a poor substitute for a competent teacher but a fully competent teacher with additional areas of specialization. There needs to be a better understanding of the competencies of a bilingual teacher and of an ESL teacher. The following brief (and certainly overgeneralized) sketches may shed some light on the issue. Let us discuss three hypothetical teachers and their behavior; the teachers will be referred to as "she" for clarity, not because of sexist stereotyping,

Teacher A, a monolingual speaker of English, is well-qualified to teach Language Arts, but has not had any training in ESL or bilingual education. Faced with the presence of one or

more Mexican children of limited English proficiency she tends to place them in the slowest group, using programs designed for the disadvantaged, yet she is likely to teach them to read as if they possessed oral English competence. This is due not only to her lack of training and lack of familiarity with specialized materials, but also to her assumption that her kind of approach is adequate, since it was successful in the case of her own ancestors, who learned English by means of hard work and high motivation without any special provisions®

On the other hand, Teacher B, bilingual in English and Spanish, addresses the Mexican children and their parents in their own language and understands their attitudes. More important still, she recognizes and uses the students' linguistic and cognitive strengths and leads them to successful literacy in Spanish as a stepping stone to literacy in English®

With a similar group of children Teacher C, who is not bilingual but trained in ESL, uses a second-language approach instead of the remedial one of Teacher A; she develops the students' oral proficiency in English as a prerequisite for reading® Her attitude is positive; she accepts, respects and studies the students' language and culture® For the Mexican children, Teacher C is more suitable than Teacher A, although Teacher B is by far the most appropriate.

However, let us now suppose that instead of, or in addition to, the Mexican children, these teachers had some pupils from a different ethnic group such as Korean or Navajo. This new

variable would not particularly affect the behaviors of Teachers A and C, but how about Teacher B, the Spanish bilingual? When English becomes the only lingua franca in her classroom, will her approach remind us of Teacher A or Teacher C? The answer depends upon her understanding of the principles of second-language pedagogy and her ability to apply them® These qualifications, by the way, would also enhance her effectiveness in teaching English to her Mexican pupils. ESL methodology needs to be included in the training of all bilingual teachers® It is not enough that they know how to teach in two languages; they must also know the special skills needed for teaching English as a second language.

It seems clear that a well-trained bilingual teacher, far from being unworthy of certification, is highly deserving of professional status. And so is a well-trained ESL teacher who is the logical choice for a multi-ethnic classroom and for any classroom with NELB students for whom a bilingual teacher is not available.

The number of states that provide for certification in ESL or Bilingual Education or both does not reflect total recognition or acceptance of existing needs; it does, however, reflect great strides from the recent past, and there is evidence that much more is underway. In Oregon, for example, where the non-English-Language background population constitutes 7% of the State's entire population (only 2% below the national average) there is still no certification for either bilingual or ESL teachers. Yet because of the felt needs expressed by parents

and teachers and as a result of discussions held, for example, at the 1978 ORTESOL Conference, where Teacher Certification was the subject of one of the theme-setting speeches, a state committee on certification has been formed with equal numbers of representatives from bilingual education and ESL groups. The role of bilingual and ESL teachers should be re-examined in the light of nationwide recognition of the need for their services, and proper standards have to be set for defining their competencies.

A similar situation exists and is being dealt with in the State of New York. In 1970 the City of New York, recognizing the need for teachers trained to teach English to Speakers of Other Languages, instituted an examination for licensing them; now a special task force of New York State English to Speakers of Other Languages and Bilingual Educators Association has compiled a Proposal for a Certificate of Specialization in the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages. The document, which presents overwhelming evidence for the need for such certification, comprises the following:

I. A request for State certification, based upon the existing inequities affecting (a) the students from non-English speaking homes, and (b) the teachers who are not hired as readily as teachers with certificates®

II. A statement of need, based upon numerical information on the number of non-native speakers of English in the State and the small

number of such speakers who have teachers labeled (but not certified) as ESL teachers (as compared with students of foreign languages who are taught by certified teachers)

III. A recognition of needs evidenced by the existence of university programs and degrees in TESOL; government guidelines and court decisions such as the Lau vs Nichols Supreme Court decree at the national level and the Aspira decree in New York City; and position papers and resolutions by professional organizations such as the Modern Language Association, the National TESOL organization and its New York affiliate.

IV. A definition of the role of the Teacher of English to Speakers of Other Languages,

V. A description of the necessary competencies of teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages as defined in the TESOL guidelines,

VI. An estimate of the relatively small cost of certification to the state and to local districts.

With appropriate modifications, this document could serve as a model for initiating a request for certification of bilingual and ESL teachers in other states. Copies of the New York State Proposal can be obtained from Teachers College, Columbia University, Box 185, New York City, 10027.

Editor's Note: The author of this brief communication did not submit his name. We would be happy to recognize the author if he will let us know who he or she is®

A REPORT ON A WORKSHOP
FOR ESL PROGRAMS DEALING WITH
STUDENTS FROM SAUDI ARABIA

Sabri MQ Hashim

Portland State University

On Friday and Saturday, October 6th and 7th, 1978, the University of California in Davis and the Saudi Arabian Mission to the United States and Canada organized an ESL workshop. This workshop dealt with language programs for students from Saudi Arabia.

The two-day workshop provided administrators and instructors in intensive English programs in colleges and universities with a survey of the history and cultural background of Saudi Arabia and its educational system. This workshop covered information that educators should be able to use to help students quickly and easily adapt to college programs in the United States.

The first lecture, entitled, "A Thumbnail History of Saudi Arabia," was given by Dr. Muhalhal, Program Director of the Saudi Mission. The speaker said that in dealing with the Saudi Arabian students, the teacher should consider at least four important points. First,

these students have a different culture, which the teacher should be familiar with in order to improve his relationship with the students. Second, teachers should not stereotype the students. They should deal with each student individually. For example, the idea that all Saudi students cheat in class and the belief that all Saudi students are rich are stereotypes that can damage the integrity of the Saudi students. Third, the teacher can greatly improve his relationship with students once he has established trust. And last of all, Saudi students have a different type of education in their high schools. Therefore, the teacher should not have the same set of expectations from them as he does from his American students.

The second speaker was Dr. Khalil, Director of the English Language Program for the Saudi Arabian Mission. He stressed three points. First, he felt that this workshop could be applicable to Saudi Arabian, as well as other international, students. Second, the presence of these students in the U.S. should contribute greatly to both sides. And third, the vision of the teacher should be that of understanding and assistance because these are part of his responsibility.

Dr. Khalil proposed a three-phase language program which could help the student adjust to American academic life. These should be completed before he begins other regular classes. In the first phase, the student should be helped to know American culture, get the right orientation and learn how to deal with university teachers, administration and a host family, etc.

In the middle phase the student should improve his communication skill s and his vocabulary should develop from 3,000 to about 10,000 words. By the third phase the steident should have a good command of En g l i s h, but would probably not score above the 500 level of the TOEFL test. At this point the student needs a transition period in which he continues to improve his English, while taking one or two regular university classes, if he is competent to do so.

Dr. _____ said that English for Special Purposes, ESP and EST, are useful and should be presented to students at the middle phase. He said that a student who scores 60 on the Michigan Test should take one regular class for credit or audit. One who scores from 70-75 should take one regular class for credit, or two classes if he feels confident.

These two lectures were followed by three panel discussions dealing with "Class and Program Problems and Solutions, " "Methods and Materials for Saudi Students in the Classroom," and "What Constitutes a Quality Program?"

In the first panel, "Classroom Problems, " participants maintained that in t h e ESL program, teachers and administrators should be very close to the students. They also felt that student s should be warned about any school regulations and not be caught by surprise. Mis placed students, they believed, should not be sent to a lower level. For this may affect him morally or psychologically. The also emphasized that ESL programs, as any other educational field, have their ups and downs, joys and

frustrations. All ESL programs, they believed, should have a clear-cut policy concerning student class attendance. For example, a student should not be abSent more than 30 hours a quarter in a program which has only 20 hours of instruction a week® Motivation is a problem of middle-level student s, not advanced students. However, sometimes students with 550 scores in TOEFL flunk their fir st regular classes in college. Also, the Arab student, as he does in his own society, searches for a place for himself in American society. He is oft en confused between what he learned about r eli gion, family tie s and customs at h o m e, and what he sees in the U.S. What the teachers and administrators should consider, then, is what kind of help a foreign student should get in order to enable him to adapt to his new American friends and society.

Five participants took part in the second panel, "Methods & Materials for Saudi Students in the Classroom, " They discussed the following points. The American teacher should deal with Saudi Arabian students in a way that is different from the way he or she deals with American students. When the teacher has the kind of relationship which is based on understanding, friendship and mutual respect, the classroom result is usually excellent. They also discussed the fact that the Saudi student may have differ- e n t problems from tho s e of his Am e r i c a n peers. For example, in high school, American students are taught to express ideas in a certain way. Saudi Arabian students, on the other hand, usually express ideas in a very different

way. This can result in a failure to meet the expectations of the American teacher. The panel also pointed out that Saudi students like a classroom situation in which all students work as a group. Homework and assignments should be designed keeping this in mind.

The third panel discussed "What Constitutes a Quality Program?" According to Dr. Khalil Khalil, an ESL program should be aimed at preparing the foreign student in the English language so that he, or she, can compete with the native speaker in a college or university situation.

Participants in the third panel, however, concentrated on and attempted to explain a number of important points. First, they discussed foreign student admission procedures. Second, TOEFL used as a test for the placement of newly admitted students. Scores under 350 on the TOEFL test were said not to prove anything at all. TOEFL gives a student 204 points for writing his name on the paper; Michigan gives 20%. Third, ESL programs designed for a small group of students cannot be elaborate. Experience has shown that the level or range of English competency for 20 students admitted to an ESL program is the same as if the number of students admitted were 100 or more. Fourth, ESL programs should internationalize themselves so that they can internationalize their students. Fifth, the teacher knowledge of the student's language is extremely helpful for instruction or diagnosis of a student's learning problems, but proficiency in the student's language is not necessary. Sixth, ESL Students

may run into the problem of not knowing how to study. Giving the students advice and helping them in this area is essential and should be required. Seventh, the foreign student makes an important educational contribution to the native students on the campus.

At the end of this panel, Dr. Khalil said that the Saudi Mission, like other foreign student Sponsors, would like to get the following information from ESL program directors:

- 1) Attendance of students
- 2) Progress of students
- 3) Reports about results of tests and examinations given to the students

This workshop was an excellent idea and came at the right time. ESL teachers and administrators desperately needed guidelines which would help them in understanding and helping their Arab students. It brought together people of different professions with differing responsibilities in an attempt to deal with problems related to a specific field in education. Perhaps the most important result of this workshop, like other educational gatherings and seminars, is that it promotes human understanding and international cooperation.